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Serving Through Adversity: Community-Based Nonprofits Negotiating Race, Place, and a State Budget Crisis, 2007-2011

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

SERVING THROUGH ADVERSITY: COMMUNITY-BASED NONPROFITS

NEGOTIATING RACE, PLACE, AND A STATE BUDGET CRISIS, 2007-2011

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PROGRAM IN SOCIOLOGY

BY

EILLEEN HINES ROLLERSON

CHICAGO, IL

AUGUST 2012

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

supportive, and generous with your time as I sat at the computer or in front of a book while you did family things without me. Mom is back and ready for those times of roaring laughter, fun, and road trips!

To my siblings; Rhonda, Samuel, Calvin, Darrell, Angela, Boris, Selvia, Josephine, Paul, Glenn, Marion, Katherine, Vernon, and Terrance thanks for the laughs, tears, drama, and years of love. To my loving parents, Ransom and Naomi Hines, supportive brother Ransom Jr. (Bubba), and talented nephew, Darren who slipped into eternity during my journey, I miss you and look forward to the reunion in "the morning." For Harvey and Doris Rollerson, the best in-laws ever, your love and support have been priceless. Hey, Anya, I am really done! To my nieces, nephews, and other family too numerous to acknowledge by name, I love and thank God for you. Kadesha and Kelly, Dr. Michelle, Cynthia, Sister Green, and Rosia, without your assistance, sacrifice, and prayers, this project would not have been completed.

My Loyola experience was enhanced by working with outstanding students including Julie, Margaretta, Gwendolyn, Jennifer Rose, Ma'ruf, Chez, Reuben, Dara, Bhoomi, Kelly, Becca, Diana, Crystal, Lisa and Czara. Thank you! I am a better sociologist because of you.

Finally, this work could not have happened without the participants of the four nonprofit community-based social service organizations in North Lawndale. I am eternally grateful to each CEO, Executive Director, Director, line staff employee, and board member who allowed me to invade their space, sat for an interview, and shared their story. It was an honor to walk with them and learn about the important work they have been and are doing in the community. Please know that your labor is not in vain,

and the people you serve are well worth the sacrifices. Thank you for allowing me to learn and teach others about your rich existence and colorful lives. My life has been enhanced because of my time spent with you. The Chicago Tribune's *The American Millstone* missed the mark… North Lawndale is not the home of America's "permanent underclass."

Though several people have been included in this effort, I acknowledge and accept full responsibility for any mistakes, typos, and all other errors contained in this document. They are mine and mine alone.

For my husband, Derrick

He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord…

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study examines the ways in which the leadership and staff of four community-based organizations in a high-poverty African American community in Chicago perceived and were impacted by economic, political, and social changes in their community from 2007 to 2011. During a time of economic hardship caused in part by the state's budget crisis that threatened their very survival, these nonprofits connected residents with community institutions, government, and church in response to their needs.

Processes of *acquiring* resources and capital, *prioritizing* the needs, *shifting* programs and people for maximum benefit, and finally *shedding* expendable programs and people for the greater good of the organization and according to its mission were employed. Race was determined by African American respondents to be a determining factor for the acquisition of financial support, and white leadership was more confident about approaching funding sources than were African American leaders. One implication of this study is that racism, both real and perceived fosters mistrust, which has been shown to inhibit the acquisition and accumulation of capital among African Americans. Another implication points to the capacity of organizational leadership to employ creative strategies for access to various forms of capital as they adjust to changing economic, political, and social environments.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation topic was chosen in part, to gain understanding and tell the story of community change through the examination of nonprofit organizations that serve low-income people in the community. Political, economic, and social changes taking place in the city of Chicago that has impacted the community of North Lawndale has been explored through the lens of the leadership and employees of four community-based organizations. The intent is to understand how they perceive, understand, and navigate changes that have taken place in the community and how they have been affected by them.

Most of the story is told through the leadership, with accounts of employees and others respondents as clarity, reinforcement, and further reference of the leadership's accounts. Respondents include black, white, and Latino employees and leaders of the organizations. Some were residents and others were not. In some cases, responses of residents differ from nonresidents; leadership from employees; and African Americans from Latinos and whites. Some participants had been born in the community, moved away and later returned, but they all, in some way have ties to the community through one of the participating organization.

Telling the complete story of a community necessarily involves obtaining the perspectives of as many of the residents, business owners, local politicians, and various

other stakeholders of the community as possible. Unfortunately time limitations and the need to complete this dissertation did not allow me to include people from all of these groups, but the voices of the employees and leadership of the organizations represent residents, outsiders, activists, and sympathizers, all of whom expressed love, appreciation, and fondness for the community and the residents.

The premise of the study was to gain understanding of how nonprofit organizations in North Lawndale, a community that has remained largely African American since the 1950s, has been impacted by changes taking place in the community resulting from larger and wider changes of the economic, political, and social environment. Nonprofit organizations that have been in the community for twenty years or more were targeted in order to understand how they have navigated changes in their environments over time. The focus of the study was mainly concerned with changes that have impacted the community since the year 2000, when the community was experiencing gentrification as evidenced by the physical changes that were taking place such as property values and taxes rising to astronomical costs, transportation and infrastructural changes, and minor demographic shifts after years of low property values, few support services, from outside of the community, and slow demographic changes. These changes aroused mixed feelings among the people within the community. Some were excited and welcomed the much needed upgrades to the housing stock, the convenience of better public transportation commutes, decent and affordable housing, and an aesthetically changing community. Others were wary and suspicious of the changes; especially those who had experienced urban renewal programs or seen gentrification take place in other

communities. This uncertainty was grounded in fear that the beautifying and upgrades to the community were to attract higher income people who would ultimately push out the indigenous low-income population.

My initial interest in studying North Lawndale was to examine the impact of gentrification on the nonprofit organizations and the community, but the national economy dropped significantly in 2008, causing those changes associated with gentrification to abruptly stall. Faced with a changing community, but no specific identifying factors through which I could examine it, the research question was changed to examine the impact of political, economic, and social changes of the community on the organizations; in particular how the organizations have perceived, understood, and made adjustments to and successfully navigated through those changes over time.

The goal throughout this project has been to represent the employees, leadership, and community and situate what is taking, or has taken place, according to their understanding, within the larger context of change in society. Representation of the good and bad, positive and negative, and challenges as well as triumphs are included. My goal throughout this project has been to represent the employees and leadership of the organizations and the community as accurately as possible so that this story captures the community's positive features as well as its challenges. Table 1 shows demographic information of North Lawndale from 1960 to 2010.

Table 1: North Lawndale Demographics, 1960-2010

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
Population	124,973	94,891	61,534	47,296	41,768	35,912
Black	91.1%	95%	97%	96.4%	94.2%	92.1%
White	.89%	1.3%	1.3%	1.6%	2.5%	3.5%
Latino	--	--	2.1%	3.1%	4.5%	6.0%
Median Inc	4,981	6,972	9,902	14,209	18,342	--
% Below Pov	--	40%	43.1%	44%	41.7%	--
Unemployment	10%	11.7%	10.4%	9.1%	12.1%	--
Total Housing Units	30,243	22,596	18,580	15,686	14,620	--

Information collected from Census website and Community Fact Books housed at the Harold Washington Library, Chicago, IL.

North Lawndale: A Community of Contrasts

North Lawndale is a predominantly African American community located on Chicago's West Side. The community is bordered by the Eisenhower Expressway to the north, Cermak Rd. to the south, Western Ave. to the east, and Cicero Avenue to the west. It is also conveniently located near downtown (approximately 15 minutes by car), public transportation (approximately 25 minutes via the Pink Line elevated train), and easy access to two major freeways (I-290 and I-55), making it a desirable location for both private vehicle and public transportation commuters. Public transportation is easily accessible in North Lawndale, which includes the recently (2006) refurbishing of the Pink Line el station and tracks. Historic Route 66 (Ogden Avenue) also runs diagonally through the community for an easy commute from the Western Suburbs to the Loop.

Since the 1960 Census, North Lawndale's population has steadily declined, with the population being at an all-time low of less than 36,000, according to the 2010 Census.

The Census 2010 resident count is being disputed by residents and community activists who have made accusations that the miscount is a ploy for the community to lose one of its state representatives to the growing Latino South Lawndale and Pilsen communities. In a community meeting conducted by a group of concerned community activists to discuss redistricting for the community, activist Shirley Payne told the 15 member audience that the city has four congressional districts that are protected by the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the pressure is on to reduce the African American districts and increase Latino districts. Because North Lawndale and other African American West Side communities lost part of their population, it was in the community's best interest to keep the community intact to ensure that the political and social service needs of the community are addressed by a single legislator.

Field notes from the redistricting meetings indicate that Ms. Payne urged the residents to get involved and aware of what is taking place in Springfield and the falsehoods against African American communities because they had strong implications for the well-being of all residents. Recording lower numbers for the population count has several implications for the community: (1) the community receives less economic support from the state and federal government; (2) district lines will likely be redrawn that may cause split representation for the community; and (3) more properties will be vacant and likely boarded in the community; (4) the community could lose a Congressional seat which would result in reduced African American support (Field notes April 2011).

North Lawndale is known for its high poverty and crime, and gang activity keeps the community's name in local news reports and broadcasts, but North Lawndale also has middle-class, peaceful and intact families that are rarely given any media attention. North Lawndale is community area number 29 of Chicago's 77 community areas.

During fall 2009 to the end of 2011 I was in North Lawndale canvassing the community, observing and learning about the culture, people, and social landscape of the community which included driving, walking, talking with residents, and attending community meetings. My time there during the summer months were more interactive because there were more people out and about than in spring, fall, and especially winter. No matter what the season, some things are always evident; a large number of vacant lots, boarded up homes and buildings, properties in disrepair, young men hanging out on corners, and trash strewn streets and boulevards. During the summer months there are large numbers of people hanging out on the streets, children out and about, and young men hanging out on corners, some of which are conducting drug transactions in broad daylight, are common in certain areas.

Driving through the community, one may be inclined to believe the hyperbole and negative press about the community, but when I got outside of my vehicle and talked with residents, I experienced the community differently. I witnessed contrasts of old and new, valuable and invaluable, good and not so good, wealth and poverty. I met some people who were not friendly and I also met some very interesting and friendly people in North Lawndale. One woman in particular, I will call her Mae, helped me to expand my view of the community. Mae is an elderly woman in her seventies who was sitting on her

porch as I was walked down her street one day. I nodded and spoke to her as I walked by (as I did with everyone that I encountered) and asked how she was doing. Surprisingly she said "not too good." So I stopped and inquired further. I climbed four of her five steps, stopping short of mounting her porch where she sat in an old metal brown folding chair. The steps and porch were old, as indicated by the slumping wood; worn from years of use and wear. She explained that she had been having trouble with her legs and experiencing so much pain that she was not able to lie down at night. One of the legs of her dingy grey sweat pants was raised to reveal her swollen and ashy right leg. Her crusted and peeling foot rested on top of a white dirty and worn canvass gym shoe, where her thick and yellowing toenails grew out over her long wrinkled toes.

I learned that Mae lives alone, has lived in the community all her life, and has been experiencing health difficulties. She leaned down to rub her dark leg that was speckled with black spots while I listened to her complaints about her ailments. While her head was down, it looked as though her thin gray hair and shiny scalp sparkled in the sunlight. When she sat up again I felt saddened that she grimaced in pain. The skin around her eyes sagged, making them droop slightly and she appeared very tired. I could see maybe two teeth in her mouth as she spoke, but her words were clear, though a bit slurred.

Mae talked about having to pay some bills and wondering how long it was "gone be till they come and make me move." It was never clear to me who the "they" were that would be coming to make her move, but I assumed that she might be behind in her mortgage. I listened to her ramble about her leg pain and health troubles as her tired looking eyes exposed evidence of worry and lack of sleep.

I wanted to stay longer with Mae, but her phone rang and she picked up the receiver to the old slim line touch tone phone from the 1980s, complete with tangled cord, sitting on the porch next to her. As her phone conversation continued, I excused myself, waving to her and whispered goodbye before turning and walking down the steps I had mounted to get close enough to her to hear and be heard without being intrusive. She nodded and said "bye baby, come back and see Momma again now, ya hear" and readily diverted her attention to the voice on the other end of her phone.

As I left Mae's house, I wondered how she was able to get around, gain access to food, go for doctor visits, medication and other necessities. I left with a list of questions that I hoped to eventually obtain answers to, but my return trips to that street and house hoping to catch Mae on her porch were futile. I never saw her again.

Mae depicted the mostly invisible population of elderly and ailing residents of North Lawndale. This group of residents contrasts the community's highly visible youth population and is mostly left out of the media unless they are victimized such as in Eric Klinenberg's *Heat Wave* by (2002) or the *Chicago Tribune's* American Millstone (1986). Mae's house is one of the greystones built in the community during the early 1900s. During 2006, a local housing organization was responsible for launching an initiative making greystones in the community of historic value. Mae's greystone had been painted a pale blue some years ago, indicated by cracked and chipping paint. This made her home ineligible for consideration as one of the preserved and historic properties because qualifying greystones must have original windows, porches, doors and things of that nature and any repairs must be of the same types of materials. Also, according to the

initiative's literature, any greystones that have been painted do not qualify as historic because paint damages the stone in such a way that it cannot be restored to its natural state. In this way, Mae's home demonstrated a contrast between valuable and not valuable and homeowners with access to information and resources to maintain their property and those like Mae, who do what they have the knowledge and means to do to beautify their property in the best way they can.

Mae and her health, housing, and welfare is but one example of a number of residents of the community of North Lawndale that need assistance, resources, and connections that nonprofit social service organizations provide. For me, Mae's house represented the many old and worn houses inhabited by individuals and families throughout the community that are in stark contrast to some of the nicely maintained greystones and other buildings inhabited by the community's politicians, doctors, lawyers, and other working professionals; contrasts that make North Lawndale the interesting place that it is.

The State Budget Crisis and Social Services

During this difficult economic period, not only are the residents experiencing troubles, but the organizations in the community are having their share of difficulties as the national economy struggles to recover. The mortgage crisis, housing problems, and economic downfall have had an impact on the community that has been difficult for several families to overcome. Many North Lawndale families lost their homes due to the housing mortgage crisis and several renters were also forced out of their homes, unaware that their buildings were being foreclosed on. Unfortunately, this crisis has impacted

many families in ways that will take years for them to recover, if they will be able to recover at all.

The economic struggles that have taken place in North Lawndale are the result of and reflect what has been and is currently happening on a national and global scale. Since 2008, the economy has been in a state of continuous decline, and there has been talk that it will take years to recover from the recession we now find ourselves in. As an example, one of the families that came to Lock Down was living in the home that the mother's parents purchased years ago. In 2009, this family lost that home to foreclosure and moved in with another family on the block as they attempted to regain their property. As one of the employees explained to me, the likelihood that that family will be able to recover that home is slim, especially because they have low wage jobs. The family utilized Lock Down's family services to help them to get by with making it to doctor visits, well-child services, and WIC services, but with the loss of their home, they eventually needed housing, childcare, and other services to help them make ends meet. Although the mother and her husband had low-wage jobs, having a home was a form of stability for them. Without that asset, this family has had to rely on family and other people to support them, including their housing needs. This means that the family has become more dependent on social systems of support. Having a home in this economy does not assure stability as it did in former years, nor is it the stabilizing factor that it used to be because of the vulnerable situation of the economy, but without their home, this family is in more of a vulnerable state than they were when they at least owned the title to their property.

Lock Down is in a position to assist this family on a limited basis, and the case worker assigned to their case, Ebony Dayton, said the chances of this family getting into their own housing in the community so that their children would be able to stay in their same school uninterrupted was slim because of their really low income and the "slow system." They had applied for a Section 8 voucher, but the process would take some time. In the meantime, all this family could do was wait and hope. "Such are the difficulties of poverty", said Ebony, and reiterated with a sigh, "Such are the difficulties of poverty."

The organizations in this study have been in the community for twenty years or more and have weathered economic, political, and social storms before, but they reported that the current challenges are some of the worst they have experienced and find it difficult to establish processes to keep them in the black. Nationally, the economy has been experiencing rising debts, and policies enacted to rise above those debts have proven ineffective thus far. In 2007, Illinois Comptroller Dan Hynes raised a red flag stating the $3.6 billion deficit, though an improvement from 2003's $4.166 billion deficit, was the worst "in the nation for the fourth year in a row" (Byrne 2008). By the time Pat Quinn took office as the new governor of the state, he said Illinois was "dealing with a budget 'morass' approaching 5 billion" (Garcia and Hoppke 2009). Melissa Harris (2010) wrote "the state hasn't paid some of her members since July. To cope, the organizations have turned to banks to open or increase credit lines. In effect, affected nonprofits are floating the state loans; they're getting hammered on interest payments that they'll never recover…The banks are now wondering, 'Given the state's broke, will we get paid?'" The

nonprofits in North Lawndale were experiencing these same difficulties because of this crisis, having to float their programs, not being able to obtain loans, and wondering if they would ever recover their losses.

By the beginning of 2011, the budget crisis had increased to 13 billion and Illinois was in the throes of slicing budgets and attempting to raise taxes (Pollack 2011). The state was in a greater crisis than predicted in 2007, and policy initiatives to raise taxes were mostly ineffective. Pollack wrote "our state government is in financial distress because our low and flat state income tax doesn't raise enough money. This policy produces three predictable results: desperate [budget] shenanigans, painful service cuts and excessive tax burdens imposed on low-income families through other kinds of taxes." Most notably, all of this resulted in nonprofit organizations and other forms of assistance for poor and struggling families, such as those in communities such as North Lawndale, falling deeper into debt because the state of Illinois could not pay its bills. This caused a domino effect as the organizations attempted to continue to assist families by paying monies upfront, trusting they would be paid by the state. They obtained loans to stay afloat as the state continued to delay payment, and some have had to cut services or people, or both.

On Wednesday January 25, 2012 Jane Addams Hull House in Chicago, IL announced they would be closing their doors on Friday January 27, 2012 and filing for bankruptcy (Thayer 2012). Hull House, one of the oldest social service organizations in the city has served Chicago and surrounding areas' poor and needy for 122 years (Schulte 2012). Hull Houses' mission was to improve the "social conditions for underserved

people and communities by providing creative, innovative programs and advocating for related public policy reforms" (Hull House website). Services such as foster care, job and literacy training, child care, economic development, counseling and assistance for immigrants have been offered through Hull House since 1889.

The Hull House closing exposes a larger economic situation facing the nation and world markets. According to the *New York Times* article by Floyd Norris (2012), America is facing the slowest growth rates since the Great Depression of the 1920s. Rev. Jesse Jackson, in a Sun Times article said that pious conservatives in Washington "demand no tax hikes on the rich while calling for cuts in programs for the poor – from nutrition for infants to Pell grants for deserving college students" further exposing and leaving unprotected the most vulnerable of our society. America is not the only country to be experiencing these problems. Norris (2012) wrote other countries including Canada, Italy, Germany, France, and Britain will continue experiencing slow growth and even declines by 2013, making the problem worldwide.

For such an historic and significant Chicago service provider as Hull House to have to close due to lack of funding and support exposes the precarious economic condition of the state of Illinois and the difficult situation that social service providers are encountering. The state of Illinois is currently facing a budget crisis totaling in the billions, resulting in program and budget cuts in most departments. Since many services are contracted out to social service agencies, these cuts are having significant negative impacts on nonprofits throughout the state. Economic cutbacks all too often adversely affect the poorest with limited power, resources, and political influence. Illinois'

Governor Quinn released a list of proposed budget outcomes for 2012 ranking Human Services number four behind Education, Economic Development, and Public Safety (Budget Illinois, 2011). Though each of these departments are important, especially for the poor, the fact that Human Services ranks fourth suggests that interest and support for the poorest of our society are at stake.

Hull House employees had to hurriedly find other capable agencies or organizations to take on clients before that Friday's closing date, wrote Thayer (2012). The needs of the poor do not decrease or desist because funding and support diminishes. On the contrary, as support decreases need most often increases. John Keilman (2010) stated "The state has $3.8 billion of unpaid bills, and much of that money is owed to the nonprofit groups that care for some of Illinois' most vulnerable residents: children, the poor, the mentally ill and the elderly." Keilman mentioned three organizations specifically that were experiencing extreme difficulties because of the state's billing system: Bethel New Life, a social service agency located on Chicago's West Side; Youth Crossroads, Inc., an organization that serves troubled or at-risk youth and their families; and Heartland Alliance, an anti-poverty organization, and the amount owed each organization could mean the difference between making payroll and staying in business. According to Keilman (2010), Heartland Alliance was owed 4 million; Bethel New Life, 2.1 million; and Youth Crossroads, Inc. over $48,000.

By the time of Hull House's closing, Schulte (2012) reported the employees were scrambling to pack up, and find new service providers for clients. Hull House clients will be referred to other organizations for services, most of which will be smaller community-

based organizations which are already strapped themselves. These smaller organizations will have to decide whether they have the capacity to take on more cases, and some will be required to take on some of the displaced cases based on funding obligations to state, county, and federal government sources, whether they have the capacity to accommodate them or not. This will create further hardship for these organizations at this already tough time. For some clients, such as those with mental health needs, finding the proper fit between client, provider and location may take some time as funding for mental health facilities has been significantly reduced, causing several state agencies and hospitals to close.

The closing of Hull House also exposes a larger national problem of budgetary retrenchment and policy initiatives concerning the needs of our poorest that render them exposed and unprotected. Most states are experiencing severe cuts to their human service budgets, gravely impacting the poor and the "mediating structures" (mostly nonprofit organizations) established to address their needs (Cnaan, Boddie, Handy, Yancey, and Schneider 2002). These nonprofit mediating organizations are referred to as community-based organizations (CBO) (Marwell 2004, 2007), nonprofit organizations (NPO) (Alexander 2000; Ben-Nur and Gui 2003), public neighborhood centers (PNC) (Pool and Colby 2002), or neighborhood institutions (Small 20006), and are mostly located in poorer communities. Their missions and purpose statements include objectives that address physical, mental and other human service needs and some form of provision for those needs through relevant services and practices. They also encourage or develop

within their clients a sense of self-advocacy or self-sustainability (Clampet-Lundquist and Massey 2008).

Organizations of this type have been committed to caring for and supporting low-income and poor families since before funding became available through the war on poverty (Patterson 2000; Kahn 1979). The smaller organizations located in poor communities offer the same types of human services as Hull House, but serve fewer clients. Smaller organizations generally have fewer resources and connections, and often compete with larger ones for the same resources. These facts suggest that smaller community-based nonprofits are in precarious positions that threaten their likelihood of surviving the current economic crisis.

Economic, political, and social changes and their impact on nonprofit community-based organizations in North Lawndale are examined in this study. Economic change can be positive for organizations when *new* funding opportunities and *increased* resources become available. The war on poverty provided a significant amount of funding for organizations getting started during the 1970s and early 1980s and many individuals were able to use government funds to start organizations and provide the means for poorer families to acquire resources and assistance (Patterson 2000; Kahn 1979). Economic changes can also negatively impact organizations, such as when funding disappears or becomes less available. This is readily seen during times of recession and struggling economies, which cause the most severe and stressful times for human serving organizations that usually have to do more for larger numbers of people with fewer resources.

The state budget crisis is far from over, and the organizations are up against some difficult times as they attempt to meet payroll, provide services, and pay outstanding bills. However, the commitment of the leadership to keeping the organizations in the black while navigating these difficulties is noteworthy. They reported that the current challenges are some of the worst they have experienced and find it difficult to establish maneuvers to bring them out of the situations in the black.

The following sections introduce each of the organizations, outlining the services they provide, mission statements, and circumstances surrounding the development and needs of the organizations.

The Organizations

Chicago houses a variety of people with a variety of interests, desires, and needs. Many of these people have needs that require the services of welfare or human service organizations, some of which can be accessed in their communities. As is the cases with most every nonprofit organization, those participating in this study were started to address some need(s) they saw lacking in the community. Edward J. Gumz (2008), referring to the work of Arthur Stinchcombe stated that in order "to understand the purpose and vision of organizations and their structures, we must first understand the original circumstances, events, and culture that called for the formation of that type of organization in that particular place." Using Stinchcombe's reasoning I provide background information on each organization, including what was going on in and around the community at the time the organization began, their purpose or mission statements, and their structure. Table 2 provides a quick glance at the four organizations,

showing the start-up year, the original mission (which continues to be the driving purpose of each of these organizations), sources of funding, and their annual budget as reported on their 2009 IRS 990 report, the last available compiled report at this time.

<center>Lock Down</center>

Few community-based organizations in North Lawndale have been in business for as long as Lock Down (LD). Situated on a busy corner and close to public transportation stops, LD has been a North Lawndale staple for community residents and families through the provision of juvenile delinquency programs and advocacy, family services, HIV/AIDS support, and some state welfare services such as the Women's Infants and Children program (WIC) for nearly 40 years. During my time of observation and interviewing at LD, at least two programs were in danger of being cut by the state and county.

The oldest of the four organizations in this study, LD actually began serving the community in the late 60s, although they were not officially chartered until 1972. The building they occupy was purchased in 1979, and shows signs of physical deterioration despite the installation of new facings, awnings and doors in 2010 in response to a citation from the city of Chicago as a result of another nearby nonprofit organization reporting them as an "eyesore" in the community. The reporting organization has only been in the community since 2004, reported Tyson, LD's Director of Programs who labeled the reporting as "un-neighborly and an underhanded attempt for that organization to gain access to LD's land."

Table 2: Organizations at a Glance

Organization	Year	Programs	Mission/Purpose (Main Points)	Funding Sources	Revenues
Lock Down (LD)	1972	Juvenile Youth Services Juvenile Family Support Mother & Child Services WIC	* Establish & perpetuate a multi-service community based network. * Strengthen family ties. * Develop partnerships with other groups. * Alternative to youth incarceration.	State & County Funding Fundraisers Membership Dues Donations	$1,857,325
Take to the Street Health Service (TTS)	1984	Health Services HIV/AIDS Services	* Show & Share the love of Jesus. * Promote wellness. * Provide quality, affordable health care. * Serve North Lawndale & neighboring communities.	Federal & State Grants Foundation Grants Private Donors	$32,877,607
Youth Alliance (YA)	1986	After School Programs Youth Clubs Summer Day Camp Youth Job Training Youth Employment	* Train youth in five core areas: • Spiritual • Mental • Physical • Cultural • Social * Build youth leaders in North Lawndale.	Private Donors Church Support Fundraising Efforts Foundation Grants	$139,739
Family Focus Forum (F3)	1990	DCFS Case Management Individual Counseling Family Counseling Abstinence education	* Holistically demonstrate the love of Jesus Christ. * Enhance the resilience of diverse communities. * Highlight families of color.	State Funding Fees for Services Annual Fundraiser	$1,112,786

Information for this table was obtained from the organization websites, annual reviews, brochures, and conversations with employees, leadership, and affiliates of the organizations.

Tyson came to that conclusion because no one from the reporting organization "ever bothered to come to Lock Down" to discuss their concerns about the building's appearance. His suspicions were confirmed when he learned that the organization was affiliated with TTS (another organization in this study) that has been "buying lots of property in the community for personal development." These and similar accusations against TTS were common during interviews and conversations with residents, community leaders, and organizations in the community.

In the 1960s Mr. Ray Bradford was in the throes of planning an organization at a time when African Americans were exerting their displeasure with white privilege and demanding social change. Lock Down was started a few short years following the assassination of Dr. King who had moved his family into North Lawndale in the summer of 1966 to highlight the poor quality of housing in African American communities and the need for the end to housing discrimination that target African Americans "locked in" segregated communities. Following that tragic incident, the community went up in flames and turmoil as angry, frustrated, and disgruntled residents took to the streets rioting businesses, burning buildings, and expressing their frustrations with the widespread racism and discrimination they had been experiencing.

North Lawndale had transitioned from a mostly white and Jewish community to predominantly African American during the 1950s. Several other changes occurred as a result. A large poor population became contained in that geographic space as a result of racial discrimination, unemployment, and a myriad of social problems. Other problems ensued as businesses, afraid of possible violence and harm to their physical plants, began

moving out of the community, which resulted in the community eventually becoming an industrial wasteland (Young 1972; Longworth 1985). Between 1960 and 1970, North Lawndale and surrounding communities reportedly lost "75% of their businesses, 25% of the jobs" and "another 44 percent of its remaining businesses and 80 percent of remaining industry" between 1970 and 1980 (Longworth 1985). The riots left many sections of the community in disrepair, with a number of burned out buildings and businesses. Unemployment remained high, despite the passage of the Civil Rights Bill. Feelings of hopelessness and despair began to grip residents who lived in poverty, which has held steady in the 40 percent range since the late 1960s (See Table 1).

Because of widespread poverty and other problems North Lawndale blacks were experiencing, Mr. Bradford, a social worker with a passion for at risk youth and families began hosting community forums to gather and share information on how to make the community better and build the morale of the people as well as address the rising problems facing black youth. The meetings included community residents, business owners, community activists and others with an interest in seeing North Lawndale thrive as a community. The monthly meetings continue to be held at their present location, though the number of attendees has dwindled over the years. This strategy was instituted by Mr. Bradford to give the community a voice and have their needs addressed in a manner that brings dignity to them as residents of the community.

Mission

Lock Down's original mission to "establish and perpetuate a multi-service community based network" remains a part of its wider purpose to (1) strengthen family

ties; (2) develop collaborative partnerships with other groups; and (3) expand local, state and national networks of community-based providers committed to working with at-risk youth and their families to provide a positive alternative to youth incarceration, still drives the leadership and the organization (Organization brochure). The initial funding for LD came from Mr. Bradford's personal funds, monies in the form of dues collected during the monthly forums, and grants from state and county funding sources.

Funding

Early in the 1970s Mr. Bradford was instrumental in writing a proposal to create and name a program that would provide an alternative to youth incarceration. The successful proposal yielded funding from the county to start the program which was also used as seed money for the organization to officially begin. Years later, a second grant was obtained for a similar type of program for at-risk youth with a prior criminal offence that offered counseling and mentoring for the youth and their families with a focus on structured activities during peak times that youth were known to get into trouble; the after school hours of 3:00 and 6:00 p.m.

During the 1980s LD successfully obtained a state funded grant supporting summer day camp programs for school aged children. This grant supplied high school youth with employment opportunities as counselors and provided much needed work experience and financial assistance for their families. Through structured activities and playtime, both the children and high school staff were given structured, positive alternatives to hanging out on the streets during the long hot summer months. The program was short lived, but over the few summers that it lasted, it made a difference in the lives of a number of North

Lawndale families. LD juvenile youth counselor was hired as one of the first counselors for the summer program and talked about the help the summer job provided for his mother and their family who had recently suffered the loss of his father the previous year before he and his brother were offered the jobs. Their small pay was able to ensure they were able to do school shopping as well as contribute to the household budget.

State funding for programs supporting pregnant women, teens and their babies was later added to address the community's high infant mortality rates. This program continues to be a part of their roster of services along with the state federally funded Women Infant and Children (WIC) program that provides health and nutritional support for pregnant women, mothers, and their babies and young children to the age of four. Lock Down continues to be dependent on government dollars for the maintenance of the organization's programs.

Structure

Mr. Bradford's family has been involved in the founding and running of the organization since its inception. In 2008, the installation of the second generation of Bradford's took place as Mr. Bradford, referred to as the "guru of social work" because of his sensitivity to the needs of poor people and enthusiasm for the profession of social work as demonstrated by his dedication to having students come to the organization and mentoring them, stepped away from the everyday operations of LD to the position of chairman of the board. Mr. Bradford's daughters now serve as the Executive Director and Operations Manager. They have worked every possible position in the organization and are confident that the direction they have planned for organization will continue to prove

positive and prosperous as they keep the community's voice at the table and maintain close relations with North Lawndale liaisons and leaders in surrounding communities. Employees described the organization as "family" and stressed the leadership styles of both Mr. Bradford and Ms. Brenda as caring and concerned for the community, employees, and organization.

<div align="center">Take to the Street</div>

Take to the Street (TTS) was founded in 1984 as a ministry/nonprofit organization through TTS Church. In the mid-1970s Ron Parks, a recent college graduate landed a job at a local North Lawndale institution and began mentoring and having Bible study with a number of the young men in the community from his job. He introduced them to Fellowship of Christian Athletes and other organizations where they could meet and learn from other men which would build on what he was instilling in them through further meetings and Bible study, mentoring, and building relationships. The Biblical principles reinforced standards by which to live, that many of the young men were not receiving from their homes and community.

Upon learning that these young men were unhappy with the culture of the local churches, especially the dress codes that they could not afford to comply with, Ron Parks, a young and ambitious white suburbanite, began researching what other non-church attending community residents wanted in a church and went about putting together a church that would address those concerns and needs. Based on the information Ron received, TTS Church was born and he became known as Pastor Parks.

The youth also expressed concern about the growing health problems of their families and community residents, and the lack of opportunities for physical recreation, including access to gyms and other places to work out and have fun, without fear. The neighborhood was a dangerous place for the young men, whether gang affiliated or not, which left those who were not interested in participating in street culture with few options for physical activity and healthy forms of entertainment inside the community. To address this problem the young men, with the help of Pastor Parks, having only their desire, physical ability and determination founded the first fitness center in the community. The facility consisted of an abandoned building that was slated for demolition, an old washing machine that had been donated from white suburbanites who had learned of Pastor Parks' ministry in the inner city, and rusty dumbbells the young men found discarded in an alley. Those humble beginnings have yielded five nonprofit organizations addressing such needs as health, fitness, housing, drug rehab, and legal services.

TTS health ministry has a holistic approach to health care that includes physical, mental, and spiritual health. CEO, Mr. Daniels implemented a plan to make it a friendly and welcoming atmosphere. They serve low-income and poor families whether insured, uninsured, and under insured.

TTS housing services has held workshops and classes to educate first time home buyers on the costs and requirements of purchasing and maintaining a home. These information sessions proved helpful during the mortgage crisis, according to CEO of housing services Ms. Debra who said that only two of the 25 families that purchased one

of their 25 newly build homes lost them to foreclosure during the mortgage crisis. TTS drug rehab services works with men who are or have struggled with drug addiction. They also have a number of formerly incarcerated men living in their housing. These men receive Bible study, room and board, employment training, and any other necessary support to help them regain control of their lives and break free of harmful addictions.

TTS legal services, barely one year old offers support for families of youth involved in the juvenile justice system. The provision of legal representation is very important to the families, says the thirty-something founder of the organization, Ryan Davis. One of his concerns was the amount of money that families paid to the state for bail, legal and other mandated fees, and other costs associated with the legal system that kept them struggling financially. They offer legal counsel through a number of volunteer lawyers and walk the families through the process as they strive to keep the youth from being locked up.

Mission

The mission of TTS is to serve God and humanity through serving the North Lawndale community and surrounding areas. TTS has several nonprofit organizations that offer health, housing, drug rehab, and court assistance services, all of whose mission statements include service to God. Each of the organizations have service to the community first, but their service areas extend to surrounding areas, especially into neighboring South Lawndale which is mostly populated by Mexicans.

Structure

TTS Church maintains a stake in each of the nonprofit organizations, which are also referred to as ministries. Pastor Parks, though not involved in the everyday functions of the organizations is kept abreast of what is going on in each of the organization through the leadership who meet quarterly to discuss and support each other. As an organization that works with a number of highly skilled and professional employees, TTS health ministry's top down structure resembles the bureaucratic structures of other professional health service providing institutions. They are governed by a board of directors as well as TTS Church. There is very little community input in terms of how the organization is structured and run, but community members, meeting the requirements of the board, have been invited to sit on the board of directors.

Collaborating with other organizations outside of their network of nonprofits is not a priority for TTS ministries. Their preference is to mostly work with and refer clients to other TTS organizations. They do form collaborations with a few select organizations that provide services not offered by the TTS nonprofits. Their selectivity has resulted in negative experiences between the other organizations in this study and TTS. The other organizations have accused TTS of working with others when it is convenient or self-serving.

Marie, Operations Manager of LD suggested that the few collaborative agreements that have taken place between them and TTS have been "one sided", meaning TTS benefitted more from them partnering together on a project than LD, although she was not able to articulate exactly how they were able to benefit more. The last time Marie

attempted to enter into a working agreement with TTS, which was months before I met with her, she was told by the project manager of the department at TTS that they would prefer to apply on their own. Disappointed, she approached another community organization that agreed to enter into the application process. She was later approached by the project manager of TTS who had changed his mind about working with them. She said she told them it was too late and they were working with another organization. Feeling no remorse about moving on, she hopes they realize they are not the only organization around that is valuable to the community and realize the worth of others. It was clear that they preferred to work with TTS, but she sounded doubtful that they would pursue further opportunities to work with them in the future. As an organization that has been built on collaborating and working with other community organizations to build a safety net of service organizations around the community, this was especially disconcerting for LD, and they plan to continue pursuing other collaborative opportunities.

These and other incidents concerning TTS show the organization as not willing to be a team player. As the only organization in the study that was founded and run by white leadership, TTS' non-willingness to work with other organizations resembles what Eddie, director of TTS rehab services referred to as "the great white hope syndrome" where whites go into African American communities and are able to "set up shop" and amass resources that are not available to African Americans who are doing the same or similar type of work.

Because the other organizations are founded and led by African Americans, this problem has been framed in racial terms. However, it is also necessary to consider whether the other organizations are crying sour grapes because of TTS' apparent success. Could there be some jealousy between the smaller less successful African American-led organizations and successful white-led TTs? Whatever the reason(s), TTS has a reputation of being more concerned with their own personal success as an organization (or conglomerate of organizations) rather than concern for the community as a whole. This division and the disputes are also racially charged as Pastor Parks and most of the leadership, board, and ministries of TTS are lead by whites, although African Americans serve on his board and that in the church as lay leadership. Pastor Parks and TTS are aware of these accusations and make one thing very clear, they are forging ahead and attempting to make a difference in the North Lawndale community through the allocation of much needed services, resources and care that the community needs.

Funding

TTS, like the other organizations in this study had humble beginnings, but that is no longer the case for this thriving organization. In 2009, TTS health ministry's annual budget, as reported on their 990 tax form was $32,877,607 making it the largest organization in this study. Eddie, Director of rehab ministry boasted that TTS health ministry "is the second largest employer in the community with over 380 employees." TTS ministry is the only organization in the study that reported finishing the year comfortably in the black and with plenty of "money in the bank" according to the CEO, Everett Daniels. One of the reasons TTS is doing so well, in addition to dedicated

and competent management and employees, is that they are one of a growing number of community health care organizations categorized as a FQHC (federally qualified health centers). FQHCs are authorized to provide services to under insured, non-insured, and uninsured populations, and receive funding from Medicare, Medicaid and the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS). These federal departments have dedicated generous amounts of additional funding towards organizations that provide health related services to underserved low-income, Latino, and immigrant populations.

TTS has staff persons whose jobs are to research and apply for funding opportunities. In addition to that, Pastor Parks and his staff have cultivated meaningful relationships over the years with people who possess various skills who also have connections with others who have connections. These relationships or networks have the potential to fund this family of organizations for years to come.

Youth Alliance

Youth Alliance (YA) also started in a church. YA Church is a small African American community church that started during the 1950s in the midst of the community's racial shift from white and Jewish to predominantly African American. The building, an older small brown brick structure sits in the middle of a residential block surrounded by beautiful, but aging greystone, brick, and cement buildings that expose their 100 plus year ages. The building was purchased from a white conservative Christian congregation in 1955 that moved to a neighboring suburb. The church membership has grown slowly over the years, and remains a small congregation with just over one hundred members. They have maintained an interest in youth and youth ministries over

the years, and their nonprofit organization started thirty-six years later when the church's youth pastor decided to expand the church's youth ministry.

The racial awareness and distrust of outside institutional interference was evident in the interviews with the leadership, board members, and some of the employees of YA. North Lawndale has a rich history, and most of the African Americans living there or having a stake in the community believe that racism still exists and has an impact on what takes place in the community. The leadership of YA has attempted to bridge gaps between the community and services, resources, people, and opportunities outside of the community by creating outlets for various organizations, people, and business leaders to come in and speak to church members as well as families of the children in their youth programs. As a small congregation and organization, YA has made an impact on the youth and families in their small section of the community.

Mission

Paul Mays, founder and current co-director of YA was interested in developing youth and decided upon the mission "to train North Lawndale youth in five core areas: spiritually, mentally, physically, culturally, and socially to become leaders in their community and ultimately, their world." This mission continues to be the driving force behind their programs, which include tutoring, youth clubs, mentoring, art programs, physical recreation, field trips, Bible studies and discussions, and cross cultural field trips and activities with youth from neighboring Latino churches. Youth Alliance targets second grade through high school youth in a geographic boundary covering about a six or seven block radius. Within this area there are two public elementary schools, six

churches, two small play lots containing no more than two swings each and limited recreational equipment. Three small organizations that provide some form of social service including youth services, and one liquor store are also inside their target boundary, but there are no grocery stores, gas stations, or developed recreational facilities for children play.

Youth Alliance has partnered with a nearby elementary school since the 1970s when the church hosted the entire fourth grade for religious instruction through a program agreement with the principal. The organization maintains a connection with the school today. YA staff offers support for teachers in the classrooms by volunteering during the day and working one on one with children who need individual help. This partnership further reinforces the organization's goals within the community to develop leaders among the youth by assisting struggling students with individual help to better ensure their success. The staff also attend school meetings and functions of the Local School Council (LSC), though none of the staff sit on the school's LSC committee. Attendance at school meetings and various other functions provide opportunities for the staff to meet, get to know, and build relationships with any parents that attend (though it was reported that attendance is usually very low). These meetings also reinforce the organization's mission by cultivating relationships with the children's families to increase their chances of success.

Youth Alliance is well known in its target area for its summer day camp program. This program has a waiting list every year and parents begin inquiring about enrolling their children early in the school year. The program runs for the month of July and

includes physical activities, cultural experiences through picnics, field trips, and a weeklong resident camping experience along with two Latino day camp programs from South Lawndale or Little Village. Mr. Mays has been intentional about maintaining the relationship between YA and the Latino churches to encourage and facilitate relationships between black and brown youth while they are young so that when they are of high school age and attend neighborhood schools together, these young people will be bridge builders in their schools and communities. The community high schools have experienced a lot of violence between Latino and African American students, and YA has structured their programs to thwart the continuation of this pattern of black and brown conflict.

The first collaborative day camp experience was developed in 1991 and included YA and one Latino church's day camp. Since then a third church has joined them and the three churches continue building relationships between the staff and campers. The interactions have grown to include early morning prayer time at YA Church twice a week, a one-time joint church service, a volleyball league, and weekly outings of the counselors and junior staff while working together in the summer. In recent years the high school youth from the three day camps have begun building relationships on their own, taking trips to the beach, amusement parks, and other outings together for fun. It appears that Mr. Mays' plan is actually coming to fruition.

Structure

One of the unique characteristics of Youth Alliance is their model of

plural leadership which was patterned after YA Church. Plural leadership refers to having more than one person in leadership which the church's denomination instituted for accountability. This is not common in most church denominations where the leadership consists of a single pastor, elder, bishop or other title. In some denominations, an assistant pastor may be second in command or there may be other levels of leadership, such as elders, deacons, and trustees. African American churches, according to Aldon Morris (1984) are characterized as "complex atypical structured organization" with loyal and committed members. African American pastors, according to Morris " presides over the church hierarchy …[and] ultimately responsible for the overall functioning of the diverse committees and groups…[he] oversees the workforce of the church and delegates authority throughout its organizational structure…[he] determines the goals of the church and identifies the causes to be supported by the congregation" (Morris 1984:7). Within the African American community, this institution has had a significant role in advancing the causes of the people and has provided a platform for many black leaders and entertainers such as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Aretha Franklin, Rev. Al Sharpton and Jessie Jackson, Whitney Houston, Bishop Arthur Brazier, Jennifer Hudson, and R Kelly, and others. The African American church has been both a place where African Americans have been able to go for release of the troubles and stresses associated with everyday life and gain acceptance as well as support.

African American churches have also had their share of scandalous situations, including those that involve leadership. The premise of YA Church's plurality of leadership is to maintain a constant system of checks and balances for security and

accountability as well as support as the needs of people in the church as well as the community are great.

Paul Mays, and recently hired (since 2011) Peter Ross serve as co-directors of Youth Alliance. Both men are in their 50s, have similar passions to see African Americans, whites, Latinos and all races and nationalities of people to be able to worship together. Their families are part of the same denomination, though one was in the suburbs and the other the inner city and both have fathers in ministry. Yet, these two men grew up in "two very different Americas" with very different experiences (interview with Mr. Ross). Mr. Ross admits growing up watching the unrest in the City of Chicago, (including North Lawndale) due to the Civil Rights Movement, but from his suburban home it was almost like watching a horror movie that could be turned off and dismissed. For Mr. Mays, his family was in the midst of the community as the unrest unfolded and ensued. They did not have the luxury of turning off the television and forgetting about what was happening because if they were not directly involved in the struggle themselves, some family member, friend, neighbor, or acquaintance from their community was involved.

A second unique characteristic of YA is the structure of the organization. Mr. Paul Mays adopted an organizational chart featuring a pyramid shape divided into four parts labeled purpose, principles, policies, and programs to describe their purpose and organizational structure (See Figure 1).

According to Mr. Mays, the smallest and non-negotiable section is the *purpose* or mission. The next section, *principles*, coincides with the purpose and provides guidelines by which the organization is to be run. The next section *policies* involves more flexibility

and can be changed and adjusted as necessary to keep up with changes in the community,

or society. The final and largest section of the pyramid structure is the *programs*, which

is the most flexible and least rigid of all of the sections.

Figure 1: Youth Alliance Organizational Structure
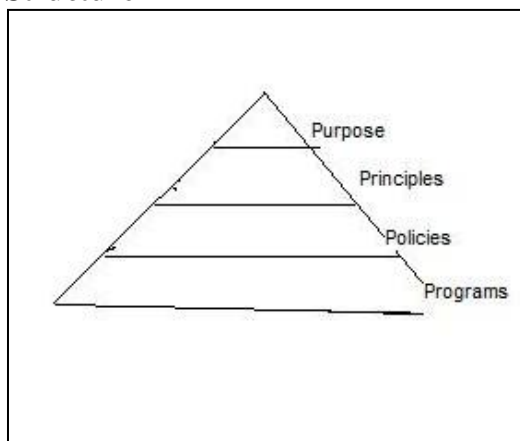
Programs, according to Mr. Mays are to be created and used to meet the needs of

the clientele while maintaining and reflecting the policies, principles, and purpose of the

organization. Everything in the organizations' structure is designed around the Biblical

principles of YA Church.

Mr. Ross, co-director of YA came to the organization while directing the urban

division of Mission Abroad, an international mission organization. After serving several

years in the mission field, Mr. Ross began learning about Dr. King and his fight for social

justice in America. Dialogue with Mr. Mays resulted in a partnership between Mission

Abroad, Youth Alliance and Youth Alliance Church that provides full time employees to

work with YA programs. The missionaries who work with YA raise their salaries

(through monthly appeals to family, friends, and other people/groups who are interested

in supporting them) through Mission Abroad. This partnership provides YA with much needed workers without the responsibility or financial obligations of having more employees than they can support. YA has a small staff consisting of two co-directors, a program director, three full-time youth workers and one part-time youth worker. Three of the full-time employees and Mr. Ross, one of the directors are paid through Mission Abroad, and the others are paid through YA.

The collaborative partnership between Mission Abroad, Youth Alliance and Youth Alliance Church is a triadic exchange that provides "cross-cultural" training for Mission Abroad's missionaries-in-training, much needed full-time employees, and opportunities to fulfill the "Great Commission" to spread the gospel worldwide. The premise of the training is to give the missionaries, most of whom are predominantly white and suburban, exposure to darker skinned people and experience interacting people with a different culture, African Americans, before embarking on mission fields in other countries. The training involves discussions, films, presentations, and testimonials on such issues as social injustice in America, white privilege, racism, and issues which Mr. Mays, founder and current co-director of YA sees as important to lessen the likelihood of "exporting American racism" to other countries . The partnership has been ongoing for twenty-one years and there is talk of expanding the relationship in the future. This type of collaboration is quite unique to YA.

Funding

Youth Alliance was established in 1986 and was supported solely by Youth Alliance Church and private funding that was raised via support letters written by founder

and director Paul Mays. The organization was officially registered as a 501(c) (3) nonprofit organization in 1991 to be eligible to apply for outside funding. YA's funding structure is very different from others in the study. The majority of their funding is through individual private donors, many of whom have supported them from the organization's beginning in 1986. YA Church also continues its support of YA, contributing a small part of their revenues and they have received small grants from private foundations over the years, "mostly in the $5,000 to $15,000 range" says board member and church leader, Mr. Harold.

The organization has never received government funding, though they applied for Empowerment Zone funds when planning to build their youth center in the late 1990s. Mr. Mays' salary and all programs have been supported through the YA budget and he proudly proclaimed he has never had to miss a paycheck since starting Youth Alliance, which was not the case when he worked for a para church organization that explicated 15% of monies he raised from private donations from family, friends, and a small network of personal connections. The organization would take out the 15% administration fee whether he raised enough to cover costs for both the fees and a paycheck or not, often causing him to not receive pay.

In 2009 YA reported revenues of 139,739, which is very small in comparison to those of LD, TTS, and F3. Mr. Mays and Mr. Ross are making plans to expand both the budget and programs to make a bigger impact on their changing target area. These funds are expected to come as a result of Mr. Ross' position as director alongside Mr. Mays. Mr. Ross as a white suburbanite comes to Youth Alliance with access to different people,

information, and resources that have not been available to Youth Alliance before. Months

after Mr. Ross became the co-director, he had made connections with a foundation that

provided YA with financial support by the end of the year. Both men discussed the intent

to pursue funding sources that they believe have been unavailable to YA strictly because

of racial discrimination. The partnership is being used as sort of an experiment to see if

having white leadership actually influences fundraising and support in organizations led

by African Americans. Mr. Ross has said that whites have said behind closed doors that

they do not trust African Americans as they do whites with their funds. This is suspected

by the African American leadership because they generally receive fewer dollars than

white organizations. Mr. Mays during his interview said "whites seem a little more

interested in putting [funds] in the hands of white-led entities, white-led organizations

that are doing the very same things that we're doing…" Based on these beliefs, the two

are testing their experiences and theories by working together and using Mr. Ross' *white

privilege*[1] and white face to see if they will be able to increase their funds for the

organization. Since Mr. Ross has been co-director (2011), he has made connections with

foundations and organizations on behalf of Youth Alliance and the organization received

a donation of over $50,000 donation from a new foundation at the end of 2011.

<div align="center">Family Focus Forum</div>

The youngest of the four organizations was started in 1991 and has grown into a

major behavioral health and counseling resource for the community. Family Focus Forum

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[1] White privilege can be understood as the various opportunities, advantages, freedoms and licenses that whites have that are mostly denied to people of color (Feagin 2000; Rothenberg2002; Doane and Bonilla-Silva 2003). White privilege is based in white studies, which examine the invisibility, prevalence, and persistence of racism from the perspective of invisible whitenesss rather than focusing on minority groups.

(F3) provides individual, family, couple, and DCFS (Illinois Department of Children and Family Services) counseling services for North Lawndale and surrounding areas. F3 educates their clients on the importance of mental health and wellness issues as well as developing and maintaining healthy relationships. Mental health has historically been taboo among African Americans (Falik, Needleman, Wells, and Korb 2001), and as a result, black clients often come to them with varying expectations and fears.

Mission

Concerned about the persistence and growing numbers of community children who were not performing at grade level, Rev. Perry, a resident minister and his wife began tutoring neighborhood children in their home after school. As they became acquainted with and knowledgeable about the home situations of the children they tutored, they realized the needs of the children went beyond their reading disabilities. They began working with the parents and family members on issues of anger management, coping with grief and trauma, and childrearing, to strengthen the family unit. This sparked the beginning of the organization.

Counseling remains the largest part of F3's service provision and funding from DCFS continues to be their major form of funding. They have added other programs since their inception that include abstinence education and healthy relationship seminars in Cook County Correctional facilities, juvenile correction facilities as well as neighboring Chicago public schools.

Therapists at F3 understand that part of their role is to educate and de-stigmatize counseling and mental health and mental health services for their clients. They also teach

their clients about the importance of being mentally healthy. Several people are not aware that good mental health is as important to overall good health as a physically healthy body. Factors that impact overall good health are also important to overall good mental health such as a balanced diet, exercise, living a stress free lifestyle, etc. The services at F3 are designed to encourage and assist clients in building stability in their families and lives so that they can be productive citizens of the community and society.

Structure

F3's top leadership positions are CEO and Director of Counseling Services. The CEO is directly responsible to the board of directors, and is in the process of recruiting new members. The organization has a small staff of six full-time counselors, one full-time community liaison/maintenance person, one part-time community educator, and three unpaid part-time interns. There are two white and four Latino counselors and the organization's client population consists of 60 percent Latino, 40 percent African American and a very small percentage of white clients.

F3 is assigned a large number of cases from the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services (DCFS), which is currently their largest source of funding. The interns, who are not licensed or qualified to take DCFS cases, are assigned non DCFS cases. This serves two purposes for the organization; (1) they gain counselors to service the privately insured and uninsured cases, and (2) it frees up the credentialed counselors to service the DCFS cases, ensuring they meet their quotas as mandated by the state. Interns have come from surrounding universities such as Loyola University Chicago, University of Illinois

at Chicago (UIC), DePaul University and Roosevelt University and fill a distinctive role at F3.

Jose Rios, Director of Counseling Services is careful to choose interns that fit the culture and goals of the organization as well as the client population. Student interns, though not paid, gain valuable experience and knowledge in their field and have the opportunity to provide services for a population that need their expertise and knowledge. The original founder, a minister and licensed clinical social worker envisioned an organization where community residents could come and receive quality counseling and other mental health services that matched any high paid services provided by therapists in private practices or in downtown offices.

Funding

In 2009 F3's revenues were reported at $215,618, which is small in comparison to LD and TTS, but larger than YA's budget. F3 has experienced economic trials since 2010 when a five year, 3.5 million dollar grant supporting abstinence education was rescinded in the second year, leaving the organization scrambling to replace the lost monies. When they received the funding, the then CEO hired five staff persons to run the programs. They acquired the building next door, and purchased supplies. Upon losing the funding, all of the hired employees were let go and the organization is trying to maintain the space they acquired. Nearly two years later, F3 is still trying to recover from this loss. Shortly before this study began, F3 had their annual fundraiser, which was not as successful as they hoped. Other fundraisers are conducted as well as modest fees that are charged on a

sliding scale to raise necessary funds to maintain their programs. The organization also solicits funds from foundations and other sources of private and public funding sources.

F3 has maintained an open door policy, which means they do not turn away people that come to them for assistance, regardless of their inability to pay. Because of this, they have had to solicit funds from foundations and various other sources that are willing to pay for *counseling slots* for individuals and families unable to pay. This has posed a bigger challenge for the organization because, as former CEO, Alice Parson disclosed, "a lot of the foundations do not provide grant monies for mental health…they determined that it is very difficult to track change." Not being able to track change is problematic for funders because they expect that their dollars are making a difference in society as determined by measurable outcomes of change. Ms. Parson explained:

> what we do is counseling, that is what we do…we do those things [workshops and seminars] sort of as an ancillary service, but what we offer, our key deliverable is therapy and finding funding that will support that key deliverable, as we say is very, very challenging.

Not being able to have your "key deliverable" funded presents a problem for this organization which is in high demand, yet with low support.

While CEO of the organization, one of Ms Parson's main responsibilities was fundraising. As a professional grant writer, she brought the knowledge and experience of writing grants, knowing how to network, and confidence to pursue significant sources of funding for the organization. Grant writing is not one of F3's current CEO's Annette Tonnes' strong points, and acquiring funding has been a difficult task for her. She notes that the challenge has been overwhelming at times, but she is determined to recover those

lost funds and reestablishing the abstinence program; one that she strongly believes in. In the meantime, F3 has had to add other services such as workshops on strengthening families, preventing teen pregnancies and seminars on healthy relationships and marriages and developing healthy behavioral habits to supplement their budget.

Organization of the Chapters

This study examines how community-based organizations survive and navigate change that takes place in the communities where they are located. The organizations in this study have dedicated and experienced staff that provide services for North Lawndale and surrounding communities. Chapter two reviews relevant literature and includes theoretical overviews of organizational, social capital, and social isolation theories. In Chapter Three, I explain the research questions, methods of data collection and more details on the organizations and data collection practices of each organization. Chapter Four details how the organizations perceived and understood the changes that had taken place in the community. The sections include what they perceived the political, economic and social changes to be and a general overview of how they were categorized. Chapter Five includes detailed analysis of the processes used by the organizations to address the changes outlined in Chapter four. Chapter Six is the conclusion and attempts to address the title questions: are the organizations forced to change or are they changing forces in their community.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is divided into a number of sections. The first section defines pertinent terms used in the study for clarification. The next section outlines nonprofit organizations and faith-based organizations, describing differences between them. Next a section discussing organizational theory situates this study within that literature through modern organization theory. The following sections discuss social isolation and social capital theory and their relevance to this study of nonprofit organizations in a racialized space. Finally, the conclusion ends the chapter with a summary of the various theories and the direction of the following chapters.

Defining Terms

Important to any work is the defining and clarification of important terms used. The following pages explain my use of the terms nonprofit community-based organizations, leadership, change, the organization's environment, and the interchangeability of neighborhood and community in the study.

Nonprofit Community-Based Organizations

Nonprofit community-based organizations are private organizations located within a geographic space that have been established and organized around the human service needs and interests of the residents of that space or community (adapted from

Nyden, Benefield, and Helwig 2005; and Marwell 2004). These organizations are locally

based and focused on their immediate community[2], though they may have, over time

grown to include surrounding communities or various other sections of the city. The

nonprofit organizations in this study were chosen because they do not have parent

organizations outside of the community. This restriction was important because I wanted

to be assured that the organizations would not have access to a larger, more connected or

resourced organization that could possibly provide financial or other support as they

experienced change. It was important that any pressure placed or asserted on the

organization's leadership and/or employees would be handled by that particular

organization and its staff as one of the interests of this study is to learn how they acquire

capital and resources and assess their situations to make informed and practical decisions.

<div align="center">Leadership</div>

The leadership of the organizations is defined as those in top positions of

authority holding titles of CEO, executive director, director, program director, or in some

instances, the chairman of the board. Other positions of leadership, such as assistant

director and program manager are considered to be positions of authority, though they are

not top leadership, because of their positions within the organization. Employees are any

workers that hold other positions within the organization, including volunteers, though I

did not encounter any volunteers in any of the organizations during my observation, data

collecting, and interviewing.

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[2] Chicago is divided into 77 "community areas." These range in population size from 30,000 to 70,000. Consequently this range is often seen as the size of a Chicago "community."

Change

Next, the concept of community change, as it applies to this study, are those situations and occurrences that cause any types of adjustment or transformation for the community. This definition was adapted from studies in sociology and organization literature that focus on change to nonprofit organizations in some capacity (Chambre 1995; Poole and Colby 2002; Alexander 2000; Silverman 2002). Change can be caused by demographic shifts, policy initiatives, community development, funding increases or decreases, and many other sources both inside and outside of the organization and the community. Change can impact the organization's employees, mission, purpose, clientele, resources, and environment in part or as a whole.

Several organization scholars argue that organizations should expect change because they are dependent on unstable environments. Their dependence on the environment makes preparation for change difficult because of the unpredictability of the environment. For instance, Susan Chambre (1995) studied the social and cultural changes taking place with nonprofit community organizations and the homosexual community as the HIV/AIDS epidemic swelled in New York City. She examined the impact of those changes on the nonprofit sector as new services became necessary, noting, in particular how the social services and nonprofit serving organizations were being developed for that population. Nonprofit grassroots organizations were particularly interested in offering support, advocacy, and assistance for those dying from the disease, and working with family members, especially children of those afflicted with the condition. Nonprofit "third-party government" agencies were less interested in the personal lives of the

individual HIV/AIDS victims and more interested in addressing a public health crisis. Chambre's findings revealed that new nonprofit organizations were started in response to the various changes and there was a need for both. Grassroots organizations were needed to provide the "soft services" that focus on personal and familial needs while government funded organizations were necessary to address preventive measures while searching for a cure. This study emphasized the need for both grassroots nonprofits and government funded organizations to address matters of social and cultural change. It also showed how changes in the environment can occur suddenly making it nearly impossible to prepare for them.

While change is inevitable, it does not mean that it is always negative or impractical. According to Burke (2008), change can spark creativity for organizations; creativity that can be used to make things better. During times of uncertainty or instability, people (leadership, employees, community advocates, and clients) associated with nonprofits can become catalysts of positive change by offering alternative ways of thinking about problems and doing things in ways that incite changes that lead the organization to perform more effectively in the community.

For this study, change, more specifically refers to economic, political, and social alterations, transformations and adjustments that have taken place in past and recent years in the North Lawndale community. Several changes such as upgrades to old and outdated modes of transportation, increased funding for community projects, spikes in criminal assaults, violence and murders, population loss, increases in white and Latino residents, infrastructure rebuilding, new and rehabbed properties and others have taken place in the

community since the late 1990s. These changes, though emanating from different facets of the organization's environment, have differing effects on those involved. For instance, while the lagging economy has affected each of the four organizations in this study, only two of the four reported losing programs and funding specifically because of it. One of the organizations reported not having any program changes, and one added a program because of the economic crisis. The two organizations that lost programs were suddenly thrust in positions where they had to scramble to replace both the funding and programs in order to avoid increased financial decline.

<div align="center">Environment</div>

The organization's environment- the social, economic, and political influences that are outside of its physical boundaries- is dynamic. If the organization's environment is unstable, it can cause instability and uncertainty within the organization itself, because of their interdependence (Hatch 1997; Pfeffer and Salancik 2003; Alexander 2000; Burke 2008). The environment consists of any entity or influence that affects the organization including suppliers, customers, funders, other organizations and businesses, technology, products and markets, the government and other regulatory agencies, and global influences that contribute to the shrinking distances between countries and cultures (Drucker 1980, 1995; Gillespie, Mileti, and Perry 1976;). In short, basically anything that could affect the organization's structure, productivity, production, and maintenance can be considered a part of its environment.

Organizations are in constant interaction with their environments in some capacity, and these interactions can be quite involved or just casual. In some cases

organizations can exert limited control or influence over their environment; in other cases the organization may have little influence. According to Mary Jo Hatch (1997: 65) "Interactions between organizations and their environment is a complex web or network of relationships embedded within a group". These interactions, like the environments themselves are also dynamic and can be unstable in that they can result in negative or positive outcomes.

Neighborhood/Community

At times, the terms neighborhood and community are used interchangeably in this analysis. This is due to the use of the terms by the participants, and my attempt to be true to how they reference their community. Both terms are used in sociological literature, though in recent years community has been employed more frequently, especially since the term "community-development" became common during the late 1990s. One prominent sociologist in particular, Mario L. Small (2002, 2006, and 2009) unwaveringly uses the term neighborhood in his studies.

Nonprofit/For-Profit Organizations

One of the differences between for-profit organizations and nonprofit organizations is that for-profit organizations are said to be led by management and driven by profit, while nonprofit organizations are led by their mission statement or their "invisible leader" (Burke 2008; Drucker 1990). The term invisible leader refers to the purpose or mission of the organization according to Warner Burke (2008) who noted that faith in the purpose or mission of nonprofit organizations ranks high on "member's hierarchy of needs", whereas money is not a major priority on that hierarchy (2008:xii).

The mission provides for "simple, clear, and direct" goal setting and guidance for the organization (Drucker 1990b: 3). People working for nonprofit organizations are motivated through serving the purpose or mission of the organization rather than making lots of money. Several respondents in this study reported making little money, but loving what they do, what the organization represents, and the impact they make in people's lives. Profits amassed by for-profit organizations are distributed to investors as dividends whereas restrictions are placed upon nonprofit organizations as to what they can do with any profits they acquire. Nevertheless nonprofits still need revenue flows to sustain their operations.

Drucker (1990) and Cousins (1987) referred to nonprofit organizations as the *third sector* because they are not government entities nor are they necessarily business entities. The third sector consists of organizations functioning, at their core, to provide services for those populations in society who had been overlooked or neglected. Jennifer Wolch (1990) described nonprofits as *shadow states,* based on their ability to access government funding while operating largely outside of the political system. Nonprofits, though not directly governmental organizations, can contract with the government, often for the disbursement of necessary services. This partnership or collaborative relationship makes them subject to the controls of the state and branches of government with whom they contract, without all of the bureaucratic control of those entities. Increasingly, Wolch noted, nonprofits have come to rely on government contracts for a larger portion of their operations, often exceeding 75% of their budgets.

Although nonprofit organizations rely on revenues from other organizations and foundations to support their work (Gronbjerg 2001), they are not in business to make profits. This is demonstrated by the number of organizations that offer services for low or no cost to their clients and their dependence on government grants, private foundations, businesses, and individuals to support them. This is both restricting and sometimes difficult as these organizations, which are led by their missions and purpose statements, are beholden to these external funding and philanthropic forces that place certain requirements or restrictions on them. Such restrictions sometimes force the organizations to follow grant dollars rather than remaining true to their missions. This has led some organizations to compromise, reasoning that serving their constituents in a somewhat different capacity than initially purposed is better than not serving these community members at all due to lack of funding (Austin 2003, Salamon 2003).

Nonprofit organizations are also referred to as the *voluntary sector* because of the large numbers of volunteers working for them. According to Peter Drucker (1990b: xiii) "Every second American adult serves as a volunteer and spends about 3 hours per week in non-profit work. This makes nonprofits America's largest employer." These volunteers perform a variety of tasks such as in hospitals, day care centers, community centers and certain political organizations. Volunteers are involved for a number of reasons, for example to fulfill personal feelings of self gratification for having participated in assisting or helping others (Popielarz 2007) or reinforce the belief that they are innately good (Drucker 1990b).

The nonprofit sector is comprised of organizations interested in changing people (Drucker 1990). As agents of change, nonprofit organizations often focus on the outcasts of society, those considered problematic, and troublesome (Drucker 1990a; McKnight and Kretzman 1996; Halpern 1995a; Maurrasse 2006). The nonprofit sector includes hospitals, museums, schools, institutions, and government- assisted welfare agencies that offer a number of services to effect change in society through changing people in society. Hospitals seek to change people's health conditions; museums and orchestras acculturate people, schools take uneducated students and educates them, and social service organizations change the lives of low-income and poor clients by providing the necessary information, resources, and services to make them self-sufficient (Drucker 1990b; Small 2006, 2009; Maurrasse 2006; Marwell 2007). They are also "binding threads" of America's social fabric, filling in the gaps left open by the private and public sector (Simon and Donovan 2001).

Nonprofit organizations are a specific type of organization that is set apart by their not-for-profit status. This means that the organization is registered with the Internal Revenue Service as an organization that serves the public, is governed by its membership, and the organization's financial records are public information (Alther 2007: 91).

Another difference between for-profit organizations and nonprofits is that for-profit organizations are said to be led by management and driven by profit, while nonprofit organizations are led by their mission statement and leadership who strongly adhere to the mission of the organization. These differences may prove to be significant

during times of uncertainty caused by external or internal change to the organizations when difficult decisions, such as ones that may pit the survival of the organization against that of the community, encroach upon the organization.

Marwell and McInerney (2005) provides an example of how nonprofit and for-profit organizations operate in the housing market, showing very different foci and outcomes. Nonprofit community development corporations[3] were created at the grassroots level to address housing problems and community decline. Conversely, genrtification[4] was the for-profit response to community decline, which takes advantage of a "customer base that can afford to pay profit-making prices for its products" (Marwell and McInerney 2005:16). Though the two types of organizations exist within the same community areas, referred to as stratified markets, they do not operate in the same way. CBOs attempt to address housing problems through humanitarian means, while for-profit organizations are interested in developing areas for profits (Marwell and McInerney 2005:23). Although nonprofit and for-profit organizations sometimes operate within the same market, this is not the norm. Generally one or the other exists. This is not necessarily the case for nonprofit and faith-based organizations which can and do exist in the same markets. Many faith-based organizations actually perform the same or similar

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[3] Community development corporations were established to address "failed 'urban renewal' and 'Model Cities' approaches to urban redevelopment in the 1950s and 1960s" (Marwell and McInerney 2005:13). These nonprofit organizations successfully produced thousands of affordable housing units in low-income communities during the 1980s, overshadowing federal housing programs during that period.

[4] Gentrification is most widely understood as the process whereby blighted neighborhoods are taken over, mostly by wealthy whites and the indigenous population is displaced. The term originated in the UK and is attributed to a social scientist named Ruth Glass.

functions in communities as other nonprofits. The next section discusses differences between faith-based and nonprofit organizations.

<div align="center">Nonprofit Organizations versus Faith-Based Organizations</div>

> It's also important to strengthen our communities by unleashing the compassion of America's religious institutions. Religious charities of every creed are doing some of the most vital work in our country: mentoring children, feeding the hungry, taking the hand of the lonely. Yet Government has often denied social service grants and contracts to these groups, just because they have a cross or a Star of David or a crescent on the wall.[5]

Many churches were responsible for starting nonprofit organizations as major community stakeholders. After some time these organizations became recognized by the government as worthy to compete for funding received by for-profit and non religious nonprofits. Labeled as faith-based, these organizations were both appreciated and despised by non faith-based organizations and for-profit organizations.

Faith-based organizations' relationship with the government, though introduced during the Clinton administration became significant in the nonprofit industry during the Bush administration (Stritt 2009). Perhaps a major difference between NPOs and other FPFs (for profit firms) and other private organizations is how surplus funds are appropriated by the controlling individuals. Nonprofit organizations are in business to provide services limiting the amount of "pocketing profits" of company executives (Ben-Ner and Gui, 2003:5).

Those nonprofit organizations affiliated with churches or religious organizations are referred to as faith-based organizations. These organizations tend to express their

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[5] President George W. Bush State of the Union Address, January 20, 2004. Visited 10/19/2009. http://millercenter.org/scripps/archive/speeches/detail/4542

faith in how they deliver services, which is assumed to be directly connected to their effectiveness as social service organizations (Smith and Sosin 2001). These organizations are reportedly loyal to their communities and churches with whom they are affiliated and believed to persevere in communities during the most severe changes and neighborhood decline (Wolport 1997; Cnaan, Bodie, Handy, Yancey, and Schneider. 2002).

One of the critiques of churches providing social services either directly or indirectly through a nonprofit organization is that they are believed to blur the lines between church and state. This debate continues, though George W. Bush, while president, made a statement endorsing faith based nonprofit organizations and legitimately entitled then to compete for government funding. Faith-based organizations have been under fire by for-profit and non faith-based nonprofit organizations with accusations such as breaching the church/state separation, proselytizing in order to obtain services, and pushing religious beliefs onto clients who are merely looking for services and not interested in religious rhetoric or conversion. Faith-based organizations are particularly appealing and lauded by policy makers, church leadership, and proponents of victim blaming because of their demand for "thrift, individual responsibility, less government, responsiveness, and flexibility in the provision of services" (Smith and Sosin 2001: 651), placing significant personal responsibility on the clients for their own success and well-being.

Nonprofit Community-Based Social Service Organizations

Nyden et al (2005) define a community-based organization (CBO) as a private, non-profit organization that demonstrates effectiveness in representing interests of a

community (or significant segments of a community) or provides services to members of that specific community" (2005: iv). For decades social scientists have studied the roles, effectiveness, and capacity of community-based organizations noting their strengths, weaknesses, and abilities to provide services for their clients and communities during economic, political, and social changes (Gillespie, Mileti, and Perry 1976; Kahn 1979; Salmon 1994; Alexander 2000; Poole and Colby 2002; Pfeffer and Salancik 2003; Marwell 2004; Small 2006, 2009; Cnaan et al 2002; Reed 2008). Within these economic and political systems outside the organization, threatening situations can arise without warning that affect the stability of organizations beyond the control of the leadership. Poole and Colby (2002) studied the capacity of public neighborhood centers (PNC) in Orange County, Florida to take on the extra tasks of development, planning and social action as they experienced an influx of immigrants. They found that fewer than half of the 45 centers depending on state and county funding were actually in a position to take on any of the expected required tasks. Poole and Colby demonstrated how community nonprofits can suddenly be called upon by outside forces in its environment to fulfill tasks that affect their changing communities and organizations in significant ways. Though it would be in the best interest of the organizations to be prepared for such changes, it is not always possible to know what political, economic and social shifts or changes will produce for them or their service populations.

Jennifer Alexander (2000) used focus groups to study adaptation strategies of nonprofit human service organizations in Cleveland, Ohio as devolution and political transformation during the Reagan era caused changes in the city. She concluded that

though change was nothing new to the 48 participating organizations, the changes caused by Reaganomics and resulting policy shifts forced the "businessification" (more business-like practices) to be adopted by nonprofit organizations. Those practices created financial burdens for the organizations because they did not have the staff or funding to make those adjustments towards this new management model. Again, this example shows the vulnerability of nonprofit community-based social service organizations to their environments.

The four nonprofit community-based organizations in this study are also experiencing a time of change. Although they have been around since the 1970s and 1980s, they reported experiencing some of the most difficult times of their existence since 2008 due to the economic downturn, which has caused major difficulties in making payroll, adequately maintaining services, and retaining employees. Although the above studies provide empirical evidence showing how organizations navigate, negotiate, and function in their highly dynamic and sometimes unstable environments, few have addressed the processes and practices utilized by the leadership and employees, and how they obtain and utilize information, capital, and other resources to make decisions during times of change. This study addresses this important deficit in scholarship with the goal of creating dialogue in social science literature addressing this subject.

Social Isolation Theory

The social isolation of African Americans living in America's ghettos was first theorized by William Julius Wilson (1987). Wilson argued that segregation causes low-income and poor African Americans to live in resource poor communities that were

secluded from wider society. He argues that middle-class African American role models left the traditional African American communities when Civil Rights Movement battles opened up previously segregated white communities which now accepted African Americans. This resulted in wealthier blacks moving out and leaving poorer ones behind. The poorer African Americans, left without working and middle-class role models, created and adopted a culture of poverty that included deviant, violent, and miscreant behavior and speech patterns. These African Americans, were relegated to ghettos, separated and isolated from mainstream society, and confined to racialized spaces.[6]

Since Wilson's pivotal work, several social scientists have challenged his theory of the culture of poverty (Anderson 1999; Massey and Denton 1993; Feagin 1999; Small 2002; 2006; Young 2003), though most agree with the concept of social isolation of the African American people. Anderson's (1999) study of black street life in Philadelphia outlined three categories of African Americans labeled as decent, street, and ghetto. Blacks in his study used these labels to describe themselves and other African Americans in terms of adopted behaviors resulting from living in ghetto conditions instead of a "culture" that had been adopted by all blacks living there. The labels were indications of experiencing isolation from more socially acceptable actions and behaviors exhibited in wider society rather than being based on a culture of poverty adopted by African Americans as a group.

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[6] Racialized spaces (Calmore 1995) are characterized as geographic bounded areas that are inhabited by one racial group and externally controlled by racialized politics, racially charged conflicts, and views of the inhabiting racial group that reflect stigmas and other racially charged ideology. In this case, the space is North Lawndale that is controlled by white politics, and conflicts with white racial ideology and white controlled institutions and systems that perpetuate white privilege and control.

Alford Young's (2003) study of African American young men further explained the extensiveness and patterns of social isolation and concentration through an ethnographic analysis of their "experiences, obstacles, barriers, and facilitators" for mobility and life advancement. He found that the men in his study made sense of their world and determined how and to what extent they are able to effectively move about in society based on the levels of social isolation, concentration of isolation, and social engagement with various aspects of society (2003: 1083-1084). He determined it was not, as Wilson (1987) asserted, a culture of poverty that was developed, but rather the deprivation of information, resources, and institutions that influenced and caused them to act, think, and behave in ways that were socially unacceptable (Young 2003). Again, this shows the adaptation of ghettoized behaviors as resulting from social isolation and not from an alternative culture adapted and perpetuated through generations. Several ghetto dwelling African Americans have shown themselves to be able to adapt to mainstream society without difficulty and engage in "code switching[7]" in order to successfully navigate between both worlds (DeBose 1992; Koch, Gross, and Kolts 2001; Shepherd 2011). Such patterns of adaptation continue to show the inaccuracy of Wilson's assertion of a culture of poverty.

Community-based social service organizations are often links between poor and low-income African Americans and outside resources (Marwell 2004, 2007; Maurrasse

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[7] Code switching is identified as the practice of minorities using both Black English (BE) and Standard English (SE) forms of language in order to navigate through society. The studies have been mostly in English and language studies, but code switching is also used on jobs, in social settings, and other professional settings.

2006; Small 2009; Pattillo 2006). Many of the founders and leaders of these organizations have been raised in black ghettos, yet have been able to move beyond the inhibiting influences of social isolation and make connections outside of their communities and build bridges for other residents. This study provides a lens through which we can peer into the everyday experiences of the leadership and personnel of four community-based organizations to understand how information is obtained, understood and processed to make decisions that keep the organization relevant in the community. Many have attempted to gain access to people, information, and resources outside of the community, referred to as social capital, which is explained in the next section.

Social Capital Theory

Robert Putnam (2000), one of America's authorities on social capital theory is often associated with coining the term, but traces its origin back to the 1916 writing of one of West Virginia's political figures and educational reformers, Lyda. J. Hanifan who stressed the importance of collective community involvement in the sustenance and maintenance of local schools (Putnam 2000:19). For Putnam, social capital refers to the networks that provide necessary emotional, physical and social needs of both individuals and organizations, as well as the associated "norms of reciprocity" that define the guidelines or responsibilities of the various actors within exchange relationships. *Bowling Alone* discusses two norms of reciprocity, general and specific. Specific reciprocity conveys an expectant approach that anticipates something in return for favorable acts; i.e. I will do this if you return the favor. General reciprocity has no reciprocal expectations, but maintains an I-will-do-this- even- if- you- do- not- return -the -favor, stance (Putnam

2000: 20-21). Years later, Putnam and Feldstein (2003) built on their norms of reciprocity theory adding "mutual assistance" and "trustworthiness" to stress the occurrence of in-depth interaction between actors in exchange relationships (Putnam and Feldstein 2003: 2). Both mutual assistance and trustworthiness continue to be used as key components in defining various forms of capital (Silverman 2001, 2002; Light 2004; Small 2002; 2009).

Pierre Bourdieu (1986), a French social scientist and one of the leading proponents of social capital theory identified three forms of capital to explain the "structure and functioning of the social world"; cultural, social, and economic capital (1986:46). He described capital as needing time to accumulate, having the potential to produce profits and to reproduce itself in similar or identical form, and as "a force inscribed on the objectivity of things so that everything is not equally possible or impossible" (1986:46). All forms of capital can be cultivated and improved upon both symbolically and practically, which when combined with other forms of capital potentially increase the holder's status, influence, and possibility to obtain other forms of capital.

Social capital, as defined by Robert Silverman (2002:152) is structures composed of "networks, norms, and mutual trust" that affects society in a positive or negative manner by facilitating coordination and cooperation." Trust is a necessary part of building capital and is included in most of the definitions, but trust is not easy to come by nor is it easy to maintain (Putnam 2000; Silverman 2002, 2004; Light 2004; Small 2002). Jo Ann Schneider said that trust can grow to become "ties" (Granovetter 1973) which are predicated on interactions that form "reciprocal, enforceable, and durable" connections or

links to resources through relationship building (Schneider 2009: 647). Not everyone

involved in these relationships profit from them equally, and gaining the most benefit is

often based on the strength of the relationship (Bourdieu 1986; Schneider 2009;

Silverman 2002). Again, trust is identified as a key component in the relationships along

with networks, as stressed by Granovetter's (1973) seminal piece on the significance of

weak ties between people and resources.

Ivan Light (2004) defined social capital as "relationships of trust embedded in

social networks" noting the significance of relationships to the networks or ties necessary

in processes of bonding and bridging of capital (Putnam 2000: 22-23). Light (2004)

identified five forms of capital, (essentially breaking down two of Bourdieu's (1986)

categories of capital), and described each as a tool for acquiring or building other forms

of capital; financial, physical, human, cultural, and social. Capital does not always come

in the form of economic assets, but can be in the form of knowledge, equipment,

education and other connections that provide opportunities for involvement or

engagement otherwise out of reach.

Social capital literature was extended to include organizations through the work

of Silverman (2004), Wallace (2004), and Schneider (2001, 2006, and 2009). Schneider

defined organizational social capital as "established trust based networks among

organizations and communities," and resources that nonprofits utilize to further their

goals (2009: 644). For Schneider, organizational social capital "exists independently from

the people involved and based on that organization's history and reputation" (Schneider

2009: 644). In essence, Schneider assigns personality to organizations, giving them a life

outside of and apart from those who make up the organization, as if the organizations themselves are capable of accomplishing anything without the people who make them up.

Organizational Theory

Modern organization theorists, those most relevant to this work, hold that organizations are dependent on their environment which consists of external and internal entities, influences, and components that impact the organizations' existence, productivity, and ability to conduct business (Hatch 1997; Drucker1995).

Paul Adler (2009:6) suggested that we live in a society dominated by organizations and institutions. From larger organizations such as hospitals and universities to the smaller neighborhood organizations and institutions offering child care and health youth and family services, we are associated with organizations in some way. Defined as larger secondary groups formed for specific tasks with "*complex patterns of communication and relationships",* organizations are believed to be the best means of accomplishing group goals (Simon 1976: xvii). Max Weber, considered one of the fathers of sociology believed that organizations, and in particular *bureaucratic* organizations were the most efficient means of accomplishing those goals (Weber 1978; Schaefer 2000; Alter 2007; Kimmel and Anderson 2009).

The working class, low-income and poor populations have needs to acquire information, build relationships, increase forms of capital and participate in activities that enhance their personal lives just as others. Organizations that serve this population offer services, resources, and information that assist them during difficult times when help is needed to make ends meet. These organizations also provide training for employment,

housing assistance, child or family care, emergency shelter, or to link them with other agencies or organizations that can provide those things. These organizations offer *ties* to caring people who make them feel valuable and appreciated as well as meeting their needs. They tend to be not-for-profit organizations, often established by community residents, and supported by personal or private funding sources outside of the community.

In North Lawndale a number of nonprofit organizations exist to support the needs of its high-poverty population. Most of these organizations were started by caring residents or individuals with ties to the community who witnessed the lack of certain necessities and decided to make a difference. A number of these organizations began during the war on poverty years and have withstood several periods of testing due to changing economies, civil and social unrest and the like, while continuing to be fundamental entities in their community. Similar to Hull House, the nonprofit community-based organizations in this study offer services that lend support to the poorer families of the community and require a lot of financial support and assistance to do what they do.

<center>Modern Organizational Theory</center>

Modern organization theorists originally initiated claims that organizations have external environments that play a significant part in their existence and success. Organizations do not operate in a vacuum but are part of a complex network of individuals, institutions, businesses, systems and governments that constitute their environment (Hatch 1997). The environment is both dynamic and unstable, causing

problems as well as presenting opportunities for the accomplishment of goals (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978; Scott 1981; Barley and Kunda 2001; Ben-Ner and Gui 2003; DiMaggio and Powell 1983). According to Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) organizations are "inescapably bound up with the conditions of their environment" for both its success and failures. They believe that organizations have significant ability to impact, influence, and alter their environments. This factor sets them apart from other modern theories such as contingency and ecology.

In the modernist view, the organizations' environment can create unstable conditions and situations for the organization without warning due to their interdependence (Hatch 1997; DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Poole and Colby 200). There are three modern organization theories that explain varying levels of interaction and interconnectivity between organizations and their external environments; contingency theory, resource dependence theory, and organizational ecology theory (Parsons 1956; Hannan and Freeman 1977; Pfeffer and Salancik 1978; DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Scott 1981, 2004; Marwell 2007; Burke 2008; Whetten 2009).

<div align="center">Contingency Theory</div>

Contingency theorists argue that an organization's capacity for survival is contingent upon their willingness or ability to conform to the rules, belief systems, and complex conditions of their environments. Studies of contingency theory mostly included mechanistic organizations that depended on the environment for resources, labor, operative structuring and stability. Theorists in this category believe that the external

environment has a great amount of control over the organizations, and organizations have little opportunity to effectively exert their will against it (Hatch 1997:77).

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) studied why and how organizations become similar, rather than different, finding that processes of "bureaucratization" and "rationalization" practiced within the environment coupled with "structuration" in the development of organizational fields caused organizations to adopt properties that made them similar; what they termed isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell 1983: 147). This isomorphism was a direct result of pressure from various areas of the environment to conform to practices and rituals of those in the field in order to obtain legitimacy. Legitimacy is an important aspect of an organization's survival in that it assures the organization is deemed desirable to do business with, conforms to regulatory constraints, and complies with the interests of others in the environment.

<div align="center">Resource Dependency Theory</div>

Resource dependency theorists agree with contingency and ecology theorists that organizations are dependent on their environments for resources, survival, and legitimacy, but they contend that organizations can exert influence over and manipulate various factors within the environment for their own needs and purpose. Nicole Marwell's (2007) study showed how community organizations in Brooklyn were able to affect the political climate as well as meet the needs of the community residents through a "triadic exchange" of clients as voters, the elected officials as suppliers of funding and support, and the organization as broker between them. As the middle man, the organizations were able to accomplish their intended goals of supporting the community

residents while amassing support from political figures to do so. This give and take type of exchange is indicative that organizations and their environments are inextricably intertwined and interdependent on each other.

<div align="center">Organization Ecology Theory</div>

Organization ecology theory, adapted from biological theories in physical science, stress the life cycle of organizations as inevitable. Just as organisms progress through life cycles, organization ecology theorists believe that older organizations necessarily die off and new ones take their place. This process is both natural and necessary for the organizations and society to grow in the most resourceful manner and maintain their relevancy. In his study of organizational change W. Warner Burke (2009) noted that although organizations are started with the intent to be continuous and vibrant, they are impacted by internal and external pressures that cause its instability. If these pressures are not effectively addressed they can cause problems for the organization or its demise. Burke acknowledges that death is not inevitable, offering strategies that organizations can adapt to successfully transition during change. However, he also stresses that though organizations make adjustments and changes in response to their environments, death is inevitable for the organization if they do not keep up with the changing sector. This death is merely part of the normal and natural life cycle of the organization which will be replaced by younger, healthier, and more productive organizations that more effectively serve the changing needs of the environment.

Recent research by the author found that organizations are as effective as the people who embody and represent them; in particular the leadership (Rollerson 2007). Her case study focused on two very similar long-term organizations in Bronzeville[8], a high-poverty community located on Chicago's South Side that was experiencing challenges due to gentrification and the Chicago Housing Authority's Plan for Transformation. The Plan for Transformation was established as the means by which Chicago would be able to access HOPE VI funding, which was partly allocated to upgrade public housing. The Plan called for the demolition of several public housing developments to be rebuilt as mixed-income communities where high, middle, and low-income families and individuals would live in the same buildings. Social service organizations from outside of the community were contracted to provide the necessary assistance to help the residents make the smoothest transition as possible. Decisions made by the leadership of two community-based organizations resulted in very different directions for their organizations and their target populations as the community changed. One of the organization leaders decided to maintain the organization's focus on the low-income residents of the community while the other leader thought that focusing on incoming higher income residents would benefit the organization more as gentrification enveloped the community. The research also showed that when organizations change their focus, the educational requirements, demands on employees, and changes to physical structures are expected and required to change as well.

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[8] Bronzeville is one of the few areas where African Americans were allowed to live in Chicago as blacks migrated from the South to the North. Located on Chicago's Southside, Bronzeville is an historic community that housed a number of famous African Americans and Chicago's black elites.

Organizations bear the brunt of negative press and incompetent leadership, employees, and volunteers. An organization's reputation precedes them in the community and funding circles, which are usually based on the competence and proficiency of the staff and leadership. Whether the leaders have access to various forms of information and capital by means of relationships, networking, and resource building is essential to the success of nonprofit organizations. Those connections and ties often determine the extent to which other forms of capital may be acquired. One of the conclusions Silverman (2002:167) drew from his research of faith-based charitable organizations in Jackson, MS was that "the degree to which various forms of social capital are compatible is structured by local history and context."

For the nonprofits participating in this study local history and context were both significant (1) in the development of the organizations, (2) the extent to which they were able to obtain information and resources, and (3) how they were able to make projections for future plans. Older African American leadership and employees that experienced overt forms of racism, the difficulties associated with the Civil Rights Movement (1950s-1960s), and Reaganomics and retrenchment (1980s and 1990s) experienced those periods of history quite differently than white leaders, which has proven to shape to some degree and impact how they have been able to strategize, acquire and amass support for their organizations (Young 2003). The black leaders hold to ideals that racism remains problematic for African Americans and they were more likely to attribute racism to disparities in funding distribution, resource accessibility, and assistance from outside sources, which appeared to sometimes inhibit positive thinking, creativity, projections,

and fortitude to go beyond what was visible. For one white leader, personal accountability of clients and residents was most important, indicating ideological undertones of blaming the victim and personal responsibility without any structural accountability.

Conclusion

It is difficult for change to take place in a community without most every individual, family, institution, business or organization experiencing change in some form as a result. Poor communities and people are more vulnerable to community changes such as indicated by the above mentioned closing of Hull House. This is especially true when the changes involve resource allocation and the loss of resources. Over time, North Lawndale has experienced several changes that lead to racial homogeneity, a lack of resources, business loss, deprivation of amenities, and increased need for social service organizations. This study shows how four service organizations have been able to fulfill their mission while and navigating and negotiating changes in the community between 2000 and 2010.

This study also considers how social capital is both acquired and utilized by leadership and employees of the nonprofits, noting how social capital is wielded by both black and white leadership. In high-poverty communities, many organizations were started by African Americans to address needs that were ignored or unmet in their communities. With little or no outside support, neighbors, community residents, and family members often combined their resources to ensure those needs were met (Gillespie, Mileti, and Perry 1976). At times, concerned whites would offer or provide

assistance, mostly when they knew someone or had connections with someone attempting to make a difference. Such is the case with Lock Down and the Jewish family that accepted Mr. Bradford, the founder as "their boy." The Jewish family that he worked for accepted Mr. Bradford as a "safe" or trustworthy African American and sort of adopted him into their family, allowing him to access into their family, access to privileged information, and legitimacy by the family and their social networks through which he was able to secure the building they use to serve the community.

Churches in the community have also started organizations to address the needs of their congregants and community members. Known as faith-based organizations, they have shown their loyalty both to the community as well as others who come to them for assistance. Black churches have been an integral part of black communities both in the south as well as the north, but especially in northern cities during the Civil Rights Movement (Morris 1984).

Whites coming into African American communities to provide similar or the same types of services brought with them a certain amount of capital from which to draw or they were extended resources and support through previous derived networks; thus allowing white leadership to develop programs, offer services, and amass support that was not available to African Americans. However, this did not hinder African American leaders from pursuing opportunities to continue their support. To the contrary, some organizations, such as Youth Alliance, dedicated to working in a small targeted section of the community and in their own way, have maintained their stance for more than twenty years. Determined to develop leaders of North Lawndale youth, YA leaders and staff

along with others in this study are making a difference in the community through dedicated service provision.

The following chapters discuss how nonprofits and other organizations adjust, adapt to, and react against the social, political, economic, and cultural changes of their environments.

CHAPTER THREE

DATA AND METHODS

This is a qualitative ethnographic study involving field research, face-to-face interviews, and participant observation. The study examines the impact that change in a high-poverty community has on four nonprofit community-based social service organizations. More specifically, this project seeks to understand and explain how economic, political, and social changes taking place in and around the community of North Lawndale affects the decision-making processes, goals, and plans of the leadership and employees.

Chicago is a perfect city for studying social phenomena such as racial, economic, and social differences because of its clearly drawn racial and economic lines by community areas. African Americans are heavily populated on both the West and South sides of the city. The West Side of the city has not fared as well economically and developmentally as the South Side (Sampson 2012) partly because of the assets of the South Side, including Lake Michigan; several historical African American landmarks such as Rainbow Push, the Harold Washington Cultural Center, the Urban League and many established African American churches.

North Lawndale, a West Side community is easily accessible to downtown Chicago via public transportation and historic Route 66 or Ogden Avenue. Also, the community is located between two of Chicago's three major expressways, I-290 and I-55

making it attractive to those commuting from the western suburbs and southern Illinois areas. North Lawndale also has a large number of historic greystone buildings constructed in the early 1900s that add value to the community. These differences are striking, although similar situations exist in both South and West Side African American communities such as the myriad of social maladies that exist there. How do these differences impact nonprofit social service organizations and their ability to serve their communities and acquire resources? When capital and resource acquisition and disbursement are understood in broader contexts of demographic, economic, and social location of groups, further discussions on agency, structure, and institutional systems can be pursued for greater understanding of the persistence of poverty.

During 2000 and 2010, Chicago lost 180,000 African American residents (Hyra 2012) and 5,856 residents were from North Lawndale (see Table 1). This loss of African American population was due, in part to what Hyra (2012) called the "New Urban Renewal"; global, federal, and local developmental forces that converged upon urban areas sparking revitalization, renewal, and progress. According to Hyra, several African Americans were able to take advantage of and profit from the new urban renewal. However, the new urban renewal was also the cause of displacement for several poorer African Americans and low-income families to areas outside of the city limits, sparking a new suburban poverty or "second suburbs" (Hyra 2012:512). The new urban renewal differed from the original urban renewal of the 1940s to 1970s in that African Americans were able to contribute to, gain, and benefit from it, as opposed to being mere victims of the growth machine.

Gentrification, one of the forms of new urban renewal is widely known and understood by the respondents as a form of replacing low-income and poor African Americans with higher income whites. Based on incidents of other communities in Chicago that have undergone the process of gentrification, including the Chicago Housing Authority's version that replaced public housing and residents with mixed-income communities (Venkatesh 1997; Hyra 2008; Pattillo 2007; Tach 2009), a lingering fear of both resident and organizational displacement remained, though the process has been stalled in the community.

Robert Blauner's (1972) *Racial Oppression in America* claims that African American communities are victims of internal colonization and subjected to forces of oppression that inhibit their growth, development, independence, and success. This is true of North Lawndale which has been victimized by systemic racism (Feagin 2006), racial oppression (Blauner 1972), social isolation (Wilson 1987), and concentrated poverty (Wilson 1987). These forces of external oppression have converged on the community and its residents for so long that it is almost imperceptible where the impact of one starts and stops. Before the 1950s, North Lawndale had been a thriving industrial community where several companies such as International Harvester, Western Electric, Brach's and other smaller companies located on the West Side established the area as a major industrial hub. These companies, contributing to the present condition of the community were discriminatory against African American residents on the West Side in communities such as Austin, North Lawndale, and East and West Garfield Park contributing to the growing poverty, unemployment, and homelessness in the area. This made it more

difficult for African Americans to move around in wider society, gain access to all forms of capital, and build wealth for their families. These studies suggest that the role of place has important implications for life chances. An examination of South and West Side nonprofit organizations that addresses the role of place and the differential impact of that variable would further add to our understanding of the role of nonprofits in urban space.

Research and Design

Grounded Theory was employed for this study, which is a methodology that stresses organic discovery and theory development through data analysis rather than logical deductive reasoning based on prior theoretical frameworks, as utilized by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Strauss and Corbin (1990). The use of grounded theory requires the continuous comparison of concepts and gathered data in the analysis of data and frequently asking questions to challenge thought processes for deeper understanding of the subject matter.

Throughout the process of collecting data, coding, analyzing, and writing this dissertation the data has undergone continuous comparison with existing theories and concepts to ensure that any emerging codes, themes and theories were grounded in existing literature as well as the collected data. This technique allows for more intense perception and accounting of what is actually taking place in the field (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbin 1990; and Lincoln and Guba 1985; Patton 1990).

During the coding process, bracketed notes were made in the text of each of the 43 interviews and the time was noted on the recording for reference. After each interview was completely transcribed, the coded sections and their corresponding texts were copied

and pasted into separate MS Word documents and named according to codes. This was done for each interview, yielding sections of data from each interview in one document that corresponded to that specific code. The coded Word documents were then placed in a larger folder labeled Codes. Related codes were sorted into smaller themes that categorized the data in ways that more clearly explained what was taking place in the data. New documents containing themes and surrounding text were treated in the same manner as the codes, which were all placed in a larger folder labeled Themes. While this method created several documents, it was easier to access them and know the context of the themes almost at a glance. Revisiting codes and themes throughout the process of analysis resulted in linking what had been said in interviews with information gleaned during data collection and integrating those forms of data with any new thoughts and concepts being formed.

<div align="center">Sites</div>

Nonprofit community based social service organizations, as defined for this project are private organizations established to represent and meet the human service needs and interests of North Lawndale residents. This definition is adapted from Nyden, Benefield, and Helwig (2005:4) and Marwell (2007). Human services include childcare, family, youth, and health services, and many offer assistance in emergency shelter, food, clothing and other necessities. The organizations in this study offer at least one of these services as a primary service to the community.

To examine the impact of change on community-based nonprofit organizations, information on both the community and organizations was needed. Historical data

allowed for comparison to the current state of the community. Census data, news articles, a visit to the Chicago Historical Museum's Chicago Historical Collection, annual reports, printed organizational materials, and various internet sites were all used to gain understanding of the community, organizations, and the political climate in the community.

The site, North Lawndale was chosen because of the changes I had witnessed since the beginning of the century. Observation of the community began in October of 2009, beginning with canvassing the community both on foot and by car to learn the boundaries and get to know some of the people. This was accomplished by driving to locate the organizations, talking with people on the street or on their porches, and attending community meetings. Two of the most interesting meetings I attended were the informational meeting involving the use of community space for the taping of the Showtime television series *Shameless,* and the meetings on redistricting. Each of the meetings took place in the 10th District Police station and was very sparsely attended. I saw only one leader and one employee from the four organizations in attendance at the community meetings at the police station. My observations and notes from community meetings suggest that organization leaders and employees do not attend community meetings on a regular basis. One other reason the meetings at the police station are sparsely attended may be because of the strained relationship between community residents and the police officers. Several residents accuse the police of harassing blacks in the community unnecessarily, especially youth. This has led to a lack of trust for the police department and attending meetings in a place that represents something negative to

them may potentially be one reason why they do not support meetings at the 10th District

station.

<div align="center">Sample</div>

A purposive sample[9] of four nonprofit community-based organizations was

chosen from an extensive list of 40 human service organizations in the community

(Patton 1990; Lincoln and Guba 1985). The organizations were identified through

canvassing the neighborhood, the internet, and a 2005 study on North Lawndale

nonprofits by Great Cities Institute at the University of Illinois at Chicago (Great Cities

Institute 2005). After eliminating those organizations that were less than 20 years old,

those that dispensed state services only, and those with parent organizations outside of

the community, there were 15 that most closely fit the criteria for this study (Table 3).

Letters of introduction were sent to the leadership of those 15 organizations

explaining the project and informing them that a follow-up phone call or visit to the

organization within one week of the date on the letter would ensue.

Ten of the 15 letters of introduction were personally hand delivered directly to an

administrative assistant or other employee, with only one being placed directly in the

hand of the person in leadership. The other five letters were mailed because there was no

one to leave the letter with or the organization was not open at the time I was making

deliveries.

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[9] A purposive sample is one where subjects are chosen based on common characteristics that categorize them as different or alike in meaningful ways. Lincoln and Guba 1985 notes the usage of the purposive sample and Patton (1990) describes and outlines various types of purposive sampling.

Table 3. Qualifying Organizations

Type of Service	Name of Organization
Youth	SAFE
	Better Boys Foundation
	Youth Alliance
Health	Circle Family Health Care Network
	Take To the Street
Childcare	Carol Robertson
	Marcy Newberry
Family	Family Focus Lawndale
	Healthy Families Chicago
	Prevention Force Family Center
Employment	North Lawndale Employment Network
Housing	Neighborhood Housing Services
Juvenile Justice	Lock Down
Development Corporation	Lawndale Business and Local Development Corporation
Mental/Behavioral Counseling	Family Focus Forum

None of the organizational leaders responded to the letter, which may be because the letter stated I would follow-up with them within a week's time. Follow-up calls resulted in seven of the 15 organizations stating they would not be participating and calling more than once to the other eight organizations finally resulted in three agreeing to speak with me to learn more about the research. During the time I was making the phone calls I also dropped in to see if I could catch any of the leaders and speak with them personally, to no avail. Finally, after three weeks of persistence, one of the co-directors of Youth Alliance (YA) agreed to participate, and the CEO of Family Focus Forum (F3) returned my call and agreed to meet with me for further discussion and gain better understanding of the project.

The administrative assistant of Take To the Street health services called to set up an appointment to verify their participation and relay the rules for conducting the study on site. I continued to pursue a fourth positive response which came one week after the three confirmations. The CEO of Lock Down (LD) agreed to speak with me during a drop in visit to the organization. She expressed interest in the project and was impressed that I wanted to do research in the community, though my personal knowledge of the community was mostly because of attending church there.

The organizations offer a number of human services including youth and childcare, housing assistance, employment information and support, and juvenile justice advocacy. The organizations were chosen based on four criteria:

1) They have provided services in the community for a minimum of 20 years,

2) They addressed a need that most low-income or poor families would have,

3) They are community-based, meaning they do not have a parent organization in another community, and

4) They were founded and/or run by either African American or white leadership.

The first of the four criteria, longevity in the community was important to my research because these organizations would have undergone changes over the years and had to make critical decisions that kept the organization relevant. During times of deregulation, policy adjustments, Reaganomics, and other major economic changes that impacted funding availability for social services, the leadership of these organizations

obviously made some responsible decisions that kept the organizations open and effective enough to continue providing services for the community.

The second criterion of addressing needs of low-income and poor people situates the research within the target population, low-income and poor people and their families, that need the services most. Although low-income and poor people are not the only ones utilizing these types of services, this study is most interested in the needs and services of that particular population and the organizations that provided those services for them.

The third criterion for participation in this study was that the organization be based in the North Lawndale community. Those organizations with either parent organizations or affiliate organizations outside of the community would possibly have options to draw on resources from those sources during change. Without this option, the organizations would have to rely on their own staff, resources, and capital sources during times of economic and other types of stress that causes communities to undergo change.

The final criterion for participation in this study was that the organization be willing to participate. Of the 15 organizations that were either sent a letter or visited, only five responded favorably, but the fifth was not chosen because they responded weeks after the four had been accepted as participants and all pertinent paperwork had been turned in for approval of the project.

Subjects

The leadership, employees, and board members of each organization as well as persons affiliated with the organizations in some capacity such as volunteer or consultant were considered eligible to participate in this study via observation and face-to-face

interviews. The organizational leadership category includes all CEOs, executive directors, program directors, and co-directors of the organizations or any labels or titles that would identify that person as the top leadership within the organization. Employees, holding positions at all levels and board members were also interviewed. A total of nine organizational leaders, five board members, 26 employees, and three individuals affiliated with the organizations or community in some capacity were interviewed (See Table 4).

Table 4: Interview Participants by Position

Respondents	Leaders	Employees	Board Members	Affiliates	Totals
Lock Down	2	10	1	0	13
Take To the Streets	4	5	0	1	10
Youth Alliance	2	5	2	1	11
Family Focus Forum	1	5	2	1	9
Totals	9	26	5	3	**43**

Seventy-nine percent of the interviews (34) were conducted on site at the organization, another 7% (3) were conducted at respondents homes, 7% (3) were conducted at the respondent's place of business, and 5% (2) was conducted at a public place, such as a library and 2% (1) was a telephone interview.

The allotted interviewing areas provided by the organizations were all quiet and private, which I believe contributed to the level of comfort exhibited by respondents. Lock Down provided access to the library/board room, Family Focus Forum provided the board/counseling room, Youth Alliance's youth center and Ministry House were used for interviewing, and Take To the Street provided an empty office space. The office space at TTS was semi-private in that it was enclosed with glass, but the few interviewees that were interviewed there appeared to be relaxed and comfortable though they were easily

visible by coworkers passing by. Table 5 is a chart outlining where interviews were conducted.

Table 5: Place of Interviews

Place of Interview	# Interviews	%
Organization	34	79
Business	3	7
Home	3	7
Public Place	2	5
Phone	1	2
Total	43	100

Interviews were scheduled to last between 45 minutes to one hour, but most went between 10 to 55 minutes longer. The longest running interviews were those in which more than one person was interviewed at a time, which happened only at Lock Down. On three separate occasions, multiple employees were interviewed at their request and for their convenience. The first set, Aaron and Durrell requested to be interviewed together to avoid leaving the youth alone with just one staff person. Aaron also admitted that he was nervous about participating and feared "saying the wrong things."

The second set to be interviewed together, Marvin and Donald were on their way to lunch when I approached them about sitting for an interview. They chose to give up their lunch time and interview because they felt passionate about what was taking place within the organization and the community. This pair, unlike the first pair (Aaron and Durrell) was extremely talkative about their positions, the precarious situation of the young men (ages 14 to 19) in North Lawndale, the juvenile services they are involved in at the organization, and the serious need for funding juvenile programs that offer alternatives to locking up black youth, such as those offered at Lock Down, especially

during these difficult times of lack and need in the community. They corrected and

confirmed stories, added details to clarify technical jargon, and Marvin talked candidly

about his perceptions of the depreciation of the community through the years from a

resident's perspective. They both expressed appreciation for the "opportunity to tell their

side of the story" and participate in the study. Marvin said he was hopeful that this

research would "bring some light to our situation here for real juvenile justice and for

North Lawndale" which he, as a lifelong resident of the community saw as critical.

The third multiple person interview included the leadership of LD; Ms. Brenda,

Executive Director, Marie, Operations Manager, and Mr. Bradford, Chairman of the

Board. Meeting together was most convenient for them all, and the daughters are very

accommodating of and protective of their aging father. Though I may have possibly

gathered less information than I would if the interviews had been done separately, the

interview yielded an historical perspective from Mr. Bradford, pertinent information on

the current direction of the organization, and relevant information about how the

organization has adapted to the new and younger leadership of Ms. Brenda and Marie and

the changing environment.

<p align="center">Letter of Cooperation</p>

The organizational leaders, upon verbally consenting to personally participate and

allow their employees to be interviewed and the organization observed were sent a form

letter of cooperation via email. This letter of cooperation was a non- binding agreement

from the organization that gave consent for me to conduct research on their site. They

were asked to forward a signed copy of the letter on official company letterhead after

reading it. Copies of the letters were submitted to the Institutional Review Board as attachments with the application, and a copy has been stored in a password protected file on my computer.

For the interviews, each interviewee was given an interview consent form to read before the interview began. They were allowed to ask any questions and obtain clarity before signing and returning the copy to me. The signed forms were retrieved and a copy was provided for each of them to keep for their records. The signed consent forms are stored in a locked cabinet at my home office. The signed consent forms informed interviewees that they could refuse to answer any questions, stop the interview, and refuse to offer information they were uncomfortable disclosing or unknowledgeable about without penalty or consequence from myself, the university, or the organization for which they are employed. The forms also informed the interviewee that the conversation would be audio taped using a digital voice recorder. Interviews began only after all questions had been answered, forms signed and retrieved, and copies distributed. Each organization, employee, leader, and some job titles have been assigned pseudonyms for confidentiality. Any pseudonyms assigned to disguise job titles reflect similar or the same job status, but the words to describe that position are different.

The Process

A study conducted by the Great Cities Institute (2005) provided a base from which to launch my search for organizations for this study. Several nonprofit organizations have chosen North Lawndale as the place from which to provide services, and many have been in the community since the 1970s and 1980s providing for the needs

of the community including small children, juvenile offenders, and the elderly. A number

of these types of organizations have folded over the years due to policy initiatives,

adjustments to welfare, public spending cutbacks during retrenchment, the Reagan years,

and incompetent leadership. While canvassing the neighborhood, I questioned what the

surviving organizations had done over the years to survive, what obstacles they must

have had to overcome in order to remain in business, and the hurdles they must have had

to jump through to obtain the resources to keep the places operating. These questions

informed and provided the basis of this dissertation project.

<div align="center">The Community</div>

The North Lawndale community was chosen as a research site because of the

visible changes that were taking place there, the number of nonprofit organizations that

offer services that poor and low-income people utilize, and the potential to engage in

research that would potentially have a positive impact on the community and the

participants. I am also familiar with a small section of the community through attending a

local church. I have attended church in the community since the 1980s and wanted to

learn more about how the community operated and what other parts of the community

were like other than where I sat in church on Sunday mornings. North Lawndale, as a

research site would afford me the opportunity to do that and spend more time in the

community getting to know the people and community leaders through the organizations

and their leadership.

Most of my time in the community has been spent at church, but I also served as a

volunteer with three youth organizations over the years as chaperone, mentor, and

instructor. I participated with a network of community youth organizations that assisted high school youth with applying to college, finding and securing funding, and sharing information and resources necessary for successful transitions from high school to college. The network lasted from 2000 to about 2005 when it was dissolved for lack of support. Outreach programs of the church such as Thanksgiving basket delivery, Christmas programs, fashion shows, and the annual church anniversary also afforded me opportunities to interact and become more acquainted with community residents.

The community is easily accessible via two major expressways; I 290 the Eisenhower Expressway and I 55 the Stevenson Expressway. North Lawndale has maintained a high poverty rate since the 1960s and has remained mostly African American since the 1950s. According to the 2000 census, North Lawndale was 93.8% Black, 4.5% Latino, .9% white, and .7% Asian or other. In terms of education, 29.4 % are high school graduates, and 20.7% have had some college experience, about 5.5% hold bachelor's degrees (up from the 1990 census where only slightly more than 3% had bachelor's degrees) and 1.6% have graduate or professional degrees. The high poverty levels have remained high despite annual loss of population (See Table 1.1).

Towards the end of the 1990s and early 2000s the Blue Line elevator train stations and tracks were refurbished and the transportation line was later rerouted and renamed the Pink Line. Newly built and rehabbed housing was being built in various parts of the community and upgrades to the infrastructure, such as new curbs, modern street lamps, and speed bumps on residential streets nearest schools were installed. In communities that have been neglected and unattended for as long as North Lawndale has, any physical

improvements will be readily noticeable, and the updates and changes were not only noticeable, but viewed with suspicion. Residents that attend the church I go to expressed both excitement and concern over the changes, often complaining about their increased property taxes. These changes continued until about 2007 or 2008 when the mortgage crisis and economic downturn gripped the community and the nation.

By 2008 the renewal and progress associated with gentrification had completely stopped and the community was in the throes of dealing with a mortgage crisis. Immergluck and Wiles (1999) noted that in predominantly African-American neighborhoods 14 of the top 20 refinance lenders in their study targeted black communities with subprime loans while offering mostly prime loans in white communities. Blacks, it was reported were offered subprime loans even when their financial situations were secure enough for conventional type loans. This study exposed the mortgage crisis as a racist practice further proving that blacks remain continual targets of racism. The mortgage problem turned out to be much larger than was anticipated, leading to state and federal probes of major banks and mortgage companies to unpack what Popper and Lazo (2011) called "fraud on an institutional level." The following economic downturn caused the community to drop further into economic decline. Gentrification, what I intended to originally study, could no longer be the focus of the study because it was stalled here as in many other areas around the country. . I faced the dilemma of altering my project to maintain North Lawndale as my target community and the nonprofit community organizations as my intended focus of study, but not have gentrification as one of the main areas of change. My research questions

were adjusted to ask how the economic, political, and social changes taking place in North Lawndale impacts nonprofit community-based organizations in the community.

Data Collection

A number of data sources were utilized for this study. Census data, organizational annual reports, news articles, and other publications will be used to obtain information on the community, organizations, and leadership for a more comprehensive understanding of how the community has changed over time and how the organizations have been impacted.

Census data from 1960 - 2000 (and 2010 as it becomes available) has been utilized for demographic information about the community. News articles, magazines, and other reporting data relating to the community and organizational leaders will be analyzed individually and collectively to provide a comprehensive look at the organizations and community, noting specific changes and other pertinent information.

Four weeks was spent at each organization at a time. I chose to collect data weeks at a time to give undivided attention to each organization while collecting data there. Four volunteer hours per week were offered to each organization's leader to sort of give back and show my appreciation for their participation. Two organizations followed through and provided projects or tasks for me, while the other two did not. For the two that allowed me to volunteer at the organization, I was able to get a better feel of the organization and understand the culture of the organization better as a volunteer.

Tools and Instrumentation

A total of 43 semi-structured interviews using an instrument containing eight open- ended questions were conducted (Appendix). The questions were developed to obtain information about the community, organizations, services, and any racial impact they perceived. The questionnaires were designed to allow the respondents freedom to elaborate on the topics in question and to draw out details of the subject matter.

Interviewing

Soliciting interviewees from Youth Alliance and Family Focus Forum was easiest because there are so few employees. I was able to approach all employees after one of their staff meetings I had been invited to. The process was a little more challenging at LD and especially so at TTS. The employees at Lock Down, especially case managers and those working with youth were often out of the office or in the office for very short periods of time. At Take To the Street, I was not allowed to approach staff, but obtained access to participants through a third party administrative assistant. One very positive result of this third party connection was being able to interview the leadership of each of the four ministry organizations of TTS. The total number of organizational leadership for the study is nine, though four organizations were a part of the study.

Observation and interview times were scheduled in the order I received the organization's letters of cooperation. The first organization I conducted observation and interviews at was TTS. I scheduled a time for data collection there immediately after obtaining permission from IRB. The second was Youth Alliance, third was Family Focus Forum, and last to submit the letter of cooperation was Lock Down. LD was last to

submit the letter of cooperation due to the lack of availability of the executive director who was trying to complete a grant that would bring a significant amount of resources for the organization.

Field notes were taken mostly every day that I was observing. On those days that I was interviewing, fewer notes from observation were taken, but notes were taken during the interviews for context during transcription and better understanding of the data. One week was dedicated, between each organization to rereading, organizing, and reviewing field notes, transcribing, and organizing materials before moving on to the next organization. This allowed me time to summarize what I had experienced, write about the organization, employees, and recap the experiences there. Transcribing was done daily, though all transcriptions were not completed before beginning data collection began at the next organization. The subsequent months after data collection was over were used to complete all transcribing and tying up any loose ends. I read over notes, rearranged and reanalyzed materials, and wrote. The following sections provide a short description of the data collection processes and interviewees at each organization.

Take To the Street

Take To the Street (TTS), an organization that provides a number of services in North Lawndale is housed in a large old brick building on a busy street. Once inside the revolving doors it appears there are people everywhere, but the atmosphere is calm and orderly and people seem to move about confidently as if they know where are going. The welcome desk is situated about seven feet from the entrance and has two people sitting there. There is always a Spanish- speaking greeter at the information desk to welcome the

large numbers of Latino clients utilizing their services in their native language. I was

greeted with friendly smiles by the greeters on my first visit and asked to wait near the

desk while my contact person, Tammy, of the Human Resource department was called. I

stood on the side of the desk so I would not be in the way of people walking up and down

the main aisle until she arrived.

Tammy introduced herself and asked me to follow her to where she would give

me instructions about what I would be allowed to do while collecting data at TTS. We

fell in step with those walking eastward down the hallway and stopped at a locked door

where she proceeded to punch in a code. After opening the door we mounted a staircase

that housed a large decorative map of the world mounted above the top landing.

Proceeding down a short hallway and venturing right, we went into an empty office space

to talk, the space that I would use to conduct my interviews.

I was told that she would have to be the contact person for potential TTS

employee interviewees because I was not allowed to go about the building freely and

would have limited access to employees. Any employees that I wanted to interview

would have to be contacted by her and she would contact them and set the interview

schedule. After some discussion, I told her the type of employees I was most interested in

interviewing and observing and she agreed to contact employees in those positions. I

requested to speak with those in positions of authority and leadership, especially the

founders or leaders of any TTS ministries.

The first interview was scheduled one week after our initial meeting. Each time I

entered the building for an interview, I had to contact Tammy. This restriction stifled my

observing at TTS significantly, forcing me to rely on the interviews and before and after conversations with leaders and employees for more extensive information about the organization and any changes they had experienced. After weeks of trying to secure an interview with Pastor Parks, founder of TTS Church and the other TTS ministries, she told me there was no response from his office. However, she was able to set up interviews with the leadership of each of the other TTS ministry organizations, two of which I had never heard. She told me this would give me a better understanding of how the TTS Church and ministry organizations came about and how they work together in North Lawndale, hoping this would make up for not being able to interview Pastor Parks.

Tammy arranged each of the interviews and the place where the interviews would take place. Most of the interviews were conducted on-site in the empty office space where I initially met with Tammy, with the exception of a young man named Delvin, who had resigned from the organization days before our scheduled interview. Delvin's interview was conducted at his home, at his request, though my preference was to meet in a public place. All other TTS interviewees, their ages, the specific TTS ministry organization they work for and their positions and number of years with the organization are outlined in Table 6.

Table 6: Take To the Street Interviewee Profile

Name	Age	Position	Ministry	Years with Org
Everett Daniels	60s	CEO	Health Service	14
Debra Ray	50s	Executive Director	Housing	12
Ryan Davis	30s	Executive Director	Courts	2
Eddie Powers	50s	Director	Rehab	16
Tammy	30s	Administrative Assistant	Health Service	1
Belinda	20s	HR Administrative Assistant	Health Service	3
Delvin	30s	Assistant Program Director	Housing	4
Tanya	50s	Program Director	Housing	14
Diane	60s	Counseling Ministry Director	Health Service	35

Youth Alliance

Data collection was less structured at YA and I had access to most of the

employees and one of the co-directors at a staff meeting I was invited to by Mr. Mays in

order to "get to see the staff in action." YA is much smaller than TTS and has a more

casual and informal atmosphere. The staff appears to be excited about what they do, as

observed through their conversations, and they appear to support each other. The meeting

was held in their newly built youth center which is about six years old. This light colored

brick building nestled on a residential street and situated between two older houses that

show signs of age and neglect. The building was designed to have a softer external

appearance that blended in more with the community, explained Mr. Mays, than one that

looked like an obvious youth center. We met upstairs in the recreation area of the

building around an eight foot table that had eight old metal folding chairs around it.

Conversations before the meeting were light and full of laughter. Two employees,

Kayla and Sherri were discussing the girls they work within the YA mentoring program.

David was speaking with Mr. Mays about an issue he was having with his son who had

been picked up by the police the day before for loitering near a downtown bus stop, where he was waiting for a friend to get out of school. David was very frustrated with the situation and was venting about how the police continue to harass black young men no matter where they go or how well behaved they are. I felt sad and frustrated for him and his son. As I listened to the story unfold, I thought how disheartened his son must feel because of the experience. All other conversations eventually stopped and focused on what David was saying. When he finished speaking Mr. Mays suggested that everyone bow their heads to pray for David and his son. David thanked everyone for their concern and the prayers, and Mr. Mays started the staff meeting. They discussed each program and any problems they had encountered with the children or their families. The stories were interesting and it appeared to me that most every child or family they discussed had some issue that needed addressing. Each person around the table reported on the specific program they worked with after which comments, suggestions, and support were offered by other members of the staff. The staff showed concern about each child, family or situation mentioned, and together they strategized on making adjustments to the program to better suit those needs and concerns.

At the end of the meeting I was re-introduced as a visitor doing research on the community and was given a few minutes to introduce my project and entertain any questions. I talked with employees afterward and set up interviews while they mingled and talked amongst themselves. I approached Kayla, a twenty-something year old African American woman that smiled and asked me what I was doing in graduate school at this time of my life. I chuckled, answered her question, and asked if she would like to

participate by sitting for an interview. She readily agreed, adding that she didn't think she would have much to offer since she had only worked for the organization for four years and lived there as a resident for five. I assured her that she would have a lot to contribute both as a resident and employee. Within an hour I had spoken with and scheduled interviews with everyone but Sherri, who is a young twenty-something white woman who had only been with the organization for seven months. She declined because she did not feel she was knowledgeable enough to contribute significantly as a new employee and resident. I was not able to persuade her differently.

Because of the small number of employees at Youth Alliance, I had to solicit board members and others who are affiliated with the organization to obtain the targeted ten interviews. Letters introducing the project was sent to five persons who had been suggested by staff. I obtained favorable responses from three, Arnold, Mr. Harold, and Mr. Austin. Arnold, an African American entrepreneur who started a nonprofit to teach business skills to youth is a businessman and serves as a consultant and volunteers with YA on occasion, was first to respond. Arnold was enthusiastic about participating and asked if I would not mind meeting with him at his business location, to which I readily agreed. Mr. Harold, one of the founders of YA Church and long time board member of YA offered both an historical perspective of the community and organization as well as his understanding of what has been taking place with the economy and political situation from a business perspective. Mr. Austin, a former director of YA talked more about the beginning of the organization and how it began as well as changes that have taken place over the years in both the community and the organization.

Youth Alliance is in a very different type of collaborative partnership with an international mission's organization. The organization, Mission Abroad, allows missionaries interested in working in American urban communities to work for Youth Alliance while receiving their pay, through donations received and distributed through Mission Abroad. This partnership allows YA to have much needed workers they are not able to financially support, and Mission Abroad's urban missionaries are able to work in urban areas doing what they love. Another part of the partnership between Mission Abroad and Youth Alliance allows the missionaries going to other countries to receive cross cultural training and experiencing another culture. The partnership has lasted about 18 years. Table 7 outlines the demographic profiles of the YA participants as well as the sources through which the employees are paid.

Table 7: Youth Alliance Interviewee Profile

Name	Age	Position	Years with Org	Salary Paid By
Mr. Mays	50s	Co-Director-Founder	25	Youth Alliance
Mr. Ross	50s	Co-Director	20	Mission Abroad
David	40s	Part-time Worker	3	Youth Alliance
Kayla	20s	Full-time Worker	4	Youth Alliance
John	30s	Full-time Worker	14	Mission Abroad
Tim	20s	Full-time Worker	3	Mission Abroad
Angela	30s	Volunteer	2	NA
Arnold	40s	Affiliate-Consultant	10	NA
Ronald	70s	Affiliate	25	NA
Mr. Harold	70s	Board Member	25	NA
Mr. Austin	60s	Board Member	25	NA

Family Focus Forum

F3 is another small service provider in North Lawndale that provides much needed counseling and mental health services for the community. Though they are located on a major street that runs through the city, this organization would have larger

numbers of clients if they were not located in North Lawndale, according to several F3 employees. Several Latino and white clients reportedly will not utilize the services of F3 because of where they are located. Their services include counseling, including personal, family and DCFS (Illinois Department of Children and Family Services) counseling. The majority of their clients are DCFS mandated cases that either has had their children removed from the home or are under investigation because of a complaint against them.

Executive Director, Annette Tonnes expressed delight to have F3 participate in the project. She met with me after a short conversation and readily agreed to submit the letter of cooperation. There were no restrictions and most of the staff was willing to participate. Two employees declined to interview causing me to seek participation by board members and F3 affiliates. The staff was accommodating, friendly, and cooperative, though two appeared to be very guarded while interviewing as demonstrated by short and sometimes curt answers to questions. Because of the sensitivity of their services, I was not allowed to observe client/therapist interactions, but spending time at the organization yielded rich notes that assisted with my understanding and analysis of F3s purpose, culture, and how they operate as an organization.

F3 was the only organization that made full use of my four hour per week volunteer time offer. Ms. Tonnes asked if I would cover their front desk for four hours each week to assist the therapists who had to answer the phones after the organization lost the receptionist after a major grant was rescinded. The request was slightly intimidating since I had never worked a front desk before, but I decided to take the

challenge. I covered the front desk on their busiest day of operation for four hours during the four weeks of data collection.

On the first day of observation and interviewing I was given a tutorial on how the phone system worked by Isaac, Community Educator and Maintenance person. The chore was simple enough and it afforded me the opportunity to interact with a few clients as they checked in and waited for their appointments.

All interviews were conducted in the organization's conference room, except for the two interviews with board members who requested I come to their homes. Again, though my preference was to conduct all interviews at public places, I made exceptions for those who requested or preferred the comfort of their own homes because I wanted the interview to happen and I wanted them to be most comfortable while interviewing.

Weeks after my data collection was completed at F3, I obtained the contact information of the founder of the organization and called him for clarification on some information. Mr. Pratt now resides in another part of the country and runs a successful private practice. After several days he returned my call and we had a twenty minute conversation during which he answered my questions and provided some background information on F3's beginning. The conversation was not recorded because I do not have that technical capability. The Family Focus Forum interviewee profile is provided in Table 8.

Table 8: Family Focus Forum Interviewee Profile

Name	Age	Position	Years with Org.
Ms. Annette	50s	CEO	2
Jose Rios	30s	Director Counseling Services	9
Isaac	60s	Community Educator-Maintenance	13
Marsha	30s	Therapist	9
Jerri	30s	Office Manager	7
Alice	50s	Former CEO	NA
George	40s	Therapist	9
Thomas	60s	Board Member	NA
Alvin Pratt	?	Founder-Former CEO	NA

Lock Down

The last organization to consent to participating in the research was Lock Down. About two weeks after delivering the contact letters I visited LD and CEO, Ms. Brenda happened to be there. I was a bit surprised to find such a young woman as top leader, but was extremely proud of and impressed with her professionalism. Our brief five minute conversation was positive and the necessary paperwork was sent to her as soon as I returned to my computer. It took three weeks to finally get everything back from Ms. Brenda and obtain a signed consent form, but it was well worth the wait as I finally had a fourth organization for the study.

After spending time with Ms. Brenda on my first day of observation at LD, I completely understood why it took so long to finalize the participation agreement. She and her executive staff were in the process of completing a grant that would provide much needed funds for a program that supported mothers and babies. Also, one of their long-term juvenile programs was in danger of being cut by the state at the end of the summer, so they were planning, strategizing what was necessary to secure that program as well. The employees of the juvenile program, though they understood that losing the

funding would mean the loss of their jobs, were more concerned about its impact on the youth they served than their own personal jobs.

Funding cuts were mentioned by most of the interviewees and the precarious situation the community residents would experience because of them. The largest cuts, they revealed affected programs that provide recreational, mentoring, counseling, and other services for youth in the juvenile justice system, which would mean fewer options for assistance and support for this already at-risk population. They said this could potentially lead to more young African American men getting locked up due to not having things to do, lack of leadership, and lack of supervision or mentoring, things that are plentiful for youth in other communities.

Employees were asked if they would be willing to participate in the study, and most without hesitation agreed. Though LD is a midsized organization with about 30 employees, many of them are often out of the office and in the field as case workers. The majority of the employees are African American, with four Latino workers. The front desk is manned by a Latina woman who strategically serves as bilingual greeter for the state dispensed services LD disseminates out of their office through a partnership with a local hospital.

All of the interviews were conducted in the organization's large but crowded library/conference room. The conference table occupies most of the space in the room leaving little room to move about in the swiveled arm chairs. A few employees joked about me living in the library after the first week of data collection because I spent so much time there. LD has a very friendly and warm atmosphere and most of the

interviewees describe it as a family type atmosphere. Support for Ms. Brenda as the second generation of leadership is freely expressed. Most of the staff has been with the organization for more than five years, and they remain committed to LD and their mission. Table 9 summarizes the employee profiles of Lock Down staff and number of years as an employee.

Table 9: Lock Down Interviewee Profile

Name	Age	Position	Number of Years
Mr. Bradford	80s	Founder-Board Chari	NA
Ms. Brenda	30s	Executive Director	4 in current position
Marie	20s	Operations Manager	4 in current position
Todd	50s	Juvenile Program Counselor	30
Marvin	30s	Juvenile Program Counselor	13
Tyson	50s	Director of Juvenile Programs	34
Donald	30s	Juvenile Program Counselor	12
Aaron	20s	Youth Program Counselor	3
Durrell	30s	Supervisor of Youth Program	2
Bobbie	50s	Community Outreach Specialist	20
Ebony	50s	Supervisor-Case Management	21
Anna	60s	Project Director-Health Services	14
Michelle	30s	Case Manager-Health Services	10

Conclusion

The impetus for this study is to learn how nonprofit community-based social service organizations adjust to their changing communities. The leaders and employees of the four organizations in this study employ a number of strategies and tactics to stay in business during changing times. The current tough economic situation, unsure political climate, and unequal distribution of capital and resources encasing the community provide difficult hurdles for these organizational leaders to jump. Though successfully overcoming the changes is not impossible, remaining in business and being able to continue serving the community will not be easy because of the precarious situation of

the State of Illinois and its inability to pay its bills. This study captures the day to day

conversations, experiences, and difficulties of the leadership, employees, board members,

and interested community liaisons of the organizations as they prepare for the worse and

hope for the best. The following chapters more fully explain these strategies and the logic

and reasoning that lead to their decisions and the resulting consequences of some of their

choices.

CHAPTER FOUR

PERCEIVED CHANGE: POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL

Community-based service organizations "draw their identity, resources, and sustenance primarily from the neighborhood in which they operate," according to Robert Halpern (1995a: 37-38). However, low-income communities lack resources to effectively support the organizations in that way, because the needs are so great and the residents are not able to pay for services. Although these organizations receive funding from government, foundations, and other means supporting entities, those funds are not always cover the entire costs associated with the organization. Low-income or poor communities generally generate few resources from which the organizations can draw, making it important for the organizations to have access to various forms of support and capital outside of their communities for their survival.

Low-income communities and the organizations that serve them are often labeled or characterized as substandard, troublesome, and unworthy of support (Halpern 1995a). The author conducted previous research that showed considerable restructuring of community organizations when the Chicago Housing Authority was in the process of demolishing the Madden/Wells public housing complex to build mixed income housing (Rollerson 2007). In that study, the leadership and employees of the organizations were concerned that higher-income residents would not consider their organizations "good enough" to be patronized and sought to change the physical appearance of the facility,

restructure the organization, and add a measure of attractiveness to entice higher income residents as clients. The facilities, programs, and employees had been "good enough" for the poorer residents, but the standards and expectations of higher income people were perceived differently.

If Halpern's (1995a) assertion is in fact correct — that community-based organizations draw their resources from the neighborhoods they serve — organizations in low-income neighborhoods with few resources must be expected to operate with deficits, again because the needs are often greater than the resources. This study addresses how the organizations' leadership and employees perceive the community and the organization's role in it, as well as how they utilize resources both within and outside of the community to serve their clientele during change. The following sections report respondents' views on changes in the community over the past 10 years. Their responses have been coded and categorized as economical, political, or social.

Employees and leaders were asked what, if any changes had taken place in the community in recent years. Specific examples of changes were not mentioned in the interview questions, so that responses revealed only the perceptions of the respondents and how they understood what had taken place in the community. Responses concerning collaborations with other organizations, cultivating relationships with political figures, and adding politicians to their board of directors were categorized as political. Economic changes include responses that specifically mentioned financial matters, fundraising, and the economy. Social changes included those that involve residents' interactions with each other, the organizations, and other social relations. Most of their responses referenced

social or economic changes such as new housing and businesses, consistent with patterns

of gentrification.

Gentrification

The specific term gentrification was not used in the interview questions, but it was

mentioned so many times that I thought it significant to record the number of times the

actual word was used and which organization the persons were employees of. The results

are recorded in Table 9.

Table 9: Mention of Gentrification

Employee or Affiliate	Lock Down	Take To the Street	Youth Alliance	Family Focus Forum	N=43
# Employees Citing Gentrification	6	5	4	3	18
# Leaders Citing Gentrification	2	2	2	1	7
Total	8	7	6	4	25
Percentages	19%	16%	14%	9%	58%

That the term "gentrification" was mentioned specifically by name by almost 60

percent of the respondents shows that gentrification was and still is considered to be a

significant source of change in the community. During my canvassing in the community,

a white community activist and former TTS board member told me that "studying the

impact of gentrification in the North Lawndale community would be a *waste of time*. The

community will never gentrify because there are too many social service organizations

and no one wants to live around people with such problems." He further suggested the

community would never allow gentrification to come because the community would ban

together to fight it, especially the nonprofit organizations. He informed me of the number

and types of social service organizations in the community and the populations they serve such as: "hidden" HIV/AIDS housing constructed in the community because other communities would not allow it, half-way housing for formerly incarcerated individuals, and organizations that serve mentally ill outpatients. These organizations would deter any developers from gentrifying North Lawndale. This man's sentiment was apparently not that of others in the community or the organizations.

Most interviewees in this study were convinced otherwise. Forty-two percent (18) of all respondents are North Lawndale residents, and 26% (11) of the respondents specifically identifying gentrification with change in the community are community residents. Lifetime resident and YA youth worker, David Jones equated infrastructural changes such as "the new lights and poles, new curbs, and handicap accessible walks on the streets instead of high curbs" as preparation for new residents to take over the community. Jorge Manuel, of F3 described gentrification as displacement based on economic changes where "taxes go up and people end up being displaced because they can no longer afford to stay in that community and so they need to leave to other depressed areas." Marvin Epps of LD described gentrification as wealthier people laying claim to the community area and attempting to "push our kids out." Ms. Annette also defined gentrification as " the indigenous people being removed and properties built that are not affordable", thus describing the concept as displacing residents as most of the others, but adding the permanency of the phenomenon by noting housing that prices out the possibility of the indigenous population's return.

Each of the organizations that were founded and led by African Americans described gentrification in negative terms. Many of the respondents specifically said gentrification causes displacement of African Americans or indigenous populations. Take To the Street respondents were the exception. Seven of TTS' ten employees mentioned the term gentrification and equated it with economic uplift. For them, the process was positive and something to be embraced, rather than feared. Eddie Morgan of TTS rehab described gentrification as "something to embrace because of the resources that it could bring in without the displacement of the people", and similarly, Ms. Debra, of the housing service believes that displacement does not, nor should not have to take place during gentrification. As a result of those beliefs, they are attempting to "be a catalyst to ensure that those services and tools come to the neighborhood."

That respondents used the actual term *gentrification,* though it was not specifically mentioned in the interview questions was significant. Although the changes associated with gentrification (building of new housing, rehabbing old structures, and changes to the infrastructure) had ceased by the time of this study, concern for gentrification as a changing factor in the community was still on the minds of community people. Most of this concern is associated with fear that the process is not over and it will resume when the economy picks up, eventually continuing on its path of poor folk displacement. This shows that the people based policies of urban renewal, slum clearance and gentrification have lasting effects on its victims (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008; Williams1988).

The African American residents, leaders and employees' concerns about the possibility of gentrification displacing them and their organizations coincides with Blauner's (1972:84) theory of "internal colonization" and the wider issue of lack of power and control in their community. Blauner suggested four components of internal colonization in African American ghetto communities; (1) forced entry and control, (2) forced cultural control, (3) domination of the lives of the people by those of dominant power, and (4) domination of the residents who are considered inferior based on racist categorization. The recurring theme in Blauner's theory is domination and powerlessness; both of which are evident in residents and external systems of control.

TTS's founder provided information through sermons and workshops on gentrification for his congregation and employees of the various TTS organizations about what gentrification could do for the community and how embracing, rather than fighting, the process could result in smooth transitions for all involved. Part of what Pastor Parks taught were principles of racial reconciliation,[10] which encourages white Christians to develop relationships with African Americans and other people of color by living in their communities, especially if they worked there. Eddie, TTS rehab service director,

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[10] Racial reconciliation (Emerson and Smith, 2000 and Yancy 1996) is explained as requiring interracial relationships, recognition and resistance of structural inequality, repentance of whites, and forgiveness by blacks. These steps, simplified and generalized in this footnote contain the core message of racial reconciliation that says it is necessary that white American Christians' take responsibility for the wrongful oppression of African Americans throughout the years, confess the sins against them (whether or not they personally perpetrated any of these sins against them or not), and then repent or change their actions, attitudes, and ways of treating and relating to them. African Americans' responsibility in the reconciliation process is to accept the admission of guilt and remorse of their white brothers and sisters in Christ and forgive the wrongful acts of the past. The steps following the process are to change behaviors, which for whites include not sitting "on the sidelines while unequal and oppressive forces harm part of the Christian community" and to "come alongside people of color in opposition to inequality" (Emerson and Smith 2000: 55). For African Americans, the expectation and responsibility is to release any anger they may hold "toward whites and the system" in order to be able to move forward with other white Christians as brothers and sisters in Christ (Emerson and Smith 2000: 55).

observed that some whites at TTS church had become disillusioned with the process because fewer whites actually moved into the community because changes associated with gentrification had stalled. White individuals and families became disillusioned and "moved out so quickly without even trying to look back on what they purchased, [because] it didn't work out for them."

Perceived Economic Change: State Budget Crisis

The community of North Lawndale has been seriously impacted by past and present economic changes. Having never fully recovered from the racial disturbances following Dr. King's assassination, problems arising from recent economic challenges have made it more difficult for the community to effectively recover and deal with the current economic downturn. Since the 1960s, more than forty percent of the community's population has continuously lived below poverty, and a growing number of families have been experiencing financial challenges.

Since welfare reform, government funding and support has decreased, causing a number of those who depend on public means of support to seek assistance elsewhere. Those considered unemployable such as formerly incarcerated individuals, have few options to support themselves and rely on social service organizations, church groups, and personal networks of family and friends for assistance. These systems of support are also struggling. The lack of resources causes a myriad of problems in social service delivery including losing the ability to provide services, as demonstrated through the closing of Hull House and several other smaller nonprofit organizations. This shows that

the situation of poor and low-income families in our society, and indeed around the world, is facing major changes and challenges.

Changes that take place in the national economy trickle down to impact every other aspect of society. Poorer people and communities generally fare worse than others during sluggish economies, which often cause financial difficulties for public and private systems of support for the poor. Negative economic change is never easy, but especially so for working and poor families. Poorer people will continue to need the assistance of social service organizations such as those in this study. Several nonprofit organizations have been established in the North Lawndale community to serve the low-income and poor population there, as well as in surrounding communities. These organizations are also influenced by economic ebbs and flows. During budget declines, these organizations have often had to be creative in their quest to meet the needs of their clients.

The current economic downturn has affected the organizations in this study in different ways. Two of the organizations, Family Focus Forum and Lock Down lost funding as a result of program cuts by the state and county. They were also fearful of pending budget cuts in their new fiscal year. Youth Alliance did not experience any program cuts because they did not suffer any major financial cuts. Their private donors are "pretty faithful with their giving" says board member and former co-director Mr. Austin. One organization, Take To the Street's health service, did not report having funding or programmatic problems, though CEO, Mr. Daniels is hoping that Democrats remain in the White House during the 2012 election, which he said, if the Republicans get into office, the organization could be in danger of losing their largest grant.

Fear and uncertainty about personal financial situations as well as the organization's financial well-being were recurring themes. Whether the organizations relied on private or public grant funds, the present economic conditions caused further concern for them. Figure 2 shows the most mentioned responses of employees and leaders categorized as economic concerns.

Figure 2: Economic Changes
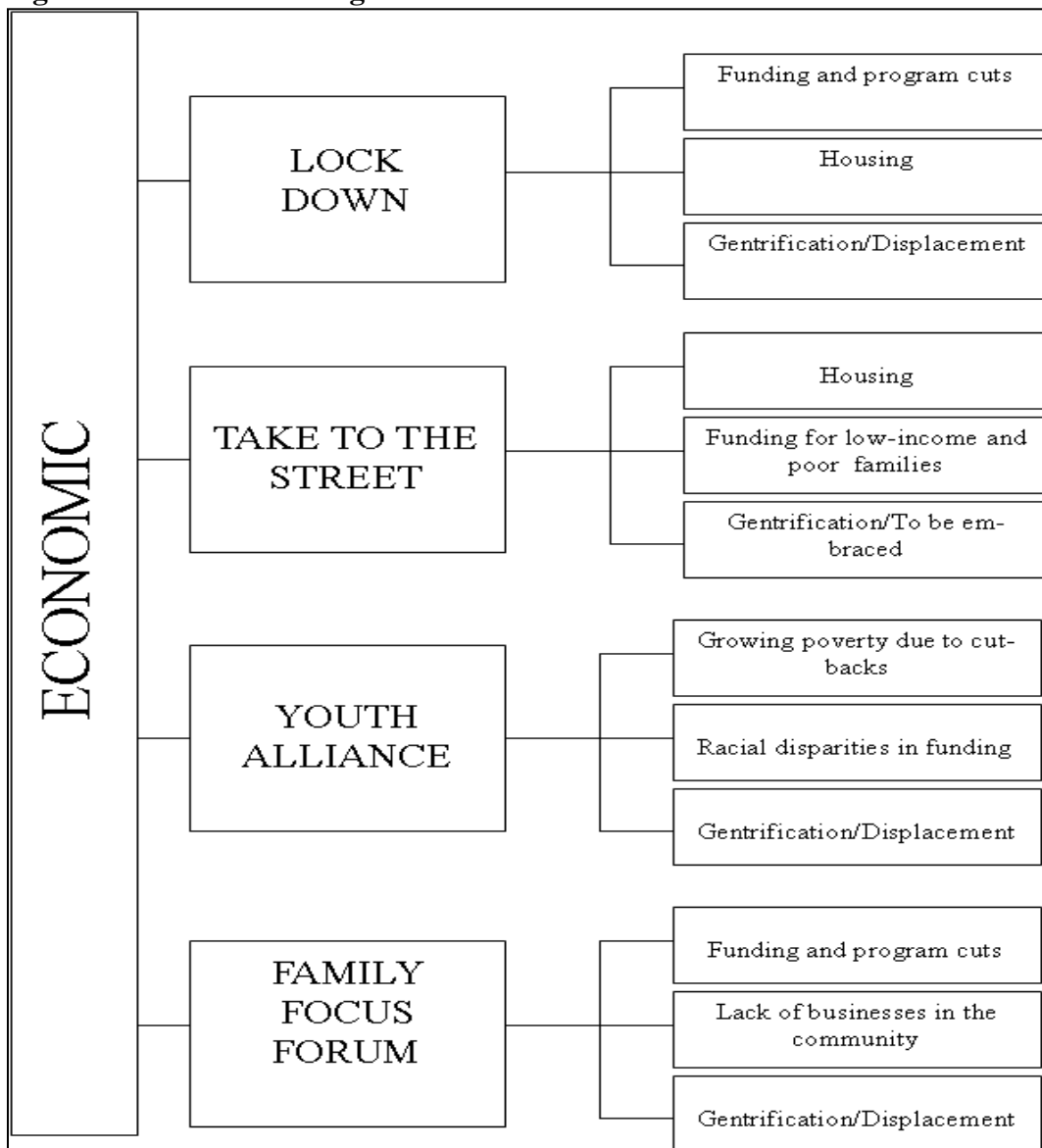
Two interesting factors emerge from the data in Figure 2: (1) the leadership and employees mostly perceive and interpret economic concerns in terms of the populations they serve or the services they provide and (2) gentrification was mentioned by more than half of the respondents from the organizations as a means of change in the community in recent years. These factors, as well as how the organizations described them, are explained in the following sections. The second point, gentrification, will be discussed in a separate section because of the perceived significance of that phenomenon to the leadership and employees in the organizations and the community.

Funding, Housing and Racial Disparities

Forty-two percent (18) of the 43 interviewees mentioned the mortgage crisis as a change that had a major impact on the community. Chicago's housing market, in particular has been impacted by the mortgage crisis in significant ways. African-American and other "marginalized communities of color" were specifically targeted for subprime instruments, according to Powell and Reece (2010) and because of "extreme concentrations of subprime loans…these neighborhoods were disproportionately affected when foreclosures spiked, resulting in a deadly spiral of abandonment, blight, disinvestment and neglect for these communities." Since 2007, an unprecedented and unpublished number of North Lawndale homeowners lost their homes or property due to foreclosure. The majority of those foreclosures were due to subprime instruments.

According to the Woodstock Institute (2008), minority areas across the nation have been affected disproportionately by the foreclosure crisis. High-minority populated communities "had 41.6 foreclosure filings per 1,000 mortgageable properties" as opposed

to "8 per 1000 mortgageable properties in low-minority areas"; meaning, minorities lost

their homes to foreclosure more than five times more than those in low-minority areas.

Purchasing a home has been a major source of investment for minorities and provided the

means of building wealth for their families. With the loss of property comes the loss of

building wealth in minority families and communities.

The weekly foreclosure listing in the *Chicago Foreclosure Report* revealed that

the North Lawndale Community experienced a large number of foreclosures weekly (see

Table 10). The chart shows seven weeks of foreclosure activity in both North and

neighboring South Lawndale, revealing the disparity between the two communities and

how much more severely the mortgage crisis impacted predominantly African-American

North Lawndale in comparison to predominantly Latino South Lawndale.

Table 10: Foreclosure Summary 10/6/2008 to 11/24/2008

Week	North Lawndale	South Lawndale
11-17 to 11-24	10	5
11-10 to 11-17	9	4
11-3 to 11-10	16	7
10-27 to 11-3	17	4
10-20 to 10-27	11	12
10-13 to 10-20	19	5
10-6 to 10-13	20	6
Total	102	43

All data compiled by author from Chicago Foreclosure Reports housed at
Harold Washington Library 10/6/08-11/24/08.

The above data, compiled during the height of the foreclosure crisis and over a

seven week period between October 6 and November 24, 2008 shows that properties in

the predominantly African-American North Lawndale community were foreclosed upon

at a much higher rate than that of Latino populated South Lawndale, even though North

Lawndale has fewer residents. What is not revealed on the above chart is the number of actual families and individuals that experienced displacement due to foreclosure.

Several of the housing structures in North Lawndale are multi-unit structures with multiple families. It was most likely that one foreclosure displaced more than one family. Several of the multi-unit landlords failed to notify tenants of pending foreclosures, which led to many renting individuals and families to be evicted and become homeless overnight. The foreclosures were not the only economic concerns of the organizations as revealed below.

<center>Lock Down - Economic</center>

Lock Down was particularly concerned that funding and program cuts have been pervasive in recent years, especially for programs such as theirs that put at-risk youth back into the community without supervision and support. They argue that this will significantly increase the chances that black youth will be locked up due to a lack of constructive activities to keep them from peer pressure and unhealthy behavior. Youth advocates Marvin Clark and Donald Reinhold of LD agreed that the plight of many North Lawndale youth was hanging on county and state funding for programs. Although funding for other LD programs is important as well, they noted that funding cuts for their youth programs had several implications: (1) crime was likely to increase due to the lack of supervision and mentoring; (2) it increased the chances that the community would be less safe; (3) it increased the chances that youth would be locked up; and (4) when youth are locked up, "they are not rehabilitated and mostly return to society ready to commit

more crimes." Funding cuts impacts individuals, families, organizations, communities, and ultimately society as a whole.

LD does not provide housing services, but the leadership mentioned residents began coming to them for housing assistance in 2007 and 2008, the majority of whom were facing foreclosure. LD's connections through the monthly forums enabled them to connect some of the clients with services and assistance, but not before several families had been victimized by the crisis. The monthly community forums proved to be a source of *social capital* for LD, forum participants, clients, and the community as participants exchanged information and resources that helped some of the troubled homeowners. Not all troubled homeowners were able to benefit from the forums, especially those who waited too late to obtain the necessary assistance to help them recover, but according to CEO, Ms. Brenda, the residents made the organization aware that foreclosure as a growing problem in the community.

One of the biggest problems with North Lawndale families losing their homes to foreclosure was the subprime loans they had obtained Ms. Brenda explained. Unable to "refinance their homes to avoid ballooning interest rates, homeowners were caught with mortgage rates that sometimes tripled their monthly mortgage" bills. Desperate residents began reaching out for help, going to community organizations, which alerted the unwary organizations about the impact the foreclosure crisis was having on the community. Not only were homeowners losing their homes, but renters were being evicted as nonresident landlords were not alerting their tenants that the buildings were in foreclosure. This means of shedding unprofitable property infuriated LD's CEO, Ms. Brenda:

…there were investors who came in and who bought property and were just renting them out hoping to just buy some time until the Olympics came…or they finish revitalizing the community and what have you. Once they realized that that kind of fell through for immediate revitalization…they selectively dumped those mortgages and wrote them off…and did not notify their tenants… We [the community organizations] were all functioning with the belief that landlords would still function as landlords instead of capitalizing on this opportunity to just walk away from a mortgage that's not going anywhere. So they didn't notify tenants, and then that's when we began to become aware…

When community organizations became aware of the rampant foreclosures, they found a number of unscrupulous practices, including non-resident landlords capitalizing on the opportunity to walk away from upside down mortgages. The dust from the mortgage crisis has not completely settled in the community, but "a moratorium has been placed on foreclosures, which buys a little time for some homeowners" said Ms. Brenda.

Marie, Operations Manager thought at least one positive thing that may have occurred as a result of the economic troubles in the community; organizations may be forced to work together more closely and in collaboration with each other. She explained:

…with the funding crisis, people [organizations] are encouraged to collaborate and oftentimes if you cannot collaborate you will not get the grant. So it's just amazing now how things have kind of shifted, and now we're getting more calls like 'are you interested in collaborating about dot, dot, dot.' The grants now want to see that you have strong community roots and that you have ties to other resources to supply your population.

A funding requirement is forcing organizations like TTS to consider working with other organizations in the community, according to Marie. LD was built on collaborations, and they have maintained a commitment to working with other organizations with the intention to build a community of services, information, opportunities, and capital for the residents. TTS, she disclosed, is one of the organizations that has contacted them for a possible collaboration for a grant they are applying for.

Take To the Street - Economic

Employees at TTS housing ministry were concerned about the quality and availability of affordable housing in the community. Housing concerns, for TTS were not about the foreclosures, but rather affordable and new housing units that the organization's ministry owned. While several homeowners in the community were losing homes to the foreclosure crisis, TTS housing ministry was busy making sure that the residents who bought their homes were secure. Ms. Debra Ray, CEO of TTS housing ministry, reported that only two of the homeowners who purchased TTS homes after successful completion of their first-time homebuyer workshops lost their homes in the foreclosure problem. She talked about housing as being fundamental to the well-being of families and communities and gives people positive outlooks on life. Ms. Debra's experiences with helping their clients obtain better housing situations has proved to her that people want to live in comfortable, clean and nice homes or apartments, and TTS housing service is dedicated to making that happen. TTS housing ministry is also concerned about the availability of affordable housing in the community. They have worked to obtain properties, buildings, and land to ensure North Lawndale residents are able to live in North Lawndale in nice buildings because housing is fundamental to an all around healthy community. Ms. Debra stated:

> …when your surroundings are not pleasing then you don't feel good about yourself, you don't feel good about your outcome on life, you don't feel good about your future, and I think people start to lose hope. I have seen it time and time again, people, families who move from those units that were in deplorable conditions into something new, their attitude changes, they feel like this is something that they can stabilize and call home for a while, you know.

As an organization that provide quality and affordable housing for low-income families, the community profits because healthier and happier families will be living in the community.

Funding for low-income families has also been a concern for TTS service ministries. Little has changed in the community by way of family income since the 1960s where we find that over 40% of the residents lived below poverty (See Table 1). The challenges to provide assistance and services to community families has grown as well as the needs. Although they cannot meet every need, Tanya, Program Director of TTS housing says "the organization is in it for the long haul" and will continue to plan housing strategies to create housing, jobs, and opportunities for residents to do well.

<div align="center">Youth Alliance – Economic</div>

Youth Alliance staff was concerned with the growing financial strain on the families in the community. According to a report from the Steans Family Foundation (2009), 10,000 men from the community are incarcerated and there are only 67 men for every 100 women residing there. This shortage of men impacts household incomes and ability to live above poverty level. More than 50% of the households in the community are female-headed households, with a growing number being headed by grandmothers. Female headed households are more likely to be poor (Steans Family Foundation 2009). The report also said "59.4% of 20 to 24 year olds in North Lawndale are jobless, and the community has an unemployment rate (13%) of almost triple the city average (5%)" further showing the precarious economic situation of North Lawndale's families.

Youth Alive staff has worked with a lot of children in the community whose father's, uncles, brothers, and grandfathers are currently or formerly incarcerated. When these men are released, they have greater difficulties obtaining jobs because of their backgrounds and their race according to a study by Deevah Pager (2009). Pager reported that African American men without incarceration experiences get called back for interviews less than half the time of white men with incarceration experiences. Prison, for African American men "attaches a 'negative credential' to individuals, certifying them in ways that may qualify them for discrimination or social exclusion" (Pager 2009:246). Without an income, North Lawndale's African American men who are released from prison have little chance of providing income for their families or contributing to the households they return to.

YA's leadership has remained independent of direct government support, but recent conversations with co-director Peter Ross may change this a bit for the organization. The two men recognize the need for economic assistance for families and are considering ways to bring other funds into the organization that will allow them to work more effectively with youth and their families in the community.

Both Mr. Ross and Mr. Mays believe, through personal experiences, that racial disparities exist in funding disbursement. They have been involved with religious funding organizations and philanthropists that have "blatantly excluded African-American organizations" performing the same or similar types of services in high-poverty African American communities as whites. The problem of race, for both Mr. Mays and Mr. Ross is a systemic problem that is exercised in society to maintain power, control, and

economic advantage. They are devising a plan that they hope to change this for their organization and the community.

<div align="center">Family Focus Forum - Economic</div>

Family Focus Forum, the only organization in this study that does not have any North Lawndale residents as employees, noted the lack of businesses in the community as significant. As outsiders, this change was significant for the employees who are accustomed to patronizing businesses in their communities. Residents of North Lawndale, however, are dependent on other communities to have their needs met. F3 employees were disappointed that Starbucks, Dominick's, and the ICE Theater all closed within a few years of each other (between 2006 and 2008), leaving yet more vacant and boarded structures on the landscape. Some were especially annoyed that, other than the local McDonalds, there were no places in the community to even get a cup of coffee during the day.

As outsiders, F3's employees expressed frustration and concern that North Lawndale residents have embraced this lack of economic development and reliance on other communities as "their normal." People living in communities with thriving businesses do not have to go too far to find nice restaurants, grocery stores with fresh produce and dairy products, or shops with everyday necessities such as toiletries. The opening of the Starbucks in 2006 was, for F3 employees a sign that the community was finally on its way to economic stability and the community was actually on its way to gentrifying. Unfortunately, the stability lasted only 18 months; Starbucks closed their doors and moved out of the community in 2008 (Trice 2011).

Perceived Political Change

North Lawndale has a number of state and local political figures residing in the

community: a State Representative, a Commissioner, and an Alderman. Along with these

public figures, several community activists live and work together in the community to

ensure North Lawndale's political, economic, and social stability. Although many of

these elected officials have lived in the community for many years, few African-

American respondents reported having any consistent or meaningful contact with them.

The community's African-American population has remained above 90% since the

1950s. The local politicians and organizational leaders are also African-American, but

distrust of government and politicians has prevented widespread participation in the

political process, despite the racial homogeneity. This results in community needs not

being expressed, addressed, or met. Figure 3 shows the responses categorized as political

in nature.

Whether or not organizations were politically connected made a difference in the

amount and types of support the organizations obtain. Lock Down and Take To the Street

are both extensively connected with local officials and receive a significant amount of

their funding from public and private grants. These two organizations are the largest of

the four in this study, mostly because they receive funding from the public sector, which

allows them to serve more clients. Serving at-risk populations such as Latinos, youth,

pregnant women and others avails additional funding from public sources, according to

the leadership. However, receiving funding from government sources demands adherence

to stringent limitations, guidelines, and reporting requirements which take a lot of time,

resources, and grant-writing knowledge. For instance, Ms. Annette of F3 talked about having to complete a report associated with their grant that took her "days and nights" to complete. The report was due six months after the grant was issued and she had recently been hired, but she said the process would have been difficult at any time because it is so detailed.

Figure 3 Political Changes
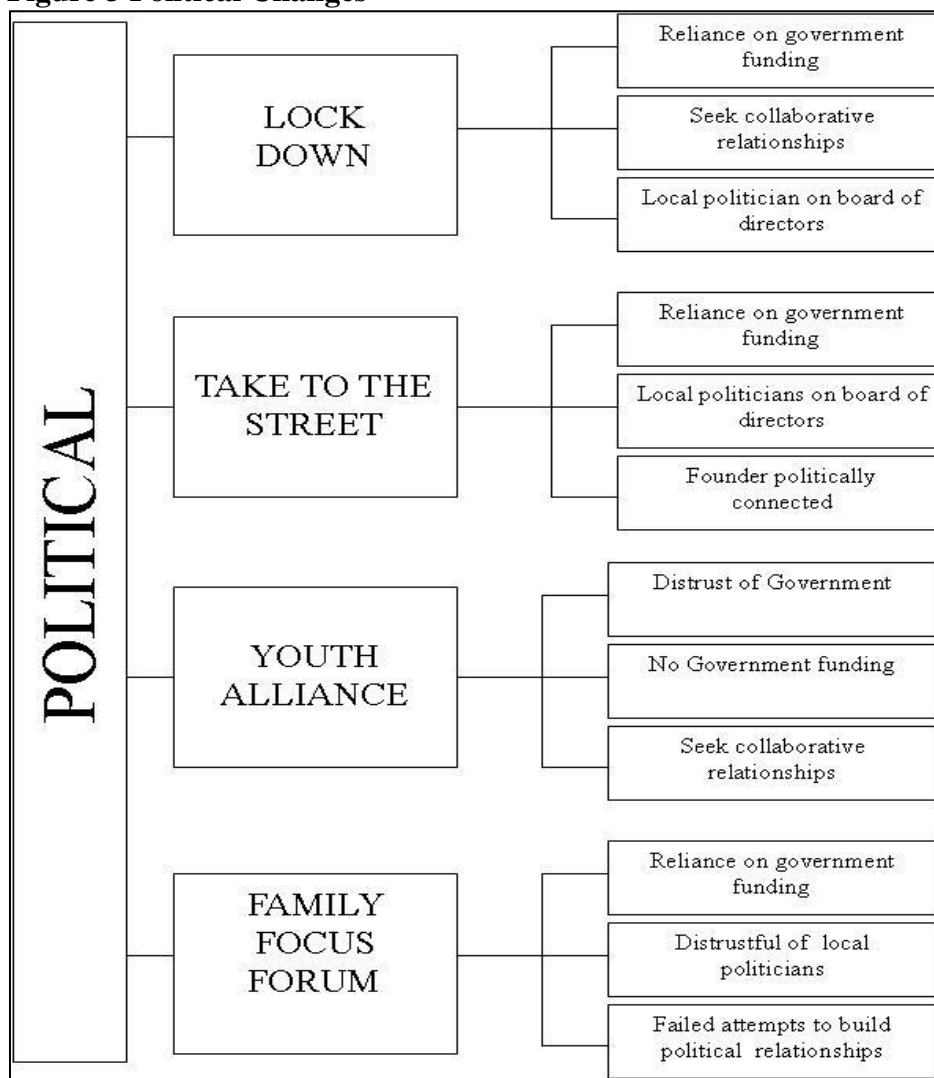
Another issue associated with receiving public funding, in particular for a new project is "you've got to start the program today, which is not good… because what happens is you are forced to hire folks and you may not have the time that you need to really hire" or screen them sufficiently. This was also a problem for Ms. Annette who inherited staff who were not qualified to do the work and quit days before the mid-point report was due. Many small community-based nonprofits do not have access to the skills, resources, and personnel to keep up with the requirements and may experience difficulties with personnel, programs, or collaborations as a result.

Reliance on Government Funding, Distrust of Government, and Political Connections

Three of the four organizations — LD, TTS, and F3 — referenced reliance on government funding. LD and F3 have had severe cuts to their funding within the past five years that has resulted in the loss of programs and staff. However, TTS health services reported being very secure in their funding and programs, although they too are heavily funded by public funding. TTS has had a local politician serving on their board of directors since the late 1990s. Taking their cue from TTS, in 2008, LD added a local politician to their board of directors, which may prove to be profitable for the organization - at least in the form of obtaining information and guidance for the organization.

Community-based social service organizations, according to Nicole Marwell (2004) have a mostly untapped and unique opportunity to bring resources to the community through political affiliations through a three way working relationship between local polity, clients, and the organization itself. This "triadic exchange" proves

profitable for clients, organizations and politicians in the following way: (1) local nonprofit organizations get the necessary support and resources to maintain their organizations and continue to provide services, (2) clients have access to needed services, information, and resources, and (3) the politicians receive support through votes at the election polls in exchange for the support. Marwell's (2004) triadic exchange theory is evident in TTS, LD, and to a much less degree with F3, but YA remains largely politically disconnected as described in the following sections.

<div align="center">Take To the Street - Political</div>

Take To the Street is very well connected to local and state politicians because founder, Pastor Ron Parks has cultivated relationships with many of them over the years. The church and organizations have been able to benefit, as demonstrated by their growth over the years, from a small local church to a multimillion dollar conglomeration of nonprofits. TTS has been able to acquire land, property, and buildings in the community for rehabilitation, new construction, as well as future use and expansion. Pastor Parks has not achieved this success solely based on his political connections, but having the connections has been helpful. In addition to political connections, Pastor Parks, a white suburbanite who moved into the community to live closer to his job after graduating from college, brought with him connections to educated professionals, networks with resources, and institutions with even more connections.

The church and organizations have come a long way, according to the leadership and employees of TTS ministries who acknowledge the privileged situation of the organization because of their political and suburban connections. The connections have

been fundamental to TTS Church and the TTS organizations success in the community.

Eddie, Director of the rehab ministry, was one of the young men participating in Pastor

Parks' Bible study in the 1980s. Remembering the early days and their humble

beginnings he recalled how friends and college acquaintances of Pastor Parks offered

their assistance to him as he started working in the community and built the ministry:

> …some of his friends from [the university] were able to write a grant for us and that's how we got the money because they weren't giving us any money at first. We went to different banks, but nobody was gonna believe this story about 'you want a health center and a gym [in this community].' And so we were fortunate enough that we got this grant for $150,000 from Chicago Community Trust, you know, which is one of the major funders in Chicago. And so once they gave us money, then everybody else started looking at us. It's crazy how when the major, major people give you something, all the little people want to start giving you something too.

The humble beginning that Pastor Parks experienced when he and the young men

who worked with him began working building the ministry was short-lived once his

support network took interest in what he was doing and began assisting him. Pastor Parks

began building collaborative relationships with local politicians soon after moving into

the community, as related by Ms. Debra, CEO of the housing ministry. While explaining

the funding challenges of the organization, Ms. Debra disclosed that the housing ministry

added one of the local politicians to their board of directors a few short years after they

were established as a nonprofit organization. It was because of the representative being

on the board that the organization had not been able to receive state funding, as it would

have been a conflict of interest with a public official on the board, which Ms. Debra

described as a "blessing in disguise" because of the present trouble the state is having

paying its debts. They have not been totally spared any economic disturbance, though as

they have had funders to "stop funding because they had lost in the stock market" causing them to reduce their funding" but it was not directly due to political cutbacks to their programs or budgets.

Though TTS' housing services lost some funding, they were not suffering as those organizations who were awaiting reimbursement from the state for services rendered. Having political connections and friends with knowledge, abilities, and connections has been essential to all of the TTS ministry's success.

<div align="center">Lock Down - Political</div>

The employees and leadership of Lock Down noted funding, collaborations, and local political affiliations as factors that influenced change in the organization or community in recent years. Seed money to start LD came from a grant created to address issues of juvenile delinquency in 1972. The founder of the organization, Mr. Bradford was partly responsible for naming the program, which provides youth with mentors who monitor family, school, and community connections through required supervision and time management. He also created a similar program for delinquent youth in 1996 that provide supervision and activities during the time when youth normally commit crimes; between 4 and 6 p.m. These programs have reportedly been effective in decreasing incidents of repeat crimes by these youth (Chicago Tribune 2001).

Mr. Bradford's and LD's political affiliations have led to other opportunities for increased funding, services, and collaborations over the years which include other forms of assistance for families of delinquent youth, case management for families in the community, funding to address infant mortality and job readiness for family members.

They have also partnered with a local hospital to provide physical space for the disbursement of the State's WIC[11] program. Built on collaborations with other community residents, organizations, and businesses, LD has made significant connections between various community interests, and they reported that Jesse Jackson of the Rainbow Push Coalition attended one of the forums during the 1990s. Collaborative connections have also been made with various funding organizations through Mr. Bradford over the years that have supported the organization and their programs. Volunteers have given their time to come and assist the organization with various tasks, and the organization has many friends who have provided support for the organization such as sponsoring or supporting their annual fundraiser event and bringing friends to introduce to the work. Forming alliances such as these provide a voice for the community as well as stronger political power, according to Mr. Bradford.

As an African American leader in the community, Mr. Bradford has experienced challenges obtaining the necessary resources to effectively serve LD's clients and keep the organization operating. He talked about a barrier that has stood between African Americans and information, resources, and support over the years that he defined as racism. He explained "It's like this is a wall and this is a door and people are on the inside, and people are on the outside…but you have to find your way into this place by another person who is in this place" in order to get what you need, explaining through gesturing and drawing visuals on an air canvass. What Mr. Bradford was referring to is

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[11] WIC (Women, Infants, and Children) is a federally mandated and funded program that is administered by the states to address the nutritional needs of women, lactating mothers, infants, and children up to five years of age. According to my search, four organizations within North Lawndale disperse WIC services.

African Americans having to be legitimized by whites in order to be accepted and "invited" to the other side of the door/ wall. The challenge for blacks is to figure out how to get around, penetrate, or knock down the wall and or the door (gain legitimacy) to access those resources that are on the other side of the wall. This is not an easy task because of the influences of racial "stereotypes of criminality and victimization, social worthlessness and worth" surrounding African Americans and other minorities prevalent in society (Lopez 2006:98). Obtaining legitimacy is not always done in the most politically correct way, but Mr. Bradford has learned to work both within as well as outside of the system.

A relationship with a former employer helped Mr. Bradford get to the other side of the wall at one time. The former employer, a Jewish man with whom he had developed a close relationship, knew the owner of a building that Mr. Bradford was interested in purchasing. He approached the former employer, whose family he had become a part of as "their boy." He recalled:

> …I had been in their family working for them through the years… I was their boy you see, and on that basis that made [me] available to resources. [I] got to know father, and mother and all the others…

Because of the relationship, the former employer approached the owner on Mr. Bradford's behalf. Again, the relationship between Mr. Bradford and his former employer's family formed an alliance that became profitable for Mr. Bradford, LD, and the community. The relationship was cultivated during the 1950s and 1960s when black and white (in this case Jewish) racial relations were strained. In spite of the segregation in society, relationships were cultivated across racial lines. Mr. Bradford was made

legitimate to the building owner by his former Jewish employer and was able to facilitate the deal because, as Mr. Bradford put it he trusted his Jewish friend to bring him someone trustworthy.

In building the relationship with his former employer, Mr. Bradford was also building an alliance with others outside of his community and racial group, which was used at a later time to leverage this deal. While that may not have been his immediate goal, it worked out for him in that way. That relationship allowed Mr. Bradford to go "through the door" and get on the other side of the wall using both the relationship *with* and the race *of* the former employer as tools to accomplish the goal. Going through the door has not always been the method he has used, but his determination to get to the other side of the wall by any means necessary has been rewarded as LD is now forty years old and continues to serve the community.

Differences between Lock Down and Take To the Street are not only due to their political affiliations with local, state, and regional polity, but also their connections with the community. LD has maintained their focus mostly on North Lawndale, although they have diversified and extended services to Austin, East Garfield, and West Garfield over the years. TTS, on the other hand has expanded their services and focus to include most of the city. Their numbers grow yearly, with a growing population of Latino clients that now make up over 60% of their client population. Serving the Latino population entitles them to extra funding from the government, which allows them to increase the amount and types of services they are able to provide for everyone.

Family Focus Forum - Political

F3 was founded by a minister, Pastor Pratt who, along with his wife worked and lived in the community and tutored community youth who were behind in math and reading. They later created the organization to address behavioral and mental health needs of the families of the children that they found to be partially responsible for their children's lagging academic success. Pastor Pratt was acquainted with local politicians before starting the organization and had built relationships with some of them. When he left the organization after six years, his predecessors were not able to maintain and cultivate the relationships he had established.

F3 is the only organization in the study that does not have any community residents as employees, which means they do not spend as much time in the community as resident employees. Therefore, F3 has less opportunity to liaise with local politicians, residents, and the community. While this may account for the lack of relationship building between the leadership and employees with local politicians, it does not explain why they have not cultivated any political relationships, connections or alliances on behalf of the organization.

The present CEO, Ms. Annette admitted attempting to develop relationships with the alderman. Expecting a positive reciprocal relationship to develop and one that would be good for the organization, she hosted meetings, posted signs, and lent support during the 2011election, but after the election was over, there was no further communication with the her. Phone calls and emails went unanswered. She felt that she and the organization had been used as merely a campaign platform. After the election took place

"they [don't] darken our doors, whereas before the election they were knocking our door down." Feeling used and discouraged, F3's staff actively searches for opportunities to build relationships with organizations, foundations, churches and various entities both inside and outside of the community. Alice, former CEO of F3 said the organization had good relationships with local politicians in the early days and was more politically connected than they are now. She could not articulate what happened that caused them to lose some of that connection, but stated that they were supported by the state senator, alderman, and other local politicians who were responsible for the organization obtaining their first DCFS contracts. Their reliance on government funding has increased significantly since the early days when they were more reliant on fundraisers, private donations, and foundations.

F3 also feels the sting of dependence on government grants. Ms. Annette felt like she was in a bind because of having to pay the costs for programs upfront and wait to be reimbursed by the state. This funding arrangement has caused the organization to be behind in their bills. Private funders, she said, have been leery of providing support for organizations that are heavily dependent on government funds, which has presented another set of challenges that prevents them from obtaining the necessary resources to serve their clients. These factors make running a nonprofit organization in communities with few resources and great need much more difficult. Private foundations want to know that their investments will ultimately lead to a self-sustaining organization. They are not interested in funding organizations that will be dependent on them for long-term support.

F3 also supplements their funding situation through fundraising, fees for services, and private gifts whenever possible. They are also moving more towards obtaining clients with private insurance. The organization was put in a financial tailspin when they lost a five year multi-million dollar grant in 2010, which funded abstinence education. It was cut only one year after they received it, and sadly, they had to stop the programming and dismiss the staff. They continue to hold onto the extra space they acquired in the process, but it causes a strain to their budget as well.

<div align="center">Youth Alliance – Political</div>

Youth Alliance, the smallest of the four organizations has leadership and employees who believe the government is not trustworthy or interested in the plight of people of color, especially African-Americans. Because of this, Mr. Mays, founder and co-director of YA has been determined to subvert relying on government funding by maintaining a diverse funding stream which consists of a number of private donors, churches, and organizations as well as a few small grants from various private foundations. Mr. Mays observed that dependence on government funding can lead organizations to change their mission in order to meet grant requirements, only to prematurely lose the grant funding in the end.

> … we've noticed that a lot of other youth agencies, when their budget is heavily government funded, when those dollars are pulled back they've had to let those programs go… And see when they structured their funding proposal with that in mind, some of them actually changed some of their programs so that they can actually get those funding dollars, and we've always tried to make sure that we put the programs in place and then go after the funding dollars.

About 90 percent of Youth Alliance's income is from independent private donors, churches, gifts in-kind, and occasional small foundation grants. Another very small portion of their budget comes from fees and fundraisers.

YA remains defiantly disconnected from local political officials, utilizing their services only when absolutely necessary, such as when they needed the endorsement of the alderman to build their youth center. Mr. Mays expressed strong distrust of government and government officials that is historically based and racially charged.[12] Part of his distrust has been learned from YA Church founding leadership, who learned that trusting the government and government officials yields very little in African American communities during the early years of racial transition in the community.

Mr. Harold, board member and one of the three founders of YA Church along with the other founding ministers of have likely influenced Mr. Mays' feelings towards government interference and assistance. When asked what was problematic with government funding, Mr. Harold said:

> Well, there are policies within when you get government money that you cannot do certain things; that you cannot discriminate in the people you want to hire. And since we are a faith-based organization there are some criteria we feel are important, and so we are reluctant to give up those um criteria in order just to get the funds… And to avoid that it has been the policy just to avoid the government grants.

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[12] North Lawndale is but one of many African- American communities where sociopolitical processes such as restrictive covenants, redlining, political decision making, exclusion of and withholding of resources, and other means of discrimination and racial maneuvers have contributed to extreme poverty, need, and lack of structure. The Black Panther Party was a very active and positive force in the North Lawndale community; Fred Hampton was gunned down in his North Lawndale apartment in 1969 as he slept causing rage among African- Americans around the country, and Dr. King brought the Civil Rights Movement to Chicago's doorstep living in North Lawndale at 16th and Hamlin before his assassination. These and other facts adhere North Lawndale as a community to historical implications of government neglect.

Mr. Harold, as a board member and businessman is not as adamant about the organization not pursuing *any* types of public funding. One of his main concerns about the organization receiving public funding is that they may be forced to hire those who do not espouse to their beliefs. He goes along with the other leaders who follow the lead of Mr. Mays as founder of the organization.

Mr. Harold and the other founding ministers were disillusioned with the government in the early years of the church's beginning because it was largely hands off and non supportive of the community or the church. He noted a time in the early years when the church was billed for property taxes on the building. As a not-for-profit religious organization, they understood that they should not have to pay property taxes. They solicited assistance though the alderman who, though he promised to help them, failed to do so, resulting in the church having to pay the taxes in the end. They interpreted this situation as racial because the alderman was white, the system is white, and when they contacted the white pastor of the church they bought the building from, he said they never had to pay taxes on the building. This is but one of several racially charged experiences that has left distaste for political interference in both the church's and the organization's affairs. As a result, they decided to accomplish things without government assistance and interference whenever possible.

However, distrust for the government, though part of the African American experience, does not always serve them well. In this case, the leaderships' political hands off stance partially explains why YA has not expanded their focus beyond the small section of North Lawndale that encompasses about a one mile radius around their

buildings. Distrust for government and public assistance and support interrupts the triadic exchange process as theorized by Marwell (2004), which could also inhibit meaningful connections with people, resources, and capital that are very much needed in the community.

In 2010, the leadership of YA Church added Mr. Peter Ross to the pastoral team. Mr. Ross, a white minister from a nearby Chicago suburb has attended YA Church and volunteered with the organization for 20 years. The decision to make Mr. Ross co-director of the organization was one that has been considered since Mr. Mays and Ross began discussing how they could possibly do more to bring in support for the organization without becoming beholden to public funds. The discussions resulted in Mr. Ross taking on a position of searching for grants and other funding sources. Mr. Ross said as a "white Anglo Saxon who has been adopted into this neighborhood", he understands that he brings certain opportunities with him, that his position "at the table" is different than his African American contemporaries:

> …if you're a white person working in a black neighborhood, white people will give you money to do that. But they won't give a black person money who is leading an organization doing the same type of ministry [in a black neighborhood].

Mr. Ross is speaking of white fundamental Evangelical philanthropists who he has been in meetings and conversations with concerning inner-city ministries such as YA, F3, and TTS. He has referred to white's refusal to fund black ministries as "the urban ministry's dirty little secret" and challenges white philanthropists and foundations about their discriminatory practices in giving. Mr. Ross also believes that white organizations performing social services in African American communities have an obligation to work

under the indigenous leadership so as to support rather than supplant the leadership that is in place serving the community when they arrive. In this way, the community is able to see examples of successful leadership that look like them instead of whites. This sends a powerful message, especially to the youth, about ownership and success.

One government institution that YA is interested in building a relationship with is the police department. Mr. Mays and Ross have had to go to court to advocate for some of the young men who have grown up in the programs and they have had to intervene in other situations with their youth. Mr. Mays thinks that by attempting to have some dialogue and interaction with the local police officers that things will begin to get better between the community and the officers.

Perceived Social Change

Few people living in Chicago have not heard of the social ills that plague low-income minority communities such as North Lawndale. From the 1980s, when the *Chicago Tribune's* (1986) book entitled *The American Millstone: An Examination of the Nation's Permanent Underclass* hit the press to current news articles, North Lawndale has held the reputation of a troubled community.

According to a news report by Jeremy Gorner (Chicago Tribune 2012), Chicago experienced an increase in crime in the first quarter of 2012. Homicides rose 60%, from 75 in 2011 to 120 in 2012. Overall shootings, both fatal and nonfatal, rose from 308 to 490. Crime reports from North Lawndale's 10th district during the week of April 9 to 15, 2012 reported that murders increased 88% from 2011 to 2012, although other crimes such as criminal sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated battery were all down 14, 18, and 11

percent respectively (Chicago Police Department). The four organizations noted several

social changes in the community that have been summarized in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Social Changes
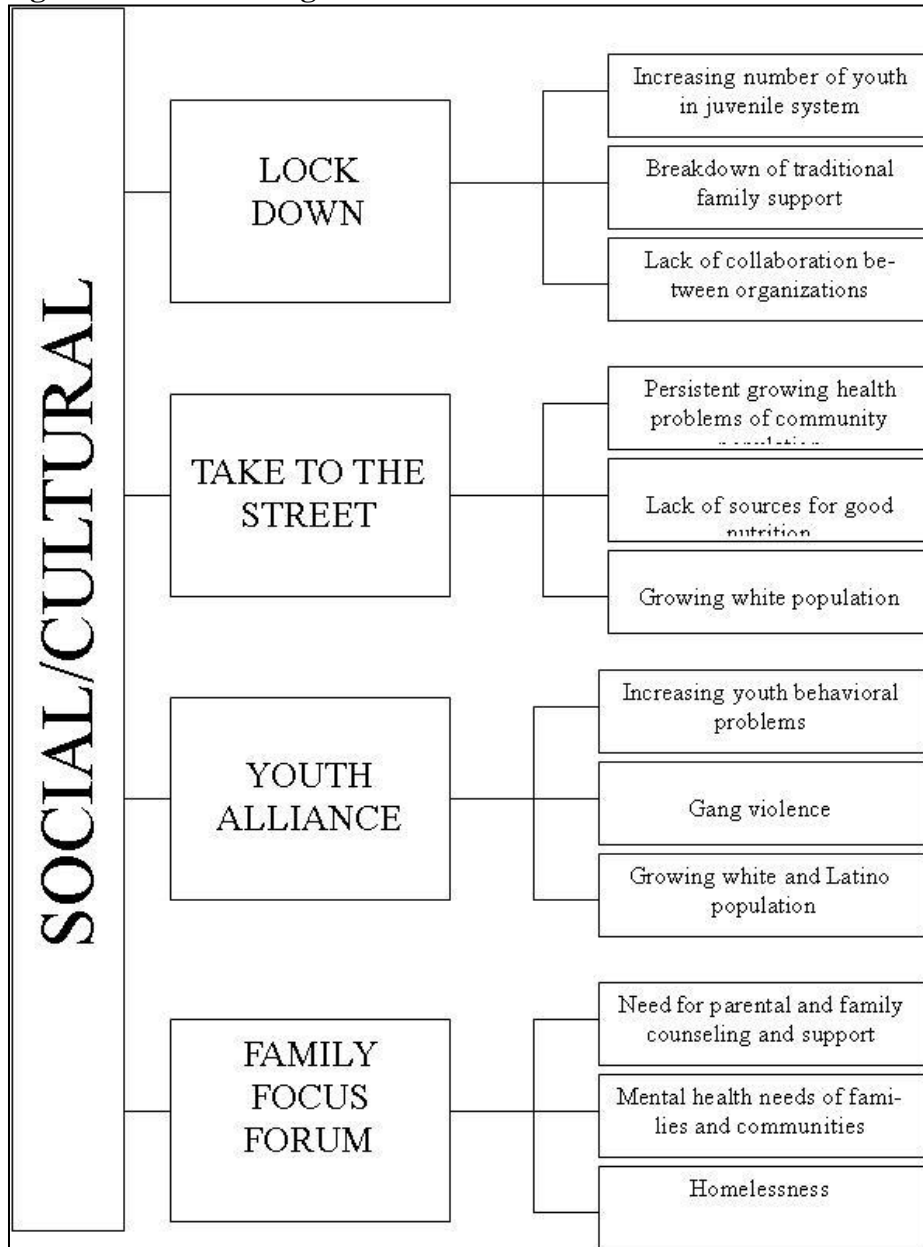
As in the political and economic responses, again, organizations perceived and

understood change as it related to their specific clientele or services provided. YA and

LD both recognized changes in youth behaviors and were concerned about the state of the community. TTS health services expressed concern about the health and well-being of the residents as obesity, diabetes, hypertension, and lack of exercise continue to plague the residents. As the only behavioral/mental health provider of the four, F3 noted family support and the mental health needs of the community as major changes affecting the community.

There was some ambivalence towards the perception that increasing numbers of whites and Latinos were moving into the community, with most of the concern coming from African American respondents. TTS and YA respondents mentioned the increase of whites in the community, likely due to both organizations and churches having a number of white members living in the community. Both churches are advocates of racial reconciliation, though they interpret and practice principles of racial reconciliation differently.

A common social theme noted by the African American organizations was that of the breakdown of the family as a unit of support in the community. The increasing number of juvenile youth, youth behavioral problems, and lack of parental and family support were expressed in a number of ways, showing concern for the safety, well-being, and stability of the community. Each of the organizations referenced relationships as interpreting factors of significant social change.

<div align="center">Lock Down – Social</div>

LD's social concerns tied into their political and economic concerns, namely funding cuts that deprive African-American young men from a fair chance to remain free.

Their concern that the youth would be left to make good decisions in the face of peer

pressure and other distractions concerned the staff because they understand the kind of

pressure these youth experience on a daily basis. The longest tenured employee, Tyson

lamented the loss of funding for juvenile youth programs at LD stating:

> … as we started losing more money and getting cut, we saw the kids start having armed robberies, aggravated batteries, sticking people up, robbing people, breaking in people houses, stealing cars you know, those kinds of crimes started elevating more and more…it hurts the program when the kids can't get all the materials they need…they had to cut back on transportation, the vouchers and money they give to staff to go and pick the kids to and from…those kinds of things kinda hurt the kids you know. We can't rent gym space we need so the kids can have recreation stuff like that you know…

Durrell is another LD youth worker who is concerned about the social impact of

the budget cuts on the youth in the community:

> …with the economy being the way that it is and the cuts of a lot of programs that would normally occupy these young men and women, I believe that we're not seeing the worst.

The seriousness of the cuts to the social stability of the community's youth alarms

all of the youth workers at LD. Drugs, breakdown of the family structure and support

were also cited as reasons for the social problems of the youth in addition to the lack of

collaboration between community organizations.

<center>Take To the Street – Social</center>

TTS health services and housing service employees and leadership were

concerned about the health concerns of the community. Conditions such as heart disease,

diabetes, and stroke are often referred to as major health risks associated with African

Americans. According to CEO, Mr. Daniels, these things are as simple as bad choices

that need to be corrected by making good choices. Mr. Daniels was unsympathetic to

African Americans who made poor eating, exercising, and other unhealthy choices:

> I always knew when I was doing a wrong thing. And I know when I overeat, that I've overeaten. And I know when I don't get enough exercise that I know it's a decision that I make… And so, I guess I pass my own experience over to someone who's African American.

Mr. Daniels believes that individuals have choices and they are responsible to reap the

consequences for the choices they make. Mr. Daniels was alone in his assumption that

choice was the main cause of poor health in the community among African Americans.

Others, both African American and white were sympathetic to the conditions that cause

such poor health conditions and choices. Tammy, administrative assistant for TTS health

service is not a resident of the community and told a story of an experience that disturbed

her as she shopped in the community. She recalled:

> I remember one day, I was on my way [to work] and I stopped to get some orange juice…I stopped at a gas station because there are no grocery stores here, and I was looking for anything that was actual juice, like real juice. I even asked the guy at the counter to come out and show me, like 'Where's the real juice?' and we couldn't find anything in the store that was actually 100% juice, that wasn't like an ade or a punch...and it sounds insignificant but for some reason it just knocked me back. And I came out of the gas station, and my husband's like 'what happened, who's in there, what's going on?' and I'm like, '**These people don't have a chance!**'…obesity's huge, but why? I mean even if you get food stamps, great. You get $300-$400 worth of food stamps, what good is that to you, if, with that you cannot buy anything that is actually healthful and helpful to your body? And our society is always talking about you know the bad eating habits of this group, this group, and this group. And then we go into their neighborhood and there are no other options. (emphasis mine).

Tammy is a racially mixed, white and African American woman married to an

African American. She does not live in the community, but has tried to get into some of

the newly rehabbed housing that she says is not affordable to her family because they do

not qualify as low-income because of her and her husband's incomes. As a non-resident, Tammy also sees the community's acceptance of being a food desert as "their normal" just as F3's nonresident employees. Searching for juice that day was particularly frustrating for Tammy, which contributed to her having very different perceptions of the health problems than Mr. Daniels. However, both Mr. Daniels and Tammy, along with the rest of the organization's employees agree that the community has health concerns that need addressing.

<div align="center">Youth Alliance - Social</div>

Youth Alliance leadership and employees' social concerns also focused on issues pertaining to the youth. As a long-time youth organization, YA's dedication has not waned over the years. Unlike LD, YA does not work with youth in the juvenile system, unless youth from their programs becomes involved in the system. Mr. Mays and Mr. Ross have both accompanied young men and their families to court as support at times, and they both noted that having the support of men in the courtroom has helped the judge's decisions concerning their youth. What has not been impacted by their presence is the number of cases the young men in the community get "walking while black[13]."

The growing numbers of Latino youth moving into the community are of particular concern for YA staff because of the growing numbers of violence across racial lines in the high school and the community. While collecting data at YA, one of their

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[13] This term was used by Kayla, a YA youth worker. Kayla said that the young men in the community are often picked up for nothing more than being in the community. She witnessed this happening to two of the youth in their program and called Mr. Ross to intervene. In calling Mr. Ross, a white man, Kayla assumed that race contributed to the young men's encounter with the law. She and others in the community are not trusting of the police who patrol the community and many feel powerless to stop the harassment of black youth.

youth in their program was shot, allegedly by a Latino youth. The staff became concerned

that other youth in the community or family members would retaliate. Things were quiet

for weeks until one fateful Saturday afternoon a Latino youth was brutally murdered by a

gang of African American youth. This incident caused YA to shut down their programs

for a week for fear of a black and brown gang war. The incident was especially

disconcerting for Mr. Mays as he compared the childhood of today's youth to his own:

> There is a lot of violence, a lot of gang activity and many of our children are not
> allowed to be outside and play as we did when I was young; outside all day and
> parents were not worried because they felt like we were safe. But the children
> don't come outside and spend as much time as we did.

> For Mr. Mays, the problem of youth violence and gang activity robs them of their

youth. He is saddened that children are not allowed to be children and play outside like

the children of his day, or those in communities that are low-poverty and safer. He also

links the inability of black youth to play outdoors to increased incidents of obesity,

hypertension, and other health problems.

> David, a lifelong resident of the community and part-time youth worker with YA

noted a lack of commitment of youth serving organizations to instill humanitarian and

godly principles in their programs as partially responsible for the social breakdown of

community youth. Having grown up in YA's programs and leaving the church and the

programs for the street life when he was in fifth grade, David was once one of the youth

on the street causing problems in the community. As a former drug dealer, he understands

the pull of the streets on African American youth and says:

> …the organizations that are out now, they just want numbers…I don't think that
> the organizations, a lot of organizations really care about the kids as much as they
> do about the numbers and the funds they get coming to the program.

David worked for two youth serving organizations in the community before quitting, and volunteering with YA, reasoning that he "knew they were teaching the kids right and cared about them." David accused the two community youth organizations he worked for, as being more concerned about making their numbers in order to receive the funds than instilling principles and qualities in the youth that can help to shape their lives. David went on:

> …I feel like YA saved my life. I grew up in this same neighborhood and I did some things in my life that I cannot put on this tape, but because of the values that I learned from YA when I was younger it never left me. So when I got older all those things that I thought were just pushed aside, they always came up to help me to get through some of those things. But now the programs are just teaching kids how to…become great basketball players, but not how to be a great person.

As a former gangbanger and drug dealer, David is concerned about the quality of service the youth in the community receive from youth serving organizations. The social maladies associated with poverty including the call of the street to African American young men is very strong, and he feels as if young men in the community are not being prepared to avoid it by some of the youth serving organizations in the community.

According to David, though he did not take heed, the values instilled in him while he attended YA's programs stayed with him and eventually brought him out of that lifestyle. Grateful to have successfully made it out of the street life, unlike several of his friends who are incarcerated or deceased as a result of making some of the same bad decisions he made, David began working full time for a youth organization in the community. After observing practices he believed to be immoral and unethical that he had been taught against, David left the job:

..[the employer] was paying taxes on me from [the organization] and had me classified as Agriculture Laborer, which means that I worked in some type of agriculture field. My job title was a School Coordinator at [a local elementary school], so I know personally that this organization is using the workers, as well as the kids, to get more money for themselves. I got the paperwork that could show that I was classified as working as an Agriculture Laborer.

Discouraged and angry with the practices of the organization, which was the second in the community he had worked for, David returned to YA to volunteer, because would rather "volunteer with an organization that is on the up and up than work and get paid by one that is crooked and don't care about the kids or the community." After serving YA in a volunteer capacity for 18 months, they were able to obtain funding to pay him for part-time hours.

David has created a program for 4th through 8th grade boys with YA that promote principles of respect, manhood, and commitment to godly values that were instilled in him as a young boy while attending YA programs. YA's mission, principles, and policies have not changed over the years, and they give the youth currently in their programs much the same guidance they gave David when he was attending.

Family Focus Forum - Social

The need for parental and family counseling and mental health needs along with the growing problem of homeless individuals in the community, were concerns of F3's staff. Primary and secondary trauma, according to board member and former employee Thomas Webb, plays a large role in creating needs for mental health services in the community. Mr. Webb was not born in North Lawndale, but has lived in the community for more than fifteen years. He has witnessed several murders, shootings, and other crimes and has even been victimized by burglary. The impact and the retelling of the

details of certain violent acts, according to Mr. Webb, causes trauma for individuals, especially for the youth. When trauma is not addressed, the impact on the psyche does not go away, but rather becomes deeply rooted and causes individuals to act out in various ways, he said.

Mr. Webb gave an example of an incident that happened on his block in 2009 that explains how primary and secondary trauma happens. In the middle of the day, a 15 year old African American male was shot just feet from his home on Mr. Webb's block. As crowds gathered, emergency personnel were called and dispatched to the scene within twenty minutes. Upon their arrival, the police roped off the crime scene and began an investigation. The young man's family was traumatized and hysterical, yet his body lay in the street exposed, for what Mr. Webb described as an hour. Disturbed with how the police were handling the situation, Mr. Webb approached the commanding officer and asked if he would at least "move the body", because, he suggested, it was too much trauma for the family and "it's inciting rage." The commander's response to him was "my men need some way to cope with all this, so the people will just have to wait till we get our job done." Mr. Webb reported the commander, but "nothing came of it" he said sadly. Convinced that the commanding officer was never reprimanded for his actions, Mr. Webb went on to describe the horrific details and lack of respect that took place at the scene:

> … probably two dozen officers, uniformed and plain clothes [were] around the body; you got about four or five groups of them. There's one group immediately by the body. They're standing, talking, laughing, telling jokes. Another group talking laughing sharing their day, telling jokes.

The immediate responsibility of the officers at the scene, he continued, is to keep everyone away from the body, which is lying exposed in the street. While it may be true that police officers encounter these types of situations often, there was a stark contrast between their calm and jovial demeanor at this socially disturbing incident, and the panic and pain of the young man's family and friends. The contrast of emotions, the reactions of the two groups at the crime scene, the trauma experienced and internalized becomes barriers to learning for community youth, results in depression and or aggression in adults, and anger in the youth, especially the young men in the community.

> So you see this despairing dynamic like night and day; one group in hysterics, no way possible can be comforted while the body is there. Blood spattered here and there. Another group of people laughs as if nothing's going on.

Those at the scene experienced primary trauma because they were able to witness the devastation of the incident first hand. Secondary trauma happens when the details of the stories are told to others who were not there, who then experience the trauma second hand. The more the story is told and the detail rehashed allows the listeners, who were not there to vicariously witness the actual crime and experience the resulting trauma through the storyteller. Situations such as these take place in the community often, said Mr. Webb, and most often low-income and poor people do not have the wherewithal to obtain professional help to deal with them. They learn to cope with the pain and trauma in their own way, and they have a grave impact by ripping and causing tears in the social fabric of the community.

Director of Clinical Operations at F3, Mr. Jose Rios, said they have to help their clients understand that "It's ok to talk about these things. And not only is it ok to talk

about these things, but it's also ok to get help for them." F3 therapists have had to convince their community clients that the organization is there to help them. They have been able to connect many of the social maladies experienced during traumatic situations throughout their clients' lives with the maladjusted and harmful behaviors that bring them to the organization through DCFS and other social organizations.

As a behavior and mental health facility, F3 invites the community and surrounding communities to come to them for services and is attempting to work in collaboration with other organizations and institutions to ensure the social well-being of North Lawndale and surrounding communities during these difficult times of political, economic, and social change. They distribute literature often to churches and surrounding organizations, encouraging them to send their clients who display anger, harmful behaviors, depression and other socially maladjustment behaviors. The organization maintains an "open door" policy and is determined to turn no away. The leadership and therapists realize that there is tremendous need for their services in the community, and their goal is to be around to provide them.

Conclusion

How the organizations define, interpret, and understand change in the community determines how the leadership decides what the organization can most effectively address and the processes needed to do so. Dedication to serve the community is merely a first step to effectively serve the community. Understanding the culture, needs, economic, political, and social climate of their community and changes taking place within are also

necessary. How accurately they interpret these changes are also important to effective service provision.

The present economic crisis has presented challenges for the organizations and the communities that are reported to be unlike any other period since they have been in social services. Strategizing and collaborating has been helpful for some while others are in more secure situations economically. As a way of insuring collective stability and effective use of community resources, many funders are even requiring that organizations show that they are working together with other organizations institutions, and groups in the community to accomplish goals. However, this puts even more strain on nonprofit organizations in struggling communities.

The political, economic, and social concerns or changes identified in this chapter describe patterns of social disorder consistent with poverty that confirm Wilson's (1987) theory of social isolation. Wilson asserted that low-income people and their communities suffer from a lack of meaningful contact with "resource rich" others who represent mainstream society. The poor living in high-poverty communities have networks, kinship relations, and other systems of support mostly made up of other resource poor connections that do not allow for meaningful contact or immersion into wider society as demonstrated by Young (1999, 2003). The changes described by the respondents reflect similar constriction as asserted by Wilson, Young and others who show that social isolation, lack of capital, and geographic location matter.

One of the greatest challenges the organizations continually face is the need to acquire the necessary resources to keep the organizations afloat. The next chapter focuses

on how the organizations utilize their resources and capital to address the needs and

concerns of the community.

CHAPTER FIVE

DEALING WITH CHANGE, SUPPORTING THE COMMUNITY

This study examined how four nonprofit community-based organizations located in North Lawndale navigated change that was taking place in the community. The changes stemmed largely from outside influences with important implications and oftentimes grave impact on the community. The leadership of nonprofit organizations is very important to the stability and success of the organizations, and the organizations are very important to the stability and well-being of the community. Several North Lawndale residents rely on the services and support they receive from the organizations such as young mothers who receive transportation vouchers for doctor visits, HIV/AIDS clients who frequent their facility for support and information, and young men needing guidance from men. The codependent relationship of community and organizations as sources of support is the basis of the nonprofit's success. As expected, when the economy declines and funding becomes scarce, need for services increases for those organizations providing services such as housing, healthcare, and family assistance.

Surprisingly, youth services, such as those provided by Youth Alliance and Lock Down also saw an increase in service need. Part of the reason for YA's client needs stemmed from parent and guardian concern for the safety and social interactions of their children during after school hours as crime escalated in the community. As parents had to work longer hours, work overtime due to positions that were not filled when employees

left, or faced other work related issues, they wanted to be sure their children were in safe, fun, and positive activities in their absence. Though small and limited in their capacity to serve more than fifty children, YA attempted to accommodate as many parent requests as possible. Paramount to the organization accommodating more children was their youth center in which they were able to provide structured activities as well as free play. LD's youth workers noticed increases in juvenile crimes of theft, robbery, and getting into trouble with the law as the economy grew worse, attributing the increase as youth attempts to gain access to more resources. These two organizations determined that changes to the community were definitely having an impact on their organizations.

Organizations used various strategies to assess and decide what could and should be done to effectively serve clients and the community. From the data emerged four processes that the engaged in to effectively meet the growing challenges of their clients. They are described in the following section.

Acquiring, Prioritizing, Shifting, and Shedding

Four strategies became apparent from interview data that revealed the paths the leaders took to address the changes: (1) they sought to *acquire* resources they believed would assist them in effectively and efficiently meeting the needs, (2) they had to *prioritize* the needs, giving preference to those most pressing and urgent, (3) decisions to *shift* programs and people were made as necessary to distribute resources most efficiently, and (4) when absolutely necessary, they *shed* programs and people for the greater good of the organization. The strategies were specific to each organization and carried out differently by organization.

The strategies were often accompanied by situations that caused further challenges for the leaders to overcome. The leaders were, for the most part able to successfully acquire, prioritize, shift, and shed as necessary, allowing them to maintain the organization, serve the clients, and serve the community.

Acquiring Capital and Its Challenges

The acquisition of information, materials, relationships, and various forms of capital is necessary for the organizations' survival. The organizations' leadership sought out resources through several means including fundraisers, attending meetings to become more aware of opportunities, searching databases, and making inquiries of others in the field. Acquiring the necessary resources to successfully move forward was not always easy and there were times when the leadership was not successful in obtaining what they expected, and had to make other plans. Such was the case with LD's CEO, Ms. Brenda, as the deadlines approached for some of their bills.

Lock Down

Lock Down is heavily funded by state and county grants and contracts. Because of this, they have been harshly impacted by the State of Illinois' recent budget cuts and lack of payment. The organization held several fundraisers to supplement program and funding cuts over the years including appealing to the board of directors and friends of the organization for support, writing letters, silent auctions, and local bake sales. As funding from the state became more inconsistent, they fell further and further behind because the organization was required to "front the monies to support the programs and the organization."

Ms. Brenda attempted to collect funds owed the organization by the state by calling the capital building and speaking with anyone who would listen including the representatives and legislators. Though she explained the organization's difficulties, she was consistently told there was nothing they could do. Concerned that she would not be able to make payroll, she attempted to take out a loan for the organization, but when the bank realized they were heavily dependent on state funding, they considered them "high risk", and the loan was denied.

Calls to Springfield, the state's capital ensued, and she "literally bugged" her legislators. After some weeks, they agreed to issue "a hardship payment" for the organization, promising to put a check in the mail the following day. Determined to make payroll as close to the already overdue deadline date as possible, Ms. Brenda drove five hours to Springfield to pick up the check that day. She considers the trip well worth the time, gas, and effort because she was able to pay her staff only three days past the scheduled pay date.

The ordeal was trying and difficult because it was the first time the organization had not made payroll since its inception and she felt badly that it happened "on [her] watch." She spoke slowly and blinked often as if fighting back tears as she recalled the day she had to tell her staff they would not be paid on time. To her surprise, the response from the staff was both positive and encouraging. "They actually said we were surprised it hadn't happened before now" she said. Since that time in early 2011, the payroll has been late twice. Because the organization's reserve funding has mostly been depleted, Ms. Brenda says she does not have the "nest egg" that got them through the beginning of

the difficult times. This, she confessed is of great concern for her personally and the organization, going forward.

LD's fundraisers have yielded support for supplies and small projects. The organization has always kept supplies such as diapers, formula, and non-perishable groceries on hand for people in the community who would come to them with those needs. As funds from the state and county were cut back, more small fundraisers became necessary to maintain the supplies.

Youth Alliance

YA makes regularly monthly appeals to their supporters for their financial needs. The organization does not they solicit extra funding from YA Church beyond the few thousand already budgeted annually for the organization, because as a small church they simply cannot support the organization with more. YA Church is often approached by community residents that making appeals to the small church for assistance with food, paying overwhelming medical bills, mortgages, and funeral expenses.

While collecting data at YA, I attended the final ten minutes of an emergency block club meeting where the mother of a recently murdered 17 year old youth who lived on the block had made an appeal to meet and discuss the problem of violence in the community. Mrs. Price, block club president, Mr. Ross and Mr. Mays of YA Church, a police officer, and the alderman were in attendance, as well as a number of other people. The young man had been murdered the day before the meeting was called.

The grieving mother made an appeal for assistance to "put away my son with dignity." She said "I have done everything to keep my children from gangs, only to have his life taken by them." Her heart-wrenching plea permeated the room and several of the

women wiped tears as she spoke. I learned that she was a single mother with three other children, and her son, only 17 years of age had been murdered just feet from his back door. As a single mother, she was not able to purchase life insurance for her children and had no savings from which to draw for burial expenses. A collection was taken after the meeting to defray funeral costs.

Mr. Mays explained that the church tries to not turn anyone away, although what they can actually do as a church and faith-based nonprofit organization for the families is very limited to a few dollars here and there and taking up collections from the church membership and community residents. The church also maintains a small benevolence budget to assist families in the church and community, but the needs are always greater than the resources.

YA has "a very strong individual donor base and church support" according to Mr. Mays, that has sustained them for twenty-five years. Ninety percent of the organization's budget comes from their donors and the church, and a smaller part is provided through fees for services and occasional small grants through foundations. The organization recognizes the need for more youth programs in the community to thwart the growing numbers of youth on the streets, kids getting involved with and becoming victims of gangs, teen pregnancies, and increasing violence among the youth. "Most of these problems exist because the children are unsupervised" said Mr. Mays, who decided to address the need by building a youth center to accommodate more children and run better programs that would more adequately address the needs of the families in their target area.

They began appealing to their donors for funding for the youth center early in 2005, through their monthly support letters. Responses began coming in slowly over the following months, and by the end of 2005 they had raised enough money for the builders to start building by spring 2006. It was because they secured an architect and builder willing to work with them as they raised the funds that they were able to accomplish their goal. The building was completed in 2007 and they were allowed to officially open the youth center for their programs in the fall of 2008. The center is heavily used by the community for birthday parties, anniversaries, wedding receptions, and funeral repasts. These are all unanticipated advantages to the community that they had not considered before building the building, which adds to their value and worth to the community. Fees collected when the center is used are paid in stipends to the unemployed men who are often *hired* to set up and clean up the building when various functions take place in the center. In this way "the center is proving to be a blessing to the community in more ways than we anticipated" says David, a YA part time youth worker who also assists in the supervision, set up and cleaning of the church and youth center.

<div align="center">Family Focus Forum</div>

F3 has been unable to recover from the loss of their abstinence education grant in 2010. CEO, Annette Tonnes has noted that without personnel in place that are experienced and knowledgeable about grant writing as well as having the necessary connections to people and information, raising funds for the organization is nearly impossible. She would like to have staff whose sole responsibility is to seek and apply for funding for the organization because, she says "it is a constant, constant struggle and battle to maintain" their programs, facilities, and staff. Small organizations such as F3

will always have difficulty raising funds, according to Ms. Annette, because they lack the staff and personnel that can spend the necessary time searching for RFPs (requests for proposals), foundations and philanthropists who fund their types of organizations and interests, and attending meetings to network and meet with funders. That is a full time job in and of itself, says Ms. Annette, and the organization simply does not have the money for a person to do that full time.

Ms. Annette began attending meetings with a network of various nonprofit leaders and others working in high-poverty communities. This network has yielded connections to people and possible funders. She has met owners of businesses, program officers of the United Way and other foundations, and leaders of nonprofits while gaining knowledge about potential funders. She is building relationships with some key people that she feels will be of assistance to her and the organization. One specific relationship that she is cultivating is with the program manager of an organization that she said is interested in funding organizations such as F3 who offer services that are scarcely funded. This man will "help me put together a stellar board with some people with some money" she said. He is interested in F3's role in the community as the only behavioral and mental health counseling organization and has agreed to work with her to build up a "stellar board" that will be fully functioning and supportive. F3 has been operating with a small board which was, according to Marsha, an F3 therapist, "not very functional…because of some drama." The "drama" took place in 2007 or 2008, as a result of disagreements between certain board members and a previous executive director, which resulted in a board split. The board and the executive officer were not able to rectify the situation and some of the members left. Ms. Annette was excited about finally having a board to assist her in

carrying the organization forward in a productive manner. After meeting with the program manager for two weeks, she anticipates "an attorney…ministers, and some other people who believe in what I'm doing; who believe in me and support me" as potential board members that will provide the necessary support needed to keep F3 an integral part of the community.

<div align="center">Take To the Street</div>

TTS' acquisition of capital was different than the other three organizations because TTS Church and the TTS ministries are widely connected to people and churches with resources that support them regularly. Pastor Parks invites suburban groups from supporting churches to come into the city and tour the various ministries as a means of garnering support and solidifying existing supporters. Arnold, a former church member and TTS housing service employee witnessed several of these groups while working for TTS who came to see and experience "the Take To the Street Miracle from Pastor Parks moving into the community." For Arnold, the title of the TTS Miracle was especially irritating to him because of its insinuation that "Pastor Parks is the great white hope of the community and nothing positive was taking place in the community until he arrived."

What was especially disturbing for Arnold, and one of the reasons he decided to leave the church, was that Pastor Parks and the leadership of the TTS nonprofit organizations were not making attempts to work with the other community organizations to build the community as he was gaining support from so many sources. "He wants to get the work done and get the credit because he can, but he doesn't want to work with the black leadership in the community because that won't be profitable for him." Arnold's

sentiment was shared by other African American leaders in the community, which will be discussed in another section.

The tours, Pastor Parks' speaking engagements at various churches, and word of mouth provide TTS Church and the TTS nonprofit organizations with significant support that gather and create other means of support. Ryan Davis heard Pastor Parks preach and present the TTS ministry at his northern suburban church one Sunday evening. Excited about what he heard, within three years, Ryan, a white thirty something, who had grown up in white suburbia all of his life, relocated to the community to attend TTS Church. Two years later, he began discussions with Pastor Parks about working with families of community youth involved in the courts. The following year, TTS juvenile court service ministry was created. The two year old ministry draws its main support from the church, but Ryan completed a federal grant for the organization on the day of his interview with me, which he was very confident about. This type of ministry is "extremely valuable and fundable" says Ryan, who sees a growing need for services that target African American and Latino youth in the court system.

Each of the TTS nonprofit organizations has their own support base. TTS health service has rarely been in a position where they have struggled for funding because of the nature of and the need for their services. As a Federally Qualified Health Center (FQHC), TTS health services receives federal funding that is mostly secure, that is until administration changes take place in the White House following presidential elections. Their 2010 annual report listed 26 foundations and corporations, six government, and a full page of individual, family, and private donors who have given to the organization.

TTS housing ministry has experienced financial challenges in recent years, due to the shrinking economy and funding entities losing money in the stock market. Ms. Debra, Executive Director of TTS housing service reported having to search for funding after the organization began experiencing economic troubles in 2007. The lost funding had been set aside for a project that would serve community youth interested in art. To deal with the cutback, they dropped the program until they could replace the lost funding. As an aside, Ms. Debra reported, the organization was also able to keep costs down by leaving vacant positions unfilled when employees left the organization.

TTS rehab services are heavily funded and supported by TTS Church. They also have donors and a small food service business (donated to the church as support for the rehab ministry) as financial support. The business was acquired when several TTS Church members approached the owners of the successful business establishment located in suburban Chicago, about supporting what they were doing with and for the men in the community struggling with substance addictions, homelessness and unemployment issues. Explaining that the men were plagued with these vices due to a number of circumstances, including being formerly incarcerated, they made the case for the business owners to consider. The owners agreed and donated the business to TTS Church as a means to generate revenues, provide jobs for the men, and establish a local business in the community as "an offering to God." Excited about the employment opportunities and job training the business has provided for the men, Eddie proudly proclaimed "this is the first year we will actually see a profit." He believes that the rehab ministry and the men benefitting from the ministry have "nowhere to go but up, from here."

Gender, Age, and Race

In their quest to acquire resources, many of the leaders talked about challenges they encountered along the way. Three of the four women in leadership told stories about being discriminated against by male funders or in other settings. Ms. Brenda of LD experienced racial, gender and age discrimination in one encounter with a long-term funder whose expectations of her work were based on assumptions that she was incompetent and unable to lead the organization.

Ms. Brenda is an intelligent, educated and articulate thirty-something African American woman. She is very comfortable using technology, social media outlets, and other means of communicating and networking. In this age of technology, cyber communication, and fast paced living, she is most accustomed to communicating via telephone, texting, faxing, Facebook, and Twitter, as are most young executives. Communication, networking , and establishing business relationships has been a challenge for her as she encounters older funders and executives preferring slower and more traditional methods of building business relationships and communicating. What took place "back in the day" was relationship building through face to face meetings, lunches and follow-up meetings, but today "we don't do that as much…we live, I think, busier [lives]."

How Mr. Bradford's generation communicated to build relationships and the use of technology to communicate is vastly different. Mr. Bradford continues to communicate with some of the people he built business relationships with funders, businessmen, politicians, philanthropists and others, with whom he built relationships with over the years. For Ms. Brenda, modern means of communicating are just more

convenient, though she admires her father's relationships chuckling, "they will go visit each other, go hang out with each other, and spend that face to face time", but this is not so important for Ms. Brenda who says for this generation they are not interested in spending that kind of time to cultivate those types of relationships. They prefer the "convenience" of not having to commit to slower methods of getting things accomplished, concluding "it just takes too much time."

Ms. Brenda has been challenged by men of her father's generation that are most accustomed to doing things the old way. She and Marie recalled a meeting where a white male funder became especially belligerent towards Ms. Brenda because of her stance. He questioned her competence, saying "him we know, but we don't know anything about you or what you stand for, and I don't know what you're capable of." This was not the first encounter she had had with someone who questioned her leadership abilities, but she had been trained well by her father, as he prepared his daughters to take over the organization. She said there were several who thought of her as merely Mr. Bradford's daughter instead of a well trained professional woman leading the organization.

During the training period, around 2006, Mr. Bradford told Ms. Brenda, as she was going into a meeting with one of the organization's large funders "whatever you do, don't kiss no ass." She continued, "he said, I don't care what comes out of this, you don't kiss ass", and she has adopted that as a aphorism for every meeting she has attended since then. Because of her kiss no ass stance, Ms. Brenda was able to address the funder in a firm yet respectful way. She retorted "I can respect that. Would you like to get to know me?" Based on his response, she realized that he was questioning whether she obtained the role of CEO as merely Mr. Bradford's daughter; her professional credentials; and

attacking her ability to perform the tasks required of her as CEO of the organization.

Realizing this must be a difficult situation for the funder as he came to the realization that

someone who was "probably younger than his youngest child" was sitting at a table

discussing "grown up matters" as his peer must be difficult, she decided to be respectful

for her father's sake. She imagined that, as Mr. Bradford's daughter, whom he has known

for, what she termed "a fair amount of my life", must be difficult for him to sit in a

meeting as his peer.

Her sister, Marie interrupted to add provide more details so that I would better

understand the context and situation of the story, explaining:

> …What it was, was that the lever shifted. You got a young black woman in a
> position of power that cannot kiss ass; and looks you straight in the face and deals
> with the facts…it was a nasty meeting…I had to recognize you know he's never
> been black, he's never been oppressed, let me self check before we slap him
> (everyone laughs) and get out of here. He was very disrespectful!

Ms. Brenda continued:

> …quite frankly, there were some things that were said that were completely
> unprofessional… The entire shift, hands down, [is] that of a new generation…
> sometimes [it's] offensive to be, in their eyesight, a kid and holding these adult
> conversations and make professional decisions at a moment's notice…it's
> offensive that they're even talking to you and that they view you as something
> very dismissive, as a child so to speak.

This scenario demonstrates how gender, race, and age became a temporary barrier

for Ms. Brenda. The funder was adamant about Ms. Brenda proving herself, because he

was convinced that she was in the position as merely Mr. Bradford's daughter , although,

they recounted she "could rattle the contract off" proving her knowledge and

understanding of the relationship between his foundation and the organization.

Marie assumed the funder's reaction was based on ignorance of the situations faced by their African American clients, and his reaction to Ms. Brenda in terms of racial and gender discrimination. Ms. Brenda interpreted the funder's reaction in terms of age, realizing she was years his junior and likely appeared young and possibly disrespectful or threatening to him as a much younger woman with a high level of confidence.

Mr. Bradford knew what his daughters would have to face in the nonprofit and business world and he prepared them accordingly. Coaching Ms. Brenda to kiss no ass for anyone or anything, no matter what that meant for the organization or her personally, was the advice she has carried into every business relationship and meeting since then. She stated "it has made me fearless." What Mr. Bradford was teaching his daughters was not only good advice for fundraising, but for all of their professional relationships. He was teaching them to keep things in perspective and maintain their dignity and integrity at all times as African Americans, as women, and as leaders. Other African American leaders expressed having to defend their integrity and identity as African American leaders as well.

<center>Maintaining Identity and Integrity</center>

For racially mixed (black, white, and Asian) Youth Alliance, maintaining their identity and integrity was also a challenge for the leadership in their acquisition of resources and capital. The experiences of the founding ministers of Youth Alliance Church as North Lawndale was changing, planted seeds of distrust of white power structures which were transferred to their successors. Some of the experiences of Mr. Mays and other African Americans pertaining to maintaining their identity and integrity as they went before white funders left them feeling disrespected and demeaned as African

American men. They realize that money is necessary to stay in business, but they intend to maintain their dignity and integrity while pursuing support for the organization. Their past experiences have caused them to (1) overlook the offenses to obtain the funds or (2) walk away from the money, deciding it was not worth the effort or humiliation to pursue the relationship or the funding. Both situations can cause feelings of anger or resentment to occur, so they were resigned to try to be positive and keep open minds about building relationships with fair minded funders that do not operate out of prejudice and are willing to fund nonprofits more equitably.

Mr. Mays realizes that it will be impossible to operate YA without any support from whites and that has not been his goal. Several of the supporters that have been with him from the beginning are white, he says, and he has close friends and working relationships with several whites. His frustration is the "white cloak of innocence" that white funders have used to mask prejudice as displayed by their invitation to minority pastors and organization leaders to the table with no real intention to lend support to them. Unfortunately, he says, he does not know enough "big money" African Americans or people of color who could support YA and other African American-led organizations because "blacks simply do not have that kind of deep wealth" that is needed to support the continued and growing needs of African American communities. The problem, says Mr. Mays is that white funders try to make African American organizations give up their identity or integrity to receive funding from them. When asked to explain, he continued "one of the reasons is trust. I don't think that some of the white funders trust black leadership with their dollars."

The issue of trust has historical implications between blacks and whites in America. Trust, according to Wuthnow (2004: 218) is a "social norm" that encourages cooperation, exchanges, and maintenance between individuals, groups, organizations and other facets of society. Relationships based on trust are earned and established over time, says Wuthnow. By the same token, the lack of relationship can be rooted in mistrust also. This is well known by businessmen and women who try to establish or gain new business without prior relationships, according to Wuthnow. "It is more difficult to establish relationships without either someone to verify you or the groups you represent, but these relationships can be established after spending time with and cultivating meaningful relationships. Because of the rocky history between African Americans and whites, trust has not been built at levels that allow for African Americans and whites to develop mutual trust. This does not refer to individual whites, but to the groups, institutions, and systems created and established by whites to maintain racist practices and policies.

Many of the respondents noted that residents of North Lawndale are non-trusting of their neighbors. Trust was noted by Ms. Annette as a factor that has prevented her and her neighbors from really getting to know each other. She said

> A:…you had a few people who were neighborly you know in terms of you know we spoke to each other, but as far as visiting each other's houses, we didn't do none of that kind of stuff. Nooo, cause you never knew who was up to what. So we were cordial on the street but that was pretty much it.
>
> E: So neighborliness from the 50s and 60s was gone? (as she noted before)
>
> A: Oh no we might stand outside and talk to each other, but I never had anybody in my house.
>
> E: And that's because?
>
> A: I didn't feel a sense of community. I didn't feel a sense of community in terms of bringing people in my house. I just didn't.

E: Why is that? Was it a matter of…(cuts me off)

Trust... I have been very clear with my son about my expectations, so I wasn't going to put him in harm's way. It was enough that we lived in the community you know, but some things you need to keep out of your house.

Ms. Annette's experiences with her African American neighbors of the 1950s and 1960s were different from the relations she has with her current neighbors in a neighboring community that is adjacent to North Lawndale. Others noted that fear and a lack of trust between neighbors is a factor that allow youth in the community to do many of the disrespectful and harmful things to property, people, and the community.

Mr. Mays co-director, Mr. Ross, who, as a white man that has lived with white privilege and has been privy to information, conversations, and people who genuinely believe in equality for all people. He admitted that he has also met and mingled with several whites who are starkly opposed to African America and minorities and who are steeped and grounded in racist ideology of inferiority and superiority of whites. These people, said Mr. Mays have trouble providing funding and support for black-leadership of ministries despite the fact that they may provide the same services to the same types of people. He said, most white evangelical funders will not support an African American organization equally with a white organization. Labeling this attitude "urban ministry's dirty little secret" that is not expressed openly but is agreed upon behind closed doors in the safety of others who espouse the same beliefs and ideals. This secret is rooted in racism, says Mr. Ross:

> I mean, if a white person really cared about inner city neighborhoods, what difference should it make if the executive director is black or white? Well the difference is ultimately the white funder doesn't trust blacks in leadership (bangs his fist on the table and looked intently into my eyes while speaking). They won't

say that and I don't think most of them know that consciously. It's not that they look and see this person and say 'they're black and I don't trust them', but it's built into us as white people.

Mr. Ross' knowledge of and experiences with white privilege and its pervasive use in our society leads him to believe that whites are racist by nature, at least in western culture. He referred to himself as "a recovering racist" who is learning to love and see people not as a color blind person, but a person who sees color, yet understands that color does not carry derogatory or negative connotations for the person.

The Challenge of Collaboration

F3, YA, and LD each said they were denied opportunities to work with TTS. This could be interpreted as envy motivated by the three organizations that are all black-founded and black-led organizations or racially motivated by TTS who is white founded and white-led. The answer lies in the perceptions and interpretations of the actions of the leadership of the organizations and having an understanding of the history of the community. As a racialized space, North Lawndale has remained under the control of forces outside of the community's African American citizens, many of whom are unhappy about it. North Lawndale resident respondents mentioned three white-led organizations within the community that have been able to grow because of resources being given to them for work similar to other work done by African American leadership. They are not at all happy about that, but they also felt powerless to do anything about it. TTS, one of the organizations the residents are disgruntled with has been able to grow significantly larger than the other organizations led by African Americans, but partly because of the services they provide. One example is the health services. Because TTS offers this ministry to the community, they are entitled to other funds. However, they

have been accused of starting organizations instead of working in collaborative

relationships with others in the community.

Mr. Daniels, CEO of TTS health service's interview, while maybe not what he

was intending it to be, revealed the organization's plan to be self-supporting and

independent by creating new ministries and nonprofits to address community needs. He

said:

> …the most important collaborations for us here are with our own family of organizations, TTS Church, TTS housing services, TTS court services…now we have TTS health services for fitness, although it's part of the health services… those, for us, are the most important collaborations.

Here, Mr. Daniels admits that the church and their nonprofits' preference is not

necessarily to be connected with other organizations in the community who are

attempting to work together, but to create their own organizations to address the needs of

the community, which they have been doing over the years. TTS has several

organizations that provide a number of services and they can continue to grow and create

more as their support grows. Their 2011annual report shows that they have an extensive

list of government sources, foundations, corporations, and independent donors as

supporters. These supporters have been obtained over time and through several sources

and contacts, and according to the leadership, they have been very consistent and faithful

over the years. That is not to say that they do not lose supporters, but their list is quite

diverse and extensive and unless they lose half of their supporting factions, it appears

they will remain in good shape.

One of the complaints that the three organizations noted was that each of TTS'

nonprofit service organizations addresses needs in the community that were being

addressed by other existing organizations in the community. For instance, LD has been

working with juvenile youth since the 1970s. TTS court service was started in 2010 to

address many of the same issues as LD. Similarly, YA was doing after school programs

and working with a local elementary school before TTS began after school programs in

the 1980s. Marie, Operations Manager for LD recognizes the need for juvenile youth

advocacy is great, but she was disappointed that TTS refused to work with them on

projects that she felt would have enhanced what LD was doing as well as showed the

community that the organizations are working together to build one Lawndale that is

concerned about the community as a whole. The lack of collaboration from TTS to work

with them to address issues of juvenile justice was particularly distasteful for her. She

recalled:

> …[we] would reach out and say "hey, I'm doing this, or I've got a great idea for
> this…let's see what we can work with each other on. If I'm already doing this,
> maybe you can do this so that resources could be spread out. [response would be]
> "No, we're doing that as well"…I hate to just put it out there, but it's like…you
> were fighting your neighbor…

LD was built under the "spirit of collaboration" and they have consistently

attempted to build relationships with TTS and other community groups, residents,

organizations and businesses to serve the community. This particular incident Marie is

referring to was about collaborating on a grant that would increase a program for youth

advocacy. She assumes that TTS was in dialogue about creating TTS court services at the

time they turned down LD's offer of collaboration, because shortly after the incident,

they announced the opening of their new court service organization. Situations such as

this have caused other community organizations to feel like TTS is not a team player, and

question Pastor Parks' intentions. The director of TTS rehab ministry suggested the

African Americans in the community have looked at Pastor Parks as though he were

trying to be the "great white hope" of the community, but said that was not the case. Ms.

Debra, the leader of the housing ministry said of Pastor Parks and the TTS ministries:

> …we wanna be a catalyst, we wanna be the first to start things so that others can come behind and feel like it's ok to do certain things…

Ms. Debra's understanding is that TTS is attempting to be at the fore of new and

innovative services for the community or a catalyst for change and being innovative.

However, they have duplicated the services of each of the other nonprofits in the

community. In addition to the juvenile justice services offered by LD, YA has offered

after school programs that were duplicated by TTS housing services. This has not been a

problem for YA's Co-Director Mr. Ross, who said:

> …the reality is the need is still greater than what all of us can do. It's not like we feel like there's no need for us anymore, but we are trying to …complement what's going on overall in the neighborhood with what we do.

This sentiment was also reiterated by Ms. Brenda of LD who said

> "we really try to only do things that we do well…we stay in our lane" meaning we are not interested in duplicating services to other organizations, but rather try to balance the services in the community with the needs that are going lacking.

The three organizations are more interested in "balancing" what is being done,

rather than duplicating services that are already provided. I noted two reasons the

organizations were committed to "staying in their lanes": (1) they were focused on

excellence and offering professional services to the community, and (2) they were

interested in minimizing competition of services in order to maximize allocation of

resources and working together to build the community. Those who perform similar

services also try to work together to accomplish more when possible, such as TTS

working with a youth organization on an art project that provided funding to paint the boards on vacant housing in the community. This partnership provided funds for the youth and experiences with art and beautifying their community.

Prioritizing Needs

The best example of leadership prioritizing needs is LD's CEO, Ms. Brenda. After receiving the emergency funding from the state, she met with her Chair of the Board, Operations Manager, and Director of Juvenile Programs to determine the listed each of the organization's debts and categorized them in order of importance. The process required discussion with other leaders of the organization including the and rearranging the list technique of categorizing needs listing encompassed everything that was done at the other organizations, rolled into one. After acquiring the necessary resources from the state's hardship payment and the various fundraising events, she began devising a plan to pay down the debt while preserving the organization's ability to maintain the employees, serve the community, and keep up with the organization's assets.

Her first move was to create a hierarchical list of each debt and need in order of priority. Her final list, which reflects her "loyalty to employees and clients" was (1) clients, (2) staff, (3) utilities, (4) payroll, (5) benefits, and (6) consultants and vendors. As the only leader to talk about creating such a list, Ms. Brenda demonstrated a level of organization that was noteworthy as the youngest leader in the study. Her next task included deciding how the funds would be dispersed and whether or not bills would be paid in full or in part. The amount of funding received would determine what the organization could actually do. For LD, the acquired funding was sufficient to take care

of the list with "a small amount" left to cover the next month, which she was relieved about, but unless the state was able to pay its bills on time in the coming months, the organization would be in a similar bind.

The leadership of the other organizations, though not providing the level of detail as Ms. Brenda, prioritized their debts as well noting that employees and clients were always top priorities. Youth Alliance leadership said they have never had to decide which bills to pay as the organization has been able to rely on limited emergency support from the church. While the church has provided ongoing and emergency support, as a small church that depends on the tithes, offerings, and support of many low-income members, this can become problematic in the future should the economy continue its downward trend. As noted earlier in this study, organizations gain support from the communities in which they serve, and service organizations and churches in low-income or high-poverty communities do not yield high levels of financial support.

Shifting Programs and People

After priorities are established and assessment made, shifting programs, positions, people, or priorities may be necessary. Shifting can be as simple as moving the time that a program is offered as in the case of YA, or as complicated as creating a position and title of a valuable employee in order to keep them, as in the case of F3.

For F3, shifting an employee's title and position became a priority for Ms. Annette shortly after joining the organization. Isaac had been employed with F3 as a case worker for more than 10 years before the organization was forced to restructure due to the loss of the federal grant in 2010. Isaac began working with F3 during a time when case workers were trained on site to assist licensed case workers in the homes of their

DCFS wards. When DCFS began requiring their contracted organizations to have only

credentialed workers, Isaac's title and position were shifted to that of community liaison.

In that role he assisted clients obtaining physical needs such as clothing, furniture and

other necessities through vouchers provide by the state. Three years later, because of

funding cuts, Isaac's position was again changed, this time to community educator. In

that role Isaac began teaching healthy relationship strategies to inmates, and youth who

were detained in the juvenile justice system. The curriculum included information and

exercises on anger management, choosing good friends, and healthy ways of making

good decisions. As a valuable employee, Ms. Annette realized that to let Isaac go because

of funding cuts would be a mistake. She offered him a position as Community Educator,

which would allow him to continue teaching the healthy relationships curriculum in the

jail, juvenile home, and some of the schools in the area. In addition to that, Isaac is also

"Facilities Manager of the Physical Plant", his official title as grounds manager.

Lock Down also shifted the position of an employee during early 2011when the

number of youth attending one of their programs dropped. The employee, Juan, was not

interviewed, but I spoke with him while collecting data there. Juan's position was shifted

from youth worker to case worker to preserve his position with the organization. As a

case worker, Juan works specifically with the organization's growing numbers of Latino

families. Juan, like LD's other case workers, goes into the homes of the clients to observe

and assist the families with any needs they have. According to Juan, the move was one of

the best he could have made, because he has the chance to be out of the office and into

the homes and lives of people in the community. For the organization, shifting Juan's

position was a means of maintaining his services as a valuable employee. In this way, shifting can be a move to avoid the final step of shedding.

Shedding Programs and People

Shedding, for the three organizations that had to do so, was always used as a last resort when there were no other options. Youth Alliance has never *had* to shed a program or person because of cuts to their budget. Volunteers have come and gone, and workers through Mission Abroad have held temporary positions with them, but employees that have come to them full time have stayed until retirement, such as former co-director Austin. The employees of YA have been long-term employees. Two of the organizations have had to lay off employees at some time due to funding or program cuts, but the leadership was always torn when they had to do so.

Ms. Annette of F3 said through clenched teeth, "I lost my entire abstinence staff which was in place when I got here. We're talking about seven people lost their jobs." Feeling somewhat personally responsible for the layoffs, although it was not in her power to do anything about it, Ms. Annette was not happy about losing the grant or the employees. She would find that losing the employees were not her only organizational troubles.

When the released employees filed for unemployment, Ms. Brenda was notified that the organization did not have unemployment insurance. Days after that, she was notified that another of their state funded programs was being audited because of some unclear practices. Each of these things caused increasing financial burdens for the organization at a time when funding was shrinking. Determined to keep her therapists and

Isaac, Ms. Annette sought guidance and financial support in every place possible, including prayer:

> …when that program failed, the Lord blessed and I was able to get a funder from my previous relationships…who believed in me, saw us struggle with the organization, believed that the indigenous organization of this nature needed to stay in the community, and that we had done good work. They were willing to come alongside and help me to facilitate what needed to happen with the IRS, which was a nice sum of money.

Several situations arose for Ms. Annette during her early months with the organization, but she has stayed with the organization and, according to her, is successfully making strides. Previous relationships with businessmen and women with connections to others has been helpful for her and the organization as she has had to call upon them to rescue the organization during this difficult transition.

Lock Down was forced to shed a number of employees over the years, according to Director of Juvenile Programs, Tyson who said "when I first started working here we had over 70 something workers. I'd say we're down to about 30 something workers now." Part of the reason for the lower number of staff is that Mr. Bradford trained a number of social work interns from local universities. The interns worked with the organization in a variety of capacities with varying hours. When he began to age and started to train his daughters to take over the organization, Mr. Bradford discontinued his tutelage of social work students.

TTS housing service has had to shed a program, but according to Ms. Debra, no employees. The program they had to shed was due to a cut in funding for that specific program and they anticipate starting the program again when funding for it is restored, something Ms. Debra anticipates will happen when the economy picks up.

Again, shedding is a last resort for the leaders and none of the three that had the experience expressed trying everything in their power to avoid the situation and felt a personal responsibility to them.

Connecting Clients to Capital and Resources

The tenacity of the leadership propelled them to action, driving them to pursue every opportunity to utilize the resources they had, and when possible to acquire others. The needs of the residents and community remained central to the leadership and employees. After identifying the types of changes they believed were impacting the community, understanding what to do about the perceived changes were next steps. The organization leadership took inventory of their resources and determined what they could effectively address in their present state. For some, there was not much to work with, but for TTS health services, the type of service they provide has ensured solid funding causing the organization to be financially stable and in a position to continue its support to the community uninterrupted.

Other organizations were not as fortunate as TTS health services, having to make other plans as public funding was either cut or discontinued. F3 and LD were both impacted in this way experiencing both budget and program cuts within the past three years causing loss of programs, employees, and community connection.

Interview data showed that the organizations utilized sources of government, community, and church support to address their clients' needs. The analysis in this section uses a triple point connection to describe how the organizations connected their clients with government, community, and or church related resources. This concept has been outlined in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Connecting Resources to the Community
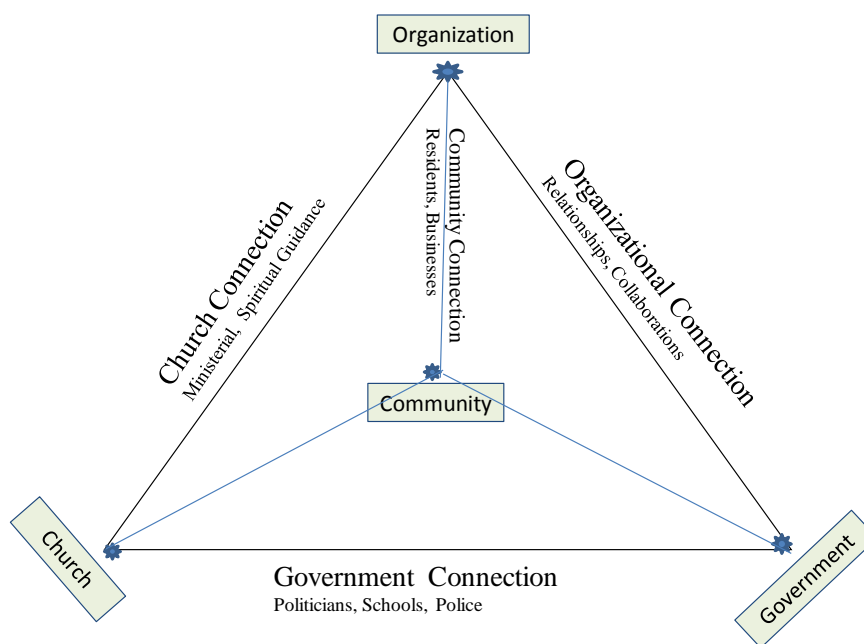
The three institutions of church, government, and community were used by leaders and employees to address the concerns and needs of their clients. Some of the organizations had ready access to these resources such as with YA and TTS' connections with their respective founding churches. Similarly, LD had ready access to a community network through participants of the monthly forum meetings. These organizations were able to readily connect their clients to these institutions as resources in crisis situations, even if their funding resources were low. Leadership made decisions about addressing changes in the community based on the resources they held and what they had access to both inside and outside of the organization. Driven by their perception, understanding, and interpretation of the needs, they made assessments of what they could actually do to address them. Assessing what they have is fundamental to ensure they have the necessary resources to most adequately support their clients.

Take To the Street

TTS housing service has maintained strong church and public support since its inception. Pastor Parks' vision for the church and the organizations calls for a focus on spiritual development as well as caring for the community. He has also maintained a strong relationship with politicians, with the understanding that such connections can be profitable for the TTS family of organizations as well as the community.

One of the organizations (ministries) deals with affordable housing in the community and one of the goals is to provide "access to what is needed to have a strong healthy quality of life here in the neighborhood" says Executive Director, Ms. Brenda. However, funding, the economy, and budget cuts have threatened that mission. During the beginning of the economic downturn (in 2007), TTS housing service began experiencing economic difficulties that caused them to have to do some "restructuring" which, according to Ms. Debra caused them some consternation as they contemplated how to keep their doors open. Knowing affordable housing in the community was in decline and they were one of a few organizations committed to providing quality housing for the community, hey understood that closing their doors would cause further hardship.

Having an elected official on their board was vital to their success and providing housing options. Their bank did not allow them to increase their line of credit, nor were they willing to work with them in any way to help them through a period of financial stress due to decreased support from some of their funders. As an organization heavily dependent on state funding, they were seen as high risk and were denied increased credit, though despite, according to Ms. Debra a long-standing relationship with them. Upon the advice of the state representative and their board they dropped one sector of service to

decrease their budget. Support from TTS Church allowed for the creation of a new nonprofit organization that specifically addressed the dropped service, allowing TTS housing to maintain their status as a provider of affordable housing options for the community, and with the new organization, have options for new services in housing administration. This restructuring allowed TTS housing service to be available to help families get through the mortgage crisis that was in the beginning stages when this restructuring was done.

TTS housing service was able to maintain their services to residents while connecting with *government* (an elected public official) and the *church* to address the organization's crisis caused by shrinking funds and need for affordable housing. The process was a risky one the organization as Ms. Debra pointed out:

> …it became very, very um difficult in 2007 in particular when our organization had transitioned. A lot of funders have a policy where they won't even fund an organization that's in transition. They will pull their funding, wait to see what happens and then – you can come back to them after the fact to see how that goes.

Because of the support and advice (and connections) of the elected official, they were able to obtain what they needed, despite the decrease in funding support and denial of support from other funding sources. Today, TTS housing services is stable, though they have to continue to seek funding opportunities, and the part of their organization they had to let go is been addressed through the new organization, which has the potential to provide a job or two for the community as well.

<p align="center">Family Focus Forum</p>

F3, as a mental health, behavioral counseling organization has been concerned about the homeless population and growing numbers of people with mental and

behavioral health conditions. Located on a busy street in North Lawndale, they are able to see and come in contact with a number of people who wander aimlessly, sleep on a bench near the organization, or stop in to panhandle. At times these individuals approach churches for support as well. F3 employees occasionally provided lunches for them, but as an organization that provides mental and behavioral counseling and therapy for such individuals, they were concerned about doing more.

Concerned that this aspect of community life is overlooked, they began discussing how they might bring attention to and address the growing needs of community people in need of their services. They decided that starting with relationships would be a safe and relatively doable low cost beginning. They agreed that contacting churches, schools, and other health care entities in the community and nearby communities to begin dialogue could also be done inexpensively. Their intention was to collaborate with these other entities in order to build relationships and construct a wide safety net around the community, thereby establishing a healthier environment in the community, overall. It was evident that addressing issues of relationships would be most beneficial, based on situations of their clients, community reports, and what they were able to witness. The leadership began contacting pastors in North Lawndale and nearby communities to begin dialogue on how they could collaborate and develop ways to introduce and encourage healthy relationships and coping skills in the community. Mr. Rios, Director of Counseling services told me the church was the best institution to approach because:

> …when working with primarily African American and Hispanics, we'll first go to our priest or our pastor before we'll ever come to a mental health counseling therapist, psychologist, or social worker. That's the reality of it, the church is the gate way for many people to access services…to not acknowledge that and be sensitive to that is not acknowledging a big part of who our clients are.

Understanding the "spirituality" of their clientele and the interests and needs of people they work with, Mr. Rios and the F3 staff agreed that the church was the place to sell better relationship skills and how to choose and have healthy relationships with family, friends, and neighbors. This collaborative approach would (1) provide mental and behavioral health information and services to the community, (2) offer professional services to pastors as a ministry tool, (3) build a stronger network between churches and service providers in the community, and (4) build F3s client base.

One of the first churches to host one of F3s workshops on healthy relationships was Youth Alliance. The two organizations have maintained a loose connection since that workshop, which for YA has included referring a family to F3 for professional assistance.

F3 worked with the *church* and *community* to address the social changes/needs of mental, family, and parental support and assistance taking place in North Lawndale. By going to churches to provide workshops for pastors and their members, F3 was also building a new client and funding base which, for them would address the political concern of dependence on government funding.

<div align="center">Lock Down</div>

Built on collaborations between community residents, businesses, a few churches, and community organizations, LD has offered North Lawndale residents a "place at the table" through community meetings with the intention to allow their voice to be heard. As one of the oldest organizations in the community, LD offers some sense of stability to the community in that they have remained on the same corner, have offered the same type of services, and have maintained a good reputation as honest and caring over the years.

One of the necessary services that Lock Down provides is HIV/AIDS education, testing, and support. This service has been offered since the 1990s, and the funding has come from state and city grants. Anna has been the director and community educator for this program since it began, and she takes pride that they can offer that service to the community. Anna is a sixty-something year old African American woman that walks with a cane, but she makes regular trips into various parts of the community visiting clients, talking with people she meets about HIV and AIDS and the need to be tested, and to local health centers. Since the beginning of 2011, part of Anna's mission has been to secure a doctor willing to endorse the HIV/AIDS testing, so LD can once again provide the swab test.

Anna explained that when the state funding for HIV/AIDS support services was cut, the city agreed to provide funding for the testing, but there was a different requirement; the organization had to have a physician on board that agreed to handle (theoretically) the testing at the facility. The organization, at one time had been working with a physician, but that was no longer the case because of personal difficulties and they have not been able to secure another one

The HIV/AIDS service has been a part of LD's youth program as well. Since its inception, LD has maintained a focus and concern for the growing numbers of African American youth in the community who are caught up in the juvenile justice system, and providing HIV/AIDS testing became a part of that service to the young men in their programs. Anna said she has provided education and support not only in their building but also in the juvenile homes, county jails, and other organizations. The recent problem

of not having the endorsement of a physician to do the testing has been frustrating, but Anna, along with the leadership is determined to prevail.

For Anna, it is best that the testing be done at the facility because, she says the place is familiar, they get the privacy and support they need all in one place, and when the results are ready they have the same person there to walk them through whatever the results are and help them to make the best decisions about their health. She has been optimistic, saying "where there's a will, there's a way", though it has been more than six months since they have not been able to do the testing.

Anna's most recent quest has been asking TTS health services, Mt. Sinai Hospital, and St. Anthony Hospital for support in securing a physician for their organization. In the mean time, she has been sending their clients to these and other places for their testing, and requesting that results be sent to LD so that she can offer the privacy and support they had always offered before losing testing privileges. This has not always been the case as many of her clients have had to go to the testing facility for results, but she continues to reach out to those clients to provide support and guidance. Though not ideal, this has worked as a "temporary set-up" and Anna is still pursuing options for an endorsing doctor.

Connecting clients with support despite changes in the requirements has been a challenge for LD, but Anna and the leadership intent to maintain that service. Referring clients to them for other facilities for testing services, though not ideal, is merely temporary. This triangular connection includes LDs with city *government* support and various *community* organizations to address the social challenges of growing health

needs of the community and the political frustration of dependence on government for funding needs of the community.

Youth Alliance

Youth Alliance is in a strategic position to connect community youth and encourage relationship building that can carry over to high school and beyond. The following situation was significant for the community because in this one incident, they utilized all of the connecting institutions to address the social concerns of the growing Latino population and youth or gang violence. The situation involves the tragic loss of life, but the end result had a positive connotation that, if replicated in other situations could make an impact on the youth and community going forward.

The situation began when a 14 year old youth in YA's program was shot five times by a Latino man. Weeks later, while this kid was recovering from surgery, a group of African American youth ascended upon a Latino youth riding a bike through the community near YA's building, severely beating him. It reportedly took more than twenty minutes for an ambulance or police to arrive, and this young man bled to death in the street. Mr. Mays and Ross, concerned that this was retaliation over the shooting that had take place, took action and called a meeting with pastors and youth workers from North and South Lawndale. I was invited to the meeting by Mr. Mays, co-director of YA who thought I might be "interested in what the spiritual leaders" in the community were doing to address changes involving the youth. Delighted and excited to be invited to this meeting I arrived about ten minutes early to observe.

I parked across the street from the building and noticed that it was eerily quiet and empty. It was a chilly autumn evening, and there were no children, adults, or even

passersby on the street. I asked Mr. Mays who was sitting in his car when I arrived about

the quiet street and he explained that the residents were expecting retaliation for the

young man's death and were avoiding being outside and possible victims of the potential

violence. As the attendees arrived, I was surprised to be the only woman to attend.[14]

because there are a number of women pastors and youth workers in the community. Mr.

Ross said they invited the males because of the scheduled time, and the situation in the

community was still very tense. I then wondered to myself why he would invite me into

such a dangerous situation, but decided he was giving me an opportunity to collect data

and better understand how YA's and other church leaders deal with the changing

situation involving youth violence in the community. I also realized he was probably

waiting in his car for me to arrive so that I would not have to be alone.

Five African Americans, six Latinos, and four whites attended the meeting. Mr.

Mays began the meeting by praying and he asked one of the African American men who

was visiting someone on the block when the incident took place to let everyone know

what had taken place. Robert[15] said he was one of the first on the scene after it happened

and the young man was still alive when he got to him because he heard him moaning saw

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[14] I expected there may be mothers whose children had been victimized by violence in the community in attendance. My reasoning was that women are greatly victimized when their sons and daughters are victims or perpetrators of crime. First, women are heads of the majority of the households in the community and when their children become involved with crime, this adds to the already heavy stress they experience as both mother and father. Second, the criminal justice system is costly and places excess strain on their already strained financial situation. Third, court dates mean time off work, finding child care and other necessary changes for them. Fourth, mothers of murder victims suffer loss and grief and mounds of debt to bury their children. Finally, whether the children are victimized or perpetrators, the mother/family lose a loved one, which is traumatic. The loss is felt on both sides when murders happen; the families of murder victims lose their loved ones to death and the families of the perpetrators lose their loved ones to prison. Both families lose access to their loved ones and the community also loses because they are not given the chance to become productive citizens in the community.

[15] All of the names are pseudonyms to ensure anonymity and confidentiality of those in attendance at this meeting.

him "move a bit", but by the time the ambulance and fire truck arrived, he was

"motionless and quiet." Reuben, one of the Latino men in attendance said he knew the

young man's family and had been in touch with his mother who did not have insurance

on her son. A call was made to this woman and through speaker phone, we were all

allowed to hear her talk about the pain of losing her son to senseless violence and the

anger and bitterness her other children were feeling towards African Americans because

of it. Mr. Mays apologized to her for what had happened and asked if there was anything

that Youth Alliance Church could do to help her. She said she owed the funeral home

another $900 and asked if there was any way they could help with that expense she would

appreciate it. He assured her that the church would contribute something to that expense.

Hearing the pain of this mother brought this incident home for me as a mother of a young

man.

When the call ended, the men sat in silence for a short time, taking in the

information before one of the Latino man spoke. I wrote in my field notes (October

2011):

> …the heavy Latino man apologized to the African American men for their
> "Latino brothers perpetrating crimes" against them. He said it has not been right
> how blacks have been treated in schools and in their community by Latinos with
> racial prejudice and hatred in their hearts, nor how the police have been
> persistently harassing black people. I felt like that was a sincere and powerful
> statement from him, and it was apparent that the others felt so too. The room
> became pleasantly peaceful and it is difficult to describe and or prove, but there
> was something more than mere emotion happening there. The next to speak was a
> black pastors who thanked the Latino man for his apology and proceeded to ask
> the Latinos in the room for forgiveness for their African American brothers'
> treatment of their Latino brothers and sisters. Again silence. The next to speak
> was Mr. Ross who apologized and asked African Americans in the room to
> forgive whites for their oppression, discrimination, and racially based
> mistreatment and hatred. He also apologized to the Latinos for the way American
> whites discriminate against them as well. At that time, whatever emotion, spirit,

or feeling that was in the room before was magnified by these last confessions. The quiet was interrupted by occasional sniffing and clearing of throats. There were tears in the eyes of some of the men and those who attempted to speak were choked with emotion. We all sat in silence for about three minutes before Mr. Mays began to pray for the youth and the difficult situations they face in our community and in society. The sniffing and wiping away tears continued as more prayers were said on behalf of the youth.

These men accomplished what I thought could provide positive potential for the community if implemented. They decided to (1) have a meeting with the Police Chief about the beating incident and the slow response to the scene, persistent and rising crime in the community, growing gang and youth problems, resident safety, and police harassment, all within one week of that initial meeting; (2) have a "peace rally" to bring the two communities of North and South Lawndale together in unity; and (3) to maintain the connection between them and not let this meeting be just another emergency meeting to address an issue.

The peace rally was planned for the following Sunday and the Latino churches would come over to YA Church to participate in singing, testimonies, and worship to God as testament that the two communities can and should come together. I was excited and looked forward to being at the rally, both as a social scientist, but also as a person who attends church in the community. Unfortunately, I was called away out of town for a family emergency that kept me out of the field for more than a month. Several people from my church said they went and enjoyed being involved with something they saw as a positive move in the right direction for the whole community.

When I returned the following month, I called Mr. Mays to ask about the outcome of the peace rally and he reported that both the peace rally and the meeting with the

Police Chief were positive experiences. He also said that he anticipated ongoing dialogue with the police department that would eventually include the community. According to him, the Police Chief was very appreciative that men from the community had come to him with those concerns and he was willing to work with them to bring North Lawndale to the place where everyone could feel safe and comfortable living there.

YA used each of the connections of *church*, *community*, and the *police* department as a state or government institution to address the social concerns involving community youth. In each of the above situations, the organizations utilized resources they had or were able to garner through other means. North Lawndale's nonprofit social service organizations have shown themselves to be true connectors of capital and resources to the community.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

This qualitative study has sought to understand how nonprofit community-based organizations in North Lawndale, a high-poverty African American community, deal with economic, political, and social change while continuing to meet their clients' needs. As systems of support, the organizations in this study connected community residents to capital and other resources through the institutions of community, government, and the church. As the organizations acquired capital in its various forms (social, financial, human, etc.) they went through the process of prioritizing needs in order of importance, shifting programs and people as deemed necessary to maximize their resources, and shedding programs and or people as a last resort when absolutely necessary for the greater good of the organization.

Acquiring capital was challenging for each of the organizations but there were historically based circumstances that were especially challenging for the African American leadership. My research demonstrates that race influences both the availability of capital and the ways in which the leadership attempted to generate capital in its various forms. African Americans were less confident than their white counterparts when attending meetings with philanthropists and other funders, although supposedly all had equal chances of obtaining funding. This is partly because the African American leaders

are well aware of, both from an historical perspective and through everyday experiences how racism limits access to social, cultural, economic, and other forms of capital.

According to social capital theorists (Putnam 2000; Silverman 2002, 2004; Light 2004) capital can be combined with other resources and forms of capital for greater effectiveness. Such was the case with TTS Church as Pastor Parks was able to mobilize sources of capital acquired while growing up in a Chicago suburb with relationships cultivated while in college to build several nonprofit organizations focused on connecting the community of North Lawndale to much needed capital. From the church, several nonprofit organizations have been born, including one of the largest community health service organizations, which has grown large enough to draw clients from across the city.

While capital is a necessary commodity, the acquisition of capital is not equally accessible to everyone. This was demonstrated with the African American leadership of YA and F3 who reported racist discrimination while attempting to gain access to capital. Several factors influenced their interpretation of the encounters as racist including America's racial history, their personal histories (both individually and collectively), and persistent encounters with racism in society. Each encounter reinforced the pervasiveness of racism in society and caused them to be keenly aware of and even to expect it in encounters with whites. These encounters have also created a lack of trust between blacks and whites that is deeply rooted in individual and collective memories.

Trust is included in most social capital definitions as a necessary tool for acquiring and building capital (Putnam 2000; Silverman 2002, 2004; Light 2004; Small 2002; Schneider 2009). "Trust is a calculation of the likelihood of future cooperation"

that, if missing from long-term and reciprocal relationships encourage "self protective actions" that can lead to "opportunistic behavior" that inhibit rather than promote full engagement in the relationship (Tyler and Kramer 1996).

Mr. Ross of YA talked in depth about the practice among white evangelical funders who refuse to support African American leadership and organizations because of a lack of trust based solely on race. On the other side of that is the case with the African Americans whose former relationships with whites has resulted in self-protective attitudes and actions that have prevented full cooperation and participation in many potentially profitable encounters with whites.

This study showed that African American leaders displayed limited trust in the system as they sought financial support from white funding organizations. Older blacks who had experienced the Civil Rights Movement or grew up in the South and had experienced firsthand the oppression of Jim Crow and overt racist practices that were responsible for the incarceration and death of African Americans more readily attributed racism to funders and reasons for not receiving financial support.

This was clearly exemplified in the case of YA and their leadership's insistence to avoid all forms of public funding. The organization's stance against government support stems from historical and personal racially based interactions and encounters with government, whites in positions of power, and the accounts of others who had experienced such oppression by whites. These experiences have become filters through which they judge whites, themselves, and their interactions and experiences with whites (Du Bois 2003[1920]; Young 1999). The following excerpt from Du Bois' (2003[1920])

account as a "teacher of youth" demonstrates one way that African Americans experience

racial encounters:

> I tried to be natural and honest and frank, but it was bitter hard. What would you say to a soft, brown face, aureoled in a thousand ripples of gray-black hair, which knells suddenly: 'Do you trust white people?' You do not and you know that you do not, much as you want to; yet you rise and lie and say you do; you must say it for her salvation and the world's; you repeat that she must trust them, that most white folks are honest, and all the while you are lying, and miserably you sit and lie on…"

Du Bois' battle entailed being honest with himself yet lying to preserve the

innocence of his students. His experiences and the inequality existing in the world largely

because of racism have caused him to not trust whites, yet he realizes that in order for his

students to have a fighting chance for a successful life in this country, they will have to

believe in the goodness and fairness of whites, despite the truth that they are not to be

trusted. Du Bois believed that African Americans live behind a veil through which they

can see, but makes them invisible to others. North Lawndale's African American's

experiences with racism and whites may embody Du Bois' sentiment and reinforce the

belief that whites (whether in the form of the government, institutions, or people) are not

to be trusted. Those beliefs for YA's leadership have been transferred to other

encounters involving whites such as when the organization applied for Empowerment

Zone funding and were denied. Past relationships with the government and the white

community convinced Mr. Mays that race played a part in the decision because other

white organizations in the community, doing the same or similar work were awarded the

funding.

For each of the black leaders, lack of trust or limited trust that whites are fair or would be objective was based on personal experiences that each of them had directly encountered. The experiences had left them feeling distrustful of whites; as though they had been taken advantage of or disrespected, both of which Tyler and Kramer (1996) and social capital scholars argue can inhibit the acquisition and accumulation of capital. Whites also have feelings or attitudes of distrust towards blacks and other minorities, yet are less likely to outwardly express them (Bonilla-Silva, Goar, and Embrick 2006). Instead, their feelings and beliefs about blacks and other racial minorities are often masked behind what Bonilla-Silva (2006) coined "color blind racism."

Second, organizations in this study were able to connect their clients to government institutions for support. Although relationships between the community and some state institutions are strained, such as with the police department, organizations in North Lawndale were supportive of police, schools, and the alderman. Nicole Marwell (2004, 2007) theorized that community-based organizations have the capacity to influence political responsibility in their communities by delivering voter support in exchange for funding and organizational support.

TTS is one of two organizations in this study to have a politician serving on their board of directors. The housing organization was able to benefit from that relationship as funding support for the organization waned due to the economy. Upon the advice and connections of the board, the organization was advised to release the section of the organization's responsibility dealing with tenant administration and start a new ministry/organization under the TTS Church umbrella to supply that service to the

community. Funding for the new organization was provided by sources identified by the board and TTS Church. This strategic move allowed TTS housing ministry to continue focusing on affordable housing and maintaining the properties they owned, while the new organization handled the administrative side of the organization.

This strategic move on the part of TTS housing service allowed the organization to continue connecting residents to affordable housing choices. During a time when the state was not paying its bills, the connections of the board and Pastor Parks caused them to make a move that, though risky has to date proven to be the best move for the organization as the housing market recovers. Being politically connected has its advantages.

Third, each of the organizations connected clients to the institution of church. This was not always evident by collaborative connection, but the church is not embodied in the building, the people make up the church. F3 and LD are not directly associated with a church in the community as are YA and TTS, but they both have people in the organization who attend church in other communities and when necessary they have used church as resources. The role of the African American church is still a central part of North Lawndale, which has several churches ranging from large historic landmark churches built in the early1900s to small storefront churches. While the social fabric of the community is showing signs of deterioration and wear and tear, the churches in the community are not in short supply. However, even though a plethora of churches are prevalent, a lack of trust still plagues the community. Robert Sampson (2012) showed that church density in African American communities was negatively related to collective

efficacy or trust, concluding "Trust in one's fellow man is apparently not enhanced by the church" (2012:205). This is consistent with what I found to be the case in North Lawndale. Trust is lacking between neighbors, organizations, and most every area of the community despite the number of churches and people who attend them in the community.

The pursuit and disbursement of capital is necessary for nonprofit organizations and the leadership approached it in different ways, in part because of how they perceived themselves and their situations. Black leaders approached funders almost as if they were expecting to have to fight or defend their organization's right to be at the table. This was evident through YAs Arnold Graham's account of presenting his organization to a group of white businessmen/philanthropists who were seeking opportunities to support urban ministries. He assumed they were impressed with his presentation because they made him an offer to merge his business with another successful businessman in attendance. Arnold perceived the offer as insulting and a way of taking the "identity and integrity of his business" from him to turn it into something that would only resemble his original ideas and less likely to serve the African American community as he intended. Arnold's conclusion was based on his observations of other black ministry leaders and business persons who faced similar situations. He said:

> …one of the challenges that we've experienced is that they um you know oftentimes… they'll write you a check, which you're always appreciative for, but to get the larger check and greater visibility, 'why don't you put your organization under another - you know put [your] black organization under a white organization in order to get funding?' And there's never been a clear reason as to [why]. I've been told this several times by significant business leaders you know who have written checks, but at the same time they've said, even though we're doing this – 'a better strategy', that's the word they like to use – maybe if you put

your organization under a primarily white organization [it will be a better strategy].

As leaders of organizations and businesses, the African Americans in this study knew that fundraising and acquiring resources were necessary to keep their organizations afloat, but they approached funders much more cautiously and with fewer expectations than whites. They all anticipated some form of racism, or discrimination and were restricted in their approaches, expectations, and what they believed they would actually be awarded. Similar to the young men in Alford Young's (1999) study, they were limited in their expectations of what could actually be. These cognitive boundaries[16] caused African American leaders to have tunnel vision and shortsightedness that inhibited their opportunity to confidently go before their white audiences and assertively make their appeals.

African American leaders also used various strategies to acquire funding. Mr. Mays and the board hired Mr. Ross as co-director partly to be a connection between the organization and funding entities. Believing that race was impacting the organization's capability of gaining financial support from foundations, Mr. Mays and the YA board, along with Mr. Ross decided to add a white face to their organization as a part of the leadership. Mr. Ross attended some of the same meetings that Arnold attended, recognizing some of the very men he had been in dialogue with about preferring to support white leaders serving inner-city communities instead of African Americans, due to lack of trust. Mr. Ross, since accepting the position as co-director was able to raise

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[16] I use this term to refer to boundaries of their minds that limit their thinking and ability to see beyond the effects of racism.

over $50,000 within six months of taking on the role of co-director. What made the difference? Was it Mr. Ross' race as a white man that yielded different results for the organization or was it his approach? These questions require further study to understand the implications of and intersectionality of race, place, and funding practices of foundations, nonprofit, and for-profit philanthropic organizations that provide support to urban ministries or service organizations that serve African American and minority communities.

For whites in the study, Everett Daniels and Ryan Davis along with Pastor Parks were much more confident in their fundraising encounters. Approaching fundraising from a position of "privilege" as opposed to that of an inferior position as has been imposed upon people of color, whites were more confident when they approached funding audiences as though they actually belonged at the table. For instance, Ryan was very confident about the grant he had submitted the day before I interviewed him and was extremely confident that his organization would be successfully awarded. Applying for the same grant was Ms. Annette of F3 who was not confident about her grant because of technical difficulties she encountered when submitting the application packet electronically. Her experiences with racism in the past coupled with limited information about what reviewers are searching for in the applications, and the difficulties experienced while submitting application materials all had an impact on her confidence that she had submitted a winning proposal, although service providers doing what F3 does in the community are few.

Whites make savvy strategic decisions in their quest to acquire capital such as contact friends and acquaintances and let them know of new ideas and initiatives they may be launching. They were also reported to post pictures of minority children on their websites and ask for funding to support their organizations. Children can be depicted as very happy, well taken care of and involved in stimulating and fun activities, or on the other hand images of needy children have been used to solicit funding by tapping the emotions of the viewers. These images may show children who look unkempt and shabbily dressed with cheerless faces. These marketing strategies are very effective in bringing in resources for whites who show that they are doing wonderful work to turn the lives of these needy minority children around (and without saying it, are in effect saying they are doing it because their irresponsible parents are not doing it. This is shown by rarely, if ever having adults in the pictures with the children). Many whites, if they are not personally connected to others who can provide financial support, have networks, acquaintances, or connections where they can obtain information and support; someone who knows someone who knows someone. This is not to imply that funding and support is a given for whites and white organizations, but this study supports others that have shown that whites are privileged and have more densely connected networks and access to capital than African Americans (McIntosh 2007, Lipsitz 2002, and Jensen 2002 among others).

This project builds on social capital literature by adding scholarship that includes nonprofit community-based organizations and how they go about the acquisition and distribution of capital from other nonprofits that supply funding. The significance of race

in the decision making processes is not to be minimized. African Americans who have dedicated their lives to supporting others in their communities have done so at their own expense at times, deciding it is better to give than receive. Many of the employees understand when they accept positions in social services that they will not make lots of money, yet each of the respondents said they are doing what they want and love to do and were willing to "stick it out" (talking about the budget crisis' impact on their organization) until they had to leave because of the organization going under. Future studies on how organizations are granted or denied support will significantly broaden the discussion of support networks, including social service provision for the poor that can be used to influence policy initiatives.

Despite the growing need for their services and support, nonprofit organizations have been met with severe cutbacks, causing uncertain situations for nonprofits across the country. In Illinois, the budget crisis and the state's inability to pay its debt to several nonprofits has caused a number of them to have problems keeping up with their debts. Faced with growing need in the community and shrinking funding, North Lawndale's nonprofit organizations have done some creative things to connect themselves *to* the community and to be connectors *for* the community. From hiring a white guy as a fundraising strategy to creating a new nonprofit to keep the organization from closing down, the nonprofit organizations in this study realize these are desperate times that call for desperate measures.

Social isolation, concentrated poverty, lack of social capital, race and other factors have all played decisive roles in the need for social services and support in North

Lawndale. To assert that race is the only variable that influences resource distribution for their nonprofit organizations is unfounded, but this was the perception of all of the African American leaders and a number of the employees. My observations have led me to conclude that the organizations in the community could better support each other and their clients by attending LD's monthly forum meetings or having a bi annual community organizational meeting where information is shared, concerns addressed, and collaboration encouraged. Such opportunities for collaborating and working together as a large conglomerate of North Lawndale specific entities will afford the organizations greater affinity to get to know each other, learn how best to support each other, minimize competition between them, and increase trust among them. As relationships are built, issues of trust will likely decrease between them as demonstrated in the meeting at YA following the beating death of a Latino youth in retaliation for the shooting of African American youth.

The African American leaders talked about being committed to collaborating to avoid duplicating services and offering more comprehensive coverage. A directory of services listing each organization and the services they provide would be a useful tool for both the organizations and residents. As I contemplate Mae's situation and the vulnerable state she appeared to be in during my visit with her, especially her health, I am concerned that the elderly in the community are properly cared for. There are organizations and services in the community that focus on North Lawndale's senior citizens, but with the cuts in funding and growing costs for medicine, transport service for getting to and from doctor visits and the like would assist policy makers in deciding best practices for this

growing population. Understanding out of pocket costs for necessities such as medication and food in conjunction with the senior's limited incomes will allow for better support and understanding of the types of services that best accommodates this population.

Further analysis of public and private sources of funding including foundations, family, and religious entities to understand processes that impact foundational giving can potentially lend support to the organizations that are run by indigenous who do not have the knowledge or time to acquire the knowledge to compete for funding sources that others have. These organizations are important in that they provide a level of emotional support and security that more resourced organizations do not have. Lock Down is an example of this type of service provision where residents come back and report to them when they have been able to get on their feet or youth who have been able to get off of drugs and out of gangs come back and say thank you to the youth workers for helping them turn their lives around. It is these organizations that stand to be lost if support continues to go to the most business savvy or most connected to resources. As Mr. Bradford said, those are the organizations that lead and serve with their hearts and not their heads.

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