

**PAN-AFRICAN STUDIES COMMUNITY EDUCATION
PROGRAM: THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF A
COMMUNITY EDUCATION PROGRAM**

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ABSTRACT

This is a case study of how a community education program became institutionalized at Temple University. The Pan-African Studies Community Education Program (PASCEP) has been located at Temple since 1979. The research illuminates the events that led to PASCEP coming onto Temple University's campus. The main research question was: "Why and how did Pan-African Studies Community Education Program develop from a Community Education Program in North Central Philadelphia to a Temple University campus-based program, and what were the important factors contributing to its development and institutionalization within Temple University?"

The research used a qualitative case study method. Data were collected from archival repositories at Temple University and the City of Philadelphia as well as from original documents provided by the Community Education Program and participants in the study. Documents included newspaper articles, letters, reports, and organizational histories as well as transcripts from thirty semi-structured participant interviews. Semi-structured were held with 30 participants who were involved or familiar with the movement and the university between 1975 and 1979.

The research indicates that the Community Education Program acted as a Local movement center connected with the Civil rights movement. I employed Social Movement theories and Aldon Morris's Indigenous perspective to examine the trajectory of the Community Education Program from the neighborhood to the University. Much of the organizing, mobilizing, and planning done by the

members in the Community Education Program/Local movement center was managed by Black women. Therefore, the research employed Belinda Robnett's perspective on Bridge Leaders and Toni King and Alease Ferguson's standpoint on Black Womanist Professional Leadership Development to illuminate the leadership styles of the Black women in the Local movement center, and their relationships with Temple University faculty and administrators, as well.

Results from the inquiry demonstrate that community activism constituted social movement collective action behavior as the Community Education Program and its supporters became an effective Local movement center. The study indicates that leadership, political opportunity, resource mobilization, and participation during the tenure in the Program in the community as well as after the introduction of the Community Education Program to the University were indispensable factors in the institutionalization of the Community Education Program.

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DEDICATION

To All of My Mothers and Fathers

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
DEDICATION	vi
LIST OF TABLES	ix
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
The Context.....	2
The CEP Founder.....	6
Importance and Significance.....	7
Problem Statement	10
Community Education in the Pursuit of Black Freedom.....	12
Research Question	13
Organization of Study	14
2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE	17
Introduction	17
The 1960s.....	18
The Lost Economic Opportunity.....	20
Cecil B. Moore and Girard College.....	21
Mayor Frank Rizzo.....	22
Theoretical Framework	23
Social Movement Theory	26
The Indigenous Perspective	29
Bridge Leadership and Black Womanist Perspective	30
3. RESEARCH METHODS	44
Data Collection Procedures	51
Sample Participants.....	52
Interviews.....	53
Data Analysis.....	58
Method.....	60
Type of Data	60
Interview Protocol.....	61
Consent Forms.....	62
Limitations of the Study.....	62
Debriefing	63
4. AFRICATOWN ALABAMA.....	66
The Early Years	66
Young Adult Years - Marriage, Children and Family	72
Developing A Movement-Oriented Consciousness.....	77
Developing A Movement: The Community Education Program.....	83
Becoming A Visionary... ..	86

Hyman's Philosophy	89
The Temple Nexus	94
Dr. Tran Van Dinh.....	97
5. THE TRAJECTORY OF A LOCAL MOVEMENT CENTER	104
Mobilizing Grievances.....	107
Social Structural or Material Conditions	109
Social Psychological Factors	114
Framing.....	117
Contextual Conditions	126
Political Opportunity	128
Resource Mobilization.....	133
Ecological Factors & Free Spaces.....	136
6. THE TRAJECTORY OF A LOCAL MOVEMENT CENTER	140
Participation	140
Structural Factors	141
Biographical and Factors	144
Social Psychological Factors & Efficacy	147
Motivational Framing.....	149
Leadership	152
Bridge - LMC and Participants	155
Bridge - Prefigurative and Strategy	160
7. THE CONSEQUENCES OF A SOCIAL MOVEMENT	165
Future Research	175
BIBLIOGRAPHY	178
APPENDICES.....	195

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	Page
1. Elements of Research Design	46
2. The Criteria of Trustworthiness.....	49
3. Participant Demographics.....	52
4. Data Coding Scheme for Chapter 5.....	59
5. Data Coding Scheme for Chapter 6.....	60
6. Types of Responses by Target.....	64

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The focus of this study is the Pan-African Studies Community Education Program, or PASCEP, founded in Philadelphia in 1975 by Annie D. Hyman as a Community Education Program (CEP). In 1979, the CEP became part of Temple University's Pan-African Studies Department as its community outreach. Temple University is an urban public research university with some 300 programs that serve 36,000 students. The university has been located in North Central Philadelphia, Pennsylvania for 125 years and is one of the most diverse universities in the country. Introducing PASCEP in 1979, Dr. Odeyo O. Ayaga, then chair of the Pan African Studies Department wrote in the Department's newsletter HABARI (summer 1979) that the principal goal of the Department was to be "an effective agent for institutional change and progressive transformation at Temple University" (p. 9). The institutional change and progressive transformation about which Ayaga wrote involved "meaningful rapprochement and constructive co-existence between the community and the University" (p. 9).

PASCEP is a cooperative program between the university and the community. For Temple, it addresses the grievances, concerns and needs of the community, representing a way to "give back" by offering a variety of classes at nominal cost. For the community, it opens the door of opportunity through education. It was designed to become a vehicle for strengthening the community's sense of collective consciousness and collective efficacy.

At its inception in 1979, PASCEP had an educational component for parents and children. The "Two Hours of Excellence Program" section offered by Philadelphia School District 4 Superintendent Jeanette Brewer, designed to motivate parents to become active participants in the education of their children had an eye on the deterioration of public school education in the city. PASCEP, therefore, would become a vehicle for strengthening the community's sense of collective consciousness and collective efficacy to solve basic problems at home and in the world at large. The Third World, through cross-cultural contact, would become another major point of interest to PASCEP. Finally, PASCEP would become the conduit between the community and the university to facilitate the destruction of the myth that higher education courses were too difficult for community learning. Consequently, PASCEP "opened the door" for GED (General Education Development) courses. It also offered non-matriculating as well as matriculating undergraduate courses. According to Ayaga, with the inclusion of PASCEP, Temple University created a "major academic landmark" distinguishing the thrust of Black Studies from Euro-American centered education in higher education (Ayaga, p. 9).

The Context

Community relations between Temple and its surrounding neighbors were often strained during the turbulent period in the wake of the Civil Rights decades of the 1950s and 1960s. Perhaps relations were so contentious at times because, as then President Dr. Marvin Wachman noted, the Black community

fused organized elements off campus with groups of individuals on campus and the two seemingly disparate groups merged and presumed to pursue the same agenda.

In 1979, the year the Pan-African Studies Department accepted PASCEP as its outreach program, Temple University was witnessing the continuation of an ongoing tension filled discussion with residents of the surrounding North Central Philadelphia community, which was comprised mainly of Black, Latino, and poor people (Hilty, 2010; Binzen, 1959; Community Charette collection, 1969). Six years earlier, an article in *The Sunday Bulletin*, the local paper of North Philadelphia (now defunct) entitled *Community Still Wary of Temple: Years of Talks Lead to Frustration* had depicted the University as wanting to "own all the land." Temple's objective, according to the article, was "To link its two campuses on North Broad Street, and expand East and west, until it occupies all of North Philadelphia" (Murray, 1973, section 1, p. 8). Temple University's neighbors were wary because this seemed to confirm what Dr. Millard E. Gladfelter, Temple's 4th President predicted on May 9, 1959: a swift expansion of Temple University's facilities to house up to 40,000 students mostly at the main campus that appeared in the same Sunday Bulletin (Binzen, section 1, p. 20).

Russell Conwell, the founder of Temple University, began teaching evening courses to neighborhood residents in 1884, and received a Charter of Incorporation in 1888. In 1894, Temple University opened its first building at 1834 North Broad Street, and by 1901, Temple had football and basketball

programs, a Law School as well as a School of Medicine. The North Philadelphia area surrounding Temple at that time was comprised of mostly German and Irish working class citizens. According to Richard Schaefer, "In 1900, 90% of all Blacks lived in the South" (p. 183). In the 19th century, the Migration of Blacks northward began in the post-Civil War era, and continued through the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s into northern cities, ironically, looking for waning employment opportunities (Sugrue, 1998). Blacks began to migrate from the South Philadelphia's Seventh Ward into North Central Philadelphia in 1940s and 50s they moved into North Central Philadelphia after Robert B. Mitchell, the executive director of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission recommended a crosstown expressway from the Schuylkill River to the Delaware River along South Street, the heart of the Black community in 1947 (Philadelphia City Philadelphia Expressway Program, Philadelphia City Planning Commission 1947). The expressway was to be the Southern part of the center city loop. Many residents along the proposed corridor fought the city causing cancellation of the proposal in 1974 (Philadelphia City Planning Commission <http://www.phila.gov.htm>).

Several points are clear from the above facts. First, Temple University, currently the 28th largest university in the country, existed prior to the Black population. As Blacks moved into North Central Philadelphia, ethnic white citizens moved out (Hershberg, et al, 1979). In America, during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, subordinate ethnic and poor populations were unable to aggregate in

accordance with their predetermined specification. Consequently, North Central Philadelphia became a ghetto for Blacks, Latinos and poor people.

America has always been a racialized society. As Shirley Better (2008) posits, racism pays in psychic rewards as well as social and economic privileges bestowed on the dominant group in American society. Indeed, the practice of redlining, block busting and blacklisting, done legally and purposefully by the dominant business community would have been impossible if not for psychic rewards, and for social and economic privileges.

In the 1940s and 1950s American Blacks, as would dominated peoples around the world, began to reframe their subordinate positions. Benford and Snow (2000) suggest that social movement actors should be seen as "signifying agents actively engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning for constituents, antagonists, and bystanders or observers" (p. 613). The Civil rights movement brought about a frame transformation in many of its constituency, changing how they could see their world. Snow and Soule (2010) argue that Civil Rights leaders and their movement participants began to distinguish between distributive and procedural justice. "Distributive justice concerns the fairness of the distribution of valued resources or rewards, such as income and grades; procedural justice refers to the fairness of the procedures on which the distributions are based" (p. 45). The social movement leaders and participants also knew what they wanted; they understood the evolution of justice for which they fought. Blacks in the Civil rights movement had undergone several frame

transformations, and "an understanding of framing is necessary for the understanding of social movement dynamics (Benford and Snow, 2000, p. 611). In *Letter from a Birmingham Jail*, Dr. King (1963) noted instances of terrorism and brutality experienced by Blacks in America, and Black in Philadelphia understood very well what he meant. Frame transformations, or signifying, between and within the Civil rights movement-participants were not from just distributive justice to procedural justice, but they must include the ultimate value in Western society, freedom. What is more, through discursive and diffusion processes, the educated as well as the illiterate intuitively became components of self-evident truths and inalienable rights.

The CEP Founder

The Community Education Program was founded because of one woman's desire to make knowledge available to the people. Mrs. Annie Deloris Hyman, a graduate in Temple University's New Career Ladders In Social Welfare Department, presented her ideas in the form of a proposal to Dr. Odeyo Ayaga, PAS Department Chairman, in November 1979. The guiding principle was and continues to be, to bring the University to the people of the community (Community Education Program Brochure, Ayaga, 1982).

Temple University has been involved with PASCEP since Annie Dee Hyman, the program's founder, shared her vision first with Dr. Odeyo Ayaga, Chair of the Pan-African Studies Department and subsequently with University President Marvin Wachman and his administrators (Interview, Ayaga, April 19, 2009; Interview, Hyman, May 17, 2009). President Wachman's experience was unusual in ways that suited the times: a white man coming to Temple, who had

served as the President of Lincoln University, the oldest historically Black university in the country, during the Civil Rights era. He was strongly encouraged to accept the position by none other than Thurgood Marshall, at that time serving as a Lincoln University trustee. Wachman noted, "My experiences at Lincoln in the hectic 1960s helped me cope with the challenges that confronted us at Temple in the 70s" (p. 96). In his memoir, President Wachman proffered his understanding that "maintaining good community relations is a complex matter. It may be even more complex and challenging for a university like Temple that strives very hard to relate to its community" (p. 141).

Hyman pursued the goals of community education, a significant component of the Civil rights movement (Anderson, 1988). Therefore, theoretically, the accommodation of PASCEP by the university can be explored through the lens of African American community activism using social movement theory. Consequently, the approaches that guide the collection, analysis, and synthesis of data and also provide the rationale for the selection of criteria for this study are social movement theories and leadership theory, especially from the Black womanist perspective. The conditions and motivations that created the driving force behind Ms. Annie Dee Hyman's determination to bringing her CEP into the Temple University campus are discussed in Chapter 4.

Importance and Significance

At a time such as this, when there is a resurgence of interest in university-community engagement and the civic mission of universities, it is important to

look back at efforts such as PASCEP that have endured the test of time. It is of primary importance to understand that PASCEP is a true collaboration between the university and the surrounding community. What is unique about PASCEP is that its origins are in the Civil rights movement, and more specifically in the African-American community education movement, but it became institutionalized within a higher education setting, as Temple University's community education and outreach to the predominantly African American community around its North Philadelphia campus.

This study examines PASCEP as a social movement and as a university-community partnership institutionalized as part of the university itself, and investigates how Annie Hyman's leadership style was able to achieve this concord. University-community partnerships are most frequently initiated by higher education institutions to meet their needs rather than by community-based social movements. Thus, the trajectory of PASCEP as both a community-based social movement and a university-community partnership may seem paradoxical. This gives rise to a number of possible questions that pertain to the process, resources, strategies, and actors, both inside and outside the university, that were involved in bringing PASCEP from the streets and churches of North Philadelphia to the university campus. Given the history, I argue a social movement perspective is well suited to shed light on this phenomenon.

This study speaks to two audiences that are at times connected. First, it speaks to the extended PASCEP family in the Delaware Valley, around the

country and perhaps the world, telling and preserving the story of a movement that is important to this community. Second, it addresses the academic community by detailing the evolution of a movement-oriented university-community partnership. With a few important exceptions such as the joint work of historian Lee Benson and Deweyan scholar Ira Harkavy (e.g. Benson & Harkavy, 2000) and work on democratizing, trends in higher education (Boyte & Kari, 1996), research on university-community connections tends to focus on the recent time period and privilege questions related to policy and practice (Benson and Harkavy, 2000; Dubb, 2007; Ostrander, 2004). By focusing on this particular historical period the case brings to light the contextual factors that influence the evolution and shape of university-community partnerships.

This study addresses the theme of university-community partnerships in the context of the civil rights/social movement for education. The literature on university community partnerships does not often take this political/social movement approach. Thus, this study stands to make a contribution by approaching the topic through what Aldon Morris (1984) terms the indigenous perspective as well as through social movement theory. Taking an indigenous perspective to social movements puts the focus on the particularities of local organizations, leaders and supports, as they occurred in real space and time. Social movement theory complements this approach by offering a broad framework that emphasizes the central role of organizations in movement

recruitment, mobilization, and participation. Variants of social movement theory also accord an important role to leadership (Snow, Soule & Kriesi, 2004).

The central question guiding the study is this: "How did PASCEP develop from a social movement to a campus-based community-education program and what important factors contributed to its development and institutionalization within Temple University?" This question is important for two reasons. First, at the macro level, the turbulent nature of the historical moment and social movements in the 1960s and 1970s might appear to conspire against campus-based institutionalization. The question of what local conditions supported the inroads of a given movement into the university is thus of interest. The second reason it is worthwhile to investigate local conditions is that institutionalization occurred during a period when the *university civic engagement movement* was not especially active, in fact scholars consider it to have been either in a dormant or an incipient stage (Benson and Harkavy, 2002; Community-Wealth.org, 2007; Dubb, 2007; Farrant and Silka, 2006). Was the contentious relationship between education and social change a driving force?

Problem Statement

Studies of university-community partnerships are generally present-oriented and tend to represent the university's perspective more than the community's perspective. Those that have emphasized the community perspective focus on community partner's needs and their sense of the kind of relationships they would like university partners to enact (Jacoby, 2009).

Generally, the community partner is the one with less power and thus the one with less opportunity to influence the partnership in its desired directions. This is perhaps one reason that much of the literature by university-based writers appeals to the university's sense of civic responsibility for outreach and engagement (Ehrlich, 2000). Even when taking the long view, (see Hoyt, 2010) the focus of such studies is understandably more practice-oriented and narrative than contextually situated socio-historical accounts.

Occasions when social movements engender sufficient receptivity on the part of the university leading to the formation of a partnership are rare. When such a community-university relationship does occur, it presents a unique opportunity for study, especially when considerable power seems to be on the side of the community. Seeing that it seeks to illuminate and explicate the emergence of a relationship between Temple University and Hyman's CEP, this study may contribute new understandings of university-community partnerships.

This study also adds historical details to our knowledge of Black women's leadership in community education for African Americans. The impact of patriarchy on black women in the civil rights movement for education is noteworthy. Black women's leadership styles were undervalued. Moreover, the unavailability of leadership space relegated black women to a second-class status, often allowing women's talents to lie fallow. Annie Dee Hyman stood in the tradition announced by the National Association of Colored Women, "Lift as We Climb." However, counter to much of the elitist nature of such endeavors,

she was deeply connected to the Black working class and her work can be seen as belonging to a consciousness raising connective tradition that was fostered by the likes of Angela Davis. It is important to note, however, that Hyman, while strongly connected to the community, was not a revolutionary. Rather, she belonged to the African American tradition that sought freedom through education.

Community Education in the Pursuit of Black Freedom

The decision to locate PASCEP on the Temple university campus needs to be seen in light of the history of black education. Legendary are the stories of how Blacks, in pursuit of freedom, have educated themselves in American society (Perry, et al., 2003). Blacks, free and enslaved in antebellum America as well as Blacks freed by the Civil War, understood the inextricable relationship between education and liberation. For Blacks in America, the quest for education has been connected to their awareness of the struggle for justice (Perry, et al., 2003).

The laudable work of Phyllis Wheatly, Benjamin Banneker, Frederick Douglass and others come to mind, as do the Citizenship Schools started in Johns Island, South Carolina by Miles Horton of the Highlander Folk School (Anderson, 1988). Between 1890 and 1940 efforts to educate Blacks in public schools reflected an ideology based on the pathological inferiority of Black Americans (Anderson, 1988; DuBois, 1899; Franklin, 1979; Tyack, 1988). Consequently, Black communities around the country responded with alternative

education programs, housed in churches and private homes, to compensate for the dearth of educational opportunities provided by the state (Anderson, 1988; DuBois, 1899; Franklin, 1979). Despite bleak educational opportunities, Blacks fighting in America for freedom and dignity sought to provide community education for their personal edification and to serve their respective communities (Anderson, 1988; Morris, 1984; Shujaa, 1994). The veneration of education by members of the Black community is thus a centuries-old tradition that was often carried out behind the invisible walls surrounding the segregated Black community (Anderson, 1988; Morris, 1984; DuBois, 1935). Given this history, one could expect Ms. Hyman's CEP would easily have remained off-campus within the confines of the Black community. It is thus interesting to inquire what led to the program being brought onto the campus of Temple University.

As this exploration of the relationship between Temple University and Pan-African Studies Community Education Program unfolds, one of the main objectives is to throw light on the local movement center's embedded nature in the Philadelphia area's social movement network, and illuminate the institutionalization of it (PASCEP) on the campus of Temple University in the social and political context of the 1970s in Philadelphia.

Research Questions

Between 1974 and 1979, PASCEP emerged as the community outreach program for Temple's Pan-African Studies Program. How did it happen? This case study has as its central aim to illuminate several important issues regarding

the context involving Temple University and Annie Dee Hyman's Community Education Program. Moreover, the Community Education Program was beginning to flourish off campus and could easily have found quarters in the Black community.

Essentially, the inquiry seeks to understand the following:

How and why did CEP develop from a Black Liberation social movement to a campus-based community-education program and what important factors contributed to its development and institutionalization within Temple University?

- a. What types of social psychological processes and interpretive framing contributed to the emergence of the Black consciousness in the CEP/PASCEP leadership?
- b. What were the forms of strategic and tactical innovations employed to mobilize the necessary resources required to move Annie Dee Hyman's *Community Education Program* from the streets of inner city North Philadelphia onto the campus of Temple University?
- c. What factors created the political opportunity for Hyman to bring her African centered Community Education Program onto the campus of Temple University?

Organization of the Study

Chapters 2 and 3 detail respectively a review of the relevant literature and the study methods. Chapter 4, *Africatown Alabama*, highlights the types of social psychological processes and interpretive framing that contributed to the

emergence of the Black consciousness in the CEP/PASCEP leadership.

Africatown, Alabama is largely a biographical account of the life of Annie Dee Powe Hyman, revealing the progressive development of her spirit, her desire to serve, and her capacity to work well with others. The chapter chronicles in a linear fashion how the segregated social environment served to shape Hyman's life, and how the development of her movement-oriented consciousness changed her social landscape. It is important to note that collective action requires a collective consciousness, and the racialized Alabama environment of the 1930s and 1940s facilitated Hyman's growth as a conscious black woman. Chapter 5 - *The Trajectory of a Local movement center* has two sections: Mobilizing Grievances and Contextual Conditions. Mobilizing Grievances discusses the structural and material conditions, social psychological factors, and framing required to produce mobilizing grievances in an individual or collective. Contextual Conditions highlights political opportunity, resource mobilization, and ecological factors as necessary yet insufficient contributors to collective action. Chapter 6, *Participation in a Local movement center*, also has two sections: Participation and Leadership. The first section, Participation, provides an opportunity to look beyond shared grievances to understand what determined participation in CEP/PASCEP. The second section offers a perspective on effective Leadership that no single term, such as *charismatic* can define. Sometimes a leader may function in an informal capacity, operating at the rank and file level (Robnett, 1996).

This case study is part descriptive and part conceptual, examining the data in light of theory. The study looks at the forms of tactical innovations that were employed to mobilize the resources required to develop and utilize local movement center and illuminates major aspects of the relationship between CEP/Hyman and Temple University.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

This Literature Review begins by situating the *Community Education Program* (CEP) in Philadelphia's sociopolitical context, and concludes with the theoretical framework employed in the inquiry. The purpose of this contextualization is to provide the 1960s-crucible in which the CEP emerged in the community, and follow CEP to its transformative institutionalization. The CEP became what Aldon Morris (1984) characterizes as a Local movement center (LMC) around 1975 (Interviews, Hyman, Sanchez, & Tran, 2009). A LMC exist in a subordinate community only when it has developed an organization that can carry out collective action designed to meet its objectives. The *Local movement center's* primary objective is to challenge the tripartite system of domination imposed by the dominant community. A *Local movement center* can bring to the mobilization processes cultural framing, movement leadership, protest histories and transformative events as well as the illumination of tactical problems, (Morris, 2000). Moreover, Morris (1984) posits:

A Local movement center is a social organization within the community of a subordinate group, which mobilizes, organizes, and coordinates collective action aimed at attaining the common ends of that subordinate group (p. 40).

Additionally, this review of the literature serves to provide a theoretical framework as rationale for the inquiry to answer the question, "How did Pan-African Studies

Community Education Program develop from a social movement to a campus-based community education outreach-program, and what important factors contributed to its development and institutionalization within Temple University?" The theoretical framework segment of the literature review consists of three sections. The first section includes the sociological theories of social movements and collective action; the second section describes Morris's (1984) indigenous perspective, and finally I provide a discussion of Linda Robnett's (1996) Bridge Leadership perspective, as well as King and Ferguson's Black womanist leadership standpoint.

The 1960s

During the 1960s, working class inner city Blacks in cities across the United States were under siege by institutional racism generally, and underserved by municipal governments particularly (Licht, 1992; Sugrue, 1998; Franklin, 1979; Franklin and Moss, 1947). Conditions for millions of Black and poor American citizens were horrendous. In addition to the ubiquitous prevalence of institutional and legalized racism in American cities, Thomas Segrue (1998), specifically focusing on Detroit, Michigan, argues in *The Origin of the Urban Crisis*, that outsourcing of jobs overseas began shortly after World War II. White flight, occurring after the 1954 Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling outlawing segregation in public schools, followed outsourcing. Consequently, the migration of blacks from the South to urban areas in the North

held little promise for them long before the 1960s race riots (Hershberg, et al., 1979).

President Lyndon B. Johnson, who succeeded John F. Kennedy to the office of the Presidency after Kennedy's assassination on November 22, 1963, declared War on Poverty in his first State of the Union address on January 8, 1964. In February 1964, Sergeant Shriver drafted *The Equal Opportunity Act*, which was central to President Johnson's *War On Poverty*. The legislation passed in August 1964, the same month that "All hell was breaking loose," according to Stanley Branch, Chairman of Chester's Committee for Freedom Now, who happened to be passing through Philadelphia's Columbia Avenue business district (Poindexter & Camp, 1964).

The Columbia Avenue riot seven blocks from the Temple University campus on Friday, August 28 is one of the key events in the Civil Rights history of Philadelphia. The riot lasted until Sunday, August 30, 1964; the hell that broke loose turned out to be 1,000 rioters and looters on Columbia Avenue, who eventually were joined by 1,500 police officers sent in to restore order. In the middle of the melee, what apparently started as a misunderstanding between Mrs. Odessa Bradford and her husband Rush at approximately 9:20 pm, at the intersection of 22nd Street and Montgomery Avenue, escalated. Police officers attempted to arrest Odessa, and James Nettles, a bystander, came to her aid (Naulty & Gaffney, 1964). What happened during the riots? Chinua Achebe (2009) provides some theoretical insight:

Unfortunately, oppression does not automatically produce only meaningful struggle. It has the ability to call into being a wide range of responses between partial acceptances and violent rebellion. In between you can have, for instance, a vague, unfocused dissatisfaction; or, worst of all, savage infighting among oppressed, a fierce love-hate entanglement with one another like crabs inside the fisherman's bucket which ensures that no crabs get away. This is serious issue for African-American consideration (p. 8).

The inability to participate fully in civil society, institutional racism, poverty, lack of employment and educational opportunities could be rightly seen as the structural cause of the riot. Municipal governments responded to the rioters, and in the aftermath of the riots, mayors around the country were taking steps to mitigate their particular situations. Philadelphia was no different, especially with regard to the key events that provide a sense of the political context for Blacks: the local response to the lack of economic opportunity, the movement to desegregate Girard College, and the rise of Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo.

Lost Economic Opportunity

From February 1962 to January 1972, James H. J. Tate led the City of Philadelphia as mayor. On 22 February 1965, via Executive Order 1-65, Mayor Tate created the *Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Committee*. The purpose of the *Committee* was "to establish policies necessary to guide the City's Anti-Poverty Campaign under the *Economic Opportunity Act of 1964*, and to exercise supervision over the total program" (Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Committee. Record group 60-12-2).

In 1965, the City of Philadelphia received 5.9 million dollars to fight poverty (Countryman, 2007). The mayor charged the Committee, consisting of 31 members:

To guide the City's Anti-Poverty Campaign under the Economic Opportunity Act, and to exercise supervision over the total program (Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Committee. Record group 60-12-2).

Cecil B. Moore and Girard College

During the period, Cecil B. Moore, President of the Philadelphia Chapter of the NAACP, led civil disobedience demonstrations against Girard College, which remained segregated until 1968. Stephen Girard, the founder of the college, had stipulated in his will, written in 1830, that the school would serve only White orphaned males. In the wake of the *Brown v. Board of Topeka, Kansas* decision, the problem for Girard College was that Philadelphia Mayor Joseph Clark, and City Council President James Finnegan were both ex-officio members of the Board of City Trusts, and the college was required to obey federal, state and local laws. The other Girard College Board members disagreed, and the *National Association for the Advancement for Colored People (NAACP)*, led by attorney Cecil B. Moore, took up the fight. There is irony, paradox and contradiction in this story. Although the Mayor of Philadelphia and City Council President, publicly argued for integration of Girard College, the Deputy Commissioner of the Philadelphia Police Department, Frank Rizzo, became a protagonist for the segregationists who sat on the Board of City Trusts,

the administrative arm of the College. Thusly, Frank Rizzo became an avowed antagonist towards the civil rights demonstrators at the College wall (<http://www.archives.gov/midatlantic/education/desegregation/philadelphia.html>). Rizzo's well documented close relationships with some prominent Philadelphia blacks are a source of incredulity, especially in light of his unsavory reputation in the Black community (Turner, Charles L. Blockson Afro-American Collection).

Mayor Frank Rizzo

Frank Lazarro Rizzo (1920-1991) joined the Philadelphia Police Department in 1947. Rising through the ranks, he became Police Commissioner in 1967. Frank Rizzo was either loved or hated; there was no in between. According to Dennis Hevesi:

Mr. Rizzo was one of those seemingly larger-than-life figures, destined to be hero to some and villain to others. One view was that the former Police Commissioner and two-term Mayor was the last bastion against threats to middle-class residents of the city's row-house neighborhoods. The other view was that Mr. Rizzo was a barely educated former police officer who used a hard line on crime and tactics bordering on the dictatorial to suppress opposition and keep Blacks out of middle-class neighborhoods. That he was a "tough cop" -- an appellation that particularly pleased him -- no one debates (1991).

As Mayor from 1972 to 1980, he was warm and generous with friends and associates but given to sudden rages in the presence of others. During the era, construction in Philadelphia's northern suburbs, Levittown, Pennsylvania started in 1951, and White flight was well under way by the 1960s foretelling a diminished tax base for public education in Philadelphia. The confluence of the

social forces of deindustrialization produced devastating consequences for Blacks in the Delaware Valley, especially in Philadelphia. Nevertheless, they resisted in myriad ways. Men and women in the city followed leaders like Cecil B. Moore, President of the NAACP, and Reverend Leon Sullivan, Founder of Opportunities Industrialization Centers. Moore fought against segregation as Sullivan fought for equality through employment and jobs training. However, the combined efforts from many black leaders, men as well as women, were too little too late to avert riots in the city.

Theoretical Framework

Political sociologists, organization theorists, and symbolic interactionists have been at the front, guiding social movement studies (Snow and Soule, 2010). Consequently, political opportunity theory, resource mobilization theory and the role of ideology and framing have been vantage points for analyzing social movements. While "these are not the only perspectives bearing on social movements today", Snow and Soule argue, "the analysis of social movements is fraught with interpretive dangers when approached from the vantage point of a single perspective" (p. 20). Mobilizing grievances do not blossom, as would a crocus in early spring (Snow and Soule, 2010).

Understanding the emergence, mobilization, participation, dynamics and consequences of CEP/PASCEP is a first step towards understanding the context of the world in which Temple University is situated. Five key elements define a social movement: social movements (1) challenge or defend existing structures

of authority; (2) are collective rather than individual activities; (3) function mainly outside extant institutional or organizational arrangements; (4) operate with some degree of organization; and (5) operate with some degree of continuity (Snow and Soule, 2010; Benford, 1992; Snow and Oliver, 1995; Turner and Killian, 1987; Wilson, 1973). Combining these factors, Snow and Soule describe social movements as:

Collectivities acting with some degree of organization and continuity, partly outside institutions or organizational channels, for the purpose of challenging extant systems of authority, or resisting change in such systems, in the organization, society, culture, or world system in which they are embedded (p. 7).

Structures of authority are seats of power, within and outside of government, determining who gets what, how and why. Snow and Soule posit, "Recognized seats of decisions, regulations, procedures and guidelines influencing some domain or aspect of the lives of some category of individuals" constitute structures of authority, "whether structurally or culturally based" (p. 8). While defending or challenging some structure of authority, a social movement, as a necessity, involves more than one individual; social movements constitute collective direct as well as indirect challenges (Snow and Soule, p. 12). As a collectivity challenging structures of authority, social movements operate mostly outside normatively sanctioned institutional or organizational channels in an organized fashion with some degree of temporal continuity (Snow and Soule, 2010).

The continuation of this review of the literature consists of three sections. Using Aldon D. Morris' (1984) treatment of the theoretical limitations of social movement theory as a point of departure, this study includes his "indigenous approach to movements of the dominated" employed in his classic study *Origins of the Civil rights movement* (p. 275). The objective is to examine the roles played in the CEP/PASCEP by factors associated with 1) the generation of mobilizing grievances in Hyman's network of LMCs; 2) the context in which the CEP/LMC is situated - its access to resources, ecological conditions, and political opportunity; 3) the degrees of participation in the CEP/LMC due to the costs and risks involved by participants; 4) the dynamics of the CEP/LMC after it was in operation; and 5) the consequences - internal/external, and intended/unintended - of Hyman's CEP/LMC using resource mobilization theory (Jenkins, 1983; McCarthy and Zald, 1976); Robnett's characterization of Bridge Leadership (1997), King and Ferguson's Black womanist standpoint (2001, 2011) as well as Morris's Indigenous Perspective (1984).

The first section will provide a discussion of definitions and the historical context of three concepts that are central to sociological theories of social movements and collective action: *classical collective behavior theory*, *Weber's theory of charismatic movements*, and *resource mobilization theory* (Morris, 1984; Tilly, 1998).

The second section will include a consideration of the indigenous perspective (Morris). The third section highlights Belinda Robnett's (1997) Bridge

Leadership perspective to assist with understanding what happened with Black women as leaders as well as the Womanist leadership standpoint put forward by King and Ferguson (2001, 2011) demonstrating how Black women developed the capacity to lead effectively. Therefore, the indigenous perspective, bridge leadership and the Womanist cultural transmission of leadership skills from mothers to daughters serve as anchors for the review of literature and the study. These theoretical approaches guide the collection, analysis, and synthesis of data and provide the rationale for the selection of criteria for this study.

Social Movement Theory

As Aldon D. Morris (1984) proposes, the dominant school of sociological thought on social movements in the 1940s and 1950s was the classical collective behavior theory. Two major theoretical claims link the diverse collection of writings on classical collective behavior theory. The first assumption is that, occurring during rapid social change, collective behavior differs from everyday organizational and institutional behavior in that it arises in response to unusual situations in order to repair and reconstitute a ruptured social system. The second claim is that collective behaviors comprise a family of activities ranging from primitive forms to sophisticated forms that resemble ordinary behavior. Morris (1984) is critical of these approaches to understanding collective behavior because:

A close reading of collective behavior theories suggests that the writings of Park and Burgess (1921), Blumer (1946), Lang and Lang (1961), and Smelser (1962) have tended to discredit

movement participants by characterizing their activities as crude and elementary and as tension releasing devices for pent-up frustrations (p. 276).

Morris and other collective behavior theorists such as Ralph Turner and Lewis Killian (1957), reject the assumptions that collective behavior is irrational.

Notably, Morris argues, even the essential position taken by Ralph Turner and Lewis Killian “is consistent with the overall collective behavior model” (p. 277).

Morris found that social movements entail deliberate, conscious behaviors geared towards social change, and that organizing and planning were central to numerous local social movements. In addition, the Civil rights movement cannot be seen as belonging to the family of behaviors as fads, panics, mobs or cults, nor as a spontaneous phenomenon. Finally, preexisting institutions, leaders and organizations were involved in all phases of the social movement. As Morris points out, “the departures from the classical collective behavior model have become central tenets of the resource mobilization model” (p. 277).

Max Weber argued that a charismatic leader and followers have the potential to intervene in the bureaucratic functioning of modern society because “they possess extraordinary personalities and the ability to preach, create and demand new obligations from followers” (1947, p. 278). Consequently, charismatic leaders are not followed because followers identify with their visions, missions and magnetic personalities” (p. 278) but because their very presence challenges the status quo. Morris (1984) goes on to argue that Weber’s perspective on charismatic leadership lacks explanatory value because it fails to

explain how charismatic movements start or how they are mobilized” (p. 279).

Morris’s investigation reveals that Martin L. King, Jr. and other charismatic leaders were able to mobilize the movement because of organizational backing and charisma. Reformulated resource mobilization theory goes far in filling the gaps in the charismatic leader perspective.

Amitai Etzioni’s (1968) macrosociological conceptualization of mobilization reflects the evolution of the concept, demonstrating that the model was first employed to refer to the shifting of resource control from private-civilian to public-military hands. Arguing that resource “mobilization is not a continual process, but one limited to a specific period” Etzioni also notes that full mobilization is an unrealistic expectation (1968). Aldon D. Morris (1984) proffers that resource mobilization theory is rational (Oberschall, 1973) and emerges out of preexisting social structures and “emphasizes the resources necessary for the initiation and development of movements” (p. 279).

Oberschall relies heavily on the rationality assumption of economic theory and argues that mobilization of political actors occurs because of a cost benefit analysis: the rewards of protest are greater than inactivity. Resources include formal and informal organizations, leaders, money, people, and communications networks, and segregation enhances communal bonds and facilitates mobilization (Oberschall, 1973). Conversely, Oberschall argues that groups loosely organized are short lived.

Although the psychological states of the participants are not central to the investigation and the importance of culture, charisma and belief systems are minimized, the resource mobilization model predicts that the marginalized are unlikely to engage in social protest while actors with access to resources are more likely to engage in protest. Morris (1984), however, finds that theorists in the field of political science as well as resource mobilization have argued that the powerless protester's objective is to activate third parties in ways that favor protest objectives since the powerless evidently lack organizational resources. With regard to the civil rights movement, for instance, Morris claims that resource mobilization theorists have no evidence for their argument that "the bulk of the financing of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was [from] white liberals" (p. 281). Morris argues essentially that a complete understanding of social movement theory requires acceptance of the notion that the American Civil rights movement was fundamental in the reconstruction of social movement theory (Morris, 1999). My critique of the dominant schools of thought on collective behavior, political opportunity and resource mobilization provided by Aldon Morris sets the stage for the indigenous perspective.

The Indigenous Perspective

Borrowing heavily from resource mobilization theory, in order to employ an indigenous perspective, Morris (1984) adopts "resource mobilization theory's emphasis on resources, organization and rationality" and he employs notions of charisma from Max Weber (1947). Reconceptualizing Weber's theory of

charisma, Morris broadens our understanding of charisma to include a leader's ability to organize, manage and delegate within an organization as well as between organizations. According to Morris:

The indigenous approach maintains that the emergence of a sustained movement within a particular dominated community depends on whether that community possesses (1) certain basic resources, (2) social activists with strong ties to mass-based indigenous institutions, and (3) tactics and strategies that can be effectively employed against a system of domination (p. 282).

Furthering the position of many early resource mobilization theorists, Etzioni (1968) and Morris (1984) argue that when a dominated group has assembled the required resources, strategically placed activists and effective tactics and strategies for protest purposes, and has developed an interrelated set of protest leaders, organizations, and followers who collectively define the common ends of the group, it has developed a local movement center.

Bridge Leadership and the Black Womanist Perspective

The women in CEP/PASCEP/LMC had male and female role models. Moreover, women like Hyman read about movement leaders in the Black world (Interview, Hyman, 2009). I note some leaders and leadership characteristics here in this brief discussion in an effort to locate Hyman's leadership characteristics in the movement. An investigation by Morris and Baine (2001) indicates three types of social movements and their source of movement leadership. First, there is the *liberation social movement*, populated by members of oppressed groups and the development of an oppositional consciousness;

leadership is drawn from its culture of resistance. The second type is the *equality-based special issue social movement*, or the social justice issue of the day movement, such as the purchase of cigarettes by minors. Its members are oppressed; however, *equality-based special issue social movement's* focus is on issues that affect particular oppressed groups rather than on the group itself. Finally, the *social responsibility social movement* is one that challenges certain conditions that affect the general population and seek a range of institutional responses, especially from corporate interests. As well, the personal characteristics of the social movement leader largely influence success. For example, theorists have found that *class* matters in social movement leadership. Financial resources, networks and education also determine, fundamentally, the success of the social movement. However, contemporary work on gender and leadership reveals levels of complexity in social movement leadership regarding what happened (Robnett, 1997; Morris, 1999; Payne, 1989) as well as how black women encourage self-development and learned to provide mutual support in the process of uplift (King & Ferguson, 2001, 2011; Rosser-Mims, 2005).

Essentially, the Black church has been the main source of leadership for the Black liberation social movement (Morris, 1984; Morris and Staggenborg, 2002) and women played crucial leadership roles. However, most leadership roles for women were in secondary leadership positions (Robnett, 1997). Nevertheless, an essential position was the role of the bridge leader (Robnett, 1997) as well as roles played by leadership teams. Gans (2000) indicates the

importance of interactions among participants and between and within networks in social movements in the exercise of leadership and organizing skills.

Interactions among participants and networks within social movements are extremely important to understanding what necessary contextual conditions were required for the emergence of social movements. Moreover, the distinction between *organizing* vs. *mobilizing* has engaged theorists of moment leadership, an ongoing strategic response vs. sporadic and dynamic activities such as what going door to door might produce, (Payne, 2007). Robnett (1997) holistically employs the political process opportunities model (Benford and Snow, 2000) and resource mobilization theory (Benford and Snow) as she reconceptualizes and reconstitutes social movement theory from a gender-conscious perspective.

According to Charles Payne's *I've Got the Light of Freedom* (1995), Civil Rights activist Ella Baker developed the distinction between *organizing* and *mobilizing*. For Baker, organizing, the deep-seated commitment to organization value for the long haul differed considerably from mobilizing. Baker taught that mobilizing was an activity that garnered appropriate publicity at public rallies and through lobbying activities and demonstrations. According to Payne, organizing, however, was a continuous door-to-door activity that allowed movement participants to "empower themselves to continued action on behalf of those goals" (Payne, 1995). Born in 1903 to emancipated parents, surrounded by an extended family of activists with a pervasive sense of community, Ella Baker was a public speaker before she was out of grade school. Always on the cutting edge

of Black activism, Baker spent a half-century in the struggle focused on group-centered leadership while teaching people to lead them to freedom. Baker believed that leading people to freedom was a contradiction in terms. Freedom required that a group be able to analyze their own social position –become conscious for itself – and understand their collective ability to do something about it without relying on leaders. Ella Baker's life as a social movement leader illuminates most aspects and facets of liberation social movement leadership theory.

Successful leaders in social movements act as inspirational strategic decision-makers organizing others to participate in social movements (Morris and Staggenborg, 2002). Although leadership is a critical factor in social movements, Morris and Staggenborg argue that adequate theorizing on leadership in social movements has not occurred due to unsuccessful attempts to integrate agency and structure in social movement theories. First, they argue that a successful examination of leadership in social movements must investigate the actions of leaders in their structural contexts and acknowledge the various levels of leadership and participant roles. However, an important theoretical concern is what characteristics and actions of leaders, as opposed to structural conditions, matter. They stress that collective behavior theorists have argued "social structural conduciveness is necessary but not sufficient of movement mobilization; resource mobilization theorists have viewed leaders as political entrepreneurs who mobilize resources and found organizations in response to

incentives, risks, and opportunities; supporters are seen as rational actors following effective leaders” (p. 5).

This brief yet important departure includes Anna Julia Cooper, Ida B. Wells Barnett, Mary McLeod Bethune, Septima Clark, and Ella Baker, all civil rights leaders, mobilizers and organizers. Anna Julia Cooper, 1858-1964, an exemplary womanist scholar was a lifelong learner who received her Ph.D. at the age of 66. Cooper, who lived by the motto of the *National Association of Colored Women* founded in 1892, "Lifting as We Climb" (Jones, 1982) was an early activist in several national Black women's organizations. In addition to Cooper, I considered the preeminent leadership styles of Ida B. Wells-Barnett, 1862-1931, Mary McLeod Bethune, 1875-1955, Septima Clark, 1898-1987, and Ella Baker, 1903-1986, comparatively, to highlight characteristics of Black womanist leadership qualities I believe are required to engender, mobilize, organize and maintain a successfully networked social movement organization. Barnes's study on the relationship asked:

whether cultural symbols such as gospel music, spirituals, prayer and social justice sermons endemic to the Black church engender community action" found support for "specific references to cultural symbols historically linked to group solidarity, liberation themes, racial dynamics and the need for social justice result in church involvement in socio-political community events (Barnes, p. 985; Cone 1995; West 1982; Wilmore 1994).

Barnes' investigation found a positive influence of prayer groups in effecting community action. Barnes is not suggesting that prayer groups evoke community involvement more than prophetic issues or sermons about Black Liberation

Theology. Rather she posits, "Scholars may uncover ways in which events and processes believed to placate groups may also serve to empower them as change agents" (p. 986). Pragmatism matched by faith in God guided most members of CEP/PASCEP.

Ida B. Wells-Barnett, 1862-1931, a tireless, fearless warrior, had little patience with the dominant accommodationist ideological perspective of the time proffered by Booker T. Washington and his supporters. Subsequently, because of her unwavering standpoint, Wells-Barnett, like many others, found her attempts to participate in Black networked organizations curtailed or totally blocked. Thomas C. Holt (1982) describes Wells-Barnett as "militant, uncompromising, unequivocal, and outspoken" (p. 39). Consequently, she was unsuccessful at working cooperatively and collaboratively within groups of people, Black or White. Yet, Wells-Barnett made anti-lynching the focus of her movement activities. Holt reveals:

She struck at the jugular of southern White male fears: Nobody in this section of the country believes the old threadbare lie that Negro men rape White women. If southern White men are not careful, they will over-reach themselves and public sentiment will have a reaction; a conclusion will then be reached which will be very damaging to the moral reputation of their women (p. 43).

Wells-Barnett was in New York City when responses from the South calling for her life reached her. Wells-Barnett's Black consciousness emerged fully formed from the culture of Black resistance.

Born at the end of the Reconstruction era, Mary McLeod Bethune, 1875-1955, ostensibly stands in sharp contrast to Anna Julia Cooper, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Septima Clark and Ella Baker because she worked within the system. However, upon close examination, we find more similarities than differences. Bethune, like Cooper and Wells-Barnett, was a woman of God; as well, she would be sure to get an education; the three were married; and their Black consciousness gave them the capacity to dream. Consequently, because of education, each woman had a vision of the future revealing a better life for her people; the quest for education was a sacred mission.

After teaching in South Carolina and Georgia, Bethune settled in Daytona, Florida, where she opened an industrial school, focusing on Black girls because at the time and location, they had fewer opportunities for education than did Black boys. Coincidentally, the area happened to be the location of summer homes for northern industrialists, and James M. Gamble, of Procter and Gamble, provided resources such as funding and guidance. William H. Watkins (2001) casts a discerningly skeptical eye, at least, towards Bethune, a Black woman in Florida, opening a Normal and Industrial Institute in 1904. In the *White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America, 1865-1954*, Watkins chronicles the issues of democracy, social justice, and educational activism with an eye towards imminent rewards. Watkins begins the foreword of his text with a quote from W. E. B. DuBois summing up the hypocritical pretense that Blacks were not suited for an academic education, when in actuality, the object of the

"White architects of Black education" was to use Booker T. Washington and others, willing to settle for industrial education, to segregate and control the national Black labor force.

We daily hear that an education that encourages aspiration, that sets the loftiest ideals and seeks as an end culture and character rather than bread-winning, is the privilege of White men and the danger and delusion of Black (p. xi).

For many Black leaders, there were few political opportunities, and fewer still resources to mobilize. Watkins contextualizes the hypocritical pretense using political and social jargon of the day taken from Booker T. Washington's 1895 *Atlanta Compromise* speech.

DuBois is speaking of a critical moment in world history--a moment marked by the consolidation of an educational policy toward Black people that, in theory, would ensure the reproduction of a race of "hewers of wood and drawers of water (p. xi).

Both Bethune and Washington were extraordinary Black powerbrokers of their time. Bethune had access to governmental resources, while Washington was the benefactor of philanthropists. Primarily, the difference between Mary McLeod Bethune and Booker Taliaferro Washington is that Bethune's entire career is illuminated and punctuated with teaching, sharing, and inclusion, while Washington is known historically as an exclusionary power broker. Because of her integrity, courage and tenacity, Bethune served her people as role models inside and outside of government, founding multiple institutions to continue her legacy of service to her people. In service to their people, Cooper, Wells-Barnett,

and Bethune were unrelenting in their quest for freedom, justice and equality. Moreover, they each had a vision of education as the vehicle to that end.

Septima Clark, 1898-1987, like Cooper, Wells-Barnet and Bethune, had a thirst for education and for educating her people. Born and raised in Charleston, South Carolina, Clark attended Avery Normal School, receiving a teaching certificate. While teaching in Charleston, Clark participated in a civil rights campaign that gained the right for Blacks to teach in the Charleston County public schools. Clark, a lifelong learner, left Charleston, South Carolina for Columbia University in 1929, and resumed her education in Atlanta University, matriculating under W. E. B. DuBois. After Atlanta University, Clark began studying at Benedict College, earning a Bachelor's degree. Clark continued her studies at Hampton Institute, receiving a Master's of Art in Teaching.

According to Hines III and Reed, "In 1947, Clark returned to her hometown to teach in the Charleston County public school system." (p. 4). By this time, Clark's renown in innovative approaches to teaching literacy had become regionally well known. Septima Clark's activism included leadership roles in the Charleston County NAACP, roles that subsequently cost Clark's job and pension. While fighting for her pension, Clark began a position at the Highlander Institute as Director of Workshops in 1956, one year after Rosa Parks was arrested for refusing to give her seat to a White passenger. Hines III and Reed remark: "During many interviews, Parks often stated that Septima Clark's workshops inspired her to refuse to vacate her seat" (p. 5). Clark developed a learner-

centered pedagogy, placing an enormous amount of focus and responsibility on the learner, while providing a caring nurturing environment in which to teach literacy. Clark created Citizenship Schools in 1961 for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to thwart southern racists' efforts designed to block Black voters. However, the effectiveness of the Citizenship Schools could not materialize because of the view within the upper echelons of the SCLC that women had limitations when it came to leadership. Clark's love for her people and education, in tandem with integrity, courage and tenacity served her communities well. Hines III and Reed posit, "By 1965, the Citizenship teachers had produced more than 1,000,000 literate African-American registered voters." I will now focus my attention on *the Fundi* of the American Civil rights movement: Ella Baker, 1903-1986.

Preskill explains that "Fundi is a Swahili word for the person who possesses practical wisdom and is skilled at passing on to new generations the knowledge that the community's elders regard as most important" (p. 9). Ella Baker has the distinction among Civil rights movement activists and scholars as being the *Fundi*:

The *Fundi* is a teacher and learner, the *Fundi* supports other people in learning the lessons of the elders. The *Fundi* does not seek credit or fame. She is quietly satisfied to provide a bridge from one generation to the next and to help young people root their ideas and actions in their culture's most enduring traditions. Throughout her life Ella Baker stepped in again and again to model learning, relationship-building, teaching and leadership (p. 1).

Most scholars agree (Preskill, 2005; Payne, 1989) Baker remains comparatively unknown, especially because of the centrality and scope of her leadership, guidance and accomplishments as a civil rights activist for fifty years. Yet, her accomplishments as a civil rights activist, enduring grassroots leader, adult educator and role model are unanimously recognized. After graduating from Shaw University as the valedictorian in 1927, Baker traveled to New York City and without delay plunged into Harlem Renaissance life (Preskill, 2005). Shortly afterwards, According to Payne:

Baker was associated with whatever organization in the Black community was on the cutting edge of the era--the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) in the forties, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in the fifties, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the sixties (p. 885).

At each threshold, Baker left an indelible transformational sign on the organization, the people and the civil rights movement.

Baker developed a leadership style suited to her extraordinary capacity to listen, reflect and empathize. As a Black woman, Baker could not escape the stifling patriarchal ethos of the times; consequently her leadership style seems to have emerged, not in reaction to patriarchy, but as a complement to patriarchy, not in tandem with male leadership, but in parallel, in partnership with patriarchy. Baker's reflective partnership served to accomplish the goals of the organizations in which she served, and Baker's service was to her people. Believing the most

successful leaders are unassuming, Baker, the servant-leader, sought to develop leadership skills in others.

As Robnett (1997) notes, Baker was a "bridge leader." Cantarow and O'Malley point out that Baker saw herself as a bridge across the sharpening social class divisions in the Black community. Baker worked behind the scenes to build organizations, while others, usually male, got the credit (Preskill, (p. 3). Preskill also notes Baker's contention that "to lead is to teach, not to transfer knowledge but to create the possibility for the production or construction of knowledge" (p. 2). It is also the kind of leadership noted in *Charting Ourselves: Leadership Development with Black Professional Women* (King and Ferguson, 2001). They note that Black women develop leadership through a particular kind of dialogue that is intergenerational and leads to self-conscious centering and an ongoing process of meaning construction (King and Ferguson, 2001).

Interestingly, with the exception of Wells-Barnett, who died in 1931, many women in the CEP/PASCEP/LMC experienced Cooper, Bethune, Clark, and Baker in their adult lives. In a sense, the lived experiences of these role models imbued poignant meaning to the lived experiences of LMC participants. H. Viscount Nelson argues in *The Rise and Fall of Modern Black Leadership*, that "African American leaders represent a declining influence as the conscience of the United States, a reality manifested in the 2000 presidential election" (p. 313). The 2000 Florida election process disenfranchised hundreds of Black voters. Yet, national as well as local Black leaders were "Unable to use moral suasion to

influence the White public to respect the Black voter,” while “The national media and strategists for the Democratic and Republican Parties haggled about accepting dangling, pregnant, or dimpled charms rather than addressing grievances of thousands of Blacks prevented from having their votes counted” (p. 313).

Snow and Soule pose the following questions for investigators who want to understand the character and operation of social movements:

1) What are the conditions and processes that account for the generation of mobilizing grievances? 2) What specifically are the sets of contextual conditions that facilitate or constrain the emergence and flourishing of social movements? 3) What are the different ways of participating? 4) What happens when a social movement is up and running? 5) What are the consequences of social movements? (Snow and Soule, p. 21-22)

These questions inform the research that guided my study of

CEP/PASCEP/LMC, its emergence, Hyman’s collaborative efforts with Temple University, and the institutionalization of her Program as Pan-African Studies Community Education Program on Temple's campus. In addition, Table 2.1 and Table 2.2, which I discuss in Chapter 3 - Research Methods, summarize the theory and coding scheme I have employed in Chapters 5 and 6.

The objective of this literature review was to summarize the most relevant information on current social movement theory; including the role that human agency plays in collective behavior. First, I briefly familiarized the reader with the political context of Philadelphia in the 1960s, followed by the theoretical framework for the inquiry, which included social movement theories, the

indigenous perspective, and collective action leadership. The womanist leadership standpoint proffered by King and Ferguson highlights the development of the capacity of black women leaders to sustain themselves, despite the "major social ills that are derivative of institutional racism, classism, and sexism" affecting them, their families and communities (p. 137). I now turn my attention to Chapter 3, Design and Method.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODS

This study is an in-depth qualitative exploration of the Pan-African Studies Community Education Program (PASCEP). The investigation used the case study design as a research strategy (Guba, 1981, 1978; Yin, 2003). I used the qualitative research approach because little was known about the Pan-African Studies Community Education Program. As well, employing the case study method allowed me to concentrate on the interconnected processes, or the interaction between the general dominant hegemonic forces manifested in Temple University, and the particular individual agency found in PASCEP/LMC, an agency existing in a network of relationships (Becker, 1998). I sought a detailed understanding of how PASCEP developed from a Community Education Program in 1975, into a campus-based community-education program by 1979. In addition, I wanted to understand as well, the important factors contributing to the development and to the institutionalization of CEP/PASCEP within Temple University (Creswell, 2005). Furthermore, the case study design connects the collected data to the research questions. The unit of analysis is the Pan-African Studies Community Education Program, conceptualized as a social movement in its programmatic relationship to Temple University. Yin argues, "The essence of a case study is that it tries to illuminate a decision, or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result." Yin continues:

A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. The case study inquiry copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points (p. 14).

As a comprehensive research strategy, the case study depends on multiple sources of evidence, requiring the convergence of data in a triangulating approach (Stoecker, 1991). Triangulation, as defined by Cresswell is “the process of corroborating evidence from different individuals, different types of data, or methods of data collection in descriptions and themes in qualitative research” (p. 600).

The effectiveness of data collection during the case study increases with the use of diverse sources of evidence requiring data triangulation due to the development of converging lines of inquiry (Yin, 2003). Moreover, "the case study benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis" (2003). I capture different qualitative concepts important to my theoretical framework through various components of data collection analysis including interviews with 30 participants whom I found connected to CEP/PASCEP. The study covers a period of several years but is not strictly longitudinal according to the definition provided.

Yin suggests there are five components of a case study research design. See Table 1. Elements of Research Design

A Study's Questions	The questions for my case study asked typical "how" and "why" questions.
Propositions	The propositions for the case study presume a relationship between the CEP/PASCEP and Temple University and <i>PASCEP</i> , mobilizing grievances and contextual conditions, or between leadership and participation, and the biographical impact on participants' life-courses.
Units of analysis	The unit of analysis is <i>CEP/PASCEP</i> .
Logic Linking the Data to the Propositions	Linking data to propositions involves relating several pieces of information from the case study to a theoretical proposition.
The Criteria for Interpreting the Findings	The criteria for interpreting the findings in the case study are often dependent upon theory development. Consequently, social movement theory, the indigenous perspective, Bridge leadership, and the Black womanist leadership standpoint guide this study.

In addition to the overarching elements of a case study research design offered above by Yin, especially considering the relationship between CEP/PASCEP participants, I have employed strategies of inquiry such as clarifying the meanings of words and non-verbal gestures during the interviews (Onwuegbuzie, Leech & Collins, 2010), and ones that also considered my role, and data collection, analysis and interpretation procedures recommended by Creswell (2003). As researcher, and primary data collection instrument, I understood my responsibility to identify my personal values, assumptions and

biases at the beginning of the study, and to each participant with the following biographical information.

I was born in the Bronx, New York in 1945, and from the age of one, I was raised in a loving family in Warrenton, North Carolina. At age 13, I moved to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and attended public schools. After Overbrook High School and a two-year stint in the Army's 82nd Airborne Division, at the age of twenty-two I embarked on a twenty-six year career in the Philadelphia Fire department. During my fire service career, I received an Associate's Degree in Fire Science. When Dr. Martin L. King Jr. wrote *Letter from Birmingham Jail* on discarded paper from his jail cell in Birmingham, Alabama, I was eighteen years of age, and quite affected. Retiring from municipal service as a Fire Lieutenant in December 1993, I continued my academic career at Community College of Philadelphia in the two-semester Honors Program, and transferred to Temple University in January 1995. I graduated summa cum laude in Political Science in May 1997, and entered graduate school. I earned a Masters of Arts degree in Geography and Urban Studies in 2000. In the spring of 2005, I met and became friends with Ms. Hyman and her family, and began discussions with her on the possibility of conducting a case study of PASCEP.

The data collection process employed in this study was purposeful; I selected participants I believed could help me understand the relationships between the interviews and the archival data, and used the snowballing technique - I asked participants to identify others they believed might be helpful.

However, data collection, analysis, and interpretation procedures are interconnected ongoing processes, involving continual reflection, looking for deeper meaning in the themes and issues, while coding the data into categories.

Conceptualizing CEP/PASCEP as a Local movement center (LMC), this case study design investigates the links between Hyman's CEP and Temple University. These methods make no predictions about the relationships between collective action participants, *PASCEP*, nor Temple University. The study asks broad general open-ended questions, using strategies to collect data and find themes from several sources. As the researcher, I remained visible and present in the study (Cresswell, 2005).

This research design is a "logical plan for establishing the initial questions to getting to some set of conclusions" (Yin, p. 20). However, questions of validity and reliability are addressed differently in quantitative and qualitative studies. Whereas quantitative studies use constructs such as validity and reliability, qualitative studies employ the idea of trustworthiness. High degrees of credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability, and triangulation determine trustworthiness in a qualitative study. Here I will define and discuss the constructs informing my study, and explain how I use them to ensure that data collection leads to learning about the events. In order to maintain trustworthiness I had to pay attention to credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Credibility is confidence in the 'truth' of the findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1994). Transferability is showing that the findings have applicability in

other contexts. Dependability is showing that the findings are consistent and could be repeated. Confirmability is a measure of how well the inquiry's findings are supported by the data collected. (Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

A major way to insure credibility is through triangulation, which entails collecting data from multiple sources to reduce possible bias. Credibility in a qualitative study is also often achieved through member checking, which may involve testing the accuracy of data collection and interpretation with members of the participant group. Credibility, or establishing truth-value, is a major concern for this case study because the investigator must infer whether a respondents' perception, based on interview, coincide with documentary evidence, and the investigator knows some of the participants personally prior to this inquiry.

Table 2. The Criteria of Trustworthiness

Credibility	I used rigorous methods, beginning with the literature review, data collection and interpretation, focusing on an in-depth exploration of PASCEP.
Dependability	Thick descriptions, interviews, archival data, and personal memorabilia coupled with triangulation achieve dependability.
Confirmability	I recognized my personal biases as a non-neutral position, and used triangulation, especially member checking, as often as possible to reduce the effect of investigator bias.

Guba (1981, 1978) and Shenton (2003) "use terminology to distance themselves from the positivist paradigm" (Shenton). For example, Shenton notes:

Guba's constructs correspond to the criteria employed by the positivist investigator: a) *credibility* (in preference to internal validity); b) *transferability* (in preference to external

validity/generalizability); c) *dependability* (in preference to reliability); d) *confirmability* (in preference to objectivity).

Bounded by place, time, activity, and political context, I collected detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures in order to address *credibility*. First, was the adoption of well established research methods; second, becoming familiar with the culture of participating social movement organizations; third, triangulation of participants and documents; fourth, making sure participants understood the consent agreement; fifth, the nature of my independent status as researcher; sixth, iterative questioning; seventh, my reflective commentary; and eighth, frequent debriefing sessions (Shenton, 2004).

Although *transferability* is a possibility, Stake (1994), Denscombe (1998), and Shenton (2004) take issue with it. Shenton cautions: "It appears to belittle the importance of the contextual factors which impinge on the case" (p. 69). Lincoln and Guba maintain that, "since the researcher knows only the sending context, he or she cannot make transferability inferences" (in Shenton, p. 70). Consequently, I have not employed transferability as a mode to trustworthiness in my study. Due to the changing nature of qualitative research data, I sought dependability rather than reliability in my case study. Consequently, I have achieved dependability through triangulation. As well, I achieved *confirmability*, my comparable concern with objectivity in this qualitative study by triangulation. Detailed descriptions enable me to determine the acceptability of the data and constructs emerging from the study (Shenton, 2004). Therefore, confirmability is

attained in the study through triangulation - the process of confirming data from different individuals and methods of data collection, and member checking - asking participants in the inquiry about the accuracy of particular explanations (Cresswell, 2002).

The period under examination began in January 1974, and ended in December 1979. This examination settled on the era representing the period in which Hyman conceptualized the CEP/LMC and when the CEP became institutionalized as a part of Temple University; by the end of 1979 Hyman's CEP/PASCEP is situated and institutionalized as a component of Temple University (Hilty, 2010).

Data Collection Procedures

The first source of data I examined was archival repositories in libraries on the campus of Temple University, followed by original documents, including newspaper articles, letters, reports, and organizational histories in the municipal archives of the City of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. I employed semi-structured interviews of participants in the second phase of the data collection process, conducting thirty semi-structured interviews of movement participants, Temple University administrators and faculty members to follow-up on issues raised by the archival data. At times, I received additional archival data from various interviewees.

How did CEP/PASCEP develop from a social movement to a campus-based community-education program, and what important factors contributed to

its development and institutionalization within Temple University is the “grand tour” research question. Social movement theories, the indigenous perspective (Morris, 1984), the concept of "bridge leadership" (Robnett, 1997), and the Black womanist leadership standpoint are, in tandem, guiding this inquiry. My reliance on multiple data sources, cross-referencing throughout the data collection process, resulted in a comprehensive view of CEP/PASCEP/LMC minimized problems with recall and interest. A list of open-ended interview questions used to guide the interview process is included. Many questions were not designed beforehand. Those questions created during the interview gave the participant and interviewer flexibility to probe for details not thought of prior to the interview process.

Sample Participants

Table 3. Participant Demographics

Participants	Gender	Race/Ethnicity	Education		Occupations
30	F/12 - M/18	2/White-1F/1M 27/AA/16M/11F 1/Vietnamese/M	8/ PhD. 13/ M	6/B 3/HS	Professional/ 8 Educators/17 Community Activists/5

This study used semi-structured interviews for several reasons: impartiality, practicability, examination, development over time, and the illumination of agency.

I used snowball sampling, asking participants to identify others who were witnesses or involved with CEP/PASCEP to become members of the sample. For

instance, at the end of an interview often I would ask a participant, if he or she could give me the names of some women or men whose involvement was important to CEP/PASCEP. Alternatively, "Who would you recommend I interview?" At times, participants volunteered a name of someone I should interview. Therefore, the total number of participants and the identity of the participants were unknown to me at the start of the inquiry. Snowballing was the reason for continuing the interviews and saturation was the reason for discontinuing when additional interviews yielded no new information. I interviewed thirty participants: twelve female and eighteen male; two white, one male and one female. During the period under investigation, eight had earned the PhD; thirteen had earned the Masters; six the Bachelors and three interviewees had the high school diploma. Eight participants were employed in professional occupations, such as accountant, nurse, or entrepreneur; seventeen were occupied in the field of education, and six were community activists. Currently, only two male participants were less than sixty years of age.

Interviews

I interviewed the 30 participants at various locations in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Belmar, New Jersey; Huntsville, Alabama; and Washington, DC; and in different settings. For example:

- 1) I interviewed two participants at their Philadelphia business offices locations in off campus;

2) Six participants were interviewed in offices on Temple University's campus;

3) Twenty participants were interviewed in their homes: sixteen in Philadelphia, PA; one participant in Haverford, PA; one participant in Belmar, New Jersey; one participant in Huntsville, Alabama; and one participant in Washington, DC;

4) Two participants were interviewed in unoccupied areas of restaurants located in Philadelphia, PA.

I have used semi-structured interviews, participant diary accounts, and documentary materials to illuminate the lifeworld of the participants and the meanings they socially constructed about their lives. My study required access to a broader, more diverse group of participants than could be found through such methods as random sampling, structured questionnaires and the movement's historical documents. In addition, I could not have used random sampling since a list of leaders and grassroots members did not exist. Blee and Taylor (2002) argue that "propaganda and internal documents of social movement organizations as well as personal testimonies and recollections of participants, are often produced by official leaders and those who are educated and confident about the historic importance of their movement activities" (p. 93).

Consequently, in my study, semi-structured interviews, sampling and triangulation countered the bias that unjustifiably would have given special treatment to men over women, higher class over the lower class, and movement

leaders over rank-and-file movement participants. For example, Robnett's (1996) interviews of African American women who were active in the civil rights movement revealed a distinct form of leadership style, which she characterizes as *bridge leadership*. As defined in the previous chapter, bridge leadership is the behind-the-scenes style of leadership carried out by women who were prevented, due to patriarchic "exclusionary practices found in the Black church, from occupying formal leadership positions" (p. 94). Robnett's approach illuminated this examination because twelve of the thirty participants are women, and although the focus of the study is Pan-African Studies Community Education Program/LMC, women were the catalysts, organizers, and planners of PASCEP.

I also used semi-structured interviews because they illuminated how participants mobilized, maintained and supported themselves during those phases of inactivity (p. 95). Moreover, using semi-structured interview strategies to explore participants longitudinally afforded me the opportunity to determine if attitude preceded involvement. For example, Blee (2001) argues that it may be possible to challenge the assumption that participation in social movements is necessarily preceded by beliefs consistent with the movement (p. 95). Yin argues data manipulation, or "playing with the data" in the early stage of inquiry can be a productive endeavor (p. 111). Although there are a half-dozen ways to play with the data, including tabulating the frequency of different events, another is just putting information in chronological order or using some other temporal scheme to determine what came first, and what followed.

The following discussion between the interviewer and Mr. Sankofa, demonstrates the data analysis technique "playing with the data" in a temporal scheme. Komi Sankofa recalls finding out about Hyman's *CEP* from Ed Hall, a South Eastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA) train representative. Prior to meeting Ed, Mr. Sankofa knew nothing of CEP's existence:

I found out later that Mr. Hall was a Mason. I was on my way from work, having worked the midnight shift and he worked the midnight shift for SEPTA as a train representative on the "I". I was leaving. I got on at Spring Garden Street and was on my way up to Broad & Olney Streets, and during that period SEPTA had a bus line called the Fox, which ran from the far Northeast Elevated Train Station, the last stop up there at Frankford Avenue over to Broad & Olney Streets. Ed actually lived on 22nd Street & Lehigh Avenue, but our conversation became so intense, him teaching me, actually, about Africa and his involvement in PASCEP, and I was intrigued. I am sure I fired some questions at him and before we knew it we were at the last stop. He got on the Fox Line with me. We went over to Broad & Olney Streets, got off there, and he was still talking to me about PASCEP (Interview, August 3, 2009).

Mr. Sankofa's experience is one example of motivational framing as well as the belief that participation in social movements is necessarily preceded by beliefs consistent with the movement. Mr. Sankofa, drawn in by Mr. Hall, had been unaware of the existence of PASCEP.

Scholars understand social movement outcomes as the "construction of collective and individual identities" (Blee, pp. 95-96). Often times, identities are the result of involvement rather than the precipitator of involvement in social movements (p. 96). Such analyses required a deep probing of emotional issues

that could only have been done through semi-structured interviews. A sixth value of semi-structured interviews was its ability to illuminate and move human agency to the center of LMC analysis (p. 96). Aldon Morris (1984) has shown that by recording the participants' own story, semi-structured interviews can contribute in determining "why the theory being tested may not fit the data well" (p. 96). The lack of fit caused me to assign greater weight to the causal role of the LMC's network in the achievement of Hyman's goals. Finally, using Blee and Taylor's argument that "semi-structured interviewing permits scholars to assess the complex ways in which movement ideas are interpreted both cognitively and emotionally" I was able to assess different audiences throughout the duration of the movement (p. 97). Although the study focused on the stated period, I was not limited to data within the stated period; I used and triangulated archival data before and after the period under examination.

For this reason, data collection also included Annie Hyman's diary accounts, and documentary materials from educators as well as Thomas Anderson, a retired Temple University administrator. While Mr. Anderson played a pivotal role as a Temple University administrator, he was also a Hyman supporter. The semi-structured interviews with each participant took place over a period of an hour to one and one-half hours in 2009. I asked professors and administrators about their remembrances of the issues and the events that occurred during the emergence, functioning, participation, dynamics and consequences of Hyman's CEP/LMC.

Data Analysis

I coded the data collected from the interviews using a matrix designed to answer the research question, 1) "How and why did PASCEP develop from a social movement to a campus-based community-education program, and what important factors contributed to its development and institutionalization within Temple University?" The format consists of seven questions used to query the interview transcripts.

1. What types of social psychological processes and interpretive framing contributed to the emergence of the Black consciousness in the CEP/PASCEP leadership?
2. What type of grievances contributed to the emergence and operation of Hyman's local movement organization LMO?
3. What were the forms of strategic and tactical innovations employed to mobilize the necessary resources required to move Annie Dee Hyman's *Community Education Program* from the streets of inner city North Philadelphia onto the campus of Temple University?
4. What factors created the opportunity for Hyman to bring her African centered Community Education Program onto the campus of Temple University?
5. Who were the community members instrumental in the formation of Hyman's CEP, and how did they do it?

6. What was the nature of the relationship actually forged in the mid 1970s by Annie D. Hyman and Temple University in the wake of the Civil Rights decades (1953-1973)?

7) To what extent did the leadership of CEP/PASCEP follow the pattern of feminist/womanist leadership, and how did this leadership style influence processes and outcomes?

Table 4 and Table 5 below provide concepts and definitions.

Table 4. Data Coding Scheme

CH. 5 - Part 1 Mobilizing Grievances	CH. 5 - Part 2 Contextual Conditions
<p>Mobilizing Grievances consist of:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Structural and Material Conditions as an Outgrowth of Group Conflict and/or Inequality. From an unconscious class-in-itself to a conscious class-for-itself. 2. Social Psychological Factors - heightened frustration and status dissonance; 3. Framing - a call to arms, the rationale for engagement, generating solidary and moral incentives. Interactively Based Interpretation, Signifying Work or FRAMING produce MGs. 	<p>Contextual Conditions include:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Political Opportunity - The opportunity to express one's grievances publicly and to relevant authorities, whether through the media or by protest; 2. Resource Mobilization - Access to sufficient resources to organize and mount a campaign to address those grievances; 3. Ecological Factors - relatively safe spaces, enclaves in which the aggrieved can associate in absence of the curious and perhaps watchful eye of their targets or government officials.

Table 5. Data Coding Scheme

CH. 6 - Part 1 Participation	CH. 6 - Part 2 Leadership
<p>Participation was dependent upon several factors that are crucial to recruitment:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Structural Factors - linked - networked, and asked; 2. Social Psychological Factors - shared grievances, 3. Personal Efficacy - shared or collective identity; belief that one can make a difference, 4. Biographic Factors - meaningful socialization experiences, and biographical availability. 	<p>Gendered Leadership: a middle layer of leadership is essential to the micro-mobilization of a social movement. In social movements, black women provided a bridge or conduit:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Between social movement organizations and adherents; 2. Between prefigurative and strategic politics; and 3. Between potential leaders and those predisposed to movement activity. <p>PASCEP/LMC and Hyman were part of a tradition of black womanist leadership. They were at the forefront of social change, resisting, modeling, teaching, and guiding their communities.</p>

Method

Type of Data

The strategy for archival research was to examine as many relevant documents as possible for the period beginning January 1974 and ending December 1979, and within the allotted time for a particular site in order to answer the proposed research questions. My intent was to learn as much as

possible about the movement prior to conducting semi-structured interviews.

According to Aldon D. Morris:

Prior knowledge will enable the interviewer to ask specific questions and to assist interviewees in placing their memories in the social, temporal and geographical context of their actions during the time under examination. Prior knowledge will enable the interviewer to gain the respect of the interviewees and increase the likelihood that they would approach the interview in a serious matter (p. 328).

I collected archival data from several sources: The City of Philadelphia, Charles L. Blockson Afro-American Collection, Annie Dee Hyman personal papers; Temple University's Urban Archive, and Conwellana-Templana Collection: University Archives.

Interview Protocol

The interviews were semi-structured and lasted for less than two hours using an extended list of questions structured around the following variables: mobilizing grievances, political opportunity, resource mobilization, ecological factors, rationality, spontaneity, framing, and participation and consequences. The objective was to examine the roles played in the LMC by factors associated with resource mobilization, new movement theory, social constructionist, and the indigenous perspective. Rather than follow a prescribed list, the questions were guides to the conversations, a normal procedure in semi-structured interviews.

Consent Forms

Thirty participants signed three consent forms: to participate in the study; to have conversations audio taped, and to be photographed. In addition,

participants agreed to allow use of their names in the dissertation because the tape recordings, which will become part of the Conwellana-Templana Collection: University Archives will not be made available to the public until a period of fifteen years has passed. As well, I participated and passed the Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative fulfilling Temple University's commitment to promote ethical conduct towards Human Subjects in all research projects.

Limitations of the Study

I addressed at least several limitations having the potential to influence the interpretation of the findings of my study. The first is, in spite of my efforts, I have missed important people and consequently, information will be incomplete. The second limitation involves the reliability of memory. The respondents in this study are reporting events that occurred at least 40 years ago, and many of them are between 65 and 90 years of age. Consequently, this study includes reports that go beyond 1979 into the mid-1980s, because I needed to hear about reports beyond 1979 to the extent that they could triangulate earlier memories, and confirm some context and character issues. Finally, the debriefing process, which takes place after the possibility to influence data analysis, is a limitation.

Debriefing

I will invite the participants and committee members to a debriefing session to solicit reactions and attempt to obtain useful information. Chapters 4, 5 and 6, *Africatown Alabama, The Trajectory of a Local movement center: Mobilizing Grievances, and Contextual Conditions, and Participation and*

Leadership in a Local Movement, respectively, are considered data analysis chapters. The collected data answers specifically: How did PASCEP develop from a social movement to a campus-based community-education program and what important factors contributed to its development and institutionalization within Temple University? My presumption: *PASCEP* was in a network of LMCs, its participants were in the social movement network in Philadelphia and the surrounding region. My conceptualization follows those offered by Snow & Soule (2010):

Social movements are collectivities acting with some degree of organization and continuity, partly outside institutional or organizational channels, for the purpose of directly or indirectly challenging extant systems of authority, or resisting change in such systems, in the organization, society, culture, or the world system (independent system of countries linked by economic and political competition) in which SMs are embedded.

In addition, social movement and collective action theorists argue a social movement has a beginning, follows a trajectory, reaching a terminal point, where the social movement has new advantage or no new advantage, finding acceptance, or no acceptance. A social movement can find acceptance by its targets in two ways; it either enjoys a full response or has a new advantage or the movement is co-opted, with no new advantage. If a social movement is not accepted, its lack of acceptance is due to preemption and obstruction, or there is no new advantage and the movement collapses. See Table 6 below.

Table 6. Types of Responses by Target

	Acceptance	No Acceptance
New Advantage	Full Response	Preempted
No New Advantage	Co-opted	Collapse

In order for a social movement to follow its trajectory successfully, it must as a necessity cross several thresholds. The thresholds used in this study are mobilizing grievances, contextual conditions, participation and leadership. The research questions are related to each succeeding chapter. For example, the overarching question, "How did PASCEP develop from a social movement to a campus-based community-education program and what important factors contributed to its development and institutionalization within Temple University?" refers to the trajectory of the LMC. I have used the thresholds of a social movement, from beginning to end of my inquiry. I related the question "What type of grievances contributed to the emergence and operation of Hyman's LMC?" to Chapter 4 Africatown, Alabama because mobilizing grievances are the result of interactively based interpretations or signifying work or framing, when the subordinate group collectively sees the world a particular way, yet the same way. I connect "What were the forms of strategic and tactical innovations employed to mobilize the necessary resources required to move Pan-African Studies *Community Education Program* from the streets of inner city North Philadelphia onto the campus of Temple University? and, "What factors created the

opportunity for Hyman to bring her African centered CEP onto the campus of Temple University? to Chapter 5, Contextual Conditions - political opportunities, resource mobilization, and ecological factors and free spaces. Participation is associated with the question, "Who were the community members instrumental in the formation of *PASCEP*, and how did they do it? As well, with regards to leadership, I associated the query," What was the nature of the relationship actually forged by Pan-African Studies *Community Education Program* participants and Temple University, in the mid 1970s, in the wake of the Civil Rights decade (1953-1963)? As well as "To what extent did the leadership of CEP/PASCEP follow the pattern of feminist/womanist leadership, and how did this leadership style influence processes and outcomes? This investigation turns now to Chapter 4 to investigate the woman who is most associated with the Pan-African Studies *Community Education Program* movement, Annie Dee Hyman.

CHAPTER 4

AFRICATOWN ALABAMA

This chapter is a biographical account of the life of a Pan-African Studies Community Education Program/Local movement center (PASCEP/LMC) participant who by all accounts is representative of the women who were leaders in the movement. However, Annie Delores Hyman emerged as a participant at the forefront of CEP/LMC. *Africatown Alabama* illuminates the progressive evolution of Hyman's spirit, her desire to serve, and her capacity to work well with others. Additional data about Hyman's leadership style are found in chapters 5 and 6. This chapter highlights the life experiences that may account for the Pan-African orientation she gave to the CEP. The sections are entitled as follows: 1. *The Early Years*; 2. *Young Adult Years*; 3. *Developing a Movement Oriented Consciousness*; 4. *Becoming a Visionary Movement Leader*; 5. *Hyman's Philosophy*, and 6. *The Temple Nexus*. Chapter 4 chronicles in a linear fashion how the social environment served to shape Hyman's life, how she might have changed her social landscape in north Central Philadelphia through the development of her movement-oriented consciousness.

The Early Years

She was born Annie Delores Powe on August 3, 1933 in Africatown, Alabama, a state that was well known for its "tripartite system of terroristic racial domination, exploitation, and oppression" (Morris, 1984). During post-Reconstruction years, when blacks had been reduced to peonage through

physical violence, Marjorie Wheeler (1993), in *New Women of the New South* shows how White Southern women struggled to gain the right to vote while continuing to maintain racial discrimination.

Women of the South's political and social elite...while demanding an end to discrimination against women...promoted women suffrage as a means of preserving white supremacy and systematic discrimination against blacks (p. xiv).

Politically, Alabama was a one-party Democratic state, critically realigning to the Republican party as the United States attempted to legislate equality (Nardulli, 1992, 1995; Merrill, et. al., 2008). The Ku Klux Klan, founded in 1865 in Tennessee by veterans of the Confederate Army, continued to launch waves of terror across the state of Alabama, as recently as 1981 (NPR-Koppel, 2008; Wood, 1906).

Annie learned about Africa as a child while attending a school founded by descendents of the African captives in Africatown (Interview, Hyman, May 17, 2009). Africatown is a "post-reconstruction settlement" that according to Sylviane A. Diouf, has endured to the present day (p. 2). Diouf charts the story of the *Clotilda* from Mobile, Alabama, where Annie lived, to the "Bight of Benin, a region known as the Slave Coast," where it picked up its illegal cargo of African captives and its return voyage to Mobile. These farmers, fishermen and traders followed Islam, Vodun, or the Orisa (p. 2) arrived in Mobile, Alabama in 1860. Their success in Africatown, chronicled by Zora Neale Hurston (1928),

Hemenway (1977) and Booker T. Washington (Encyclopedia of Alabama), contributed to Annie's developing consciousness as a black child in Alabama.

She grew up in a household of ten children, "where there was always an extra plate on the table, all the time, just in case someone happened on the spot" (A. Hyman, Interview, May 17, 2009). Her parents, Rushington "Doc" Powe and Irene Smith Powe affectionately called her "Moonie." Rush Powe, her father was a carpenter who built houses from the "ground up" (A. Hyman, Interview, May 17, 2009). Her mother Irene was a homemaker who nurtured her family and made sure they went to school and to church. Early in life, Annie learned that she had to help support her family. She worked as a short order cook and washed floors. She and her brother Elijah received one dollar and twenty-five cents per load of laundry they washed for white families. She recalled how during that Jim Crow era, she "had to run from white kids." As young children she and her brother knocked on the customers' door, only to be greeted by white children announcing, "There is a nigger at the door." Annie shared the lessons her mother taught them. "Moonie you are as good as anyone else and your mission is to make money to help your family." Ms. Powe's advice and support fostered a sense of self-esteem, self-determination, patience, resilience and perseverance that would insure her success in achieving future goals (A. Hyman, Interview, 2009). The lessons Annie learned at home were the same as those taught in school. She remembered one community problem that spoke to the fact that

terrorism by white supremacists included all blacks, especially black men in leadership positions:

Well one community problem developed when my school superintendent ran for a City Council seat, and they fire bombed his house during the day because they didn't want no Black folks to run for City Council, or any seat and I was in school. I never will forget Mrs. Taylor, and what she said to us. She said that we had a responsibility to get involved in our community, and to always vote, and be active in our Community. Ms. Taylor was my eighth grade Home-Economics teacher (Interview, May 17, 2009).

In addition to working outside the Powe home, Ms. Hyman had the added responsibility of caring for her younger brothers and sisters while her parents worked. Hyman often spoke of the uneasiness she felt at the doctor's office while holding her younger brother Elijah. Elijah had "clubbed feet" and breaking his feet began the procedure that would enable him to walk; the doctor repaired Elijah's feet by breaking them, and Hyman's care for her brother was instrumental to the healing process.

Annie also cared for her baby sister who was born mute; enabling her to overcome many of the social challenges she would face as an adult (Hyman, 2009). Forged in the crucible of tripartite oppression in Depression-era Alabama, Annie's nurturing family experiences built and sustained an abiding concern for the welfare of women, children and justice for humanity. Annie's maternal grandmother influenced her because she was an Eastern Star and a community activist, able to pursue community work with the support of her grandfather, who "never permitted her to work in the fields" (A. Hyman, Interview, May 17, 2009).

From these sources, Annie learned that she "could observe a community and figure out how to make life better for everybody" (A. Hyman, Interview May 17, 2009).

As a girl of ten and eleven, Annie worked to earn cash for the household while attending Chickasaw Terrace Elementary School in Prichard, formerly Africatown, Alabama. After elementary school, Annie attended Mobile County Training School. The history of Mobile County Training School began back as 1880. It was the oldest county training school in Alabama (<http://mobiletraining.mcs.com>). Annie Dee entered Mobile County Training School established by the Africatown residents in 1947, and as an adolescent, became a member of Prichard Girls Club, a club in the Bethune network of social organizations. Annie graduated from the Africatown School in 1952. After Graduating, she moved to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania to live with her aunt Coreen.

At an impressionable age, Annie had the opportunity to meet two prominent black educators who would exert an important influence on her life: Mary McLeod Bethune and George Washington Carver. Mary McLeod Bethune instituted a Girls Club at Annie's Chickasaw Terrace Elementary School (Interview, A. Hyman, May 17, 2009). As a Girls Club member, she learned of Bethune's courage and faith in humankind, and developed an appreciation for style, warmth and charisma, but in particular to Bethune's approach to education. Bethune became the woman Hyman most sought to emulate throughout her life.

Like Bethune, Annie had to "wash for white folks" to help her family make ends meet, and like Bethune, she came to understand that "education can make all the difference" (Interview, May 17, 2009). Hyman, speaking of Bethune's influence:

Well I was impressed with her because she came to Mobile County Training School when I was in the tenth grade. I was in her Girl's Club at the time; she came twice because she was invited. I might have been in a lower level the first visit. Ms. Bethune was able to travel all around to wherever they wanted her. We saw her at assembly, and she spoke about staying in school, getting an education and womanhood (Interview, May 17, 2009).

As will be discussed in subsequent chapters, like Bethune, Hyman defied the norms for women in America, especially working class women of African descent. Those outside her circle didn't understand Hyman's management style, which they saw as passive. In formal settings, it is characterized as bridge leadership, demonstrating "day to day lessons on self-empowerment" (Robnett, 1997). Doing the unexpected was controversial for women, especially women of color. Yet, Hyman became a change agent in American society.

Hyman met Dr. George Washington Carver as a teenager on two weekend church-school assignments to Tuskegee University (Hyman, 2009). At fourteen, she traveled alone by train from Prichard to Tuskegee University. Professor Barney, her Sunday School Superintendent selected her to represent the church at Tuskegee University.

I remember Professor Barney, a Tuskegee Alumni and community educator, who was instrumental in my life; he was responsible for me going to Tuskegee University twice to represent our African Episcopal Church Sunday School. Going to Tuskegee University by train was really an experience. Barney had been a pioneer at

Tuskegee, and he had participated in building Dorothy Hall, and preserving Tuskegee history for black people. I went to the meetings, and the topic was about participation, how to get people to participate. However, that is all I remember, except meeting Dr. George Washington Carver and [seeing] his research laboratory (Interview, A. Hyman, May 17, 2009).

Hyman's family, religion, schooling, and social life were interconnected, interdependent, and reinforcing of the same values: togetherness, education and service to God (Interview, A. Hyman, May 17, 2009).). Moreover, the early years of Hyman's life attest to social psychological factors highlighted in Chapter 5. These factors, as Snow and Soule (2010) posit contribute to the generation of mobilizing grievances as well as serve to develop a sense of shared identity. In addition, Hyman participated in the intergenerational "table talk" described by King and Ferguson (2011) in their discussion of the development of black professional womanist leadership. They argue that a particular kind of black woman leadership develops and is cultivated between grandmothers, mothers and daughters and is a rite of passage among black women.

Young Adult Years - Marriage, Children and Family

Annie Dee Powe (the future Ms. Hyman) had moved to Philadelphia in 1952, as mentioned previously, Her cousin Sylvia introduced her to Raymond Russell Hyman after the news went out that a pretty "country cousin" was in town. Annie and Russell met several times at the Marcus Garvey House (Annie Hyman, 2009; Raymond Hyman, 2009). The Garvey House, located at Sixteenth Street and Cecil B. Moore Avenue, adjacent to Temple University's campus

continues to serve as the home of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Meeting the Hyman family, who were active in the Muslim community—in fact the Hyman brothers provided bodyguards for Malcolm X. Meeting Malcolm X at the Garvey Headquarters served to heighten Annie's black consciousness. Annie and Raymond were among the scores who listened to Malcolm X for hours at a time at Garvey House. He was in Philadelphia working to expand Temple Number Twelve and lecturing at the Garvey House. Members of Garvey House fed him in their homes while he continued to teach during his meals. Annie and Raymond began dating after several meetings. During one date, Russell offered to buy a drink for her and she informed him that she neither drank nor smoked, impressing him so much that he proposed to her on the spot (Interviews, Annie Hyman, May 17, 2009; Interview, Raymond Hyman, April 26, 2009; Russell Hyman, April 26, 2009).

Russell and Annie had three daughters, Aleah, Ramona, and Madeia. Both were determined to provide their daughters with many of the things they believed they had missed as children of the *Great Depression*. Hyman began to organize camping trips, excursions to museums, the zoo and the Academy of Music for her daughters and other children in her North Philadelphia community. Like their parents, the girls, were raised to appreciate the value of education, they enjoyed civic participation and hard work. During those days, Hyman emulated her mentor Mary McLeod Bethune, preparing for a larger leadership role. The couple remained married for thirty years; after divorce, they remained

good friends, guiding their family, which included four generations, with love and care until Annie's passing on June 29, 2010.

Hyman was concerned about how to raise her daughters into womanhood. According to Aleah, Ramona, and Madeia, Ms. Hyman always felt that "girls should be dainty"; consequently, Annie learned the art of millinery, making beautiful hats, not only for herself and her daughters, but for neighbors, friends, family and others in the community who needed "uplifting," as Annie would call it (Benin, July 7, 2010). During the period, Ms. Hyman worked as a power machine operator for six years, and learned to create beautiful matching "mother and daughter" outfits (Interview, A. Hyman, May 17, 2009).

Dr. Ramona Hyman, the middle daughter, enjoys recounting the Shirley Temple story (Benin, 2010). As a child, Hyman had loved the child star Shirley Temple and it left a lasting impression. As an adult, she attended Apex Beauty School located at 525 S. Broad Street. Owned and operated for thirty-five years by Ruth Johns Ferguson (1902-1989) and her partner Naomi T. Fassett (1908-1983), Apex Beauty School Classes" served mostly young African-American women from the region, who wanted to become beauty culture experts" (Interview, A. Hyman, May 17, 2009; The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Feb. 2006).

The Apex Beauty School was important to Ms. Hyman's social and intellectual development in several ways, some of which had little to do with the profession. As a business and social institution, Apex Beauty School followed

"the path laid by accomplished African-American beauty culture pioneers, such as Madame C. J. Walker (1867-1919) and Sara Spencer Washington (1881-1953) "providing a model for Black women entrepreneurs." Moreover, the school provided a network through which Black students could join the beauty culture community. Most of the young women (85%) and men (15%) in attendance lived in North-Central and West Philadelphia. However, about 24 percent of the students had addresses in the Philadelphia suburbs, Delaware, or New Jersey (The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Feb. 2006). At Apex Beauty School, Hyman enjoyed the camaraderie of her peers while being introduced to the business, social and cultural interaction, and the legacy of Mmes. C. J. Walker and Sara Spencer Washington (Interview, A. Hyman, May 17, 2009).

Sara Washington, a Black woman is responsible for perpetuating Walker's tradition, by founding the Apex News and Hair Company in the early 1920s where Black women and men could learn the skills needed to run a "depression-proof business" (The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Feb. 2006). Hyman's experiences at Apex resulted in the development of her ability to give the hairstyle known as the "Shirley Temples," not only to her daughters, but also to many of the little girls in the neighborhood. Ms. Hyman began sharing her cosmetic gifts with neighborhood women and girls who could not afford to have their hair done. A satisfied smile was payment enough for Ms. Hyman. Her youngest daughter, Madeia, remembers wearing "Shirley Temples" until the ninth grade (A. Hyman, personal communication, May 17, 2009).

Between 1953 and 1960, Hyman worked as a nurses' aid at various North Philadelphia Medical Centers. She worked at Bergman's Knitting Mill where she worked as a Power Machine operator until 1966, when Hyman joined North City Congress, a senior's center located on Broad Street. She remained employed with them until 1968 serving as Police-Community Relations Field Worker (Interview, A. Hyman, May 17, 2009).

In 1968, Ms. Hyman began working for John Greenleaf Whittier School, at 27th and Clearfield Streets as the School Community Coordinator. As Coordinator, conducting oral history research, Ms. Hyman documented approximately 30 home visits per week totaling about 1100 homes per year as she visited thousands of parents in Philadelphia's fourth school district. The "organizing" work Hyman did while working for John Greenleaf Whittier School is akin to the "organizing" work done Ella Baker. As previously mentioned, organizing, was a continuous door-to-door activity that allowed movement participants to empower themselves (Payne, 1995). The organizing activity also involved "bridge leadership" described by Robnett (1996). It also explains some claims that Hyman could get 400 people to come out in the rain. In 1969, Ms. Hyman began her studies at Temple University, and received a Bachelor's Degree in Social Work in 1976 (Interview, April 16, 2009, J. Brewer; Interview, April 16, 2009, A. Hyman).

Developing a Movement-Oriented Consciousness

Annie Dee Hyman could have remained uninvolved in the struggle for human dignity, yet she moved to the forefront in the battle for social change. Although there is no hard evidence, what exists is suggestive that it is hard to imagine Ms. Hyman would have been uninfluenced by factors that would develop an insurgent consciousness. First, of course was a cultural orientation; the recognition of her second-class status was unavoidable. In addition, Hyman was in a community determined to overcome the social conditions that historically had been imposed on them. Moreover, her community had seized upon two solutions: faith in God and the power of education. Finally, Hyman's education, personal disposition, and political orientation drove her to participate in collective action as Aldon Morris (1993) notes, "Systems of human domination give rise to forms of political consciousness" (Morris and Mueller, p. 364).

The degree of an individual's social consciousness determines one's ability to employ multiple perspectives. For example, the use of multiple perspectives enables one to see the "confluence and interaction" of structural conditions, to assimilate social psychological factors and framing processes, and move from notions of distributive justice—the fairness of the distribution of resources, to procedural justice—to the fairness of the procedures on which the distributions are based (Snow & Soule (2010). As the next chapter will demonstrate, Hyman became a conscious practitioner of social justice, a justice that involved keeping agreed-upon rules of fairness for all. She practiced social

justice on many levels: with the poor, in her religious community, with women, and with black people. . I believe that a confluence of factors during her maturation processes contributed to the development of Hyman's personal efficacy, and she shared these beliefs that she could make a difference with her family and community. As a worker, Hyman developed consciousness for justice through working cooperatively within her communities, inspiring others and organizing communal efforts to improve the lives of the human family. Hyman once again provided examples of feminist/womanist leadership through interpersonal interactions within her community. Joe Janulowitz spoke with tears in his eyes about Hyman's work with the poor:

She (Hyman) recently passed on, yes. Well, Mother Theresa, she was a well known Nun who actually did a lot of her work in terms of the poorest of the poor in India and Asia, and I just kind of compared the two, and how Hyman and Mother Theresa worked with the poor and gave practically all of themselves to the poor (Interview, August 24, 2009).

Greta Adams supports the notion that Hyman's conscious efforts had an impact on the outcomes in her religious community:

I consider Annie a missionary from God because she's active in her church, improving the church; she's done things in the community, improving the community; she's picked up people off the street who are hungry, who needed things; she would give things from her home. So, she's like a missionary as well as an activist (Interview, April 7, 2009).

As an African American, Hyman developed racial consciousness; her childhood and adolescent life in Prichard, Alabama was typical for American blacks. As a

woman, Hyman understood the meaning of gender bias. Her friend Greta

Adams noted their awareness of gender bias and its consequences:

It's prevalent. It's not as prevalent as it was because many women who are heads of companies are not allowing it to hold them back. Women were used to clean and do everything, even in the church, and at many points the church leadership did not allow women in the pulpit of the church. I remember Father Washington from over 18th street, Church of the Advocate, He was one of the first people to have a women anointed to be a leader in the church (Interview, April 7, 2009).

Hyman was introduced to the German Schwenkfelder Church when she moved into North Philadelphia home with her husband Raymond. Soon the church had an all black congregation, but kept its white minister. Retaining its White minister confounded other Black participants, especially men like Stan Straughter, who were more nationalistic, and an adherent of Black Power. Stan mentioned the issue:

We thought the women were still being lead by the Whites, some Thomasinas! However, after we began to meet and talk with them we saw that the women, the Black Women in particular, including Dee were really the power behind Reverend James Sturdy, you know. That was real for us; she grew up with Malcolm, she and her husband were a part of that movement also (Interview, April 11, 2009).

Race was not an issue for Hyman and the women in the LMC. When discussing her collaborative work in the Schwenkfelder Church, Annie Dee Hyman, had this to say about their effort of one engagement:

During the Civil Rights period we were very active, we brought Mr. Owens from Alabama, and packed Schwenkfelder Church with about 350 people. And when the Poor People's March was planned I organized a sleep-in in Schwenkfelder Church for three days, and

was blessed to get the Doylestown Presbyterian Church and the Schwenkfelder, and there was another Church in the City, I don't remember that Church it was a White Church, to come with food, blankets and sleeping cots so people who were coming from Canada and going to Washington, D.C. ...[so that] the Poor People's March could stop off at 38th and Cumberland Streets (Interview, May 17, 2009).

Hyman understood both the dominant and oppressed groups' states of political consciousness. Hyman's effectiveness as an LMC organizer suggests a pattern of leadership noted by King and Ferguson (2001). Because of Hyman's socialization and value system, perhaps developed during "table talk" rites of passage among immediate family members and with other Black professional women throughout her life gave her a profound sense of self in relation to others and aided in clarifying her sense of personal efficacy and collective purpose (King and Ferguson (2001)).

Raymond Hyman, her friend and ex-husband believes Annie Dee's work in the community began in the early 1950s when she attended classes conducted by Malcolm X at the Marcus Garvey House on Columbia Avenue, an area that was the buffer between Temple University on the East side and North Philadelphia on the West side (Interview, 2009). The Garvey House headquartered the Philadelphia Chapter of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), and was significant to the Black progressive and radical communities in Philadelphia, even 13 years after Garvey's death in 1940 (R. Hyman, 2009; H. Hyman, 2009; Nana Akoffo, 2009; J. Brickhouse; E. Rollins, 2009). Garvey's message remained important because of the fervency of his

calls for Blacks in the United States and around the world to get ahead as a race through personal and group upliftment, just as the UNIA served the mental and cultural development of its members (Hill, lxiii). Raymond Hyman notes one aspect of Hyman's conscious development toward becoming a Social Movement Organization (SMO) leader.

I think... out of those meetings at the Garvey House and meeting with the Africans, like I said we use to meet with the Africans...out of Ghana and Sierra Leone, and you know from up there at Lincoln University, Annie Dee's Black conscious development was an outgrowth of those meetings (Interview, April 26, 2009).

Hyman's colleague of 28 years as School Community Coordinator, companion and friend, Mary Wells notes:

Well, we started out as Community workers together; we attended the same Church. And we worked together with the Girl Scouts and took children from the community to Thrill Shows and on different trips. Then we both became hired in the school system as School Community Coordinators, which enhanced our opportunity to do more for the neighborhood and for the community (Interview, April 8, 2009).

Mary Wells and Annie Hyman remained life-long friends until Hyman's death in 2010.

Hyman's consciousness of her position as a woman of color, and the intersectionality of race, class, and gender, compelled her to work within as well as between a wide range of ethnic groups, involving multiple cultural sites, while embracing a variety of ideological perspectives, Hyman spoke the language of possibility for mobilizing grievances. Intersectionality considers multiple factors that serve to construct our political consciousness.

Influenced by the work of prominent black women in the National Association of Colored Women, especially her idol, Mary McLeod Bethune, Hyman would often repeat the NACW's motto: "Lifting as We Climb" (A. Hyman, personal communication, May 17, 2009; Bethune, 1927). Like her mentors and heroes, Hyman's revolutionary visions of community work, development, and growth would shape the future social and cultural contours of the Delaware Valley.

Pan-African Studies Community Education Program (PASCEP/LMC) and Hyman's collaboration with Temple University to incorporate the Community Education Program into Temple University is the heart of this discussion. Morris (1984) argues in *The Origins of the Civil rights movement*, a Local movement center develops, "When a dominated group has assembled the required resources, strategically placed activists, and effective tactics and strategies for protest purposes" (p. 283). As demonstrated in the following chapters, Annie Hyman provided leadership in her network of Local movement centers and served as one of the catalysts in the mobilizing grievances stage for the *CEP*. It is important to understand that collective behavior or a social movement will not emerge without mobilizing grievances: structural or material conditions, social psychological factors and framing. I discuss mobilizing grievances in Chapter 5.

Developing a Movement: The Community Education Program

Hyman spoke many times about the origin of her ideas on education: her "love for education began in the second grade" down in Africatown, when her hero Mary McCloud Bethune paid a visit to her classroom (Interview, June 23, 2009). In addition, her love for education finally "blossomed into fruition in a college classroom at Temple University, "fulfilling her childhood dream for higher education" (Interview, Hyman, 2009). Moreover, through her CEP/PASCEP project, Hyman put her encompassing educational philosophy into daily practice. Philadelphia had a very well developed network of local movement centers (LMC) within the civil rights movement including the Opportunities Industrialization Centers, founded in 1962 by Reverend Dr. Leon H. Sullivan in the wake of his *Selective Patronage* campaign.

The *Selective Patronage* campaign, organized by Sullivan and four hundred ministers targeted Philadelphia companies that had refused to provide equal employment opportunities to blacks (Sullivan, 1998). Attorney Cecil B. Moore, President of the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), became central to the network of LMCs when he took the Philadelphia branch of the NAACP in a direction tangential to that of the National NAACP office. Moore led thousands in peaceful confrontations against Girard College, a bastion of segregation in North Central Philadelphia (Early, 2003). However, it was Mary McLeod Bethune's Girls Club at the Chickasaw Terrace Elementary School that Hyman attended which provided the proverbial

spark that lit her educational fuse (Interview, A. Hyman, May 17, 2009). In the tradition of Booker T. Washington, the prominent black educator, Bethune wrote "My people needed literacy, but they needed even more to learn the simple lessons of farming, of making decent homes, of health, of hearth and plain cleanliness" (Embree, E. R., 1944).

What was the reality into which Hyman's Community Education Program was inserted? Regarding institutional racism in education, in 1967, Reverend Henry Nichols, vice president of the Philadelphia Board of Education, "stated that 75 percent of the black children who would be graduated that year were functional illiterates" (Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967). Nichols blamed the dismal academic performance of black children on Philadelphia public school administrators (Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967, Hunt & Clawson, 1975). Miller and Woock (1970) suggested that low academic performance "may be a symptom of preexisting problems, rather than a problem itself" (p. 27). At base, most black leaders of the period presumed the preexisting problems centered on racism.

Hyman used her philosophical approach to education, including her children in every available cultural and religious activity within and outside her communal sphere in the Delaware Valley. I believe that the basis of her philosophy was her faith in god, and the strong conviction she could make a difference. Moreover, she associated with those who shared her feelings and, transmitted feelings of personal efficacy to those she encountered. She

integrated CEP within a network of SMOs, which "includes all social movement organizations, associated institutions and leaders in a community who are actively engaged in organizing and producing collective action" (Morris, 1981, 1984). As a result, the Hyman family enjoyed an extended communal life within the Christian and Muslim communities, both secularly and culturally. Mary Wells explained the point:

She has always been a religious person. At one time, she was in the Muslim community with her husband, she was a Christian, and we were at the Schwenkfelder Church at 30th and Cumberland Streets for quite some time. Then she became a Seventh Adventist. As a Seventh Day Adventist, Hyman helped to establish several churches (Hyman, 2009). But, she (Hyman) has always been a religious person (Interview, April, 18, 2009).

Simply stated, Ms. Hyman's interest was revolutionary: love, service, and activism to make the world a better place for all regardless of religion, country of origin, or ideology. Dr. Jeanette Brewer characterizes Hyman's leadership as subtle and deliberate:

Annie Hyman is different; Annie Hyman's leadership is more deliberate. Annie Hyman has a goal and visualizes things, seeks to get it. Therein lies the difference. I think, like Martin [Luther King, Jr.], even like [Al] Sharpton or even like the rest of them, they may have a goal, but they go about it in a different manner. However, hers is deliberate. Absolutely, I think hers is subtle (Interview, April, 16, 2009).

Dr. Brewer was Philadelphia School Superintendent of District 4 when she met Ms. Hyman. Dean Carolyn Adams met Ms. Hyman on Temple's Campus. Dr. Adams was Assistant Dean of the College of Liberal Arts from 1979 until 1982:

Annie developed an approach to the Academic leadership of the institution. She had a very strong relationship with the Dean's office. It was based on her seeing that we were responsible for the academic program. That her program, as she envisioned it, was one in which people coming through the Program would have enhanced educational opportunities; they would be developing skills, and a knowledge base, and that some of them would use that to come into Temple, or to come into other higher institutions. And, she was speaking to us on values that she knew we would understand and accept. But, I also saw Mrs. Hyman work with some members of the non-academic side of the University, people who were responsible for facilities, for example. She needed their support, too. She was wise enough to present the Program as a Program that helps Temple sustain a positive relationship with the surrounding Community.

I characterized two academics, Brewer and Adams, as outsiders, off campus and as an insider on campus, respectively.

Becoming A Visionary

"Widespread mobilization," according to Morris (1981, 1984), "is a function of the extent and distribution of a protest movement's internal social organization" (p. 634). Indeed, Snow and Soule (2010), posit social movement participation is variable, depending on the costs and risks. Nevertheless, recruitment and participation also depend on structural factors such as social networks and organizational affiliations. Between 1959 and 1968, Hyman had served as a member of four home and school associations: John G. Whittier Elementary School, Jay Cooke Elementary School, the now defunct Lehigh Elementary School, and Gilbert Spruance Elementary School. As previously mentioned, she also served as a Girl Scout Leader of Troop #695. She volunteered as a Cancer Society worker, and founded a day care center at the Berean Baptist Church,

located on Indiana Street. The day care center operated well into the mid-1980s. Concurrently, Hyman served the Allegheny West Foundation (AWF), participating in the Adelpheos Civic Association, volunteering with the Youth Summer Job Program. Established in 1968 by Tasty Baking Company's President Paul Kaiser, and directed Attorney Phillip Price Jr., AWF, a non-profit community development corporation has for the past thirty-five years engaged in the revitalization of North Philadelphia's Allegheny West neighborhood (Interview, May 17, 2009).

In 1968, Hyman collaborated with members of the Doylestown Presbyterian Church, 127 East Court Street, Doylestown PA, and the Schwenkfelder Church, 2509 North 30th Street, Philadelphia, PA, in creating the "Fresh Air" program (Interview, May 17, 2009). The "Fresh Air" program, essentially a cultural exchange agenda, gave African-American children access to white suburban homes which provided children of myriad ethnicities many opportunities for exposure to social and cultural differences in nurturing environments. With the support of District # 4 Superintendent Jeanette Brewer, Hyman invited the entire cohort of District principals to her home for a working lunch; the agenda: familiarize them with key community problems in the district, while collaborating with parents to organize the first mass meeting in the district for parents and students, Hyman showed an interest in all children.

I asked Dr. Brewer about the School Community Coordinators:

Yes, the Community Coordinators were very active people. One of the goals of the District was to stay focused and in touch with the people in the Community, because without the community and

parents, schools just do not work. As a result, I met on a monthly basis with the School Community Coordinators and found out the kind of problems that they were having in the Community and what they were doing. At the same time, Ms. Hyman was responsible for initiating the Ruth Hare Scholarship Fund. I saw her on a monthly basis there as well and often when I would visit the Whittier school (Interview, April 16, 2009).

As a School Community Coordinator, Hyman visited:

Thirty or more parents some of whom I felt needed a different environment. A university campus would be the ideal place for those who could not read or write. They would not be ashamed to attend a place like Temple; the university is a model of upward mobility. A person can move up a ladder until he or she has achieved their educational goal (Interview, May 17, 2009).

In 1968, Hyman organized a sleeping area at the Schwenkfelder Church for seventy-five Civil Rights protesters who were traveling through Philadelphia. They were from New York and Connecticut, headed south to join protesters fighting for social justice. Doris Deen Haygood and Dr. Tran worked with Hyman at the Schwenkfelder Church. Hyman met Dr. Tran while attending Temple University, and recruited him to work with her in the Black community. She comments on the period:

Dr. Tran was one of the key pioneers who worked in the Community with me in the evenings. Ms. Dean was the director of the day care center at Strawberry Mansion; we started out there. Strawberry Mansion had many young people coming there. Dr. Tran told them on the first session that they were there for the Black History Program, but he could teach them anything they wanted to know. That's how he managed to come there for more than six weeks doing various courses. Doris Dean Haygood and I started out together at the Schwenkfelder Church. Actually, I had invited her there, the Pastor needed a secretary, and I asked Ms. Dean if she had secretarial skills, she said, 'no,' but she could teach

herself, and that's what she did. She taught herself the skills that they needed to for secretary (Interview, May 17, 2009).

Hyman's community work encompassed all areas of a person's life. She said:

I felt that I was doing what I set out to do because my idea was to touch every aspect of life (Interview, May 17, 2009).

Hyman's Philosophy

Upon close examination, Hyman's education philosophy established her as a progressive thinker and movement leader. As a "bridge leader" leading from behind, buoyed by her "table talk" manners, Hyman synthesized the thinking of Bethune, Washington, Garvey, DuBois, and Wells-Barnett, educators as well as crusaders for their causes. She employed approaches to education that encompassed Bethune's Home Economics curriculum (Ross, 1982), considering her experience in hat and dress-making; Washington's vocational education method (Harlan, 1982), blending it with her background at Apex Beauty School; and her training as a nurse's aide, Garvey's motivational framework (Levine, 1982). This served her well later when she became involved with finding social and economic solutions to gang warfare in the African-American community (Interview, A. Hyman, May 19, 2009). Ms. Hyman's concern about the gang crisis in black Philadelphia neighborhoods, and attempts at finding solutions to their problems was of profound importance. Her oldest daughter, Aleah, remembers Ms. Hyman asking her to "run to get towels" one evening to treat a wounded gang member (Interview, A. Hyman, May 17, 2009). The gang victim, who had been banging on the front door of their home, fell into the vestibule when they

opened the door. Hyman gave the gang victim the safety he sought, applied pressure to his wound to control the bleeding, stabilized him, and used the family car to get the young man to the hospital. Garvey's motivational framework (Levine, 1982), Dubois's fight for academic training (Rudwick, 1982; Aptheker, 1973), and Wells-Barnett's focus, stealth and tenacity regarding community work (Holt, 1982), were all learned through her activities in the community.

Annie Dee Hyman took her place in the vanguard of her faith community, guiding the founding and direction of Mizpah Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) and North Philadelphia SDA Churches. However, she identified with other members of the community; mobilizing grievances by focusing on the injustices suffered by the community, thus fostering the awareness that the group had a shared interest in mitigating those injustices. She started a neighborhood garden with boys from John Greenleaf Whittier School. The garden, Chalmers Garden, an award-winning garden in horticultural competition, thrives today. The boys and even parents remember the garden (Interview, May 17, 2009, A. Hyman; Interview, April 19, 2009, John Brickhouse). Like Ella Baker, Ms. Hyman "...concentrated her energies on local sites of struggle that could become launching pads for region wide mass action" (Ransby, pp. 210-211).

In 1972, Algernon Jay Cooper, Jr., an African American and descendant of the Seminole Chief Osceola, ran for mayor of Prichard (once Africatown), Alabama. Annie Dee Hyman spent six weeks in Prichard, that year, working in Jay Cooper's mayoral campaign, bringing about change in the town where she

grew up (Interview, A. Hyman, May 17, 2009). Her reward was to see her father Rushington Powe vote for the first time in his life. Hyman notes:

I had gone to Pritchard because they were trying to get a Black Mayor elected, Mr. Jay Cooper, I took my daughter my baby daughter who was six at that time because I wanted to expose her to working in a political campaign. So we went to Prichard, and worked for Jay Cooper, and he became Mayor of Pritchard, Alabama, the first Black Mayor; my Father was in his 70s, and that was the first time he had voted, and I tell you, when I looked up and saw my Daddy walking to that poll... I was so happy, I tell you. And then to have brought my daughter, six years old, and had her out there telling people to vote for Cooper... (Interview, May 17, 2009).

These facts strongly suggest that Hyman's community activism had its roots in *Africatown* long before meeting her husband, Malcolm, Nkrumah, or heard the Nation of Islam's upliftment messages in Garvey House. The impetus for Hyman's mobilizing and organizing activity began with the intergenerational "table talk:" previously referred to as the rites of passage for black womanist leadership. Hyman's community activism was sparked by a black consciousness instilled in her as a child, before the mid 50s when she began working in coordinating community activities in her neighborhood; before initiating her work at the co-op at the Schwenkfelder Church; before her involvement with the freedom riders in the early 60s; before her participation with Cecil B. Moore; before the North City Congress; before the Street Brothers at Temple University; or meeting Queen Nana Akoffo, Emily Rollins, *Bridgeway, Inc.*'s founder; even before working with Doctors Hayre and Brewer as School coordinator with school district four in 1968. Several interviews corroborate evidence that Hyman's

community activism was sparked by a black consciousness instilled in her as a child (A. Hyman, O. Adams, J. Brewer, H. Hyman, and S. Straughter). According to Dr. Brewer:

At the same time we were meeting on a monthly basis with the School Community Coordinators to discover the kind of problems we were having in the Community, Mrs. Hyman was also initiating the Ruth Hare Scholarship Fund (Interview, April 16, 2009).

Annie shared her ideas for the Scholarship Program with her good friend and confidant, Dr. Ruth Hayre in 1975. Twenty-three students from Philadelphia School District 4, where Annie Hyman worked as School District Coordinator, received scholarships in the first year.

Dr. Hayre's appointment in 1956 made her Philadelphia's first African-American high school principal. She went on to become superintendent of District 4 and in 1986, Hayre was appointed to the Philadelphia School Board. She became the first woman to serve as President of the Philadelphia School Board, serving two terms as president in 1991-1992 (J. Brewer, personal communication, April 16, 2009; <http://upennblackhistory.wordpress.com/2010/02/21/ruth-wright-hayre/>).

Not very far from the John Greenleaf Whittier Elementary School where Ms. Hyman worked as a School Community Coordinator, was a vacant lot full of debris (Interview, A. Hyman, May 17, 2009; Interview, Brickhouse, April 19, 2009; Interview, O. Adams, May 31, 2009; Interview, Janulowitz, August 24, 2009). There, Ms. Hyman and ten little boys from John Greenleaf Whittier School founded the Award winning Chalmers Park Chalmers Park Garden at 28th and Cambria Streets. I believe that cultivating gardens or doing garden work also

served as areas referred to as safe or free spaces where participants in collective behavior activities could discuss strategies and tactics without the prying eyes of informers.

She had envisioned a beautiful garden where young children could learn the importance of eating food they had planted, grown, and harvested with their own hands. After convincing the Philadelphia water department to install a water line throughout the garden, she persuaded the city to surround the lot with new sidewalks, then donors to plant trees around the garden (Interview, Brickhouse, April 19, 2009; Interview, O. Adams, May 31, 2009; Interview, Janulowitz, August 24, 2009). In 1973, the *Back to Nature Garden* and the John Greenleaf Whittier School Title I 4-H Club received national recognition. Friends and community members still enjoy gardening in her Chalmers Park Garden today. John Brickhouse fondly remembers his son working with Hyman in the garden when he was a young boy:

I remember my son had to get permission from home to work in the garden, right? I had a Cub Scout group, and the majority in my Cub Scout group, still live in the community. They are actually who's who now in our city government. But, that's my first recollection of Annie Hyman, you know. She was my son's schoolteacher (community coordinator) at Whittier School, and she used the boys and girls to clean up that garden when she started it up. But when I really got to know her was years later when I went over to the Pan-African study center. (Interview, April 19, 2009).

The Temple Nexus

Annie Hyman entered Temple University in spring 1970 through New Career Ladders in Social Welfare (Interview, A. Hyman, May 17, 2009). She was well suited for *New Career Ladders*, a program designed and developed to admit academically motivated adult learners prepared for the rigors of the four-year institution, to the Undergraduate Department of Social Welfare within the school of Social Administration. Ms. Hyman used the program to broaden and deepen her understanding about social life. According to Dr. Thaddeus Mathis, who began teaching in New Career Ladders:

Hyman was an excellent student, and, was non- traditional. In other words, she didn't give that appearance of an academically oriented student. You know, she's laid back, she's quiet, she wasn't one of those people, as you walked into the class that you immediately go "oh boy, that's one of the good students", but as...I was evaluating the work that was coming in, she was always in the top end.... (Interview, April 30, 2009).

A consummate adult learner, Hyman was exactly the type of student sought by Temple University: "Freshman and transfer students who express interest in social welfare or social work... with demonstrated interest and motivation in the human services field... leading to the degree of Bachelor of Social Work" (Moore & Welty, 1973). Moreover, the resources of the University were made available to New Career Ladders students "for tutoring and study skills help as well as for assistance in obtaining financial aid, as appropriate" (1973).

Ms. Hyman entered Temple University in spring 1970. In 1972 Hyman goes to Alabama to work in a political campaign; her father votes for the first time. In the summer of 1974, while matriculating at Temple University, Hyman made her 30-day trip to Ghana, Africa with 38 Temple University students. Hyman began her *Community Education Program* in North Philadelphia in 1975. CEP classes were being taught in the community by 1976 (A. Hyman, Interview, May 17, 2009).

The summer in 1974 turned out to be remarkable and prophetic for Annie Dee Hyman, the visionary, for she "was blessed to study at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria" (A. Hyman, Archive, 2009). The African Study Tour was sponsored by the Pan-African Studies Department affording Hyman the opportunity to see a side of Africa rarely shown to those in her world. She and thirty-eight Temple University students studied and toured five Nigerian states. While in that special teaching and learning African environment, Ms. Hyman wondered how she would share the "wisdom and knowledge I have gained with my people back home" (Interview, A. Hyman, May 17, 2009).

Hyman, reinforced by steadfast community support and circumscribed by an unyielding faith in God, had the uncanny ability to exercise patience and resoluteness, a rare trait among human beings; "she could not lose with the stuff she used" (Akoffo, March 21, 2009). Nana Akoffo went on to speak about Hyman's self-effacing, yet God-fearing nature:

When I think about her, I think about caring, and love, and determination, and a beautiful, beautiful Christian woman who didn't push her religion down your throat. But, always taught you to remember to pray; that God is the answer. Anything that you attempted to do, anybody that you are thinking about, or praying for, it will happen, it can be done. But, you must put God first in everything that you do (Interview, March 21, 2009).

Hyman envisioned the *Pan-African Studies Community Education Program* (PASCEP) before she left Africa.

Thinking about the thirty parents she visited each week as John Greenleaf Whittier Elementary School's Community Coordinator (Interview, Brewer, April 16, 2009; Interview, A. Hyman, May 17, 2009), of the five hundred Title-I students in need of academic motivation who were her responsibility. She had visited homes; recruited volunteers; participated in meetings; welcomed new school families; organized discussion groups; informed the community of school programs; involved parents in Home-School related programs; provided instructional medical counseling; counseled students, parents and families; worked with special problems; and, represented the principal at community meetings (Interview, Brewer, April 16, 2009; Interview, A. Hyman, May 17, 2009).

Essentially, Hyman brought the community to the elementary school. Now she would continue her work at a higher level, in another capacity, by bringing the community to the university as a university-community partnership, "the university would provide an incentive of upward mobility to the community" (Interview, A. Hyman, May 17, 2009; Benson and Harkavy, 2000; Dubb, 2007;

Ostrander, 2004). She decided that a college campus would be the ideal location, and Temple University would be the campus.

Dr. Tran Van Dinh

Dr. Tran and his wife Nuong arrived in the United States in 1961. Dr. Tran, who served in the Vietnamese Liberation Army, became a journalist, also served as Vietnamese ambassador to the United States. Dr Tran taught at Temple University between 1963 and 1985 (Tran, Interview, June 19, 2009). By 1976, Hyman had designed the format and set up the first classes in John Greenleaf Whittier School. Other community sites were added later employing a volunteer faculty from the then Pan-African Studies Department. There, Dr. Tran Van Dinh, (Tran, Interview, June 19, 2009) taught *Common Sense Politics* and Dr. Rita Smith taught *The Black Child*.

Hyman had her fingers on the pulse of the communities she loved: leading, educating and working collaboratively and cooperatively with them. Her leadership style set the tone for the transition. As a bridge leader, Hyman negotiated within the entire Black community: faculty, administrators, students, those attached to the university and those from without. She intended to challenge racism obliquely at the institutional level. That was her intention; for her community to learn. She intended for them to go about the business of hurdling the barriers of institutional racism like adept runners in an Olympic track and field event. According to Willie Rogers, the current Director of PASCEP:

Racism is real. It exists now and it existed then. I'm sure there were many professors on this campus who were not very pleased with having a program on campus like *Pan-African Studies Community Education Program*, even though they had other studies here on this campus. Actually, many of the PASCEP classes were free. They thought the community should not have access to the resources of the University. Now of course Mrs. Hyman maintained her commitment to building this program, and Mrs. Hyman knew the history of the founder of this University, and the Russell Conwell story about the "acre of diamonds" (Interview, April 31, 2009).

Hyman understood Conwell, and she used his language to describe her backyard. Rogers continues:

That is what Mrs. Hyman was trying to do. Look within our community and find those individuals who could make the type of changes in this world that could benefit humanity. So, eventually Mrs. Hyman, constantly showing love, even towards those that was in opposition, won those people over to begin to support what she was trying to do. So, Mr. Benin I would say to you that Mrs. Hyman used what we consider the key ingredient, and that was love (Interview, April 22, 2009).

It becomes apparent that Ms. Hyman had become accustomed to recognizing danger as well as opportunity (Interview, Roget, March 31, 2009; Interview, Sanchez, May 6, 2009; Interview, Brewer, April 16, 2009). The stakes were high; she could recognize the window of political opportunity as open and galvanize her resources to bring CEP onto Temple campus or she could misread the situation. Over the years she had become "adept at navigating turbulent waters" long before she graduated from the Mobile County Training School in 1952, (Interview, Sanchez; May 6, 2009). Turbulence on Temple University's campus in the late 70s, took the form of silent protests, riots in the streets, occupation of offices and WRTI (radio station), as well as within the various

ideologically based camps among the ranks of administrators and faculty members.

Hyman and her extensive network of collaborators (Rollins, July 17, 2009) and supporters, "would just wait you out; her baby was PASCEP" (Akoffo, March 21, 2009). While serving the community in a unique and revolutionary way, her utopian PASCEP project brought the university and the community together, creating a hybridized communal force serving both.

Through correspondence and personal conferences with Dr. Odeyo Ayaga and George Wheeler, then department Chairman, and Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences respectively, Temple University accepted Hyman's *Community Education Program* as an outreach program for Pan-African Studies (Interview, Ayaga, September 18, 2009). Professor Jaki Mungai, Pan-African Studies Faculty, was PASCEP's Coordinator, and faculty members from the Pan-African Studies department as well as from other departments around the university taught PASCEP classes. Most notably were: Dr. Audrey Pitmen, Professors Sonia Sanchez and Jacqueline Mungai, Dr. C. T. Keto, Dr. Barbara Hampton and Dr. Thaddeus Mathis, of the School of Social Administration; and Dr. Wilbert Roget, of the Department of French and Italian, and Afro-musicologist, Harrison Ridley, Jr. of WRTI-FM. Pan-African Studies Department undergraduate students also served as tutors and literacy instructors. Since that time, Temple's campus has been the site of all PASCEP classes. These scholars, many recruited by Hyman, some of whom became her lifelong friends,

were links in the chain that directly connected the activism of the North Philadelphia community with Temple University. The politically conscious scholars were part of the social movement's LMC, acting in varying degrees, outside existing institutional arrangements.

Ms. Hyman, a woman of profound thought and subtle actions, provided some useful models, complete with instructions (Roget, March 31, 2009). Dr. Wilbert Roget, elected chaired of Pan-African Studies Department, after the expiration of Dr. Ayaga's term remarked about Hyman:

When I came here in 1978, Hyman's *Community Education Program* was the community outreach component of the Pan-African Studies Department, involved in many activities in the North Philadelphia. Odeyo Ayaga chaired the Pan-African Studies Department at that time. For example, just to give you an instance of something that was not connected with the University life. They had a variety of Community projects, one of them I had some problems with, it was kind of fund raising project in connection with land somewhere in Philadelphia. (Interview, September 18, 2009).

Although Dr. Ayaga made his mark on the department by being instrumental in solidifying the necessary community power required to make the program permanent, his departure left the Pan-African Studies department in disarray (Roget, 2009). Pan-African Studies and the Community Education Program should be viewed as concessions as well as gifts from Temple University to the North Philadelphia community, serving the interest of both communities. Subsequently, Temple University changed the name of the department from Afro Asian Institute to Pan-African Studies, and Drs. Tran Van Din and Alfred Moleah joined Dr. Roget in running the "old department" with the

new name: Pan-African Studies Department and the Dean moved the Community Education Program from Gladfelter Hall to Anderson Hall, upsetting the community and the program's students. Roget notes:

This is where Mrs. Hyman was very influential in conveying that positive attitude of the College, in light of the suspiciousness in the Community (about Temple's motives). Therefore, Hyman was the calming presence to let the Community know that [within Temple] there was no desire to get rid of PASCEP. Those political reasons for having PASCEP and Pan-African Studies closely linked was so that if there was any attempt on the part of the University to get rid of the Department then there would be a voice from the community to raise the issue leveraging support for the department. Now the Community (LMC) then was also responsible for getting the department onto campus, and in fact, 1978 was the first year when the community part of the project came fully into the department, that is when I came in. I came right at the moment when many things were happening. The Community Education Program had just arrived, and they were forming the administrative structure for PASCEP within the department. Mrs. Hyman always made the issue that the PASCEP should always remain connected to the Afro Asian Studies Department. She knew what could happen if you have a disconnection from the Community Education Program and the Afro Asian Studies Department. She had the kind of vision to see how the North Philadelphia community would benefit from having immediate access to the University. Therefore, Hyman had both political and educational visions (Interview, April 22, 2009).

Roget provides another clear example of Hyman's womanist leadership style (King and Ferguson, 2001). In this chapter, Africatown Alabama, I have provided a brief chronological sketch of Annie Dee Powe Hyman's life from her birth in Africatown, Alabama in 1933, until 1978 when PASCAP became a part of Temple University. The purpose of Africatown is to highlight the constituent parts of the material and structural conditions giving rise to Hyman's consciousness. Collective behavior participants of necessity develop a consciousness—in Annie

Hyman's case—a black consciousness for the emergence of mobilizing grievances (Snow & Soule, 2010). Moreover, with the development of a black consciousness come heightened frustration, status dissonance, and framing. Civil rights workers had developed a heightened frustration and status dissonance from centuries of second-class citizenship and inhuman treatment. Framing or signifying work allowed participants in collective action the capacity to see the world the same way.

Examining the major steps Ms. Hyman took during her life, the things she learned through her work-life, to how she applied her intellectual and social energies within the community, she seems to have been preparing her for what became her ultimate goal: establishing PASCEP as a permanent part of Temple university. She was able, as previously mentioned; to understand the political opportunities offered her by the tumultuous, at times explosive period in which she lived. Temple, led by a President, who coming from a Black university, Lincoln University, understood the community's grievances and wanted to help; the fact that a faculty that included community activists, and a militant even violent community was pressuring him, served to complicate matters. Ms. Hyman presented the perfect solution. This was the moment when all the parts came together. She offered Temple a way to satisfy the demands of the community at the same time as she accomplished her goal to bring community learning to her people.

I now turn to *The Trajectory of a Local movement center* for the illumination of mobilizing grievances and contextual conditions (Snow & Soule, 2010)

CHAPTER 5

THE TRAJECTORY OF A LOCAL MOVEMENT CENTER

The purpose of this chapter is to illuminate the path and spirit of Annie Dee Hyman's *Community Education Program as a Local movement center* (CEP/LMC) (Morris, 1981, 1984, 2001). I do so by considering the issues of mobilizing grievances and contextual conditions. The relevant grievances are those that contribute to the emergence and operation of a social movement or local movement center (Snow & Soule, 2010). Mobilizing grievances are an outgrowth of structural and material conditions such as group conflict or inequality, social psychological factors such as frustration, aggression, and deprivation, or diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing (Snow and Soule, 2010).

In the first section of the chapter, I have operationalized black consciousness as a necessary condition for the signifying or framing work required to generate mobilizing grievances for collective action. Section 2, on contextual conditions, discusses the constituent features of the concepts: political opportunity, resource mobilization and ecological factors (Snow & Soule, 2010). Political opportunity refers to the opportunity to express one's grievances publicly and to relevant authorities. Collective actors must be ready, conscious, and recognize political opportunities as conditions that alter the balance of power between structures of authority and challengers (Snow & Soule, 2010).

I have therefore employed archival repositories, original documents, including letters, inter-organizational correspondence, and semi-structured interviews to chart the course of *CEP/LMC*. All along the pathway to a possible social movement, I elucidate the generation of mobilizing grievances, material conditions, social psychological factors, and interpretive framing processes. All are necessary aspects of a social movement, but insufficient factors to start a social movement (Snow, et al., 1986; Snow and Benford 1992; Westby 2002; Snow and Soule 2010). The socially constructed interpretation of grievances is a necessary social psychological factor that functions due to, and within contextual conditions in order to recognize political opportunities, available resources and the development of safe enclaves in which the subordinate community may act collectively. Now I turn to the application of social movement theory to the evolution of *PASCEP* to which I refer as being situated in a networked social movement center (SMC). A SMC includes all of the LMC in a region. For example, the SMC might have consisted of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Bridgeway, PASCEP, Opportunities Industrialization Centers, and elements of some social organizations that served multiple purposes such as Valiant's, Inc., an organization of Black Philadelphia Firefighters, etc.

If one considers conceptualizing collective action as a social movement, five criteria must be satisfied. Participants must act as an 1) organized 2) collective, 3) challenging or defending structures or systems of authority with 4)

extra-institutional activity 5) displaying some degree of temporal continuity (Snow and Soule, 2010). As we will see, Hyman's LMC meets the criteria of collective action, and crosses the conceptual threshold of collective behavior. Here, Hyman describes an activity that fits into a larger LMC framework:

Dr. Tran Van Dinh was the key pioneer in supporting me. I was out four evenings a week and needing a professor. I could rely on him but I drew from all of the people around me, like Doris Dean Haygood. She was always there going throughout the community with me providing support. Essentially, most of the time it was Dr. Tran and I out in the community. He shared in my African experience, and the books I had brought back from Africa, and the papers. During that time people thought Africans were jumping from one tree to the other and he comments about that not being true. But Dr. Tran did more than just being there to share in the evening with me. For instance, we were at the Recreation Center and there were about thirty young people there. Dr. Tran told those young people that he would teach them anything they wanted to know, any course they wanted, and that prolonged many of the sessions we had, especially at the recreation center (Interview, A. Hyman, May 17, 2009).

Hyman, Tran, Haygood and other participants establish a LMC, meeting the mobilizing grievances, contextual conditions, participation, as well as LMC dynamics thresholds conceptually as well as in practice. I continue to demonstrate through analysis, building on Chapter 4, the mobilizing grievances factoring into the emergence of PASCEP/LMC, and the contextual conditions that assisted or impeded PASCEP/LMC's emergence along with the successful recruitment of participants (Snow & Soule, 2010).

Mobilizing Grievances

Mobilizing grievances involve social structural or material conditions, social psychological factors, and interpretive framing processes, all necessary but not sufficient conditions of movement emergence (Snow and Soule, 2010). Participants in collective behavior generally do so because they are disturbed about particular issues. Grievances are the feelings associated with the disturbing issues. Mobilizing grievances are deeply felt shared grievances among the participants. Additionally, the most durable position on the cause of mobilizing grievances is that they develop in relation to two kinds of social structural or material conditions. The first condition considered here is the unequal distribution of life chances in society. The second condition we obtain is grievances perceived as social strains, which may be the by-product of rapid disruptive social changes brought about by war, as was evidenced by the war in Vietnam (Buechler, 2004). I spoke to Dr. Molefi Asante about Hyman, the CEP and PAS. Asante came to Temple University to serve as chair of the Pan-African Studies department in 1984 approximately five years after Pan-African Studies and Temple University accepted Hyman's CEP. Although his tenure at Temple does not include the period under investigation, he provides useful information on mobilizing grievances that emerged from the relationships between Temple University and the surrounding community. Asante on Temple and PAS:

What had happen was the previous Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences tried to destroy the Pan-African Studies Department. What he had done was to take people out of Pan-African Studies

Department, like Will Roget, and Sonia Sanchez; he put Roget in French, and he put Sonia Sanchez in English. Absolutely done to get rid of African American Studies. Then the Dean went out and appointed a woman from Chicago, as chair of the department with a specific task to basically shut down the Afro-centric movement in the department, and to detach a non-academic program from the academic department. (Interview, April 27, 2009).

I believe Dr. Asante is responding on two different yet ostensibly related issues. The first issue occurred prior to his arrival to Temple University, and the second issue occurred after he became Chair of the African American Studies Department. There was a period in 1983-1984 when it appeared as if the University wanted to get rid of Pan-African Studies because of low enrollment or the Institute had become too political in the black community. It was also a period when Dr. Ayaga was petitioning the University to give Pan-African Studies Departmental status. Dr. Ayaga arrived at Temple university in 1971 and remained until the year after Dr. Asante's arrival in 1986 (Interview, April 19, 2009, Ayaga). The university convened an Ad Hoc Committee, Chaired by Harry Bailey, PhD, on Pan-African Studies. The University released the Bailey Report with recommendations to keep Pan-African Studies in January 1984. The University recommended, "The revitalized Pan-African Studies organization should be redesignated African American Studies" (Bailey Report, p. 8). Moreover, the Bailey Committee acknowledged the value of the Community Education Program:

There are numerous indications of its success. Since its beginnings in 1979 the CEP has experienced considerable growth. In the fall of 1983

some 1,000 individuals registered in one or more courses bringing the total enrollment for the semester close to 3,000.

Social Structural or Material Conditions

Structural or material conditions refer to culture and stratifying social arrangements of masses of people creating miserable living conditions as well as social strains (Snow & Soule, 2010). Annie Dee Hyman belonged, not only to a network of socially conscious men and women, but also to a tradition of mobilizing, and challenging systems of authority, both within and outside her cultural and racial milieu. This section covers the necessary motivational impetus required to organize a social movement. Early social movement theorists, referencing a classical Marxist position, arguing that ubiquitous mobilizing grievances arose spontaneously, failed to consider the importance of framing: mobilizing ideas and mobilizing beliefs. For example, McCarthy and Zald (1977) argued for the importance of resources, while Charles Tilly (1978) stressed political opportunity. Snow and Soule (2010) argue that, "the generation of mobilizing grievances can best be understood as a function of structural or material conditions, social psychological factors, and interpretive framing processes" (p. 63). However, mobilizing grievances, posit Snow and Soule, supply the key determining momentum for organizing sustained social movement operations: without mobilizing grievances, social movements will not emerge. Finally, besides structural and material conditions and social psychological

factors, framing is essential, and a necessary condition for social movement participation (Snow, et al., 1986).

Furthermore, Snow and Soule (2010) posits, “There is no automatic or determinant relationship between structural” patterns of relations, and institutionalized norms or “material conditions” such as poverty and inequality and “the formation of mobilizing grievances” (p. 61-62). Additionally, Snow argues, “Certain social psychological processes, rather than social psychological states such as frustration and status dissonance, constitute intervening mechanisms” and “ in addition to the presence of structural conditions, and the character of the intervening social psychological processes, the process of grievance interpretation or framing is essential” (p. 61). Finally, mobilizing grievances must be understood as a function of the confluence and interaction of structural and material conditions, social psychological factors, and framing processes (Snow, p. 62). Additionally, grievances must resonate throughout society. Sanchez relates an incident that occurred to her soon after she had arrived at Temple University. Sanchez speaks about the mixed feelings community members had for the University:

I know there’s mixed feelings for a long time from the Community about a place called Temple, and it remains, because of the displacement. I remember when I first came on that campus; the first semester, I gave a reading on campus in the library. And this Black woman--this elderly Black woman--was sitting off from me. Then she raised her hand, and said, 'Why did you come to Temple to teach?' And I said, well you know I was invited to come here and teach. Then she said, 'because see where we are now?' She said, 'The library, you know the library?' And I said, The library? She

said, 'My house used to be right here, and the people came to me and said we just brought this little space here. She said, look there're all over the place, and I wouldn't come to this campus if it were not for you being here, reading because I respect you so. A lot of people I'm sure have been displaced by the University and I'm sure there are still some feelings if the people are alive (Interview, Sanchez, May 6, 2009).

It became clear during the course of my investigation that Temple University did not have the support of its neighboring communities. Moreover, those hostilities had existed for decades, and had become a thread in the social fabric of city (Murray, 1973).

The city Philadelphia was a site of major contention as aggregates of individuals in antagonistic positions contested various political, social and cultural terrains. For example, as has been mentioned, attorney Cecil B. Moore led a contingent of protesters around Girard College. Moore, a former Marine, spoke at a rally in 1965 as President (1963-65) of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:

I was determined when I got back [from World War II] that what rights I didn't have I was going to take, using every weapon in the arsenal of democracy. After nine years in the Marine Corps, I don't intend to take another order from any son of a bitch that walks (Charles L. Blockson Afro American Collection).

Moore's leadership and comments at the rally illuminate the notion of grievances as a function of group conflict and inequality generated by the unequal distribution of opportunities in Philadelphia's society.

Reverend Leon Sullivan's organization of the 400 colored preachers is similar example of collective behavior, which could not have occurred without the

emergence of mobilizing grievances. They identified companies with unsatisfactory black employment records in 1963, created Opportunities Industrialization Center in 1964, and developed Progress Plaza in 1968 at 1501 North Broad Street (Sullivan, 1998).

The point emphasized is that the unequal distribution of life chances in the City of Philadelphia generated the mobilizing grievances for collective action. In the cases of Moore and Sullivan, two black leaders responsible for pursuing different goals; Girard College and OIC respectively, two things stand out. On one hand, Moore and Sullivan were successful leaders of Local movement centers. On the other hand, Moore and Sullivan worked within the same field of networks as did Hyman. Reverend Leon Sullivan recruited Cecil B. Moore to run the law enforcement committee of the Citizen's Committee Against Juvenile Delinquency in the 1950s. Moore used that as a springboard to become president of the local NAACP in 1963 (<http://www.blackpast.org/?q=aah/cecil-moore-1915-1979>).

The perception of unequal distribution of life chances had a direct impact on community university relations. I noted a discussion of the confluence of conditions, factors and processes influencing the mobilization of grievances for the emergence of Hyman's CEP with Deke Jones. Mr. Jones and his brother Dell Jones were in their early twenties in 1972; Dell is now deceased. Deke spoke with a revolutionary tone characterizing the riots on Columbia Avenue as an insurrection:

Coming towards the late 70s people do not realize that that there was a insurrection on what was then called Columbia Avenue. Most people called it a riot, we called it a insurrection over a Brother being killed by the police, and Temple is right there. It started a few blocks up, but Temple was right there. And I'm going back there to tell you that what they tried to do is, they tried to do some things like in the late 60s, what they did was they came up with a department to appease us, cause they were scared to death. The Afro Asian Institute was not to satisfy the community, but to actually make Temple look good, like it was public relations; so was WRTI, making it a Jazz station that was to appease people. They were scared that the students wouldn't come in, and they had to cool off and at that time it was a turbulent area. So in the late 70s, well my brother was going to Temple, 78, 79 80 and he was the head of the Steering Committee of Black Students, which was several groups working together in the Community, from everywhere from Community College to Drexel University for Pan-African Development. So we were there helping to deal with the students' problems, to deal with the re-education of our students (Interview, July 30, 2009; Anderson, Interview, May 14, 2009).

Although there may be no automatic or determinant relationship between the conditions, factors and processes influencing mobilization of grievances, enslavement, exclusion from civil society through the separate but equal White supremacist ideology justifying segregation meant that African Americans had no hope for civic participation in America except through mobilization and collective action. As previously stated, Hyman belonged, to a network of socially conscious men and women as well as to a tradition of mobilizing, and challenging systems of authority, both within and outside her cultural and racial milieu. For example, Sonia Sanchez discusses Hyman's introduction of the idea of PASCEP to a community perpetually disappointed, and experiencing cognitive dissonance about educational conditions in black public schools:

When Ms. Hyman presented the idea of PASCEP to everyone, her Community Education Program that would be attached to the University, and attached to Pan-African Studies, she asked the PAS professors to teach a course in the evening for the Community. We have to look at Mrs. Hyman as a person who came on that campus with a history of activism in various organizations (Interview, May 6, 2009).

Dr. Wilbert Roget also recognized the relationship between black consciousness mobilizing grievances and collective action. He explains the organic nature of the signifying work:

The origin of that program started in the Community. Then that generated a kind of momentum, and in fact, when I came to the Campus the Community Education Program was the pivotal point in the transformation of the Department from a community based organization to one that is fully integrated into the life of the University (Interview, March 31, 2009).

According to Drs. Roget and Ayaga, Hyman's Community Education Program had a cumulative effect. The CEP provided educational courses for the community, while introducing them to a university campus. The CEP provided a rallying point for black pride, stressing Pan-Africanism. However, noteworthy for Temple University, Hyman's CEP provided Afro Asian Studies organizational space for the Pan-African Studies to grow into an academic department - African American Studies as the January 1984 Bailey Report confirmed.

Social Psychological Factors

On one hand, as Morris explains, Black Americans experienced a tripartite system of racial domination that prevented their identification with *economic*, *cultural* and *political institutions* of the larger society (Morris, 1986). On the other

hand, as a Black woman in a network of collective actors, Black women and men creating oppositional knowledge designed to resist oppression, Hyman, beginning with her childhood experiences, and the women in her networks developed a standpoint flowing from the overarching contradictions involving White supremacy and Black male authority. For example, Hyman explains that she attended, and graduated from Mobile County Training School, located three miles north of the city of Mobile, Alabama (Hyman, p. 2). Everyone in the community knew the story of how the Africans, who had been brought over on the Clotilda in 1860, founded the school in the 1880s.

In contrast to the political reality in the dominant communities, between 1968 and 1980, the unequal distribution of life chances became a stark reality for many members of the subordinate community, when Frank Rizzo was at the pinnacle of political power in Philadelphia. The mayor had gained a reputation as the Broad Street Bully while Commissioner in the Philadelphia Police Department (Cramer, 1976). On March 2, 1976, as Mayor, Rizzo commandeered the Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Commission and signed legislation that changed its composition, which had included some black community members (Philadelphia Department of Records, December 10, 1975).

A debate around the country and in Philadelphia focused on what to do about poverty and how to distribute money to the poor. Some theorized, as did Charles Murray (1994), that the war on poverty invited the poor to remain poor, as if the poor comprised a static group of people (p. 96). Policy makers debated

the pro and cons of federalism. The anti-poverty debate in Philadelphia centered on how to distribute federal dollars to the poor. The anti-poverty policies implemented by the Rizzo administration changed the practices for many in the black community, heightening tension between those inclined towards collective behavior and against structures of authority.

In 1975, the Institute for Pan-African Studies became part of the College of Liberal Arts, and Annie Dee Hyman initiated her Community Education Program (CEP) with the help of Dr. Tran Van Dinh. In 1978, Annie Hyman met with Dr. Odeyo Ayaga, and Professor Jaki Mungai to discuss bringing the CEP onto campus. In 1979, the CEP became the community outreach program for the Institute for Pan-African Studies. During the period, Odeyo Ayaga and the University engaged in a battle: one for survival, the other for control. Ayaga wanted regular appointments in the Pan-African Studies at Temple. Consequently, ongoing negotiations between Dr. George Wheeler, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, and Dr. Ayaga, Chair of Pan-African Studies, had taken place since 1971. As previously noted, during the period 1968-1980, Frank Rizzo was first Police Commissioner for four years, and then Mayor of the City of Philadelphia for eight years. The structural imposition placed on the life chances of black and poor Philadelphians by the Rizzo administration served to generate mobilizing grievances, creating frustration and aggression, while simultaneously heightening awareness of dire conditions within the black community. A critical mass of black and poor people had little difficulty framing, interpreting, and

aligning the significations for disorganized as well as organized actions Snow, et al. 1986. Moreover, analysis reveals the confluent nature of the structural or material conditions and social psychological factors. The focus of the research moves to interpretive and motivational framing.

Framing

Another point, that a Black liberatory consciousness is necessary but not sufficient in order to develop a social movement or a social movement organization, is absolute. First, the consciousness of being enslaved; moreover, the subordinate was insurgent and African. Second, the consciousness turned naturally towards liberation, towards acquiring civil rights in a society where freedom was a self-evident truth. From early childhood, Hyman was aware of the contradictions in American society, the nature of White supremacy and racism. Born in 1933, two years after two White women falsely accused nine Black teenage boys of rape, Hyman was well aware of the ways in which White supremacy served to demoralize the spirit of Blacks in Alabama, her home state. The Scottsboro Boys case continued until 1950, nineteen years after it began, and two years before Hyman would leave Alabama for Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

White supremacy, the prevailing ideology in America then and now, was the consciousness of most Whites in the country. Furthermore, White supremacy was a countervailing force, the tripartite system of racial domination - economics, politics and segregation, preventing Black participation in civil society, preventing

Blacks' identification of and involvement with *economic, cultural and political institutions* of the larger society. Therefore, it makes sense that Hyman would gravitate toward other men and women, most of African descent, attempting to rectify the cognitive dissonance between growing up Black and poor in America, yet caring deeply for themselves and their loved ones, while receiving inhuman treatment from the dominant group. Olzak posits;

A key identifying feature of ethnic/racial social movements is that claims are made based upon particular identity or boundary, defined by the presence of racial or ethnic markers. These markers typically include skin pigmentation, ancestry, language, and history of discrimination, conquest, or other shared experience (p. 667).

Mobilizing grievances consider structural or material conditions, social psychological conditions and framing processes. Ms. Hyman took a class in Social Work taught by Professor Thaddeus Mathis. Mathis recounts one of Hyman's projects, noting her consciousness, creativity and tenacity, almost 40 years after its completion. He recounted how Hyman stood out in completing a research assignment designed to uncover the "hidden knowledge" about Blacks:

Retrieving our history was already a notion that was out before we had the language to describe it. Therefore, part of what I was doing in the Social Work courses was trying to find the hidden knowledge that I didn't get when I was in school, and that knowledge was of our own traditions. This idea dogged me that we were always being rescued by somebody else.

What if anything were we doing? Most people just didn't want to do that kind of research and reading, if they couldn't go find the book that the information was in. That would be the end of it.

It was to take people back to the enslavement period, the pre-Civil War period on up to the 1900s. Therefore, the students had to think

about a project to do their final paper on. Ms. Hyman produced the best paper in the class during that year. She had gone back to talked about the day-care arrangements among the enslaved Africans. That is how they handled the job of caring for the children even as they were having to do their chores on the plantation and picking their cotton.

It was the most original piece of work that I had ever received from a student at that point. That sort of overwhelms my early view of her. It was far above what I had required of them, and she did original research on her own. I remember her tenacity in doing the work, her seriousness in doing the work, and the creativity and originality that she brought to the work. Hyman was a solid student. (Interview, Mathis, April 29, 2009).

I believe what Hyman's academic work demonstrated was an elevated level of care and understanding comparable to other leaders in the LMC. However, how she was able to demonstrate that level of understanding made manifest in her academic work might best be understood as being something she learned through years "charting herself" through "deep talk" (King & Ferguson, p. 124).

Emily Rollins, the founding Director of Bridgeway, Inc. demonstrates the effectiveness of Hyman's network, a view of the structural conditions. Emily Rollins founded Bridgeway, a nonprofit, in 1974, as a community empowerment center. Bridgeway provides shelter, transportation, educational classes and nurturance for the community members in need. Like Hyman, her good friend, Rollins works behind the scenes. When I interviewed her, she told me that she had known Ms. Hyman "for more than 35 years." This meant that she had known her since the time that Hyman initiated her Community Education Program.

As Community Care Person involving our lives with the public school system and it has been an involvement of care for children

and parents. She was at the Whittier School for many years, and I was at the Grover Cleveland Elementary School at 19th and Butler. I met Ms. Hyman after recognizing a need for District 4, and that was the school district that we partnered, and we see each other as supporting parents and children in that geography, in North Philadelphia (Interview, July 17, 2009).

Successful Black women who are centered leaders recognize themselves in others, and recruit other like-spirited individuals to shoulder the load.

I continued the conversation asking, "Did you know District School Superintendent, Jeanette Brewer at that time?" I wanted to know the length of time they had known each other because they may have worked collectively decades ago.

Yes. I knew her. One of the most important aspects of being a parent advocate was to be invisible. To be a part of the catalyst of working with the Board of Education and working with the faculty, and the many children who had needs. And, it was a volunteer position (Interview, July 17, 2009).

Rollins and Hyman were friends, community collaborators, and were members of different, yet interlocking networks and different Local movement centers, but within the same field of operation. Rollins continues:

Being a person from Bucks County, having moved to Philadelphia to be with my relatives here, and to get back to education to seek higher education, that is how I came back to North Philadelphia. But then when I was married, and being involved in the Cleveland School, Ms. Hyman was a person who you could not miss, because she was interested in the children, and interested in the gardens, and interested in 4H, and that was an area of the Penn State University Extension (Interview, July 17, 2009).

Notably, each area of involvement, or activity mentioned by Emily Rollins, the garden, the children, and the 4-H Club, represents a network in which Hyman

participated for the benefit of their community. Consequently, Rollins was in the networks with school Superintendent Dr. Jeanette Brewer as well as Dr. Tran Van Dinh, a co-Chair of Temple's Afro Asian Studies Institute, the precursor to Pan-African Studies Department, and the networks spawned by Bridgeway, Inc. Hyman and Rollins understood networking and sharing resources. They understood political opportunity, and which battles to fight, and which battles to save for another day. They and the members of their networks saw the world through the same eyes; they interpreted signs similarly. Mobilizing grievances for Hyman and her networks was a confluence of structural and material conditions, social psychological conditions and diagnostic, motivational and prognostic framing.

The decade of the Civil rights movement, and the decade following the Civil rights movement, a period approximately from 1950 to 1970, concerned power and resistance in the United States as well as in Philadelphia, where Black consciousness and White consciousness were antagonistic and at high stages of development. Hyman reached Philadelphia in 1953; she met Malcolm X and the Hyman family in 1954; Malcolm was preaching and lecturing on Islam and community organizing strategies and tactics at the United Negro Improvement Association's Liberty Hall at 16th Street and Columbia Avenue, and at the Ghana House, located around the corner from Marcus Garvey's Philadelphia headquarters. Hyman spoke about the period.

There was a Ghana House of Columbia Avenue (Cecil B. Moore Avenue). So we would go there on Sunday afternoon sometimes, it was around social activities. My first experience meeting with Malcolm, he had asked my cousin to bring her country cousin to the sessions. So I told her that I didn't need Malcolm because I didn't drink, I didn't smoke and I wasn't going to stay out almost all night long talking to Malcolm. I had to be home by 12. Anyway my cousin got me out to meet with them and so I guess it must have been about quarter of twelve, and I told them I had to go, and so Brother Malcolm said, "So where are you going?" And I told him home. I couldn't stay out after 12, I had to be home (Interview, May 17, 2009).

The convergence of Black culture in overt and covert resistance, and Philadelphia politics, of social control and grass roots resistance on Hyman's young adult psyche effectively begins at this point in her life; and analysis permits the contextualization and the historicization of what would become Pan-African Studies Community Education Program (PASCEP). Situating the development of Hyman's Community Education Program (CEP) politically in 1975, the waning hours of the modern Civil rights movement, also aids in illuminating the characteristics of her leadership style. Moreover, historicization permits the elucidation of reciprocal relationships between Annie Hyman, Temple University, PASCEP, and the environment within which they were situated. Additionally, historicization explicates PASCEP's place in history.

The history of Blacks in Philadelphia is the history of exclusion. This brief historicization of Philadelphia, when Hyman developed the CEP is instructive for explaining the confluence of poverty, inequality, frustration and status dissonance as well as grievance interpretation. The administration had a different view or the

situation. Tom Anderson, Vice President for Community Relations recounts the event:

In the late 60s this was an area of riots, the Black Panthers were in town (Police Commissioner/Mayor Frank) Rizzo's in town. And what happened was, although the Jewish people were here in the Community (they left the community after the riots), the folks tore up Columbia Avenue. That is why it looks in some ways as it does now. So at the same time we were looking at the University expansion into the Community because Temple was a row house school (Interview, May 14, 2009).

Furthermore, as previously mentioned, Hyman's positionality as a woman of color, and the intersectionality of race, class, and gender, compelled her to work within as well as between a wide range of ethnic groups, involving multiple cultural sites, and while embracing a variety of ideological perspectives, Hyman spoke the language of possibility for mobilizing grievances. One can also view this brief history spatially, because this account underscores the political interconnectedness and interdependence of the local, state and regional as well as the national levels.

Schooling for citizens in a democratic society and schooling for second-class citizens have been basic traditions with policies, procedures and practices in American education (Anderson, 1988; Better, 2010). James Anderson (1988) notes in *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*:

The history of American education abounds with themes that represent the inextricable ties between citizenship in a democratic society and popular education. Within American democracy there have been classes of oppressed people and that there have been essential relationships between popular education and the politics of oppression (p. 1).

These two conflicting oppositional traditions emerged in the early 1800s and remained antagonistic with each other well into the twentieth century. Anderson argues:

Both legacies flow into our own present. They reflect fundamentally, though not exclusively, the long struggle between two social systems--slavery and peasantry on one hand, and capitalism and free labor on the other...the movement by ex-slaves to develop an educational system singularly appropriate to defend and extend their emancipation [provided the] basic form, philosophy, and subject matter of Black education reflecting the ex-slaves intent to restructure and control their lives (p. 3).

Nevertheless, the struggle was of an oppressed people, who had lost political control at the close of Reconstruction in 1877, yet are responsible for initiating the first great mass movement for public education, at the expense of the state, in the South (Anderson, p. 19).

Education for Black people meant economic freedom; the pursuit of a meaningful quality education became a national tradition. Approximately four million Blacks of African descent had been emancipated in 1865, and integrating them into American society would become a colossal task, especially because American leadership refused to champion the Black poor and homeless after the election of Rutherford B. Hayes.

Since the 1830s, Blacks in leadership positions have looked to education as the key to acquiring economic security and civil rights, or both. In the early 1900s, Blacks judiciously began to create the blueprint for dismantling the nation's policy of de jure racial segregation, a policy that had been rigidly in place

since the 1896 United States Supreme Court ruling in *Plessey v Ferguson* (Nelson, p. 186). In *Plessey v Ferguson*, the United States Supreme Court decided the constitutionality of separate but equal, providing the legal base to defend, at the state and local levels of government, the social division of Blacks and Whites. The *Brown v Board of Education* victory in 1954, “easily ranked as the most far-reaching accomplishment achieved by Black leadership in the twentieth century,” according to Nelson, signaling to middle class Blacks and liberal Whites that a resolution to the race conundrum had been found at the Supreme Court (Nelson, p. 187-88). *Brown v Board of Education* was a blow to de jure segregation in Philadelphia; nevertheless, jobs and housing were two policy areas that remained unaddressed by states rights advocate President Dwight David Eisenhower’s Civil Rights bill of 1957. Prior to 1957, only 20 percent of Black Americans had cast a vote.

As stated above, mobilizing grievances involve a confluence of structural and material conditions, social psychological factors, and interpretive framing processes, all necessary but not sufficient conditions of movement emergence (Snow and Soule, 2010). Structural and material conditions, social psychological factors and interpretive framing processes are interwoven as the tapestry in a piece of fabric. The emergence of mobilizing grievances depends specifically on how collective actors see the world, and how networked movement organizations use their capacity to access and manage resources. Yet, it must be understood

that neither will develop without safe enclaves in which collective actors can meet to plan and strategize for action towards mutually defined objectives.

Contextual Conditions

In social movement theory, contextual conditions specifically relate to three situations: political opportunity; access to resources; ecological factors and safe spaces. Political opportunity is similar to social strains or breakdowns, mentioned in the context of mobilizing grievances. However, in our examination of contextual conditions, political opportunity is seen, not as a functionalist's proposition, but as an opportunity to transform society where the cost of repression increases past a tipping point (Buechler, 2004). The resources required by insurgents include material, cultural factors, and volunteers. Ecological factors spatially facilitate the spread of dissident ideas, nurtures networks through physical connections such as highways, and electronic devices, shaping spatial activities as they relate to parks and auditoriums, encouraging LMC interaction. Snow (2010) argues, it is very difficult to stamp out ecologically based human actions, because ecological factors such as safe spaces refer to conditions outside the purview of state control.

Political opportunity is the capacity to express one's grievances publicly, and to relevant authorities, whether through the media or in person, but through state enablement (Meyer & Staggenborg, 1996). The opening and closing of the window of opportunity determines largely the political opportunity available to collective actors. As well, the degrees to which groups are likely to be able to

gain access to power, to manipulate the system of authority are important. As well, the recognition of signaling dimensions may determine success. Signaling dimensions require a degree of political sophistication because it involves the recognition of shifting political alignments and is connected with recognizing political opportunity. In addition, collective actors must recognize the presence of influential allies and work with them to accomplish tactical and strategic objectives to realize movement emergence and mobilization.

The second is to have access to sufficient resources to organize, and mount a campaign to address those grievances. Resources necessary to mobilize collective action include material - money supplies and space; human - leadership and volunteers; social organizations - networks; moral - public opinion; and cultural - strategy and tactics to frame Local Movement Interest. In addition to some degree of political opportunity, and the accumulation of some variety of resources, the prospect and character of movement emergence and mobilization are affected by ecological factors and free spaces. Ecological factors refer to the ability to spread information easily through ones network. While, the ability to harbor relatively safe spaces or enclaves in which participants in collective action can associate in absence of the curious and perhaps watchful eye of their targets or authorities is also a necessary condition.

Political Opportunity

As noted above, the first condition relevant to contextual conditions is political opportunity. Philadelphia was a hotbed of radical political activity in the wake of the Civil rights movement. In addition, the urban riot on Columbia Avenue situated Temple University in the middle of the insurrection. Cecil B. Moore and Reverend Leon Sullivan led interconnected and interdependent secular and religious LMC of the Philadelphia civil rights movement. As well, black politicians participated in the insurgency leveraging their power to the extent possible. Although reelections mattered, black politicians were familiar with the "block voting" nature of the political terrain in Philadelphia - whom else could a black person vote for except the black candidate? However, more importantly, black students on Temple's campus were rallying for black studies, more black professors and students. Thomas Anderson, Vice President for Community Relations provides a view from Temple University President Wachman's perspective:

So, what happened during Marvin [Wachman]'s administration, he had to start moving a little bit out into the Community because the University had to expand a little bit, and start getting more students. The row houses had to be redeveloped, and things of that nature. So, when I came to Temple, things were real hot, I came here just after the Temple/7 agreement. I was part of that process after Charette (Interview, Thomas Anderson, May 14, 2009).

The Charette was the name given to a series of university-community joint planning sessions held to try to resolve issues arising from the university's plans for further expansion into the North Philadelphia neighborhood where Annie

Hyman lived, worked, and organized for collective action. Although meant as an exercise in collaboration and coordinated planning, the Charrette did not resolve outstanding issues, nor the community's opposition. In fact, it seems to have compounded the animosity that had existed between the community and the university (<http://theblackbottom.wordpress.com/communities/north-Philadelphia/thenorth-Philadelphia-charette/>). According to Hilty (2010):

After meeting with the Steering Committee for Black Students and community leaders in May 1969, President Anderson declared a moratorium on Temple expansion east of Twelfth Street, where the engineering, social sciences, and humanities buildings, along with a central steam plant, were scheduled for construction (p. 123).

Blackbottom, a project that documents urban struggles over space and displacement of communities by institutions, also reported that "in early 1969 the university agreed to a moratorium on all new decisions regarding expansion of the campus" (p. 1). Additionally, Blackbottom notes, "University expectations were in stark contrast to community expectations" (<http://theblackbottom.wordpress.com/archives-2/archives-9/>). For instance, on one hand, the University spoke of cooperation with its neighbors, but in the context of its need for self-determination. On the other hand, the community expected the University to address "the very human needs of housing, health care and economic development and the reconstruction of the destroyed neighborhoods."

Annie Hyman participated in the networked Local movement centers, bidding her time to introduce her Community Education Program to Temple University. Dr. Brewer indicates it was a strategic decision:

Some people at the University did not think that they needed to have a Program like PASCEP because they figured that if people wanted to have University training they should enter straight through the regular University route (Interview, April 16, 2009).

Dr. Brewer considered herself a well-informed member of the Delaware Valley Local movement center network, and provides her viewpoint of the political context:

One of the things in the area in particular was Temple was growing, and usurping part of the area in the community, and the community felt the tug and strain. The community felt that Temple was taking but giving nothing back. The University did not do a lot at that time in that North Philadelphia Community. That was one of the things that the Community people would say to the University, "You are here but you are not of the Community and you do nothing with or for the Community." (Interview, April 16, 2009).

Retired Temple professor Thaddeus Mathis volunteered to teach for the fledgling Community Education Program. Mary Wells remembers when Annie Hyman returned from Africa in 1974, filled with enthusiasm for educating the community, and taking the community to the university.

Well she had exposed a small segment of the community, and then they would want to grow, like you know. She tried to spread that thirst that she had for education to the young people especially young people who came onto Temple and saw the opportunities. Then they also began to want to broaden their horizons (Interview, April 18, 2009).

Wells accompanied Hyman on the initial trip to see Dr. Ayaga. When Annie Dee Hyman and Mary Wells reached Dr. Ayaga's office, he referred them to Jaki Mungai. Mungai subsequently would become the first unpaid Coordinator of Hyman's on-campus Community Education Program. Mungai, herself a community activist also taught for Temple University in Afro-Asian Studies. Mungai and Ayaga attended Howard University at the same time. Ayaga was the Chair of the program. He also worked within the black community, although his work was more with politicians. Ayaga also believed that a CEP would be good for him and Afro Asian Studies. Yet, he channeled Hyman to Mungai because he thought women work better together. Mungai explains Ayaga's decision:

There is a group of ladies who keep coming to me, and they want us to do this thing. Can you meet with them and see what you can do. So I met with them. I said, 'Ayaga, we need to do such and such and such. So he said, 'go.' He always gave his approval

Continuing, Mungai provided details:

I met Mrs. Hyman in 1978 when I was at the Pan-African Studies Department at Temple University. I met her when she came to the office and met with the chair, Dr. Odeyo Ayaga. Mamma Hyman came because she had an idea for a Community Education Program that would be centered at Temple University. She had already begun holding some classes in the Community with Dr. Tran Van Dinh. In 1978 Community people were still very interested in information about Africa and African Studies and she saw that the social climate was right for us to become involved in the Community. Mamma Hyman and I agreed and we began meeting together in the spring of 1978 (Interview, Mungai, May 1, 2009).

Soon, the CEP would have its own Board of Directors, and a power play between Wheeler, the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, and Ayaga, the Chair of Afro

Asian Studies who was active in the black political community would begin.

Members who sat on the Board of the CEP were insiders as well as outsiders.

Temple University faculty members included Dr. Rita Smith, Dr. Tran Dinh, and

Dr. Barbara Hampton. Ed Hall, a community activist also sat on the Board.

Mungai explains from her vantage point:

It did not affect my work too much because the Board functioned autonomously. The Afro Asian Studies Program did not mess with us too much because this was really a good thing. And the only thing is that then I know my contract was not renewed to teach in Afro Asian Studies. I know Mamma Hyman came to me and said listen, we'll fight for you to have the position as the director of PASCEP. So, I said no, I really didn't want that. Part of the problem was declining enrollment in Afro Asian Studies and there was a riff between the dean and Ayaga (Interview, Mungai, May 1, 2009).

However, by the time of Mungai's departure, Hyman's Community Education

Program was on Temple University's campus. Shortly thereafter, Dr. Ayaga

stepped down as Chair. In 1981, a triumvirate, put in place by the dean, replaced

Ayaga: Drs. Tran, Moleah, and Roget. Mungai explains the situation:

Well it was a tense time. I mean people were very anxious and they were talking about the Department itself that it may have been some declining in enrollment and they were saying that these guys were going to shore up the Department up. They weren't satisfied with Ayaga for some other reasons. I can't remember I really. And, all that stress. I said well PASCEP was safe and that Department can do whatever. You know the bickering, and taking sides, I am not a very combative person. I liked Roget I didn't have anything against Moleah. However, the way they did the whole thing wasn't right. But it is part of university politicking (Interview, Mungai, May 1, 2009).

Hyman, the founder, also provides a perspective on the transition:

I love Dr. Roget; Dr. Roget came to Temple because they were talking about getting rid of the Pan-African Studies Department. Dr. Roget came there to be the chair of the Pan-African Studies Department. But the students would not let him take that position, and in some of my boxes in there, I have some information from back then about when Dr. Roget first came. But Dr. Roget he was the chair the Pan-African Studies Department. He and Dr. Tran shared the leadership with Bill Davis. They shared the leadership. These people that Dean Wheeler and Dr. Wachman respected. They thought Dr. Ayaga was a problem, because whatever Ayaga wanted, all he had to do was get the Community and the students (Interview, A. Hyman, June 23, 2009).

Ostensibly, as Ayaga had claimed, the power of the community was extremely important in getting and keeping Pan-African Studies as well as the Community Education Program on campus. In addition, the black community supported both entities, PAS and the CEP, as one. The black community had provided a united front: interconnected and interdependent at the crucial moment when the window of political opportunity was open. The University was a beneficiary because in had multiple agendas.

Resource Mobilization

I move now from political opportunity, focusing on constraining or enhancing structural features on collective behavior to resource mobilization. Resource mobilization is the concept I have employed to determine the acquisition and deployment of resources by Hyman's Local movement center. The resources may include human, material, social organization, moral and cultural. Hyman had an abundance of human resources to draw upon: her faith community; members of the academic community on campus; members of the

PA Horticultural Society; members of the Philadelphia Board of Education; Members of the Islamic community; women's organizations; the black social workers of Pennsylvania; and community workers.

The importance of these connections is that they were in a field of LMC networks, endeavoring to achieve social justice for the communities in which they lived. One may wonder what was required for Hyman to develop such a network. Well, in 1971, Hyman organized a tour of Dutch Country for 600 sixth grade students, a tour for suburban whites in the inner city schools, a tour of the community for new teachers, and had a voting machine brought to Whittier School prior to the elections for practice (Hyman Archival Data). Hyman's notion of service paid off with reciprocity. Greta Adams observed:

Well, the people who supported her I feel were the same people in the community that she had always worked with. We had things that were bringing the community together in many areas. One night she had a program -- it was pouring rain. It was pouring rain, I mean, not just little drops. It was pouring rain, and she must have had about 400 people there. and, she had vendors. She would get someone to have a meeting at his or her house. I think that is where it started in somebody's house (Interview, April 7, 2009).

What we have learned is that the women in the field of LMC supported each other. That same networked-support provided material, volunteers, social organization, leadership, social and cultural resources.

Dr. Mathis also considered himself networked in Local movement centers. Mathis spoke about the political opportunity or lack of political opportunity for blacks at Temple University.

Every Black program that is on the campus now or that emerge on the campus took great effort to get it done and a program like this that did not emerge out of the University itself probably took twice as much or three times as much. There was a sense that that anything specifically Black was not an essential in the University. You know there was always a core of that attitude around. And sometime when the administration allowed a program, they did it just so there wouldn't be a fuss, not because they really thought there was merit in the entity itself (Interview, April 29, 2009).

Dr. Odeyo Ayaga, professor and director of Pan-African Studies remarked on the complexity of the political terrain on campus:

I came to Temple in 72, the same year with Tran Van Dinh, and Solomon Gathers was director of the Afro Asian Institute. Well something happen there after a couple of years. I think there was a friction in the organization, and I can't recollect exactly what it was but the governance of the Institute. It was mostly on the students at Temple, and I think that they thought that Gathers wasn't directing them where they were supposed to be going. So I became director in 1974 with the name change from AAI to PAS. (Interview, April 19, 2009).

Hyman's networked Local movement center had access to the resources noted above. She had human-social-organizational resources, secular and religious as well as on and off campus. For example, Hyman was a leader in her faith community, and a tradition of collective action behavior. Most of the resources garnered by the black community for collective behavior come from the black church (Morris, 1984). Greta Adams spoke of Hyman connection to material resources from her church community.

Ms. Hyman was a missionary doing God's work. She was part of building one of the churches that she was in -- I do not know all the details, but I've been to the church over 16th & Oxford Sts. I know there was one on Germantown Avenue that she used to go to. And then there's another one that she was part of building. It's the same

religion but that's three different Seventh Day Adventist churches. And I know she was with the horticultural society because I was with it too, and she had a fabulous garden program that may still be going on with the people in the community. It is not just one thing. It's part of a mission for building and bringing together people where they are. She was a school community coordinator. She got her bachelor's in education. She is able to teach. I think this is one of her outstanding missionary abilities (Interview, G. Adams, April 7, 2009).

From Ms. Adam's viewpoint, Hyman had a network of black churches that could supply myriad resources. Additionally, Adams spoke of Hyman's mission, leadership ability, and her perspective on teaching. Devoutly religious, Hyman led an exemplary Christian life; ethics were her strong suit. Annie Dee Hyman was getting close to accessing those necessary material resources required to accomplish her goal of bringing the university to the community.

Ecological Factors and Free Spaces

Mobilizing grievances is a necessary yet insufficient step to carrying out collective action. Mobilizing grievances will not emerge without meeting the three conditions: structural or material conditions; social psychological factors; and diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing. So too it is with contextual; political opportunity and access to resources are necessary, but insufficient without free and safe spaces to meet to plan collective activities. Fortunately for Hyman, the black community, segregated and distinct was ready made, especially in the inner city. The black church, Masonic Halls and Elks Lodges, historically Black College and myriad organizations and institutions provided safe havens for black collective actors. Emily Rollins revealed the interconnectedness

of the Local movement centers in Philadelphia as she discussed volunteering at Temple University with Ms. Hyman's Community Education Program. Ms. Rollins founded Bridgeway, Inc. a community education program in North Philadelphia that remained independent. Interestingly, Rollins mentioned Mr. John Brickhouse, another prominent North Philadelphia community activist who has a program of community upliftment.

And the interesting part about this is that there are those of us could see this type of struggle going on because of our philosophy of Community Education and Community development. I could see the struggle between the understanding of what Community development means on the urban or national level and Community development means on the international level too. Two very different things; so I was there as a participant in the political struggle of the interpretation of community and how it affected a community people

Moreover, the network continues intergenerationally. John Brickhouse spoke in fond remembrance of his son's experience with Hyman and the Chalmers Garden project. His son attended John Greenleaf Whittier elementary school when Hyman was school counselor. Hyman commandeered a vacant lot and took the boys from school to clean debris from the lot to create the Chalmers Park Garden located at 28th and Cambria Streets.

I remember my son had to get permission from home to go and do that work on the vacant lot...All those young people now are...some still live in the community. They are actually who's who now in our city government and stuff like that. That is my first recollection of her, you know. Yeah, at that garden when she started it up (Interview, May 19, 2009).

I will highlight the consideration of ecological factors as a major constituent element to one's understanding of contextual conditions next. Ecological factors do not refer to environmentalism per se, but to the spatiality of the contextual conditions, because the prospect and character of movement emergence and mobilization are affected by the arrangement of movement populations and free spaces (Snow & Soule, 2010). The oppressed must find refuge. Hyman's field of LMC (networks) found refuge indoors: churches fraternal and sorority organizations, businesses, and educational institutions, and in areas outside in open garden spaces.

When examining civil rights workers like Annie Hyman I was continuously mindful of her spirituality. The civil rights work done by Hyman and members of the collective framed their activities, as did Reverend Martin L. King Jr. in *Letter from a Birmingham Jail*. Civil rights workers had right and God on their sides, as Dr. King explained by referring to just and unjust law:

One may well ask: "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?" The answer lies in the fact that there are two types of laws: just and unjust. I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. One has not only a legal but a moral responsibility to obey just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. I would agree with St. Augustine "an unjust law is no law at all."

Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust
(http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Letter_Birmingham.html)

Included within the conceptualization of mobilizing grievances are structural and material conditions; social psychological factors and framing - motivational,

diagnostic, and prognostic. Our examination of contextual conditions illuminated political opportunity, resource mobilization and ecological factors. Hyman's Local movement center and its network of collective actors continuously scrutinized the political landscape, noting openings in the terrain.

Moreover, because of the generally unified black community on the issue of education, the Local movement centers rarely were found lacking adequate resources. Because of the network's ability to recognize political opportunities, garner adequate available resources, develop, and maintain safe enclaves in which they could act collectively, Hyman moved closer to realizing her dream of bringing the community and the university together. Nevertheless, I am mindful that while political opportunity theory, resource mobilization theory and the role of ideology and framing have been vantage points for analyzing social movements, these are not the only perspectives bearing on social movements. I now turn the application of social movement theory to Chapter 6 - which is devoted to the topic of participation and leadership. As previously noted, participants must act as an organized collective, challenging or defending systems of authority with extra-institutional activity. Collective action is organized and led on various levels in ways that differ because of race class and gender. Although race and class are important factors in their own right, this examination of leadership in Hyman's Local movement center primarily focused on gender because of the patriarchal nature of society in general, and the gendered opportunities to participate in collective action particularly.

CHAPTER 6

THE TRAJECTORY OF A LOCAL MOVEMENT CENTER

Participation

The focus of this study has been the direct challenge to Temple University by the *CEP/LMC*. The first section of this chapter provides the opportunity to discuss members of the LMC as participants in collective action. During the analysis of participation, I employed Snow and Soule's (2010) organizing strategy to guide the examination and discussion as well as Robnett's viewpoint on bridge leadership, and King and Ferguson's standpoint on leadership within the ranks of Black professional women. I had previously addressed the necessary thresholds, or conditions, for participation, such as the mobilization of grievances and fulfillment of contextual conditions. Crossing those thresholds leads to a discussion on participation. Participation is dependent upon several dynamics crucial to the recruitment of collective actors. The first is a structural factor: one must be in a network, or one must be linked in organizational affiliations. Moreover, movement theorists argue: one must be asked, in order to participate (Snow & Soule, 2010). A previous discussion of structural or material conditions related to mobilizing grievances noted in that case, that structural or material conditions referred to factors unavailable to an aggrieved subordinate group causing grievances to emerge. My discussion of structural factors refers to being networked (Snow & Soule, 2010). Secondly, biographical factors play an important role in collective action participation. The perspective of one's parents,

past experiences, and availability determine collective behavior. In addition, social psychological factors such as shared identity and a sense of efficacy are crucial to participation in a social movement. Finally, prognostic, motivational, and transformational framing are crucial, providing incentives to participate in collective action.

Section two discusses the leadership styles of black women that inform this study and in some cases have influenced leadership in the CEP/LMC. A brief typological review of leadership styles found in preeminent African American women and men are models similar to characteristic found in the CEP/LMC's gendered leadership style. My intention is to follow Grimes' lead, who argues, that "historically, African-American women in leadership have been the catalyst that provides mutual aid and support to the community by enriching the lives of countless families...and supporting economic and social justice efforts for the betterment of the community (p. 1).

Structural Factors

Earlier, the emphasis was on shared grievances. However, shared grievances are necessary but not sufficient to guarantee participation in collective action. Movement-sponsored action is a relational process. Cost and risks deter movement participation, and contribute to recruitment and initial participation. In accordance with Hunt and Benford (2004), my understanding of movement participation, as it refers to the CEP/LMC, is as a dynamic relationship between the collaborative effort among participants in their social movement

organizational field, on behalf of their Local movement center, to collect, prepare, manage, employ and replicate material resources and ideas for collective action. A good example of the network in action within the social movement organizational field is the collaborative effort between the founder of Bridgeway, Inc., and Annie Dee Hyman, founder of the CEP. Soon after Annie Hyman and Mary Wells had met with Dr. Ayaga and Professor Mungai in 1978, Dr. Tran Van Dinh invited Emily Rollins to be Community Liaison for the Community Education Program. Hyman, as a Temple University student, had met Dr. Dinh on campus (Interview, Tran, June, 2008)

As already mentioned in chapter 5, Emily Rollins founded Bridgeway Learning Center in 1975. Located near Temple's Health Sciences Campus on West Ontario Street, about 1.5 miles north of the Main Campus, the Center provides food, transitional housing, educational and cultural programs to her underserved community. Ms. Rollins recalls the days when Ms. Hyman and Dr. Tran walked the streets of North Philadelphia spreading enthusiasm for learning with her CEP.

I met Dr. Tran at Temple University because he was the person you could see and you could hear his concern for the needs of Community. He understood; I mean we gravitated to that kind of person, I did because of his great sensitivity to the needs of community people. I had been a part of the life of the student body at Temple a number of years before as a part of the student in the Department of Social Work and the Career Ladders Program founded by Dr. Jean Moore, so I was familiar with many of the faculty and persons there; Yes, yes fact Thad Mathis was in my class. So my relationship with Temple was very deep, since I had two Aunts as Rollins who were educators, and could not go could

not attend Temple University even though we lived they lived in the North Philadelphia area, because in the 1940s Temple University didn't admit students [who were] African American. So, my aunts attended Glassboro College, Berean and the University of Pennsylvania (Interview, July 17, 2009).

Rollins's chronicle touches on the important aspect of social structure factors: network linkages, and organizational affiliations. Nevertheless, Rollins was sure to mention that her aunts could not attend Temple University in the 1940s. Hyman and Rollins began in the community and learned of each other as community organizers. Noteworthy is that these network linkages and organizational affiliations have stood the test of time, perhaps as King and Ferguson argue it may be due to the table talk black women experience as rites of passage (2001). Although the individuals have become senior citizens, and in some cases passed away, they have not lost touch, nor have they discontinued involvement in community activism, on and off Temple's campus.

Members of the CEP/LMC were in the midst of dynamic changes taking place in and around Temple University and North Central Philadelphia. The costs and risks for most of the members of the CEP/LMC were low, most were invested in social change, and most saw education as the vehicle for long-range change, even in situations when there were disparate views on patriarchy. Many of the participants expressed misgivings about some colleagues. For example, Rollins spoke about what she saw as Pan-African Studies' lack of inclusiveness.

The point is that we in community education failed to see the need for inclusiveness of all religions, all sexes, all classes of our own people (Interview, July 17, 2009).

Nevertheless, Ms. Hyman's personality and leadership were the unifying galvanizing factors for her Community Education Program. Her leadership style, honed during the years of making house calls as a school coordinator, kept her objective in focus. Her objective was education for the community on Temple's campus.

Biographical and Positional Factors

When considering the past and present life situations of movement participants, especially Hyman and the members of the CEP/LMC, neither general nor particular experiences are guarantees for social movement participation. However, resonant socialization experiences such as norms and values, and beliefs and changes in value orientation and identity, during one's life are important. In the previous chapter, It was determined through the analysis of mobilizing grievances that the participants in this inquiry, both campus insiders, and outsiders, seemed to have the prerequisite black consciousness, or a belief in the CEP's mission. The extent to which they believed in the mission was impossible for me to determine exactly, because of the fluid nature of the framing processes (Snow, et al, 1986). However, it was to the extent of giving the CEP/LMC participants safe passage, of smoothing the way towards program implementation. Moreover, the CEP/LMC network was situated to provide the strategic and tactical expertise to recognize and respond to political

opportunities, gain access to sufficient resources and provide safe enclaves, both on and off campus, indoors as well as outside.

Hyman gained her consciousness based in part on her objective positioning in the heart of the segregated south: Africatown, Alabama. Without restating my case, I believe that Chapter 4, provides sufficient biographical data of Hyman's resonant socialization experiences as well as her prior experience with some forms of political engagement. It is highly likely that the story of the founding of Africatown directed Hyman's attention to the intergenerational transmission of social activist values. Recall, for instance, that Annie Dee Hyman attended Mobile County Training School founded by the men and women of Africatown.

Another consideration of this examination of participation is that stakeholders, other than those engaged in collective action challenging authority from the outside were looking for participation. Because of their position as university insiders who were attuned to an institutional perception of its interests, they saw participation quite differently. As Thomas Anderson previously mentioned, Temple University looked for participation from the community when it was considering how best to put forth its plans for expansion. Recall that he mentioned (Chapter 5) that when he first came to Temple, and “was part of the process after Charette”, things were “real hot” and there was a lot going on with the (Black) Panthers in the area; people were looking at Temple (Interview, May 14, 2009).

However, Temple University looked first for community members with the ability to purchase the new housing rising around Temple University. Mr.

Anderson discussed Temple's interest:

I was given that directive, so one of the things we had to do was to make sure that in some ways we had to bring about this housing component. The president of the Trustee Board was one of the key people here at Temple who was in the movement to make sure that some of these things happened in the community. So what we had to do was look at how we were going to fund the housing. So they found some funds through First Pennsylvania Bank. And, they found some funds through the Employees' Retirement Fund with the State of Pennsylvania, and in some other areas to the point that when they put the packages together, those houses were going for \$17,000 by the time people put down a certain amount of money. That was to make it so people would be able to buy. The other point was we had to make sure that we had minority participation in construction too (Interview, May 14, 2009).

Temple University took a very objective business approach to prosecuting its expansion plans. Dr. Millard E. Gladfelter said that while Temple had about 9,000 students in the 1930s and about 27,000 in 1959, it could expect about 40,000 by 1965 or 1970 (Binzen, 1959). Six years later, the Philadelphia Redevelopment authority asked City Council to approve a bill to set aside a five-block area for expansion of Temple University (Semonski, 1965). Understandably, the university looked for solutions to the myriad problems expansion created with communities around the campus. Dr. Carolyn Adams, a long-term Temple insider who also served as Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences/Liberal Arts from 1993 to 1999 and 2006-2007, noted:

So, we became a state related Institution. And we developed plans as a University for expansion for increasing the, not just the State

profile but the National profile of Temple. I remember very clearly (Interview, April 10, 2009).

Unavoidably, the stage was set for confrontation. Members of the network of Local movement centers were responding in some instances, and proactively taking collective action in other instances. Hyman's Local movement center was at the forefront as she worked towards her objective to bring the community onto the campus of Temple University. Dr. Wilbert Roget recalls Hyman's participation:

While that Charette issue was going on there were people like Mrs. Hyman, who were articulating the need for this continued presence of personalities from the Pan-African Studies Program, which it was called at that time it, was not yet, called a department, to come and teach courses in the Community. To teach in the community, Tran Van Dihn, because he was a key personality in the LMC(Interview, March 31, 2009).

Charette, Dr. Roget explained, means cart or table in French, adding that Temple University and the community had clearly placed some issues on the table for discussion.

Social Psychological Factors & Personal Efficacy

Klandermans (2004), and Snow and Soule (2010) suggest three basic reasons why individuals participate in collective action: to change one's life chances; to act collectively; and, to give meaning to their lives. As noted at the outset of the study, participation entails being informed of events and willing to participate, and getting involved in collective action. Two participants in this inquiry, Alexander Johnson and Komi Sankofa are examples of participants who

either intended to enhance their life chances, to belong to a positive organization, or give meaning to their lives. Alexander Johnson joined the Community Education Program in 1977 and has been a faithful student every year since that time. He still marvels at the fact that he could attend Temple University, take classes taught by black scholars on culturally relevant subjects, and pay just two dollars for five classes:

Well, everyone knew that she was in charge. Because they gave her a lot of respect. It's like when most people would see Ms. Hyman, they would give her a hug or like they would talk to her all the time. I was attending the program for nineteen years, I would talk to her, and then that is when she told me. She told me that she had a vision that she wanted students to be able to get an education on a college campus. Where like a...a lot of students couldn't afford a college education, so I guess she had a vision where students could come and learn at a nominal fee, because at that time...like you could pay two dollars, and for two hours, you could take five classes. Five...You could take five classes, for two dollars (Interview, May 9, 2009).

Mr. Alexander believes he has gotten a good value for his dollar, in attendance for thirty-five years.

Komi Sankofa began attending classes at PASCEP in 1979, and continues to take a class now and then. Participating in PASCEP seemed to give meaning to his life. As previously mentioned, Ed Hall, a subway train conductor recruited Sankofa when; Mr. Sankofa was traveling home from work. Subsequently, Mr. Sankofa became a monitor of classes and the hallways, a volunteer to deliver flyers and a board member. Sankofa recalls Hyman and

PASCEP navigating turbulent waters during a period when a Board meeting was cancelled:

And the Board didn't meet with the president. Yea, so we did not get everything we were asking for if I remember, but we said okay we would accept what we got and move forward. During that same time, Dell and Deke Jones were part of the African Student Union I believe it was called, and Black Student Union. We wound up shutting down and taking over taking over WRTI [the radio station]. There was Broad St. and some part of Cecil B. Moore Ave, which was Columbia Ave at the time and of course there were some arrests. (Interview, August 3, 2012).

Mr. Sankofa seemed very comfortable and proud talking about the good old days when he was able to act collectively in a program that meant so much to so many because it gave meaning to their lives.

Motivational Framing

Motivational framing provides grounds for participation that go beyond diagnostic and prognostic framing. Diagnostic framing involves problematization of a social condition and assigning blame. Prognostic framing helps determine the kinds of actions a movement should take to mitigate the problem.

Motivational framing provides a call to arms in terms of seriousness, urgency, efficacy and moral obligation. In 1978, Dr. Odeyo Ayaga actively participated in Philadelphia's black political arena. Initially, he referred Ms. Hyman and her companions on different occasions, Ms. Wells and Dr. Brewer, to Professor and Coordinator Jaki Mungai. However, neither Wells nor Brewer had anything whatsoever to do with PASCEP itself. Mungai remember vividly:

Dr. Ayaga asked if I would volunteer to work to form a group to work with. I call her Mama Hyman. Mama Hyman and I agreed and we began in 78. We began at in the Spring of 78; we began meeting together, and there were some people in the Community that she had worked with, and she recommended that they come in and become part of the Board. I spoke with some faculty members asking to see who would be willing to volunteer to teach class. That is how we began (Interview, May 1, 2009).

Dr. Ayaga had an interest in developing a black studies program at Temple University. Noting the political climate in the country, Dr Ayaga also commented about the relevance of political engagement:

Back then, there were various departments reluctant to accept our classes since we were an Institute. We said no we have to become a part of a College, as a department. So we began advocating; we said our best choice is to become a part of Arts and Sciences, or Liberal Arts. So then we had to go through a whole process with the College of Liberal Arts. I was at the head, so we became a department in the College. I was the chair. So when we got there, we now became the Department of Pan-African Studies, in the College. So then, we are now allowed to give bachelor degrees for our majors. It changed the whole context (Interview, April 19, 2009).

Thinking back to my broad research question: "How did PASCEP develop from a social movement to a campus-based community-education program and what important factors contributed to its development and institutionalization within Temple University" becoming a degree-conferring department was the most important objective for Dr. Ayaga. PASCEP may not have been on his radar except as an outreach program for the Pan-African Studies Department; however, Dr. Ayaga had an agenda, and it played right into Hyman's hands. The University needed to find a way to serve the broader North Philadelphia community, and Hyman had the perfect solution. Ayaga's plan involved

enhancing the Pan-African Studies program through community support and networks. Hyman's scheme was to bring the community onto campus for educational and cultural purposes, and it provided additional community support and social networks to PAS. Moreover, according to Mr. Anderson, Dr. Ayaga, and Ms. Hyman, (Ayaga-PAS, Hyman-CEP and Mr. Anderson-Temple University) recognized their political opportunity, that they had a readymade alliance when they met in 1979. Dr. Ayaga:

I think I met Ms. Hyman as we were becoming a department, or in that process, and I think what had happened as much as we were academic we were also given the political climate of the time, we were very conscious that the only reason Temple did accept the Institute was because of the political climate in the United States. We also knew that we could only maintain our status if we had the support of the Community both political and other wise (Interview, April 19, 2009).

Dr. Ayaga leveraged every political opportunity to make sure that the new Pan-African Studies Department would become ensconced in the College of Liberal Arts.

So at least during my tenure, we made it very clear that at that time all of the Black Politicians in the City did support us, and we went into everybody's office, Dave Richardson and Lucien Blackwell and we campaigned for Mr. Charles Browser when he was first running, all of them. My name may not be there, but I was the voice from the beginning. All of the Black Clergy too supported us. We had to embrace the entire Community for their support or we would not have made the progress that we made. So, whenever we went to the Administration at Temple to say we want to employ this they would say, we don't have the money, we would say to tell Lucian Blackwell or David Richardson. It was also because of political and religious and community support that we were able to get Departmental status. (Interview, April 19, 2009).

Data indicate Hyman understood the signaling dimensions of her political opportunities, and used the community to get her CEP on campus. The timing was right, because Dr. Ayaga needed every political ally to accomplish his goal to gain departmental status.

Leadership

I connect Hyman to a tradition of womanist leadership, which has been at the forefront of social change through resistance, modeling, teaching, and guiding their Black communities using Belinda Robnett's conceptualization of "Bridge Leadership" (1997) and King and Ferguson's (2001, 2011) understanding of how black professionals intergenerationally develop leadership characteristics. The importance of this approach to understanding Hyman's leadership became clear in the course of the research, and so I decided to locate this additional literature here rather than in Chapter 2. According to Robnett:

The gendered organization of the civil rights movement defined the social location of African-American women in the movement context and created a particular substructure of leadership, which became a critical recruitment and mobilizing force for the movement" (p. 1663).

Moreover, I explore the notion that Black women's leadership experiences of necessity deconstruct oppressive structures that provide and maintain power to institutional racism and sexism (Grimes, 1989). Robnett argues:

Gender provided a construct of exclusion that helped to develop a strong grassroots tier of leadership that served a critical bridge between the formal organization and adherents and potential constituents...the organization of the civil rights movement created a particular substructure of leadership that was central to the

development of identity, collective consciousness, and solidarity within the movement (p. 1667).

Implicit in Robnett's discussion is the recognition of sensitivity, sophistication, and adroitness in the approach to organizing and directing people used by black women in the civil rights movement.

According to Beverly Guy-Sheftall (1995), in *Words of Fire*, "black women experience a special kind of suffering in this country which is racist, sexist, and classist because of their dual racial and gender identity and their limited access to economic resources" (p. 2). Consequently, Black women in America have developed survival skills using quotidian strategies and tactics to mobilize economic cultural and social resources (King, 1995). Robnett seems to agree with Guy-Sheftall's analysis. However, Robnett (1990) goes further to add that the gendered organization of the civil rights movement created a subculture that served the movement well. Robnett's black feminist perspective advanced a concept of "bridge leadership" that illuminated the undervalued leadership space that was more available to black women in the civil rights movement comprises the third section. Her gendered analysis served as the basis for an additional critique of Weber's charismatic leadership theory.

King and Ferguson (2011) envisage black professional leadership development as twofold:

It consists 1) of the activities, processes, and methods that aid in clarifying a Woman's understanding of herself in relation to the groups, communities, and societies of which she is a part and 2) the activities, processes, and methods that aid in clarifying a woman's

sense of personal efficacy and collective purpose (p. 126).

Of major interest to my study relative to leadership and participation in a social movement are the positions King and Ferguson take concerning leadership development. They argue that a Black woman's ability to clarify her understanding of herself relationally - her personal identity and a Black woman's sense of personal efficacy and collective purpose is essentially a "multi-consciousness that enables them to move within and between discursive practices of academia and those of our own cultural contexts" (p. 126). I suggest that the multi-consciousness is a major component of the necessary social psychological processes factoring into mobilizing grievances, motivational, diagnostic and transformational framing as well as in social movement participation (King & Ferguson, 2001, 2011; Snow & Soule, 2010). In order to develop strategies for social change within their organizations, Black women also had to be consciously engaged in restoring and sustaining their own psychological well-being, creating black woman to black woman bonds within, between and throughout their communities to racism, classism and sexism. King and Ferguson (2001) note that the restoration of the well-being of Black women through "Deep Talk" and "Charting Themselves" is "invisible work" that allows them to become diagnosticians of their own lives (p. 137). Black women extend the restorative process to developing families and communities, and employ diagnostic, prognostic and transformational framing, a necessary social

psychological factor in the process of developing motivational grievances, without which social movements would not exist (Snow & Soule, 2010).

Bridge - LMC and Participants

Charles Blockson, the founder and curator of the Charles L. Blockson Afro-American Collection of rare texts, slave narratives, art, and a host of other artifacts significant in African-American history at Temple University, began the interview by stating that he was not closely involved with Annie Hyman, and only learned of her after she became involved on Temple's campus. Nevertheless, Blockson is the only participant used in the narrative of the study who learned of Ms. Hyman after she arrived on campus. I am using Mr. Blockson's narrative to triangulate evidence on Hyman's leadership characteristics, the extent of her connection between her LMC and participants, her understanding of what was to come, the strategy she used and her ability to distinguish potential leadership.

Mr. Blockson, from Norristown, PA, notes a visit from Reverend Leon Sullivan:

Dr. Leon Sullivan opened up a branch of OIC in Norristown, right behind my parent's house. Then I recall that he mentioned the work that Annie was doing here at Temple University (Interview, May 14, 2009).

Additionally, Mr. Blockson was involved with founding the African American Museum, and notes that Ms. Hyman often stopped by to see him and offer her support. Blockson also knew Hyman through Lawrence Reddick, a curator at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. Dr. Reddick paid a visit to Temple in the wake of the turbulent days when Hyman and others were

protesting under the president's window; so now, they were all on campus:

Ayaga, Sanchez, Asante, Reddick, Blockson, and Hyman. Blockson said Hyman was also interested in books on Africa for her PASCEP students. Speaking of black womanhood and of Annie Dee Hyman, Blockson said:

We had a blend; we had Angela Davis during the 1960s, and then you have people today like Michelle Obama; we had Fannie Lou Hammer and Rosa Parks.. Annie Hyman to me is a blend of all our black women. She represents all of our Black Womanhood. It's one continuous thread. It wasn't about self-glory; but Annie's legacy will live on because she took a stolen legacy, the denial of teaching our history in education, and she made it a positive legacy; a stolen legacy is preserved now (Interview, May 14, 2009).

On one hand, because of Hyman's tranquil disposition, she was difficult to decipher, especially by outsiders, but even by many in her circle (Straughter, Adams, 2009). Stan Straughter's characterization of Hyman reveals that even as a young adult, she was a community activist no less; yet, firmly grounded in her faith, she wore her spirit not on her sleeve, but in her heart. Dr. Brewer provides an example of leadership from the rear:

Annie Hyman, yea, there is almost something angelic, I say this, and I'm not a Holy Roller. But, there's something about her, and I mean this, that has such a goodness within her that is different. A healthy goodness. Yes, when you could see that! Then I knew how important PASCEP was. That is when I realized it. I could see exactly what she was fighting for. I don't think I've ever seen her in any of the roles whether it's at PASCEP, or as a School coordinator or a role she shared in the Hayre Scholarship Fund or anything, where she would just take over anything (Interview, April, 16, 2009).

Oliver Adams, another member of Hyman's circle, met her approximately sixteen years later, in 1982 while she was working with the young boys from the

John Greenleaf Whittier elementary school. She introduced the boys to gardening at the 26th Street award winning Chalmers Garden and taught lessons that enhanced their self-esteem. Adams worked closely with Hyman "when it came to the garden" (Adams, 5-31-09). He was a baker, and owned a bakery around that time, and Hyman, as the District #4 school coordinator, delivered pastry from his bakery shop. Hyman also invited Mr. Adams to Whittier School to present his concept of the Afro-American Logo "to the children and their parents, and when she would have different affairs where they would honor her, or whatever, she would give me an invitation to be there" (Adams, 5-31-09). Hyman was helpful to those ostensibly outside her circle or to those without faith. Furthermore, Hyman, in her role of organic leader, seemed to intuitively select the right interpretation or frame for her network. She was able to connect myriad resources--material, human, and social organizational, moral, and cultural--to the windows of political opportunity; Hyman could feel the signaling dimensions of political alignments and correctly choose influential allies (Snow and Soule, 2010).

Adams explained that Hyman had written a letter for him to the Martin Luther King, Jr. Foundation, and he announced proudly "Mrs. Coretta King answered" (Adams, 5-31-09). Mrs. King reported she had placed the Logo in the Martin Luther King, Jr. Archive, and Mr. Adams was proud of his accomplishment, and thankful for Ms. Hyman's assistance. The letter concerned

the Afro-American Logo that Adams promoted (and continues to promote to this day). Adams comments:

Not just by writing the letter, by inviting me to different affairs that were jumping off, that she know my Logo would be presented at those particular affairs. I remember back in 95, I believe it was, and this is 2009. It was back in 95 or 94, she gave me some information about the Africans that were coming to America at that time to apologize to the Afro-American people over here for their participation in the slave trade. She wanted me to go there and meet with them and I did...I presented my Logo to the Queen Mother of Ghana and three or four of their subjects. That was back in 95. But since then, I was with Ms. Hyman and she introduced me to Queen Esther. (Interview, May 31, 2009).

I followed up, querying, "how do you think she accomplishes some of the things that she gets done?" To which Adams replied:

Well, I believe she gets most of her strength from God above because she's a very religious lady. She's always putting God in just about everything she do, and basically that the way it is (May 31, 2009).

And I asked: "What does Ms. Hyman have that causes people to come out?" And without hesitation, Mr. Adams answered:

Oh, that's easy to answer. The information I gave you about myself, just about anybody you would go and interview would give you some of that same information about Ms. Hyman. She paid her dues with the people. I'm not the only one she has helped. She done helped thousands and thousands of people (May 31, 2009).

"Thousands?" I asked. And, Mr. Adams answered:

Sure, thousands of them. I know it's thousands of people she done helped. See, so, that's where it comes in at, that's where her support's coming from, from the people she done already helped...just like she helped me, she'd help anybody that she felt as though they had a project that they wanted to pursue, if she was

in a position to do something about it. And, that's what put her on the front row (May 31, 2009).

Therefore, in characterizing her leadership, while it seems that Hyman sat in the back, and perhaps led from the back, according to Oliver Adams and others, when it came to the perception of the people, their interpretation, the minds and hearts of the people, Hyman was thought of as being, according to Mr. Adams:

On the front row. Hyman was thought of as sharing her blessings with the people. They made her Queen Mother in Ghana, for all the work she did over there...and she's the one who helped form the Pan-African Studies here for Temple University...all she cared about was helping people (May 31, 2009)

It is important to understand the compelling nature of the Hyman mystique.

Hyman's a priori position, which seemed intuitive to her, was that helping people meant social change. How did she understand? I propose that Hyman's socialization processes, prior experiences, and biographical information positioned her well to lead from the rear, be a conduit within and between LMCs, and convey confidence to those around her.

Another community organizer, John Brickhouse, had a son in the John Greenleaf Whittier elementary school Cub Scout Troop. His remarks about Hyman's leadership in the community are instructive. I asked Mr. Brickhouse about Hyman's work in the community. He mentioned that she came 'out' into the communities. I asked him to explain what he meant, and his response was:

She would go to meetings. She was always trying to organize the communities to benefit them. Let us take the garden for instance. Right? I remember when there were buildings, and then the buildings were torn down, and then she went right up there, and got

it all taken over. She had people from different organizations to back her up, because she was trying to get a garden for children, for the kids, and for the communities. Mrs. Hyman was instrumental; she used to go to the prison system and talk to the people there. She is a teacher you know, and because of her work in the community, that is how I became involved with her. Our paths kept crossing, I learned to rely upon her very heavily (Interview, April 19, 2009).

The evolution of Black leadership styles becomes apparent upon an examination of gender roles in the Black community. Moreover, gender roles may serve to identify the causes and conditions for the change in Black leadership styles over time as Blacks adapted to socioeconomic conditions in the United States.

Bridge - Prefigurative and Strategy

Mary Wells, one of Hyman's colleagues for 30 years at District 4, indicates that Hyman had the capacity to engage the community and hold their attention. I believe it was Hyman's personal feeling for things that let her recognize political opportunities. Moreover, it is Hyman's intuitive reasoning that determined the strategies and tactics that she would employ to move the LMC towards its objective. Wells offered the following comments:

I do not know, but she always had some type of programs of interest for the parents. Sometime it was no more than giving out magazines at a meeting. However, she always had something there to grab the interest of the parents. And when she got them, for some reasons, she different from a lot of us Coordinators; she was able to hold on to them and keep them keep them coming There is something about her personality. I think her thirst for education. I think she was able to pass that on to the parents, that how I important it was for those kids to be educated (Interview, April 2009).

Hyman's leadership had an element of charisma. Moreover, many of the participants mentioned Hyman's charisma, noting that Hyman was aware of that aspect of her personality. Wells continues, discussing Hyman's trip to Africa, her return and accompanying her to Temple University to meet with Dr. Ayaga.

I remember her trip to Africa, and how excited she was about it. I remember her coming back saying how she had exchanged the clothes that she took with her for African books and art, and the relationships she built while she was over there. Annie was motivated by growing up in Alabama. She always had a thirst for education. Every time she got the opportunity to get more education, she did so. It was that thirst for education that gave her the idea for taking her program to Temple. We talked about it and I made one trip to Temple with her to talk with Dr. Ayaga (Interview, April 2009).

Hyman recognized the political opportunity to introduce her program to the university was at hand. How did she know? She was on campus as a student. The insiders, Thaddeus Mathis, Sonia Sanchez, Jean Moore, and others were barometers. The political climate was ripe. Temple would make concessions, especially for a mutually beneficial education program. The outsiders, John Brickhouse, Stanley Straughter, Mary Wells, Jeanette Brewer, Emily Rollins and others continuously monitored social conditions for political opportunities: locally, regionally, and nationally.

The types of changes in Black leadership styles have had critical implications for the Black community, which also has been changing in response to geopolitical and economic conditions. One particular perspective on Black Americans ascending into the burgeoning middle class is worth mentioning at

this time. E. Franklin's Frazier's *Black Bourgeoisie* (1957), initiated his caustic assessment of Black businesses and the Black middle class, and began a dialogue centered on the political nature of the culture of respectability. Frazier argued that Blacks who were upwardly mobile thought that they were better than working class Blacks, resulting in a tendency to distance themselves from racist images and stereotypical views, a predisposition that also served to distance them for the masses (Frazier, 1957). Nelson concurs with Frazier: "Employing the cultural politics of respectability, a social tradition distinctly part of the peculiar institution emerging around the 1820s, upwardly mobile Blacks acculturated the values of Whites. As historian, Evelyn Higginbotham (1993) explains:

Respectability demanded that every individual in the Black community assume responsibility for behavioral self-regulation and self improvement along moral, educational, and economic lines; the goal was to distance oneself as far as possible from the images perpetuated by racist stereotypes (p. 196).

By the 1920s and 1930s, the Black elite class in Philadelphia, according to Nelson, diligently worked "to make the Negro Middle Class socially free from the disrepute of the Black masses" (1980).

By 1952, when Annie Hyman arrived in the city, the Black elite as a class was thoroughly ensconced in isolated enclaves, enjoying the cultural politics of respectability. Although, Hyman would get to know many of them and become friends with some, for instance, Dr. Ruth B. Hayre, the first female President of the Philadelphia Board of Education, and Jeanette Brewer, Fourth School District Superintendent, Hyman would not seek elite status. Yet, Hyman, clearly primed

for a deep and full involvement in the movement to uplift her people, incorporated many of the values of the upwardly mobile. Understandably, “as a form of resistance to the negative stigmas and caricatures about their morality, African Americans adopted the politics of respectability,” notes Gross, “to assert the will and agency to redefine themselves outside the prevailing racist discourses” (p. 1). Hyman also carried the respectability mantle, fully engaging the cultural politics of respectability, from childhood to her death, on June 29, 2010. She had intimate knowledge of the Black Women’s Club Movement - her hero Bethune was a leader in the movement; the Black church and the Women’s Club Movement created the training grounds, developed the free spaces for political development in the Black communities for women. What Hyman was demonstrating was her ability and capacity to bridge the class gap; how she did it was through the ongoing processes of being "centered" through a life of "deep Talk" and "charting herself" (king & Ferguson, 2001).

Hyman carried the respectability mantle as a social worker – Hyman visited tens of thousands of homes during the decades she shepherded the 4th District as Philadelphia School coordinator; Hyman was a social worker collecting data in the DuBoisian mode before she had a degree in Social Work. Hyman carried the respectability mantle working for suffrage and while closing rowdy bars. Moreover, she carried the respectability mantle, during and after the Civil Rights decade, after the institutionalization of her *Community Education Program*. Yet, Hyman never lost touch with the people; mutual love and respect

existed between Hyman and the community, evinced by testimony from the LMC participants. Hyman, magnetically drawn to her people, intuitively knew that to move her people, she had to touch her people.

Despite the communal role played by Black women and men of Hyman's constitution, earlier claims by activist scholars like W. E. B. DuBois, Carter G. Woodson, E. Franklin Frazier as well as Malcolm X, and Martin L. King, Jr., about the disengagement of the black American elite from the Black masses were valid. However, issues of class, was just one obstacle for the movement. In addition, patriarchy revealed tensions in the civil rights movement that would be a double-edged sword; patriarchy provided the cultural apparatus used to exclude black women from major positions of leadership in civil rights organizations, while issues of class excluded many of the regular members who exhibited leadership qualities and had great ideas to share. Nevertheless, Black women in PASCEP/LMC were able to facilitate social change through bridge leadership, acting as conduits within and between communal networks, because they had developed a centered self-consciousness through lives immersed in the invisible work at the kitchen table charting themselves through deep talk (Robnett, 1996; King and Ferguson, 2001).

CHAPTER 7

THE CONSEQUENCES OF A SOCIAL MOVEMENT

I began this study with one overarching research question: How and why did Pan-African Studies Community Education Program (PASCEP) develop from a community education program (CEP) located in North Central Philadelphia in 1975 to a campus-based community-education program, and what important factors contributed to its development and institutionalization within Temple University in 1979? As well, I asked several additional questions:

- d. What types of social psychological processes and interpretive framing contributed to the emergence of the insurgent consciousness in the CEP leadership?
- e. What factors created the political opportunity for Hyman to bring her African centered Community Education Program onto the campus of Temple University?
- f. What were the forms of strategic and tactical innovations employed to mobilize the necessary resources required to move Annie Dee Hyman's *Community Education Program* from the streets of inner city North Philadelphia onto the campus of Temple University?

Pan-African Studies Community Education Program began as a vision to educate members of the North Philadelphia community on Temple University's campus. The vision became a journey terminating with a meeting between Annie Hyman, Mary Wells, Jacki Mungai, and Dr. Odeyo Ayaga in Gladfelter Hall in the

fall of 1978. Pan-African Studies Community Education Program is the result of that on-campus meeting. At that time, PASCEP may not have been on Odeyo Ayaga's radar; nevertheless, the CEP became an outreach program for the Pan-African Studies Institute. However, I believe Dr. Ayaga had an agenda, and Ayaga's program dovetailed with Hyman's plans. In addition, the University needed to find a way to serve the broader North Philadelphia community, and Hyman seemed to have presented a solution to the University that was tenable with its agenda. Ayaga's plan involved enhancing the Pan-African Studies status, from institute to department, through community support and networks. Hyman's scheme was to bring her North Philadelphia community onto campus for educational and cultural purposes, and as an unintended consequence, provide additional community support and social networks to PAS. Moreover, according to Temple University administrator Thomas Anderson, Dr. Ayaga, and Ms. Hyman, (Ayaga-PAS, Hyman-CEP and Mr. Anderson-Temple University) upon meeting, recognized their political opportunity; they had a readymade alliance when they met in 1978. Dr. Ayaga leveraged every political opportunity to make sure that the new Pan-African Studies Department would become ensconced in the College of Liberal Arts. Data indicate Hyman understood the signaling dimensions of her political opportunities, and used the community to get her CEP on campus. The timing was right, because Dr. Ayaga needed every political ally to accomplish his goal to gain departmental status, as Temple University enhanced its new University-Community relationship. Next, I address

the insurgent consciousness in the Community Education Program, highlighting social psychological processes and interpretive framing that lead to mobilizing grievances.

In Philadelphia, during the period under investigation, there were disruptive social changes brought about by the Vietnam War, lack of employment for African American and minorities - as Philadelphia became a rust belt city. In addition, a dearth of educational opportunities presented problems for blacks in the city. As well, institutional racism in housing such as redlining and segregation was problematic. Finally, issues of police brutality under Mayor Rizzo added to the city's volatility. The era under investigation was also a period when Pan-African Studies was petitioning Temple University for departmental status. During the time, the network of Local movement centers gave mutual aid to participants, as well. These noted social strains, as an outgrowth of group conflict and inequality, were more than enough to serve as mobilizing grievances for the black community and their allies in Philadelphia.

As noted, Hyman belonged to a network of socially conscious men and women who had a tradition of mobilizing, organizing, and challenging systems of authority. In addition to complaints about the university's policies and practices towards black faculty and students, the surrounding community also felt aggrieved especially because of urban renewal programs for university expansion. Faculty members on campus noted the mixed feelings community members had for the University, feelings that often culminated in demonstrations

and at times, hostilities. The point emphasized here is that the unequal distribution of life chances in the City of Philadelphia generated the mobilizing grievances for collective action, and the perception of unequal distribution of life chances had a direct impact on university-community relations.

Conspicuously, black Americans experienced a tripartite system of racial domination preventing their identification with *economic, cultural and political institutions* of the larger society. Nevertheless, blacks created oppositional knowledge designed to resist oppression. In contrast to the political reality of those living in the dominant communities, between 1968 and 1980, the unequal distribution of life chances in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania became a stark reality for many members of the subordinate community. For example, the structural imposition placed on the life chances of black and poor Philadelphians by the Rizzo administration in tandem with the policies implemented by Temple University, served to generate mobilizing grievances, creating frustration and aggression, while simultaneously heightening awareness of the dire conditions within the black community. Consequently, black and poor people had little difficulty framing, interpreting, and aligning the significations for disorganized as well as organized actions.

Many of the black Americans in Philadelphia migrated from the southern states after World War II. Annie Hyman was from Africatown Alabama. From early childhood, she was aware of the contradictions in American society, the nature of White supremacy, and racism. Born in 1933, two years after two White

women falsely accused nine Black teenage boys of rape, Hyman was well experienced in the ways in which White supremacy served to demoralize the spirit of Blacks in her home state. The Scottsboro Boys case continued until 1950, nineteen years after it began, and two years before Hyman would leave Alabama for Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. In addition, most American blacks were well experienced with Jim Crow as well as subtle discrimination, and the contradictions between the rhetoric of freedom and justice, and the reality of oppression and injustice served as more than a tipping point for collective action. Next, I discuss the contextual conditions related collective behavior: political opportunity, access to resources, ecological factors and safe spaces.

One important circumstance related to the contextual conditions necessary for collective behavior is political opportunity. Philadelphia was a hotbed of radical political activity in the wake of the Civil rights movement. The urban riot on Columbia Avenue situated Temple University in the middle of the insurrection. Through it all, Hyman participated in the networked Local movement centers. After returning home from her class trip to Africa, Hyman implemented her educational ideas in the community through her Community Education Program, biding her time for its introduction to Temple University. Simultaneously, within the crucible known as North Central Philadelphia stood Temple University, and the surrounding communities of black and poor residents. The surrounding communities negotiated with Temple University for relief, while the black faculty negotiated for tenure, and an African Studies Department.

Temple, as noted looked for a solution to the disruptive demonstrations, heated meetings, and sit-ins. Into these troubled waters walked Annie Dee Hyman and Mary Wells to see Dr. Odeyo Ayaga, Chair of Pan-African Studies Institute. The political opportunity was ripe to satisfy several stakeholders.

The CEP may not have been on Odeyo Ayaga's radar; nevertheless, it soon became an outreach program for the Institute. Furthermore, Dr. Ayaga had an agenda, and it played right into Hyman's hands. The University needed to find a way to serve the broader North Philadelphia community, and Hyman had the perfect solution. Ayaga's plan had always involved enhancing the Pan-African Studies program through community support and networks. Hyman's scheme was to bring the community onto campus for educational and cultural purposes. In so doing, she would provide additional community support and social networks to Pan-African Studies. Moreover, according to Thomas Anderson, a Temple University administrator, Dr. Ayaga, and Ms. Hyman, (Ayaga-PAS, Hyman-CEP and Mr. Anderson-Temple University) recognized their political opportunities. Upon meeting in 1979, they understood that they had a readymade alliance. Dr. Ayaga leveraged every political opportunity to make sure that the new Pan-African Studies Department would become ensconced in the College of Liberal Arts. Data indicate Hyman understood the signaling dimensions of her political opportunities, and used the community on-campus and off-campus to get her CEP on campus. The timing was right; Dr. Ayaga needed every political ally to accomplish his goal to gain departmental status, as

Temple University would enhance its status in the community with its new University-Community relationship, as the CEP became a community outreach program for Pan-African Studies. The processes involved the acquisition and deployment of resources, especially volunteers and information.

The idea of resource mobilization applied to Hyman's Community Education Program/Local movement center includes a concentration of human, social organization, moral and cultural material. The CEP/LMC had an abundance of volunteers upon which to draw, including her faith communities, the academic community on campus, members of the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society as well as members of the Philadelphia Board of Education, women's organizations, the black social workers of Pennsylvania, and community workers and neighbors. Data suggests that the importance of these connections was that many of the individuals worked collectively in a Delaware Valley field of Local movement center networks, endeavoring to achieve social justice on several fronts for the communities in which they lived and represented.

As demonstrated, political opportunity and access to resources are necessary, but insufficient without free and safe places to meet in order to plan collective action activities. The black community in Philadelphia, segregated and distinct, had myriad safe spaces where they could meet to socialize as well as organize for collective action. Networked organizations such as the black church, Masonic Halls and Elks Lodges, historically Black College and countless

clubs and institutions provided safe havens for blacks involved in collective behavior.

Generally unified on the issue of education, the black church and Local movement centers provided adequate resources. Moreover, because of the LMCs ability to recognize political opportunities, garner adequate available resources, develop, and maintain safe enclaves where they could plan to act collectively, the CEP/LMC moved closer to bringing the community and the university together. All the same, although political opportunities, the mobilization of resources, and the role played by ideology and framing serve to move collective actors towards their goals, these are not the only perspectives bearing on social movements. Adequate participation and leadership were necessary to challenge the system of authority on campus.

Additionally, race and class were important factors in their own right. During my examination of black female leadership, I found vestiges of the retarding effects of patriarchy in Civil Rights organizations. Hyman's experience was no exception. Yet, because of the patriarchal nature of society taken as a whole, and the gendered opportunities to participate in collective action in particular, black women like Hyman developed positive modes of leading, leadership styles that, on one hand, were effective and efficient. On the other hand, black women developed participatory leadership styles that circumvented, for the most part, the retarding nature black male patriarchy.

When considering Hyman's life situations, neither general nor particular experiences are guarantees for social movement participation. However, Hyman's resonant socialization experiences such as her norms and values, and her beliefs and spiritual orientation, and biographical factors, were important. The extent to which she believed in her mission was impossible for me to determine exactly, because of the fluid dynamic nature of the framing processes. However, remarkably, and without exception, the participants in the study noted Hyman's communal vision and her steadfast commitment to education as a vehicle for change.

Another consideration of this examination related to participation is the stakeholders. As previously noted, Temple University was looking for participation from the community while it was considering how best to put forth its plans for expansion. At the same time as the University may have appeared intractable in its position vis-à-vis the surrounding black and poor community, according to Anderson, it was willing to make the concessions best for its agendas. Temple University needed participation on its own terms.

There are several reasons why individuals participate in collective action. The first is to change one's life chances. The second is to act collectively. Finally, individuals participate in collective action to give meaning to their lives. As noted at the outset of the study, foreknowledge of collective action events, and willingness to participate, are prerequisites to getting involved in collective action. As well, two participants in this inquiry, Alexander Johnson and Komi Sankofa

are examples of participants who either intended to enhance their life chances, to belong to a positive organization, or give meaning to their lives.

Alexander Johnson joined the Community Education Program in 1977 and has been a faithful student every semester since that time. Komi Sankofa, introduced to the CEP by Ed Hall, began attending classes at PASCEP in 1979. Shortly, he became involved in planning Program outcomes, and currently, he continues to take a class now and then. Participating in PASCEP seemed to have given meaning to their lives. Ed Hall, a subway train conductor, was also a conductor on the bridges between community organizations and prospective participants, introduced Mr. Sankofa to PASCEP. After the introduction, Hall recruited Sankofa. Subsequently, Mr. Sankofa became a class monitor. Finally, data as well as theory indicates that sustained participation in collective action for social change affects everyone.

Movement-sponsored action is a relational process. A good example of the network-in-action within the social movement's organizational field is the collaborative effort between the founder of Bridgeway, Inc., and Annie Dee Hyman, founder of PASCEP, Dr. Ayaga, Chair of Pan-African Studies and Dr. Dinh, the scholar who first accompanied Hyman to teach in the community. Hyman as a Temple University recruited Dr. Tran Van Dinh. Moreover, soon after Annie Hyman and Mary Wells had met with Dr. Ayaga in 1978, Dr. Tran Van Dinh invited Emily Rollins, of Bridgeway, Inc., to be Community Liaison for the CEP. Rollins had also attended classes on campus. She recalled the days when

Ms. Hyman and Dr. Tran walked the streets of North Philadelphia spreading enthusiasm for learning, spreading the word about her CEP. The chronicle previously mentioned, touches on the important aspect of structural factors: network linkages, and organizational affiliations. However, Hyman's personality and leadership were the galvanizing factors for the CEP.

Bridge leadership is the style that characterizes Hyman's behavior in the LMC. Her work in the community creating the Fresh Air Program while parenting, and then as a School coordinator demonstrate her effectiveness assisting others without needing the public's eye. Also, Hyman's work founding churches, and initiating the Ruth Hayre Scholarship Fund attest to her efficient performance behind the scenes. Finally, the institutionalization of her CEP is testimony to her mobilizing and organizing skill. These are her accomplishments. I believe these achievements would not have been accomplished leading from the rear as Hyman did without the "table Talk" rites of passage that black women go through during their maturation processes. As noted, Hyman's family, religion, schooling, and social life were interconnected, interdependent, and reinforcing of the same values: togetherness, education and service to God. As well, the early years of Hyman's life attest to a sense of shared identity crucial working with others and to the development of a womanist leadership standpoint.

Future Research

These findings have extended our current understanding of community education programs. Data from this examination have shed light on community-

based education as part of the Civil rights movement as well as community-based education involved in a university-community partnership. There is little evidence of education oriented community-based social movements, and investigations of university-community partnerships are mostly present-oriented appealing to the university's sense of civic responsibility. As noted, university-community partnerships have tended to represent the university's perspective more than the community's point of view. Because of these findings, I believe some important questions remain.

First, have other community education programs developed in the wake of the Civil rights movement? If so, would that collective behavior manifest in a field of Local movement centers? If so, how did that collective behavior materialize? What were the processes, resources, strategies and tactics? What was the nature of the networks within which the community-based collective behavior operated? Second, was the community-based collective behavior involved in a university-community partnership? If so, what were the features of their relationship? Did the community-based organization share power? Did the university seem to be acting solely to satisfy its sense of civic responsibility? Alternatively, did the university act to satisfy its operational and developmental concerns? In either of these cases, identification of the actors is especially important, whether the collective behavior remains community-based activity or becomes a university-community partnership.

Finally, by maintaining the university-community partnerships theme in the context of civil rights/collection action for education, I argue that the investigation of community-based education programs and organizations furthers our understanding of networks and bridge leaders. Further study will highlight the role structural and cultural factors play in the formation of leaders and the role of leadership in a community-based organization's ability to solve its problems at the grass-roots level, and realize its intended objectives.

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APPENDIX # 1

Interview Questions

Many interview questions were not designed beforehand. Those questions created during the interview enabled the participant and intervener flexibility to probe for details not thought of prior to the interview process.

1. How long have you known the founder?
2. Are you a community activist?
3. What were you doing during the period between 1975 and 1980?
4. What was it like during those days?
5. What type of support did the founder have?
6. What support did you provide?
7. What obstacles and challenges as well as opportunities did the founder and her supporters face?
8. How does a community education program – a *local movement center*, an integral component of the *Civil Rights Movement*, become an institutionalized program on a university campus?
9. What skills were employed to accomplish the goal?
10. How did you feel about your involvement?
11. What leadership did you provide?
12. What kind of leadership was required?
13. How were resources mobilized to move the *Community Education Program* from the streets of inner city North Philadelphia onto the campus

of the University?

14. What was the university's position on education for the black community?
15. Was it difficult to change the conscious levels of the community members regarding education and making people conscious of the need to help those who are left behind?
16. Why not keep the program in the community instead of working to get it on campus?
17. Did you know any university administrators/educators?
18. Did you know any community activists?
19. Who were your associates? Where can I find them?
20. Is there anyone else I should call?