Community Anchors USA:
Sustaining Religious Institutions, Social Clubs, and Small Businesses That Serve As Community Cultural Centers

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I. Executive Summary

At a time of boom-and-bust development, artisanal pop-ups, and top-down gentrification, it is easy to forget the vital role that long-standing community anchors like social clubs, religious institutions, and small businesses play as arts centers. Many Americans experience and engage with the arts through multivalent performances, musical events, exhibitions, gatherings, and workshops organized and mounted by their local houses of worship, businesses, and social affiliations.

Although the number of community-based arts and cultural institutions has increased throughout the United States since 2009, arts and culture philanthropy has paid scant attention to many of these grassroots sites, which serve as incubators for vibrant arts activity, including music, dance and visual arts, in local neighborhoods (Sidford and Frasz 2017:2). Fortunately however, many visionary leaders are using the arts to galvanize and empower immigrant and historically underreprestend communities across the nation.

In 2015, with support from the Ford Foundation, City Lore's Place Matters program launched an initiative called Community Anchors. Through this unique program, we documented, honored, and provided financial assistance to ten sites in all five boroughs of New York City. We were able to support their creative placemaking and arts initiatives, while at the same time learning about and exploring the broader issues faced by similar organizations that spur community activity through the arts.

Community Anchors are often overlooked as an integral part of the city's cultural scene by the philanthropic community, the media, and the public. In part this is because of an accepted, albeit limited and outdated, definition of art. For the most part, art forms such as spiritual music, traditional dance, storytelling, costume making, indigenous language, and foodways have not been considered worthy of significant support, while institutions and organizations that represent the more coventional arts canon, and those with budgets over $5 million, still receive the majority of support from contributions and grants. In the last several years, the distribution of arts funding has become less equitable, with nearly sixty percent of all contributed revenue channeled to only two percent of all cultural institutions in the U.S (up roughly five percentage points over a decade). At the same time funding to smaller groups has decreased, with only four percent of foundation arts support going to organizations whose primary mission is to serve communities of color (Sidford and Frasz 2017:5-7).

To address this inequity, the Ford Foundation supported City Lore's first Community Anchors initiative, which featured the following ten organizations:

Casita Rincon Criollo: (http://www.placematters.net/node/1445), a Puerto Rican social club and musical heritage center located in a Bronx community garden.

El Maestro Boxing and Educational Center: (http://www.placematters.net/node/1917), an athletic and cultural center founded to keep Bronx-area youth out of gangs by providing boxing training and instilling a sense of pride in their cultural heritage.

Federation of Black Cowboys: (http://www.placematters.net/node/1445), a not-for-profit social organization with community service and youth involvement as its primary goals. The Federation recently lost control of their long-standing city-owned stables, but is negotiating a contract with the equestrian organization taking their place.

Terraza 7: (http://www.placematters.net/node/1919), an endangered and beloved Queens bar and music venue that provides space for artists from around the Latin America.

Marjorie Eliot's Jazz Parlor: (http://www.placematters.net/node/1911), a revered musician who invites the public to enjoy regular Sunday afternoon jazz sessions in her home.

Sesame Flyers International: (http://www.placematters.net/node/1918), a pan-Caribbean social club and mas (masquerade) camp that provides social services to residents of Flatbush, Brooklyn, and serves as a mainstay in Brooklyn's annual West Indian American Day Parade carnival.

Radio Soleil: (http://www.placematters.net/node/1924), the trusted radio station of New York City's Haitian community, providing progressive news and political commentary in Haitian Kreyòl, as well as Haitian musical programs, all of which help the community maintain ties to the homeland.

African Immigrant Ministry: (https://placematters.net/census/detail.php?id=774), a community-based ministry providing Staten Island's 8,000 Liberians and other West African communities with outreach in the areas of education, traditional art presentations, citizenship classes, and fellowship with others.

American Sri Lanka Buddhist Association: (http://www.placematters.net/node/1920), a Buddhist Vihara offering weekly meditation classes and a children's school in language and spirituality. The Vihara hosts a library, meeting rooms, an altar, outdoor/indoor presentation space, and several residential monks, as well as the Sri Lankan Dance Academy of New York, which trains young people and adults in traditional Sri Lankan drumming and Kandyan dance.

Hindu Temple Society of North America: (http://www.placematters.net/node/1236), a nearly-40-year-old Hindu temple providing a place for prayer, and serving as a cultural and community center for Hindus from throughout the tri-state area.

In 2017, the National Endowment for the Arts Research Division awarded City Lore a grant to expand the Community Anchors research initiative to a national level, and this is the report resulting from that work. In our research we identified three core organizational typologies: religious institutions, social clubs, and small businesses, which, in turn, represent the three main pillars of community life: the spiritual, the social, and the economic. Each of the twelve Community Anchors we explored for this study have culture and arts at the core of their incredible community-based work, and have developed robust mission statements, dedicated audiences, and numerous innovative strategies for fundraising. However, they often struggle with the priorities and requirements established by foundations and other funding agencies, or have fallen off of the cultural philanthropy radar altogether. In this research we have sought to better understand the cause and nature of challenges faced by these groups: those directly related to philanthropic support as well as issues related to their overall sustainability. We then go on to make field-wide recommendations for overcoming them.

The in-depth primary field research was conducted in four cities:

Baltimore

Zion Lutheran Church: http://www.zionbaltimore.org/, a long-standing German-American church and community center.

The Arabber Preservation Society: http://www.arabbers.com/, a non-profit social club that promotes and preserves the historically African American trade of arabbing, or horse-cart produce vending.

Arch Social Club: www.archsocialclub.com, a century-old African American men's club that is now at the center of a newly-designated Maryland State Arts and Heritage District.

Los Angeles

Senshin Buddhist Temple: www.senshintemple.org, a Japanese Buddhist temple responsible for the national revival of *taiko* drumming and *gagaku* orchestra.

Frente Indígena de Oaxaqueño Binacional [FIOB]: http://fiob.org/en/, a Oaxacan binational indigenous rights organization that provides pioneering cultural advocacy initiatives.

Tonalli Studio: https://www.tonallistudio.com/, a creative wellness center in East Los Angeles dedicated to promoting local artists.

Chicago

Holy Cross Immaculate Heart of Mary Parish: https://www.hcihm.org/, a Catholic parish that ministers to a Mexican American community and sponsors a robust and influential Youth Marimba Ensemble.

The National Cambodian Heritage Museum and Killing Fields Memorial: https://www.cambodianmuseum.org/, a museum and monument promoting Cambodian history and heritage, as well as peace activism.

Trickster Art Gallery: https://www.trickstergallery.com/, a Native American owned and operated art gallery and veteran's healing center in Schaumburg, Illinois.

New Orleans

MQVN CDC's VEGGI Farm Cooperative: http://www.veggifarmcoop.com/, a source of economic stability for an isolated and under-resourced Vietnamese-American community.

The Guardians Institute: http://www.guardiansinstitute.org/, a museum and education center dedicated to preserving and promoting Mardi Gras Indian traditions and culture.

Lil Dizzy's Café: http://www.lildizzyscafe.net/, a beloved Creole restaurant that serves and the heart and soul (food) of the Crescent City.

II. The Place Matters Approach

City Lore was founded in 1986 with a mission to foster New York City's—and America's—living cultural heritage through education and public programs. City Lore documents, presents, and advocates for New York City's grassroots cultures to ensure their living legacy in stories and histories, places and traditions. In 1988, City Lore established the Endangered Spaces project to identify and support local establishments and landmarks that were disappearing from the city's rapidly changing cultural landscape, in part because they were off the radar of preservationists and philanthropists.

In 1996, City Lore and the Municipal Art Society—a longstanding urban design, planning, and preservation organization—formed a Task Force on Historical and Cultural Landmarks, and collaborated on a conference called *History Happened Here*, held at the Museum of the City of New York. Two years later, they jointly established the Place Matters program to continue celebrating and advocating for places that hold memories, anchor traditions, and help tell the history of New York City.

For the past twenty years, Place Matters has endeavored to broaden the ways that placemaking is understood and practiced in New York City by offering alternative ways of identifying, celebrating, supporting, and ultimately conserving places that matter. Place Matters abides by the description of "cultural democracy" set forth by Don Adams and Arlene Goldbard:

> . . .that *cultural diversity is a positive social value, to be protected and encouraged...; that authentic democracy requires active participation in cultural life, not just passive consumption of cultural products; that many cultural traditions co-exist in human society, and that none of these should be allowed to dominate and become an "'official culture"'; and that equity demands fair distribution of cultural resources and support through the society (Adams and Goldbard 2002:9-10).*

The program's achievements include the development of a Census of Places that Matter, which comprises an interactive, community-sourced map of more than seven hundred nominations and descriptions of places in the five boroughs that the public deems important; a tool kit for community activists concerned with placemaking; the book *Hidden New York: A Guide to Places that Matter*; a competition for innovative place markers; designations of three grassroots sites to the National Register of Historic Places; an outdoor exhibit titled *Your Guide to the Lower East Side*; and an oral history of the Two Bridges Neighborhood in Manhattan.

As Dolores Hayden suggests in her seminal book *The Power of Place*, urban spaces are layered and often contested. Hayden also notes that the rate and scope of change in American cities have increased substantially in the last several decades (Hayden 1995:6). These changes mean that places— from individual buildings to blocks to neighborhoods to whole boroughs —are like palimpsests, with traces of what came earlier still visible and memorable. Place Matters works to ensure that their elided histories are still legible on the parchment of New York City's cultural landscape.

III. The Effects of Rapid Change

Despite the rapid rate of change in and growth of North American cities, support and infrastructure for community-based arts and culture appears to be deteriorating. In the last several years, funding for small arts and cultural organizations has decreased (Sidford and Frasz 2017:5-7). Among other hurdles, increased bureaucracy (often in the name of accountability) and English-only, web-based forms for grant proposals, reporting, and other requirements have served to discourage smaller, sometimes volunteer-run organizations that lack the training, personnel, or resources to meet them. In addition, the limited availability of affordable space and the burden of maintaining long-standing headquarters has become a crisis, as real estate prices and property taxes in major metropolitan areas have continued to skyrocket. Adding to these issues, rates of volunteerism, memberships to civic organizations, and attendance at religious institutions have all decreased among younger populations.

At the same time, there has been an increase in the number of immigrant and community-based artists and leaders who work outside of historically sanctioned arts and cultural venues like non-profit museums and theaters or commercial galleries. They often merge their non-profit and for-profit activities into hybridized or entrepreneurial community-based organizations that are both integrated in and integral to the communities of which they are a part. Community-created, these organizations are born of the need to cultivate tradition and catalyze change in equal measure. As Professor Maribel Alvarez notes, "the infrastructure that culture builds (the networks, communal obligations, shared spaces, shared rituals, passed-along symbols) is what allows political change to gain traction, to become feasible" (Alvarez 2012). Such hybrid entities provide neighbors with services as well as opportunities for civic participation, and, significantly, a sense of belonging. Roberto Bedoya, former executive director of the Tucson Pima Arts Council, notes:

Before you have places of belonging, you must feel you belong… The task for us who work on Creative Placemaking activities is to assure and sustain a mindful awareness [of] what is authentic in Creative Placemaking. The authenticity I am invoking is grounded in the ethos of belonging. Cultural and civic belonging—how to create it; how to understand and accommodate cultural difference in matters of civic participation; how to enhance the community's understanding of citizenship beyond the confines of leisure pursuits and consumption; how to help the citizens of a place achieve strength and prosperity through equity and civility. Having a sense of belonging, therefore, needs to be foregrounded in Creative Placemaking practices (Bedoya 2012).

The Arts and Culture Indicators in Community Building Project (ACIP) was "an exploratory and experimental effort to develop arts and culture neighborhood indicators for use in local planning, policymaking, and community building." ACIP's website refers to "indigenous venues of validation," sites that are critical for the generation and transmission of community-based arts, including churches, libraries, gardens, hometown social clubs, and cafés. These are typically left off of cultural inventories (Jackson, Herranz, Jr., and Kabwasa-Green 2003:3).[i] Our own research has shown that many community anchors are not established entities in the philanthropic milieu, because they are not well understood and/or do not neatly fit into both public and private funder missions.

Among mental health professionals, considering the ways that community health impacts individual health is an established practice, and a sense of belonging is considered one of the social determinants of health. Now a key concept in psychiatric nursing and related fields, "sense of belonging" is defined as "the experience of personal involvement in a system or environment so that persons feel themselves to be an integral part of that system or environment,"(Hagerty et al., 1992:172).

In 2002, Alaka Wali served as the principal investigator of a two-year ethnographic

study of collaborative "informal arts" groups in the Chicago metropolitan region. The team looked at writing groups, painting circles, choirs, and other networks in which people congregate to pursue a shared interest. They discovered that such collective pursuits enable people to come together across the often-intransigent boundaries of race, ethnicity, and geography. The study suggests that these groups create a "metaphorical space of informality," with few barriers to participation, affirmation, and mentoring (Wali et al., 2002:xvi). They allow everyone to tell and cull powerful stories from their collective efforts. The art forms to be explored in Community Anchors USA are most often part of the world of informal arts identified by Wali.

IV. Methodology

In each of the four cities included in this study, we documented one of each focus typology: one religious institution, one social club, and one small business. In advance of all city visits, we collaborated with a local scholar familiar with the city's traditional cultural ecology, who helped to guide us to deeply rooted cultural centers that engage and support community through music, dance, food, fashion, and myriad other art forms. Our collaborators connected us to trusted organizational leaders, and joined us in discussing the priorities of the project and in scheduling dates and times for site visits and interviews.

City Lore staff made three site visits to each organization included in the study. The first visit was intended as an introductory meeting in which the City Lore researcher met with the organizational leader in person for the first time, and gained a clearer understanding of the organization's history and hallmark programs, as well as its sensitivities and the appropriate cultural protocol related to engaging with associated community members. The second and third visits, often chronologically interchangeable, involved video recorded interviews with community members interested in contributing their insights to the project. During the additional visit, City Lore staff documented one or more of the organizations' integral programs or events.

The essential element of this report is that it is based on a culture of trust and mutual benefit. Leaders, founders, board members, teaching artists, and other affiliates from each of the community anchors included in this study spent significant time with the researcher, and provided candid answers to questions that both highlighted their great achievements and exposed sensitivities and vulnerabilities. The information and insights included in this paper could not have been gleaned from organizational websites, annual reports, social media channels, or telephone calls. This study includes textured, personalized vignettes and exclusive, 360-degree insights that were facilitated through onsite, in-person interviews with multiple representatives of each organization, and by witnessing all of the community anchors in their full fluorescence—doing what they do best. All of the profiles have been reviewed and approved by leadership of the participating

community anchors, and across the board, the response has been the same: *we feel that you really heard us*! One community leader wrote, "This really shows that what we shared with you was listened to and considered when writing this." Another replied, "the profile is a wonderful, spirited, and respectful reflection of our conversations and reality." And a third stated, "I love the way you have connected our history to our activism and empowerment of the community." We are honored to have the chance to share these important stories.

As the University of Pennsylvania's Social Impact of the Arts Project, Susan Seifert, notes, "site profiles are a great vehicle to illustrate the diversity and reach of grassroots cultural enterprises and their potential as community anchors, as well as the challenges to sustaining these often hidden resources."[ii]

In the Conclusion to this report, we have included a Community Anchors issue analysis, quantifying the kinds of challenges faced by the twelve organizations in this study, and the ten New York City groups interviewed previously. We endeavor to show what percentage of these organizations confront specific issues that threaten their sustainability as well as their existence. The analysis includes a breakout by city as well as by typology (social club, religious institution, and small business.)

We hope that this report provides ample material for discussion among the variety of public, private, and community players who impact the livelihood and sustainability of these and other community cultural centers.

V. Sustaining Community Anchors

Section I: Sustaining Sanctuaries in a Shifting Society

Houses of worship play a major role as incubators and presenters of the arts. However, many have struggled to both keep the lights on and to provide sacred and secular services that keep younger congregants culturally, socially, and spiritually engaged. These entities are tax-exempt in the United States; however, they have limited options for funding because many foundations and government agencies will not fund religious institutions.

The religious sites documented in this section provide services that impact their audiences' daily lives. They provide on- and off-site guidance and connection to tradition, as well as community orientation, communications channels, educational opportunities, and even food, clothing, and emergency assistance. They provide financial resources, rehearsal and performance space, and help with local artists' audience development (Jackson, Kabwasa-Green, Swenson et al., 2003:69). Although houses of worship receive funding from their congregants, individual donors, and parent religious affiliates, they often remain outside of the networks of major philanthropies. While their staff and leadership are committed to the community's health and well-being, the particular needs of the sites and institutions themselves are frequently overlooked.

a. Holy Cross-Immaculate Heart of Mary Parish, Chicago, Illinois

Chicago's Back of the Yards neighborhood gets its name from its proximity to the former Union Stock Yards, a meatpacking district collectively operated by a group of railroad companies from 1865 and 1971. The Yards employed thousands at a time, and a buzzing mixed-use neighborhood—including homes, restaurants, saloons, hotels, and offices—grew up around its periphery. Back of the Yards was the back drop to Upton Sinclair's 1906 novel, *The Jungle*; the neighborhood where activist Saul Alinsky organized community members during the Great Depression; and a model community lauded by Jane Jacobs for its strong social networks and ability to self-improve.

While not exactly infamous, the Back of the Yards' reputation still precedes it. Now it is the media who determine the character of the area's renown, and usually it is not flattering. Newspapers, blogs, and local television and radio stations are likely to highlight gang activity—particularly shootings—that take place in the area. As of 2013, roughly thirty percent of the neighborhood lived below the poverty line, and municipal resources are still scant (Komenda and Ali 2017). But look beyond the headlines and the hype, and you will find a cohesive, committed, and creative community. At the center of the stability is the church, in particular the Holy Cross-

Immaculate Heart of Mary Parish—one of the most trusted institutions for the largely immigrant community.

The Back of the Yards has traditionally been home to a sizeable and diverse Catholic population, and historically, every ethnic group to settle in and around the Yards has had its own church.[iii] In the 1930s, the neighborhood boasted three Polish parishes, organized around hometown and economic status, as well as separate parishes for Slovak, Irish, and German congregations.

Officially formed in 1904, when the area was still called the Town of Lake, the Holy Cross parish ministered to a local Lithuanian community. In 1913, Holy Cross laid the cornerstone for a soaring Gothic church on a ten-lot property between South Wood and South Hermitage Streets. Several blocks away, on South Ashland and 45th Streets, the Immaculate Heart of Mary Church was dedicated in 1945 to serve a fast-growing Mexican American community. As the Lithuanians moved further southwest and the Mexican population continued to rise, the parishes combined in 1981 to become Holy Cross-Immaculate Heart of Mary (HCIHM).[iv]

Figure 1 Holy Cross-Immaculate Heart of Mary Parish, 2019

HCIHM has long served as a boots-on-the-ground parish, engaging in community development and social justice work, and offering congregants help and support far beyond the religious realm. Sister Angela Kolacinski, who goes by Sister Angie, arrived in the Back of the Yards in 1987 to work at HCIHM's former Casa Maria, a community house for women pursuing college educations who wanted an independent but chaperoned living environment. Casa Maria residents ate meals together, shared community life, and volunteered in Back of the Yards. Today the parish coordinates an advocacy group that works on immigration issues, a high

priority in a community with a large percentage of undocumented residents. They also run civic engagement education programs to raising parishioners' consciousness about how to include their voices in municipal affairs.

Founded in 1988, HCIHM's youth program has been a beacon in Back of the Yards. When it launched, the neighborhood's high school drop out rate was close to seventy percent, and almost no one went to college. In the late 1980s, the parish started a college scholarship fund for which the clergy saved twenty-five dollars of every collection, and dedicated it to college scholarships. At the time, that meant just a few hundred dollars, but it was a significant enough prize to make a dent in high school attrition rates.

Now HCIHM is part of a neighborhood coalition that raises between forty and eighty thousand dollars each year. The primary qualification for receiving a scholarship is volunteer service, not income or grades. In communities like Back of the Yards, many gifted students have family obligations or are expected to work, so they may not get top marks. Instead, the coalition rewards students who are aware that they have a responsibility to the community. Their work can be completed under the auspices of any local institution or organization as long as it benefits the Back of the Yards.

On of the parish's most cherished youth programs is its Marimba Ensemble. For over twenty years, the Marimba Ensemble has been a symbol of neighborhood hope. Led by a team of youth and young adult players, the Ensemble performs every Sunday at the 10:30am mass, and is accompanied by the HCIHM Children's Choir. As of 2019, the Ensemble has graduated six "generations" of marimba players, all of whom remain committed to the success of the group, the parish, and the Back of the Yards neighborhood.

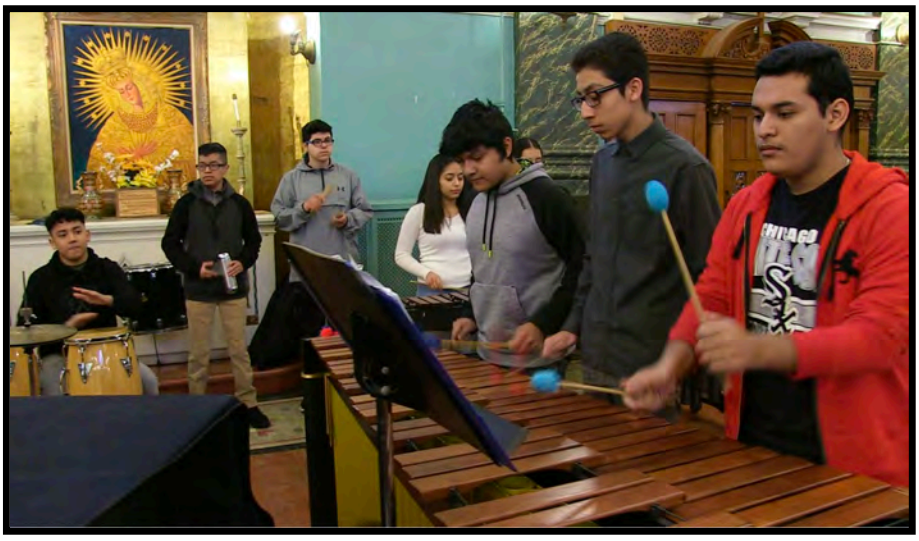

Figure 2 Holy Cross-Immaculate Heart of Mary Parish Marimba Ensemble Playing at Sunday Mass, 2019

The Ensemble's repertoire includes a wide variety of Mexican, Caribbean, popular, and classical pieces. Weekly lessons are offered by college leaders and up-and-coming high school players. The marimba itself is a keyboard percussion instrument, similar to a xylophone, originating in southern Mexico and Central America. The large size (some over four octaves) allows up to four *marimbistas* to play together on one instrument. In the HCIHM Ensemble, the marimba's music is augmented by bass guitar and other percussion instruments.

Music is such an important part of HCIHM's program because, historically, most of the adults in the community did not receive formal educations, so written material was typically not the way that information or tradition has been transmitted between the church and the congregation. "Music became a triple meaningful experience because it touches the heart, the memory, and the mind," Sister Angie says. "The opportunity for our kids to learn culturally specific music has been a huge value for our community for several decades." For many years HCIHM employed a teacher named Carlos, who was a refugee from Guatemala and a survivor of torture. Teaching music, songs, and marimba helped him to heal, Sister Angie says. "It allowed him to bring his identity to the U.S. He taught all of us that in the Mayan culture, the music is in the wood, and the players bring the music out. We say that that's our job as adults—to bring the music out of the young people. Not just the literal art, but the music within them, their potential."

The Children's Choir, comprised of students in first through eighth grades, has sung at morning mass every Sunday since 1990. For many years now, the director has been a former Choir member. In order to enter the Marimba Ensemble, students must first demonstrate commitment through membership in the Children's Choir, where they learn to read notes, develop an ear for music, and show that they are reliable, engaged, and invested in the team. Once students age out of the Choir, marimba lessons are free, and members are expected to perform at the mass and other events. The Marimba Ensemble is supported primarily through donation-based performances commissioned and held outside of the parish.

Erica, the current marimba teacher, has been part of the marimba program for thirteen years, first as a member of the children's choir. When Sister Angie asked if she was interested in joining the marimba band, "of course I said yes, because they were the heroes of Holy Cross," she says. As is customary, Erica took private marimba lessons twice a week, and once she perfected a selection of ten songs, she was able to join group practice and play in Sunday mass as well as at gigs around the city and beyond. Erica is grateful for the mentorship and professional development opportunities available through the Ensemble. "As a teacher who went through the whole program, I can reach kids from the neighborhood and to encourage them. It's important, too, because it's a community within the community that each generation can support and pass on to the next.

Erica grew up in Back of the Yards and is defensive about the media's negative portrayal of the place that inspired her to pursue music, taught her to make good decisions during childhood and adolescence, and is still is home to her parents and friends. "People outside don't realize that this is a unified community with lots of support structures," she asserts.

The bad press isn't entirely unfounded. During Sister Angie's first few years in Back of the Yards, there was constant movement into and out of the community because of violence, poverty, stress, mental illness, and lack of opportunity. She recalls early on sitting next to an older man at a wake who showed a scar he had received during a neighborhood knife fight in 1935. He said the only difference between Back of Yards in the 1930s and the 1980s was guns and drugs. The community has always been transient and the environment tumultuous, he insisted. If they could keep their heads down and avoid the lure of gang recruiters, young people left as quickly as they could. Once they got a stable job, they were gone. But just recently, the neighborhood is experiencing a promising shift as young community members return from college with the explicit intension of adding value and establishing channels for economic, political, and social development. They have long-standing institutions like HCIHM to thank for fostering tight knit relationships and a sense responsibility to the neighborhood. Now young professionals are choosing to stay and raise their children in Back of the Yards, and they are founding companies in the neighborhood that proudly announce attachment to place. Many who have moved away return often to participate in the culture of mentorship and paying it forward that HCIHM so vigorously promotes. Almost all of the young entrepreneurs, activists, and advocates are Marimba Ensemble alumni.

"We've worked for years on physical and emotional safety," Sister Angie explains. "So that any young person, whether in Marimba Ensemble, the after school program, or the Choir, knows that they're respected, their dignity is honored, and they belong here." That goes a long way toward making them feel safe but also gives them coping skills. Physical altercations at the parish or at parish-related events are extremely rare, and kids on the street respect the parish's programs enough to leave participants alone. Unprompted, many students will say that the ensemble gave them a choice that many of their peers didn't have. HCIHM has collaborated with neighborhood public schools and parks for years to ensure that all local organizations are on the same page about working with young people, and that all provide services that are trauma informed and culturally competent.

Edy Dominguez has been an HCIHM parishioner for half of his life. He came to the Back of the Yards from Mexico City at the age of fifteen, and he and his family joined the church immediately, seeing it as the fastest way to gain spiritual guidance and friends. Dominguez was a member of the Marimba Ensemble for over a decade. "Thinking about my own experience, when I first came to the church and I wasn't yet part of the group, the sounds of the music really enhanced my experience of mass. It really elevated the service," Dominguez says.[v]

On this particular day, Dominguez and peers from his Marimba Ensemble cohort are hosting a *pozole* fundraiser to support the marimba program. He says that he and number of the veterans of the Ensemble got together to ensure that the group continues for years to come. "This is just one of those steps. We're trying to bring all of the people together, including the alumni and their families, to have a conversation about supporting the program on a long-term level. I learned what community service is by being part of this. I learned what it means to give to your neighborhood, and what it means to give to someone other than yourself. It's looking at the bigger picture. Now we're all looking at the bigger picture together."

Figure 3 Marimba Ensemble Alumni Play at the *Pozole* Fundraiser, 2019

Ensemble alum and *pozole* organizer Lupita Duran has been a HCIHM member since birth, and joined the music program as early as possible. "Now that I'm older, I realize that kids always want to be a part of something, and this was something positive. An idle mind is the devil's playground, so we developed a family here, developed social skills, and a true understanding of our roots and what that meant us as Mexicans and Mexican Americans. I know everyone has said it, but this taught us discipline and helped us feel accomplished. We all watched friends disappear in the streets."[vi]

Jorge Ocampo, one the Ensemble's emeritus leaders, says that his first impression of Back of the Yards was influenced by media spin. "I thought it was a shadow in the south side of Chicago. I would just go to school and then home because I was told it was dangerous. It wasn't until I joined this group that I actually saw the community and realized that there's hope in this place. As I explored, I thought it was beautiful. They tell us to hate this neighborhood, but people celebrate here and feel hopeful here. There is violence, no doubt, but we're not all like that."[vii]

Jorge wants to be a novelist—a dream he discovered through the marimba group. "You get a lot of reflection time," he says. "I've been fascinated with the stories that

were told of past marimba players, of events that they played." Jorge has decided to write about his experience in the ensemble, and the group has encouraged his endeavors. He is currently majoring in English and minoring in Creative Writing, and already has multiple manuscripts in the works.

Fundraisers like the *pozole* double as reunions for old friends from the program, who hop on the marimbas and relive the glory days. At February 2019's *pozole*, all of the tables in the parish rectory are full, as are bellies. Women ladle hearty portions of steaming, saucy, shredded chicken and giant chunks of maize into disposable bowls. Diners garnish the meal with cabbage, radishes, and lime wedges chopped and sliced by over twenty volunteers. The din of conversation is carried on the rhythms of multiple generations of *marimbistas* on stage, who share the keys and take turns jamming on the c*ongas*, *maracas*, *claves* and *guitos* with their respective cohorts. They play everything from polkas to Michael Jackson to Havah Nagila to traditional music from Chiapas. Everyone in the room pulls out their phone to record the concert, and the older men hug and pat each other on the back, laughing, "Still got it!"

Jesse Iniguez grew up in the church, and played percussion in the Ensemble for ten years. Born and raised in Back of the Yards, now he owns Back of the Yards Coffee. Iniguez's first time in a coffee shop was his freshman year of college—there had been no such enterprises in his vicinity when he was a teenager. When presented with the opportunity to open a business, he was certain he wanted to be based in Back of the Yards. The company's tag line is "Resilient and Robust."

"A coffee shop is good for optics," Iniguez says. "It's also good for the economy. All of our employees live locally, pay rent in the neighborhood, and support other local businesses. And we give a dollar of every bag we sell to programs that promote peace and education in the neighborhood. So we're really investing in Back of The Yards, building something locals can be proud of, and sharing that shine with people outside of the neighborhood."[viii]

Iniguez has established a collaboration with dear friend and fellow Marimba Ensemble alum, Rolando Santoyo, founder of La Selva Shop. La Selva ("The Jungle") claims to be the official Back of the Yards product line, selling hats, t-shirts, key rings, and other items emblazoned with text reading "The Yards," "La Selva" or the neighborhood's zip code. Santoyo, who holds a Bachelors degree in Fine Arts Multimedia Production and Design / Computer Graphics from the International Academy of Design and Technology, got his start at HCIHM as a muralist, musician, graphic designer, web designer, mentor, art teacher, and a parish council member. During his high school years, he was commissioned to paint murals in the gymnasium of Seward Academy and on exterior walls of the HCIHM Parish Youth Center and community garden. His parents moved to Back of the Yards in the 1970s and still live in the neighborhood. While Santoyo no longer resides in Back of the Yards, he still considers himself very much a part of the community and has designed t-shirts, flyers, and social media advertisements for several local

organizations like Peace and Education Coalition of Back of the Yards, Back of the Yards Dreamers and Allies, HCIHM Parish, and his dear friend's Back of the Yards Coffee Company, which sells La Selva's inventory.

Together Iniguez and Santoyo created and sold a special edition coffee bag to raise funds for the Marimba Ensemble. Some of the valuable rosewood marimba keys were recently stolen, so the alumni stepped in to help. "The Ensemble has to keep going. It really built us into who were are," Santoyo says. "We're making sure that our success is also that of the community. I started La Selva, and Jesse named the shop after the neighborhood. But we're just two examples. Our cohort also has attorneys, doctors, artists, and teachers—people who are demonstrating to the younger folks that we and our home have value."[ix]

While community members value one another, developers are keeping their eyes on Back of the Yards' slowly but surely increasing property values. The neighborhood was developed to support the Yard workers, and as such, houses run from the sidewalk to rear alleyways to accommodate multiple generations, or multiple families at once. Today, between three and six families often live on a single lot. Some houses are owned by the residents, but most are not. Now HCIHM is trying to encourage more local homeownership before developers take control. HCIHM supports tenants' rights, and it partners with neighborhood organizations that have specialized housing expertise.

HCIHM's youth program is run by three full-time employees, but everyone else on the parish youth program staff is part-time. The church youth program has three main funding sources: government grants from the City of Chicago and State of Illinois, which support the youth and mentorship programs; corporate sponsors, who fund the afterschool meal program; and donations, gig fees, and alumni fundraisers, which keep the Marimba Ensemble running.

Because of the economic structure of the Catholic Church, parishes are primarily responsible for finding support from their own congregations. In the city, where the economics are more challenging than in the suburbs, parishes often struggle because they depend on Sunday collections that are not high yielding. So personnel, building maintenance, and community programs are challenged in Back of the Yards in a way that they are not in more affluent outlying neighborhoods.

HCIHM supports itself through leasing one of its building to the public school system. However, the Archdiocese has recently asked Chicago parishes to participate in a process called "Renew My Church." Ostensibly, the program is intended to revitalize urban church communities, but it also presents challenging structural decisions about keeping buildings or whole parishes open, combining personnel, or reducing their numbers. HCIHM is at a stage where it is being asked to question its own longevity, as well as that of its youth programs. If the parish closes, how can it ensure that its very successful youth programs continue as a sign of and vehicle to hope? Should HCIHM be combined with other parishes, it cannot

guarantee shared values that would ensure the survival of hallmark youth programs and the Marimba Ensemble.

Witnessing HCIHM during Sunday morning mass in frigid February makes such an eventuality difficult to fathom and cruel to imagine. Every space in the thousand-seat sanctuary is filled. As parishioners stand to accept blessings from the priest, one thousand heads bow in unison, and one thousand hands shake those of neighbors in their pews, who are also neighbors on their blocks, and in their childrens' schools and parks. The angelic voices of the Children's Choir rise and float around the vaulted sea foam green ceiling, and the marimbas' tones dance around statues of the Virgin and cherubs peaking out behind fluted columns.

Immaculate Heart of Mary, which was served by a religious community since its founding, was recently designated a Diocesan parish. This transition translates into fewer priests, and may be a sign of more sweeping changes to come. For now, HCIHM parish has five hundred registrants, and many more attend weekly mass. They look forward to celebrating weddings, births, and *quinceañeras*, and anticipate confessions and burials of the dead. They hope to build altars and process through the streets for Día de los Muertos, and to participate in the full compliment of activities associated with the Novena to Our Lady of Guadalupe. The event culminates in a service of prayer and song that begins at 5am with singers sweetly paying homage to the Virgin, waking her up as the light dawns.

b. Zion Lutheran Church, Baltimore, Maryland

Located at the nexus of downtown Baltimore's dense maze of municipal offices, parking garages, and expressway on-ramps, Zion Lutheran Church is a pastoral pause in the city's urban bustle. Founded in 1775 to serve the needs of the city's Lutheran German community, the congregation maintains the cultural practices of its founding patrons while providing space for new Charm City traditions to take shape.

By the end of the 1830s, Baltimore boasted a significant German-speaking population. Indeed, between 1838 and 1870, sixty-one out of sixty-two breweries founded in the city were owned by ethnic Germans who catered to and employed the city's massive influx of German immigrants, and attended worship at Zion Church (Holian 2017:1).

Both World Wars affected this German-speaking congregation. Before the United States entered the conflict in 1917, Zion's congregants supported family members and efforts in the Fatherland, and Pastor Hofmann made the parish house available to the German-Austrian Red Cross Aid Society. The church also raised funds to assist German and Austrian war widows and orphans. Outsiders were suspicious of these activities, but once the United States officially declared war, there was no longer any reason for skepticism. Zion's parishioners sprang to action, organizing the Patriotic Helpers of Zion Church and the Liberty Loan Drives, Zion Branch. The church

housed soldiers for days or weeks before they were sent to the front, and the congregation provided the US Armed Forces with many of its own members, despite intense antipathy from other Americans.[x]

Figure 4 Zion Lutheran Church Parish Hall exterior, 2018

During the war, German was eliminated from Baltimore's public school curricula and local German newspapers were shuttered. Food, family, and even street names were changed (Rogers 2017:24). Zion survived the hostilities, but after the Armistice, many in the city's German community withdrew from the public eye and German culture was submerged. Indeed, Zion was as the last church to hold weekly German language services.

World War II challenged the community's fortitude a second time. Zion again contributed to the American war effort. One hundred twenty parishioners joined the service, and Zion gifted an ambulance named "The Pioneer" to the American Red Cross, along with additional funds for blankets. The parish house accommodated over fifteen thousand furloughed soldiers between 1942 and 1945.[xi] However, when the war ended, anti-German sentiment remained and the city's German community again endured enmity and estrangement. Zion became one of the last viable, visible German-American institutions left in the city. Although traumatized, the community was ready and able to receive an influx of new members.

Irene Duerr is chairman of Zion's worship and music committee and a life-long Zion member. "After World War II, there was quite a bit of German immigration, because so many Europeans were displaced. That's how families of my generation came to this church," Duerr explains. "My parents were immigrants in the early 1950s. They came to Baltimore because they each had a sibling already living here, and they met at one of the German dancehalls that were popular at the time. They got married here at Zion, and myself and my brothers and sisters and all of my cousins all grew up in this congregation. So it's our family church, as they say."[xii]

In the post-war period, Zion served as the nucleus of Baltimore's geographically-dispersed and rapidly assimilating German-American community. "After World War II, only Zion maintained its German identity," says Noreen "Freddy" Herbert, president of the church council. "We became involved because after my daughter was born, I was looking for a church. My family's heritage is Pennsylvania Dutch, so the traditions were familiar. And these days, they are unique. Plus, the Ladies who cooked reminded me of my grandmother. They were just wonderful and warm. They had stories, which were not always wonderful, of their experiences during the war and coming here. But this was their home away from home."[xiii]

In the 1940s, 50s, and 60s, Zion's Ladies Sewing Circle and Ladies Aid Society kept the church buildings buzzing. Most of the members did not have jobs, so they spent many of their days participating in social and philanthropic activities at the church, including organizing monthly luncheons and dinners, and sewing clothing for charities. And, of course, they coordinated the annual sour beef fundraiser.

For at least the last century, Zion's *Frauen Verein*, or Ladies' Aid Society, has organized, prepared, and executed a yearly sour beef (*sauerbraten*) dinner fundraiser. In decades past, when the congregation was large, all of the supplies were donated by congregants, many of whom were local butchers and bakers. Kitchen volunteers brought enough butter, potatoes, and cabbage to make 4,200 dumplings—a staple side dish. Today, as in former years, everyone who participates knows the protocol and their precise assignment. "I remember how my grandmother made dumplings. My mother did dumplings. And that's how I started doing dumplings," says Leslie Trageser, church member and special events manager. "You aren't allowed to switch jobs."[xiv]

Trageser remembers growing up in an extensive network of young German-American families with children her age. "That was probably my best memory—all of the people," she says. "Even though we all lived in the county [outside of Baltimore City limits], Zion was our cultural and religious home." Like most, Trageser's parents drove in from the suburbs for Sunday services, as well as for holidays and special events, the most vibrant, revered, and codified of which was and still is the sour beef dinner.

Sour beef dinners were once common throughout the city, but after World War II, one by one, congregations became more and more assimilated and the sour beef dinners faded away. "We are about the only ones who do these large church suppers," Herbert says. "You don't see many church suppers anymore. Now that most women have careers, you no longer have the Ladies Aid Society with dozens of hands available to do all this labor intensive work. When we do sour beef, we roll two thousand dumplings a day. It's five hundred pounds of beef. It's a week's worth of prep before the dinner!"

The Zion Ladies are notorious for dividing themselves into impermeable teams charged with specific tasks. Ellen Solomon comes from a long line of scullery scions. Her great aunt was in charge of the kitchens, so Solomon's mother, Marta Bert, became her helper. Eventually, Bert took charge of the canteen, and as she got older, she distributed responsibilities to a "kitchen committee" with whom Solomon is still working, though no longer leading. A different group were designated ticket collectors who also monitored entrance to the dining room. Still others served the multi-course meal on an extensive set of dishes—purchased by the Ladies Aids and emblazoned with the Zion label—to well-dressed diners seated at long, linen-covered tables. Youth group members bussed and washed dishes. It was always a whole-village affair and very much the event of the year, anticipated and attended by congregants and non-members alike.

The sour beef dinner is still a major point of pride for the church, but this is the first period in Zion's history wherein such traditions are losing momentum. Solomon was baptized, confirmed, and married at Zion. Her parents, both post-war immigrants, met in Baltimore and married at Zion. They raised her in the church because "it's nice to listen to the word of God in your mother tongue," Solomon says. As an only child who spoke German at home, Solomon came to rely on the Zion community as an extended family. Her parents lived far north in Baltimore County, so while she formed close relationships to her Zion cohort, she only saw them on the weekends at service, German language school, and confirmation class. Those classmates were the children of German butchers, bakers, brewers, and other businessmen, so the church community represented her entire world. However, because those classmates did not take up their parents' professional mantels, the German businesses are long gone. Because those businesses are gone, her contemporaries' ties to German culture are weakening. And because their identification with German heritage is fading, their interest in Zion is largely nostalgic. "Years ago, the church *was* community social life. People came here, participated, and contributed. Now we've gotten a point where you engage with family and friends on the computer, on email or Facebook."[xv]

Zion has struggled to attract new members over the last few decades. As a teen, Duerr went to Zion's Sunday school, and participated in an active church youth group that produced performances at the church campus and organized picnics, baseball outings, and trips to the skate rink. "Then people went off to college and established families of their own, and didn't come to Zion as their family church anymore because they went to a church in their neighborhood instead. Now we're lucky if we can get six kids together for a multi-grade, multi-age group of Sunday school kids." Zion's ample parking lot can accommodate scores of families coming from afar, but the lot is rarely full. Young parents have moved too far away to participate, and have largely moved away from religion and ecumenical affiliations in general.

Zion's current membership is modest, but people come for a wide variety of reasons. For some, it is their family's German heritage. For others it is the traditional style of

worship, as many other congregations have adopted a more contemporary program and preach through large screens and microphones. A recent survey showed that others come to Zion for its well-known music program, which includes a highly-respected choir and organist. "Now, I'm not saying that that is what's going to sustain us long-term, but that is where we are at the moment," Duerr says. And the church still appeals to Germans and families with one German spouse and small children. The congregation holds one English and one German service on Sunday mornings, but as fewer families speak German at home and prioritize sports and other extracurriculars over German language school, attendance at that service is small. Bilingual service is held several times a year, and Zion also offers a midday service on Wednesdays "for people who work downtown who need that lunchtime respite," Duerr says. "It's about a half hour long, with some prayers and meditation on scripture. It's a small but steady group."

The church is doing everything it can to keep people and financial support coming in. More recently, sour beef dinners have been moved to the Adlersaal so that the meal—which historically took place in the Parrish House's formal basement dining room and thus offered only coffee—can now include beer as well. "It's attracted a younger population," Herbert says. Zion has introduced laid-back monthly events like *Brats and Beer*, which takes place in the church garden in warmer months and has been a huge success. As downtown Baltimore has begun to revive and repopulate, some neighbors walk to Zion to spend a relaxing evening in its lovely, shaded courtyard-turned-beer garden. The annual Christmas market is popular with congregants and non-members alike. The event takes place in the courtyard and throughout the building on the weekend after Thanksgiving, and features hard-to-find Christmas treats like chocolates, cookies, *Stollen*, and gingerbread, all imported from Germany. Vendors sell handmade candles, Christmas cards, winter hats, and other seasonal items. Shoppers come from across the state as well as Washington, D.C. Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Eastern Shore to eat bratwurst, drink *Gluhwein* and Pilsner, and do their holiday shopping with a bit of cheer, instead of at the mall or online. "It's often been said that when you're in the garden during *Christkindlmarket*, you hear more German spoken than anywhere else because we get a lot of the young Germans. They maybe don't come to church, but they like to come to our events and know they're going to get their *Lebkuchen*," Duerr recounts. "One time I was down at the commercial market at the Inner Harbor, and I heard people say, "oh we just missed the *real* Christmas market at the church."

Zion has also established relationships with the city and local organizations, who hold activities in the church's ample buildings. Some are secular, like Yoga and Zumba classes organized through the Baltimore City Wellness Program, while others, like prayer group, are religious.

With their newly restored organ, Zion has also gained a reputation as a concert venue. Peabody conservatory students hold their senior masters program recitals there, and the Bach in Baltimore Society held performances there for a number of years. "Now that we have a new organ, we have an opportunity to host singing

groups from Germany or elsewhere in Europe, which we couldn't do before because the organ really wasn't in good enough condition." But the restoration was extremely expensive, and raising funds for its repair took great effort. Now they have a high-quality organ, but they do not have a functioning piano. They've had a number of inquiries from pianists interested in renting Zion's two acoustically-ideal community spaces, but the church lacks the $15,000 required to repair its Knabe concert piano. The missed opportunity is a source of much regret.

Figure 5 Zion Lutheran Church Choir, 2019

One of the main benefits of sharing space with other groups is letting people know that the church exists. It's not only waning interest in organized religion that keeps church membership low. Zion's City Hall Plaza location isn't exactly a tourist destination, and foot traffic in the area is dominated by people petitioning parking tickets or police charges. Most simply don't know that the neighborhood includes a cultural asset like historic Zion Lutheran Church, so it isn't included on their mental maps of the area. "I don't know how many times I've had meetings set up with folks and they come to the building and say, 'I never knew this place was here,'" Herbert sighs. Because they are sandwiched between the Jones Falls Expressway and the seat of city government, it is unlikely that the church will either benefit or suffer damage from neighborhood redevelopment anytime soon.

At its prime, Zion had nearly one thousand members, so sour beef dinners and other congregational fundraisers were reliable sources of income. In 1913, you could build a parish hall with the donations collected at such events. Solomon remembers her parents annually purchasing ten tickets for one sour beef dinner. "And my father had to come up with sixty dollars, which was a lot! If he wanted to sell the tickets, that was fine, but it was expected from the members of the congregation." Today the church has 180 registered members, roughly sixty of whom are regularly active.

Because the church relies on volunteers, a drastically reduced membership has broad implications for sustainability.

Several years ago Zion Church went into serious debt. “The question was would we be able to stay open for more than four months,” Duerr recalls. “We were very fortunate in that our treasurer went through the books and renegotiated all contracts, and we put people on half-time salaries, which did not go over well. We turned the heat down, we turned the refrigerators off. Every possibility for cost-savings was explored and implemented.” There was a time when Zion had a full-time secretary and full-time pastors living on site. That is not the case anymore. The church currently employs a part-time pastor and a part-time administrative staff in the office. “It was the only way we could keep afloat.”

Fortunately, Zion’s members donate as generously as they can, and are quick to rally behind specific projects like the organ restoration. To fully fund that initiative, the church also conducted extensive outreach in the greater German American community, as well as the music community. “A lot of German Americans and people of German heritage hold events here and say that this is their church, whether or not they’re active members. So we asked for contributions for concrete tasks,” Duerr says. Continually, organ music and the choir have been key to the church’s survival, both for the congregation itself and others who use the space.

Figure 6 German Language Sunday Service at Zion Lutheran Church, 2019

Some members of the church are uncomfortable with the congregation’s rental revenue streams, particularly when they find out that family functions held in the church spaces are no longer free for congregants and German associations. But in order for Zion to function and maintain their position as a community-based religious institution, they must be able to generate income. Zion takes its social ministry seriously. The Social Ministry Committee supports a prison ministry, the Seafarers organization, and world hunger.The sewing circle recently made slippers

and shawls intended for imprisonsed and hospitalized recipients, and once a month for the last fifty years, congregants have assembled to bag lunches for distribution to the less fortunate in the community.

Financing these spaces, activities, and services is expensive. Although Zion is a 501(c)(3), grant-writing falls on the shoulders of volunteers. Much of the moderate maintenance work undertaken in recent years has been supported by grants, but it's enough to corral volunteers to keep the hallmark events going; getting them to write and manage grants is almost impossible. Indeed, member volunteers staff all rental events along with the church sexton. While Zion has found that rentals bring new guests through the door, the increased visibility does not translate into new memberships. The church's digital presence is also managed by a volunteer, and until they can pay a webmaster, the church's website may not have up-to-date event information or donation processing capabilities. Social media campaigns are occasional—another regrettably missed opportunity for raising visibility and increasing stability.

"We three are retired, but I spend more of my time on Zion than anything else," Herbert says and Duerr agrees. "Zion has become the second job because we have, for whatever reason, a strong bond to this church and we want to see it succeed. I mean, I told you that it's our family church—where our parents came to worship in their native language. And my siblings still have a strong connection because we were confirmed here and we got married here. Our family's life was all here at this church, so we were devoted and dedicated to seeing it succeed."

c. Senshin Buddhist Temple, Los Angeles, California

Founded in 1931, Senshin Buddhist Temple began as one of two satellite branches of downtown Los Angeles' Little Tokyo Temple, offering a Japanese language and Dharma School, the equivalent to a Sunday School. The humble spiritual community grew, purchased property in the vicinity of the University of Southern California, and established Senshin as an official temple in 1937. At the time, the surrounding neighborhood was developing a sizable Japanese American community.[xvi]

Senshin was able to pay off its mortgage right before the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the United States' entry into World War II. As Japanese and Japanese-Americans on the west coast of the United States were imprisoned in internment camps, Senshin boarded up its buildings and granted Reverend Julius Goldwater, a local Caucasian Jodo Shinshu minister, power of attorney. Goldwater guarded Senshin's temple and ministered to Buddhists locked in the camps. During the war, African Americans migrating from the southeastern United States settled in the area around Senshin. The neighborhood has thus long served as a locus for both Japanese and African American life in Los Angeles.

After the war, Senshin temporarily served as a hostel accommodating some of the many Japanese Americans who lost their homes during internment. Hostilities

against the Japanese community continued after the conflict. As it was easier for women to find non-menial jobs, many husbands and sons were forced to do manual labor. "That's when the myth of the Japanese gardener begins," recounts Reverend Masao Kodani, emeritus minister at Senshin Buddhist Temple. "So, here we had two men with masters degrees from the University of Southern California, but the only work they could find was in landscaping. The interned generation had no childhood. They became complete Americans only to be rejected, and were then forced to begin again, to take care of their parents and send their children to college. Gardeners built this temple and built a lasting foundation for their children and their children's children, which is pretty remarkable for one generation," Kodani says.[xvii]

Figure 7 Senshin Buddhist Temple campus, 2018

Since 1945, Senshin Buddhist Temple has been a spiritual, social, and cultural pillar of the Japanese American community, both in Los Angeles and across the country. In particular, Senshin promotes older traditions, including *gagaku*, an ancient musical form played in Japan's Imperial Court, and *taiko*, a centuries-old Japanese drumming tradition once associated with Shinto and Buddhist shrines and temples, and later used in military pageantry. Today, *gagaku* and *taiko* are often performed in Japanese religious centers and at community events.[xviii] In 1969, Senshin temple founded two sister performing arts groups: Kinnara Inc., a *gagaku* company, and the Kinnara Taiko orchestra.[xix] Among the earliest formed in the post-war period, Senshin's troupes helped to launch a national reclamation and revival of these traditional Japanese music forms, which are now thriving.

Though he is too modest to admit it, Reverend Kodani has played a significant role in Japanese cultural revival and fluorescence in the United States. Born in Glendale, California, he grew up in the predominantly African American Watts neighborhood of Los Angeles. Kodani attended Japanese school and Judo courses, but those were his only contacts with Japanese culture until he attended college at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Although his parents were Buddhists, they sent their children to Christian schools and churches, believing that they were less likely to be harassed if they were affiliated with European-American institutions. Kodani went to Baptist church, where he and his classmates were encouraged to convert their friends and family to Christianity.

In high school, Kodani befriended a second-generation Japanese priest affiliated with the downtown Buddhist temple. After Kodani pursued East Asian Studies in college, the priest convinced him to study Buddhism at his own alma mater, Dragon Valley University in Kyoto, Japan. At the time, Kodani was not entirely fluent in Japanese, but he taught himself while taking courses in theology and philosophy, and learning *kanji* (Chinese characters). In 1968, after six years of intense study, Kodani departed from Kobe by boat for a year-long journey around the world. When he checked in at the American embassy in Rome, he discovered that his mother was desperately trying to reach him. He had been accepted to join Senshin Buddhist Temple's clergy, and was expected to start immediately. "Thankfully the appointment was for this temple," Kodani says. "This was the greatest experience I've ever had."

Though Kodani felt himself unprepared for temple life, he had an excellent mentor in Reverend Enryo Unno, a first-generation leader at Senshin. Unno introduced Kodani to the community and guided his leadership development for two years. Following Unno's departure, Reverend Hoshin Fujikado was appointed Head Minister, and together he and Kodani worked as a team for twenty years. Kodani learned what it meant to serve a spiritual community. "Minister and Reverend are the same as *sensei*, the same as rabbi. It really means teacher," Kodani says.

For forty years, Reverend Mas Kodani has made cultural education his mission. When he arrived at Senshin, the temple's primary functions were funerals, memorial services, and regular weekly services, which are still held on Sunday in deference to American precedent. The temple also offered study groups, seminars, and other spiritual instructional programs—these became a significant part of Kodani's purview.

Senshin belongs to the Jodo Shinshu (True Pure Land) sect of Japanese Mahayana Buddhism. The sect's philosophy is made manifest in the gilded, ornate altar that graces the front of Senshin's worship hall. The altar represents the universe as the Indians conceived it. Its main tabernacle is called Mt. Sumeru, the cosmic mountain, south of which is a triangular land representing the realm where human beings live—for example, the Himalayas and India. The altar's various symbolic domains—the lower altar, the inner altar, and the top altar—ascend by rank, leading up to

encounter with the Buddha. On the top altar, little vases with greenery represent fresh water. For large services, the temple places cones of rice there, symbolizing the need for food and drink before encountering Buddha. “In other words, you cannot go to the Buddha to change things. You must be a normal, healthy human being first. If you’re not, don’t study Buddhism,” Kodani explains. Hanging lanterns, supposedly designed by the historical Buddha, suggest those that provided illumination for monks walking at night, not so much so that they could see, but so they did not step on any living creature. This represents the non-harming of all things, *Ahimsa*.

At the center of the shine are incense burners that divide two opposite worlds: on the left are flowers, the world of change; on the right, a candle, the unchanging world of light. One is the world of ego, the other without. What binds them together is the incense burner, which represents instantaneous birth and death, which, in Jodo Shinshu, are not sequential but instantaneous. If you are born, you are dying. “The ultimate Buddhist statement is that that’s all there is,” Kodani explains. “The past is gone, the future’s not here yet. And even now is over when you complete it. So if you’re wide-awake, you live in that moment only. Which is impossible to do with all of our programming. So our school says, that’s absolutely true and it’s impossible, so therefore worthy of trying.”

Historically in Buddhism, the outer altar was a narrow space where parishioners came to watch, but did not participate in, ritual. Enlightenment was only attainable by monks; regular people were considered ineligible. Shinran Shonin, the founder of Jodo Shinshu, reversed the traditional emphasis so that everybody could take part.

When Mas Kodani arrived at Senshin, the congregation was in transition between the second to the third generation. Kodani’s entrance into the community coincided with the dawn of a new era in temple life—one that was less hierarchical, more organic, more culturally conscious, and more participatory, much like the altar. “It was an exciting time,” Kodani says. “Because it was new, you could do or try anything.” The first new program he implemented was the *taiko* ensemble.

Figure 8 Taiko practice at Senshin Buddhist Temple, 2018

For many years, *taiko* was only played at Obon, a Japanese Buddhist family reunion holiday honoring the ancestors. As Obon only takes place once a year, Kodani and several of his contemporaries felt that the time was right for expanding the practice. After 1969's Oban festival, Kodani and six others started an impromptu, experimental jam session using a single *taiko* drum. They played for nearly three hours without realizing that they had developed blisters. "We said, 'let's do something with this!'"

After conducting research, Kodani learned that it would be prohibitively expensive to order *taiko* drums from Japan, so he and fellow Senshin musicians figured out a way to make their own. Soon they were composing their own pieces and making their own costumes. "It was all done from scratch," Kodani recalls, "Which is the best thing for us, because it was ours." The group named itself after the Kinnara, celestial musicians of Buddhist mythology. Kinnara Taiko became the first Japanese American Buddhist *taiko* orchestra established after World War II. As the group congealed and gained momentum, *taiko* began to spread all over the country.

The Kinnara Taiko group emphasizes participation and discovering, the joy of simply playing, rather than perfection and professionalism. "There's a difference between *taiko* and Buddhist *taiko*," Kodani says. "In the latter, the best player is always the problem because he plays too well, and is impatient. So we kind of set the attitude that you always play at the worst players' rate. And if you can't deal with that, you're the problem and you need to leave. So, our groups don't break up. It's something you get through together and you grow up with together. We finally have a *taiko* player's grandson entering, so we think that our approach was worth it. Also, *taiko* tells you in no uncertain terms when your ego is functioning. And you can't cover it up, because you don't have time for that. So that's why we developed it this way." Senshin's Kinnara Inc. applies the same philosophy to *gagaku* as well.

Over the years, Senshin has developed a method for producing its own *taiko* drums. The drum is made from a hollowed-out piece of oak tree trunk with cowhide stretched across the top and tacked to the sides. Senshin's experimentation with *taiko* drum making began in 1969, and now the temple works with a carpenter from the community who fabricates drums out of staves, and another fabricator who makes the skins. Once a drum is completed, it cannot be adjusted.

After Senshin founded Kinnara Inc., the group received scores of invitations to play at festivals and requests to help others start *taiko* ensembles. There are now nearly fourteen groups registered with the National Taiko Federation, and between seven and eight hundred groups across the country, only some of which are affiliated with temples. Kinnara Inc. introduced *taiko* to Hawaii, where it has since exploded.

Reverend Kodani also launched a Buddhist study retreat that takes place in San Luis Obispo, and Saishin Dojo, a summer children's program that offers programs in Buddhist culture. During the eight-week course, students learn about Japanese foods, music, etiquette, flower arrangement, language and vocabulary, ceramics, enameling, tie-die, and *taiko*.

Kodani developed Saishin Dojo thirty years ago, when "Dharma schools were getting smaller and smaller, and the basketball leagues were getting bigger and bigger." Registration fees pay for the teachers, all of whom come from area public schools and are also affiliated with temples. Mornings begin with student-led chanting, which is followed by instruction in reading, writing, math, and language. Afternoons are dedicated to Buddhist cultural immersion. Students especially love the cooking courses where they learn to make *tofu* and *udon* from scratch, as well as *natto,* which is fermented beans. Students also learn to make three kinds of sushi, rice balls, and four kinds of pickles, which they can take home. They dance *bon odori* and practice yoga, sitting meditation, and walking meditation. Saishin Dojo, which enrolls students from first through sixth grades, has been extremely successful and inspired a nearby temple in Gardena to open a continuation program for middle school students.

Young and old alike learn to make pottery in Senshin's on-site Wasabikai ceramics studio. Founded in 2013, Wasabikai conducts pottery courses four times a year. Bob Miyamoto, the studio's director, credits Reverend Kodani with the program's inspiration. "Mas has been very influential in building all of the all the arts programs that we have here at Senshin, and he had wanted to include ceramics for a very long time." All pottery classes are culturally-based, and offer an opportunity to teach students about Japanese heritage. The Japanese dinnerware course provides a window into Japanese aesthetics; in another course, pupils throw teacups and learn about traditional Japanese tea ceremonies. The studio also offers classes in *ikebana*, traditional Japanese flower arrangement. "So it's a cultural experience, and what we're trying to do is preserve culture and cultivate a greater appreciation of our own," Miyamoto says.[xx]

Figure 9 Wasabikai Ceramics Studio, 2018

The temple's art programs encourage cultural transmission from generation to generation, but not necessarily from elders to youth. Senior citizens often sign up for pottery courses along with their middle-aged children. Saishin Dojo students learn traditional culinary skills and take recipes home for their young parents to try. All ages participate in Oban, *taiko*, and *gagaku*. Reverend Kodani has inspired most of this activity. Miyamoto says, "He's a culture-bearer. Many of us who grew up here as Japanese Americans lost a lot of our culture. We don't even really understand where we're from or who we are. Mas is so knowledgeable about so many aspects of art and religion, and he has been pivotal in supporting us, and encouraging us, and leading us to show us our own heritage."

Most of the temple's cultural programs are grant-funded, which necessitates administrative resources. Several retired community members have helped with writing and networking to bring in grant monies for the programs they love. The Alliance for California Traditional Art (ACTA)'s Living Cultures Grant program has supported the acquisition of new costumes for the temple's *bugaku* dance troupe (to supplement an older set, one of the few to survive World War II), and equipment for the ceramics studio. After moving from classroom to classroom in Senshin's educational building, Wasabikai now has its own purpose-built facility featuring a throwing wheel and an electric kiln. A sign on the studio wall reads:

One of the great contributions to world culture is the traditional Japanese aesthetic sense. Terms such as wabi and sabi, shibui, preference for simplicity and understatement, the relationship of an object to its background, the angle at which it is viewed; the aesthetic preference for odd numbers and asymmetry; etc, have long been hallmarks of Japanese sensibilities. As we move further and further from the Issei and Nisei generations, this aesthetic is being replaced by the predominant western

aesthetic. What was once natural to the Issei and Nisei must now be relearned by the succeeding Japanese-American generations.

The tradition of giving must also be passed down to the next generation. Historically, reliable funding for the temple came from the senior members. As Kodani notes, "the older you get, the more you give." When Kodani arrived, the elder members looked for excuses to donate—when the temple newsletter announced the successful surgery of someone's *Pochi* (the Japanese equivalent of Fido), older members interpreted the positive outcome as an excuse to make a financial contribution. More poignant reasons for donating included grandsons returning safely from the war in Vietnam, or the security of a couple whose home was destroyed in a fire. The older generation believed that Senshin was home, so its members did everything necessary to maintain the temple.

Kodani says that the succeeding generation is learning the philanthropic ropes from its elders, and he is confident that they will continue to step up to the donation plate. He does note, however, that the neighborhood's demographics have shifted significantly since the temple was founded. Although the Japanese community has moved east to the Crenshaw neighborhood, Senshin has decided to stay put at its original location. "Americans move at least three times in their lifetime," Reverend Kodani notes. "So, the solution is often to follow them and rebuild. We decided that we can't do that, so we make it worthwhile for them to come in." As of 2018, at least half of Senshin's members commute to the temple.

Kodani is committed to Senshin remaining an anchor in the neighborhood, which is currently being threatened by encroaching University of Southern California student housing. On the one hand, this means that the area is safer, but on the other hand, it is no longer as cohesive or communal of spirit. After World War II, Senshin formed deep ties with the African American community that developed around its walls. While the temple operated as a post-war hostel for displaced Japanese families, one local African American family operated a successful catering company with a foothold in the Beverly Hills events circuit. At a time when Japanese men struggled to find jobs, the catering company frequently called Senshin's minister to ask if temple members wanted work. The effort and income helped the Japanese community immensely, both financially and emotionally. Reverend Kodani and the temple long tried to locate the benevolent businessman responsible for this initiative. By sheer accident, they finally found his daughter only to learn that her father had passed away just a couple of weeks before. Out of gratitude and respect for all that the caterer had done, the Senshin community paid tribute to his family at a ceremony held on temple grounds.

Moreover, Senshin is literally rooted in its longtime neighborhood. Fifty years ago, Reverend Kodani "borrowed" a clipping off of a fourth-generation descendant of the Bodhi tree under which the Buddha achieved enlightenment. Now Senshin is host to a fifth-generation offspring of the legendary tree that stands tall and strong, offering shade to those who sit underneath. The tree symbolizes a community that has been

uprooted, replanted, and revived through a culture renaissance. Its roots are an allegory for the Senshin's stability during times of extreme duress, its trunk is a reminder of the *taiko* barrels that launched its cultural reawakening, and its leafy canopy a metaphor for the sanctuary that the temple continues to provide for its own community and those around it.

Challenges, Recommendations, and Action Points

The community anchors profiled in this section are all long-standing religious institutions founded to minister to particular spiritual and cultural communities. They own their properties and have kept the doors of these brick and mortar assets open to neighborhood residents even as demographics around them have changed. They remain relevant by ministering to incoming groups, offering sanctuary to vulnerable communities, fostering a wide range of traditional art forms, and providing space to practice cherished traditions in times of political and social strife. However, they are also older institutions that at one time received a great deal of support from their members, and now face financial struggles due changing environments and trends.

Religious institutions face many of the same developmental challenges as other groups in this study, but are often housed in historic facilities now located far from their core communities. In municipalities that have or continue to experience significant demographic shifts, houses of worship may be reticent to move away from sites associated with ancestors in order to accommodate recent outmigration. As a result, they are isolated from their primary support systems. In addition, unless they establish a separate non-profit affiliate, religious institutions are excluded from using direct government funding to support "inherently faith-based activities," including religious worship, instruction, or proselytization. They may, however, use government funding toward non-religious social services.[xxi]

These sites serve as second homes to immigrants and their families. As Zion Church's co-pastor Eric Deibler notes, Zion's long history as a safe haven for newcomers has renewed its mandate to serve Baltimore's contemporary immigrant communities. "It's a fantastic congregation that's been around forever, so it has a very deep sense of history in Baltimore city. For years the main focus of this congregation and its ministry was to be a home for the German immigrant community. Now, of course, the dynamics of immigration have changed vastly. We tend to forget that these things are cyclical and that if we're not cognizant of the past, we're doomed to repeat the failures of the past. At the same time, it also seems like we, as a nation, are opening ourselves up to new failures related to current immigration policy. I think that's why you find in this congregation real compassion for people who are seeking to establish a new and better life in the United States. So many of them did the same thing just a generation or two ago; they can point to grandparents or even parents who made that same decision, and who became a part of this community in living memory."[xxii]

Holy Cross-Immaculate Heart of Mary Parish has created an immigration committee, which provides a safe space for community members to talk about their experiences as new immigrants, and fundraises for immigration support services. Parishioner and Marimba Ensemble alum Edy Dominguez is currently leading a scholarship fundraising effort called Dreamers and Allies Run. Now in its seventh year, participants run the annual Chicago marathon to raise tuition for undocumented college students from Back of the Yards.[xxiii]

Years ago, Senshin Buddhist Temple stood at the borderland between turf claimed by both the Bloods and the Crips, two notorious gangs. Neighbors kept their eye on the property, chasing away thieves and standing their ground in front of the temple when gang activity flared. As a gesture of thanks, Senshin offered special dinners to every household, and has included neighborhood children in many of its events. The bonds between the communities have grown stronger ever since.

After September 11th, Reverend Kodani and many other Japanese Buddhist ministers reached out to Muslim leaders around the city. Dressed in his ministerial robe, Kodani went around the corner to the neighborhood mosque and offered support to the imam. "I just want you to know that we know what you're going through, and we know that it gets worse before it gets better. So if there's anything we can do, please call us," he said. He later learned that many formerly interned Japanese had called mosques with similar messages of solidarity. For the following three years, the local mosque community sought solace at Senshin, breaking the fast after Ramadan on the temple's serene grounds, together with the Japanese congregation.

All of the religious institutions included in this study have struggled to maintain their historic homes and congregations. However, we recommend a few resources that are available specifically to long-standing cultural anchors like temples, mosques, and churches.

Founded in 1989, Partners for Sacred Places is a Philadelphia-headquartered non-sectarian non-profit focused on building the capacity of congregations of historic sacred places to better serve their communities as anchor institutions, nurturing transformation, and shaping vibrant, creative communities.

Throughout the United States, places of worship face challenges due to declining attendance, constrained resources, and the burdens of aging, under-maintained, and over-scaled properties. Partners for Sacred Places helps houses of worship to strengthen the capability of their congregations through training programs, fundraising assistance, and assessments. Their portfolio includes programs, projects, and collaborations with judicatories and other governing bodies. Partners has developed relationships with universities, preservation alliances and advocacy groups, as well as community development corporations. It also has strong expertise in adaptive re-use of vacant religious properties, leading design

charrettes, community and political engagements, and business and funding plan development.[xxiv]

Partners for Sacred Places facilitated a relationship between Zion Lutheran Church and the Baltimore Rock Opera Society, the latter of which lacks its own performance space. For the last two years, the Baltimore Rock Opera Society has rented and transformed Zion's multipurpose parish hall and stage into an opera set. The partnership seems to be working for both parties. "It's another way that we've attracted some people of a different demographic than just those who just have German heritage," Irene Duerr says. "It's a great way to build visibility and relationships."

We also recommend that religious institutions investigate designation on the National Register of Historic Places' using Bulletin 38, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties*. Passed in 1966, the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) authorized the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), "an official list not only of individual buildings, but of districts, objects, and archeological sites that are important due to their connection with the past"[xxv] Administered by the National Park Service, the National Register provides criteria for identifying, evaluating, and preserving America's historic and archaeological resources. Properties are evaluated by age, integrity, and significance, and the list includes buildings, structures, and sites; groups of buildings, structures, or sites forming historic districts; landscapes; and individual objects. Each state also has its own list of locally significant sites. Today, nominations (the documentation required to officially recommend a site for designation) to the National Register usually come from State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPO) or Tribal Preservation Offices (TPO).

Register listing is largely honorific–it symbolizes that a place has been deemed significant to the history of the state and country. Designation does not guarantee protection, and it does not prevent the state or the property owner from demolishing or altering the building or site. However, owners of designated income-producing properties are eligible to apply for historic tax credits to support renovations, and the government is obligated to review a Register-listed property if the property will be affected by publicly supported development.

Bulletin 38 was released in 1990 as a means of expanding the range of types of sites eligible for the National Register. Designation on the National Register as a TCP suggests a living site—a place that continues to play a role in fostering a sense of community and cultural heritage. A TCP is "eligible for inclusion in the National Register because of its association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community's history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community (Parker and King 1990). Structural integrity can also be evaluated within the context of use over time. When physical alterations have been made in response to functional needs to accommodate traditional activities, they are not considered to have had a negative

impact on the property's integrity. Rather than being assigned a defined, historical period of significance, a TCP's significance extends to the present. However, TCP criteria are rarely invoked because they are partially buried within the National Register system.

Folklorist Ray Allen, who studies a capella gospel music groups and has worked extensively with storefront churches, talked with us about how these groups function in the informal economy of their neighborhoods.

> *At small and storefront churches in the African American community, Sunday morning service is dedicated to religious services, the church choir, and the sermon. But on Saturday night or Sunday afternoon, a gospel music program will often take place. The music is a combination of religion, Southern heritage, and art. The music is usually a ticketed event. Part of the money collected may be donated to the church, but part of it may go to the sound systems, the outfits, or to support the musicians, who all have day jobs.*

City Lore has attended these performances only to discover world-class musicians working with static blaring from inexpensive amplifiers. We recommend that governmental agencies and foundations explore ways to support arts activities hosted by religious institutions. We further recommend that these organizations work with communities to understand how to ensure that all significant cultural anchors have access to this essential funding.

These sites serve as second homes to immigrants and their families. They face many of the same developmental challenges as other groups in this study, but are often housed in historic facilities now located far from their core contemporary communities. In municipalities that have or continue to experience significant demographic shifts, houses of worship may be reticent to move away from sites associated with ancestors in order to accommodate recent outmigration. As a result, they are isolated from their primary support systems. In addition, unless they establish a separate non-profit affiliate, religious institutions are excluded from using direct government funding to support "inherently faith-based activities," including religious worship, instruction, or proselytization. They may, however, use government funding toward non-religious social services.[xxvi]

Section II: Supporting and Sustaining the Mission and Core

The leaders of the three non-profit organizations highlighted in this section must wear many hats and maneuver in many axes at once to keep their community work going. Although they are mavericks at securing support for their multivalent work from diverse sources, they must also resist pressure to move or over-extend from their founding visions, missions, and core initiatives. All three of the following sites are incorporated 501(c)(3)s, and as such they rely heavily on grants, however none has a dedicated in-house development director, and they find that they are

operating at above maximum capacity with very few flexible administrative monies in hand.

a. MQVN CDC's VEGGI Farmers Cooperative, New Orleans East, Louisiana

If you take an eastbound drive on Chef Menteur Highway (US-90), bypassing myriad shopping centers, sub-developments, and super-sized gas stations, and exit at Alcee Fortier Boulevard, you'll arrive in New Orleans East, also known as Village L'est, the long-time home of a sizeable Vietnamese-American community. Roads like Saigon and My-Viet Drive suggest that this is a world away from the French Quarters' Dauphine, Chartres, and Bourbon Streets. The district's two main thoroughfares are dotted with a handful of Vietnamese eateries and bakeries, the most famous being Dong Phuong (meaning "East") on Chef Menteur. Opened in 1982, the bakery offers seventeen different banh mi sandwiches, twelve varieties of bread, egg tarts, mung bean pies, tapioca cakes, and a plethora of regional baked goods. Alcee Fortier Boulevard is anchored by to two parallel mini shopping centers, each host to a variety of small community businesses including travel agencies, dentists' offices, and minimarts featuring aisles of rice noodles, barrels of homemade kimchi, trays of fresh tofu, bundles of Thai basil, and giant durian.

Now about 10,000-strong, the Vietnamese community in New Orleans East has been through its share. Fleeing from war, evacuating from hurricanes, and surviving environmental catastrophes—not to mention growing old in a rapidly changing reality—Village L'Est's citizens are nothing if not stalwart. Their ability to adapt has made them adept at putting ancient skills to new use.

In May 1975, shortly after Saigon fell to the Viet Cong, U.S. President Gerald Ford passed the Indochina Migrations and Refugee Assistant Act, which authorized the evacuation of one hundred twenty-five thousand Vietnam War refugees to the United States (Alperin and Batalova 2018). Most were temporarily placed in processing camps across the United States, including Camp Pendleton in California, Fort Chaffee in Arkansas, Elgin Air Force Base in Florida, and Fort Indiantown Gap in Pennsylvania.

Shortly after the immigrants arrived, the Archbishop of New Orleans, Philip Hannan, and Father Michael Haddad of the Catholic Charities visited with refugees at Fort Chaffee, offering to sponsor the resettlement of one hundred families to New Orleans (Robichaux 2014). Louisiana would afford a similar climate to southern Vietnam, and proximity to the Gulf of Mexico, where community members could work in the fishing industry as many had back home. Within weeks, a robust Vietnamese district developed in and around a New Orleans East apartment complex called Versailles Arms.

Most of the Vietnamese immigrants who resettled in New Orleans East were Catholic. They found an encouraging ecclesiastical environment in New Orleans,

whose French and Spanish colonial history gives the city a strong Catholic presence. In the summer of 1975, three Vietnamese priests arrived to lead the community and help it gain momentum. In 1978, they constructed the Vietnamese Martyrs Chapel near the Versailles Arms, and only five years later, Archbishop Hannan decreed a new personal parish in Village L'Est—Mary Queen of Vietnam. Today, parishioners take great comfort in seeing each other at weekly mass and at regular church functions. Many also live near Mary Queen of Vietnam's one thousand-seat church and sprawling campus on Dwyer Boulevard (Robichaux 2014).

As New Orleans' Vietnamese community grew, it established enclaves in other neighborhoods, including Algiers, Avondale, Marrero, and the West Bank. But New Orleans East maintained as home to the largest, most tight-knit Vietnamese community in the area. The social and cultural cohesion helped after 2005's Hurricane Katrina decimated their neighborhood. The community's isolation from the densely-developed downtown had created an island effect. Residents of New Orleans East largely spoke only Vietnamese and were deeply attached to community life and each other. They had already evacuated and rebuilt once, and were determined to be able to go home again this time.

Khai Nguyen was born in Vietnam and raised in New Orleans East, and now works at the MQVN Community Development Corporation (CDC), coordinating economic development and environmental resilience programs for the community. Nguyen says that the church also played an important role in residents' return after Katrina. Clergy visited many of the shelters where Vietnamese evacuees were staying, and invited them back week by week. A month or two after the storm, while others were debating whether or not to rebuild, parishioners were going back to mass at Mary Queen of Vietnam. According to Nguyen, by December 2005, approximately fifty percent of the Vietnamese New Orleans East had returned.[xxvii]

MQVN CDC was formed in 2006, in the wake of the hurricane, to address the challenges faced by the New Orleans East community. Many of the needs identified by residents pertained to lost infrastructure, but the organization saw an opportunity to guide the neighborhood's social and economic rehabilitation, as well as its physical reconstruction. In the storm's immediate aftermath, city authorities slated New Orleans East for redevelopment as green space adjacent to a landfill. "They didn't realize that a lot of people were already back and rebuilding their homes here," Nguyen says. "So there was a lot of organizing to get people to show their commitment to staying in place and their opposition to being dumped on. That was the catalyst for creating an entity that could show a way for the community to self-advocate." They joined forced with other local organizations to host town halls and public meetings, conduct surveys, and hold one-on-one conversations to get a sense of the community's priorities. Nguyen says that the pastor of Mary Queen of Vietnam Church was one of MQVN CDC's co-founders. As a trusted community leader, his presence made a difference in pushing progressive ideas, and pushing not only for the community's voices to be heard, but for their real needs to be met.

Subsequently, coalition grant application efforts focused on projects that engaged those priorities.

High on the list were reopening the school and hospital, and business and workforce development. Together the coalition opened an intercultural charter school and inaugurated a health clinic with support from Tulane University. They also created a number of business development plans for neighborhood enterprises.

Figure 10 Khai Nguyen at VEGGI Cooperative Farm, 2019

On April 10, 2010, New Orleans East's Vietnamese community suffered another significant setback. British Petroleum's *Deepwater Horizon* drilling rig, operating the Macondo Prospect in the Gulf of Mexico just off the shore of Louisiana, exploded and sank. Close to two hundred million barrels of crude oil gushed from the well, resulting in the largest offshore oil spill in U.S. history (United States Environmental Protection Agency n.d.). Authorities closed large portions of the Gulf to commercial and recreational fishing in effort to contain and mitigate seafood contamination. Fisherman and shrimpers across the region lost their livelihoods, and were forced to relocate or find alternative sources of income. New Orleans' Vietnamese community was at a loss.

Realizing that residents were passionate, knowledgeable, and highly skilled farmers, in 2011 MQVN launched a workforce development program to help its residents earn a living. The first iteration of MQVN's urban farming initiative provided

microgrants for community members to purchase and construct backyard greenhouses, and trained them in aquaponics to help them grow produce to sell to New Orleans restaurants. MQVN strictly recruited people who had worked in the fishing industry.

Nguyen started volunteering with MQVN after the oil spill. As a native East New Orleanian, he is well acquainted with the issues facing local residents, and he is also a well-known face in the neighborhood. He may not have fully appreciated the value of the community's intimacy while growing up, but he now understands that character to be unique. "I'm really proud of the work we've been doing, and I'm glad that the people we support are people I've known for most of my life." When Nguyen joined on with MQVN, scores of fishermen came into the office every day, requesting help in filing claims and with other critical administrative tasks. As time has passed, some of the program participants went back to fishing, but the majority stayed on. Nguyen was hired by MQVN's workforce development program to help the remaining farmers establish the VEGGI Farmers Cooperative.

Figure 11 Cultivating Lettuces at VEGGI Cooperative Farm, 2019

Built in 2013, VEGGI is a community member owned and operated farmers' cooperative located on a four-acre property across Dwyer Boulevard from the Mary Queen of Vietnam Church. Members can tend to plots on the farm, or cultivate those in their backyards. Each farmer gets start-up assistance, and the coop markets and sells their produce to buyers all over New Orleans. At the end of the day, growers receive a percentage based on how much land they cultivate. An acre's worth of produce yields a larger share of the profits than, say, someone with a home-based greenhouse. VEGGI also runs a CSA, which currently costs consumers $20-$25. Nguyen says he thinks that the fees are too low, but hopes that the collective will come around to raising them soon.

Vietnamese agriculturalists have long sold their harvests at a now thirty year-old Saturday farmers' market in Village L'Est, which operates roughly from just before sunrise to whenever the inventory is gone. Colloquially referred to as the Squatters Market, restaurant industry veterans know to get there early to snag the best bunches of shiso, lemongrass, and salad greens, and fresh fish, chicken, ducks and geese. Business is brisk, quality is high, and prices are low, so farmers typically pack up their stands by 8:30am.

Figure 12 Washing VEGGI Produce Before Distribution, 2019

Today, VEGGI coop members sell their goods at all of the city's weekly farmers markets. Their stands, cheerfully decorated with bright orange banners emblazoned with the coop logo, are a go-to for shoppers all across town, from East Carrollton to the Garden District to the Bywater, and, of course, in the French Quarter. Their produce is also regularly featured at more than twenty-five high-profile restaurants, including Cochon, Peche, and Sylvain, just to name a few. The coop also sells homemade tofu in a variety of flavors, and soy milk. In 2015, VEGGI's highest-grossing farmer cultivated nearly $50,000 of produce in one year (Feldman 2015).

Almost all of the VEGGI coop members are seniors. They are also all Vietnamese. The cooperative is governed by bylaws developed by its owners, who together approve new memberships. Nguyen says that the farm works because members expect serious commitment and expertise. At present, all farmers are Vietnamese or Vietnamese-American, so "Growing food is very instinctive to Vietnamese people, it's part of our DNA. If you visit this community, you'll notice that if someone has

space in their front or backyards, they're growing food." It also works because they know and trust each other. Speaking the same language and growing up in the same community helps, too. New Orleans East is now home to a long-standing African American community, as well as a growing Latino community. Nguyen notes that while the coop is technically open to anyone, new recruits have come from within cultural community.

In 2018, two younger transplants from Vietnam joined the farm, and are helping to invigorate its ranks. They are something of an anomaly. Because opportunities for local employment are meager, brain drain is a major problem. "There's not really a lot keeping young people here," Nguyen says. "Immigrant families especially push their kids to take advantage of opportunities that they didn't have, either in the home country or the new country. My generation is going to college, and they might be the first to attend a U.S. college, so they're going to school for medicine, science, and engineering. When they graduate, they look for places where they can have a career, so that's taken them away from this community, and New Orleans in general." While the seniors are deeply rooted in Village L'est, Nguyen and others worry that soon there won't be a next generation of Vietnamese in New Orleans East.

Figure 13 Equipment at VEGGI Cooperative Farm, 2019

However, MQVN and VEGGI are trying to pass the love and knowledge of urban farming and food systems to young people from all of the neighborhood's communities. VEGGI staff are in their twenties and thirties, and plan field trips for students from area primary schools. They also have set a few rows in the farm aside for a youth program to tend.

MQVN CDC is a nonprofit, and sustains itself and its programs on grant writing, to foundations and government agencies. The staff is small, and recently underwent downsizing, so program and development personnel are the same, and they are all hands on deck for whatever tasks are required. Like other New Orleans-based

organizations, MQVN has noticed a drastic decrease in support available since Katrina and *Deepwater Horizon*. "It's not great to say, but when there's a disaster, FEMA and other agencies and organizations are onboard to help. But when years pass and things seem fairly quite, that money is much harder to find, even though the community still has shortcomings and needs that have to be met." MQVN is constantly looking for funding, but in accordance with its founding principles, staff members are adamant about only applying for grants that directly serve their community. Although they would like to launch new projects, they simply do not have the resources or person power at present. This is not to say that MQVN is narrow in its definition of relevant programming. They are already working on coastal restoration advocacy and storm water management, which are of immediate concern to residents of Village L'est, as well as most people who live and work in New Orleans.

As of 2019, many in the community have gone back to shrimping, and most of the tuna fishing boats in the Gulf of Mexico are Vietnamese-owned. They know the risks associated with the industry, but when times are good, a fisherman can earn close to $100,000. Fortunately, MQVN is helping the community develop a solid alternative economy that also perpetuates traditional foodways and occupational practices.

While Village L'est tends to face inward, VEGGI sees the bigger picture. Nguyen notes, "we're trying to connect with environmental and food activists in the rest of the city. New Orleans is lucky to have an informal coalition of urban farmers, and I think we all realize that we're not competing. Everyone agrees that the more locally grown food, the better. And the more that people are able to access healthy food, the better. We all want to push the knowledge of where the food comes from. And beyond financial sustainability is environmental sustainability and individual sustainability. Being able to make informed decisions about how your food purchases affect the environment and your body are important to all of us."

b. Trickster Art Gallery, Schaumburg, Illinois

Established in 2005, Trickster Art Gallery is the only American Indian-owned and operated arts institution in the State of Illinois. Founder Joseph Podlasek was born in Chicago, and was raised with deep connections to cultures on both sides of his family tree—his mother is registered with the Ojibwe Tribe, and is father is Polish American. The impetus for founding Trickster was to provide a space that could showcase the community's diversity and creativity. "There's such rich culture, and that needed a place to be expressed in myriad ways," Podlasek says. "We have no reservation lands here, so people no longer think of Illinois as a Native state. But it's rich in Native heritage and art."[xxviii]

According to Podlasek, as of 2020, seventy-eight percent of American Indians live in cities. The State of Illinois is home to approximately 100,000 Native Americans, approximately sixty-five thousand of whom live in the greater Chicago metropolitan area, and represent one hundred forty tribal nations.[xxix] In the 1950s, the United

States government canceled support for services on American Indian reservations (including schools and hospitals), temporarily dissolved recognition of many tribe's statuses, and passed the Indian Relocation Act of 1956, which encouraged American Indians to move from reservations across the United States to cities like Los Angeles, Seattle, Minneapolis, Cleveland, Denver, and Chicago (Fernández Campbell, 2016). The Relocation program sought to assimilate American Indians by breaking up reservations and breaking ties with traditional cultural networks. At the program's inception, roughly eight percent of American Indians lived in cities, and relocation was voluntary. The United States' Bureau of Indian Affairs enlisted individuals and families by promising off-reservation housing and job opportunities, but those who participated found adjusting to city life challenging, and were largely forced to accept sub-par housing and employment. Discrimination ultimately resulted in high levels of poverty and a sense of alienation for those who left the reservation (United States National Archives and Records Administration n.d.). Community centers stepped in to help members transition to metropolitan life, and provided educational, health, and social service programs.

Trickster Art Gallery provides a platform for Native contemporary artists to display and sell their work, and a venue for engaging in dialogue with other cultural communities who live in the greater Chicagoland area. "We're about so much more than poverty," Podlasek says. Located in Schaumburg, a northeastern Chicago suburb, Trickster occupies a ten thousand square-foot former granary facility that features four ample galleries dedicated to rotating exhibitions. The building is owned by the Village of Schaumburg, which leases it to Trickster for a dollar a year. As Schaumburg becomes more demographically diverse, its municipal leaders are interested in supporting entities like Trickster, which bring new communities to the Village. Because the Gallery's audience is national, artists from all over the country, many of whom are also veterans, now show their work in Schaumburg.

The organization also supports a robust American Indian veterans' community, many of whom are artists.[xxx] Robert Wapahi is a painter, educator, and military veteran. He is a founding member of Trickster's veterans' group, and donated the revenue from the sale of his first painting at the gallery to Trickster's facility fund. In so doing, Wapahi has covered their rent for fifty years, and hopes that they will be around much longer than that. "This is the only place we have to make a statement," he says.[xxxi]

Figure 14 Robert Wapahi at Trickster Art Gallery, 2019

Born on a reservation in Northeast Nebraska, Wapahi enlisted with the United States military in 1963, and was shipped out in 1965. He served twenty-four months in Vietnam—an experience that changed his life forever and has set the course for his current activities and affiliations, many of which are supported by Trickster. When Wapahi returned from war, he visited his family's reservation to receive an honorific needle feather. Many other veterans find it too difficult to go home after combat to seek support from their cultural communities. They find themselves confused, estranged, and struggling; many end up losing their language, and as a result, their identity.

Trickster understands the importance of providing space and programs for Native veterans to share and process their experiences as enlistees or in combat. The organization's hallmark event is the National Gathering, an annual three-day convening that brings Native veterans from all wars and peacetime eras together. Held at Cantigny Park, a First Marine Division museum in Wheaton, Illinois, Gathering guests come to participate in special panels lead by veterans and veterans service providers, on topics ranging from traditional health and wellness to working with the VA to jobs and economic development for veterans after service, and more. Trickster has taken the lead on mounting the event, which has become a place of validation and an opportunity to commune, particularly when the country is politically divided, and the military is a lightening rod topic for many on both sides of the aisle. As one staff member noted, "these are First People; America was built on them. To honor those First People and give them their voice back is very important. If we stop listening, they'll stop talking."

Podlasek is the son of a Korean War veteran, and the nephew of six Vietnam veterans. He understands well that there are limited resources and support services available to veterans in general, and Natives in particular. At the Gathering,

participants engage in talking circles, intergenerational storytelling, and resource sharing sessions. Trickster has found that the event is especially important for older vets who aren't proficient with social media or emailing, and feel isolated in their struggles to heal. Michael "Mackey" Pamonieutt is a head veteran who has been integral to the National Gathering's development. He says that the event is critical for a population that suffers from Post Traumatic Stress Disorder and is not aware of all of the veterans' benefits available to them for help with PTSD, addiction, homelessness, suicidal thoughts, and other military service-related disorders.[xxxii] 2019 marks the National Gathering's fifth anniversary. The fourth annual event included veterans from forty-six different tribes. For the fifth, they are hoping for representation from sixty.

Figure 15 Michael Pamonieutt at Trickster's Native Veteran's Exhibition, 2019

Native Americans have and continue to volunteer for military service in numbers far greater than many other cultural groups in the United States. Podlasek explains that this is so because Native Americans feel responsible for protecting their lands. "Doesn't matter who the president is. If we got into a war on U.S. soil and we lost, we'd lose the lands. It's our role to protect those. If that happened, where would native people go? I'm part Polish, and if it's a war zone here people will look to where they have ancestral roots, but Native people don't have other places to go. We are connected to Mother Earth and these lands in particular. It's about self-sovereignty, even though we also fought against the U.S. military for the same." However, less than .01 percent of funds support Native veterans nationally.[xxxiii]

Another benefit of the National Gathering is providing space for older Native Americans to pass on traditions of ceremonial leadership to younger generations. It can be difficult to transmit Native traditions when the community is dispersed.

Native knowledge is not always disseminated through writing, so at the Gathering, Native veterans use oral history to convey stories of past heroes, of important historical military engagements, and their own memories of battles won and lost. They explain and pass on customs related to the Eagle Staff, an honorific totem tantamount to a flag. Currently, Podlasek and the Trickster veterans are working with local legislators to sponsor a Congressional bill to formally recognize the Eagle Staff at relevant state functions, including parades and speakers' platforms. "Any warrior who went to battle would get a pole and decorate it with feathers or beads, and stick in front of their lodge," Wapahi says. "For us it's equivalent to a flag. You don't drop it. It represents warriors, women and men, in all theaters."

Guests at the National Gathering often have difficulty discussing their time in the service, and equally so, grappling with their participation in a military asks them to invade and kill other nations' citizens on their own soil, when less than a century and a half before, the United States was still invading Native lands and slaughtering many of Gatherers' ancestors. "That's an important conversation that takes place with some older members of the Veterans' Group," Wapahi says, "and we're try to share it with young veterans and people outside of the community who aren't familiar with our history."

Trickster's own veteran's group gathers monthly at the gallery to plan the National Gathering, and to encourage each other to open up. "We're fighting to get the younger generation involved in the group, which is how it was with the World War II vets who wanted the Vietnam vets in there. When they're ready, they'll join us," Wapahi says.

The gallery hosts a permanent exhibition dedicated to veterans featuring contemporary art; some items were made by them, others were made about them. It also includes historical and contemporary photographs of veterans, donated military uniforms and headdresses, military paraphernalia, and a memorial to late Native veterans, including Alfred K. Newman, the last of the World War II Navajo Code Talkers, who passed away in January 2019 at the age of ninety-four. Several veterans onsite at Trickster talk about the painful irony of the United States requiring young American Indians to attend boarding schools that forced them to forgo their indigenous languages, only to ask them to weaponize their mother tongues as code talkers during both world wars. Despite being treated as second class citizens, scores of American Indian fighters were among the first to land on the French beach heads in June 1945; each June the group takes a trip to Normandy to commemorate the anniversary of D-Day.

Figure 16 Permanent Military Display at Trickster Art Gallery, 2019

There are a number of Native American-run agencies and organizations in the greater Chicagoland area, including the American Indian Center, the Saint Kateri Center, an educational, faith, and heritage organization named after Kateri Tekakwitha, a Mohawk Catholic blinded by small pox who was beatified as the first Catholic saint of Native decent, and the American Indian Health Services of Chicago. Because there are several organizations, individuals tend to gravitate to the ones that feel most comfortable and meet their specific needs. "Trickster is a good place for us and to teach others about our ways," Mackey says. "The doors are always open. A lot of the veterans live off reservation. Once they're out of the military, they often move to the big cities for employment, where there isn't a community. There's no reservation in Illinois, so Trickster is like an intertribal meeting place where natives can come together. It's important for our younger generations so they know that native people in Chicago are not forgotten."

Podlasek founded the gallery as gathering and healing space for Native communities, and to provide them with income-generating opportunities. Trickster offers a consignment process in which seventy percent of proceeds go to the artist, and thirty percent goes to Trickster—the inverse of most commercial galleries. Because the gallery is a 501(c)3, it lacks the fluid capital necessary to purchase artwork outright for resale, and Podlasek is aware that revenue from consignment sales at Trickster will not be enough to actually sustain the artists. At present, he is applying for grants to make that possible.

Trickster works with a development consultant, who Podlasek says is critical to their survival. The organization just received its first federal grant for several

hundred thousand dollars in support of the veteran's program, which has helped to add key staff. In the meantime, Podlasek has been reinforcing relationships with corporations and foundations like the McCormick Foundation, which helped to expand the annual Gathering from a six-tribe statewide event to a national convening of several hundred. Now fourteen other sponsors help to pay for the food, the tents, and support services for attendees. Trickster has also established partnerships with Indian Centers and tribes across the country, as well as the National Museum of the American Indian's Public Training for Native Organizations, which is providing professional development for the staff around curatorial techniques and collections maintenance.[xxxiv]

The gallery's board members have give or get responsibilities, and many perform at fundraisers. But they do not play drums or wear feathered war bonnets, Podlasek notes. They play blues, jazz, and hip-hop; they teach line and break dancing. Trickster explicitly chose "gallery" instead of "museum" so that it could have the freedom to make its own rules about what defines "Native" culture, and so that it can continue to make connections through inclusive collaborations with other communities. Recently the Japanese American Service Committee installed "Courage and Compassion: Our Shared Story of the Japanese American Experience During World War II," a traveling exhibition about the Japanese American experience during and after World War II internment. The March 2019 exhibition opening was packed with members of both cultural communities, who lingered to eat and talk together long after speeches, keynotes, and official thanks were made. Trickster has also collaborated with segments of Chicago's Filipino and African American communities. Podlasek has made the building available for free to Aztec dancers in need of rehearsal space, in exchange for making those rehearsals open to the public. "In terms of working with other communities that might lack space, offering them an opportunity to exhibit, rehearse, or meet in ours is a beautiful way for us to connect. The building is a tremendous asset and sharing it keeps it lively," Podlasek says.

Big collaborations and broad audiences are necessary in order to apply for the larger grants that cover general operating support, administrative overhead, and salaries. Podlasek believes that making these kinds of connections is fundamental to Trickster's mission, but it also helps to pay for programming. "Foundations want to see that you're working with other people and not locked into a little world," Podlasek says. Further, he is cautious about leaning on the Native American community. "We don't strive to ask for our Native community to give heavily—many are already struggling. Not everyone is impoverished and I hate that stereotype, but we're doing this to create economic development, not to take from them. There are many successful business owners in the American Indian network, and we're working with them, but we have to show them who we are, and find a way to evaluate our impact. It's about bettering our community."

Podlasek is keeping the mission and audience expansive, while trying to increase capacity. But as far as the next five years, his goal is to grow just a little bit more. The

staff still wears multiple hats, but they have just applied for a grant called Smart Growth through the Chicago Community Trust. Smart Growth would fund consultation around planning for the organization's sustainable growth. "I don't need twenty-two staff here. I need probably three more, and we'll be set for a good while. But we need that sustainability so that the total eight people know that they're good for their jobs for the next three to five years, too." Trickster just resigned its five-year lease with the Village, so its exhibition and programming space are guaranteed for another few years. The lease stipulates that Trickster remain open to the public for a set number of hours per week, and that is hold programs and exhibits that benefit Schaumberg and the surrounding area. Thus far, the Village seems to be quite pleased.

Trickster is the only Native American organization in Schaumburg, and Podlasek sees this as an opportunity for cross-promotion and, to some degree, fundraising. The Village and the towns around Schaumburg have the ability to give, but first Trickster had to prove that it offered something the neighbors wanted to support. Podlasek says that he believes Trickster is at that that point. "We've shown consistency and growth. This place is not only for our community—it's for all communities of culture," he says. "We're not looking for floral paintings and general landscapes, we want artists who are expressing their cultural heritage. If we kept this space only available for the Native community, we'd have a tiny following and then what? We live together, our kids go to school together, we work together. Why would we not celebrate cultures together and share the arts?"

c. National Cambodian Heritage Museum & Killing Fields Memorial, Chicago, Illinois

Between 1975 and 1994, nearly one hundred sixty thousand Cambodians entered the United States. Many came as refugees of the Cambodian genocide, an atrocity perpetrated by the Khmer Rouge—officially called the Communist Party of Cambodian Kampuchea (CPK)—led by the French-educated Maoist-Communist Pol Pot (Chan 2015:1). The Khmer Rouge regime came to power in 1975 after agitating against Western capitalist influence in Cambodia and overthrowing the American-backed leader of the Khmer Republic, General Lon Nol, thus winning a civil war that raged from March 1970 to April 1975.[xxxv]

The Khmer Rouge renamed the country Democratic Kampuchea and ruled with extreme paranoia and brutality. It purged intellectuals, doctors, lawyers, nurses, and members of the Khmer Republic's military and law enforcement, as well as Buddhists, Muslims, Christians, and ethnic minorities. In an attempt to create a rural utopian society without competition, it forcibly reorganized Cambodians into agricultural collectives, abolished political and civil rights, outlawed popular culture, religion, and self-expression, and implemented a reeducation program that escalated a culture of thought control to reinforce Communist ideology.[xxxvi] Children were separated from their parents, and the populace was divided into categories based on trustworthiness as determined by the Khmer Rouge. It turned relatives

and friends into spies, and encouraged them to identify oppositional or subversive elements within their family units and communes, as well as within the regime's own ranks. During the Khmer Rouge's rule, an estimated 1.7 million people died by execution at prison camps and in the killing fields around the collectives, or from torture, forced labor, disease, and malnutrition. [xxxvii]

Only a small percentage of Cambodian refugees managed to escape before Vietnamese Communist forces overthrew the Khmer Rouge in 1979. After the regime was ousted, hundreds of thousands of Cambodians fled to the Thai-Cambodian border, seeking admission to refugee camps and ultimately immigration to the United States, Europe, and Australia.[xxxviii] However, Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge continued to lead in exile from Thailand, and received backing from the United State and the United Kingdom to fight the Vietnamese leadership of the new People's Republic of Kampuchea. Thousands were displaced or killed during Cambodian-Vietnamese War, which ended in 1989. A peace treaty was signed in 1991, and two years later the nation held its first democratic elections. The Cambodian monarchy was reinstated and the country's named changed to the Kingdom of Cambodia.

Starting in the 1970s, elders in the United States' Cambodian community organized around the need to provide services for newcomers who were unfamiliar with the language, customs, and culture. In 1975 they established the Cambodian Association of America (CAA) out of a garage in Long Beach, California, to provide transportation, translation services, and acculturation classed for new arrivals. At CAA grew, it coordinated national-level advocacy campaigns on behalf of South Asians, and and helped to launch and support local CAA branches throughout the country.[xxxix]

The Illinois chapter of the CAA eventually became the Cambodian Association of Illinois (CAI). Founded in 1976 by a group of Cambodian refugee volunteers, CAI responds to the needs of Cambodians resettling in Chicago. It provides youth and family programs, home-care services for seniors, public benefits assistance for community members with limited English skills, and a volunteer-based peer support group of Cambodian adults who survived the genocide.

Figure 17 Cambodian Association of Illinois and Museum, 2019

Refugees from Cambodia faced enormous challenges. Only a very small percentage—mainly those who arrived in 1975 and escaped the atrocities of the Khmer Rouge era—were formally educated and able to enter the professional workforce. Roughly half of second and third wave Cambodian refugees worked in unskilled industries, and the remainder, many of whom were single women with dependents whose male relatives were killed in the genocide, relied on public assistance. Significant numbers still suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder, and find it too painful to share their experiences with children, grandchildren, and others (Chan 2015:2). To address these hardships, many in the Cambodian community are creating opportunities for healing by turning memory into action, and by celebrating, teaching, and preserving Cambodian cultural heritage for future generations.

In 2004, the Cambodian Association of Illinois founded the Cambodian American Heritage Museum & Killing Fields Memorial for these purposes. It is the only museum in the United States dedicated to Cambodian genocide awareness, advocacy for genocide survivors and their families, healing arts, and youth leadership development in social justice. After the Museum inaugurated its permanent exhibition, "Remembering the Killing Fields," the State of Illinois became the first in the country to formally adopt the Cambodian Day of Remembrance in 2012. Today, Cambodians in Chicago, across the country, and around the world have recognized the invaluable role that the Museum and Memorial play in their communities.

Paul Cchorm is the Museum and Memorial's Executive Director. After years of trauma and unending transition, he and his family were sponsored to come to Chicago. During and after Pol Pot's rule, famine and mass starvation spread across Cambodia. In 1979, when Paul was a teenager, his father decided to try to relocate

his starving family to a Thai refugee camp. Although the border had not yet been closed, the process took seven days and involved treacherous encounters with soldiers and border guards. Between 1979 and 1984, Cchorm and his family lived in a series of refugee camps. There was never enough to eat. Surrounded by barbed wire, Chhorm attended a United Nations-established school, and learned English, French, and Thai. In 1983, Cchorm's family applied for and passed the interview for relocation to the United States. Tragically, his father had passed away suddenly during relocation between camps, so in 1984 Cchorm's mother landed in Chicago with seven children and limited resources.[xl]

The Cambodian Association of Illinois became their extended family. The CAI coordinated a host family from within the community, and then found them a semi-furnished apartment of their own. The organization helped them apply for refugee assistance from the state, which provided $1,000 per month. It provided language training and job placement assistance.

"I consider myself to be a child of the Association," Cchorm says. "They helped us get settled and meet other people from the Cambodian community. They also encouraged my education. When I first came and tried English as a Second Language, I decided to go to college even though others went to work. It was a dream for a Cambodian boy who escaped the war and didn't have a formal education before coming here. We were farmers in Cambodia. School opened up a way for me to see the bigger world." While many of his peers moved to warmer climates as soon as they were old enough, Paul fell in love with Chicago and spent six years at the Illinois Institute of Technology earning an architecture degree and pursuing a post-graduate program. He also studied Khmer at the CAI, and eventually became one of Association's instructors. His he dedicated to reviving Cambodian language and culture. "I want to bring back what we lost," he says.

CAI moved to its current location on West Lawrence Avenue in 1999. A year later they decided to construct a new three-story building to host their offices and a nascent museum, so they called Cchorm, who oversaw the project and is now deeply attached to it. "The museum was very new thinking for us," he recalls. For most of its existence, the Association had focused on social services. When the idea of an education center came up, the staff developed the concept of a living community museum dedicated to educating the public about Cambodian history, heritage, and culture.

Fundraising consultants told the Association board that trying to sell the idea of a museum alone wouldn't work. To get investment from within and beyond the Cambodian community, the idea had to be bigger and the mission had to be bolder. After receiving encouragement from other communities who educate around histories of war and genocide, the Association decided that it was time tell the story of the Cambodian killing fields, to build a memorial to the lives that were lost, and to educate toward building a more peaceful future. "How do we pay repay those who sacrificed? Education and social justice advocacy. The museum is a manifestation of

this idea, and the memorial wall is the heart and soul of this institution, ”Cchorm says.

CAI and museum co-founder Kompa Seth lost twenty-four family members to the Khmer Rouge. Only he and his sister survived, and for him, the pain of the loss is ever present. “ I wanted the Museum and Memorial to encourage us to remember the suffering, but not to repeat it,” he says. Seth hopes that the Museum and its contents serve as a bridge between generations, and a conduit for dialogue about war and genocide within and beyond the Cambodian community.[xli]

Figure 18 Permanent Exhibition, National Cambodian Heritage Museum & Killing Fields Memorial, 2019

Initially the museum was a program of the Association. But in 2015, they decided that it would be pragmatic to incorporate the Museum as an independent 501(c)(3) so that advocacy, education, and culture could be fundamental to the mission, thereby rendering the Museum eligible to receive funding from a broader set of sources. At that time, the institution was renamed the National Cambodian Heritage Museum & Killing Fields Memorial. The decision to add “National” to the title to indicate the institution’s relevance to a national audience and to Cambodians and supporters across the country. It’s a big responsibility for a little organization.

Fundraising was not easy during the first few years. Two private foundations, with which the CAI had had long relationships, supported the Museum by awarding it with general operating grants. These two grants, which are still two of the major sources of funding that the Museum receives, were essential for its survival during these very challenging years. Other foundations and government foundations declined to support the Museum because, as a new 501(c)(3) organization, the Museum was not able to provide financial statements and proof of organizational and financial stabilities, despite the fact that it had existed since 2004.

Two 501(c)(3)s notwithstanding, fundraising is still challenging, and the Museum ultimately relies on the CAI, which, in turn, relies heavily on state contracts for its home-care program. Although they are technically independent entities, the Museum and the Association share staff. Cchorm's works on contract, part-time. General operating support comes from the state, city, and private foundations, however, the Museum staff is stretched as thin as it can go. It has obtained a few program-specific grants, such as one focused on storytelling and another on collaboration with a Cambodian photographer, but adding scores of tangential programs just to add a few extra dollars is not considered to be in their best interest. Cchorm says that the Museum is very serious about sticking to its core values, so it tends to be selective about its sources of support. While they can easily fall into the rubric of education, it is important to Paul and the Board that they only work with funders who support the Cambodians in telling the story from their point of view, and with their own voices, instead of academics, corporations, or foundations with skin in the game.

Establishing a culture of trust between grantor and grantees is so important, and it goes both ways. From July 2015 to the end of August 2017, Illinois was without a complete state budget. That was precisely when the Museum became its own 501(c)(3). Because the Museum was a new entity, foundations were skeptical about investing. But the Association took action and drastically cut back on expenses for both organizations. In so doing, it demonstrated fiscal responsibility and transparency, and earned the trust of several Chicago-based foundations that ultimately provided funding for programs, and in so doing, provided the Museum with confidence as well. "We owe them for the unconditional support and trust that they gave us. That's what helped us to return a really good product," says Associate Director Kaoru Watanabe.[xlii]

In 2020, the Association will reach a milestone when it makes the final mortgage payment on its building. As soon as that happens, Seth is prepared to throw his energies behind expanding the membership. Both Cchorm and Seth discuss the pressure to expand—programming, outreach, and even the building. They are careful to balance between the needs of the Museum and those of the community. They would like to offer free programming, but are also aware that some school districts make funds available to pay for fieldtrip admissions, so they must be cautious about overextending. Having a membership can be a double-edged sword—although it helps to bring people through the door, serious personnel and resource investment is required to maintain and build those relationships. While the Museum would like to eventually get its budget to half of a million dollars, doing so is a long-term goal, and they would like to take very smalls steps along the way.

"For now the community is happy," Seth says. "And the younger generation who come here feel that it's their home, so are taking ownership and hopefully they will be able to step in when the older generation is gone," Seth says. The shift in generational emphasis is a very important strategy for the local Cambodian community. When the refugees arrived in the United States, they had to start work

to support their families right away; for many years they had no time or resources to build or support institutions. As decades passed, the refugee generation earned job site seniority and good salaries through union negotiations. Its members began to support organizations dedicated to preserving the community's legacy. However, when the economy collapsed in the 2008 recession, hundreds of people lost their jobs. Many of the middle aged or senior community members went into early retirement, and resources they had hoped to contribute to the Museum had to be reallocated for personal survival.

Fortunately, the second generation is dedicated to taking on a leadership role. Almost all of the Museum's board members are Cambodian American, under the age of fifty, and alumni of the Association. Professionals from a wide range of industries and sectors, their diverse talents and skill sets are to helping to fortify the Museum and raise its visibility.

At present, the Museum's only full-time staff member is Punisa Pov, the Artist-in-Residence who teaches classical Cambodian music to seniors, adults, and children. Born and raised in Cambodia, Pov provides the community with a critical link to its cultural roots, and helps them celebrate a part of the heritage that they once feared lost. She reminds them that it is not merely a part of their past.

Indeed, art is integral to the Museum's work, and on the weekends the space comes alive with music and cultural education programs. In addition to the memorial and historical exhibition, a gallery space showcases original pieces by Cambodian artists working in both traditional and fine arts modes. On Saturdays, Anneth Houy, Director of CAI's Children and Youth Program and Coordinator of the Museum's Culture and Healing Arts Program, teaches classical, folk, and social Cambodian dance classes in the building's multi-purpose room, and Cchorm teachers Khmer and Cambodian to youth and adult learners. All of the cultural programs offer openings into conversations about Cambodian identity and history—tremendously sensitive subjects for many community members, even those who have been instrumental in bringing the Museum to fruition.

The National Cambodian Heritage Museum & Killing Fields Memorial has formed a public programming partnership with Dr. Ada Cheng, an educator, storyteller, and performance producer. Cheng regularly brings new audiences through the door to see her storytelling events. Formerly a Sociology professor at DePaul University, Cheng discovered that changing minds is only possible through changing hearts first. "The best way to convince people is not through facts and logic. I taught information, data, and logic. And I realized those are no longer enough to convince people to act," she says. "We don't act because we think; we act because of the way we feel, because something makes us feel the need to *do*. So I was trying to find ways to connect with people, to have a larger platform, to convey my messages differently. Not just through intellect, but through emotion. Storytelling was one method."[xliii]

Cheng's shows have encouraged Cambodian community members to share their own stories. The process helps them to self-validate and process trauma. The generation who endured genocide, displacement, and refugee status does not often speak about these experiences to their children. In turn, their suffering causes PTDS and conflict with younger generations, who also experience forms of anxiety because they see parents cry or shut down, but do not fully understand why. Cheng's storytelling workshops are a long-term community-based practice, and help entire families to express themselves so they can move forward together. They have also emboldened several Cambodian storytellers to participate in performances, both inside and outside of the museum. It has been a transformative and emotional experience for both sides. "This place is not just about trauma and suffering, but about healing, about resilience of a group of people. And I'm privileged to be able to help amplify," Cheng says.

Cheng's audiences, many of whom have never been to the museum before, get a chance to explore the exhibitions before or after her shows. They see harrowing photographs, read descriptions of almost unimaginable suffering, and understand the backdrop for mass Cambodian migration. Almost invariably, they are moved to donate or get involved, both to the institution and contemporary politics. Cheng's goal, like that of the Museum, is to underscore the connection between the past and the present. "One of the central issues facing this country is that we don't know history, and we don't think that history is important. If you want to understand what's happening now with the U.S., you have to understand what happened in the past, even just decades ago. It helps to put our foreign policy and military intervention into context, including racial and ethnic inequality in this country and immigration patterns. A lot of debates that we have right now have roots in our own foreign policies, but not many people know the history."

Anneth Houy coordinates the Museum's Culture and Healing Arts program. Born in a Thai refugee camp, Houy and her family moved to Chicago in 1989, and she has spent most of her life working with or for the Association. She points to the opening section of the permanent exhibition, "Remembering the Killing Fields," which highlights the stories of survivors. To create this installation, the Museum interviewed nearly fifty individuals, six of whom are featured in the display. Their quotes are pulled out on panels, and all text is translated into English and Khmer. One of the spotlighted speakers is Houy's mother. "That's another level of my personal connection to the space. And my daughter comes here often to participate in the cultural program. Sharing how my family survived makes it so that my story is also a piece of this place. We are so lucky. All three generations of women in my family are here together, and that gives me hope," she says.[xliv]

Figure 19 Memorial to the Victims of the Cambodian Genocide, 2019

After guiding a tour through the exhibit Houy is visibly emotional, and approaches the apogee of the exhibition, the permanent Killing Fields Memorial. Passing behind a barrier, visitors enter a dimly lit, meditative alcove and come face to face with the Memorial—an opaque glass monument, long and smooth, and comprised of eighty panels, each representing twenty-five thousand people. The front panels are etched with the names of the deceased, which the Museum has lovingly collected from surviving families living in the United State. The Memorial symbolically honors two million people who lost their lives during the genocide. The Memorial space is transportive and transcendent, a fitting testament to souls of those who were killed and the spirits of the people who find a way to go on. Every year on April 17th, the Museum hosts the Cambodian Day of Remembrance. They receive visitors from schools, universities, other museums, and Cambodian communities from across the country. People come to express their anger and sadness; to grieve and to mourn, and also to be together. Throughout the month of April, the Museum offers candle light vigils, symposia, and a safe space for dialogue.

"For us, it's kind of like freedom, that we've had an opportunity to do this here," Houy says. "Having this Museum moved the community forward. We have a home. For us, that's a kind of freedom. That's something the community had lost during the Khmer Rouge, and something that we were able to rebuild. It was a huge accomplishment for us here in Illinois."

Challenges, Recommendations, and Action Points

In *Decolonizing Wealth*, Edgar Villanueva writes,

> *Like all investors, foundations have their logic models, their strategic plans, and their theories of change, all of which are too often not applicable to the real*

> *world. They believe what they want to believe. Fund seekers are forced to play games, dangling projects that they know have sex appeal or reflect the trendy buzzword of the moment, in order to entice foundations to fund them. Many foundations simply will not fund an organization's existing work. For a long time funders have also leaned away from general operating support—always the most helpful type of grant because it can be applied to all facets of an organization's work as opposed to a single program—although this has finally been shifting in recent years* (Villanueva 2018:74-75).

Funders in the arts are more generous about providing general operating support than those in most other sectors. However, the impact of general operating support is not measurable, and many private-sector funders do not want to establish long-term relationships with grantees who cannot provide metrics that provide proof of impact. Several studies suggest that private-sector general operating support is beyond the reach of groups like VEGGI Farmers Cooperative, who lack the capacity to fulfill these metrics. Social-justice funders are most interested in providing this support to larger, more visible "premier groups" (Coke et al., 2009:5).

It is clear that a number of changes to grant application and reporting structures must be made if small groups like those described in this section are to be effectively supported. First among our recommendations is longer grant terms. As the Foundation Center's report titled "Social Justice Grantmaking II" notes, "The way foundation grants are typically made inhibits the field. Single-year project grants are seen as leading to tentative work and inhibiting innovative thinking" (Coke et al., 2009:8). Similarly, Maria Rosario Jackson et al. note that long-term grants provide artists with more time to spend time on their art rather than on grant writing. Unfortunately, only 4.7 percent of reporting organizations had awards programs with expected durations of over one year (Jackson, Kabwasa-Green, Swenson et al., 2003:43). Small organizations have budgetary margins that are too small for sustainability in this system, so the long-term impacts of this short-term engagement are deleterious to the cultural ecosystem.

To help with long-term capacity building, more funders should consider providing support in the form of leadership development combined with unrestricted operating support (Coke et al., 2009:6). They should also provide technical and focused application assistance to prospective grantees, as well as to grantees struggling through the reporting process, ideally in the community language (Grantmakers in the Arts 2010:2). The Center for an Urban Future's 2015 "Creative New York" report suggests creating an MBA-style boot camp for cultural nonprofit administrators (Forman 2015:60). Since 2013, the New York Foundation for the Arts (NYFA) has offered an Emerging Leaders Boot Camp. The free, nine-month intensive program has thus far provided leadership development training to over one hundred arts administrators from a wide range of disciplines.[xlv] The New York State Council on the Arts (NYSCA) is developing and expanding its professional-development and mentoring programs to focus on small community-based groups. It recognizes many of these groups' structure and function do not match the arts

administration ideal but are instead driven by the sense of mission. Many leaders learn administration skills on the job, and often structure their organizations in a more collaborative, less hierarchical, less systematic way than textbooks recommend. According to NYSCA's Robert Baron, "What we're doing with these professional-assistance programs is thinking about how to meet organizations where they are, and according to their ideals and the mission, yet still help them be sustainable." Although local arts agencies like NYFA and NYSCA offer important non-profit management resources and professional-development trainings, funding for these programs is often episodic, making long-term training initiatives unsustainable (Jackson, Kabwasa-Green, Swenson et al., 2003:61).

The National Cambodian Heritage Museum & Killing Fields Memorial is a member of several coalitions that allow them to bring their community's voice to the table, provide technical and capacity building support, and advocate for equity in the arts. These include Enrich Chicago, the International Coalition for Sites of Conscience, and the Chicago Cultural Alliance (CCA). These memberships help the Museum staff connect with and establish long-term partnerships with other cultural organizations, museums, memorials, and foundations and government agencies. The coalitions also provide visibility for the Museum beyond its own community. The CCA, the only organization of its kind in the nation, represents Chicago-area cultural heritage museums, centers, and historical societies, their "Core Members." Through the CCA, the Core Members are connected to a wide range of civic and arts organizations, known as "Partners." Partners and Core Members work together to increase each other's capacity, working towards CCA's shared vision of a more culturally inclusive and equitable region.[xlvi] CCA offers capacity building support to member organizations, and one of the Museum's supporting foundations offers a small professional development purse to its grantee pool.

We also recommend that funders develop some clarity around what trust with grantees looks like. During the course of this study, we consistently heard from community anchors that they felt that funders distrusted them. This impression stems partially from stringent reporting requirements attached to most awards, and partially from the inflexibility of the support given. We suggested that meaningful paradigm shifts could include a small percentage of flex money with each organizational grant, or the availability of micro or opportunity grants to organizations so that they can take risks and be responsive to new contingencies. Grantees could report on how they used those flex or micro funds, and the data collected would highlight some of the gaps in funding that still need to be addressed.

Elected officials can and do play significant roles in supporting community anchors. Each year, New York City Council members allot discretionary funding to non-profits in their districts. Significantly, these funds are made available outside of competitive grant application processes.[xlvii] The selection of recipient organizations incorporates local knowledge and insights from Council Members' staff, and in New York City, often include insights from local Community Boards.

Section III: Legacy Businesses

The leaders of the three small businesses profiled in this section are what Professor of Anthropology Nick Spitzer calls "cultural first responders."[xlviii] In times of crisis and change, these stalwart establishments make sure their doors are open so that long-standing neighbors can come inside for solace, support, and something familiar. They have weathered it all, from hurricanes to protests to gentrification, and they have withstood shifts in taste, demographics, and social consciousness. Their steadfastness has earned them the favor of community members, but their deep knowledge of local networks has also enabled them to lead a cultural revival in each of their hometown districts.

a. Lil' Dizzy's Café, New Orleans, Louisiana

In August 2005, the extended Wayne Baquet family took shelter from Hurricane Katrina in Atlanta. After only three months away, Wayne realized that he had to come back and reopen Lil' Dizzy's Café, the sixth and most recent Creole restaurant he has founded and run in New Orleans, and the eighth such eatery in his family's history. The Baquet restaurants are Crescent City institutions. They have built their legendary local status on the quality and comfort of their food, and the quality and comfort of their hospitality. New Orleans just isn't the same without them, and the city knows this from two distressing experiences.

The first was the months after Hurricane Katrina during which Lil' Dizzy's remained shuttered, dark and under water, along with the much of the region. The second was in March 2019, when Wayne closed the café for a few necessary improvements. Though the ovens were only off for two weeks, the community felt the absence and showed up throughout the hiatus to anxiously peek through the windows, just to make sure that "closed for renovations" was not a dreaded euphemism. Finally, on Sunday, March 24th, what appeared to be the entire city—tourists and passing businessmen included—lined up at 7am to get a seat, a meal, and a hug from Wayne and the Lil' Dizzy's staff. The collective sigh of relief was followed shortly by a pleasurable belch and loosening of ties and belt buckles. The Baquets had fed New Orleans' stomach and soul another day, just as they have for over almost eighty years.

Wayne and the Baquet family business came into being within a few short years of each other. In 1940, Wayne's middle-aged great aunt, Ada Baquet Gross, established an eatery at the behest of her husband, Paul. Located at the corner of Bienville and North Roman Street, Paul Gross' Chicken Coop was one of the first African American-owned restaurants in the city, serving large portions of downhome dishes like red beans and cabbage, twenty-four hours a day. In light of their success and the customary twelve-hour shift, Wayne's father, Edward Baquet Sr., joined the staff as bookkeeper, maintenance man, and jack-of-all-trades.[xlix]

In 1965, Edward and his wife, Myrtle, took a chance and started a restaurant of their own. With start up capital from the sale of their home, the Baquets bought Good Fellow's Bar on Law Street in the 7th Ward. They converted the front of the building into a restaurant and small bar called Eddie's, and the back into a home for seven. Opened in 1966, Eddie's employed everyone in the family—Edward Sr., Myrtle, Myrtle's mother, Eva Romano, and Eva's sister, Anna Gibson. Wayne, who had been helping at Paul Gross', was also recruited. As the restaurant developed a regular clientele and a gold-star reputation, its menu expanded from sandwiches and a daily special to include Creole staples like fried seafood, red beans and gumbo, po'boys, and fried chicken.

Wayne tended bar at Eddie's in the evening and took classes at Dillard University during the day. He got married, started a family, and at the age of twenty-one decided to take a break from the food industry grind. During his nine years at Woolco Department Store (a division of F.W. Woolworth Company) he rose through the ranks to become division manager. But the family business lured him back. More specifically, Woolco tried to transfer him to Mississippi just as older brother Eddie Jr. called for help. Wayne didn't want to be far from home, and worried about the social politics of the surrounding states. So he applied his well-honed managerial skills to Eddie's archaic administrative systems, and brought the restaurant into the twenty-first century and onto reviewers' radar.

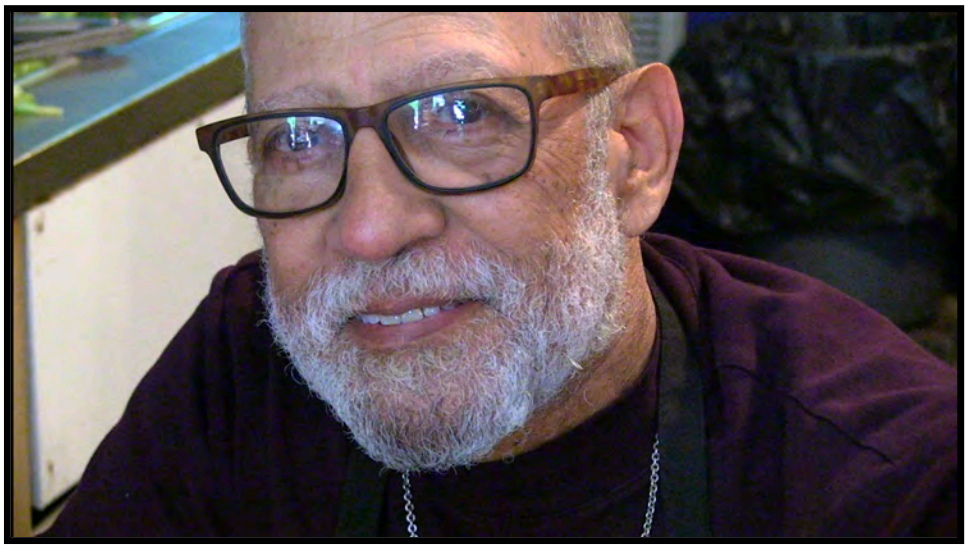

Figure 20 Wayne Baquet at Lil' Dizzy's Cafe, 2019

Wayne replaced the cigar box under the bar with a state-of-the-art cash register. He introduced guest checks and a seating system, and invested in a slicing machine. "I told my dad we weren't slicing ham to order anymore," he laughs. He also inverted the restaurant's priorities by switching the fourteen-seat dining room with the forty-cover bar area. As visitor volume increased, and he made sure that Eddie's had red beans every day and gumbo every night. In Wayne's first two weeks, Eddie's hit a new record—$1,000 dollars in revenue. It only went up from there, and by the

late 1970s, Eddie's was a casual eatery serving everything from po'boys to shrimp remoulade and trout Baquet (trout with crabmeat). They also served everyone, and over time, drew a more integrated crowd to the predominantly African American Seventh Ward.

In 1979, Eddie Sr. and his sons opened Eddie Baquet's, an African American-owned, white tablecloth Creole restaurant, located in a Black neighborhood. It was among the first of its kind, and was just around the corner from Eddie's. But Wayne's entrepreneurial sensibilities outpaced those of his kin, and he handed over his keys after not too long. After another three-month stint at Woolco, pinching pennies, packing lunches, and commuting with his wife in the family's only car, Wayne got a loan, took out a mortgage on the house, and bought a restaurant in Broadmoor. Café Baquet's served breakfast and lunch for almost a decade. The food shared a common root with the other Baquet concerns, but at Café Baquet's, Wayne's wife, Janet, was the main chef. Wayne says that she is probably the best chef he'll ever know.

Wayne's parents eventually grew tired of the double-shift-with-a-nap-in-the-back-room lifestyle, and asked him to take charge of their flagship, Eddie's. The handover was emotional, but Wayne made sure that both his parents and the restaurant were well-cared for. He says that he and his father spent the next nine years as the best of friends, until Edward Sr. passed away at the age of seventy-one.

In the meantime, Wayne opened a cafeteria at Southern University and a launched a lunch counter at Krauss Department store. His next big venture was a fine-dining, nouvelle Creole establishment called Zachary's, named after his grandson. Opened in 1993, Zachary's served two different takes on trout, prime steaks, and lobster, as well as Creole staples like gumbo, crawfish bisque, and roast beef brisket in brown gravy. Its two sophisticated dining rooms could seat one hundred guests at once. Janet served as chef de cuisine, and their son, Wayne Jr., came onboard to manage.

As they got older, Wayne and Janet began to worry about their retirement fund. After much consideration and with a heavy heart, they sold Zachary's, the last of the Baquet-owned establishments, in 2004. The team, which included everyone in the family and then some, threw a memorable going away party and Wayne talked about plans to consult and continue catering at Jazz Fest and the Essence Festival. But he couldn't stay away.

Only three short weeks into his retirement, Wayne walked through the Treme to 1500 Esplanade Avenue, then-home to a restaurant called Big Shirley's. A former Baquet staffer was working there, and, admitting that they "weren't doing much," suggested that Wayne buy it. Challenge accepted. Baquet purchased the business and changed the name to Lil' Dizzy's Café. Because he had sold exclusive rights to everything related to Zachary's, Wayne opened Lil' Dizzy's with a new staff. The team was slow to congeal, but he got them there. And then Katrina hit.

Figure 21 March 2019 Reopening of Lil' Dizzy's Cafe

Devastated but safe, Wayne and his family made the most out of their stay in Atlanta. They spent quality time and cooked together often. But Wayne was eager to check on his home and business. When he came back to New Orleans three months later, he was stunned. "This place was a disaster and the neighborhood was a disaster. We had about three feet of water. If you went up to the Circle Food Store, there were bodies floating in the street. The water was up to the stop sign." Only one and a half blocks over, the waters had receded. His home on the bayou had flooded up to the ceiling, but luckily an investment condo in the warehouse district had fared well. As his tenants were not eager to return, Baquet used the condo as his base of operations while he tried to get Lil' Dizzy's back online.

He called whichever contractors were available to start immediately. He got food from whatever suppliers were up and running, which sometimes was none and meant picking through the meager offerings at a barely-functioning grocery store. Just before the storm, Zachary's had shifted concepts and changed names, so the new owners granted him permission to rehire all of his beloved old employees, who were overjoyed—to have work, to work with Wayne again, and to have something to hope for. Lil' Dizzy's opened five months later. It was one of the only games in the neighborhood, no less the town. The queues that formed outside of the door and wrapped around the block were lifelines to normal. New Orleans, one of the quirkiest cities on the planet, desperately needed normal.

So many people were displaced. When they came back to check on their families, friends, and property, they were cautiously optimistic and quickly disappointed. Many lived temporarily in Baton Rouge and outlying parishes, and when they came into New Orleans, the first thing they wanted was Creole soul food. Shrimp and oyster po'boys, hot sausage, red beans, fried catfish, baked macaroni. Lil' Dizzy's had

all of that. Wayne describes the post-Katrina community at Lil' Dizzy's as a big family.

Locals and volunteers regularly sat together, groups of ten, fifteen, twenty—people looking for any excuse to celebrate. And when the musicians came in, "that part was really emotional," Wayne says. "Trombone Shorty's brother was in here one day, and we had a group of about twenty people, I asked him, 'what would it take for you to play one trumpet?' He just wanted fried chicken. So he played and people were so excited and happy, it was unbelievable. Everyone was in tears."

Lil' Dizzy's even fed President George Bush along with the heads of all of New Orleans' the parishes. "That was something else. You couldn't get within six blocks. They had people on all the rooftops. It was quite an experience. Even the Archbishop was here. Everyone had to be searched, and they brought the dogs in. They even had their security chief in the back watching us cook the food.'"

Since then, Lil' Dizzy's Café has been bumping. Baquet is grateful for every day that the city is back, and for every customer who walks in the door. But he does worry that gentrification has taken hold since the hurricane, and that real Creole soul food is becoming a rarity, even in New Orleans. In the Treme, you can both see and feel the effects. Tourists wheeling suitcases stream in and out of Airbnbs, even though the city has tried to crack down hard on illegal rentals, while bespoke coffee shops serving vegan Australian flat whites are popping up just a few blocks away. It's about more than gentrification—it's about representation. As Brett Anderson of *The Times-Picayune* wrote on the eve of Wayne's intended retirement, "African-Americans play a crucial role in every aspect of New Orleans culinary history, yet relatively few became prominent restaurant owners. For nearly sixty years, the Baquets were among the few exceptions" (Anderson 2014). Though the Baquets' cuisine is traditional, their accomplishments are pioneering, and important to the cultural and social fabric of New Orleans. Wayne hasn't changed his prices, menu, or décor in years, and he also doesn't care what the food bloggers are trending this month. "We cook things that no one else does. Creole food is becoming unique because people's tastes have changed. The new generation likes yuppy food. They don't realize the history behind the soul food culture." Fortunately, it is not unusual for Lil' Dizzy's to feed over two hundred people between Friday and Sunday.

At noon on Saturday, March 23, 2019, Baquet is anxious to see what the next day will bring. He has promised everyone that Lil' Dizzy's is coming back, and only just today could he say that they are reopening *tomorrow*. "This is the first time we've closed since Katrina," he says quickly, and then sits quiet for a moment. He looks around the restaurant and assesses what they've accomplished and what still needs to be done. Wayne just put in a whole new kitchen floor, which presented all kinds of unexpected issues. "Everything's gotta come out and go into containers. And then you gotta get everything professionally cleaned. And I still have a guy upstairs putting in a whole new A/C." He put this update off too long, and it's costing him, Wayne says. But he did it right. Fortunately, Lil' Dizzy's did well during Mardi Gras,

so their resources were strong enough to weather the break in service. However, the renovation went on longer than expected, and Baquet is ready to go. “Some people told me to wait till Monday, but I said no. We’re opening tomorrow.”

At age seventy-two, even after a lifetime in back breaking, on-your-feet-all-day work and the stress of managing multiple properties plus raising a family, Baquet looks closer to fifty. He is serene and kind, and takes the time to sit and talk without glancing at his watch. He smiles at the staff as they set up breakfast stations for the next day’s rush, and they smile back, also looking eager to start up service again. “These are my family. We’ve been through it all together. They’ve been waiting for us to reopen, too.”

Janet Baquet is also still part of the operation. Though no longer a chef, she takes care of all of the paperwork and the payroll, and keeps Wayne on track, he says. He knows they won’t be there forever, but he believes the restaurant has a long future. Baquet is proud to have two successful, happy adult children who have vastly different careers. Even if they don’t come back the way Wayne did, he is confident that they will find a way to keep the place rolling and a staple of New Orleans foodways.

Figure 22 Full House and Full Stomachs at Lil’ Dizzy's Cafe, 2019

At 11:30am on Sunday, March 24th, 2019, the joint is jumping. The line has morphed into venndiagrams of friend and family circles, overlapping and intertwining, hands on each other’s shoulders and laughing. They will wait as long as it takes, and they are glad to have to. Diners freshly seated around sidewalk tables flag the waitresses down for a ‘Hey, bébé!’ Inside, Wayne weaves through long rows of chairs where multi-generational families just in from church take a break from saying grace to shake his hand and comment on the good food. On the walls, framed family photos, news clippings, and original artwork dedicated to the restaurant absorb and then reflect the clinking of forks on ceramic plates, the sizzle of the chaffing dish as fresh

eggs come out of the kitchen, and the gratitude of the collective consciousness silently intoning, 'and let us all say, amen.'

b. Arch Social Club, Baltimore, Maryland

The Arch Social Club is one of the country's oldest continuously operating African American men's clubs, and one of last remaining vestiges of the heyday of Baltimore's Pennsylvania Avenue—once the city's premier African American arts, entertainment, and commercial mecca. Formed in 1905 and incorporated in 1912, Arch's founding leaders Samuel Barney, Raymond Coates, and Jeremiah S. Hill envisioned an institution dedicated to "the social, moral, and intellectual uplift of its members. . .[so] that charity may be practiced in a Christian-like spirit of true friendship and brotherly love to be promoted and maintained."

Now almost one hundred-fifteen years old and boasting a growing roster of over sixty members, as well as an integrally-connected non-profit outreach arm, Arch is indeed "promoting and maintaining" with fervor and purpose. Once a fading hangout for aging affiliates, the club has recently reaffirmed its place in the city's Black civic leadership circles, and is also at the center of West Baltimore's revival.

"Very little is told about Black fraternal and sororal organizations, and their relationships to politics and Black social development in this country," says Arch historian, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, and club member for over twenty years, Kaleb Tshamba.[l] "Most people think of churches as the fountainhead, but that's not the case. Historically it's been folks like the Elks and the Masons, who inspired the formation of the AME Church, African American newspapers, and other important Black institutions." Indeed, African American mutual aid organizations have a long and rich history in the United States.[li]

Arch Social Club has been a mainstay of Baltimore's African American community for over a century, providing critical services and fostering foundational civic, social, and cultural infrastructure. But, as members will tell you, the history of the Arch Social Club is not included in the Maryland State history books. "Most people in Maryland don't know who these history-makers were, who these great men were," says Tshamba. "Once we get in the history books, kids will learn and they'll get involved. But it's not going to be there until we write it."

Figure 23 Arch Social Club Historian Kaleb Tshamba, 2018

The Club gets its eponymous moniker from its first headquarters on Arch Street, where the corporation's founding fathers planned priorities for charitable activities and established a mission statement. "We are strong, moral men who believe in service to our community, preservation of our culture, friendship, and brotherly love." The original Club roster was economically and occupationally diverse, and included doctors and lawyers, preachers, Arabbers, and Sleeping Car Porters. Because segregation imposed residential restrictions on African Americans, most of the members lived in the same neighborhood.

Club co-founder Samuel Barney was born in 1863, shortly after the delivery of the Emancipation Proclamation. Barney and the other early members lived through massive upheavals in the nation's political and social order, and understood the importance of creating a safe space through which African American men could effect great change. The Club's foyer currently serves as a museum honoring Arch's history and achievements, its past and present members, and its ongoing activities. Indeed, Arch's Dr. Harry Brown graduated from Howard University and served as the first African American superintendent of Provident Hospital, an institution established by the African American community to provide its members with proper health care, and especially to give African American women the obstetric and gynecological care that they were denied by other city hospitals. Tom Smith, an entrepreneur and Democratic activist, owned a hotel on Druid Hill Avenue. Smith was a financial pillar of the community, and held mortgages on banks, churches, and other essential institutions. Member Eugene Walter Betts recruited several members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the first labor organization led by African Americans to be granted a charter in the American Federation of Labor. "Others considered them radicals and Communists, but we were proud to have members from a strong, Black labor union," Tshamba says. He is currently writing

the official history of the Club, and plans to call the publication *Arch Social Club: A Century of Service and Courage*. The hope is to distribute it to local school districts.

Arch was created for community and civic service, not to sell alcohol or to earn revenue as an entertainment center. However, these business elements have become essential to its survival. Indeed, in 1923, the association moved from Arch Street to Saratoga Street where, during Prohibition, Club president George Bailey ran a side enterprise selling "soft drinks," contemporary code for contraband liquor. Bailey's connections to Republicans and bootleggers facilitated Arch's approval as the first private club in the state of Maryland to get a liquor license, only ten months after the end of Prohibition. After over fifty years on Saratoga Street, in 1974 the Club relocated to its current home at 2426 Pennsylvania Avenue. The move was catalyzed by the construction of Route 40, an infamous infrastructure project that displaced Arch's Saratoga Street clubhouse as well as seven hundred Black families.

Figure 24 Arch Social Club's Historic Exterior, 2018

Arch's third and current headquarters was purpose-built in 1912 as a Yiddish theater. At the turn of the 20th century, the area around Pennsylvania Avenue hosted a bustling Jewish community, while the city's African American population lived further south along Pennsylvania Avenue, toward the water. According to Tshamba's research, in 1930, African Americans comprised thirty percent of the city's population, but occupied only two percent of the land mass. "After 1917, when the Supreme Court ruled out Baltimore's de jure segregation, people started moving this way," he notes. But it was a long struggle, and the area around Pennsylvania Avenue did not develop into a Black neighborhood until the 1940s, when Baltimore's African American population exploded due to migrations from the South and the booming post-World War II economy. Although many of the stores on Pennsylvania Avenue were white-owned, a successful "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaign forced shopkeepers to hire African Americans. With greater financial stability, African American communities near The Avenue raised a generation of professionals and entrepreneurs who established their own businesses in the area, and supported the community's mutual-aid associations.

During its prime in the 1940s and 1950s, Pennsylvania Avenue was the heart of Black cultural life in Baltimore. Its sidewalks were lined with theaters, lounges, clubs, and restaurants. "This was the main drag of Black Baltimore because downtown Baltimore was completely segregated. You could walk into a downtown clothing store with a fist full of dollars, and they wouldn't serve you. This was our downtown," Tshamba says. "When I was a little boy it was like Las Vegas or Hollywood. That's what this was for Black people. All the movie stars and entertainers. Baltimore was nationally known. "

Figure 25 Billie Holiday Mural on Arch's North Avenue Elevation, 2018

Billie Holiday, who is memorialized in a gorgeous polychrome mural on Arch's exposed North Avenue elevation, lived nearby and performed at the 1400-seat

Royal Theater, Pennsylvania Avenue's premiere Chitlin' Circuit stop. Lena Horne, Pearl Baily, and Cab Calloway all graced the street's sizable stages, and brought in fans by the thousands. Big names in politics, education, and business also came to The Avenue to see and be seen.

However, by the time the Arch Social Club arrived on Pennsylvania Avenue, television had supplanted live theater and musical performances as the universally preferred mode of consuming entertainment, and with desegregation, African Americans were granted greater access to downtown banks, theaters, and department stores. In April 1968, riots shook cities across the United States. Catalyzed by grief and anger in the wake of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination, protesters in Baltimore burned businesses and looted storefronts, causing twelve million dollars in property damages. The riot changed the course of the city's history. Physically and psychologically scarred, Baltimore lost hundreds of businesses in African American neighborhoods, and significant portions of the white population and Black middle class. The issues plaguing African American communities—economic inequality, housing discrimination, and lack of employment opportunities—led to the riots and remained long after (Wheeler 2015). The installation of a new subway line further disrupted Pennsylvania Avenue's commercial viability, and in 1971 the city raised the legendary Royal Theater without much protest.

Arch Social Club has been an anchor for the Pennsylvania Avenue community since its inception. When it moved to the corner of North Avenue in 1974, its very presence served as a stabilizing force, and its three hundred members and banquet halls provided manpower and a meeting place for community-building and political foment. "I joined the club because I was a political organizer, and a lot of political events were held here," Tshamba says. "We always had a lot of leadership in the Club from the labor unions, activists, veterans, and from the Black church." Arch continues to support the development of other community-based organizations, and many members are also on the rosters of the Elks, Masons, and other associations. One notable contemporary example is the 300 Men March.

In response to an unusually high spike in homicides, Baltimore's 300 Men March movement formed in 2013 as a grassroots effort to denounce violence through mass street presence. The movement was inaugurated on July 5, 2013 with a 10-mile march on North Avenue, one of the city's major thoroughfares, organized, in part, by Arch Social Club members. Over six hundred men participated, and eighty women volunteered to help orchestrate and support the procession. The 300 Men March is now an annual event, and the movement has grown into a collective that circulates critical emergency and public safety-related information to a larger network of residents across Baltimore. It has also launched Friday night violence deterrence walks called "street engagement operations," street corner anti-violence demonstrations in high crime neighborhoods, and a youth empowerment program.[lii] During the 2015 uprising that followed the death of teenager Freddie Gray, Arch Social Club members affiliated with the 300 network (most of whom were middle

aged or older) put themselves at great risk to keep the peace between the protesters and the police.

Arch President Van Anderson recalls that after the uprising began in Northwest Baltimore, the police pushed the protesters practically to Arch's doorstep at the corner of Pennsylvania and North Avenues. "This is where everything ignited," Anderson says. "If you look across the street, that was where the police car was getting stomped on, which everyone has shown on television and the internet. And that was the CVS that caught on fire." The police established a line in front of the Club, transforming it into ground zero for protesters, law enforcement, the press, and, discouragingly, drug traffic that moved in from points south. For days, the street outside of the Club was filled with people awaiting news of an indictment from the State's attorney's office.[liii]

One day, as a speaker addressed the crowd from in front of the Club, someone threw bottles at the line of riot police. The police responded with tear gas, and the crowed surged back toward them. Arch's 300 Men March members formed two lines, held hands and joined arms, and jumped in between the police and the crowd. "If the 300 Men March wasn't there, it would have been a major riot up here," Anderson says. "The Men saved people from getting hurt. There were children and women out there, you know? And the 300 got on one side, and locked arms, and that stopped major violence because they were coming to crash. We had received a red alert call from the leader of the 300. So we suited up, and our purpose was to show up here in the middle of the riots to try to do whatever was necessary. When we were coming through, we were walking from Tshamba's house down North Avenue toward Pennsylvania Avenue, and you could kind of feel like you were in the eye of a storm. It was a lot of anger, a lot of energy. It wasn't ignorance. It was actual anger at the police because they got off. After the indictment came, people settled down and said, okay, that's what we wanted. We needed to see an indictment happen, cause they were waiting to explode again."

Figure 26 Arch Social Club President Van Anderson Discusses the Events of the 2015 Uprising

During the demonstration, Arch served as safe house and comfort station. Members kept the Club's doors open every day, put a moratorium on alcohol sales and events, and allowed people to take shelter, rest, and use the bathroom. The Club collaborated with a sorority, a church, and other community organizations to distribute free food on site.

After the demonstration, the Arch Social Community Network—the Club's recently established non-profit arm—organized a series of conversations to help community members unpack their experience of the uprising. The Network heard from a teacher at Douglass High School, whose students were pegged as core "rioters" during the protest. The teacher spoke of seeking support from the school administration because the media had painted a damning picture of her pupils. The Network offered help by visiting the school, meeting students, and allowing them talk about how they thought about, labeled, and were label by the demonstration. The Network also facilitated a discussion session with the teachers. "Young people are quite resilient. They take stuff in and keep going. But the teachers were in tears because they felt like they were not supported," says Arch Social Community Network chair Denise Johnson. "They said that the school administration castigated them for what they did not do, but the teachers talked about how they kept students safe. They also talked about the presence of the Baltimore City police lining the Gwynns Falls Parkway, and teachers escorting the students to the subway station. They spoke of how students had to face these armed police officers, and how frightening that was."[liv]

Figure 27 Denise Johnson Hosts a Meeting of the Arch Social Community Network, 2018

The Network serves as an umbrella, supporting and connecting a number of small community-based cultural organizations including the Baltimore International Black Film Festival, the Icarus Theater production company, and Johnson's CultureWorks, a cultural organizing and dialogue-building agency. Icarus and CultureWorks use the Arch Social Club space to hold events and performances that explore and celebrate the community's history and cultural heritage. Likewise, the Arch Social Community Network's Youth Association uses Arch as a clubhouse and locus of youth engagement and training programs. The Black Wolves, a youth mentoring service, was founded by Charles Mosiah Fit, one of several new young members to join Arch in the aftermath of the uprising. The Black Wolves meet at the Club every Saturday. Participants learn about the history of Penn North (as the neighborhood is now called) and the African American community. As a holistic healthcare practitioner, Jahi Faw teaches older students about nutrition, healing, and discipline, and has partnered with an organization focused on STEM education, which provides engineering and robotics workshops. Leroy Brown, a professional chef, is another recent young recruit. His grandfather was an Arch member. Now, in addition to serving as the club's financial secretary, Brown serves as the Club's caterer and provides food preparation and nutrition training for young people.

"Starting as far back as the dawn of the 19th century, organizations like Arch played crucial roles in what we know as Black social development in this country. And that maintained until the 1970s," club member William Pleasant says. "After that, you saw a decrease in not only Black social organizations, but a general decline in Elks clubs, the JCCs, the Lions, the Kiwanis. They all fell apart. My theory is that

communal experiences of art and cultural became atomized; now we see the logical conclusion in smartphones. Today people don't often think of coming together in real time and space to engage with culture."[lv]

In light of the 2015 uprising, the results of the 2016 presidential election, and subsequent increased acts of violence against minority communities in the United States, more and more neighbors see entities like Arch Social Club as fostering critical communal life, and the Club is aware that its own survival—and that of the community—depends on its ability to de-alienate. Having a physical space to do that helps. The Club owns its building, and considers the real estate to be a significant asset. Anderson notes that one of the catalysts for the Club's formation was lack of safe space for African American men to socialize. "We were getting detained or harassed for loitering or trespassing, so that's part of the reason that that corporation was formed, in order to purchase a building where we could create that space and come together without worry."

The Club has two primary boards—the Board of Trustees, and the Executive Board. The Board of Trustees is responsible for maintaining the building, and the Executive Board is responsible for running business operations and bringing in enough revenue to pay the bills. If anything is left over, the Club offers free public programs. Even though they are a for-profit corporation, the intention is to spend all excess revenue on community services. "We've been functioning as a 501(c)(3)," Anderson says. "But when we went to apply for grants for funding, since we're classified as a for-profit corporation, that was an issue for us. We had to form an official 501(c)(3) to be able to go after grant funding." Several years ago, the Club realized that city grants could support a much-needed renovation of the building's exterior, which, in turn, could improve morale on the block. Without a non-profit charter, the Club was ineligible to apply without a fiscal sponsor. "That project exposed the fact that we needed to have our own 501(c)(3)," Anderson says.

Historically, Arch Social Club was supported by other entities within the community. They raised money through association with Black churches, masonic organization, and Historically Black Colleges and Universities. There was never a need to go after federal dollars or non-profit money because they were driven by Black philanthropy. The Club and other community institutions were part of the creation of the Black middle and working classes that supported them. As local and federal agencies divested from neighborhoods like Pennsylvania Avenue and North Avenue, which were once booming economic hubs, they left the very organizations that anchored them without any support network or feedback loops. As professionals and workers moved away, they left a lacuna in traditional fundraising mechanisms. Their departure also left a hole in community services that, now, the Club cannot afford to provide without grants. As Johnson notes, "programming is the language of institutions and non-profits. Getting dollars to do very, very specific things. The Arch is a venue for the community to use, and for the members to decide on what I like to call 'actions.' It has always seen needs—the need for workforce development, GED prep, life skills development—and taken action. Suddenly the Club was saying, how

do we meet these needs when there are no more major financiers to support this rich history and culture of community service through action."

Members pay dues, and there was a time when the corporation sustained from membership collection. Over time, income from alcohol and door sales started to drive the Club, but with desegregation, members moved away or became less active. For several decades there was a disjuncture between the organization's social mission and the requirements for sustaining that mission.

But right now, that problem is resolving. Young men are signing up to join in unprecedented numbers. In the wake of the uprising, more and more young people have come to appreciate the history and purpose of a fraternal organization with deep roots and experience. They also understand the Club's collective amplifactory potential. Twenty new members signed up in 2017. Kenneth Moore is one. "I joined because I began to understand the history of the brotherhood, and the importance of having an avenue to come together as Black men, to bring about positive change in our community in the spirit of unity and across sectors. There's a diversity that encompasses who we are, and we need to embrace that. We each reach different networks, and we can be more impactful if we bring them together. I live less than a mile from here, so I'm not from too far. I'm glad I joined, and am starting to connect with the elder brothers, and learning from them. It's great to see how you can make a collective impact."[lvi] Across the board, the young members are eager to learn from their elders, who, like the Club's founders, have weathered major societal shifts.

"Everyone thinks it's an old people's club because the Club is old. But they don't realize that the founders were not old people at the time," Tshamba jokes. Although there is technically a 25-year-old threshold for membership, the club is open to evaluation on a case-by-case basis. "The youth is our future, so we have to have them in here."

One of the Club's strengths and major appeals—as is common in Black fraternal associations—is a membership roster agnostic to age, income, occupation, education level, political affiliation, or religion. Arch has long been home to African American men of all backgrounds. This benefit is mentioned often, and reasserted by Wilbur Wayman Sr. "I've been a member twenty years this August. I like the club because, for one thing, when you come in, it doesn't matter what your station is. Once you cross the threshold, you're an Arch Social member. And you're treated the same if you're a doctor or a laborer."[lvii]

The only official requirement for candidacy is sponsorship by two current members. Unofficially, the Club is now seeking members with specific skills. Tayvon Carter, a recent addition, is a certified bartender with a food service and management license. Carter is now helping with event operations. "We need everything from carpenters to people who deal with grants and finances," Anderson says. "Or politics. Even people who can go out into the streets and go into dangerous areas as community organizers."

The Wolves and the Arch Social Community Network have taken ownership of the Club's efforts to peacefully remove the drug dealing that took root on the block during the uprising. After the press pulled away and the protesters departed, the block was left with an open-air drug market that threatens to strangle the Club's business and revenue stream. Guests are concerned about parking their cars nearby and walking through a danger zone. While the Club can still pack the house for special events, the regular Friday and Saturday night crowd has thinned. "The drug dealers have broken our momentum," Anderson admits.

Arch still relies on its social and event spaces to bring in income. Just beyond the foyer museum is the Club's primary lounge, accessible to members who may bring their friends, family members, and coworkers. While still a relative bargain compared to other local watering holes, alcohol sales brings in modest but necessary revenue. Just as important, it brings members through the door on a regular basis, and serves as an unofficial recruitment center for their guests.

The first floor event room boasts black and white checkerboard floors, mirrored walls, a stage, and a small bar. Before the drug dealers arrived, it was used more or less nightly, as scores of people from the community came out for crabs, line dancing, or karaoke. Community health programs, such as one related to substance abuse, are held there on Wednesday nights. The space is often reserved for rentals on Fridays and Saturdays, as Arch has been a go-to venue for kindred organization and individuals interested in hosting private events, and for wedding receptions and birthday parties. On Sundays the Club frequently features a live performance. For members, the live, homegrown productions are both benefits for the community, and an important part of maintaining the venue's heritage. "That's really important about the events here—they're not canned," Pleasant reiterates. "They evolve from the people from this neighborhood, or people who are from Baltimore. And that's very unique, I think." The Club also lets its spaces for free to 501(c)(3)s and for community-focused events. Indeed, Tshamba is adamant that Arch is a social club, not a nightclub.

Through its own 501(c)(3), Arch is especially interested in going after grants to support the physical and social rehabilitation of their block. They believe that revitalization must come through the resurrection of Pennsylvania Avenue's cultural legacy. "We have intentions of serving the community as the anchor of an arts and entertainment hub," Anderson insists.

Anderson recalls his father bringing him to Arch for his twenty-first birthday. Anderson wasn't interested in joining as a young man, but years later, he was better able to appreciated Arch's distinguished presence and character. Thanks to his friend Tshamba's enthusiasm for the Club's legacy and role in the community, Anderson joined and has been a member for twenty years. "It almost feels like you're carrying a torch or holding a baton. And we have the responsibility of keeping it alive and carrying it on to the next generation."

The Arch Social Club has charted a course for the neighborhood's future. The process includes making a significant investment in its own history, or more specifically, its historic headquarters. In 2014, the Club restored its stunning Art Nouveau façade, a major undertaking that included cleaning and repainting the twin terracotta Daphnes that grace the entrance pediment. Their effort garnered a Baltimore Heritage Award for historic preservation. Tshamba estimates that it will take another $5 million dollars to fully renovate the structure. Arch has submitted grants for roof repairs and to fix the air conditioning and heat, and are hoping to restore the building's ornate-but-obscured interior.

In November 2018, the Club won $118,000 from Partners in Preservation: Main Streets, an annual joint initiative of the National Trust for Historic Preservation and American Express. The program seeks to "engage the public in preserving and increasing awareness of America's historic places and their role in sustaining local communities." The money will be used to restore the building's historic marquee and for installation of exterior lighting. The Trust's website explicitly notes that the Club intends for the exterior enhancements to "help launch a new arts and entertainment district."[lviii]

This language is not mere hyperbole. In March 2019, Maryland's Department of Commerce and State Arts council designated Pennsylvania Avenue an official Arts and Entertainment district, one of only four Baltimore city neighborhoods with dedicated State tax credits and other economic development incentives focused on the arts. Arch is a member of a coalition that includes the Druid Heights Community Development Corporation, the Upton Planning Committee, and a think tank called Leaders of a Beautiful Struggle, who have collectively advocated for Arts and Entertainment designation for several years. Plans for the district include a Cab Calloway museum, and two new educational centers—one dedicated to the legacy of the Negro League and the other to African American women's history, both to be housed in former landmark Black theaters (McLeod 2019).

As Pennsylvania Avenue stands poised for revitalization, Arch is once again set to play a pivotal role, serving as the doorway to the new Arts and Entertainment corridor. The Club hopes that the renovated theater marquee will help "shine a light" on efforts to renew the neighborhood and welcome a new generation of activists, artists, entrepreneurs, and patrons to the area. As the Club's new website states, "lighting the way for the progress to come, remember 'It Starts at the Arch'…" [lix]

c. Tonalli Studio, East Los Angeles, California

Ofelia Esparza was born in the heart of East Los Angeles, four blocks from where she and her daughter Rosanna Esparza Ahrens currently run an art gallery and creative wellness center called Tonalli Studio. In 2018, at the age of 86, the elder Esparza was honored with a National Heritage Fellowship as a master Chicana *altarista,* or altar-maker.[lx] From February to May 2018, Tonalli Studio served as the center of

operations for the development and fabrication of a collaborative altar by the mother-daughter team, commissioned by the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, to serve as the apotheosis of its newly reimagined and reopened permanent exhibition, *Becoming Los Angeles*.[lxi]

Figure 28 Rosanna Esparza Ahrens and Ofelia Esparza at their *El Pueblo de Los Angeles* Altar, 2018

The National Heritage Fellowship award is the highest honor bestowed upon traditional and folk artists by the United States government, and the *Becoming Los Angeles* altar, which celebrates the diversity of Los Angeles and represents nearly all of the city's myriad cultural and social communities, is the most elaborate, most conspicuous, and most lasting *altar* that Esparza—perhaps anyone—has ever made. But Esparza does not accept these achievements as hers alone. "Receiving the National Heritage Fellowship from the National Endowment for the Arts is such a great honor, not only for me, but for my family and my community. Especially honoring my culture and its contributions."[lxii]

For Esparza, family, culture, and community are everything. Indeed, she learned altar-making from her mother, who participated in the tradition in her native Mexico. While her mother never called herself an artist, she conveyed the importance and fulfillment of connecting across generations and communities through culture. "I get pretty emotional about it," Esparza says, "because it's so

important in our lives, and I'm so grateful that we were able to do it in such an inclusive way through the *Becoming Los Angeles* project."

The Esparzas' *Becoming Los Angeles* altar is a monument to the city's historical and contemporary community anchors. The altar doesn't just tell the history of the city—it shows Los Angeles' current vitality. Visitors learn who and what make the City of Angels a distinctive and soulful community of communities. The altar is entitled *El Pueblo de Los Angeles*. Ahrens hopes that it illustrates how the city is a village at heart, a network of people who depend on each other. Its vignettes include photographs, collectibles, figurines, and mementos collected from every neighborhood, representing almost anyone who has or ever will call called Los Angeles home. First Nations heroes, Olympic champions, and cultural catalysts are stationed between churches, synagogues, temples, shrines, and mosques; politicians, veterans, homeless citizens, judges, and community leaders are placed astride legacy businesses, from Jewish delis to Korean bakeries to Armenian bookstores to LGBTQ centers and more. A quartet of miniature jazz musicians jam in honor of historic Central Avenue's musical legacy, and a photomontage commemorates key people and moments in the movements, struggles, and protests that have helped to shape the city, country, and world. There's the river and the skyline. There's a story for everything. "Even though it's a permanent piece, you can look all over and find yourself, your community, your culture represented. As an *ofrenda*, it tells stories and makes a connection between the past and the present," Esparza says.

Esparza has taught the art of altar-making to all nine of her own children, each of whom has helped her to design, prepare, and create *ofrendas* for community events over the last five decades. More often than not, those altars are constructed for celebrations held in East Los Angeles, the community that Esparza credits with her own creative animus.

East Los Angeles has long been home to a large and diverse Mexican American community. "When I was a child learning about Mexico, I actually thought this was Mexico," Esparza says. "I saw the movies, and I saw the way the rest of America lived. But here, most non-Mexicans, including Jewish and Russian families whose children were classmates of my own, spoke Spanish, and you heard Spanish language and music everywhere. So it was a really close, and for me, a very beautiful and nurturing neighborhood."

Esparza grew up seeing her mother's altars in their home, as well as in some of East L.A.'s public spaces. Mexican Catholic communities construct sacred altars to commemorate and connect with their ancestors. Altars can be erected in familial spaces or communal sites, and typically consist of multileveled structures adorned with offerings, mementos, candles, and decorative objects. Items like handmade flowers, photographs, personal effects, traditional food, and saint images are placed on the altar by family and community members who wish to honor the deceased and keep their memories alive.[lxiii]

"Celebrating the dead is an ancient tradition in Mexico. It's a celebration, not a holiday. It's an indigenous practice that goes back centuries," Esparza says. Indigenous culture survived European conquest by being melded and wedged into newly introduced Catholic traditions. "So it has prevailed all of these centuries, and it is a very special visual celebration in Mexico." Ofelia says that while her mother's altars were small and humble, they contained all of the root elements, knowledge, and memories that have informed her practice, as did her family's engagement with their ancestors.

When Ofelia was a child, her family walked to Calvary Cemetery during All Saints Day and November 1st and 2nd observances of *Día de los Muertos*. Although they did not have blood relatives buried locally, they visited homeland people, *paesanos*, who had immigrated to the U.S. and were considered family members from her village. Together with her mother, aunt, and cousins, Esparza packed a picnic and all of the things they needed to celebrate at the cemetery. At the time, they were the only ones decorating headstones. While the children played, Esparza's mother and aunt lovingly embellished headstones and set out a traditional meal. They told the children about their families in Mexico, how they lived, how they cooked, the songs they sang, and the stories they shared.

Because her mother made altars throughout the year, Esparza and her siblings got to know all of their ancestors, including their great-great-grandmother, Mama Pola. "It's like I knew her intimately through these stories. Even my children now, I've told them the story, and we always talk about Mama Pola as the matriarch, the person we invoke when we do these beautiful traditions. That's why I say that when we celebrate *Día de los Muertos*, we're bridging not only the living and the dead, but we're bridging generations, and countries, and cultures. And so it's a very spiritual, but very grounding tradition."

Altars are erected on special feast days of the church, and are a significant component of *Día de los Muertos* (Day of the Dead) festivities. In turn, *Día de los Muertos* celebrations have become a significant part of Chicana/o and Latinx diasporic activism, and continue to serve as critical symbols of Mexican-American cultural reclamation, preservation, and revival. Esparza says that Self Help Graphics was a significant catalyst behind the proliferation of *Día de los Muertos* celebrations in Chicano communities across the United States.

Self Help Graphics is an internationally renowned Chicana/o and Latinx art center initiated at the height of the Chicano Civil Rights movement in the 1960s and 1970s. Frustrated by the lack of facilities, education, and support structures available to artists in their community, Chicano artists in East L.A. decided to create their own. "The concept of having a community art center in East L.A. emerged during the Chicano Movement's peak. It moved in like a wave, along with all of the Happenings and actions against the Vietnam War. The art center was meant to be a vehicle for validating Chicano heritage as an important part of this city's history and culture, and for empowering the community through art," Esparza recalls.

In 1971, artists Carlos Bueno, Antonio Ibáñez, and Frank Hernandez, along with screen printer and Franciscan nun Sister Karen Boccalero, mounted their first show at the El Mercado shopping center under the moniker of Art, Inc. Shortly thereafter, the group relocated to East L.A.'s Boyle Heights neighborhood, and in 1973 incorporated as a non-profit called Self Help Graphics and Art (SHG).[lxiv] Sister Karen served as one of SHG's long-standing directors and a major source of encouragement for Esparza, who joined SHG's cadre of artists in 1979. A full-time primary school art teacher, Esparza was primarily involved in preparing for *Día de los Muertos* celebrations, but she also took printmaking and volunteered to teach art classes to community children. She has participated in SHG's community-oriented cultural events every year since 1990. "I felt validated as an artist in my community especially with Self Help Graphics," Esparza recounts. Initially, she constructed large community altars for SHG's community celebrations, and then she and her children began building more personal *ofrendas* in the Self Help Graphics gallery. Some of her first were dedicated to family members, like a 1991 altar honoring the recent passing of both her mother and her husband. In 1997, SHG asked Esparza to make her first monumental altar in honor of Sister Karen.

Esparza's affiliation with SHG helped to launch her reputation, and soon she received invitations to construct altars for events and exhibits in Downtown Los Angele, Pasadena, San Francisco, and Chicago, all under the banner of SHG. 1996 was a landmark year after two Scottish artists from the Glasgow Print Studio visited SHG during an anniversary *Día de los Muertos* celebration, observing and participating in the community festivities, as well as a month-long series of workshops. The artists returned home inspired, and asked SHG to send Esparza and two other artists to build an altar for Glasgow's first-ever Day of the Dead.

"I can't talk about what I'm doing today without talking about SHG, and how I was nurtured there. I learned and became a print-maker there. And it affected my children's lives because they became a part of that family as they grew up." Esparza still works on SHG's celebrations. Although she has lost track of the number of altars she's made over the decades, her influence continues to have an exponential effect through her children, most of whom are regularly invited to make altars for Los Angeles-based organizations. The family often works together, with Esparza curating, daughters Elena and Rosanna facilitating vignette arrangements, and son Javier constructing foundations. Other siblings contribute by donating art works to display on the altars. Everyone makes flowers. "I'm really happy about all of that because one of the things that my mother would say is, 'I want you to pass this on, to continue the traditional way of remembering our ancestors.'"

Figure 29 Ofelia Esparza at Tonalli Studio, 2018

Over the last few years, Esparza and her daughter Rosanna Ahrens have established a more formal collaborative practice, as well as a multi-faceted community-based business. Ahrens is a graphic and garment designer, as well as an *altarista,* whose artistic incubation started the minute she was able to handle scissors. She got involved with SHG as a teenager, making crafts to sell at various events. Day of the Dead was central to her creative development, and she began designing her own *calaveras*, ornately decorated representations of skulls that have become the most iconic image associated with Day of the Dead. Ahrens' *calaveras* are stylized, contemporary interpretations, and have become her signature.

In 2012, Ofelia, Rosanna, and another daughter, Elena, decided to rent a storefront on East Cesar Chavez Avenue in East Los Angeles' Maravilla neighborhood, and to establish a commercial entity of, by, and for the local community. They were inspired by Self Help Graphics' *tiendita*, a small corner store called De Colores, where artists affiliated with SHG could display their work. "It was very folk art, Chicano art," Ahrens says. "It was pretty much the only place you could buy a unique, culturally-resonant gift. It was great." De Colores was popular but difficult to finance. After Sister Karen passed away, the store closed, leaving a major void for East L.A. artists to display their work. The Esparzas hope that their businesses can help to fill that gap.[lxv]

Colibri Boutique, the Esparza family's *tiendita*, features garments and home goods by local artisans. The boutique is filled with prints, crafts, clothing, and jewelry from local makers. They also carry attire from Mexico, Nepal, Brazil, and West Africa. "It just really makes sense to represent the different cultures that are here in L.A," Ahrens says. The space, covered almost wall to wall and floor to ceiling with inventory, is alive with color and texture.

Adjacent to Colibri, and in somewhat stark visual contrast, Tonalli Studio is an airy, open salon where the Esparzas, collectively and individually, can develop creative projects. It is also an exhibition space where artists of and near East Los Angeles can install and sell their work. In addition to providing a workshop for the family's grand altars, Tonalli has become a place of pride for East L.A. artists. "We want to make it available to the community. So people from East L.A., from this neighborhood, can walk in and experience a fine art exhibition," Ahrens explains. "Sometimes the art is affordable and sometimes it isn't, but they get the experience first hand. And maybe there are some people who have never been into an art gallery before. So, that whole experience is awesome. We've even been asked, 'why did you put an art gallery *here*? You belong in Pasadena or on the west side. And my mom's answer is that we're not from the west side. We're artists who live in East L.A. *This* is our neighborhood, and art belongs here."

Figure 30 Rosanna Esparza Ahrens at Tonalli Studio, 2018

The studio also hosts the Tonalli Collective's myriad community-based projects. Friends and colleagues hold yoga, mediation, and wellness classes in the space, and they host a monthly open mic event called *Noche Bohemia*. "It's an extension of East L.A.'s art, music, and poetry scene. We all have something to say, and we're not going to the west side or the hipster clubs to say it," Ahrens says.

While the community clearly appreciates the Esparzas' concept, their storefronts' stretch of East Cesar Chavez is not especially high-traffic, and inventory is not flying off the shelves. Further, artists are increasingly finding themselves at the front lines of gentrification—both causing it and being displaced by it. Tonalli is trying to anchor its community through culture, but it is also aware that they are making the area more attractive to outsiders. Real estate developers are aggressively marketing parts of East L.A. as a vibrant ethnic enclave with art baked into its core. *There are*

wall murals and fruit vendors on street corners! Shop windows with quaint quinceañera attire! The best chiles rellenos in the U.S.!

The development of a new Sixth Street Viaduct—the largest bridge construction project in Los Angeles' history—will strengthen the connection between the city's west side Arts District and the Boyle Heights neighborhood on the east, and real estate agents are eagerly leading the L.A. 2.0 planning process.[lxvi] New galleries and art spaces are concentrating near the bridge, and residents on the Boyle Heights side, including many long-standing Mexicans, are anxious about protecting the neighborhood's affordability and character. In fact, some have even turned on Self Help Graphics, blaming forty-five year old organization for being part of the gentrification. "Self Help Graphics has a legacy of activism in L.A. that's almost five decades old! Now the neighborhood is looking at them and saying 'bad gallery, you need to go.' And all the artists with it. So we're dealing with some very sensitive issues in our community," Esparza says.

The Esparzas are not opposed to new neighbors, but they hope to engender an ethos of participation in and support for existing cultural anchors. That means not calling the police because a *Son Jarocho* band is practicing. It means buying produce from the fruit vendors instead of Fresh Direct, and having lunch at La Carreta, the café across the street from the Esparzas where they first dreamed up their community business. "Join in. We're an open community, and we love business! Come to a workshop or an event! But don't scope out my place and say, 'oh, I could do something better here.' And definitely do not call my landlord and offer triple what we're paying." The latter is an increasingly common phenomenon and has touched several of Tonalli's neighbors.

Luckily, much of Maravilla's real estate is owned by Mexican Americans who have been in the area for generations. Maravilla businesses are wary to take advantage of spillover from Boyle Heights' rebranding, and are trying to send signals of solidarity to their west side neighbors. But they also know that the free market is difficult to control, and that they're not yet really in competition with Boyle Heights for patron attention.

What the studio lacks in income it makes up for in positive vibrations from almost everyone who comes through its doors. The most common comment being 'you guys need to become a nonprofit because this place can't ever go away.' The Esparzas are considering it. Supplementing the business with grants is of interest. Ofelia teaches art classes on a donation basis, but she would like to offer them for free. Rosanna would love to publish children's coloring books and a series on Chicana/o art heroes. Their interests are broad, but their attentions are often taxed. Rosanna's sticker company is her main source of income, and it requires significant time investment. Ofelia is a dynamo, but she's also an octogenarian.

The Esparzas regularly receive fiscal sponsorship offers from nonprofits. Tonalli has been part of a number of successful grant proposals, and have been funded through

the Alliance for California Traditional Arts (ACTA) Arts in Corrections Program to teach workshops at the California Institution for Women in Chino. They are also included in a number of community health initiatives, and are paid to create altars at events. However, they have not written their own grants, and are not certain that managing board and grant reports would be the best use of their time. "A nonprofit would be great, but I feel like I'm standing at the edge of a cliff when I say that!" Ahrens admits.

Ofelia remains optimistic.

"I would like to say is that this studio has been not only a great experience, it's been a dream. Even at my age, I still look forward to what else can be done here. One of my favorite things is the number of people who come in because they're curious and say, this feels so good, is it a church? And then we start to talk about their experience being part of this community. We discover how we have similar experiences, especially elders. We talk about landmarks and historic events. We even connect over the high school that we went to.

So they come in often, and one of our friends says that she comes here for therapy. Of course we'd love them to buy and actually help support the store, but for me they are big support because the vibe that we get, as Rosanna says, is soulful. I feel a soul connection here. And that's one of the things I discovered in our journey to research the other communities we included in the *Becoming Los Angeles* altar. The people and places that we visited, they feel that they are the heart and soul of their communities. Preparing that altar was life changing for me. The process of visiting and meeting the communities has brought all these things together. I see us in them. It's enormous. Hopefully it shows in our altar, I believe that it does. "

Challenges, Recommendations, and Action Points

The community anchors highlighted in this section have deep roots in their long-standing communities and take great pride in keeping traditional culture in place. Neighbors rely on them not just for food, fun, and furnishings, but for connection with what they understand to be the essential character of their respective neighborhoods and cities.

Beloved though they may be, all of the small businesses in this report have, at some or various points in their existences, teetered on the edge of viability. Whether due to natural disasters, rising rents, or transformations in modes of social engagement, they have all wished for more walk-ins, wrestled with rent hikes, and hoped for higher ticket sales. But even during the worst of times, they have committed to maintaining cultural traditions, whether or not they fit into contemporary trends. These are the places we need to feel that we are at home and that we belong. Ensuring their longevity is of critical significance in an increasingly homogenized, digitized, and commodified world.

Since the late 1980s, City Lore's executive director, Steve Zeitlin, has proposed the idea of cultural landmarking through which cities would define criteria for protecting a certain number of culturally institutions that maintain long-standing traditions and keep their municipalities distinctive. This is especially relevant for small businesses that do not receive support from foundations or government agencies.

One strategy we suggest is a program of subsidized rent for cultural assets such as the sites and organizations covered in this report. Politicians across the country and across the political spectrum, however, are averse to commercial rent control, which would affect hundreds if not thousands of establishments in a city alone, and would have a measurable effect on the city's economy. Cultural assets could be designated by a city council or local historic preservation commission, and could be limited to a set number of sites in each neighborhood, which could retain this designation for five to ten years. Applicants could be required to submit a petition or other demonstration of local community support. The effect on the city's economy would be negligible. Another consideration might be a real estate tax exemption for these sites, such as those currently given to religious institutions. Directly related is a push for better, livable wages, which would enhance the community's purchasing power and ability to support the businesses they cherish.

A useful model is San Francisco's Legacy Business Registry, which was established by city ordinance in 2015. The Legacy Business Registry aims to sustain long-standing, community-oriented businesses that serve as valuable cultural assets. The City of San Francisco intends that the Registry be a tool for providing financial, educational, and promotional assistance to Legacy Businesses to encourage their continued viability and success.[lxvii] San Francisco's Planning Department has determined that a Legacy Business is defined as:

- Thirty or more years old, without a break in San Francisco operations exceeding two years; twenty or more years old if the business is at risk for immediate displacement and listing would help
- Making a significant contribution to the neighborhood's history and/or the identity of a particular neighborhood or community
- Committed to maintaining the physical features or traditions that define the business, including craft, culinary, or art form

We also support the Small Business and Jobs Survival Act (SBJSA), which has been debated in New York City since it was introduced by then Councilmember Ruth Messinger in 1986. Recently discussed during an eight-hour City Council hearing, the bill would give commercial tenants a right to renew their lease, enable the tenant to get a ten-year lease, and provide commercial tenants with the right to demand arbitration if they believe the rent increase is too great. The Real Estate Board of New York (REBNY) vehemently opposes the bill, claiming that it is commercial rent control, which it is not.

Other strategies toward maintaining commercial viability, and ensuring that city residents at least have an opportunity to shop locally, is vacant storefront registration. In January 2019, San Francisco passed a new law requiring building owners to register empty storefronts within thirty days of becoming vacant. Further, property owners must pay a $711 registration fee or face $2,844 in fines (Thadani 2019). Seven months later, in July 2019, New York City Council approved two important bills affecting small businesses. Intr. 1472 will require the city's Department of Finance to collect information from property owners about which properties are vacant, lease lengths, upcoming expirations, store sizes and rental rates.[lxviii] It also mandates a public online database of the information, which can also serve as a resource for business owners in search of new space. Intr. 1049 requires the Department of Small Business Services to assess the state of storefront businesses every three years.[lxix] The resulting requisite reports will include information about the number of vacancies, customer spending habits according to retail category, storefront maintenance, and issues faced by commercial tenants.

Section IV: Catalyzing Cultural Competence

In her 2009 report for the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, Holly Sidford wrote:

> *The history of arts philanthropy in the United States is largely a story of building institutions, and preserving or creating artistic objects and products. We have paid far less attention to strengthening people and communities through artistic process* (Sidford 2009:27).

The three Community Anchors highlighted in this section challenge the pervasive understanding of art as a product as opposed to as a process. They symbolize a shift toward valuing cultural as well as stylistic expression, and the power of cultural competence for creating more equitable cities and systems. Their leaders are driven by the desire to foster a better world, but because their structures, their work, and their stewards operate outside of conventional art and cultural sector venues and protocols, they have limited opportunities for funding and development.

Although two of these sites are incorporated 501(c)(3)s, they all rely largely on their limited but tried-and-true sources of support–volunteers, annual fundraisers, and small individual donations–rather than seeking grants on a regular basis. They have all suggested that grant writing and management is an often complex and cumbersome process, with its associated emphasis on reporting and traditional metrics. Like many of the other Community Anchors, these three local institutions have struggled with or avoided the many restrictions and requirements of the nonprofit structure, which require oversight from a board of directors, registration, and political neutrality, among other stipulations. However, they have managed to

stay afloat and thrive thanks to the devotion of their communities and the increasing recognition that we all have a right to thrive.

a. Frente Indígena de Organizaciones Binacionales (FIOB), Los Angeles, California

The Frente Indígena de Organizaciones Binacionales (FIOB), or the Binational Front of Indigenous Organizations, is a community-based organization and coalition of indigenous organizations, communities, and individuals living in Oaxaca, Baja California, and in the State of California in the United States. The FIOB was founded in Los Angeles, California in 1991, and since that time it has implemented culturally competent programs that drive the economic, social, and cultural development of indigenous communities. Their work promotes indigenous peoples' wellbeing, gender equity, and self-determination in Mexico and the United States. For nearly three decades, the FIOB has promoted cultural sustainability through traditional festivals and literary conferences, publications, and weekly dinners featuring homemade *tlyaudas*, and it has partnered with various community organizations and service providers through out California providing cultural sensitivity workshops to better understand the indigenous communities they are serving.[lxx]

Established in response to the 500th anniversary of the supposed "discovery of the Americas," FIOB's founders were moved to organize around telling their own story. "There was no discovery of the Americas," says Odilia Romero, the FIOB's General Coordinator, Women's Binational Coordinator, director of FIOB's Los Angeles-based activities, and a total powerhouse. "It was, in fact, a genocide and massacre of indigenous people. Creating the FIOB was a way for us to speak for ourselves, to take the lead on telling the world that we are alive and not just in history books or the past tense. We are here and we can be actors of change."[lxxi]

The FIOB provides indigenous communities with a platform for active political participation and self-advocacy at the bi-national level. As the first and only bi-national indigenous organization, with chapters located in communities across several Mexican states and the state of California, the FIOB has a lot of ground to cover, literally and figuratively. As delineated in the organization's bylaws, FIOB works with migrant and non-migrant communities on a number of interconnected issues, including land and water rights, political self-determination, and language sovereignty. "They always say that FIOB is as complicated as Oaxacan cheese because it's … I don't know if you know Oaxacan cheese, but it's wrapped around one way, and then another, and that's how the FIOB is," Romero jokes. "Because one part was here in L.A., and most of the first meetings were here. Then they moved to Fresno, and then expanded back to Oaxaca."

Figure 31 FIOB Hosts a Political Organizing Meeting, 2018

Romero is a Spanish-English interpreter, and she also interprets Zapotec. One of the FIOB's hallmark achievements is the formation of a corps of indigenous interpreters and indigenous language advocates who translate for indigenous people during interactions with institutions like law enforcement, hospitals, schools, and court systems. This program prevents indigenous people from being wrongfully incarcerated, placed in mental institutions, or having their children taken away. Established in 1993 in collaboration with the California Rural Legal Assistance program, the language interpretation initiative continues to be very relevant.

The Los Angeles Police Department has signed up to work with Romero and the FIOB L.A. to provide cultural awareness training for their police officers and staff. Romero first approached the L.A.P.D. about adopting the FIOB's cultural awareness workshops many years ago, but law enforcement leadership at that time was not especially receptive. After language barriers led to police officers wrongfully shooting a speaker of a Guatemalan indigenous dialect, the department agreed to a sit-down about educating its personnel in techniques for working with indigenous language speakers, as well as the historical and contemporary catalysts of indigenous migration.[lxxii]

The FIOB's four-hour workshops include conversations about how neoliberal policies in both the United States and Canada lead to indigenous people's criminalization for defending their lands, waters, and resources, and their subsequent need to flee to the United States where they are again criminalized for being undocumented and non-English or Spanish-speaking. Romero and the FIOB instruct workshop attendees on their legal rights and responsibilities as law enforcement officials, and provide them with language identification tools. They also

talk about how the police department can get closer to indigenous communities who have different values, and different relationships to law enforcement and legal institutions at home. For example, many come from contexts in which police officers do not carry guns, and are not able to join the force before a certain age and until they have significant life experience under their belts. For them, altercations in a foreign language with young, armed L.A.P.D. officers can be especially traumatizing. Finally, the FIOB leads what is often a challenging conversation about racism and discrimination within the greater Los Angeles Mexican and Latinx community. Many of the officers who participate in the workshops are from those communities, and some are defensive or even resistant to discussions about their own prejudice or that of the institution they work for. Some have walked out in defiance of FIOB's anti-assimilationist stance, lobbing insults at Romero and her team on the way out of the door. However, the conversation is an important component of the trainings, and the partnership with the L.A.P.D. has been very successful. Romero says that officers now make the effort to call the FIOB to help identify a language and provide an interpreter for support. Unfortunately, not all institutions or individuals are willing to take action, no less reconsider their values.

Figure 32 FIOB L.A.'s Odilia Romero and Janet Martinez, 2018

Romero was recruited to join the FIOB in 2002, and subsequently played a critical role in reviving and revamping the organization's Los Angeles chapter after many of its members relocated to rural areas. Having come to the United States as a child, she was familiar with the organization's mission and vision. "I came here monolingual, so I knew what it is to not understand or not be able to learn because you don't speak the language. So it was, I think, that the universe put me in the right place at the right time."

The FIOB has a three-tiered administrative structure that includes local, state, and bi-national-level coordinators. Romero started at the bottom, coordinating and restructuring the local Los Angeles bureau. Years later she was elected the Bi-national Women's Coordinator, and then the First Vice General Coordinator of the

Frente. In 2018 she became the first woman elected as the General Coordinator of the entire bi-national organization. “I’m really excited, because it took a lot of work by a lot of women to make this happen, starting all the way back with the founding of the FIOB. I would not be here without their groundwork and their perseverance,” Romero states.

When Romero joined the FIOB, the local chapter was largely focused on purely political actions like protests or hosting community organizing meetings and lectures. One of the FIOB’s major early victories was advocating for migrant workers in a contaminated trailer park. Many of the community members living in that area developed cancer from exposure to toxins. With the FIOB’s help, the workers won the lawsuit.

Although the agenda of the FIOB’s statewide assembly addresses myriad issues including labor rights and housing for agricultural workers, FIOB L.A. are now shifting their local focus to what they call the “culturally political.” In addition to interpretation services, the FIOB L.A. has a number of programs to empower indigenous language speakers to maintain their mother tongue and traditions. Languages are fundamentally linked to culture. As California is one of the most linguistically diverse places on the planet, so, too, is it one of the richest and most diverse centers of folk, indigenous, and traditional culture. As our colleagues at the Endangered Language Alliance note, “many people feel that the loss of a language is tantamount to the loss of an entire culture. A language encodes a worldview, a range of unspoken norms and assumptions, and a wealth of historical and environmental knowledge.”[lxxiii] The FIOB’s cultural sustainability projects aim to call attention to the connection between the traditions its communities practice, the languages they speak, and the cultural knowledge and stewardship these that languages nurture.

Displaced indigenous language speakers are often mistreated by authorities or peers lacking the skills or will to effectively communicate. Children are bullied at school and become ashamed of speaking in their parents’ idiom; adults assimilate for economic and social reasons, and stop passing languages and related traditions to their children. To prevent such language and culture loss, the FIOB coordinates two annual culturally political events that highlight an L.A.-based population that is invisible to statisticians and the greater Latinx community. “We want people to be empowered in terms of speaking their language. Because of the mistreatment, racism, and prejudice that they face by outsiders, or even other Latinos and Mexicans, they often want to forget that the indigenous language exists,” Romero explains.

Janet Martinez, Romero’s daughter, joined the FIOB alongside her mother in 2002 at the age of fourteen. Like Romero, Martinez’s father is part of what is called the “1.5 Generation,” children who were left behind in Mexico so that parents could first establish a foothold in the United States. Because her father was bullied at school for speaking Zapotec, he was adamant that his daughter’s first language be English. As a member of the second generation, Martinez identifies as Zapotec from Los Angeles,

and is committed to strengthening the bonds with her multivalent culture and traditions. Like her mother, Martinez is a dynamo.

Martinez coordinates the Weaving Words and Rhymes hip hop concert, which takes place at the FIOB L.A.'s South Central Los Angeles headquarters and serves as a space of identity formation for second, third, and fourth generation indigenous communities living in Los Angeles and the surrounding urban areas. The concert offers an opportunity for indigenous artists to share their music and to express the various and layered identities of young indigenous Los Angelenos. Line-ups have included hip hop artists from Fresno to Oaxaca, who rap in Mixteco, Spanish, and English. Now in its fourth year, the event has been a boon for the community. "Our primary focus for this is to create an appreciation for language," Martinez says. "Given my family's history, I feel that it's really important to create spaces where it's acceptable to be indigenous. It's important to create places where we can resist and exist together, and really push forward what it means to be indigenous right now. And I don't think we're living outside of the wide variety of influences that we're exposed to, whether it be in Fresno, L.A., or Oxnard."[lxxiv]

The California state coordination board is currently is the youngest that the Frente has had ever. Ranging in age from 25 to 32, the FIOB's junior members are providing fresh ideas and new modes of organizing that the senior leadership seems to appreciate. Because of their influence, 2018's Mexican presidential election was the first time that the FIOB supported an alternative candidate, despite misgivings from the Baja and Oaxaca chapters. One recent Weaving Words and Rhymes performer served as California FIOB's Vice State Coordinator before being called up to the bi-national team. "You can definitely see that there's a shift in perspective in what's important," Martinez notes.

Martinez also curates an annual indigenous literature conference held at the Central Los Angeles Library. It is a convening that provides opportunity for indigenous intellectuals, writers, and community members to use literature as a springboard for conversations about issues pertinent to indigenous communities. "It's important that participants not just read the work, but for us to be able to bear witness, speak to the participants after, and follow up with them as community members. I think that one of the biggest misconceptions of indigenous communities is that we're not creators of knowledge. We're creators of knowledge, of text, of intellectual material and property. And I think it's really important to create a focus on that, especially outside of academia. When you go into universities and other institutions, a lot gets lost. You're taught that indigenous communities aren't very present or visible or modern, because a lot of this is about who gets to be modern."

FIOB L.A. recently founded Comunidades Indígenas En Liderazo (CIELO), an indigenous women-led non-profit organization that works jointly with indigenous communities residing in Los Angeles, and has become well known for hosting a very popular Friday night food event as a fun and informal community-building opportunity.[lxxv] The dinner, which features traditional Oaxacan *tlayudas* and blood

sausages, brings indigenous Mexicans from around the greater metropolitan area, as well as chefs, food journalists, and general public eating enthusiasts.

At the age of ten, Romero left Oaxaca to join her parents who had migrated to Los Angeles several years before. At that time, her mother was employed at a sewing factory and her father worked in a restaurant. As a side project, Romero's parents began to sell the traditional blood sausages that the FIOB L.A. is now famous for serving every Friday evening. "It's a recipe they got from my dad's uncle when they got married. So they started to make and sell them from their small apartment, and before you knew it, they were super popular with the neighbors," Romero says.

Figure 33 Poncho's *Tlayudas*, 2018

For the uninitiated, a *tlayuda* is a tortilla dish that people sometimes incorrectly compare to a pizza*. Tlayudas* are made of large, thin, grilled tortillas smeared with *manteca*, or pig lard, then topped with beans and drizzled with Oaxacan cheese. The word *tlayuda* comes from *tlao-li*, or "husked corn" in Náhuatl, an Uto-Aztecan language. According to Bill Esparza of *Eater LA*, the corn used to make a true *tlayuda* must come from Oaxaca. In fact, Esparza says, "the *tlyauda* is more than tortilla: it's a symbol of Oaxacan culture (Esparza 2018).

Tlayudas are easy to find in "Oaxacalifornia," but because they are difficult to make, they are only prepared by experienced chefs. Alfonso "Poncho" Martínez is the master behind the FIOB's *Viernes de Tlayudas*. Poncho is a FIOB member and Romero's partner. He is also a professional chef, and imports his cheese from Oaxaca and his tortillas and *asiento*, or lard, from a family in his hometown of Tlacolula, who make them just for him.

In 2012, FIOB L.A. published a book called *El Sabor de Nuestra Raíces: Recetas para el Cambio, Recetas para la Continiuidad* (The Taste of Our Roots: Recipes for Change,

Recipes for Continuity). One of the major goals of the book was to reincorporate traditional foods into daily life. The FIOB recognized that so many of its community members were eating fast food, and leaving their own foodways behind. The intergenerational project was supported by the Alliance of California Traditional Arts (ACTA), and documented food traditions and family stories from Zapotec women living in Los Angeles.

Figure 34 FIOB Signage for *Tlayuda* Fridays, 2018

The book inspired the FIOB to launch *Viernes de Tlayuda* as a way to bring the community together for a traditional Zapotec meal. Poncho, who is Zapotec, took the reigns in organizing and managing the event, and has turned it into a beloved backyard banquet. *Tlayuda* Friday has been called a "backyard boogie." Every Friday afternoon, Poncho rolls his grill into the FIOB's backyard, turns up the stereo, and dons his chef coat. He precisely prepares the wood used to cook the *tlayudas,* chorizo, and artisanal blood sausages made from Romero's family recipe. Fresh cabbage, beans, salsa, and shredded cheese are divided into neat containers managed by two sous chefs, who also help to distribute plates to friendly diners seated at long tables covered in colorful floral cloths. Friends and neighbors are always there, but the event is hardly invite-only. On one particular evening, an extensive family of FIOB members chatted with a young couple from Los Feliz, who brought their parents from Connecticut. Foodies from all over wait in line to snap a selfie with Poncho before sitting down to enjoy a tangy citrus Squirt and savory sausage. Weddings and birthdays are celebrated at *Viernes de Tlayudas,* sometimes all in the same evening. "It's a really communal space that people feel is their own," Romero says. "We've had a 40th anniversary party mix with a family reunion and a bachelor party, all here celebrating together." Most guests are Oaxacan, but Poncho has been featured in a number of highly traffic news outlets, which has brought a whole new crowd to interact with the Zapotec community. "I think it's an interesting blend," Romero says.

Previously based at the confluence of Koreatown and Pico-Union, FIOB L.A. moved its headquarters to South Central in 2016. The organization's old office was surrounded by indigenous communities from Central America and Mexico, particularly Oaxacans. But while they want to provide a home base and community space for indigenous people in Los Angeles, they were also drawn to South Central's history of resistance against Black political and social repression. And while South Central is an historically African American neighborhood, there has been a shift in demographics to include a higher Latinx population. One of the populations that moved in with that Latinx transition were indigenous communities from Oaxaca, primarily Zapotecs from the Sierra Norte, who are organized into hometown associations that organize patron saint events. They use the FIOB's new headquarters as a community gathering and organizing space, and especially appreciate Friday night offerings of familiar cuisine.

Viernes de Tlayudas is a significant source of income for the organization. The FIOB is an all-volunteer organization based on a Mesoamerican concept of working for the benefit of all. Most people know it as *tequito*. It is also based on the concept of being the *Guelaguetza*, an annual indigenous Oaxacan cultural event and action of solidarity. To support itself, FIOB L.A. relies on food sales, paid lectures, workshops, and GoFundMe. They also serve as cultural consultants, and have worked with ACTA on the Promise Zone Arts Project, an asset mapping initiative of Los Angeles' cultural and community organizations.

FIOB L.A. refuses to register as a nonprofit. "We know that the model is a tool of oppression," Romero says. "Because it comes with condition around what you can say, what you can think, and how you act. And as far as the Frente, we want to continue this work of speaking for ourselves, speaking our minds, and avoiding any links to money that would restrict us in doing that." However, the FIOB's bi-national committee has established the Centro Binacional para el Desarrollo Indígena Oaxaquño, Inc., (CBCIO, Inc., or the Binational Center for the Development of Oaxacan Indigenous Communities) as a U.S.-registered 501(c)(3) in order to apply for funding to support its communities' development and educational programs. Although FIOB and CBDIO coordinate their work together to benefit indigenous populations, an autonomous and independent board of directors governs the CBDIO.

Venue rentals also go a long way toward keeping FIOB L.A. functioning. The Zapotec communities hold patron saint celebrations in the backyard, and bands rehearse indoors. Indigenous groups from other parts of Mexico and Central America also hold events at FIOB. "We wanted to provide a backyard for the community to be able to do what they do back home," Romero reiterates. "To eat, to talk. And it is amazing. This past Sunday I heard so many variants of Zapotec, because this group of women also organized in *tequio* form, and all the surrounding communities came. A group of dancers, a group of musicians, some people brought rice, some people brought food, some brought mezcal. Everybody contributed, and everybody was from a different place, so everybody spoke a different Zapotec. For us, that's the ultimate goal. For us

not to be assimilated to the western world, where the driving impulse is 'I'm going to do it for myself, not do it as and for the community as a whole.'"

"Our work is not centered on one thing because it all overlaps," Romero says. "The fact that you don't want to eat your food is the result of internalized racism. Our approach is that we dress in our clothing so that people feel it's okay, and so far it's working. I've run into people who say, 'I'm teaching my daughter or my son the language. The first one didn't learn it, but this one will.' It's a whole movement. All of our work has been premeditated in the hope that the community will regain these cultural components as a way of resisting, and it's happening. It's happening from having restaurants in your name after your community. From having other restaurants named in indigenous languages. Not being embarrassed to wear your clothes. Doing your traditional dances and not caring if people watch and wonder. These are intangible benefits that our work has accomplished to decolonize and start valuing what is ours."

b. Guardians Institute, New Orleans, Louisiana

Cherice Harrison-Nelson is the third of five generations in her family to participate in the masking traditions of Mardi Gras Indians. Masking rituals and practices are unique to African American communities in New Orleans, and include poly-rhythmic percussion, call-and-response narrative chants, ceremonial dress, and procession. Harrison's late father, the renowned and beloved Big Chief Donald Harrison Sr., also grew up in the Mardi Gras Indian tradition, which dates back to the early nineteenth century and pays homage to the Native Americans who once protected runaway slaves.

The term Mardi Gras Indian is a complicated matter. Harrison-Nelson has long considered the implications of identifiers like "Black," "African American," and "Black Masking Indian." She has chosen "Maroon," a reference to self-emancipated former slaves who found freedom and formed their own communities. Maroons and Amerindians often banded together for subsistence and in defiance of colonialists.[lxxvi] Maroon is actually the word the Spanish applied to rebellious former slaves; it derives from "Cimarron," meaning "fierce."[lxxvii]

Figure 35 Cherice Harrison-Nelson at the Guardians Institute hosting a Children's Pre-St. Joseph's Day Event, 2019

Fierce is a word that accurately describes Harrison-Nelson, also known as Queen Reesie. She was raised in a family of thinkers and doers; people who do not just walk the walk, but who build the road so that others can march forward on it with dignity. Her father founded the Guardians of the Flame group. He also served on the executive board of a labor union, recorded several jazz albums, gave lectures around the world, and received the Mayor's Arts Award for Lifetime Achievement by the Arts Council of New Orleans in 1997.[lxxviii] Her mother, Herreast Harrison, ran nursery schools for over three decades and established a post-Katrina book donation program in her late husband's name. She also founded the Guardians Institute at the age of seventy, and still directs it at the age of eighty-two.

Those are big shoes to fill, but Cherice Harrison-Nelson has followed in her parents' impressive footsteps. For many years she worked at the Oretha Castle Haley School as the fine arts coordinator, bringing in educators from the ballet, the symphony, and the theater. Eventually she decided to adjust the program's orientation and give herself a title change. Soon classrooms were filled with teaching artists from jazz ensembles, social and pleasure clubs, and brass bands. "It struck me that we had a budget for bringing in educators from the major arts institutions, but not from indigenous cultures. So I just changed the name of my position to the Indigenous Cultural Arts Coordinator, and I expanded the program."[lxxix]

Donald Harrison Sr. was her greatest supporter, and provided her with critical knowledge and contacts. He helped to coordinate performances of Tuba Fats and the Treme Brass Band at Haley. Legendary Masking Indians visited the school at his request. The program flourished. "I got so much from being Donald Harrison's daughter," Cherice says. "He did so much to connect them with culture-bearers of such high esteem. Those men aren't known outside of the African American

community, so they're not on the rosters of teaching artists." The program launched a school concert series featuring such luminaries as Danny Barker and Blue Lu Barker, and led to the founding of the Mardi Gras Indian Hall of Fame. Newspapers described the Haley School as "the most cultural school in the city of New Orleans."

Herreast Harrison says that her daughter supported Donald Sr.'s return to masking. "He was in his element helping with Cherice's Cultural Arts programming at the schools." Mrs. Harrison describes one particularly inspiring event when the Indians came to Haley. "They were dressed out and you can't imagine the beauty of that scene, with all of those different colored suits marching down this ramp. They were dancing, parading, and singing in the yard with over nine hundred children seated in the playground to watch them, in awe. Just to see the beauty of it, and my husband was directing it and he was in his element."[lxxx]

Donald Harrison Sr. fell in love with masking in 1937 when, at the age of three, he encountered Wild Man Herman of the Creole Wild West during a procession. Captivated, Harrison sought out the neighborhood Uptown Indians, who taught him the songs, the dances, and the calls. By age twelve he was beading suits by hand, and he first masked at Carnival in 1949 at the age of sixteen. Throughout his adolescence and early adulthood, Harrison was mentored by the likes of Lawrence Fletcher and Robert Rodney Lee, and he masked religiously for twenty years, first with the Creole Wild West and the Cherokee Braves, and then in 1964 he revived the White Eagles. But after he got married and became father, he put his masking suits away and committed himself to supporting and participating in his growing family. He spoke often of the Masking Indians who had inspired him, and regretted deeply that their legacies were not being honored. He talked about missing the rituals and the community, and hoped that he would get back to them one day.

Masking, or masquerading, is both a mode of personal expression and of cultural continuity. It is, primarily, a communal tradition, rooted in ancient West African culture and manifested in an ever-evolving modernity. The ritual processions involve political theater and they require a retinue. Maskers appropriate public space for ritual celebrations that deny Western conventions of where disenfranchised communities are supposed to go. Masking Indians do not have routes, and they do not report where they will process or stop. During Jim Crow, municipal ordinances restricted the movements of people of African descent, including their Carnival traditions. Participants resisted by creating 'pretty' (a word Masking Indians use), donning ceremonial attire, and reclaiming public space together on Carnival day.

"It is a civil rights protest. Instead of singing 'Wade in the Water' or 'We Shall Overcome,' we sing 'Two-Way-Pock-A-Way, Oh Nah Nay' and 'My Big Chief's Got a Golden Crown,'" Cherice says. As maskers move through their own communities, the march builds momentum. Groups set out with twenty people and swell to two hundred by the time they reach their destination. Masking is a display of resistance

and affirmation; it an act of self-determination elevated by the effects of its multitudes.

In 1988, Harrison decided to officially return to the tradition and the community. He formed a masking group called Guardians of the Flame, named after a composition by his son, renowned jazz musician Donald Harrison Jr. The title was so appropriate for the way in which the elder Harrison hoped to honor the men who had masked before him, mentored him, and who taught him how to navigate into adulthood. He resented that his contemporaries only spoke about themselves and did not connect their practice to the community or to the forebears.

Cherice started masking with the Guardians of the Flame just a few years after they formed. "My getting involved was like a calling," she says, but her father had to make sure that she was ready to take the tradition seriously. After Cherice asked to be his queen and was rejected, she turned to her father's second chief, who gladly took her on. The following year, Harrison Sr. promoted her to be the queen of his immediate retinue. Cherice has taken that honor to heart every year since.

After Big Chief Donald Harrison Sr. passed away in 1998, Roslyn Smith, the principal at Haley Elementary approached Cherice about establishing a Mardi Gras Indian Hall of Fame onsite at the school in her father's memory. Because of Harrison's work, Haley Elementary's community embraced the masking tradition, and in 2004, even formed its own Mardi Gras Indian group, the Haley Braves, for which Cherice developed an entire artists' residency corps. To this day, the principal's own grandchildren have not missed a Carnival suiting.

The Mardi Gras Indian Hall of Fame held induction ceremonies for twenty years. To be more precise, Cherice mounted the event and organized everything from panel discussion to exhibitions to commemorative glasses. The celebrations were open to the public, and were held after Carnival season (which extends from Ash Wednesday to Easter Sunday).

A few years in, someone suggested that she create a memorial publication so that there would be a written record of the event and the honorees. "The publication actually started because an Indian came to me and said, 'Queen, if you don't do it, it won't get done. No one talks about the Spy Boys, so please write about us,'" she recalls.[lxxxi] Soon the publication turned into a series. Eventually the awards became so popular that someone else suggested that Cherice start taking an inventory. She quickly learned that one can collect a lot of data by omission. As soon as a Mardi Gras Indian noticed that their name was missing from the list, she heard about it. But she was glad to add them all to the record. Like her father, she is committed to honoring the community, and, like her father, she knows that there is strength in numbers and networks.

Twenty years made the Hall of Fame an institution, but it was not sustainable. If the ceremony had funding, it is because Cherice wrote the grants. If Hall of Fame

inductees and their guests had place cards (which unexpectedly became a beloved Hall of Fame memento), it is because Cherice designed them. After Hurricane Katrina, she employed her organizing, networking, and writing skills to assist every Indian who asked.

New Orleans was devastated by the flooding following Hurricane Katrina. As of 2019, the Haley School, where the Hall of Fame was housed, still has not reopened. Cherice resumed her indigenous cultural programming off-site almost immediately after the storm for the sake of drawing visibility to the community, but she noticed that while considerable funding was being extended to New Orleans for indigenous cultural heritage, it was not filtering down to the tradition-bearers themselves. Post-Katrina, she took up an informal grant-writing consultancy to aid Mardi Gras Indians seeking support. "I asked myself how I could act as an advocate and activist for the community. My father said there were two kinds of people: the gatekeepers, and those who hold the gate and say, 'hurry up! The gate is open! Come this way before they close it!' I was trying to be the second kind of person," she recalls.

Cherice ghost-wrote nearly eighty grants to the Louisiana Cultural Economy Foundation, the Grammy Foundation, and the Arts Council of New Orleans on behalf of Mardi Gras Indian community members. A friend suggested that she create a grantee database and simplified application template to expedite the process. Interviews were critical, and helped her to frame the artists' experience and assets to fit the requirements of the grant programs. One of the questions was about studio space. When asked if they had lost their workshops in the storm, most interviewees answered her that they did not have one. Cherice countered, "Did you have a room you made your suit in?" "Yes." "What room is that?" "My garage. My kitchen." "Ok, that is your studio." Another section asked for volunteer history. Again, most replied that they had none. Cherice reformatted the question. "Do you mask on St. Joseph's Day? Carnival day? At the Super Sunday parade? Have you ever visited a school? Did you get paid? Now, okay, you're a seasoned volunteer." "Have you ever done media presentations?" "No." "Have you ever appeared in a newspaper on television?" "Oh, yeah, I did that." Check, check, check. All of her grants were successful.

Word of her pro bono services spread from neighbor to neighbor, and Cherice received phone calls requesting assistance at all hours of the day. Several people simply showed up at her door unannounced. Cherice still has a body of resumes and grant applications that she intends to redact, copy, and then shred the originals. She has applicants' FEMA and social security numbers. The level of trust involved in the process made all of the difference. Cherice also worked with a fiscal sponsor to apply for funding to resume Mardi Gras Indian Hall of Fame programming, albeit off-site.

During this period, local funders got wind of Cherice's community work and several invited her to their offices. There she saw waiting rooms adorned with photographs of Mardi Gras Indians and brass band members whom she knew from the community. She also knew that many of the individuals represented in the images

were not recipients of support from the foundations, and in fact were not even aware that funding was available.

This commodification phenomenon is not unique to foundations or office buildings, but is a frequent frustration for Mardi Gras Indians. “Photographers come to the Quarter and the places where African American culture is naturally occurring. They do drive-by photo shoots and get their best shot, and after they shoot you, they hang you on the wall, and they sell you. They have every right to do that. The copyright laws basically protects their right to do that as their creative product. But what I tell them is that at one time, it was legal to sell black and brown people. So my question is, when you sell brown bodies, you commodify people. Just because you have the right, does it make it the right thing to do?”

The Carnival tradition is a spectacle, and Mardi Gras Indians are aware that processions and gatherings are a significant draw for photographers and filmmakers. However, all too often, and increasingly after Katrina, Indians walk by French Quarter galleries and see their own images for sale. Rarely are the subjects’ names included in wall labels or catalogues, and even less frequently are they compensated. Cherice has taken on the task of demanding representation and reparations, and building trust between documentarians and Indians. She now uses the grantee database as a clearinghouse for commercial photographers to contact community members. Her efforts are not always welcomed by photographers, and it is of course a sensitive subject within the Masking Indian community. But she sees the paradigm changing, even if the impetus for the shift is not always altruistic. “At the end of the day, if you develop a relationship, you’re going to get better pictures,” she says.

In the meantime, Cherice has formed her own group within the Guardians of the Flame, the Maroon Society, and after sunsetting the Hall of Fame in 2018, she joined her mother at the Guardians Institute to serve as its Outreach Coordinator. Herreast founded the Guardians Institute in 2006 to honor the memory of Big Chief Donald Harrison Sr., and to preserve and develop programming around the New Orleans indigenous culture that he loved. In 2013, the Institute moved into a brand new, custom-designed museum on Independence Avenue. The museum houses artwork, Carnival Day ceremonial attire (suits), music collections, and other materials related to Masking Indian culture. It also features the Legacy Performance Pavilion, an elevated stage where traditional music and dance performances take place. The Guardians Institute has curated numerous exhibitions, panel discussions, lectures, and what they call “informances”—educational programs with an entertainment component. Herreast’s many decades as a professional educator, and Donald Sr.’s voracious love of books, has led to the founding of two culturally competent, intergenerational book programs, and many of the Guardians Institute’s initiatives are extensions of programs that Cherice started in the mid-1980s.

Figure 36 Cherice Harrison-Nelson and Herreast Harrison at the Guardians Institute Museum, 2019

The Guardians Institute is an incorporated non-profit, but funding has trickled since Katrina, and getting enough support to sustain the organization is a challenge. Neither of the Harrisons receives a salary from the Institute, and they regularly find themselves running $100,000 programs on $15,000 grants. After trying to get a space on their own for many years, Tulane University received $100,000 for students to design and build the Institute's museum-pavilion structure. While the building references the form of historic shotgun houses, its sideways orientation is a bit confusing. Further, it is much smaller than the Harrisons had hoped. Cherice has written grants to enhance the museum's climate control, but has thus far been rejected. Storage is also a problem. An exterior shed is full of items from the collection, and many of the delicate textiles are in Herreast's adjacent house. Some are even packed in suitcases, in case the family should need to evacuate. Tulane is no longer involved, and Cherice does not have access to the university's grants offices and contacts. The Institute is run and managed by the Harrison family, but they are adamant about paying contractors, no matter how young (even a one year-old). Neither Cherice, nor Herreast, nor anyone in the family receives any kind of payment; they are all happy volunteers.

Figure 37 Cherice Harrison-Nelson and Aria Smith at the Guardians Institute, 2019

The Harrisons continue their work undaunted. At a recent pre-St. Joseph's Day children's celebration, the Guardians Institute was abuzz with families gathered on the lawn to watch their children perform West African drumming with instructor Andrew Wiseman. Cherice and four year-old Aria Smith, Haley Elementary principal Roslyn Smith's granddaughter and Maroon Society member, are suited and promenading across the platform. Every year the Guardians allow one of its children to select the year's Carnival season masking colors. This year, Aria chose silver. Since silver feathers don't occur in nature, Cherice chose white as the cut color. Standing together, hand in hand and shimmering in their suits, the seasoned stateswoman and the scion cut a striking image. Cherice addresses the crowd.

"Many wear one black feather to symbolize an ancestor of significance in their group. On my mother's suggestion, we wear a red one because it represents fire, and we are the Guardians of the Flame. But it also represents my father's passion for this tradition, and the blood of us, his children, and the passion that has been passed down to his children." Their Big Queen's Got a Silver Crown. Two-Way-Pock-A-Way, Oh Nay Nay.

c. Arabber Preservation Society, Baltimore, Maryland

The twenty-first century has seen the proliferation and fetishization of artisanal food truck culture, but local street vending practices and traditions have long thrived in urban areas across the world, from Rio de Janeiro to Dhaka, Mexico City to Calcutta. The nomenclature applied to traders who participate in this occupation is vast, including *peddlers* or *hawkers* in English-speaking locales, *ambulantes* and *comerciantes* in parts of Latin America, and *rehri-parti wallas* or *footpath dukanders*

in India, just to name a few (Graaf and Ha 2015:2). *Arabbers,* a term particular to Baltimore, Maryland, are people who sell foodstuffs from colorful, mobile, horse-drawn wagons. Or, as Monyet Boice, a legacy Arabber put it, "people who have horses who serve our community" (*The Retriever* 2019). No one knows exactly when the practice of arabbing as such began, but it developed throughout the 19th century in major port cities along the East Coast. After the Civil War, large numbers of African American men joined the trade, which flourished in Baltimore well into the 20th century as a significant means of providing fresh fruits, vegetables, fish and poultry, ice, wood, and coal to city residents.

Celebrated documentary photographer, NEA National Heritage Fellow, and Baltimore native Roland Freeman (b. 1936) started working with Arabbers at the age of twelve.[lxxxii] As a professional photographer affiliated with the Smithsonian Institution's Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, Freeman spent several decades researching and recording African American culture. His 1987 photo essay, "The Arabbers of Baltimore," is a visual poem honoring the respected tradition-bearers, their beloved steeds, as well as the markets and stables that nourished and stabilized Baltimore's working-class downtown neighborhoods.

Freeman noted that nearly twenty-five Arabber stables operated in 1960s Baltimore. In 1989, three decades later, there were only five. Many had fallen victim to urban renewal initiatives, while others simply phased out due to insufficient funds. Crucial downtown produce markets relocated outside of the city, too far for Arabbers to travel for inventory, and competition from chain supermarkets became overwhelming. As of 1989, Baltimore counted two ferriers and three wagon wrights among the city's Arabbering community, although most horses and wagons came from Pennsylvania Dutch country by then. Changing paradigms notwithstanding, many denizens still preferred the trusted horse-wagon vendors to provide produce and other goods, particularly in tight knits communities or those underserved by grocery emporia (Freeman 1987:87).

Freeman's work on Arabbing—an African American folk tradition and a way of life—honors the practice's persistence in changing times. His essay pays tribute to the art of a long day's work. Ten to twelve-hour shifts began early in the morning with stable visits to retrieve horses and wagons, and then continued with bulk bargain hunting at the Camden and Pratt Street produce markets, and adjacent meat markets. There the Arabbers "decorated" their carts, displaying wares with precision and artistic flair. Then off they would start, selecting on one of many expertly plotted routes designed to maximize return based on day, time, weather, and seasonal offerings. Routes charted the vendors' networks of friends, family, and loyal customers, many of whom were unable to go far from the stoop due to age, lack of transportation, childcare responsibilities, or physical disabilities. After hours on the road, man and horse would return to the stables, unload, untack, and put the wagon away before unwinding with fellows or heading home.

Most of the Arabbers that Freeman documented were lifers—men, and sometimes women, with four or more decades in the business. They worked the streets year-round, some earning their entire living through the trade, while others had other jobs as well. They knew each other by name, and knew each other's families. They learned from the same mentors or operated from the same stables at some or many points in their careers, and they often socialized together, both during and outside of work. Some families boasted several generations of Arabbers, many active simultaneously.

Figure 38 Decorating a Wagon at the North Fremont Stable, 2018

Then as now, Arabbing is hard labor and, as most practitioners will insist, "you gotta *really* love it."[lxxxiii] It is also a critically endangered tradition. As of 2019, only three licensed Arabber stables remain in Baltimore. Residents, particularly in struggling neighborhoods, still desperately need healthful food at cost, without having to travel to other neighborhoods to pay prices raised by a middleman. But many of the long-standing Arabbers have passed away, and the professional community, now reduced to a handful of active vendors, faces fallout from decades of friction with the city government. While city zoning ordinances and vending regulations pose challenges and even threats to street vendors around the world, it is especially difficult for Arabbers to establish and maintain permanent horse stables.

Further, Arabbers uniquely face opposition from animal rights activists who are fretfully unaware of the deep bonds between the vendors and their horses. The men speak about and care for their equine companions with the deepest affection. The city's animal control department now requires increased veterinary monitoring wherein the fees are absorbed by the Arabbers. The rising costs have driven some out of the profession (Morrison 2018).

The Arabber Preservation Society works to maintain and preserve the city's last Arabber stables. Given that city-led harassment of Arabbers is still common, the Preservation Society has become all too familiar with the extent to which municipal laws may be circumvented, or even used against its citizens. The organization was launched in 1994, after the Retreat Street stable was slapped with building code violations. Volunteers rallied to fix the stable's structures and reopen the site, and their success inspired others to join and assist at other locations.

In 2007, the city condemned Retreat Street and moved several horses to the South Carlton Street stable. In 2015, the city shut down the South Carlton site—the oldest continually operating livery stable in the country—and confiscated fourteen horses (Woods 2015). The Arabbers and the Preservation Society were in court for over a year; they raised thousands of dollars for legal fees and spent countless hours pleading their case. A veterinarian later testified at trial that the seized animals showed no signs of abuse or neglect, and the judge acquitted all six affiliated Arabbers of animal cruelty charges. Although all of charges were ultimately dropped, many of the horses were illegally sold off during the process. None of the Arabbers were compensated for their losses.

Daniel Van Allen, founder of the Arabber Preservation Society, notes that the three remaining stables are all located in West Baltimore, within a five-mile range of each other. Their leaders have persevered but their persistence may also be interpreted as a stay of execution, as Van Allen suggests that major city-backed redevelopment efforts have yet to materialized on the west side–emphasis on yet.[lxxxiv]

The Society, a registered 501(c)(3), owns the North Fremont Avenue stable—a large open lot surrounded by blocks and blocks of row houses. The site is dotted with outbuildings and farm equipment, and is home to several horses, a pig, chickens, pigeons, and an alpaca. It is also host to a large, colorful mural honoring the tradition and the real-life individuals who practice it. In 2016, after years of ground work, the Society took the stable's mission to the next level when it became the 36th Maryland Horse Discovery center—a state-designated site where Marylanders and tourists can tour, learn about horsemanship, take pony rides, or sign up for lessons. The classification renders the Fremont yard part Arabber stable, part museum.

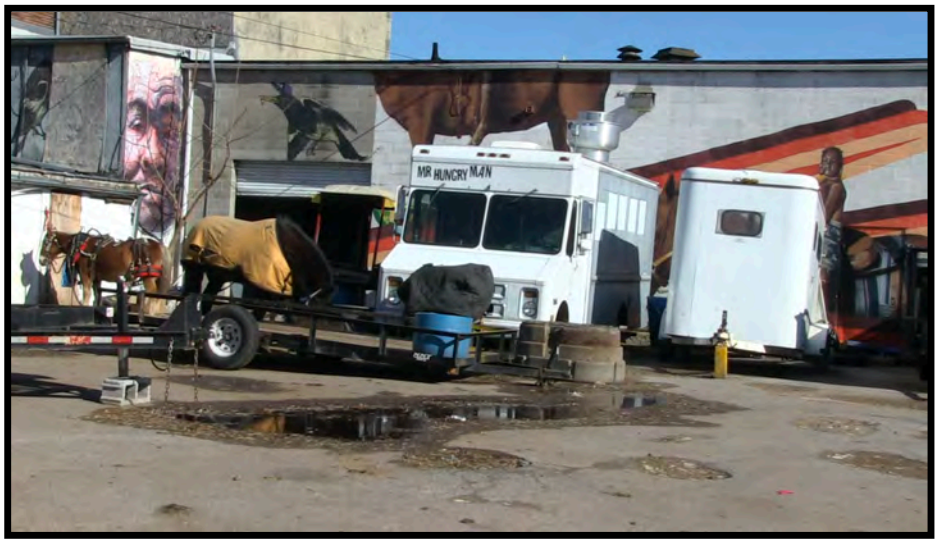

Figure 39 Yard at the North Fremont Stable, 2018

The Society applies for grants to support the site's upkeep, and to offer educational programs for young people as well as adults. However, as an all-volunteer organization, their development capacity is limited. Applications are submitted as often as personal schedules will allow. Most of the grants in play offer modest awards, as larger pots require additional administration and oversight. A recent successful proposal financed a portable corral area for the horses. Beyond the burden of applying for and managing grants to support programs, the Society feels pressure in the form of inexplicably high property taxes and water bills. "The city can give exemptions to nonprofits, but they don't seem to want to be helpful to the Arabbers," Van Allen says. Sometimes the Society holds fundraisers to raise money, awareness, and appreciation of the Arabbers and the stables, but often as not, the Arabbers and Society members draw from their personal resources to support the sites and the work.

While some city agencies might prefer to refer to Arabbers in the past tense, the vendors have stalwart allies in the local historic preservation community, the Baltimore Office of Promotion & the Arts (BOPA), and the Maryland State Arts Council. "The Office of Promotion & the Arts totally supports them," Van Allen notes. "They realize that heritage tourism is very important. And that they continue to provide a very important service."

Maintaining the Arabber tradition is not just a matter of nostalgia; indeed, the practice presently serves so many purposes, and could even do more, if empowered by the city and state. Arabbing is a literal vehicle for proving healthy foods to underserved neighborhoods and naturally occurring retirement communities (NORCS). Arabbers are eyes on the street, as several residents have noted. One Southwest Baltimore resident pointed out in reference to her regular wagon vendors. "[Neighborhood kids] couldn't get away with anything, because someone would always be letting us know what they were up to" (*The Retriever* 2015).

If the state subsidized farmers from surrounding counties to develop partnerships with Arabber stables, community supported agriculture programs (CSA's) would be more than a luxury commodity, and the farm-to-table value chain more than a marketing tool. Preserving, supporting, and reviving an historic working-class occupation could invigorate a constellation of allied trades and industries, providing economic opportunity for young and old alike.

Figure 40 West Side Colors on a Wagon at the North Fremont Stable, 2018

And, as far as local heritage goes, Arabbing is a crowd-pleaser. It is performance art, a medium that takes years to refine, and which engages all faculties. First, from a distance, is the call. Arabbers have long provided Baltimore with a signature soundtrack known as the "holler." It is the seller's song, and its lyrics are the melodic, poetic pronouncements of a wagon's-worth of offerings. Serenades of "Watermelonnnn! Watermelonnnn! Red to the rind!" and "Grapes and peaches feeling ripe!" blend with the *clop clop* of the horse's hooves and the jingle of harness bells, reverberating through the streets and alleys, bouncing off of Formstone facades and marble stoops to the delight and relief of residents eagerly awaiting a visit (Jenkins 2016). Summertime sounds sweet, like juicy melons, berries, and corn, while winter bellows the names of hearty, cozy crops like"sweet potato, white potato, collard greeeeens!"

Arabbers often spend forty-five minutes decorating their wagons, and many take the time to pre-cut oranges, cantaloupe, bananas, and other inventory to give customers a chance to touch, smell, and taste the items before committing to a purchase. Kevin,

an Arabber associated with the Fremont Street stable, sculpts some of his wares into fanciful designs to keep customers engaged and loyal.

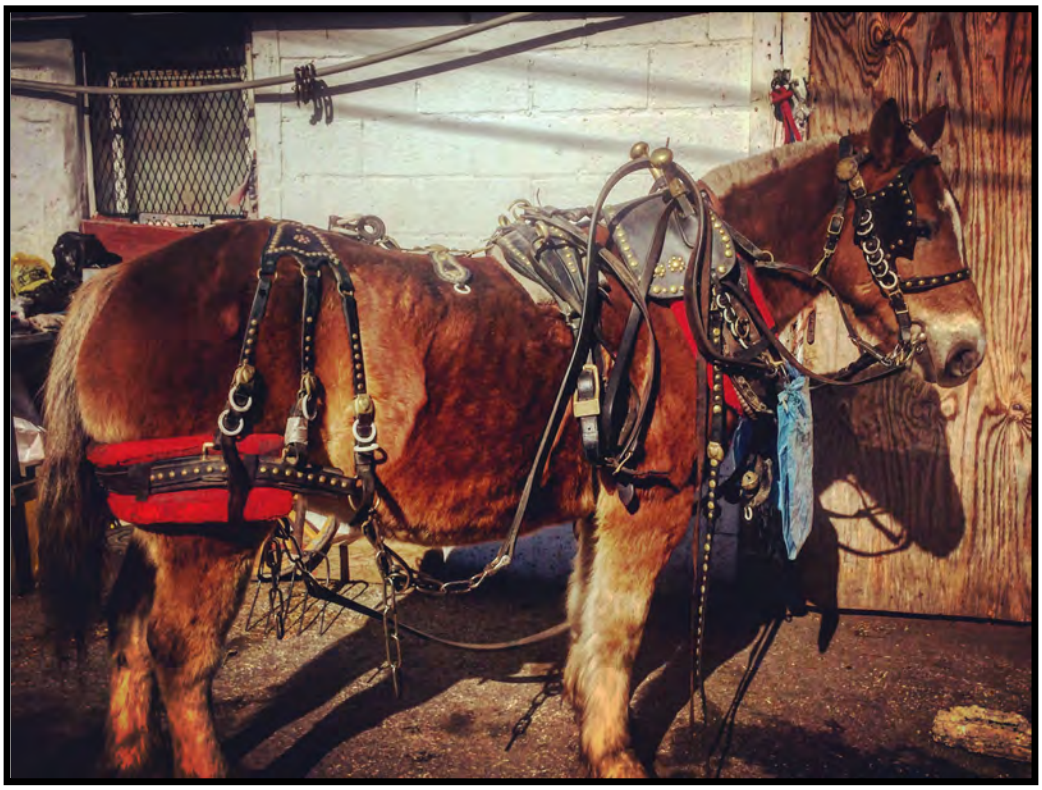

Figure 41 Baltimore Fancy Harness, 2018

In addition to their artful produce arrangements, Baltimore Arabber wagons and harnesses are known for specific colors schemes and ornamentation. The West Baltimore Arabber wagon has red leeboards, wooden wagon wheels, and shafts painted yellow, whereas the east side Arabbers preferred green and yellow. Arabber wagons are usually topped with awnings and visors, and the traditional Baltimore "fancy" harness is black with gold trim, and embellished with brass, white bone rings (actually white plastic), and red tassels and plumes. The harnesses are still made by Pennsylvania Dutch craftsmen, who will customize a "fancy" harness order to include a variety of charms and rings, tassels, plumes, and bell drops. "Each one is slightly different," Van Allen says.

James Chase, President of the Arabber Preservation Society, has been working in the trade since the age of five. He believes that Arabbing can make a come back, and that proper protection, patronage, and promotion will ensure it's place in Baltimore's living cultural heritage for a long time. His family has been in the business for several generations. "My grandfather was an Arabber, so I came up young, riding on the wagon wheels while he was selling produce. Most people do that—they start as young kids following along with someone they know and learning the trade. Once they get the hang of it, they're hooked and get to work."

Chase operates from the Fremont stable, and is adamant about inspiring young people to take up the trade, or an allied craft. He says they are working to find funding that would support this kind of instructional course. “We want this to be an Arabber center where we teach kids how to tack horses, groom them, muck the stalls. We really want to show them the whole process inside and outside of the yard.” Chase dreams of establishing a vocational program wherein Arabbers-in-training would learn to care for the stables and horses, decorate the wagons, navigate the streetscape, and interact with customers. In such a beta scenario, the pupil would gain technical, entrepreneurial, and public speaking experience, and the customers, pre-selected and pre-scheduled, could keep the fruit for free in exchange for participation. “It could show the kids that you don’t have to be on these corners or breaking the law to make a couple of dollars. There are still honest ways of making a living. I know they’ll find a love for it.”

In 2008, the Arabber Preservation Society received an Apprenticeship Award from Maryland Traditions, the state’s folklife program administered by the Maryland State Arts Council. Offered each year, the Maryland Traditions Apprenticeship Award “funds a year-long period of study between a master and apprentice artist. These awards support the passing down of folklife in a wide range of living cultural traditions.”[lxxxv] The 2008 grant supported tutelage in the art of Arabber wagon restoration between late master wagon wright James Cooper and apprentice Leonard “Felix” Willis. In 2018, the Society received another Apprenticeship grant, this time to support Willis as the master and Chase’s son, Ahmaud, as the apprentice. Ahmaud has worked with Arabbers since he was a small child, and the state funding helped him hone his interest and skills in cart building and wagon restoration. As a result, he was been invited to join Willis at the 2019 National Folk Festival in Salisbury, Maryland. Hopefully, it also crystalized his interest in joining the established ranks.

Figure 42 Arabber Preservation Society President James Chase and Founding Member Daniel Van Allen, 2018

This victory is an important stepping-stone, but there is much more work to be done. A 2018 *Baltimore Sun* article quoted the elder Chase as stating, "we rely on Mennonite know-how because we don't have the knowledge and the tools to do this stuff anymore. It's the way we found to keep this life going" (McFadden 2018). Ahmad's engagement is encouraging, but the trade requires many more new recruits to sustain. Chase reiterates, "we're trying to build a foundation to get these kinds of programs started. We've been around for decades, but it seems like we keep going unnoticed and unrecognized. I know it looks like we're dying out, but there are a few of us who are determined to keep things going. We can't do it by ourselves, and unfortunately a few spotlight media pieces aren't going to be enough, either. Too often journalists come by to do a story and promise to help advocate, but we never hear from them again. Horses and wagons built this town. We need public support to show the city that we're still an asset."

Challenges, Recommendations, and Actions Points

All the sites involved in the Community Anchors program face serious development challenges. As is true of many nonprofit groups, their leaders lack experience in grnat application writing. While a grant could secure larger and more reliable funds, crafting and managing them is often challenging and time consuming, and has a low return on investment. The groups have consequently come to rely on alternative fundraising sources, many of which are based on their own communities' sometimes limited financial, political, and social capital (Forman 2015:12). Even if the groups are incorporated as nonprofits, their boards are often loosely structured, lack giving capacity, or both. To properly manage the board would take additional time and energy that many of their leaders must commit to other responsibilities.

If the Arabber Preservation Society were required to assess its impact, the results would likely be largely qualitative or anecdotal. This kind of evidence has yet to gain credibility in the philanthropic community (Ibid). The Guardians Institute is likely better positioned to respond to these stipulations, but the grants they generally receive are so small that hiring more people in order to measure impact seems to make little fiscal sense. Due to limited staff resources, they seek grants sporadically. For these groups to succeed, the funding community needs to value stories as much as data. Writing for *Common Practice*, Rebecca Gordon-Nesbitt notes, "stories about the aesthetic encounters mediated by small arts organizations can offer nuanced, particular, and memorable encounters of their work" (Gordon-Nesbitt 2012:9).

And what about those who are not even eligible for direct grant funding? Jackson notes the importance of providing resources to the artists and cultural organizations that are unincorporated or in the commercial sector (Jackson et al., 2006:18). Although incorporation as a 501(c)(3) can help facilitate grant acquisition, the structure and restrictions of the nonprofit model do not make sense for everyone. Cherice Harrison-Nelson long resisted registering the Mardi Gras Indian Hall of Fame as a 501(c)(3) because she was not interested in managing a nonprofit or being controlled by a board of directors. Whereas a traditional board might provide some funding for the organization, its members may also demand control over programming and policies. FIOB L.A. is explicitly opposed to incorporating as a 501(c)(3) for political reasons and concerns about censorship.

NYSCA's Robert Baron has considered this issue deeply. "I think funding organizations are losing a whole generation of artists and musicians, many in culturally rich neighborhoods and community-based entities, because they are not choosing to formally organize." Indeed, research suggests that the "nonprofit," "informal," and "commercial" categories are not mutually exclusive, and that often artists and cultural organizations work across these sectors (Jackson, Kabwasa-Green, Swenson et al., 2003:22). As hybrids often do not receive the attention or support they deserve, these organizations would benefit from more flexibility on the part of funders.

Further, many of these organizations are not established entities in the philanthropic milieu, because they are not well understood and/or do not neatly fit into funder missions. As Jackson notes:

> *Mainstream validation mechanisms fail to recognize that the arts and culture of many groups, including rural, Native American and some immigrant communities, often are seen by those communities as an integral part of community functions, components of a whole way of life. Separating the "art" component from the rest, which is often required for funding and mainstream recognition, can be inappropriate and sometimes impossible* (Jackson, Kabwasa-Green, Swenson et al., 2003:17).

We feel that these three sites make a case for collaboration with intermediary organizations who enjoy the trust of both the communities and the funders, and can provide knowledge, infrastructure, and stability for the field that funders do not (Korza and Schaffer Bacon 2010:70). However, there has been a slow and steady disinvestment in intermediaries in the last several years. On a national level, there is rising interest in direct relationships with grantees who received larger grants, and less enthusiasm for granting through brokers, who, in turn, give smaller grants to smaller organizations.[lxxxvi]

If receiving public funding is an unofficial prerequisite for interest from the private sector, public proposal processes requiring English-only online applications already put many of these groups at a serious disadvantage. An important step would be for funders large and small, local and national, public and private, to accept paper grant proposals or recorded videos in numerous languages. In effort to create a more equitable application process that is accessible to musicians of all ages and backgrounds, Chamber Music America (CMA) has already changed its guidelines. CMA now requires only four sound samples, and any part of grant writing that requires press or persuasive writing has been eliminated.[lxxxvii] Barring the widespread adoption of similar policies, small organizations will have to rely on intermediaries to help them access and translate applications.

However, we do not intend to negate the significance and leverage of local, informal support. Baron suggests that intermediary organizations can facilitate the development of smaller groups' ability to seek and sustain funding sources within and beyond their communities. Small cultural entities are often rejected for funding because they are viewed as lacking organization or accountability. This could change if they received assistance with key administrative tasks, including grant-writing, submission, and reporting, bookkeeping, facilities maintenance, and general operations. Intermediaries can also help develop more reliable, systematic support-seeking protocols like regular, structured individual giving campaigns or those aimed at local businesses.[lxxxviii] Nonprofit New York provides an interesting model. Founded in 1984, Nonprofit New York advocates for policies and regulations affecting area organizations, and offers information, guidance, and capacity-building workshops on topics ranging from board recruitment and activation to designing fundraising and communications campaigns to implementing diversity, inclusion, equity practices and policies.[lxxxix] Caron Atlas, director of Arts and Democracy and co-director of Naturally Occurring Cultural Districts New York, also suggests that small groups should be able to show their significant in-kind contributions as potential matches for funding opportunities.[xc]

These groups and the artists nurtured by them benefit tremendously from the presence of folklorists and cultural specialists on the panels that determine grant recipients at public agencies. The dedicated folk arts panel at the New York State Council on the Arts is able to award numerous smaller, grassroots cultural organizations either directly or through conduiting organizations. Several years ago, the Pew Charitable Trusts, which had previously funded few traditional artists,

added folk arts as a grant category and brought folklorists onto a multidisciplinary panel. As a result, the number of master folk artists given significant financial awards increased significantly.

Jackson notes that there are fewer awards programs for traditional and folk artists than for other disciplines, and that these groups have severe unmet equipment and materials needs due to scarcity and restrictions on using grant funds to purchase equipment Jackson, Kabwasa-Green, Swenson et al., 2003:37, 55). One important way to combat this inequity is to include many more individuals from BIPOC communities on the staff, boards, and grant selection panels of foundation and arts agencies. It is critical that the sector's workforce better represent the communities it serves so that smaller, community-based, ethnic, and cultural organizations have fair and equal access to support.

In this section we reviewed community-based organizations whose constituents frequently experience friction with outside agents and agencies. The source of the tension is often lack of cultural competence on the part of the external entity, be it law enforcement, health care systems, municipal departments, and even those who purport to appreciate and preserve local indigenous and traditional culture. These three organizations have developed programs and processes for educating the public about their communities' languages, rituals, occupations, art forms, and worldviews, and have made great strides toward turning their cities into more equitable environments. However, there is much more work to be done in the arena of cultural competence.

One example from City Lore's own portfolio may serve as a useful precedent. City Lore's *From Heritage to Health (H2H)* initiative suggests ways in which these community anchors can play a role in creating a more positive healthcare ecosystem. Beyond the knowledge, skills and attitudes of providing culturally sensitive care, health professionals are increasingly aware of the need to develop an understanding of the complex environments in which patients live. Factors such as housing, education, economic stability, language barriers, and power and privilege are "root causes" of health inequities. It is also critical that medical professionals learn and understand how gender, age, faith, wellness, and varying concepts of communality versus individuality impact their patients' relationships to health and healthcare.

Some community-based health centers such as Hudson River Health in Peekskill, New York have developed a network of *promotores* (outreach coordinators) who receive stipends to serve as a bridge between the health center and local communities. The often volunteer and passionate leaders of these Community Anchors are often in an ideal position to serve as that bridge. Fuller appreciation and funding of these community-based organizations contributes to a cultural ecosystem that in turn can create a healthier environment and a better and more equitable quality of life across the U.S.

Next Steps

The appendix to this report includes an analysis of the kinds of issues confronting Community Anchors. It encompasses the ten New York City Community Anchors researched previously along with the twelve new Anchors explored for the current research initiative. Although the sample set is relatively small, it does serve as an indicator of the most pressing needs these kinds of organizations encounter. It also suggests that expanded Community Anchors research in additional cities would further enhance and validate these findings.

The analysis shows that sixty-four percent of the organizations identify access to private funding as a key issue, and fifty percent face the same challenge with regard to public funding. Fifty-nine percent were also concerned with private space. In terms of issues that threaten an organization's existence, the three leading concerns were private space (fourteen percent of organizations), public policy (eighteen percent) and generational change (fourteen percent).

Of the three types of organizations studied, small businesses and social clubs were the ones most vulnerable to issues related to real estate (seventy-one percent and seventy-five percent). Small businesses were the type most affected by generational changes (seventy-one percent). Overall, the breakout city by city shows that the issues of public and private funding as well as public and private space are common to each of the urban environments we explored.

Based on our findings, we would like to propose a series of next steps:

1. Seek funding for a convening of grassroots activists and community artists from around the country to give a broader perspective to the findings of this report.

2. Encourage cities to establish Cultural Landmarking programs that would

    a. explore ways to identify key community assets through peer panels or demonstrations of public support

    b. develop policies and programs that will lead to an inventory of and support for community assets but that will not negatively impact the city's overall economy. Examples include the following:

        i. stabilizing rent
        ii. providing loans to purchase property
        iii. offering tax-free status, as is offered to religious institutions
        iv. inclusion on a searchable database

4. Work with the municipal arts funding agencies to offer development workshops for leaders of cultural anchors to teach them about real estate issues, grant writing, and opportunities available to their organizations.

5. Open a discussion with Grantmakers in the Arts about developing new, more user-friendly metrics for demonstrating the success of cultural anchors, including narratives like those included in this report.

6. Ask city and state arts-funding agencies to fund a position–or perhaps one for each of the outer boroughs—dedicated to assisting smaller groups in navigating funding opportunities.

7. Encourage the development of cultural competence training programs to integrate arts and culture into the systems thinking of adjacent or allied sectors (law enforcement, transportation, healthcare systems, urban planning, etc).

Conclusion

The many ways of sustaining cultural anchors in neighborhoods are complex and challenging. To make informed choices for the future of urban neighborhoods, we must ground our decisions in work that has already successfully created a sense of neighborhood and community. The dissolution of communities is real and costly, and cultural conservation is a preventive medicine that can keep neighborhoods and communities from falling apart. Assessing the value of these establishments may be difficult, but trying to re-create these sites after their doors have closed is not an option. Whatever the profits of new development might be, we cannot allow what is most distinctive and human about our cities be destroyed. As the folklorist Alan Lomax wrote, "If we continue to allow the erosion of our cultural forms, soon there will be nowhere to visit and no place to truly call home."

All of the organizations included in this initiative fit the Arts and Culture Indicators Project's definition of "pillar institutions":

> *organizations that are key catalysts for both amateur and professional arts practice and collaborate with a range of arts and non-arts organizations as part of their programming [and that] are especially important for a community's cultural vitality as we define it* (Jackson et al., 2006:15).

We hope that this report has shown that while these organizations are pillars, and theoretically represent the three main pillars of community life, that separation of function is a false paradigm. All of the anchors featured in this study engage and enhance their community's spiritual, social, and economic well-being. As Villanueva writes,

> *It is rare that a funder acknowledges intersectionality: the fact that institutions and identities consist of and are impacted by overlapping and interconnected systems of oppression and disadvantage. Most funding is still stuck in issue-based silos. An education foundation will only fund education, a health foundation will only fund health and so on, even though we know that every complex social problem has its roots everywhere—the environment, urban design, schools, diet, access to transport, as well as historical and cultural factors* (Villanueva 2018:75).

These sites are critical to community health because they integrate arts and culture with community organizing strategies and long-term social justice efforts (Korza and Schaeffer Bacon 2010:50). However, the Community Anchors initiative indicates that past and current policies have not sufficiently supported grassroots cultural institutions. It is time to both enhance existing resources and create new resources and legislation that support a diverse and equitable cultural ecology.

The experiences of the twelve organizations described in this report point to a series of next steps. City Lore and its sister organizations will continue to explore ways to support cultural anchors. In addition, we suggest a convening of visionary leaders from organizations across the country that serve similar roles in their communities, support the cultural lives of people of color, and can add new strategies to a more equitable funding picture that supports the cultural life of the United States.

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End Notes

[i] In this context, we are following the definition of "cultural inventory" established by Bill Flood at the University of Oregon's Arts and Administration Program. "A cultural inventory is a listing of a community's cultural assets or resources. A cultural inventory can be used as a resource for schools, cultural organizations, and others seeking to better understand a community, and to identify and mobilize specific cultural resources within that community. A cultural inventory is often an important initial step to cultural planning and programming." https://cpb-us-e1.wpmucdn.com/blogs.uoregon.edu/dist/7/13578/files/2016/10/Albany-Cultural-Inventory-Presentation-2eywd70.pdf (accessed July 30, 2019).

[ii] Susan Seifert personal communication with author, June 23, 2016.

[iii] Sister Angela Kolacinski interview with Molly Garfinkel, February 28, 2019. All quotations from Kolacinski are from the same interview.

[iv] Holy Cross-Immaculate Heart of Mary, History, https://www.hcihm.org/history (accessed July 8, 2019).

[v] Edy Dominguez interview with Molly Garfinkel, March 3, 2019. All quotations from Dominguez are from the same interview.

[vi] Guadalupe Duran interview with Molly Garfinkel, March 3, 2019.

[vii] Jorge Ocampo interview with Molly Garfinkel, March 3, 2019. All quotations from Ocampo are from the same interview.

[viii] Jesse Iniguez interview with Molly Garfinkel, March 3, 2019. All quotations from Iniguez are from the same interview.

[ix] Rolando Santoyo interview with Molly Garfinkel, March 3, 2019.

[x] Zion Lutheran Church, History, Zion in World War I, http://www.zionbaltimore.org/vthistory_1900s_sons_of_zion_ww1.htm (accessed July 2, 2019).

[xi] Zion Lutheran Church, History, Sons of Zion and World War II, http://www.zionbaltimore.org/vtstones_sons_of_ww2.htm (accessed July 2, 2019).

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[xiii] Noreen Herbert interview with Molly Garfinkel, February 1, 2018. All quotations from Herbert are from the same interview.

[xiv] Leslie Trageser interview with Molly Garfinkel, February 4, 2018. All quotations from Trageser are from the same interview.

[xv] Ellen Solomon interview with Molly Garfinkel, February 1, 2018. All quotations from Solomon are from the same interview.

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[xxii] Pastor Eric Diebler interview with Molly Garfinkel, February 4, 2018.

[xxiii] Dreams and Allies Run website can be found at https://dreamersrun1.wixsite.com/dreamersandalliesrun?fbclid=IwAR2bV609xaeyx7qxTLVIDKxsMSjLhCpbK1tin4-LUwC43l6xhgs21HLu058.

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[xxv] National Park Service, Home, What is Historic Preservation, Introduction, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/historicpreservation/introduction.htm (accessed July 23, 2019).

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[xxvii] Khai Nguyen interview with Molly Garfinkel, March 21, 2019. All quotations from Nguyen are from the same interview.

[xxviii] Joseph Podlasek interview with Molly Garfinkel, February 27, 2019. All quotations by Podlasek are from the same interview.

[xxix] https://www.aicchicago.org/history, (accessed July 24, 2019).

[xxx] Joseph Podlasek interview with Molly Garfinkel, February 27, 2019.

[xxxi] Robert Wapahi interview with Molly Garfinkel, February 27, 2019. All quotations by Wapahi are from the same interview.

[xxxii] Michael Pamonieutt interview with Molly Garfinkel, March 27, 2019.

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[xli] Kompa Seth interview with Molly Garfinkel, March 1, 2019. All quotations from Seth are from the same interview.
[xlii] Kaoru Watanabe interview with Molly Garfinkel, March 1, 2019. All quotations from Watanabe are from the same interview.
[xliii] Ada Cheng interview with Molly Garfinkel, March 1, 2019. All quotations from Cheng are from the same interview.
[xliv] Anneth Houy interview with Molly Garfinkel, March 1, 2019. All quotations from Houy are from the same interview.
[xlv] New York Foundation on the Arts Emerging Leaders Boot Camp, https://www.nyfa.org/Content/Show/Boot-Camps (accessed July 26, 2019).
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[xlvii] New York City Council Discretionary Funding Policies and Procedures, https://council.nyc.gov/budget/wp-content/uploads/sites/54/2019/01/Policies-and-Procedures-Final-Draft-1.9.19.pdf (accessed July 25, 2019).
[xlviii] Nick Spitzer, personal communication with Molly Garfinkel, March 14, 2019.
[xlix] Wayne Baquet interview with Molly Garfinkel, March 24, 2019. All quotations from Baquet are from the same interview.
[l] In 1784, Prince Hall, an African American abolitionist and leader in Boston's free African American community, founded the African Lodge #459 (later renamed the African Grand Lodge #1) after being barred from the white-only American Masonic Lodges (Medford Historical Society and Museum, Prince Hall, http://www.medfordhistorical.org/medford-history/africa-to-medford/prince-hall/). By the end of the 19th century, African Americans secret societies proliferated, as did corollaries of racially segregated Euro-American societies like the Odd Fellows, Elks, Masons, and Knights of Pythias (Trotter 2004:355). Many groups were religiously or professionally affiliated, but all such societies offered psychological and literal safety, and, significantly, "affirmation of black personhood" (Greenidge 2017). They cared for the sick, funded funerals, and supported widows and children of deceased members; they offered loans, insurance, and mortgages when banks and white-run institutions would not do business with African Americans. They founded their own institutions, and fought to dismantle those built on racism.
Well-known predecessors of the Arch Social Club include the International Order of Twelve Knights and Daughters of Tabor, an African American mutual aid association. Founded in 1872, the organization evolved into a benevolent society with local chapters in twelve states. The Knights and Daughters of Tabor famously sponsored Taborian Hospital, which opened in Mound Bayou, Mississippi in 1942 to provide healthcare for society members and others in the local African American community. All hospital personnel, including doctors, nurses, and administrative staff, were African American (Knights and Daughters of Tabor, http://www.knightsanddaughtersoftabor.com). Established in 1867 by Annetta M. Lane and Harriett R. Taylor—both formerly enslaved in Virginia—the United Order of Tents is a Christian Benevolent Organization managed predominantly by African American women. Initially formed to help women escape from slavery, the Tents have underwritten and undertaken significant community projects, including serving as a mortgage house for African Americans and securing several multi-million dollar contracts from the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to build affordable housing complexes for African American seniors (United Order of Tents, Heritage, http://www.unitedorderoftents.org/heritage). With dozens of chapters throughout the South and Northeast, the Tents have hundreds of members.
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[lii] 300 Men March, https://www.300menmarch.com/ (accessed July 14, 2019).
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[liv] Denise Johnson interview with Molly Garfinkel, March 2, 2019. All quotations from Johnson are from the same interview.

[lv] William Pleasant interview with Molly Garfinkel, March 2, 2019. All quotations by Pleasant are from the same interview.
[lvi] Kenneth Moore interview with Molly Garfinkel, March 2, 2019.
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[lxi] Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, Becoming Los Angeles, https://nhm.org/experience-nhm/exhibitions-natural-history-museum/becoming-los-angeles, (accessed July 21, 2019).
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[lxv] Rosanna Esparza Ahrens interview with Molly Garfinkel, June 7, 2019. All quotations from Ahrens are from the same interview.
[lxvi] Sixth Street Viaduct Replacement Project Bureau of Engineering, http://www.sixthstreetviaduct.org/ (accessed July 22, 2019).
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[lxviii] The New York City Council Legislative Research Center, Introduction 1472-2019, https://legistar.council.nyc.gov/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=3877885&GUID=C0D2361D-766A-42E3-A5CD-F8DBB1C52E8B&Options=&Search= (accessed July 27, 2019).
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[lxx] Frente Indígena de Organizaciones Binacionales (FIOB) Los Angeles Facebook Page, https://www.facebook.com/FIOBLosAngeles/?ref=page_internal (accessed July 5, 2019).
[lxxi] Odilia Romero interview with Molly Garfinkel, May 31, 2018. All quotations from Romero are from the same interview.
[lxxii] The 1994 signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) ultimately forced the one of the largest migrations of indigenous people from Mexico to the United States. Although the deal was supposed to increase the development of the Mexican economy, Mexico began importing food from United States while subsidies and other supports for Mexican farmers, most of whom were indigenous, ended. No longer able to sustain themselves at home, Mexican farmers were forced to seek employment as low-wage agricultural workers in the United States (Bacon 2014). Today, NAFTA continues to impact indigenous Mexican communities through concessions to American and Canadian mining companies. Mexico has the least restrictive mining regulations of the three NAFTA partners, making it especially attractive to northern investors, despite the enormous human and environmental cost. When indigenous communities attempt to protect their land and workers against exploitative prospecting, state-sanctioned repression forces them to leave. Southern states like Guerrero, Chiapas, and Oaxaca are especially vulnerable to extraction of natural resources like lumber, water, and minerals like gold, silver, manganese, and zinc (Telesur 2018). In the last decade, scores of environmental and labor activists have been murdered, while others have been forced to migrate. There are estimated to be over two hundred thousand indigenous Oaxacans in the United States.
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[lxxx] Herreast Harrison interview with Molly Garfinkel, March 22, 2019. All quotations from Harrison are from the same interview.
[lxxxi] In the Mardi Gras Indian tradition, participants are organized by self-organized groups variously called "tribes," "krewes," or "gangs." The leader of each group is called the Big Chief. On Mardi Gras and St. Joseph's Night (March 18th, or the night before St. Joseph's Day), tribes dress in full regalia and process in a standard formation. Spy Boys are the lowest rank, and run ahead of the gang to look for and report on potential trouble with other processing gangs. When they encounter or locate rival tribes, Spy Boys pass information to Flag Boys, the next ranking tribe members, who use large flags to send messages to other tribe members. A Wild Man restricts access to and protects the Big Chief. Some but not all tribes have First, Second, and Third Chiefs. Historically, women participated as queens, an honorific designation, but since Hurricane Katrina, women have taken on leadership roles as Big Queens (Smithsonian Folkways, n.d.)
[lxxxii] National Endowment for the Arts, National Heritage Fellowships, Roland Freeman, https://www.arts.gov/honors/heritage/fellows/roland-freeman (accessed July 7, 2019).
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[lxxxiv] Daniel Van Allen interview with Molly Garfinkel, February 2, 2018. All quotations from Allen are from the same interview.
[lxxxv] Maryland State Arts Council, Maryland Traditions Apprenticeship Award, https://www.msac.org/grants/maryland-traditions-apprenticeship-award (accessed July 17, 2019).
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COMMUNITY ANCHORS ISSUE ANALYSIS

Two X's - XX - indicate that the issue threatens the organization's existence.

	CULTURAL BACKGROUND	SMALL BUSINESSES	RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS	SOCIAL CLUBS	ISSUES WITH PUBLIC SPACE	ISSUES WITH PRIVATE SPACE	ACCESS TO PUBLIC FUNDING	ACCESS TO PRIVATE FUNDING	GENERATIONAL CHANGE	LOW VISIBILITY	SACRED VS. SECULAR ISSUES	BUREAUCRATIC HURDLES	PUBLIC POLICY ISSUES	INSUFFICIENT HUMAN POWER
NEW YORK														
Casita Rincon Criollo	Puerto Rican			X	X									
Federation of Black Cowboys	African American			X	XX			X				X	XX	
El Maestro Boxing and Educational Center	Puerto Rican			X		X	XX	X				X	XX	
Terraza 7	Latin American	X				XX								
Parlor Entertainment	African American			X		XX		X						
Sesame Flyers	Trinidadian American			X		X	X	X						
Radio Soleil	Haitian American	X												X
African Immigrant Ministry	Liberian American		X				X			X				
American Sri Lanka Buddhist Association	Sri Lankan American		X				X			X	X			
Hindu Temple Society of North America	Indian American		X				X							
BALTIMORE														
Arch Social Club	African American	X					X	X	X					
Arabbers Preservation Society	African American			X	X	X	X	X	XX	X		XX	XX	X
Zion Lutheran Church	European American		X					X	XX	XX	X			X
LOS ANGELES														
FIOB	Indigenous Mexican American			X	X	X		X				X	X	
Tonalli Studio	Mexican American	X				XX			X	X				X
Senshin Buddhist Temple	Japanese American		X					X	X		X			
CHICAGO														
Holy Cross-Immaculate Heart of Mary Parish	Mexican American		X			X		X			X	XX	XX	X
Trickster Art Gallery	American Indian	X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
National Cambodian Heritage Museum	Cambodian American			X		X	X	X		X				X
NEW ORLEANS														
MQVN CDC VEGGI Farmers Cooperative	Vietnamese American		X		X	X	X	X	XX	X	X	X	X	X
Guardians Institute	African American			X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X
Lil Dizzy's Café	African American	X				X			X					
Percent of Community Anchors with specific issues of sustainability.					**18%**	**59%**	**50%**	**64%**	**36%**	**36%**	**27%**	**36%**	**32%**	**41%**
Percent of Community Anchors where an Issue Threatens the Organization's Continued Existence					**5%**	**14%**	**5%**	**0%**	**14%**	**5%**	**0%**	**9%**	**18%**	**0%**

COMMUNITY ANCHORS ISSUE ANALYSIS BREAKOUT BY CITY

Two X's - XX - indicate that the issue threatens the organization's existence.

	CULTURAL BACKGROUND	SMALL BUSINESSES	RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS	SOCIAL CLUBS	ISSUES WITH PUBLIC SPACE	ISSUES WITH PRIVATE SPACE	ACCESS TO PUBLIC FUNDING	ACCESS TO PRIVATE FUNDING	GENERATIONAL CHANGE	LOW VISIBILITY	SACRED VS. SECULAR ISSUES	BUREAUCRATIC HURDLES	PUBLIC POLICY ISSUES	INSUFFICIENT HUMAN POWER
NEW YORK														
Casita Rincon Criollo	Puerto Rican			X	X									
Federation of Black Cowboys	African American			X	X			X				X	X	
El Maestro Boxing and Educational Center	Puerto Rican			X		X	X	X				X	X	
Terraza 7	Latin American	X				X								
Parlor Entertainment	African American			X		X		X						
Sesame Flyers	Trinidadian American			X		X	X	X						
Radio Soleil	Haitian American	X												X
African Immigrant Ministry	Liberian American		X				X			X				
American Sri Lanka Buddhist Association	Sri Lankan American		X				X			X	X			
Hindu Temple Society of North America	Indian American		X				X							
Percent of Community Anchors in New York with specific issues of sustainability.					**20%**	**40%**	**50%**	**40%**	**0%**	**20%**	**10%**	**20%**	**20%**	**10%**
BALTIMORE														
Arch Social Club	African American	X					X	X	X					
Arabbers Preservation Society	African American			X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
Zion Lutheran Church	European American		X					X	X		X			X
Percent of Community Anchors in Baltimore with specific issues of sustainability.					**33%**	**33%**	**66%**	**100%**	**100%**	**33%**	**33%**	**33%**	**33%**	**66%**
LOS ANGELES														
FIOB	Indigenous Mexican American			X	X	X		X				X	X	
Tonalli Studio	Mexican American	X				X			X	X				X
Senshin Buddhist Temple	Japanese American		X					X	X		X			
Percent of Community Anchors in Baltimore with specific issues of sustainability.					**33%**	**66%**	**0%**	**66%**	**66%**	**33%**	**33%**	**33%**	**33%**	**33%**
CHICAGO														
Holy Cross-Immaculate Heart of Mary Parish	Mexican American		X			X		X			X	X	X	X
Trickster Art Gallery	American Indian	X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
National Cambodian Heritage Museum	Cambodian American			X		X	X	X		X				X
Percent of Community Anchors in Baltimore with specific issues of sustainability.					**0%**	**100%**	**66%**	**100%**	**33%**	**66%**	**66%**	**66%**	**66%**	**100%**
NEW ORLEANS														
MQVN CDC VEGGI Farmers Cooperative	Vietnamese American		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Guardians Institute	African American			X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X
Lil Dizzy's Café	African American	X				X			X					
Percent of Community Anchors in New Orleans with specific issues of sustainability.					**66%**	**100%**	**66%**	**66%**	**66%**	**33%**	**33%**	**66%**	**66%**	**66%**

COMMUNITY ANCHORS ANALYSIS 2 – BREAKOUT BY TYPE

Two X's - XX - indicate that the issue threatens the organization's existence.

	CULTURAL BACKGROUND	SMALL BUSINESSES	RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS	SOCIAL CLUBS	ISSUES WITH PUBLIC SPACE	ISSUES WITH PRIVATE SPACE	ACCESS TO PUBLIC FUNDING	ACCESS TO PRIVATE FUNDING	GENERATIONAL CHANGE	LOW VISIBILITY	SACRED VS. SECULAR ISSUES	BUREAUCRATIC HURDLES	PUBLIC POLICY ISSUES	INSUFFICIENT HUMAN POWER
SOCIAL CLUBS														
Casita Rincon Criollo	Puerto Rican			X	X									
Federation of Black Cowboys	African American			X	X			X				X	X	
El Maestro Boxing and Educational Center	Puerto Rican			X		X	X	X				X	X	
Parlor Entertainment	African American			X		X		X						
Sesame Flyers	Trinidadian American			X		X	X	X						
FIOB	Indigenous Mexican American			X	X	X		X				X	X	
National Cambodian Heritage Museum	Cambodian American			X		X	X	X		X				X
Guardians Institute	African American			X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X
Percent of Community Anchor Social Clubs with specific issues of sustainability.					**50%**	**75%**	**50%%**	**88%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**50%**	**50%**	**25%**
SMALL BUSINESSES														
Radio Soleil	Haitian American	X												X
Arabbers Preservation Society	African American	X			X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
Tonalli Studio	Mexican American	X				X			X	X				X
Terraza 7	Latin American	X				X								
Arch Social Club	African American	X					X	X	X					
Lil Dizzy's Café	African American	X				X			X					
Trickster Art Gallery	American Indian	X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Percent of Community Anchor Small Businesses with specific issues of sustainability.					**14%**	**71%**	**43%**	**43%**	**71%**	**43%**	**14%%**	**29%**	**29%%**	**57%**
RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS														
African Immigrant Ministry	Liberian American		X			X			X					
American Sri Lanka Buddhist Association	Sri Lankan American		X				X			X	X			
Hindu Temple Society of North America	Indian American		X				X							
Zion Lutheran Church	European American		X					X	X	X	X			X
Senshin Buddhist Temple	Japanese American		X					X	X		X			
Holy Cross-Immaculate Heart of Mary Parish	Mexican American		X			X		X			X	X	X	X
MQVN CDC VEGGI Farmers Cooperative	Vietnamese American		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Percent of Community Anchor Religious Institutions with specific issues of sustainability.					**14%**	**43%**	**43%**	**57%**	**57%**	**43%**	**71%**	**29%**	**29%**	**43%**