

In keeping with disciplinary standards, I have used *Chicago Manual of Style* author/date style citations in the notes. However, for ease of reading, I have followed humanities style when documenting primary sources, manuscript collections, interviews, and other firsthand accounts.

#### FOREWORD

- 1 Not her real name.
- 2 The black freedom movement describes the ideologically diverse organized struggle against racial oppression unfolding among African Americans from the mid-1950s through the early 1970s, although its roots extend decades earlier.

#### 1. INTRODUCTION: RACE, RESISTANCE AND THE CIVIL SPHERE

- 1 I use the terms “black” and “African American” interchangeably. In keeping with convention, I do not capitalize the word “black” when referring to African Americans. However, it was a common practice of Black Power advocates to capitalize the word. I retain the original capitalization in quotes.
- 2 Shirley Better, oral history interview by Joyce Bell, May 28, 2006, audio recording, in author’s possession. See also Jagers 2003; Johnson 1988; Vasey 1968.
- 3 Better, interview.
- 4 Ibid.

- 5 “Position Statement of the National Association of Black Social Workers,” May 29, 1968, appendix to Jagers 2003.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Glide Memorial Church has a long history of providing space for counter-conventions in San Francisco. During the 1960s Glide Memorial church provided safe spaces for several radical organizations including the American Indian Movement and the Black Panthers (“Our Story,” accessed June 19, 2013, <http://66.211.107.100/page.aspx?pid=412>). The Society for Women in Sociology also held a counter-convention there in 1969.
- 9 Larry Dum, “400 Black Social Aides Walk Out of Meet Here,” *San Francisco Examiner*, May 28, 1968; Better, interview; Jay Chunn, oral history interview by Joyce Bell, May 22, 2006, audio recording, in author’s possession. See also Jagers 2003.
- 10 Better, interview.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Mary Fainsod Katzenstein (1998) provides an excellent account of how the women’s movement was brought into the military and church. Her study details the changes made in these powerful yet (at least in the case of the church) non-governmental sites.
- 13 There is considerable debate over the definition and usage of the term “civil society.” I adopt a simple definition that refers to associational life without engaging in debates over the relationship between civil society, the state, and the market. For excellent treatments of the debate over the concept, see Alexander 2006; Bryant 1993; Edwards 2004; and Kumar 1993.
- 14 McAdam and Scott (2005) argue that the institutionalization of the rights revolution, and the black movement in particular, happened in two processes: the creation of regulatory fields and the broad effect of the rights revolution on other established fields during the latter (post-1970) period of the black movement. Several excellent studies detail the first process. Stryker and Pedriana (2004), for example, focus on how protest increases the capacity of the state to enforce the rules ushered in or otherwise reinforced by movements. Similarly, Walton’s (1988) study of civil rights regulatory agencies describes the ways in which the civil rights movement was institutionalized within the state as an enforcement tool. Kenneth Andrews’s (2004) research has focused on how the civil rights movement affected electoral politics in the American South.

John Skrentny (2002) has also explored the creation of civil rights regulatory agencies and the rise of affirmative action policy as a result of the civil rights movement.

- 15 I use the term “intra-organizational social movements” to distinguish from the state-level social movements I reference throughout, such as the civil rights, Black Power, and welfare rights movements.
- 16 Zald and Berger (1978) introduced the idea that movement-like processes often occur within organizations. They argue that these phenomena are important to understand because “they affect the major priorities of organizations, the control of organizational resources, organizational survival, and growth” (824). They further argue that these internal movements “reflect the larger trends and politics of society” in that “social movements in organizations are often the situs for the working out of political issues . . .” (825).

## 2. RE-ENVISIONING BLACK POWER

- 1 For an excellent review of the Black Power studies subfield, see Joseph 2008. See also Goldberg and Griffey 2010, on Black Power in the construction industry; Tibbs 2012, on the role of the movement on prisoner unions; and the essays in Warren-Hill and Rabig 2012 on Black Power, community development, and business.
- 2 “Massive resistance” was the name given to the practice of resisting school integration after the *Brown* decision. White politicians as well as ordinary citizens fiercely protected segregation. This resistance served as the impetus for the direct action phase of the civil rights movement (see Webb 2005 for a full analysis).
- 3 There are several books detailing the history of the Black Panther Party. See Jones 1998 and Foner 1995.
- 4 The Black Power movement experienced extreme state repression. Ranging from the direct execution of movement leaders and the imprisonment of activists to the infiltration and destruction of movement organizations, this repression of the Black Power movement was central to its decline in the 1970s.
- 5 COINTELPRO is the acronym for the U.S. government’s Counter Intelligence Program, which monitored, infiltrated, and disrupted various movement groups. Their records, which became available under the Freedom of Information Act, have been important in the study of radical movements.

- 6 The National Conference on Black Power, resolutions, July 23, 1967, in *The Black Power Movement, Part 1: Amiri Baraka from Black Arts to Black Radicalism*, reel 1. Black Studies Research Sources: 2001.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Ibid.

### 3. BLACK POWER PROFESSIONALS

- 1 The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was a follow-up piece of legislation that outlawed literacy tests and other discriminatory voting practices and allowed for federal oversight of the voting process.
- 2 Many important black political figures drew this connection, including Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael. There are also important writings by black scholars on the subject. See also Cruse 1962 and Allen 1969.
- 3 U.S. Congress, Senate Congressional Record, 92nd Cong., 1st sess., March 30, 1971, speech by Charles C. Diggs Jr., as cited in Barnett 1975.

### 4. "A NICE SOCIAL TEA PARTY": THE ROCKY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL WORK AND BLACK LIBERATION

- 1 Larry Dum, "400 Black Social Aides Walk Out of Meet Here," *San Francisco Examiner*, May 28, 1968.
- 2 Memorandum, "Social Action Methods in the Practice of the National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers," February 18, 1960, box 23, folder 5, National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers (NFSNC) Records, Social Welfare History Archives, University of Minnesota. Hereafter cited as NFSNCR.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Executive Committee Meeting Minutes, 1963, box 1, folder 4, NFSNCR.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Gertrude Keefe to Gladys Dupstadt, 1963, box 33, folder 11, NFSNCR.
- 7 National Federation of Settlements (hereafter cited as NFS), report, *Settlement Participation in the March on Washington*, October 1963, box 33, folder 14, NFSNCR.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Ibid.

- 10 Letter to Margaret Berry, "Re: Role of Settlements in Civil Rights," n.d., box 33, folder 11, NFSNCR.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 NFS, *Settlement Participation in the March on Washington*.
- 13 NFS, report, *General Purpose of Sub-Committee on Civil Rights*, 1964, box 23, folder 1, NFSNCR.
- 14 Arthur Hilman, "Notes and Comments on the Alinsky Approach," n.d., box 19, folder 2, NFSNCR.
- 15 NFS, *Report on Civil Rights Questionnaire*, April 1964, box 23, folder 2, NFSNCR.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Margaret Berry (1915–2002) was an internationally recognized leader in social work, and was the executive director of the National Federation of Settlements from 1959 to 1971. Her presidency would be marked by profound challenges, especially regarding race within social work. Berry, a white woman, would eventually find herself at the center of the struggles by black social workers to gain leadership within the profession.
- 18 NFS, *Executive Report to the Board*, January 1965, box 1, folder 5, NFSNCR.
- 19 National Urban League, press release, May 22, 1964, box 33, folder 14, NFSNCR.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 DeLeslie Allen, "The Role of the Settlement in Civil Rights," speech given at the Annual Meeting of the Delaware Valley Settlement Alliance, October 11, 1965, box 169, folder 1, NFSNCR.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 St. Clair Drake, report, *Race Relations in a Time of Rapid Social Change*, 1966, box 149, folder 5, NFSNCR.
- 27 *National Federation of Settlements Roundtable*, newsletter, December 1966, box 185, folder 16, NFSNCR.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Herbert Brunson, "Final Report on Freedom Community Centers," box 1, folder 7, NFSNCR.
- 30 Margaret Berry to Social Welfare History Archives staff during archive collection process, n.d., box 150, folder 1, NFSNCR.

- 31 Reports, Al Rhodes and Coleman Miller to Margaret Berry, 1966–1969, box 150, folder 1, NFSNCR.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 The Mississippi Sovereignty Commission was a domestic spy operation (similar to COINTELPRO) that was actively monitoring Mississippi civil rights movement activities between 1956 and 1977. Their records were released by a court order as a result of a lawsuit brought forward by a group led by the ACLU.
- 36 Margaret Berry to Social Welfare History Archives staff during archive collection process, n.d., box 150, folder 1, NFSNCR.
- 37 Herbert Brunson, *Final Report on Freedom Community Centers*, box 1, folder 7, NFSNCR.

5. "WE STAND BEFORE YOU, NOT AS A SEPARATIST BODY":

THE TECHNI-CULTURE MOVEMENT TO GAIN VOICE IN THE NATIONAL  
FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS

- 1 Quoted in *National Federation of Settlements (NFS) News and Round Table*, "Hammering out the American Dream," July 1968, box 158, folder 8, NFSNCR.
- 2 Resolutions of the Black Caucus of the Inner City Violence Conference, Chicago, Ill., October 7, 1968, box 158, folder 8, NFSNCR.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 *The Black Caucus Position Paper on New Directions for Settlements*, 1968, box 158, folder 8, NFSNCR.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Black Caucus to NFS Leadership, memorandum, "Rationale for Conference," box 45, folder 3, NFSNCR.
- 8 The Detroit Revolutionary Union Movement organization was a militant black union of autoworkers that was organized to respond to racism in their workplace and within the autoworkers' unions. See Geschwender 1977; Georgakas and Surkin 1998.
- 9 Response to survey on support for Black Conference, n.d., box 3, folder 7, NFSNCR.
- 10 Margaret Berry to John Austin, January 8, 1970, box 3, folder 7, NFSNCR.

- 11 Black Caucus of the NFS to NFS leadership and executive board, memorandum, "Why and How a Techni-Culture Conference," box 158, folder 8, NFSNCR.
- 12 "Technicolor" is the name of the process of creating color film. The term was popular in the mid to late 1960s and coincides with the popularization of color television.
- 13 Black Caucus to NFS Leadership, memorandum, "Rationale for Conference," box 45, folder 3, NFSNCR.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 John Austin to Margaret Berry, February 6, 1970, box 3, folder 7, NFSNCR.
- 16 Margaret Berry to John Austin, March 4, 1970, box 3, folder 7, NFSNCR.
- 17 "Techni-Culture Conference Statement," report presented to the NFS Board of Directors, Chicago, Ill., February 28, 1970, box 45, folder 3, NFSNCR.
- 18 Clipping, *The Cincinnati Post and Times Star*, May 30, 1970, box 158, folder 8, NFSNCR.
- 19 NFS, transcript, annual business meeting, May 30, 1970, box 43, folder 6, NFSNCR.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Margaret Berry to executives and board presidents of Member Houses, July 8, 1970, box 116, folder 1, NFSNCR.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 NFS, minutes of the executive committee meeting, October 2, 1970, box 2, folder 4, NFSNCR.
- 24 Margaret Berry to John Austin, January 8, 1970, box 3, folder 7, NFSNCR.
- 25 Margaret Berry to John Austin, March 4, 1970, box 3, folder 7, NFSNCR.
- 26 "Techni-Culture Conference Statement."
- 27 Lindsay Miller, clipping, "Daily Closeup," *New York Post*, February 11, 1972, box 132, folder 5, NFSNCR.
- 28 Walter Smart, testimony before Subcommittee of the Committee on Resolutions and Platform, 1972 Republican National Convention, box 23, folder 6, NFSNCR.
- 29 NFS, full-page promotion advertisement, n.d., box 129, folder 19, NFSNCR.
- 30 For a full treatment of this conflict, see Trolander 1982.
- 31 NFS, packet of materials about Alinsky and his organizations distributed to member agencies, February 1967, box 19, folder 2, NFSNCR.
- 32 Margaret Berry to member organizations, September 9, 1966, box 23, folder 5, NFSNCR.

- 33 Houston Community Center, report, "Story of Black Power Dialogue with a Community Center," box 169, folder 1, NFSNCR.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Eleanor Hardy, report, *Rendering Settlement Services in a Predominately Black Community*, 1967, box 169, folder 1, NFSNCR.
- 36 DeLeslie Allen, memorandum to board presidents, October 1967, box 169, folder 1, NFSNCR.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 NFS, minutes of the Board Training Institute, October 19, 1968, box 133, folder 11, NFSNCR.
- 39 National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, *News and Round Table*, January 1969, box 158, folder 8, NFSNCR.
- 40 Margaret Berry, address delivered to the General Assembly of the NFS Conference, Houston, Tex., May 23, 1968, box 133, folder 11, NFSNCR.
- 41 Meeting minutes, New Directions Committee meeting with Connecticut and Rhode Island regional agencies, October 18, 1968, box 133, folder 11, NFSNCR.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 NFS, minutes, executive committee meeting, April 19, 1968, box 2, folder 2, NFSNCR.
- 45 NFS, minutes, New Directions Committee meeting, May 22, 1968, box 133, folder 11, NFSNCR.
- 46 Margaret Berry, "All Points of View." *NFSNC News and Round Table*, January 1969, box 158, folder 8, NFSNCR.
- 47 See Aminzade and McAdam 2001; Hercus 1999; and Jasper 1998 for an introduction to the literature on social movements and emotions.
- 48 Aminzade and McAdam 2001 (pp. 49–50) discuss the methodological difficulties of examining historical documents for emotional tone.
- 49 John Austin to Margaret Berry, June 4, 1970, box 3, folder 7, NFSNCR.
- 50 Mrs. Anderson Page to Margaret Berry, June 22, 1970, box 3, folder 7, NFSNCR.
- 51 Gordon Herstlet to John Austin, 1970, box 117, folder 1, NFSNCR.
- 52 Margaret Berry, address delivered to the General Assembly of the NFS Conference, Houston, Tex., May 23, 1968, box 133, folder 11, NFSNCR.
- 53 James Adams, "Strange Welcome: Convention Finds Policy Under Fire From Hosts," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 30, 1970, box 23, folder 6, NFSNCR.
- 54 John Austin to Margaret Berry, July 1, 1968, box 3, folder 6, NFSNCR.
- 55 Margaret Berry to John Austin, July 11, 1968, box 3, folder 6, NFSNCR.

- 56 Margaret Berry to John Austin, March 8, 1970, box 3, folder 6, NFSNCR.
- 57 James Adams, "Strange Welcome: Convention Finds Policy Under Fire From Hosts."
- 58 NFS, bulletin, Techni-Culture Conference, n.d., box 158, folder 8, NFSNCR.
- 59 Ibid.

6. "WE'LL BUILD OUR OWN THING": THE EXIT STRATEGY OF THE  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BLACK SOCIAL WORKERS

- 1 For other accounts of the NABSW movement, see Bell 2007 and Reid-Meritt 2010.
- 2 National Association of Social Workers (NASW), Proceedings of NASW's National Social Action Workshop on the Urban Crisis, April 25-27, 1968, box 3, folder 34, Verne Weed Collection for Progressive Social Work Records, Social Welfare History Archives, University of Minnesota. Hereafter cited as Verne Weed Collection.
- 3 Charles V. Hamilton is a political scientist and coauthor of *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* with Stokely Carmichael. Carmichael and Hamilton were the first authors to develop and systematically apply the concept of institutional racism. Alvin Poussaint is a renowned expert on African American psychiatry. His work focuses on the role of racism in African American mental health. In 1965 he served as the southern field director of the Medical Committee, which provided health care to southern activists and worked towards desegregating southern hospitals. He is also a founding member of Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH (People United to Serve Humanity). Richard Cloward was a sociologist and activist who was the cofounder of the National Welfare Rights Organization. During the late 1960s, he and his wife Frances Fox Piven were publishing on the issue of welfare rights and were advocates of radical changes in social welfare.
- 4 NASW, Proceedings of NASW's National Social Action Workshop on the Urban Crisis, 1968, box 3, folder 34, Verne Weed Collection.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Audreye Johnson, "A Week of History: NABSW May 26-30, 1968," paper delivered at NABSW conference, 1978, Shirley Better personal collection.

- 10 Douglas Glasgow, oral history interview by Joyce Bell, April 4, 2008, audio recording, in author's possession.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Garland Jagers, oral history interview by Joyce Bell, April 3, 2008, audio recording, in author's possession; Glasgow, interview.
- 13 See discussion below on Confab in Black conference.
- 14 John C. Kidneigh, "The New York Conference Story," in National Conference on Social Welfare, *Official Proceedings of the Annual Meeting: 1969* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Library, 2005), 178–84.
- 15 Margaret Berry, essay, "Partial View of 96th NCSW, May 25–29, 1969," box 3, folder 7, Margaret Berry Papers, Social Welfare History Archives, University of Minnesota. Hereafter cited as MBP.
- 16 John C. Kidneigh, "The New York Conference Story."
- 17 Berry, "Partial View of 96th NCSW, May 25–29, 1969."
- 18 Ibid.; Francis X. Cline, clipping, "Militants Renew Protest at Welfare Conference." *New York Times*, May 27, 1969, box 3, folder 7, MBP.
- 19 Eve Edstrom, clipping, "Radicals' Demands Stun and Polarize Welfare Leaders," *The Washington Post*, June 1, 1969, box 3, folder 7, MBP.
- 20 Jay Chunn, oral history interview by Joyce Bell, May 22, 2006, audio recording, in author's possession; Berry, "Partial View of 96th NCSW, May 25–29, 1969."
- 21 Berry, "Partial View of 96th NCSW, May 25–29, 1969."
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Cline, "Militants Renew Protest at Welfare Conference."
- 25 Berry, "Partial View of 96th NCSW, May 25–29, 1969."
- 26 Ibid.; Francis X. Cline, "Group Will Seek Militants' Fund," *New York Times*, May 27, 1969.
- 27 Sumati N. Dubey, John B. Turner, and Magdalena Miranda, "Black Unity & Self Determination: Social Welfare Implications," in National Conference on Social Welfare, *Official Proceedings of the Annual Meeting: 1969* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Library, 2005), 118–130.
- 28 Howard Prunty, "The New York Story—A Participants Viewpoint," in National Conference on Social Welfare, *Official Proceedings of the Annual Meeting: 1969* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Library, 2005), 185–193.
- 29 Edstrom, "Radicals' Demands Stun and Polarize Welfare Leaders.," Berry, "Partial View of 96th NCSW, May 25–29, 1969."

- 30 Chunn, interview.
- 31 National Association of Black Social Workers (NABSW), "Position Statement of the National Association of Black Social Workers," May 26, 1969, Garland Jagers Document Center, included as an appendix to Jagers 2003. Hereafter cited as GJDC.
- 32 Better, interview.
- 33 Chunn, interview.
- 34 Association of Black Catalysts (ABC), conference summary, "Chicago Catalysts Declare War on White Racism," n.d., GJDC.
- 35 Ibid.; Johnson 1975.
- 36 ABC, "Chicago Catalysts Declare War on White Racism."
- 37 ABC, "Invitation to Participate in a Confab in Black," n.d., Shirley Better personal collection.
- 38 ABC, "Chicago Catalysts Declare War on White Racism."
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 ABC, *This is Our Bag: Code of Ethics for Black People*, appendix to Johnson 1975.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 William T. Greene, "Editorial," *NABSW News*, January 1973, box 1, folder 14, Verne Weed Collection.
- 51 Shirley Better, Founders Forum speech, 2005. Shirley Better personal collection.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Jagers, interview.
- 54 Glasgow, interview.
- 55 Chunn, interview; NABSW, "Position Paper on Welfare Reform," 1977, box 3, folder 41, Verne Weed Collection.
- 56 Leora Neal, "Black Adoption Program," *ABSW New York Chapter News*, January 1975, box 3, folder 41, Verne Weed Collection.

- 57 Sokoni Karanja (formerly Lathan Johnson), oral history interview by Joyce Bell, May 30, 2006, audio recording, in author's possession.
- 58 Jagers, interview.
- 59 ABC, "Chicago Catalysts Declare War on White Racism."
- 60 Greene, "Editorial."
- 61 Better, interview.
- 62 NABSW, "Position Statement of the National Association of Black Social Workers Concerning Neutralizing Racism in Schools of Social Welfare in General and Berkeley School of Social Welfare in Particular," n.d., box 3, folder 7, MBP.
- 63 Berry, "Partial View of 96th NCSW, May 25-29, 1969."
- 64 NABSW, "Position Statement of the National Association of Black Social Workers Concerning Neutralizing Racism in Schools of Social Welfare."
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Glasgow, interview.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 NABSW, memorandum, "Statement of Understanding," May 28, 1969, box 3, folder 10, MBP.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Ibid.
- 71 Ibid.
- 72 NABSW, "Position Statement of the National Association of Black Social Workers."
- 73 NABSW, "National Association of Black Social Workers Position Paper on NASW Proposed Certification Legislation," November 13, 1972, box 1, folder 14, Verne Weed Collection.
- 74 The distinction between the different types of representation is essential here. Hanna Pitkin (1967) offers a useful approach to conceptualizing representation. She describes four views of representation: formalistic, descriptive, symbolic, and substantive. Formalistic representation refers to the process by which representation comes to be. It has two elements, authorization (the right to act on behalf of the represented) and accountability (the responsibility to act on behalf of the represented). Descriptive representation refers to the extent to which representatives look like the represented. This could just as easily be called demographic representation, or representation based on shared characteristics. Symbolic representation refers to the extent to which a representative stands for the represented. In other words, the kind of representation that

- means something important to the represented. Substantive representation is the kind of representation in which a representative acts in the best interest of the represented. This depends on the ability of the representative to assess and act on the interests of those they represent. See also Dovi 2011 on Pitkin's framework.
- 75 NABSW, "Statement to the State Legislative Higher Education Committee on Licensing," November 10, 1975, box 1, folder 14, Verne Weed Collection.
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 Ibid.
- 78 The RASSW was a Marxist-oriented group of activist social workers, most of whom were white.
- 79 RASSW, "Position Paper on Licensing Proposal," n.d., box 1, folder 14, Verne Weed Collection.
- 80 NABSW, "Statement to the State Legislative Higher Education Committee on Licensing," November 10, 1975, box 1, folder 14, Verne Weed Collection; Chunn, interview.
- 81 Leonard E. Tate, "The Absurdity of Licensure," *NABSW News*, 1974, box 1, folder 14, Verne Weed Collection.
- 82 See Dyeson 2004 for a history of social work licensure.
- 83 Jay Chunn, essay, n.d., Jay Chunn personal collection.
- 84 Dum, "400 Black Social Aides Walk Out of Meet Here."
- 85 Chunn, interview.
- 86 Better, interview.
- 87 NABSW, "Position Statement of the National Association of Black Social Workers."
- 88 Ibid.
- 89 NABSW, "Trans-Racial Adoption Statement," *NABSW News*, 1974, box 1, folder 14, Verne Weed Collection.
- 90 Ibid.
- 91 Ibid.
- 92 Leora Neal, "Black Adoption Program.," Chunn, interview; Better, interview.
- 93 Leora Neal, "Black Adoption Program."
- 94 Ibid.
- 95 Ibid.
- 96 Ibid.
- 97 ABC, *This is Our Bag: Code of Ethics for Black People*.
- 98 NABSW, "Code of Ethics," 1971, GJDC.

- 99 Ibid.
- 100 NASW, Proceedings of NASW's National Social Action Workshop on the Urban Crisis, 1968, box 3, folder 34, Verne Weed Collection.
- 101 Karanja, interview.
- 102 See Hull et al. 1982; Brown 1992; Williams 2008
- 103 Will Connolly, clipping, "Welfare's New Thrust," *San Francisco Monitor*, June 6, 1968, box 3, folder 14, MBP.
- 104 ABC, "Chicago Catalysts Declare War on White Racism."
- 105 Ibid.
- 106 Chunn, interview.
- 107 Glasgow, interview.
- 108 Jagers, interview.
- 109 Better, interview; Chunn, interview.

#### 7. EXIT AND VOICE IN INTRA-ORGANIZATIONAL SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

- 1 Audrey Johnson to Howard Prunty, June 8, 1969, GJDC; Dewey Lawrence, memorandum, Report on New York NCSW to Detroit Association of Black Social Workers general membership meeting, June 26, 1969, GJDC.
- 2 NABSW, "Position Statement of the National Association of Black Social Workers," May 29, 1968, GJDC.
- 3 Karanja, interview.
- 4 James Adams, "Strange Welcome: Convention Finds Policy Under Fire From Hosts." *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 30, 1970, box 23, folder 6, NFSNCR.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 The concept of emotional labor comes from Arlie Hochschild (1983), who suggested that people who work in service occupations sell particular kinds of emotional displays. For example, waitresses are expected to maintain a cheerful emotional display whether or not it corresponds to their actual feelings. This emotional display is a part of what sells the restaurant experience. It has since been extended to include the kinds of work that people within other sorts of organizations undertake to maintain appropriate emotional displays. Moore's (2008) conception is one of these.
- 7 While the origin of the term "Mau Mau" is debated, it is generally used to refer to the Kikuyu people, who led an uprising against British imperialism in Kenya in between 1952 and 1960. The Mau Mau were painted by the British as a violent and brutal threat to whites and became an international symbol of black

anti-imperialism. The Mau Mau symbolism resonated with segments of the U.S. Black Power movement.

#### 8. CONCLUSION: INSTITUTIONALIZING BLACK POWER

- 1 National Association of Black Social Workers, conference booklet, *Ma'at, Sankofa, & Harambee: 40 Years Strong: 40th Annual Conference Souvenir Journal*, April 1–5, 2008, in author's possession.
- 2 Association of Black Sociologists, e-mail sent to members, "Statement in Support of Trayvon Martin Protests," March 27, 2012, in author's possession.
- 3 Sandra Barnes, "Presidential Address," August 12, 2012, Annual Meetings of the Association of Black Sociologists, Denver, Colo.

