E-BLACK CHAMPAIGN-URBANA:
COMMUNITY INFORMATICS AND CULTURAL HERITAGE INFORMATION
IN A LOW-INCOME COMMUNITY

BY

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the roles of cultural heritage information and cultural heritage institutions in relation to digital divides and digital inequalities. Using an action research methodology to create a digital library on African-American history and culture in Champaign-Urbana, this study develops practices, measurements and theoretical conceptualizations to deepen an emerging multidisciplinary conversation between the cultural heritage literatures and the discipline of community informatics. By using the principles of collaborative digitization, the eBlackCU digital library amassed, as of January 1, 2011, 6063 minutes of audio/visual material and 32,756 pages of documentation, including records, on the local African-American experience. This library is publicly accessible and open to all. Archival Studies orients this work in the cultural heritage literatures. The Community Informatics Research Laboratory (dir. Kate Williams and Abdul Alkalimat) provides the theoretical and methodological orientation of community informatics. African-American Studies, specifically the eBlackStudies Movement, anchors this study in the historical struggle of Black people and Black communities. The key theoretical question this study addresses is: Can cultural heritage, both mainstream and grassroots, play a role in the construction and maintenance of community-based cyberpower?

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this study, Community Informatics is taken to be the study of both the transformation and continuity of local, historical, organic communities in the Information Age. I articulate community informatics as growing out of the field of social informatics, which Rob Kling (1999, cited in Williams and Durrance, 2009) defined as "the interdisciplinary study of the design, uses and consequences of information technologies that takes into account their interaction with institutional and cultural contexts." In this paper I focus on one facet of one local, historical, organic community's interaction with information technologies: the curation of cultural heritage information of the African-American community in Champaign-Urbana, Illinois. All sectors of society are transforming themselves through information technology (Castells, 2000). This is not a question of technological determinism, or technology determining the shape of society. Rather it is a question of what Bradner and Kellogg (1999, cited in Hampton and Wellman, 2003), term the "social affordances" of technological changes, or "the possibilities that technological changes provide for social relations and social structure." Hampton and Wellman (2003) point out that "it is clear that technological changes do not *cause* social changes and that people and institutions often take over and re-orient technological developments." In other words, by framing technological change through the lens of social affordances one can see the possibilities for both the dystopian view of increased social control through technology as well as the utopian view of digitally empowered communities. Ultimately, however, the agency for making change rests in society, and not in technology; however new opportunities do emerge because of technology, some of which I study in this paper.

The question I attempt to address is if, in this time of transformation, a new alignment among cultural heritage institutions, African-American communities and institutions of higher education could emerge to facilitate increased sharing, partnering and transparency, for the betterment of all. As cultural heritage institutions and institutions of higher education embed digital technologies into their core functions a possibility opens for them to also transform their relationship to society. This possibility was explored by Anderson and Allen (2009), who articulated the idea of the archival commons:

> An archival commons would be a space where cultural professionals, researchers, and interested members of the general public could contribute narrative and links among objects of interest held by archives, libraries, and/or museums. (383)

Although Anderson and Allen framed their archival commons as serving "communities of practice" (Hughes, et.al., 2007) such commons may also emerge, or have already emerged, out of local, historical communities. In this present study I use the theories of archival studies and community informatics with the methodologies of action research to explore how such an "archival commons" of digitized African-American cultural heritage information could be created, and to what uses it could be put for the creation of community-based cyberpower. To define cyberpower I turn to what Stillman and Linger (2009) describe as one of the goals of community informatics: "community-oriented governance of technology artefacts for social ends." In other words, the powerful community-based use of technologies for self-determined purposes.

In operationalizing this research project, this study investigates the following topics in relation to the historical African-American community of Champaign-Urbana:

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- African-American independent community curation of cultural heritage information;
- Cultural memory organization curation of African-American information;
- University of Illinois technological engagement in the African-American community; and
- African-American community participation in technology infrastructure development.

These topics can be organized into two groupings: cultural heritage and technology, which are not mutually exclusive. The theoretical aim of this research is to create multidisciplinary synergy between the cultural heritage literatures (memory studies, archival studies, museum studies, public history, etc.) and the community informatics literature. The theoretical argument is that the theory and methods of community informatics are necessary to understand how and why community cultural heritage is crossing the digital divide, and what the ramifications of this transformation will be for both community identity and for the practices of archivists, librarians and museum professionals.

The cultural heritage sector, especially at the level of grassroots, local heritage institutions, has struggled to incorporate technology into its functions (Norris, 2010). Although some local cultural heritage institutions in some communities have had success in embedding digital technology into their work (L.A. As Subject, 2011), more research is needed to see how the community cultural heritage sector is learning to embed digital technology into its work. At the same time, local, historical communities have struggled to not fall into what Manuel Castells' terms the fourth world, or those sectors of society bypassed by global flows of information that circulate through digital technology (Castells, 2000). The first struggle, of cultural heritage institutions or cultural memory organizations, has been addressed by the collaborative digitization movement, in which more technologically-rich libraries and historical societies at the state- and regional-level assist technology-poor local institutions digitize their holdings, such as in the Online Archive of California, the Maine Memory Network or the Colorado Digitization

Project (Middleton, 2005; Chandler, 2002). The second struggle, of communities, has been

addressed by the community informatics movement (Williams and Durrance, 2009). My interest

in this study is taking the collaborative digitization model further into communities, so that it can

play a stronger role in addressing digital divides in society. More generally, my interest is in how

the cultural heritage sector can more fully participate in community struggles to become

digitally-empowered communities, or, at a more abstract level, how cultural heritage can become

part of community informatics research and how community informatics can become part of

cultural heritage research.

The specific question we address in this study is: Is it possible for collaborative digitization

to extend beyond the walls of libraries, archives and museums, to directly engage with

community members, and through this engagement contribute to the production of community

cyberpower, which can be used *both* to sustain community memory/community identity *and*

other self-determined community purposes? This question, and the hypothesized moving parts

composing it, can be visualized in Figure 1. The following literature review will unpack some of

the assumptions and terminology under-girding this model.
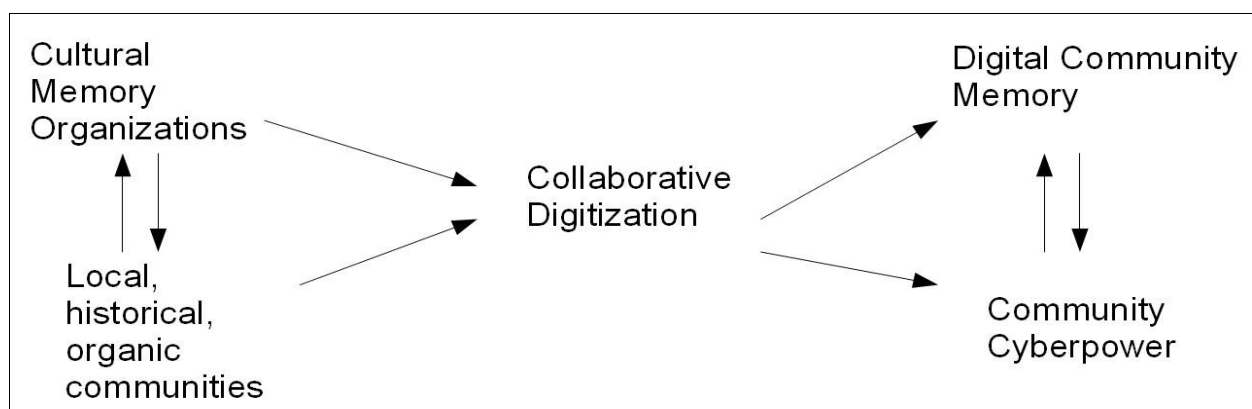
Figure 1: Over-arching conceptual model shaping eBlackCU project development.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review begins with theoretical concerns from archival studies, which I feel is at the center of the curation of cultural heritage information (Ross, 2007). It then moves into theoretical and practical concerns from library science and public history. Finally, we move to the community informatics and African-American Studies side of this multidisciplinary project, arguing that these disciplines' knowledge are necessary for us to understand how digital community cultural heritage information operates in low-income communities, and why it matters.

In early 20th century United States, the definition of what was and what was not an archives was a contested terrain between those who thought only governmental records could be considered archives versus those who advocated for a more inclusive definition that would include historical manuscripts and other documentary source material (Birdsall, 1979; and Gilliland-Swetland, L.J, 1991). I argue that the epistemological basis of archives is once again in question in this time of technological and societal change, and that multidisciplinary research is necessary to understand these changing times. I acknowledge that different countries and different regions have had very different histories in terms of the development of archives, archival professions and archival studies (Shepherd, 2010). I nonetheless argue that there is value in bringing together literature from diverse contexts, including literature from outside of archival studies, to better enable us to understand our present reality. Table 1, below, provides brief summaries of the literatures and traditions being drawn upon in shaping the conceptual trajectory of this study.

Author	Theory	Relevant Finding/Theoretical Insight
Burke (1981)	Archival Theory	Why and how does society keep the records it keeps?
Taylor (1993)	Total Archives	Archives in Information Age society are pervasive/interconnected.
Nesmith (2006)	Societal Provenance	People make and archive records in social settings for social purposes.
Hurley (2010)	Public History	Community based learning about and shaping of the past.
McKemmish, Gilliland-Swetland Ketelaar (2005)	Pluralized Archival Paradigm	Co-creation of archival records and archival systems that support sharing of memory.
Flinn (2007)	Community Archives	Community working together to keep community documentation, including records.
Bromage (2010)	Collaborative Digitization	Technical transfer of skills to local libraries, archives and museums to digitize local history material.
Yaco and Graves (2009)	Records Surveys	Map and list primary source holdings on a given topic in distributed mainstream and community archives.
Yakel and Torres (2007)	Genealogy	Collective intelligence of grassroots-based, international genealogical community.
Parham (2008)	Black Genealogical Societies	Persisting racist divisions effect formation of grassroots cultural heritage information networks

Table 1: Cultural heritage literatures. Summary table of literature from the cultural heritage literatures utilized in the shaping and contextualizing of this study.

From archival theory I draw on socio-historical notions of networked memory that involve

people, records and collective remembering. According to Burke (1981) archival theory should

focus on the questions:

> What is it within the nature of society that makes it create the records that it does? Is the impulse a purely practical one, or is there something in the human psyche that dictates the keeping of a record, and what is the motivation for that act? By determining motivation, perhaps we can devise practices that will satisfy a basic human need?

We keep this question at the center of our research design. Specifically, we take as a given that

there is some inherent impulse in communities to create and record community life (Tsuruta, S,

1996), and that finding ways to understand these impulses we can collaboratively, as Burke says, "devise practices" to meet this impulse. Through this process we can contribute to both community empowerment and archival practices.

In parallel with Burke's writing, Canadian archivist Hugh Taylor, whom historian of archival theory Terry Cook (1997) characterizes as representing the societal turn in archival theory, focused on the role of archives in society in a time of technological transformation. According to to Cook, Taylor:

> pulled many Canadian and international archivists out of their "historical shunt" of looking after old records and placed them firmly in the Information Age of electronic records, global communications networks, and local community heritage concerns and bio-regional initiatives.

In other words, by approaching records from an "ecological perspective" (Taylor, 1993), Taylor and the Total Archives theory he helped create seeks to look at the totality of records and society before making practical decisions on what to appraise and what to retain. Another Canadian, Tom Nesmith, furthered these ideas into what he calls societal provenance. According to Nesmith (2007), societal provenance implies that:

> All records have a societal provenance... and all layers of provenance information have societal sources. Societal provenance is not just another layer of provenance information to add to other ones such as the title of the creator(s), functions, and organizational links and structures. The societal dimension infuses all the others....People make and archive records in social settings for social purposes. They do so with a concept of how their social setting works, where they fit into it, and how they might change it.

We remember that a community's collective intelligence (Lévy, 1997) includes the regimes, both formal and informal, that allow for keeping records across generations. Nesmith's notions of the social purposes of archiving also point to some of the self-determined reasons why communities may create particular systems to archive their records, which may be in conflict with systems of

mainstream archives (White, 2008).

In addition to literature from archival theory on records and record-keeping in society, there is a rich (and overlapping) tradition of literature from public history (Sitzia, 2010) on the question of cultural heritage information in society. Public history, which emerged in the 1960s in tandem with the social history movement, has had two diverging trends since that time (Jordanova, 2000). One trend has led to the professionalized, top-down public history that, as Richard Cox (1986) cynically points out, can be seen as a response to a glut of History PhDs in the 1970s. At the opposite end of this spectrum is the bottom-up tradition of public history, characterized by memory workshops and other community-driven projects to collaboratively produce a useable, community-based historical consciousness (Hurley, 2010). Closely related to the idea of a shared authority (Frisch, 1989) in public history is the idea of co-creation, which emerged in the field of oral history (Morrissey, 1984).

The idea of co-creation of records has been put forth as a principal of a pluralized archival research paradigm, which looks at:

> [archival systems that] negotiate the rights of co-creators, and the identity and privacy of those who were enumerated and controlled by the colonial or totalitarian recordkeeping regimes....[and] explore how archival systems of the future, through the development of tools for ensuring multiple access paths, might promote the 'sharing' of remembered pasts and mediated identities (McKemmish, Gilliland-Swetland and Ketelaar, 2005).

Just as public history encouraged academic historians to share some of their authority over the construction of the historical text, the idea of co-creation of archival records and archival record systems prompts archivists to confront unequal power balances in society and work with communities of memory on their terms to create archival systems that make sense to them.

In discussing these issues, the forces of the market can not be overlooked. Rather they must

be understood as making this type of research imperative. We keep the dialectic between top-down and bottom-up public history at the forefront of our research. With the possibility to aggregate large amounts of information together using digital technology local and family history information has begun to become a commodity (Pálsson, 2006; de Groot, 2009). In this commodification of local history we see parallels to Gilded Age American culture, in which print publishers found ways to create a market around local history booklets in which the elite of local towns paid to have their representations included (Kyvig and Myron, 2000). To challenge these trends, I argue academics and information professionals should find ways to work with communities to collaboratively develop models that challenge the commodification of information that characterizes the present's neo-liberal, globalized moment (Schiller, 2007).

A recent manifestation of a bottom-up trend in public history along these lines can be seen in the community archives movement (Flinn, 2007). This movement, which found traction under the British Labour party -- and may perhaps loss support under the current conservative government -- (Mander, 2009) focuses on communities finding ways to create community-driven archives, which liberally draw on museum and library practices, as well as archival practices (Gray, 2008). These community archives draw on community-based social capital to make sure community pasts are remembered and past down from generation-to-generation. They frequently feature, or rely entirely, on digital technology (Flinn, 2010).

The term community archives, or community-based archives (Gilliland, 2011), or autonomous archives (Moore & Pell, 2010), are relatively new terms that, although framed differently in different contexts, can help us intellectually bring together a number of disparate activities that center around communities preserving their collective memories through the

creation and maintenance of archives, with or without information technologies. In the United States such community-based preservation imperatives can be seen in local historical societies, local history collections in public libraries, local museums, and a variety of other local institutions that are ubiquitous across the country (Lenstra, 2010). These entities, in aggregate, are largely disorganized and are rarely seen as a unified information infrastructure. I see the idea of community archives as a way to organize this grassroots energy to record and preserve local history witnessed in almost every community into a research framework that would seek to better understand how communities record and keep documentation, including records.

In addition to the community archives movement, also shaping this study is the emerging collaborative digitization model. The collaborative digitization movement emerged in the mid-to-late 1990s as a response to the need to support the cultural heritage sectors' use of technology. It relates, at a policy level, to the formation of the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS) in 1996. The IMLS emerged out of a growing consensus that libraries, museums (and archives, the unspoken third partner), are and would be doing similar work in the Information Age (Dilevko and Gottlieb, 2004). The IMLS provided funding for hundreds of collaborative programs among libraries, archives and museums, many of which involved technology. The IMLS also, through its re-granting program to state libraries, provided the financial basis for the development of state-wide collaborative digitization networks wherein state libraries and historical societies developed programs to support the digitization of local history information and community finding aids in local libraries, archives, museums and historical societies (Middleton, 2005). According to Pfotenhauer (2010):

In the past decade, the work of state- and regionally-based digitization programs across the country has resulted in an explosion of local history resources available online. These initiatives are collaborative efforts among libraries, archives, and museums to make their collections freely available to a broad audience.

Through the processes of collaborative digitization, and other trends towards convergence, some have theorized the emergence of a new type of institution with a new professional to guide it. Halbert (2009) calls this new institution the cultural memory organization (CMO). Marty (2008) calls the individual who guides the CMO the cultural heritage professional.

Although the framing of archival studies within a cohesive cultural heritage sector is controversial, at best, there is evidence that this process in underway. For example, Shepherd (2010) describes how the British archival profession in some ways re-oriented itself following the passage of the National Heritage Act of 1980. Richard Cox (2009) discusses personal archives as "documentary heritage" throughout his book on this subject. And Stevens, Flinn and Shepherd (2010) explore community archives in the context of Heritage Studies. Although recognizing there are important historical, cultural and logistical reasons why it is important to work to preserve the archival paradigm (Gilliland-Swetland, 2000), I also recognize that are forces both internal and external to archival studies pushing the field to interact more within a broader cultural heritage framing. Furthermore, the field of archival studies is, as Eastwood (2009) points out "a constested realm" in which many issues, including this one, are subject to debate and deserve further research.

In any case, the collaborative digitization movement has remained predominantly top-down. Although innovative approaches in places such as Maine (Bromage, 2010) have tried to extend collaborative digitization into schools and civil society more generally, for the most part the collaborative digitization movement has been "siloed" from broader societal concerns within the

cultural heritage sector. We argue that the model, however, can be turned on its head, becoming a grassroots, bottom-up response to the problem of digitizing community memory. Through this process it could address digital inequalities that DiMaggio and Hargittai (2001) argue stratify communities across the country, and around the world.

In addition to the collaborative digitization movement, there is a related movement within archival practice to create cross-repository inventories of archival holdings that document a particular facet of society's past. Although the idea of records surveys is not new, digital technology creates opportunities for these surveys to become more collaborative and to invite more participation from civil society. The history of such records surveys targeted at uncovering the records of ethnic minorities can be seen in such works as the 1970 *Directory of Afro-American Resources* (Schatz, 1970) and the 1980's Black Women in the Middle West Project (Hine, 1986). Even earlier, during the 1930s the Historical Records Survey of the Works Progress Administration led to the creation of inventories of private archives in churches and city governments, as well as documentary histories of African-Americans (Noggle, 1981). Recent digital archival inventory projects have focused on recovering and resuscitating the archival pasts of ethnic minorities in the United States. For example New York University organized a comprehensive survey of archival holdings in both mainstream and community institutions documenting the Asian-American experience in New York City (Asian/Pacific American Archives Survey, 2010). The University of Notre Dame has led a project to survey and preserve the records of Latino Art in the Midwest (Midwest Latino Arts Documentary Heritage Project, 2010). The University of Virginia has led a project to map the records of school desegregation (Yaco and Graves, 2009). The University of Chicago has led a multi-year effort to survey and

describe holdings on Afro-American history in that city (Schreyer, 2007) and the Wisconsin Historical Society led the Wisconsin Records Assessment Project (2009), which surveyed the records of Wisconsin's diverse history. And in Los Angeles, a multi-year project among the Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, the University of Southern California and 230 mainstream and community archives has lead to print and digital inventories of the "the raw material of Los Angeles history" from diverse perspectives (L.A. as Subject, 2011; and Stokes, 1999).

As these surveys become technological endeavors it is possible for real-time updates and the mobilization of collective intelligence to move beyond the instant obsolescence of print directories. Furthermore, as these surveys move towards working with counter-public ethnic community archives there is the possibility to involve these community institutions in the processes of collaborative digitization to create a public response to the commodification of community memory. One of the problems with the records survey model in the past has been that after a survey is completed there is no mechanism to ensure the records being surveyed are preserved. For example, in 1984 a graduate student in Library and Information Science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, under the direction of University archivist Maynard Brichford, created a survey of archival holdings on the local African-American experience held by persons in the black community (Brown, 1984). Roughly twenty-five years later we returned to this survey and found that, based on selected phone calls to the individuals or individuals' families who were surveyed, these records either no longer exist, or are no longer available. I argue that the records survey must go deeper in the digital age -- not just surveying what is out there, but providing some real technical support for at-risk, vulnerable community institutions

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and individuals trying to hold on to their records -- perhaps by using the collaborative digitization model to create technical infrastructures where those entities can upload their records and expect them to be preserved.

Although the records survey initially emerged as a tool to support academic research and scholarship, there is a possibility to re-orient the model towards supporting community collective remembering and genealogical research through technology. Previous research has explored how the genealogical movement has re-shaped archival practice. Records in the American Library Association archives indicate that as early as 1972, archivists were beginning to re-think their practices in response to this new user community (Society of American Archivists, ALA Joint Comm., 1972). Alex Haley, author of *Roots*, noted how the genealogical movement had changed the very climate of archives' reading rooms, based on his observations at the United States National Archives:

> Generally people are relaxed in libraries. They lean back in the most comfortable positions they can find. But in that library every single soul at every single table in that room was bent forward over the table engrossed in whatever was in their hands....The scene gripped me and it dawned on me that perhaps 90 percent of the researchers were women and perhaps the same percentage were over sixty years of age. It seemed so very interesting that when people had lived most of their lives one of the things they wanted to know before they died was where they had come from. (Haley, 1981)

As Tucker (2007) notes, based on the available statistical evidence, genealogists account for between 50 and 90 percent of the users of mainstream archives in North America and Europe. Tucker participated, in the early 2000s, on a global committee of the International Council on Archives' Committee on Outreach and User Services focused on genealogy and archives in diverse cultural contexts. As the committee noted, genealogy is simultaneously global and profoundly local in nature:

The Committee began with the example of a researcher learning on-line about land records in his search for the birthplace of his greatgrandmother and then turning to a nearby repository to search for the records to his own home. Why were these latter records not on-line, whereas he could reach halfway around the world to find ones from the nineteenth century that were? Who controlled what went on-line? Who owned these records and who gave their content to commercial firms or religious groups? (Tucker, 2007)

This quote alludes as some of the contradictions in genealogy and archives in the Information Age, in which records of some far away place may be available online, but the records of one's own home may not be available online. Tucker encourages archivists to think deeply on this new, networked, global environment. Indeed, the genealogical community has become so large that they have set up their own networks of support and digitized records to bolster collective intelligence outside of archives (Yakel and Torres, 2007). The genealogical movement also impacts and supports the movement to develop archives in public libraries (Wolf, 1975), which most recently manifested itself in the creation of the Public Library Archives/Special Collections Roundtable within the Society of American Archivists (2010).

However, despite the pivotal role of genealogists in re-orienting mainstream archives towards supporting the memory practices of communities, challenges remain. Parham, a sociologist, shows how black/white divisions persist among family history research support networks (2008), with black and white genealogical societies co-existing and rarely interacting in the same geographical context. My own observation has shown this to be true as well in central Illinois. In Decatur, Illinois (an hour southwest of Champaign-Urbana), the main street features the Macon County Genealogical Society a few doors down from the town's Afro-American Genealogical Society, with seemingly little interaction between the two groups. Despite the goals of mainstream, state-supported, institutions such as public libraries and public archives to be "for

all," the contradictions of historical segregation and persisting racist inequalities impacts the formation of the social networks that collectively compose community. In moving collaborative digitization into communities we must consider the historically developed class- and ethnic-based divisions that complicate notions of geographic community.

Behind much of the research on societal archival theory, public history and genealogy can be found theoretical concerns with societal memory. Although this socio-historical theoretical tradition emerged in the early twentieth century (Halbwachs, 1992), it remains, as one recent author termed it, a "a nonparadigmatic, transdisciplinary, centerless enterprise" (Olick and Robbins, 1998). Perhaps because of the lack of center in memory studies, the important theories considered above have had little explicit, demonstrable impact on the day-to-day functioning of archives across North America, suggesting more empirical research in this area is needed.

We could perhaps attribute this lacuna in the research literature to what Marcia Bates (2010) characterizes as the topology of information disciplines. According to Bates, archival studies (or archival science, or archival theory, or archivy, or whatever name one wishes to give the academic study of archives and society), has had a strongly humanistic bent reflecting its origins in the discipline of history. Bates argues that the information disciplines, in which archival studies and communities informatics both exist, need to have more multidisciplinary synergy within the broad field of "Information Science" in order for the respective disciplines to develop. Although this trend in archival studies is in the process of changing as a multidisciplinary, international cohort of archival researchers raised in the Information Science Schools -- or I-Schools, which grew out of Library Science, Communications and other fields, and studies "the relationship between information, people and technology" (iSchools, 2011) -- emerges and looks

beyond historians for theoretical and methodological guidance (White and Gilliland, 2010), there is nonetheless the need for much more multidisciplinary, empirically-based work to refine and elaborate on the rich tradition of societal-based archival theory and public history outlined above.

The problem of multidisciplinary collaborations between humanists and sociologists is an old one. As social history developed in the 1960s and 1970s there was a struggle to reconcile the new quantitative approaches to history with the traditional practices of historians (Tilly, 1981), which was never fully resolved (Abbott, 1991). Acknowledging these difficulties, yet desiring to move forward, I use the sociologically-derived theories and methods of community informatics and eBlackStudies to re-approach how and why communities remember, and what roles digital information and records plays in such collective remembering. Below we articulate the community informatics/eBlackStudies half of this multidisciplinary synthesis.

For scholars of community informatics, the transformation and rejuvenation of community practices around and through technology is a goal. I am interested in taking the theories and practices of librarians, archivists and museums and extending and deepening them to support the bottom-up, grassroots practices of historical, organic, local communities. As this paper attests, this process is neither trivial nor straight forward. Despite Richard Cox's (2010) criticisms of the community archives movement as too "soft....a kind of feel-good term," there is nothing simple about the processes of deeply engaging in the contradictions and politics that shape real communities and inform their day-to-day existence. In thinking about community archives, and issues of archives in communities, I found the theory and methods of community informatics as necessary to understand what was happening in communities around collective remembering in the Information Age. This necessity grew from the realization that despite a number of archivists

and archival theorists writing about archives in communities there is little theory in this literature on what constitutes community and how community functions, especially in the Information Age. At this juncture I view as imperative the move to community informatics to understand this reality.

According to Williams and Durrance, three inter-related societal trends in the nascent Information Age have shaped the development of community informatics: the network society, the hacker ethic, and the digital divide (2009). These trends, along with our interpretations of them for this project, are laid out in Table 2. These societal trends led academics and activists to work with local, historical communities, especially in historically discriminated against communities such as African-American communities or homeless communities (Rogers, Collins-Jarvis, & Schmitz, 1994), to find ways to digitally empower these communities. Although there is a large theoretical debate of what constitutes community (Haythornwaite and Kendall, 2010), for this paper I follow the work of Williams and Durrance in defining community as social networks sustained by bonding social capital (2008).

Societal trend	Definition	eBlackCU interpretation
Network Society	Society is characterized by networks rather than organizations.	The *networks* of libraries, archives, museums, *and* communities are the units of analysis, rather than the specific organizations themselves.
Digital Divide	Unequal access to and use of technology exacerbates historical inequalities	The digital divide exacerbates the divide between the academic production of digital history and community remembering (VandeCreek, 2010).
Hacker Ethic	The practice of building computers and writing code for the fun of it, for the creativity of it, and for community-building	Moving from top-down, professional development of collaborative digitization to instilling and embedding the sense of fun into processes of digitizing culture heritage information in communities.

Table 2: Societal trends shaping community informatics. Features eBlackCU interpretation of these trends in the context of this project. Adapted from: Williams and Durrance (2009).

This perspective is informed by two sociological theories: social capital (Lin, 1999) and the community question in sociology (Wellman and Leighton, 1979):

- Social capital, according to Lin (1999) is "resources embedded in social networks that can be mobilized when an actor wishes to increase the likelihood of success in a purposive action":
  - Bonding social capital is social capital actors use along the strong ties of social networks, or those ties that exist *within* a cohesive community;
  - Bridging social capital is social capital actors use to access resources outside of the community itself through ties that weakly link two or more communities.
- The community question concerns the nature of communities in the Post-WWII North America:
  - Community lost is the idea that social ties of modern society are weak, leading to the collapse of community and feeding processes of social disorganization;
  - Community saved is the rejection of the community lost hypothesis, arguing that close primary ties continue to flourish in urban environments; and
  - Community liberated is the idea that the modern citizen no longer relies on neighborhood or family for close ties - instead close ties span entire cities, nations, or the world itself.

As Lin (1999) points out, different kinds of social capital support different types of goals. Community informatics is interested in the specific arrangements of social capital that support what Tim Jordan (1999) terms cyberpower. Jordan divides cyberpower into three levels, which are then adapted by Alkalimat and Williams (2001) as:

- Individual - Gaining skills and connections for oneself;
- Social - Gaining skills and connections for a group;
- Imaginary, or ideological - Gaining skills and making connections in order to advance the imaginary, a vision, a movement, an ideological purpose.

One goal of community informatics is to study how, why and if communities are acquiring these different levels of cyberpower, and how such power is being used for social change. For the purposes of this paper, I am interested in thinking about how one facet of cyberpower is the ability to create and maintain community-based technological infrastructures for the keeping of community-based documentation, including records, (individual and social cyberpower) and the

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use of that documentation for self-determined community goals (ideological cyberpower). To conceptualize how a community may acquire cyberpower, and thus wielding power in cyberspace, Williams and Alkalimat (2008) articulate the actual-virtual-actual cycle. In this cycle actual communities, organized by cyberorganizers, use digital technology to make positive change in their actual communities. This model prioritizes the self-determined needs of communities over outside assumptions about community needs.

This present project is not the first to propose a multidisciplinary synthesis between cultural heritage and community informatics. Stillman and Johanson (2006) organized a conference on the theme "Constructing and sharing memory: Community informatics, identity and empowerment," featuring, among others, papers on Archival Theory through a Community Informatics Lens (Grossman, 2006) and a collaborative project between the Amsterdam Municipal Archives and ethnic communities in that city (Vos and Ketelaar, 2006). Monash University, the base of conference organizer Larry Stillman, has continued research on community informatics and archives, such as in the work of Livia Iacovino (2010) and her indigenous co-creators Lynnette Russell and Shannon Faulkhead, on records in Indigenous Australian communities. Also in Australia, Helen Klaebe has pushed for the integration of community informatics into public history research and practice (2007). In the United States, Lee, et.al. (2007) used community informatics to approach the development of a digital network for grassroots Underground Railroad researchers in Pennsylvania. In the Netherlands, van Dijck (2007) considers both the personal and cultural impact of new technologies on remembering. In Romania, Sabiescu (2009) discusses the use of digital technology in the participatory production of digital versions of traditional cultural expressions. In Italy, Casalegno (2006) discusses an

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experimental project to embed new media into the physical environment to enhance community collective remembering. However, despite this previous research, more work is needed to strengthen this multidisciplinary synergy between cultural heritage and community informatics. In particular, there is little that unites this disparate literature, either theoretically or methodologically.

There is also literature on community remembering using digital technologies that does not explicitly draw upon community informatics theory. For example, Santana and Pimenta (2009) discuss Brazilian labor organizations using digital bulletin boards to communicate and create independent archives of their activities. Riedlmayer and Naron (2010) discuss how refugees of the Bosnian genocide have come online from around the world to create living archives of their home communities. Affleck and Kvan (2008), in a special issue of the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* on "Sense of place: new media, cultural heritage and place making," discuss the problems of mobilizing communities to use and populate a digital community memory project in Hong Kong. Huvila (2008) discusses participatory archives and some of the problems of their construction. As both community informatics and cultural heritage studies are fields in flux I try to ground this multidisciplinary research as much as possible in empirical research and historical societal trends.

One way of achieving this grounding is by basing my research in the intellectual histories that have lead to the present moment. The final theoretical and societal trend driving this study is what Alkalimat (2000) calls "eBlackStudies." The eBlackStudies movement emerged out of years of community organizing within higher education and within African-American communities. The movement is organized by Abdul Alkalimat (Gerald McWorter). One of the

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pioneers of Black Studies in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the curator of the largest African-American Studies listserve in the world (Alkalimat, 2009), and the creator of the largest digital library on the life of Malcom X (Alkalimat, 2010), Alkalimat argued in 2000 that Black Studies is on the cusp of a new movement, which he called eBlack Studies. The eBlackStudies movement aims to end digital inequalities in African-American communities through research and action. The periodization of this movement can be visualized in Table 3.

Alkalimat suggests that although this model is rooted in the history of African-American Studies, and in the African-American experience, it has relevance to the ethnic studies project, and the methodologies used by ethnic studies, more generally:

> The information revolution is a concept that sums up a complex historical process, a process of struggle. In sum, this process is overthrowing our old ways. No sector of society, no community of people, is exempt. This includes Black studies in all its manifestations: Afrocentricity, Afrology, Afro-American and African American studies, Africana and African studies, as well as all forms of ethnic or minority studies. (2000)

In this changing time for ethnic studies, certain methodologies, based on certain ideologies and goals of the past, may disappear to be replaced by new methodologies based on new societal realities. Alkalimat calls this the transformation from ideology to information, encouraging his colleagues to use new digital technologies to revolutionize both the academic field and Black communities across the world. It is this historical trajectory of Black Studies that we use to develop the eBlackChampaign-Urbana project.

Period	Movement Title	Theoretical Orientation	Goals	Examples
ca. mid-1960s to ca. early 1980s	Black Studies emerging from Black Liberation Movement	Marxist-nationalist debate	Rooted in Community Struggles for Civil Rights and Black Freedom	African Liberation Support Committee of the 1970s (Alkalimat, 1974)
ca. 1980s to 2000	Fight for tenure and reformism	Postmodernist-Afrocentrist debate	Fight for Careers	Black Middle-Class Mainstream Leadership (Small, 1999)
2000-present	eBlack Studies	Network Society	End to global digital inequalities	The Toledo Experience (Alkalimat, 2000)

Table 3: eBlack Studies as periodization. This table re-produced from Alkalimat (2000) and Alkalimat (2008).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGIES

Having described the theoretical concerns shaping this project, we will now turn to the methodologies employed to measure eBlackCU's impact on our research topics. The primary methodologies utilized in this project are: action research, participant observation, web analytics, and historical research.

Action research is a methodological approach commonly employed in Library and Information Science, not only in community informatics (Keeble, 2003) but also in data curation (Whyte, 2008). Action research is characterized by iterative problem solving within some defined community. The theory of action research emerged in the 1940s writings of MIT social psychologist Kurt Lewin as "a spiral of steps, each of which is composed of a circle of planning, action, and fact-finding about the result of the action" (Lewin, 1946). Action research is commonly assessed through some kind of ethnographic measurements. The most common method employed by eBlackCU as part of the action research methodology was the public meeting, in which the project was discussed with campus and community stake-holders. Interviews were also conducted with youth interns.

Although action research, like other qualitative social science research methodologies, is open to abuse, we nonetheless see in it a useful model for conceptually thinking about and implementing research designs that explicitly are building some type of prototype. See Figure 2 for a a typical action research design, from organizational management. It can be observed that the sequence of input/transformation/output maps closely to what we have described as the actual-virtual-actual cycle, with the modification that we do not wish to "re-freeze" at the

termination of our research but rather unleash the resultant cyberpower (Alkalimat, 2004), making this methodology a good fit for our purposes.
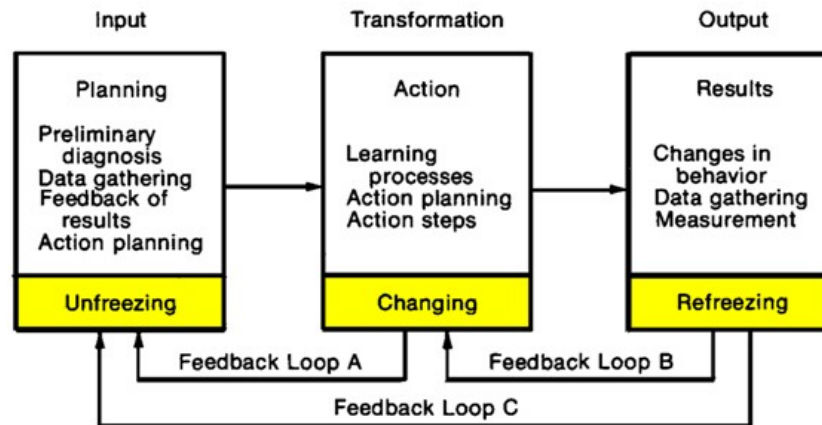
Figure 2: Action research model. From Wikipedia (2010).

Participant observation is the engaged participation in a community, with active note taking and debriefing throughout that engagement for critical analysis (Cho, 2008). It is a commonly used methodology as part of community informatics research (O'Neil, 2002). Throughout the development of the eBlackCU project the project director joined and participated in a number of extant social networks in the local Black community. These networks included: a historically African-American church and business district; online social networks used by the community, most notably Facebook; community-based listserves; and the newly created Spiders network composed of Summer interns paid by the project. Notes were taken at meetings and following engagement in online social networks to form these qualitative measurements.

Web Analytics is the "measurement, collection, analysis and reporting of Internet data for the purposes of understanding and optimizing Web usage" (Web Analytics Association, 2010). Although web analytics is most commonly employed for marketing purposes, we attempt to use it as a research method to present meaningful quantitative data on the usage of the eBlackCU

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digital library during its first year of development. The specific analytics software we employ is Google Analytics. As commentators have pointed out, there is a bias towards a low-count with Google Analytics (Martinez, 2006). Despite this qualification, the quantitative web analytics does provide a portrait of who was coming to the eBlackCU site, and what they were doing there, throughout the year.

The fourth research method employed in this study is historical research. As the community informatics literature develops, historical research is beginning to be seen as a critical element in portraying the historical development of local, historical communities (Williams, 2010). I used extensive research in both mainstream and community archives to deeply contextualize this project in the local community. In the course of developing the eBlackCU digital library, four mainstream archives/special collections, four library collections, and two museum collections were consulted, as well as a number of private family and community archives. Mainstream collections consulted include: Champaign County Historical Archives, Urbana Free Library; University of Illinois Archives; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Illinois; Illinois History and Lincoln Collections, University of Illinois; University of Illinois Library; Champaign Public Library Local History Collection; Douglass Branch Library Local History Collection; Parkland Community College Library; Museum of the Grand Prairie Collection; and Champaign County History Museum Collection. The purposes of this digging were both to uncover source material for digitization and to gather a comprehensive portrait of the publicly accessible records and other documentation of the local African-American experience.

In addition to historical research I also thought carefully of my records management throughout the project. As community informatics develops, a crisis has developed around the

need to keep and construct good records of community informatics projects to support longitudinal study across space and time of the field's development (Williams, 2007). In this study we consciously thought about the records we were creating throughout the project and have included as an appendix to this paper a finding aid for the archive of the first year of this project, which is password protected but can be accessed by request. Good records management of community informatics projects, especially action research projects, is necessary not only for community informatics, but for all community-based research to hold themselves accountable to both academic and community stakeholders.

These four research methods will be used together to attempt to measure how the eBlackCU project impacted the four research topics framing this study. These topics are:

- African-American independent community curation of cultural heritage information;
- Cultural memory organization curation of African-American information;
- University of Illinois technological engagement in the African-American community; and
- African-American community participation in technology infrastructure development.

In the following section, these topics will be historically contextualized, along with a general demographic survey of the local African-American community. Following this contextualization will be a description of the eBlackCU project's intervention into this context and an analysis of its impact.

CHAPTER 4

LOCAL CONTEXT

4.1 Demographic and historical context

Having introduced the theoretical and practical concerns that shape this project, I will now turn to the local context within which this project is carried out. This section features a brief demographic introduction to the African-American community of Champaign-Urbana followed by brief historical narratives of the four research topics shaping this study. The knowledge communicated in this chapter derives from the eBlackChampaign-Urbana digital library, and the process of constructing it through extensive historical and ethnographic research.

	Champaign	Urbana	Champaign-Urbana	Champaign County
Total	78115	39276	117391	192135
Total African-American	12892	6460	19352	24343
Percent African-American	16.5	16.4	16.5	12.7

Table 4: African-American Demographics in Champaign-Urbana. Sources: U.S. Census Population Surveys, by Place, 2005-2009 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates. Based on Black or African-American Alone or in Combination with One or More Races Classification.

The local, historical community considered in this study is the African-American community in the twin cities of Champaign-Urbana, in east central Illinois. According to the 2005-2009 American Community Survey 12,892 of 78,115 residents of Champaign, Illinois, and 6,460 of 39,276 residents of Urbana, Illinois are African-American. These figures can be seen in Table 4. In total, an estimated 19,352 of 117,391, or 16.5% of the population of the twin cities self-identifies as African-American, in whole or in part. However, this 16.5% is not spread uniformly across the twin cities. Figure 3, showing the African-American population by census block
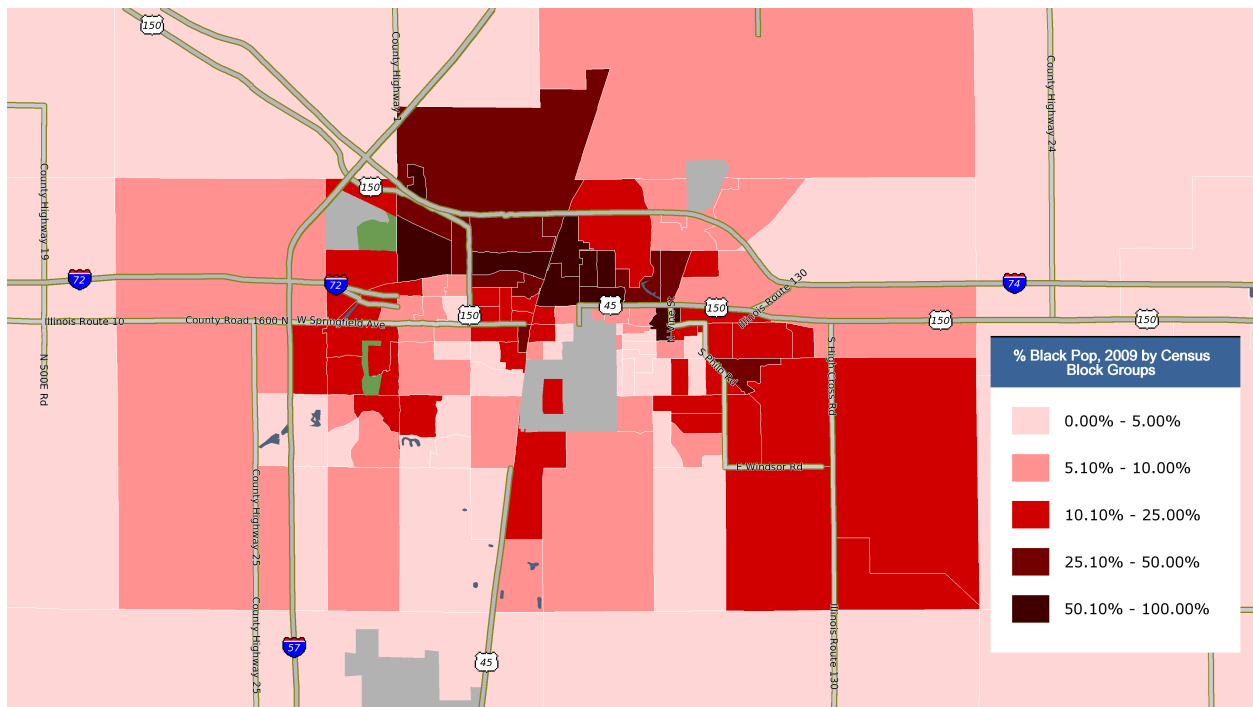
Figure 3: African-American Population in Champaign-Urbana by Census Block Groups. Source: SimplyMap.com, U.S. Census Population Data, 2005-2009 American Community Survey.
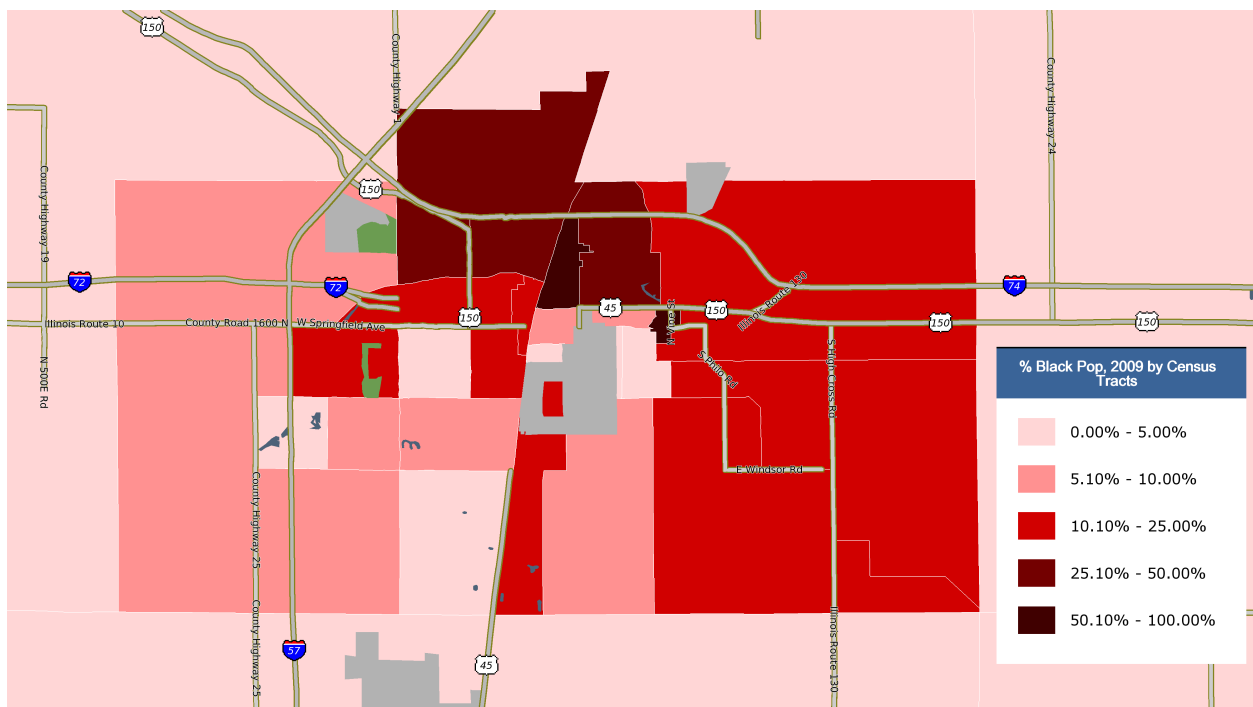
Figure 4: African-American population in Champaign-Urbana by Census Tract. Source: SimplyMap.com, U.S. Census Population Data, 2005-2009 American Community Survey.

group, shows concentration in the northern half of the twin cities, as well as smaller populations in eastern Urbana, west-central Champaign and immediately south of the University of Illinois campus (in gray). Figure 4, showing African-American population by census tract, more clearly shows the concentration of the African-American population in the northern half of the twin cities.

This area of black concentration, especially immediately east of the sloping diagonal in Figure 4 where the African-American population concentration is above fifty percent, has historically been known as the "North End." As the African-American population of the twin cities grew in the first half of the Twentieth Century, a number of racist covenants were passed (Franke, 1990). This segregation forced the African-American population into a small area of land near the City of Champaign's small industrial sector -- also located very near the University of Illinois campus -- where African-Americans were able to get jobs in the construction and service sectors. See Table 5 for a draft periodization of African-American history in Champaign-Urbana. No comprehensive history of this community has been written, and we offer this periodization as a work-in-progress awaiting refinement and further research.

Originally a pejorative term, the North End has become a symbol of pride in the strength and resiliency of the local African-American community. However, as housing became legally open across the cities in the 1960s, and as new migrant streams began coming to the city from East St. Louis, Chicago, Indianapolis and other, more urban African-American communities, the geographic unity of the historical African-American community came under pressure. The geographic dispersion of the historical African-American community was also impacted by class dynamics, as wealthier African-Americans moved into whiter south Champaign-Urbana.

Decade	Total Afro-Am	Percent Afro-Am.	Period	Periodization
1860	31	2	1850-1867	Pre-UIUC. 1854 Railroad enters community. Few African-Americans and scattered across Champaign County. First two black churches formed in 1860s
1870	173	2		
1880	334	4	1867- ca. 1910	UIUC founded 1867. Slow development of black settlement in Champaign-Urbana. No clearly defined African-American Neighborhood. Tied to UIUC service economy (e.g. janitors/domestics) and to railroad yards.
1890	318	4		
1900	479	3		
1910	876	4	ca. 1910- 1940	North End emerges as clearly black neighborhood during Great Migration and Great Depression as previous German population moves out of neighborhood.
1920	1569	6		
1930	1992	6		
1940	2106	6	1940-1960	African-American population surges as Chanute Air Force Base, 20 miles north in Rantoul, develops Black Tuskegee Airmen, and post-WWII development of UIUC lead to large increase in construction and military jobs. Racist covenants enforce residential segregation. Many African-American businesses emerge in context of segregation. Douglass Community Center emerges.
1950	4153	7		
1960	6132	8	1960-1975	Civil rights period leading into black power movement. Urban League emerges in 1961. Boys and Girls Club in 1965. Urban Renewal in late 1960s. Project 500 at UIUC. Jack McDuff and Bridgewater family's professional musical careers begin. End to legally enforced residential segregation. Parkland Community College opens.
1970	8549	9		
1980	11986	11	1975 - present	New in-migration of African-Americans from large urban areas in near Midwest (Indianapolis, Chicago, St. Louis). Perceived disconnect between black students and black community. Crack and gangs. Continued struggles for equal education, housing, business development opportunities, health, social services, end to police profiling and the digital divide.
1990	13165	13		
2000	15761	15		
2009	19352	17		

Table 5: Periodization of Champaign-Urbana African-American history. Source: U.S. Census Populations Surveys and eBlackCU.net digital library.

Simultaneous with this process of dispersion are processes of encroachment. The North End's extreme proximity to both an expanding University of Illinois and the city of Champaign's downtown, which has for the last ten years been going through a process of re-investment and re-development, creates the context for fears of outsiders taking over and liquidating the community spirit of the historical African-American community. Nonetheless a strong sense of place,

anchored by churches, schools and the Douglass Park complex (where an annual black community reunion occurs every August), continues to unify, however weakly, the historical African-American community.

Adding complexity to this very truncated summary is the presence of the University of Illinois. An estimated one-quarter of all local jobs in the twin cities are at the University of Illinois. Furthermore, in Fall 2010, 2363 of the 41949, or 5.6 percent, of the on-campus University of Illinois students were African-American. These statistics are laid out in Table 6. Since the student population is included in the census calculations we can say, then, that approximately 11 percent of the local African-American community is composed of University of Illinois students. Furthermore, 220 of these 2363 (or 9.3 percent) of the African-American student body is from Champaign County (which also includes the African-American community of Rantoul). However, I also note that Champaign County is unique among all Illinois counties in that the majority, 113 out of 220 of its African-American students at the University of Illinois are graduate students. In other words, more than half of the African-American students from Champaign County at the University of Illinois are students most likely temporarily studying at the University who due to the length of their residency have changed their permanent home, rather than students actually born and raised in Champaign County. As a counter example, in Cook County, home of Chicago, 94 percent of the African-American students at the University of Illinois are at the undergraduate level, illustrating the gross over-representation of graduate students in the University of Illinois Champaign County African-American student population. In any case, these 220 students represent only approximately 7.9 percent of the University of Illinois students from Champaign County. Champaign County's African-American population is

an estimated 12 percent. This discrepancy indicates a demographic under representation of African-Americans at the University of Illinois, implying that legacies of racism continue to impact local African-American livelihoods.

	University of Illinois	Champaign County residents studying at Illinois	Champaign County Percent of Total
Total	41949	2775	6.6
Total African-American	2363	220	9.3
Percent African-American	5.6	7.9	n/a

Table 6: African-Americans at the University of Illinois. Note that African-American students are counted in the national census. Source: Fall 2010, University of Illinois Divisions and Measures.

We summarize this brief survey of the African-American community in Champaign-Urbana by emphasizing that despite processes of geographic dispersion there continues to exist a central demographic and symbolic concentration of local African-Americans in the historical African-American neighborhood of Champaign-Urbana. This community is anchored by historical institutions, memory of the community's past and continuing racist inequalities. Nonetheless, processes of gentrification and dispersion, connected to technology and the expansion of both cities and the University, also exist as a counter force.

4. 2 African-American independent community curation of cultural heritage information

The first research topic we consider is local African-Americans' independent curation of their historical and cultural heritage information. Before exploring the history of this topic, I must make a few notes on what I mean by "independent curation." Although there has been some literature on the topic of community and ethnic archives, there has yet to emerge a full typology that characterizes how a community archives differs from a mainstream archives, and why those

Type of Community Archives	Type of Social Capital Dominating	Local Example	National Example
Personal Archives	Bonding Social Capital	Pauline Gates Pelmore Photograph/Quilt Collection	Ubiquitous (PersonalArchiving.com)
Family Archives	Bonding Social Capital	Bridgewater Family Archives	DebDavis.org, Home of the Grand Chain Gang, Southern Illinois
Archives of Community Institution (church, non-profit, etc.)	Bonding Social Capital	Salem Baptist Church Archives	Little Black Pearl, Chicago
Independent Community Archives, Museum, Historical Society or Library [1]	Bonding Social Capital	Doris K. Wylie Hoskins Archive	Manilatown Heritage Foundation, San Francisco (ARCHIVES 2008)
Translocal digital community archives	Bonding Social Capital	Black Urbana High School Alumni Network, Facebook	Website of Chilean Community in South Yorkshire (Prescott, 2008)
Community-Based Documentation Projects	Bonding and Bridging (mixed)	eBlackChampaign-Urbana Project	Southeast Asian Archives at University of California-Irvine (Shilton and Srinivasan, 2007)
Municipal Archives (Canda) / Archives in Public Library (U.S.)	Bonding and Bridging (mixed)	Champaign County Historical Archives, Urbana Free Library	Austin History Center, see also Wills (1990) and Suhler (1970)
One-off acquisition of community records	Bridging Social Capital	Acquisition of John Lee Johnson Papers by Illinois History and Lincoln Collections, University of Illinois Library	This is the standard way in which archives acquire the records of community organizations. (Klaassen, 1990)

Table 7: Community archives typology continuum. This table is oriented around the theories of bonding and bridging social capital (see literature review for explanation).

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1   The terminology of these agencies differs from place-to-place owing to the fact that they are usually not directly connected to the national and international apparatus of professionalism that characterize mainstream archives, libraries and museums.

differences may matter. Following Williams and Durrance (2008), I organize such a model in Table 7 based on a continuum around the theory of social capital. As in the research of Alkalimat and Williams (2001), although bonding and bridging social capital are both necessary for something to be sustained throughout time, bonding social capital invested in something is what makes that entity an organic part of a community, as opposed to an outside force which may do good for the community, or not. Even with this conceptual chart boundaries are not clear-cut. Consider the case of an archives in a public library. Although it is government-run and thus outside of direct community control (relying on bridging social capital), it normally has structures of accountability through a citizen-led library board and friends' groups and further depends on the local community to continue to support it through volunteer work and use of its holdings (bonding social capital).

This continuum becomes further complicated when we consider the historical inequalities that have forced African-Americans to undergo the traumas of Jim Crowism and legal and cultural segregation and intimidation throughout American history. When considering the African-American community within the larger geographic community, then, I incorporate notions of public sphere and black counter-public sphere (Baker, 1994). Although the public library is unquestionably part of the public sphere, it may not have the same role in the black counter-public sphere. The public library serves a community-function, but has not always served equally the African-American community (Musmann, 1998). In larger urban areas this fact has led to the creation of counter public-sphere African-American museums, archives and libraries (Ruffins, 1992). However, in the smaller context of Champaign-Urbana these black cultural heritage institutions, where they have been suggested (Mitchell, 2010; Brown, 1988;

Drake, 2010) have either not emerged or have not been sustained.

It is important to acknowledge that relations between mainstream CMOs and the African-American community is influenced and shaped by the larger histories of racism and activism that shape the larger society. Although some members of the local African-American community have become active members of mainstream CMOs over the last thirty years, such as local black historians Lucy Gray and the late Doris K. Wylie Hoskins, suspicions and frustrations remain. Carol Lewis, president of the local National Council of Negro Women chapter, summed up these frustrations in her letter of support for the second grant supporting the eBlackCU project, in which she wrote that "The history and contributions of African American citizens has all but been ignored in Champaign County."[2] Despite the absence of a formalized black cultural heritage sector in Champaign-Urbana, we can nonetheless find traces of independent curation measures in the local black community to preserve and pass on the memories of the local black community independent of the mainstream cultural heritage sector. This is the first topic of this essay.

From reading the *Illinois Times*, a local African-American newspaper partially preserved on microfilm, and the digitized *Urbana Courier*, a mainstream newspaper, it appears that prior to the 1960s this independent curation occurred primarily in the core institutions of families, churches and fraternal societies, such as the Masons. Evidence of church histories exists as early as the 1920s/1930s, with one historically African-American church beginning a church history research committee as early as 1938 (Rouillon, 2009). In the mid-1930s there is evidence of the beginnings of celebrations around Carter G. Woodson's Negro History Week in collaboration with University of Illinois students (Urbana Courer, 1935), although it is not clear whether or not these celebrations had any focus on local African American history. It is also apparent from

2   This letter is part of the eBlackCU grant application in the project archives, see Appendix 2.

visiting African-American families who have lived in the area for some time, and seeing the number of historical photographs they proudly display, that the family has also been a key center of independent cultural heritage information curation (Bial, 1984; Pelmore, 2010).

Institutions outside the church and family for independent curation of cultural heritage information in the African-American community began to emerge in the 1960s, and possibly earlier. The *Illinois Times* reports in the early 1960s on the existence of a local African-American community history group that met regularly to discuss the community's past (Illinois Times). This group, of which little documentation beyond scattered clippings exists in public repositories, represents the first known independent community curation entity in the African-American community.

Building on this community group, and also an explicit response to urban renewal (Rowell, 1986), has been the annual Champaign-Urbana Days celebration. Begun in the late 1960s as an African-American community reunion the annual C-U Days celebration features arts, music and displays of historical information on the local African-American community. However, the independence of this entity, as well as many other independent curation activities has become more complicated as mainstream CMOs have over the last forty years worked with greater eagerness and intensity with the historical African-American community, a topic explored in the next section.

Before closing this section on our first research topic, we will examine independent curation of historical information in the digital age, as it has so far developed. Based on exhaustive web searching and ethnographic participant observation on social networking sites such as Facebook and MySpace it appears that the primary digital venue for "independent" curation of local

historical information by and about the local African-American community occurs on Facebook. As Facebook has spread from college-aged-youth to communities, it has been adopted and adapted by individuals from various socio-economic and age backgrounds. My ethnographic engagement in the local African-American community's use of Facebook revealed that a number of individuals and institutions had gravitated to Facebook to not only curate information about community events as they happen, but also to post historical information on their community. Facebook groups such as the "Urbana High School Black Alumni Network," "St. Luke Choir - Through The Years," and "You Know You Grew Up In Champaign-Urbana If You Remember," reveal the extent to which historical remembering and the grassroots digitization of community experience has gone online by and through Facebook.

I label Facebook as independent within quotation marks, however, because although at least certain members of the community perceive Facebook as an independent space, that perception is illusory. To demonstrate the perception of Facebook as an independent space I will use anecdotal evidence from my ethnographic research. I observed in Spring 2010 that a middle-aged woman had placed on Facebook copious amount of information on the local African-American experience, including obituaries, church programs, church newsletters, and photographs (both contemporary and historical) from her personal archives. Furthermore, I observed, based on comments on her postings, that many in the African-American community perceived this woman's work as valuable to community memory. Her documentation of community events allowed one to almost "think I was there," as one individual who commented on her photographs put it. We can observe that this woman perceived Facebook to be an independent space based on her guarding of this rich community documentation from the general public. She originally set

up her Facebook account as open, meaning anyone from the general public could see the photographs and other documentation she posted online. However, around mid-Summer 2010 she decided to limit access to this community documentation only to those she had "friended" on Facebook. This act of limiting access evinces a perception of independence wherein she controls who can and can not access this community documentation. However, one could argue that this independence is illusory through reference to the theories of Lawrence Lessig on code and social control. In his book *Code and Other Laws of Cyberspace*, Lessig argues, based on legal evidence, that despite the notion of a free cyberspace, without vigilance governments and corporations could and are finding ways to regulate and control cybespace (Lessig, 2000). In the case of Facebook we can counter the perceived independence of Facebook for community memory with the fact that Facebook, as a closed, corporate platform, is the agent truly regulating access to information. Put more succinctly, as the independent curation of local information moves to Facebook, it and not the community is the agent controlling access to local information.

4.3 Cultural memory organization curation of African-American information

In this section we investigate how and why local mainstream CMOs in Champaign-Urbana have historically worked with and/or interfaced with the historical African-American community. I start by noting that all local CMOs developed within the last sixty years. Prior to the 1950s there were no local history museums, archives or library special collections in Champaign-Urbana. A map of the local CMOs can be visualized in Figure 5 and a table of these entities can be seen in Table 8.
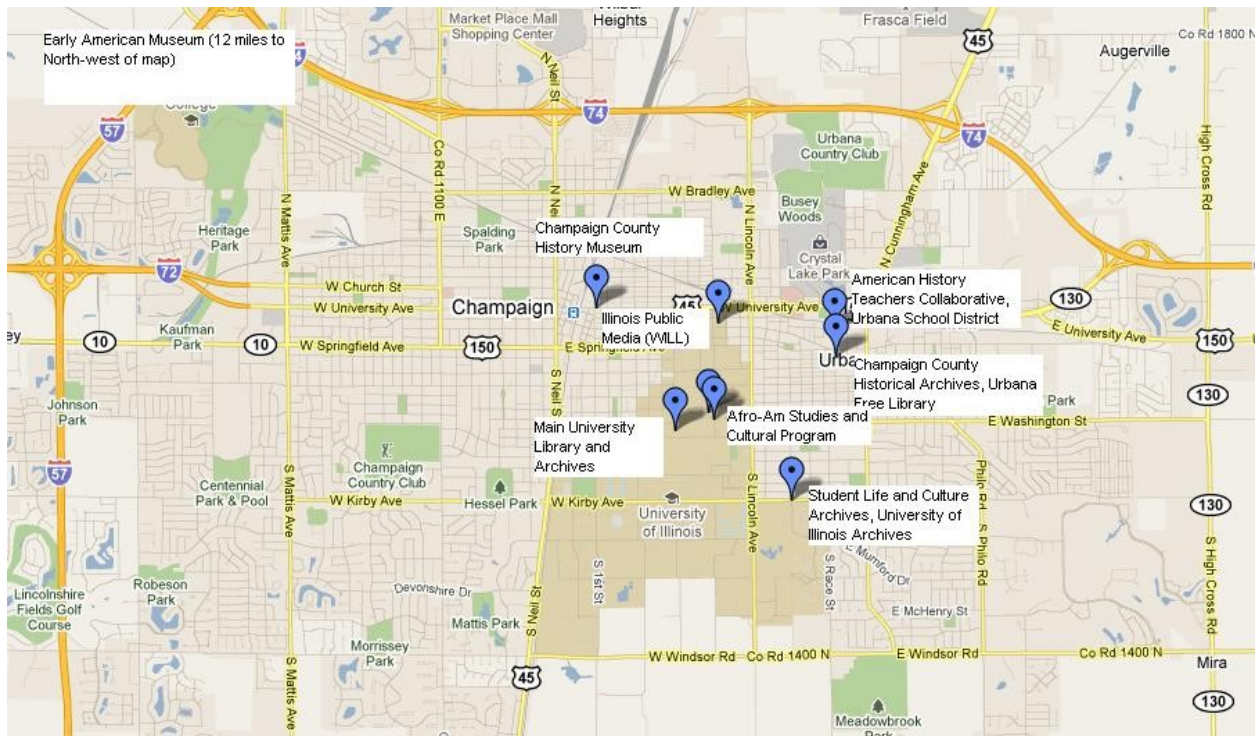
Figure 5: Map of Cultural Memory Organizations in Champaign-Urbana.

	Name of CMO	Type of CMO	Date Founded	Funding Body
University of Illinois	University of Illinois Library	Library	ca. 1867	University of Illinois
	University of Illinois Archives	Archives	early 1960s	University of Illinois
	Afro-Americana Studies Dept/ Cultural Center/Library	Black Studies/Cultural Center	late 1960s	University of Illinois
	Youth Media Workshop, Illinois Public Media	Media	2003	University of Illinois
Community	Champaign County Historical Archives	Archives	mid-1950s	Urbana Free Library; City of Urbana
	Museum of the Grand Prairie	Museum	early 1960s	Champaign County Forest Preserve
	Champaign County History Museum	Museum	mid-1970s	None
	American History Teachers Collaborative	Education	ca. 2000	Urbana School District; Federal Grant

Table 8: Cultural Memory Organizations in Champaign-Urbana. These organizations have worked with the local African-American community around the curation and management of its cultural heritage information.

The first to emerge was the Champaign County Historical Archives (CCHA). In the mid-1950s, a group of genealogists and amateur historians entered into a collaborative arrangement with the Urbana Free Library, the city of Urbana's public library, to build a genealogy and local history collection of the area. In 1987 the Archives was designated the official repository for non-current Champaign County records. Although professionally staffed by archivists and librarians, the CCHA continues to be a community archives, with strong oversight and voluntary support coming from the grassroots entities, the Champaign County Genealogical Society and the Champaign County Historical Society, that led to its creation.[3]

Around the same time period the second local CMO emerged: the Museum of the Grand Prairie, which began in the early 1960s as the Early American Museum, based on Native American artifacts collected in the area. In the late 1960s it morphed into the main professionally managed history museum of Champaign County, and in 2011 changes its name to the Museum of the Grand Prairie. The Museum is located in Mahomet, a small, nearly all-white town of approximately 6000 people located 15 minutes west of Champaign, and is part of the County Forest Preserve District.[4]

The third CMO to emerge grew out of the local historic preservation movement. In 1976, in collaboration with a local built environment preservation group, the Preservation and Conservation Association of Champaign County, a group of individuals purchased a historic house and converted it into a museum called the Champaign County Historical Museum (CCHM). A few years later the group moved to a new building near the city of Champaign's downtown, the historic Cattle Bank, one of the oldest buildings in the city, built in 1858. The

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3   Personal Communication with Archives director, Spring 2009.
4   Personal Communication with Museum director, Spring 2009.

CCHM has remained an entirely grassroots organization, with no professional staff and nearly perpetual difficulties in keeping the doors open, exhibits updated and collections preserved. In 2010 the CCHM, ironically the only CMO located in the city of Champaign despite the city's demographic dominance of the County, served as the primary partner in the City of Champaign's 150th Anniversary Celebrations.[5]

The fourth CMO to be considered in this study is the University of Illinois, especially the University of Illinois Archives and Library, and the African-American Studies and Cultural Center. The University of Illinois Archives was established in 1963; the library has existed for almost the entirety of the University's existence, but the Afro-Americana unit of the Library was established in the late 1960s. The Department of African-American Studies and Cultural Centers were also established in the late 1960s as part of an on-campus black power movement (Williamson, 2003).

The first CMOs to engage the local African-American community were the University of Illinois African-American Studies and Cultural Center. The records of these two entities in the University of Illinois Archives indicate the heavy involvement of faculty, staff and students in local Black History month celebrations and other cultural celebrations (Afro-American Studies and Research Program, Subject File, 1948-2009; Nesbitt African-American Cultural Center Records, 1970-2010). There is also evidence in the University of Illinois Archives of the Department of African-American Studies' facilitation of a local chapter of the Association for the Study of African-American Life and History with participation by both community and University members. In 1978, J.E.K. Walker, a history faculty member, taught a course in which she had her students collect oral histories of the local African-American experience. In the mid-

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5 Personal Communication with Museum volunteer, Spring 2009.

1980s a number of UI librarians and African-American Studies faculty facilitated the participation of the University of Illinois in a multi-year project entitled the "Black Women in the Middle West" project. The project emerged in Purdue University and set up local history workshops designed to collect and copy personal archives on the African-American female experience (Hine, 1986). Two such workshops occurred in Champaign-Urbana in 1984, with the University of Illinois' facilitation, leading to the deposit of copied personal archives at the Indiana Historical Society and the Champaign County Historical Archives. More recently, in the mid-1990s, the African-American Cultural Center entered into a multi-year partnership with a grassroots group called the Champaign County African-American History Committee of the Early American Museum (see below) to create exhibits and teaching material on local African-American history, which were showcased at area schools, public libraries and in the African-American Cultural Center itself.

Engagement in the curation of local history information by the University has also occurred outside of African-American Studies/African-American Culture Center. The University of Illinois Archives has not directly engaged the local African-American community in the curation of its historical information. However, it has appraised and acquired a large number of records from various University of Illinois units that document the University of Illinois' foot-print in the local African-American community. To facilitate access to this information it has further created a subject guide for African American resources and a digital exhibit on Project 500 (a recruitment program for African-Americans in the late 1960s). In a similar process, the University of Illinois Library, by collecting, cataloging and making accessible the numerous theses, dissertations and academic articles on UI research in the local African-American

community, has also contributed, without direct engagement, to the curation of local African-American historical information. Finally, in the wake of local urban renewal, in the early 1970s the City Planning Librarian of the University began collecting documentation, in vertical files, on the local urban renewal process and the local protests of the African-American community. This documentation effort was being coordinated by the University with the hope being to deposit the collection at a local African-American library to be built at some point in the future (Scarich and Gilluly, 1971). Although the library was built, it appears from the available evidence that the collection was never transferred, and appears to have tragically disappeared at some point in the intervening forty years.

The disappearance of this documentation speaks to some of the issues of University of Illinois' engagement in the curation of local history information on the African-American experience. Despite the University's land-grant mission, the extremely high turn-over rate of students and faculty has lead to a series of projects that have not been sustained. For example, the oral histories collected by J.E.K. Walker's students appear to have also disappeared in the intervening years. In my management of the records of the eBlackChampaign-Urbana project I attempt to create a model for transparent documentation trails of campus-community engagement (Lenstra, Community Engagement, 2010).

The second CMO in Champaign County to directly engage community members in the curation of local African-American historical information was the Champaign County Historical Archives (CCHA). In the late 1970s, as part of a national oral history movement that occurred in public libraries and historical societies across the country (Baum, 1970), the CCHA launched an oral history program to capture, especially, memories of rural life in Champaign County. After

the project had existed for a few years, the CCHA partnered with the local African-American branch library, the Douglass branch (established in 1970), to apply for funding from the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), a federal government make-work program, to support an oral history documentation program with local African-Americans as the paid staff. Five local African-Americans in their twenties were hired to collect and transcribe fifty-four oral histories on the African-American experience. Within the past year these oral histories have been digitized and made available online.

This oral history project, although warmly remembered by many in the community, was a finite engagement between a mainstream organization and the local African-American community, as was a similar project that happened at roughly the same time period. In 1983-5, Raymond Bial, a local white photographer and member of the Champaign County History Museum (CCHM) created an exhibit and book on local African-American history composed of artfully arranged photographs and brief biographies of older African-Americans. The resulting book, which had a small print run, remains a coveted item for many older African-Americans in Champaign-Urbana interested in their community's past (Stoudmire, 2010).

The last, and longest, engagement between a mainstream CMO and the local African-American community was the Champaign County African-American History Committee of the Early American Museum and the local chapter of the National Council of Negro Women. Originally a grassroots group that emerged, in part, out of the energy emanating from the Black Women in the Middle West project (see above), the Committee partnered with the Early American Museum in the mid-1990s to create a series of newsletters and exhibits on local African-American history. As the committee matured, a single African-American women, Doris

K. Wylie Hoskins, took it upon herself to keep documentation, including records, of local African-American history. Following Mrs. Hoskins passing in 2004 much of the committee's energy dissipated. Nonetheless the Early American Museum has not let the momentum end and has continued to sporadically release newsletters on local African-American history (only now authored by museum staff instead of by local African-Americans). Furthermore, the museum's director continues as the historian of the National Council of Negro Women, with which it partners to create annual exhibits at the Champaign-Urbana Days celebration (see above) and at Parkland Community College for Black History Month. Despite a strong desire by the museum to stay engaged with local African-American curation of local history information, its distance 15 minutes by car from Champaign and its own difficulties crossing the digital divide have created difficulties and hampered its ability to lead in the informatization of local black cultural heritage information.

Finally, although not a library, archives, or museum, I include in this section the work of a local group called the American History Teachers Collaborative (AHTC). With funds from state and federal government, the AHTC, based in the Urbana School District, has since 2000 provided funds for continuing professional development of K-12 social science teachers in East Central Illinois to enable them to incorporate primary source documentation and the latest historiography into their classrooms. The AHTC posts online all lesson plans created by the teachers it funds to do research in area archives, including many lesson plans on local African-American history. These digital history resources, although emanating outside the traditional heritage sector, are available online alongside other digital heritage resources from the mainstream CMOs, and as such are included in this analysis.

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We can summarize the engagement between local mainstream CMOs and the curation of local African-American information as one characterized by finite projects leading to excellent documentation sources, but little sustained, long-term engagement. Although the Early American Museum has successfully (and in some cases doggedly) worked to sustain its engagement, it has struggled to keep up with technology and move beyond the few older African-American women who have been the primary partners in its engagement efforts to the community at large.

4.4 University of Illinois technological engagement in the African-American community

This section focuses on campus-community engagement in the form of campus efforts to end local digital inequalities. As a recent symposium showed, the University of Illinois has a long history of public computing initiatives (Williams, 2010). However, only a few of these University of Illinois projects have had an explicit focus on engaging the African-American community around technology: 1) Afya/SisterNet, a program from the early late 1990s/2000s designed to "marry health activism to technology activism" (Bishop, et.al., 2001) among African-American women and 2) the Youth Media Workshop, which emerged out of WILL Illinois Public Media, the campus-based public radio and television station, which since 2003 has trained and worked with middle-school aged African-American youth to create documentaries on African-American history and culture who, in the process, learn about technology and its possibilities for community media and community expression (Kranich and Patterson, 2010)

Nonetheless, a number of other public computing programs at the University of Illinois have had greater or lesser direct engagement in the African-American community. As early as 1968 the University of Illinois set up a PLATO (Programmed Logic for Automated Teaching Operations) computer lab in the historical Champaign African-American neighborhood school of

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Booker T. Washington Elementary, which had recently been converted into a magnet school in the local desegregation process (PLATO Discussion, 2010). More recently, throughout the 1990s and most of the 2000s, a program called Prairienet existed, which helped to establish and maintain local computer labs in the historical African-American neighborhood (as well as elsewhere in the community) and provided web hosting, dial-up Internet and a help desk for the local community. Prairienet emerged out of a partnership between the Graduate School of Library and Information Science and a number of on- and off-campus community entities, with funding support from a number of national and state-level grants, including, importantly, funding from the Technology Opportunities Program (TOP) of the US Department of Commerce, which established Prairienet.

In the mid-2000s, with large funding from the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS), Prairienet morphed into the Community Informatics Initiative/Youth Community Informatics (CII/YCI). Both CII and YCI had projects in the historical African-American community, such as supporting student work assessing a photographic archive of the history of the Douglass Branch library and a project working with African-American youth to create a website on community resources for other community youth (Community Informatics Initiative, 2010). Yet ultimately when the funding ended for both programs they were not sustained; also the case for Prairienet.

In 2009 the Department of Commerce announced that funding would be made available for Broadband Technology Opportunity Program (BTOP) big broadband development in underserved and unserved communities of the United States. Just as Prairienet was built on TOP, when this BTOP announcement was made the University of Illinois campus began organizing to

submit an application for this funding. The grant proposal had two parts -- an above-ground

section for the development of community-centered public computing centers, education and

technical support; and a below-ground section for the development of high-speed infrastructure

and fiber-to-the-premise in the under-served neighborhoods. Only the below-ground portion of

the grant received funding, however, meaning that no funds were made available to mobilize and

educate this low-income community to be able to take advantage of this state-of-the-art fiber

infrastructure. The influence of this BTOP initiative is concentrated in the historical African-
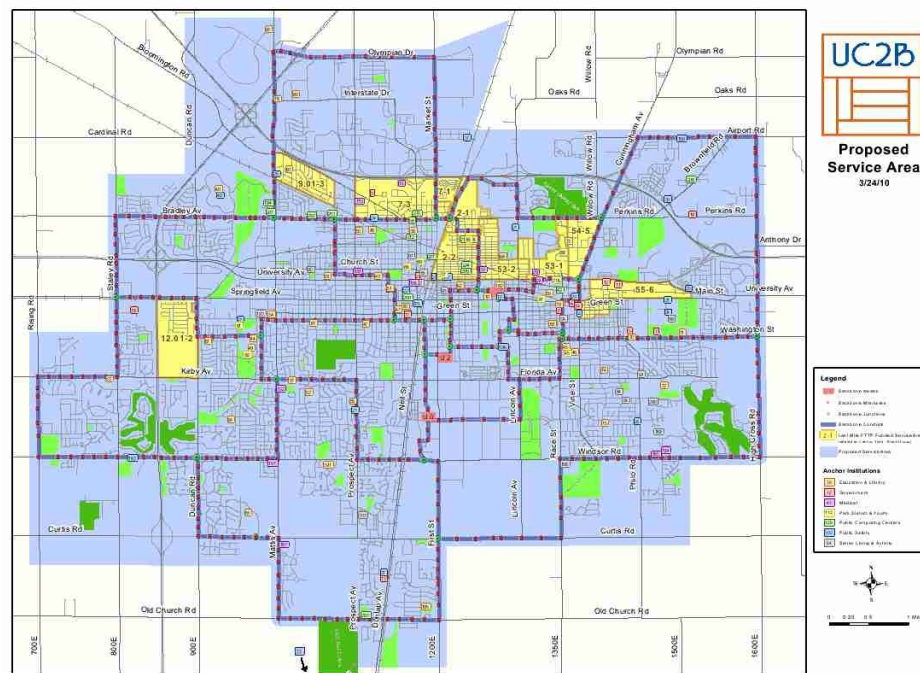
Figure 6: UC2B proposed implementation plan. Underserved areas in
yellow. Source: UC2B, 2010.

American community of Champaign-Urbana. As Figure 6 shows, these under-served

neighborhoods (in yellow) -- defined by less than 40% broadband connectivity -- are located

primarily in the predominantly African-American neighborhoods of the twin cities, including the

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historical "North End." As such, fears and speculations of outsiders coming into the community flared, leading some to make the connection between this technology development and processes of gentrification already in place. In conclusion, as in other community based research and service, the University of Illinois's record in technology engagement could also be characterized as dominated by finite projects that do not lead to self-sustainability or incorporation into community life-ways.

4.5 African-American community participation in technology infrastructure development

The final research topic to be considered in this study is the extent and impact of the African-American community's participation in technology infrastructure development. We can approach this historically by thinking about the racist policies and practices that lead to African-American concentration in one of the environmentally least desirable parts of Champaign-Urbana, characterized by a toxic, former coal manufacturing site as well as other industrial sites; a low elevation prone to flooding; and dissected both horizontally and vertically by railroad tracks (Salo, 2010). We could say, then, that because of the racist history of Champaign-Urbana (and of the nation) African-Americans have historically not had a large voice in the technological infrastructure development of railroads, industry, and the industrial age more generally.

Manuel Castells has argued that in the Information Age these historically marginalized communities are becoming even further alienated, literally written off as the "fourth world" bypassed by the informatizing sectors of the society (Castells, 2000). In contrast to this dystopian view, we can see that there have been important grassroots responses to technological change. One goal of community informatics is to analyze how these historically marginalized populations, rather than being written off, can become agents of change through the grassroots

incorporation of digital information technologies into their communities.

My historical research indicates a counter-history of African-American community agency in the face of technological change. For example in my work with a historically African-American church I discovered that the church had come together to purchase and use a mimeograph machine in the early 1950s, which was subsequently used both for church communications and to circulate newsletters throughout the community during the local civil rights struggle in the early 1960s (Bindman, 1960). Later, in the early 1990s this same church made it a priority to purchase office and computer technologies. I assume, based on the available evidence, that similar stories could be told on other local churches. However, what I don't find in the public historical record is a unified voice coming from the churches on these technologies in relation to the future of the black community. I find this voice, rather, in African-American-led non-profits. Grant proposals from two of these non-profits written in the early 2000s and the early 1990s (neither of which were funded) indicate grassroots community mobilization around technology and technology infrastructure development (Barnes, 2000; Johnson, 2002).

In the Information Age what will be the participation of local, historical communities in technology infrastructure development? When left to the corporations to build this infrastructure it appears that structural racism will persist. When AT&T launched a new network (U-Verse) in 2009 it launched it only in select neighborhoods. The full maps of its development were concealed from the general public and concessions to include some low-income neighborhoods were made only after negotiations with local government (Dodson, 2009). At a national level, the need for government to ensure equal access to broadband technology resulted in the America Recovery and Reinvestment stimulus funds made available for broadband development in under-

served and unserved areas of the country, which primarily fall in rural areas and in low-income neighborhoods of urban areas which historically have been the last to receive latest technologies and the least likely to have their voices heard in national, regional and municipal technology infrastructure development discussions.

The success of the UC2B proposal does not necessarily reflect the participation of the local African-American community in technology infrastructure development. A Master's thesis by Wilkinson (2010) on the application process for the UC2B stimulus funds in Champaign-Urbana illustrates the somewhat unsuccessful efforts to incorporate community decision-makers into the process of writing and submitting the below-ground and two above-ground BTOP grant submissions. The analysis section of this paper will focus on how and if the eBlackCU project contributed to including and empowering the African-American community as an agent in technology infrastructure development decisions in relationship to UC2B.

CHAPTER 5

E-BLACKCHAMPAIGN-URBANA: DESCRIPTION AND FINDINGS

5.1 Introducing eBlackCU

Having described the local contextualization of the topics I seek to analyze in order to answer

my theoretical questions on collaborative digitization, archives and cyberpower, we now turn to

the eBlackChampaign-Urbana (eBlackCU) project itself. The eBlackCU project grew out of four

different research and service projects by faculty and students in the Community Informatics

Research Laboratory at the Graduate School of Library and Information Science at the

University of Illinois:

- Since 2000, Professor Abdul Alkalimat has worked on eBlackStudies, a project to integrate digital technology into African-American Studies, moving the field from ideology to information and to community-based research on technology in the African-American community;
- Since 2007 the Community Informatics Research Laboratory, under the direction of Kate Williams and Abdul Alkalimat has worked on eChampaign-Urbana, creating: a census of public computing in Champaign-Urbana; a local Community Technology Workshop; a Symposium on Public Computing at the University of Illinois; a book on the history of Prairienet; courses with service-learning components involving technology instruction in the local community; and the grant proposal and subsequent development of the Urbana Champaign-Big Broadband (UC2B) project, especially the above-ground, public computing aspects of the project;
- Since Spring 2009 the Community Informatics Club, a graduate student group, has worked, under my leadership, with the Early American Museum in Mahomet to find ways to use digital technology to bring to life the then un-cataloged Doris K. Wylie Hoskins Archive for Cultural Diversity; and
- Since Summer 2009 I have researched what I call local history information infrastructures, or the networks of information and people that preserve and facilitate access to community cultural heritage (Lenstra, 2010).

These separate strands came together in a grant proposal submitted in October 2010 to the Office

of the Vice Chancellor for Public Engagment (OVCPE) at the University of Illinois, requesting

$20,000 of financial support to develop what was called eBlackCU: A Collaborative Portal on

African-American History and Culture in Champaign-Urbana. Initial public partners on the grant were two local CMOs: the Champaign County Historical Archives and the Early American Museum; and two educational entities, the American History Teachers Collaborative in the Urbana School District and Michael Pollock, a high school social science teacher interested in incorporating primary sources on local African-American history into his curriculum (see grant proposals and reports in appendices).

The project's focus was on finding ways to digitize cultural heritage information of a historically marginalized community in a way that both acknowledged different desires to re-use that information (e.g. historical research, student work, education, genealogical research, community celebrations, public programming, etc.) and contributed to addressing digital inequalities manifest in that low-income community. The project originally was scripted to coincide and work with the development of the Urbana Champaign Big Broadband Above-Ground planned infrastructure of public computing centers and broad-scale technology education in the under-served communities of Champaign-Urbana. However, as news was received of the first, and then second, above ground grants being unfunded it fell on the eBlackCU project to at least partially address not only the digital community cultural heritage issues that originally oriented the grant but also the more general question of community informatics in Champaign-Urbana.

In the literature review I introduced the theoretical concept of the actual-virtual-actual cycle for the production of cyberpower. In eBlackCU's specific project model, grounded in Champaign-Urbana, the actual is both the actual local, historical, organic African-American community, composed of social networks, and the actual, analog documentation, including

records, of local African-American history and culture. The virtual is the digitization and digital curation of that documentation, including records, with, in the ideal case, the full engagement of the local African-American community, as well as the UC2B project that contextualized these efforts. The actual-prime is the resultant cyberpower of the local African-American community as a collective agent in the digital curation of its past and a powerful agent in its technological future. This model represents the idealized trajectory of the eBlackChampaign-Urbana project, and can be visualized in Figure 7.
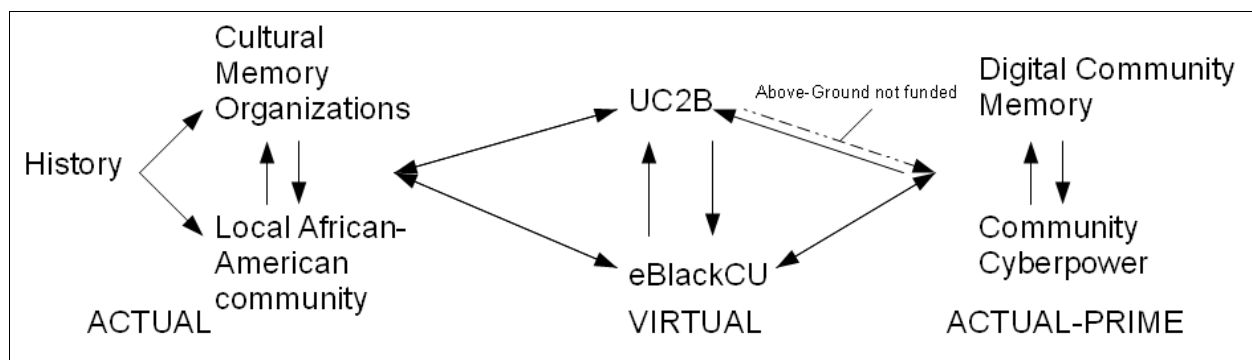
Figure 7: Conceptual Actual-Virtual-Actual cycle in the eBlackCU Project. Compare to Figure 1, the over-arching conceptual model for this study.

To operationalize this model, in February 2010 I began working with a small number of community institutions that appeared, from my outsider perspective, to be both functional and interested in holding onto their pasts through technology. The institutions chosen to start the project were: a) the second oldest African-American church in the community, Salem Baptist Church, founded in 1866, which had recently founded a cyber-church committee and was interested in doing more with technology in the church; b) a historic business district, the North First Street Business Association, known by many in the African-American community as a center of African-American owned businesses, yet more recently going through a cycle of economic down-turn followed by encroachment of white-owned businesses/institutions, and

shaped by suspicions of gentrification and the erasure of the African-American past in the

neighborhood; and c) a historic African-American mural painted in 1978 as a community project

with CETA funding that documents the Great Migration to northern communities such as

Champaign-Urbana. The mural was facing imminent destruction and a project had recently

emerged to try to document the mural's history before a wall was built over it. These three sites

can be seen in Figure 8.
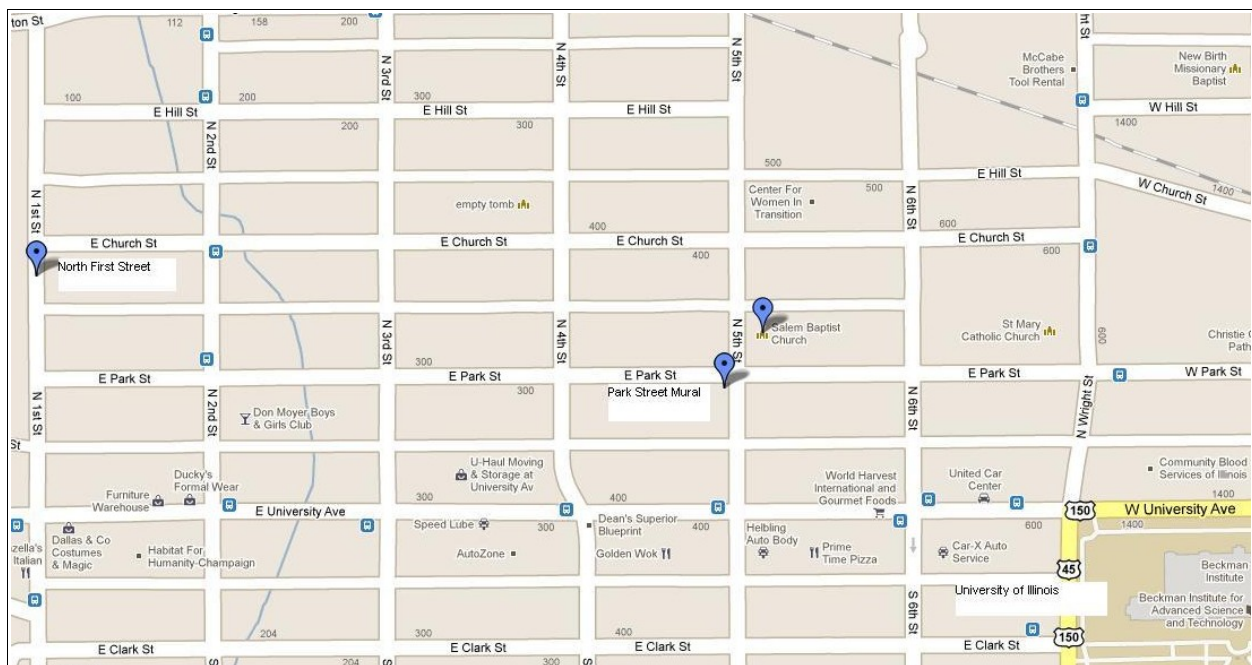
Figure 8: Map of project sites worked at in Spring/Summer 2010. Source: Google Maps.

All three projects were chosen because of one or multiple extant connections between myself

and these community institutions. As will be shown below, this "convenience" selection was

perhaps not the best way to access the truly grassroots, yet often invisible, social networks that

mobilize and sustain communities over time, since their convenience to us made them also

convenient to many other University of Illinois engagement initiatives, leading to overlaps and

confusion. However, through the connections made in these first three projects I was able to dig

deeper into the community, and community memory, of African-American Champaign-Urbana.

The description and analysis of this project will be organized around the six main strands that composed this project. These six strands are:

1. Cultural Memory Organizations
2. North First Street
3. Salem Baptist Church
4. Spiders and Youth
5. University-Community Engagement
6. UC2B

Time	Outside Community			Inside Community		
Area of work	Cultural Memory Orgs	UIUC and Community Engagement	UC2B	North First Street	Salem Bapt. Church	Spiders/ Youth Interns
Spring	Facilitating partnerships / digitization	Graduate Student Meetings	C Cubed Meetings	North First Street Digital Exhibit	Digital Exhibit/ Archive CDs	Recruitment and Curriculum
Summer	Summer Digitization	Circulate Call for Proposals	Symposium Planning Meetings	Oral History Day and Posters	Website and Spiders in Church	Summer Program
Fall	List non digitized holdings	*CE @ Illinois* and Symposium	Symposium/ Follow-Up Jan. 8 Event	No activity	Open House and Organizing	Struggle to Keep Youth Involved

Table 9: Activities inside and outside local African-American community in development of eBlackCU project.

Although the six strands of this project ran across the entire year, to make this description more transparent, Table 9 charts the project's activities in each of these strands throughout the year, and can be referred to while reading this paper.

Before advancing into the description and analysis of each of these project strands, I will also provide a brief autoethnographic introduction to contextualize what led me to develop this particular project. I grew up in a small town called Galena (pop. 3500) in north-western Illinois

that since the Great Depression has had virtually no African-American population. However, during high school I began researching in libraries, museums and archives on local history and was amazed to discover records of a rich African-American community, which had over its history churches, schools, miners, dock-workers and a Civilian Conservation Corps camp. I was especially intrigued by this almost completely unknown history (at least among the general population) since Galena has prided itself on its local history since at least the 1940s, when the town began marketing itself as the "place that time forgot" in an attempt to re-develop the area around tourism from nearby Chicago. As my intellectual trajectory developed I became more interested in exploring the complex threads that unite collective memories and archival records, thinking especially about these issues in the contexts of largely misunderstood, or even deliberately erased, African-American history.

When I moved to Champaign-Urbana and became involved in the local cultural heritage sector I came across an archive of local African-American documentation collected by a local African-American on behalf of a community history group (see below). This community archives, which with the passing of its organizer had become largely hidden from the community, prompted me to once again reflect on the complex and fragile nature of collective community memory as it intersects with archival records, especially in the context of African-American history. Many would perhaps want to forget this history to avoid confronting the harsh and ugly realities of historical segregation and persisting inequalities (Booth, 2006). I became especially interested in looking at how all these issues would translate into the Information Age and what "social affordances" digital technology may allow for the strengthening of community memory of African-American history in dialogue with archival documentation, including records. The

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second half of this essay describes and analyzes this project.

5.2 Cultural Memory Organizations

During meetings in Spring 2010 with representatives from local CMOs and local history educators three themes emerged: 1) the need for such a digital portal not only for African-American history, but for all records and other documentation on Champaign County history, 2) the technical limitations of the CMOs in carrying out such a project without the nimbleness and expertise of the University of Illinois and 3) both educators' and the community's needs for easily useable local history sources (documentation, including records) that have gone through several layers of mediation for educators to directly include into curriculum, students to directly access and use and for community members to access by names of individuals and institutions. In other words, the need was not only for digitized primary sources but at least the beginnings of the narratives that could emerge from such digitized source material. This last recommendation was acted upon in part through the creation of digital exhibits, however owing to time constraints not all recommendations were acted on in the first iteration of project design.

Throughout the year work was directed towards working with mainstream cultural heritage organizations around: 1) Creating a partnership between the Champaign County Historical Archives and Early American Museum to find a way to share resources to make the then-undescribed Doris K. Wylie Hoskins Archive for Cultural Diversity more accessible in Champaign-Urbana; 2) Working with the American History Teachers Collaborative to send out eBlackCU news through its listserve of K-12 social science teachers in East Central Illinois and creating space for eBlackCU at its Summer Teachers Institute (fortuitously in 2010 this event was themed around civil rights and featured Bobby Seale as a keynote speaker); and 3) finding

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and digitizing source material in local repositories.

Shortly after publicly launching the digital eBlackChampaign-Urbana library at http://www.eBlackCU.net/ in mid-January 2010 my first action was to make accessible a rudimentary finding aid of the Doris K. Wylie Hoskins Archive for Cultural Diversity, the community archive of the Champaign County African-American History Committee (now defunct), which had been deposited at the Early American Museum in 2004 following Mrs. Hoskins's passing. This Archive was almost completely inaccessible to the general public before museum volunteers and an intern from GSLIS made a preliminary digital inventory of the Archive in Fall 2009. The first digital initiative of the eBlackCU project, then, was to create a separate collection in the eBlackCU digital library for the Hoskins Archive, where the finding aid and some preliminary digitized materials from the Archive could be made accessible. Through this beginning a foundation would be built upon which future digital work could build.

The ability to launch this digital library in a relatively short amount of time and with a small budget was enabled by the Omeka open-source content management system created by George Mason University's Center for History and New Media as a platform for small historical agencies to relatively easily create professional digital libraries and digital history exhibitions (Omeka.org, 2010). Our decision to use Omeka as a platform was motivated by our assessment of the literature, which suggested that although Omeka was only a year old it was nonetheless emerging as an industry standard for such projects, with an active user community regularly developing and contributing plug-ins (Chen, et.al. 2010). Since Omeka is open-source and relatively easy to install on a server it represented something we thought we could share as a free best-practice to other projects in public libraries, historical societies and community groups in other communities

to use to develop projects similar to ours. Finally, shortly after the eBlackCU digital library began production, George Mason University announced it would launch a cloud computing version of its services, meaning that its use by small historical groups would be made even easier since no actual server would have to be purchased and maintained to enable them to begin creating and maintaining digital collections (Omeka.net, 2010). For these reasons we selected Omeka as the platform to move eBlackCU from idea to operation. For more on the operation of the project and the concrete steps that went into its technical infrastructure see the Manual we have created in Appendix 2.

5.2.1 Descriptive Statistics on eBlackCU's contribution to digital cultural heritage

These descriptive statistics report on the actual shape, use and content of the eBlackCU digital library. A spreadsheet was composed on December 30, 2010 featuring columns for item id # in the database, item title, decade of creation, source of material, type of material, subject, number of times item had been seen, who digitized it, if it could be disaggregated into sub-items, number of pages (where applicable), number of minutes of audio-visual material (where applicable), and whether or not it contains: directory information, numerical data, images, audio and/or video. Future research will use cross tabulation to further analyze this data. Furthermore, the eBlackCU digital library continues, so future research can take advantage from statistics derived from future use of the digital library.

A total of 3197 different computers accessed the site throughout the year. Roughly 42 percent of those users came directly to the site, or, in other words, were not referred to the site from another site. In most cases, this statistic signifies they came to the site through e-mail or direct referral. Roughly 36 percent came by Google, a further 7 percent came through Facebook, and

1.5 percent came through the home page of the Graduate School of Library and Information Science. The average user spent 3 minutes and 44 seconds on the site and viewed 3.57 pages. 59 percent of visitors were new or first-time visitors. The other 41 percent were returning visitors. This statistic indicates that many people were not just coming once, but many times to the library. Almost all visitors came to the site from the United States – 97 percent. There were also 0.7 percent visitors from Germany; .53 from the United Kingdom; .43 from Canada; .27 from China; .15 from Brazil; .12 from France; .12 from Russia; and a long tail of an additional 42 countries. Within the U.S., 81 percent of visitors came from Illinois, with more than one percent of visitors each coming from New York, California, Georgia, and Texas, with a long tail including visitors from every state in the United States.

One of the findings of the project was that the library was perhaps most eagerly embraced by African-Americans who grew up in Champaign-Urbana, had moved to different communities, and had since come online to stay connected to their home community. Personal communications of gratitude came from former African-American Champaign-Urbana natives living in Minneapolis, Texas, Tennessee, Georgia, Colorado and Oregon, as well as Chicago. This fact indicates the power of technology for creating translocal connections (Qiu, 2009; Reid, 2003). Finally, within Illinois, roughly 87 percent of visitors came from Champaign-Urbana, and 91 percent of visitors came from Champaign County. Roughly 4.5 percent of visitors came from Chicago and between one percent and .2 percent of visitors came from Danville, Bloomington, Springfield, Peoria and Harwood Heights. There was a long tail of an additional 80 places in Illinois that had visitors to the site throughout the year.

As of December 30, 2010, the digital library had 647 unique items in it, containing a total of

32,756 pages and 6063 minutes of audio-visual material. This number does not fully account for the hyperlinks and digital exhibits in the library, but still gives a scope of the project's productivity. Each of these 647 items has metadata associated with them produced using Dublin Core. As community contacts were established for the first round of project development, work proceeded at local CMOs on finding and digitizing records and other documentation on the local African-American experience. This digitization work proceeded throughout the entire year to reach this level of content.

Figure 9: Screen-shot of eBlackCU item-level description. Google Analytics picked up visits to item-level pages, but appears to have skipped direct visits to pdfs from Google searches that bypassed the item-level description.

The items in the library were viewed in total 3575 times throughout the year. In addition to the limitations of Google Analytics articulated in the methodology section, I also note that analytics appeared to completely miss any user who went directly from a search engine, such as Google, to a .pdf. A count was only made when a user went to a metadata screen before the actual item itself, see Figure 9. Despite this qualification one can see that the library was used, and used by many, throughout the year. A detailed break-out shows that the use clustered throughout the entire library, and did not focus on just one section. Only six items were viewed by fifty or more unique computers. Seventeen items were viewed by between 20 and 49 unique computers. Fifty-four items were viewed by between 11 and 19 computers. 464 items between one and ten computers. And 104 items were not viewed at all, or at least were not observed to be viewed by Google Analytics.

Source Decade of Digitized Material	Number of Items
2010	144
2000	211
1990	76
1980	94
1970	43
1960	29
1950	19
1940	3
1930	4
1920	1
1900	2
Multiple	20
TOTAL	**646**

Table 10: Source Decade of material in the eBlackCU digital library. Decade indicates time of original source material construction, not necessarily the time period covered by the content of the material. Source: eBlackCU 2010 Library Data, Appendix 2.

The vast majority of the items in the library were created within the last ten years, see Table 10. This phenomenon can be attributed to the fact that the project was not only concerned with digitizing past experience, but also thinking about how to aggregate and preserve the digital documentation of African-American life emerging contemporaneously. As a result much of our energy focused on gathering the documentation of the recent past. Much more work must be done to digitize the documentation from the deeper past. In addition to undigitized primary sources, the library could also include more from digitized newspapers already publicly available from the twentieth century. The Illinois Digital Newspaper Project, currently based out of the University of Illinois History Library, has digitized and made full-text searchable a local newspaper, the Urbana Courier, from 1903 to 1935 as well as the campus newspaper, the Daily Illini from 1916-1945 and 1962-1975, with plans for comprehensive digitization in the near future (Adderly, 2010).

Only a fraction of the items contained directory information. Twenty-six of the files contained directory information of African-American businesses, African-American churches, African-American leaders and other listings of names or places important to the local African-American experience. Slightly more items contained data that could be extracted. Seventy-two of the items contained numerical data that could be pulled out for re-use. As Bajcsy and S.C. Lee (2008) pointed out at the 2008 Society of American Archivists' research forum computer-assisted appraisal of pdf documents is making it easier to disaggregate information such as spreadsheets out of flat pdf documents, making it easier to re-use data from large digitized archival record groups. In this project, and in our research more generally, we are interested in thinking about how this cutting-edge research in digital curation will and could benefit historically

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disadvantaged communities that would otherwise be left out of the "space of flows" of digital information.

Table 11 contains information on who digitized the items in the library. The Spiders field indicates the eBlackCU Summer Interns (see below for more information); eBlackCU Project Director indicates myself; the News-Gazette is the primary print media source in East Central Illinois; UIUC is the University of Illinois, *not* including its library or archives, which are included among the CMOs; Community means information digitized by both the African-American community and the larger Champaign-Urbana community outside of media, government and University; Media includes media outlets outside of the News-Gazette and the University of Illinois; and Government indicates any governmental entity outside of government-supported CMOs.

Who digitized the items in eBlackCU?	Number of Items
Spiders	149
eBlackCU Project Director	126
Cultural Memory Organizations	123
News-Gazette	73
University of Illinois, not incl. library/archives	71
Community Individuals/Groups	52
Media, not incl. News-Gazette	25
Government	18
Community Informatics Club	9
TOTAL	**646**

Table 11: Individual/Entity that digitized material in the eBlackCU digital library. Source: eBlackCU 2010 Library Data, Appendix 2.

The fact that the largest source of information in the library is from the Spiders is evidence of the creation of cyberpower. Exit interviews with the interns reveal there was a palpable sense of

accomplishment at having played a part in making so much information available and being able

to share it with others. One of the interns remarked that her favorite part of the program was

presenting to her teachers on the work she did over the Summer at the American History

Teachers Collaborative Summer Institute on Civil Rights:

> I got to see a lot of my teachers and it was good to know that the teachers would actually
> want to use this stuff in their classroom....It was a good experience to know I could teach
> a teacher something instead of them teaching me all the time.

The second largest source of digitized information came from my own labor. This fact indicates

my need to jump-start the project, especially in Spring 2010, by doing most of the labor myself.

Almost equal in number is the CMOs, which indicates that to a certain, if uneven, degree that the

local mainstream cultural heritage sector has started to embed digitization into its work-flow,

indicating perhaps that it is now time to extend the collaborative digitization model further and

deeper into the community. The remaining categories illustrate the diverse ways in which

information on the local African-American experience goes online, with community being one of

the numerically smallest sources of digitized information, evincing a digital divide.

Table 12 contains data on the types of items in the library. 453 of the items are documents,

which both reflects the ease in digitizing print or manuscript material versus other formats, and

the ubiquity of this type of information in publicly accessible collections. Although only 60 items

are photographs, as will be shown below a larger number of items contain photographs that could

be disaggregated.

Type of item in eBlackCU	Number of Items
Document	453
Hyperlink	65
Photograph	60
Audio	53
Video	16
TOTAL	**646**

Table 12: Types of items in the eBlackCU digital library. Source: eBlackCU 2010 Library Data, Appendix 2.

Source of Material in eBlackCU library	Number of Items
Born Digital Material	147
University of Illinois, incl. library/archives	128
Champaign County Historical Archives	114
Doris K. Wylie Hoskins Archive	102
News-Gazette	73
Community	67
Illinois Public Media	15
TOTAL	**646**

Table 13: Source of material in eBlackCU library. Source of material does not necessarily correlate to who digitized the material since something can be held by one person and digitized by another. Community is a catch-all for documents and records we were lent or acquired to digitize, and includes personal archives, flyers, scrapbooks and other types of record sources not available at any other source. Source: eBlackCU 2010 Library Data, Appendix 2.

Table 13 lists the sources of the material in the eBlackCU library. This table shows how the

eBlackCU project focused first on what could be described as "low-hanging fruit." Born-digital

files were, in most cases, easy to ingest into the library (although this was not the case for audio-

visual files nor for web-crawls of hyperlinks). Furthermore, the ability to check out from the

University Library theses, dissertations and reports on the University's foot-print in the local

community made this documentation easy to digitize and to ingest into the library. The

Champaign County Historical Archives and Museum of the Grand Prairie also gave the project

team nearly complete access to their holdings, being more than happy to support the project. Finally, although Community is the smallest information source, many of the items ingested from Community occurred later in the project. My hope is that as this project matures it can expand beyond mainstream CMOs to collaboratively digitize material from the personal and community archives in attics, garages, basements and elsewhere throughout the community.

Nearly half of all items in the library contain (or are) images. 318 out of 645 items had images. Far less had videos or audio. Ninety-one items either were exclusively, or contained within them audio or visual material. 172 of the items could be disaggregated. Items to be disaggregated include two extremely large newspaper clipping files, as well as smaller aggregations of newspaper clippings or photographs. These items would be easier to access if disaggregated into individual items (or sub-items) with more detailed metadata, while still retaining their contextual provenance information in collection-level descriptions. Indeed the process of disaggregation has begun. One project of the Summer Spiders was to use GIMP and Paint to extract photos from pdfs and upload them to Facebook.

As high-speed internet becomes more ubiquitous in the broadband age one issue is how society can move from documents to audio-visual records to take advantage of broadband's enhanced capacity. A project by ATLAS, or Applied Technologies for Learning in the Arts and Sciences, at the University of Illinois, will survey the University's audio-visual holdings in a variety of units (especially the College of Media and Illinois Public Media) in 2011.[6] This survey will no doubt reveal more audio-visual recordings on the local African-American experience that could be digitized and aggregated into the eBlackCU digital library.

In addition to the digital library the eBlackCU website features other content, including

6 Personal Communication, Colleen Cook, January 2011.

notices of upcoming events, records of eBlackCU public programming, browse functions, and

digital exhibits. There were also approximately 650 unique visits, as of December 30, 2010, to

the Symposium homepage (described below), indicating that many visitors came to the site

through the area-wide publicity around the eBlackCU symposium held November 2010.

Unfortunately the Google Analytics seems to have failed to collect data on the number of visitors

to the four digital exhibits that exist on the eBlackCU website. This error may be due to a coding

issue in the way the Omeka Content Management System (CMS) is set-up and how Google

Analytics navigates the CMS to record data. In any case, unfortunately we have no data to report

on how many people viewed these exhibits.

Digitization of Videos in YouTube Channel	Number of Items
Spiders	32
Community Informatics Initiative	14
Community	16
eBlackCU project	6
TOTAL	**67**

Table 14: Source of material in eBlackCU YouTube channel. Source: YouTube Data, Appendix 2.

In addition to the digital library, the eBlackCU Spiders and I also posted content to Facebook

and YouTube. Indeed, early difficulties with streaming video on the eBlackCU server forced the

project to rely exclusively on YouTube for video streaming. A total of 67 videos are part of the

eBlackCU YouTube channel. Table 14 indicates sources of the videos. The majority of the videos

were created by the Summer interns. The Community Informatics Initiative videos are from

Angela Rivers' Fall 2009 visit. Community videos represent two community members who

discovered eBlackCU and asked for help making their interviews with three "history-makers" in

African-American history available online; and eBlackCU represents the videos of the Interns's

final reception in August 2010. A total of 862 visits were recorded to the YouTube eBlackCU channel. Through participant observation in Facebook we also noted that a community activist re-posted two of our videos, featuring interviews with a now deceased local black activist, to Facebook in September 2010.

Code of Giver of Positive Feedback	Number of Individuals
Higher Education	29
Culture and Media	15
Youth Organizations	12
Government/Social Service	10
Community	9
Activists	6
UC2B	3
Other	1
TOTAL	**85**

Table 15: Summary table of individuals giving positive, digital feedback to eBlackCU. For full table see Appendix 1: Table A1. Source: Feedback data, Appendix 2.

Finally, eBlackCU also maintained a Facebook group, which had 161 members as of December 30, 2010. The Facebook group emerged in April 12, 2010, and was a response to the growing realization that much of the local African-American community's digital life occurred by and through Facebook, either accessed through a computer or a smart phone. I recorded 159 individuals who interacted with the eBlackCU project via Facebook. This is undoubtedly a low number as I have no way of measuring who may have shared or linked to the eBlackCU project on their own respective walls and Facebook pages. The 159 individuals in this data-set either wrote directly on the project director's wall, sent a Facebook message or wrote or commented on the Facebook group page. The most prolific individual interacting with eBlackCU through Facebook was an African-American who grew up in Champaign-Urbana but who now lives in

Fort Campbell, Kentucky, who had nine recorded interactions. This individual found the

eBlackCU project while researching the history of his grandfather, a business owner on North

First Street in the 1960s/1970s. I have not yet fully coded this Facebook data. More trends will

be measured from this data in the future, which is included in Appendix 2.

In addition to comments made via Facebook, the project team also amassed data on positive

feedback given to the project virtually throughout the year as a way to chart the cyberpower

amassed by the project. This coded data, visualized in Table 15, shows how the digital library

was being used and positively received by local and non local individuals from a wide variety of

backgrounds and orientations. However, we can also see that positive feedback, and thus use of

the digital library, centered around Higher Education, Culture/Media and Youth, illustrating the

importance of educational, research and media uses of the library.

5.3 North First Street

Figure 10: North First Street with landmarks noted in text. Source: Google Maps.

The first step I took in the community was attending meetings of local community groups where I had contacts and where I sensed an interest in doing something with technology and history. The North First Street Business Association seemed to me a natural fit. A historically African-American business district at the south-western edge of the historical "North End," the Street was undergoing processes of gentrification and revitalization. In 2009 the North First Street Business Association founded a Farmer's Market designed both to attract people to the district from the nearby Champaign downtown and the nearby low-income African-American neighborhood. The Market billed itself as the "Historic" North First Street Farmer's Market, illustrating an interest in the neighborhood's past in this time of change.

The Association emerged in 1994 as part of a re-development push headed by a local black activist, John Lee Johnson (Heumann, 1993). Based on records of the Association, it morphed into a a black business owners' association, before falling apart in the early 2000s as many of the businesses that the Association helped get started went out of business (John Lee Johnson Papers). In 2007 one of these businesses, Jackson's Ribs-N-Tips, a soul-food restaurant, approached Land of Lincoln Legal Assistance Fund, a local not-for-profit headed by a white woman with a largely white staff that had recently moved into the area, to suggest the idea of re-starting the Association. The Association was re-started just as Jackson's Ribs-N-Tips itself went out of business.

In this climate of high business volatility and high tension in a historically African-American business district in a changing neighborhood, fears of gentrification animate all discussions of memory and the past. In the antagonistic framing of gentrification, one higher-income, white community threatens to displace another lower-income, minority community. Many of the

African-Americans whom I met with either at Association meetings or through informal ethnographic meetings in the area remembered fondly the African-American legacy of the area, remembering it as a safe, dynamic area where African-Americans could eat, listen to music, buy groceries, get their hair cut and in general experience life free from the discrimination felt either explicitly or implicitly in other parts of the city, especially in the 1950s and 1960s (North First Street Oral History Exhibit, 2010). An African-American woman who grew up in the North End in the context of segregation posted her memories to the Facebook group "You Know You Grew Up in Champaign-Urbana If You Remember....":

> Growing up in northeast Champaign... I remember some restaurants that you may or may not remember. Holt's Restaurant on North First Street, Larry's on North Fourth Street, Dagwood's on North Fourth Street, Beasley's on East Main Street, the Chick-Chick Shack on North Water Street - then it moved to North First Street, Banks Bar-B-Q, on East Washington Street, Hickory Pit Bar-B-Q on North First Street, Mary's Place on East Washington Street, and in the summer months there were temporary Bar-B-Q Pits in screen houses - with the smell of Bar-B-Q in the air all summer long. (Slates, 2010)

All these restaurants, which were either located on or near North First Street, illustrate the fond memories many older residents have of community life in this African-American neighborhood.

Many white informants, especially those affiliated with the Champaign County History Museum (CCHM), in contrast remembered the neighborhood in pejorative terms. They brought to light the history of crime, vice and prostitution, especially in the 1920s and 1930s. They also pointed out that as one of the oldest areas of Champaign, built in the 1850s, the district was originally a mixed-race district until the 1930s. It was unclear, or at least undecided, whose histories would be represented under the banner of "Historic" North First Street and who (and how) would represent them, using what documentation. This brief summary of ethnographic notes on memory at North First Street suggests the importance of engaged archivists and other

cultural heritage professionals in the "memory wars" (White, 1995) that take place in every community, both large and small, but which are especially pronounced in spaces of gentrification (Hayden, 1995).

It was clear as well that despite the importance of memory for this community's future there was a relatively strong disconnect between local CMOs and the neighborhood. Although the CCHM regularly attended Association meetings (they are located at the corner of First and University at the southern edge of the district), they had little to offer in terms of African-American history of the area. Reflecting their antiquarian/historic preservation focus, their interest was primarily in the architectural and early history of the neighborhood, primarily from the 1920s and before. No one in the Association was aware that the John Lee Johnson (JLJ) Papers, the activist who began the Association in the early 1990s, had been recently deposited into and fully processed at the Illinois Historical Survey's manuscript collections within the University Library. We can read into this lack of awareness of such immediately relevant archival records a failure of the CMO from fully incorporating into its mandate what Nesmith describes as societal provenance. As Nesmith points out on the records of the Canadian government of the nineteenth-century: "A great deal of information in such records...was obtained from Aboriginal people" (Nesmith, 2006, 353). This insight illustrates the varied forms of societal provenance and ownership of information in records. At the University of Illinois, no public programming was done to announce the acquisition and processing of this important local history collection, which contains information on thirty years of local African-American history and includes records with knowledge, in Nesmith's terminology, "obtained from" the local African-American community. The question then becomes, which Nesmith does not fully

address, what responsibilities do archives have for interaction and engagement with communities from which information such as this is obtained. This responsibility can be conceptualized in various ways. These concerns relate to the theoretical issue of co-creation that explores how knowledge and information in mainstream archives has in many instances come from historically marginalized communities. In the archival literature these unequal power relations, in the context of Native American communities, have has explored in the development of protocols for culturally responsive care and use of "American Indian archival material held by non-tribal organizations" (First Archivist Circle, 2007). Perhaps another way in which this issue could be addressed is in terms of work-force and jobs. Despite the large number of CMOs in Champaign County none employ any African-Americans (or any minorities whatsoever) to work with local history material, let alone any African-Americans from the local community who could serve as bridges to such material. As research in Austin, Texas, shows, one way a CMO can bridge historical divides between its mission and historically marginalized communities is by recruiting workforce directly from those communities.[7] Similar findings have also been made in the cybernavigators study in Chicago where recruiting cybernavigators directly from the neighborhoods libraries seek to serve strengthened the ties between the library and the community (Williams, 2010).

In any case, with no funds to hire anyone on a long-term basis, nor to do any broad-scale public programming on local holdings, my response to this problem was digitization. Using a simple SLR camera I went into the JLJ papers and photographed page-by-page the records documenting the formation and minutes of the Association, including by-laws. I then turned over

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7   Personal communication at Austin History Center, August 2009. The Austin History Center made it a priority to recruit and pay members of the local Hispanic, African-American and Asian-American communities to better reach out to and serve those communities. Although there are certainly issues with the idea of any one individual representing an entire community, it is certainly a step in the right direction.

to the Association, through e-mail, these digitized records for them to use how they wished. I also went into all the other CMOs and digitized all that I could find about North First Street and the businesses located on it over the years. There was a paucity of documentation on North First Street in mainstrem CMOs. What was found included: approximately 30 photographs of the built environment of the street taken in the 1980s as part of a city wide building preservation project led by a local building conversation group; newspaper clippings; a small number of photographs of musical events on the street collected by a local African-American historian and deposited at the Museum of the Grand Prairie; photographs from the 1940s deposited as part of a local history collection to the Champaign County Historical Archives and digitized as part of the Champaign 150th Celebrations; references in city directories; and scattered issues of a Black newspaper released for two to three years in the early 1970s by an activist group based on the Street and included in the personal papers of a University of Illinois faculty member who helped sponsor the group. There was also a two volume report on planning issues in relation to the business district written by University of Illinois students in the early 1990s and records of the North First Street Business Association in the John Lee Johnson papers. In general, the records in CMOs feature more outsider perceptions of the area than insider perspectives of the area's cultural life. These records and other documentation fed into a digital exhibit we created show-casing the African-American history in the district.

Google Analytics from the time the North First Street digital exhibit went live in March 2010 suggests that few individuals viewed the exhibit, despite publicity being posted on its existence throughout the area. The relative failure of this digital intervention into local community memory can be interpreted by the absence of the return of the actual. Since the project remained entirely

digital, with no direct feedback into actual community life, it failed in its goals. The area lacks the public computing facilities and familiarity with digital technology to make such a digital intervention meaningful. In other words, in the absence of a viable, functional, digital black counter-public sphere into which the project could intervene, it was necessary for us to return to the actual, fragile black public-sphere of radio, churches and barbershops (Fabre and O'Meally, 1994). Furthermore, the lack of a locally engaged community cyberorganizer on North First Street made success difficult. Since almost all of the work of creating this digital intervention was done by the campus-based eBlackCU project director there was no grassroots cyberorganizer in place to "own" the final digital intervention who would then bring others in his or her social network into the site and into the project.

It was in response to this need to involve more community members in eBlackCU's digital memory work that an oral history event was organized. Approximately 30 individuals came to the oral history event at the North First Street Farmer's Market in late July 2010, and ten brief, five minute, oral histories were collected by the Spiders. Three posters featuring images of African-American life on North First Street throughout the Twentieth century, also created by the Spiders, were donated to a local black barbershop, where they continue to hang.

More follow-up research is required to measure the impact of this second digital intervention. One of our Spiders, who is related to the owner of the Suits by Soouljah business on North First Street, noted that he was somewhat frustrated in the project's impact on the community. When asked in the exit interview about some of the problems with the Summer program he noted:

> [I]t didn't seem like the project itself was as prestigious as it was supposed to be. It was just, I don't know, even though it was a great good, it seemed like people weren't interested, they just wanted to do what they wanted to do, so it was frustrating to even try.....Well when I would tell people about the functions we had or the Farmer's Market

and everything. And it was always oh that's great for me, it was never oh I'm going to go check that out. People I talked to yeah, did you know this that and that. And even I myself I didn't know about the black owned businesses on first street. I always thought first street was just a barbershop and the Cattle Bank - That's all I really know about that. It's interesting but people don't seem to want to go out of their way, even if you bring them a flyer, they don't even want to read it. And elderly people and the old people seemed more interested, I'm not sure if it brings them back to their older days or younger people just seemed to generally don't care. They're either here just to go to school or they're trying to leave or they're raising a family and raising a family you're just trying to raise your family and that's it..

This intern's frustrations in sharing the project with their broader community network, including their network on North First Street, illustrate some of the challenges this project ran up against. These challenges include: 1) disconnect between generations on the importance of the African-American community's past for its future; 2) Struggles moving from training specific individuals to organizing entire communities; 3) apathy about anything not seen as directly and immediately relevant for young and middle-aged individuals struggling to juggle many commitments and financial needs. In conclusion, then, although we attempted to turn our Spiders into cyberorgnizers on North First Street through the oral history project, they confronted obstacles that must be addressed in future work on digital public history in low-income communities.

5.4 Salem Baptist Church

Simultaneous with this work at North First Street, I began work at a local historically African-American church, Salem Baptist Church. This church had recently launched a cyber-church committee to incorporate digital technology into its operations. At this church many older parishioners had been involved with the black community's historical struggles and had fond memories of the church's successes and progress over the years. However, there was less of a clear focus on digital technology, the digital divide and the future of the church.
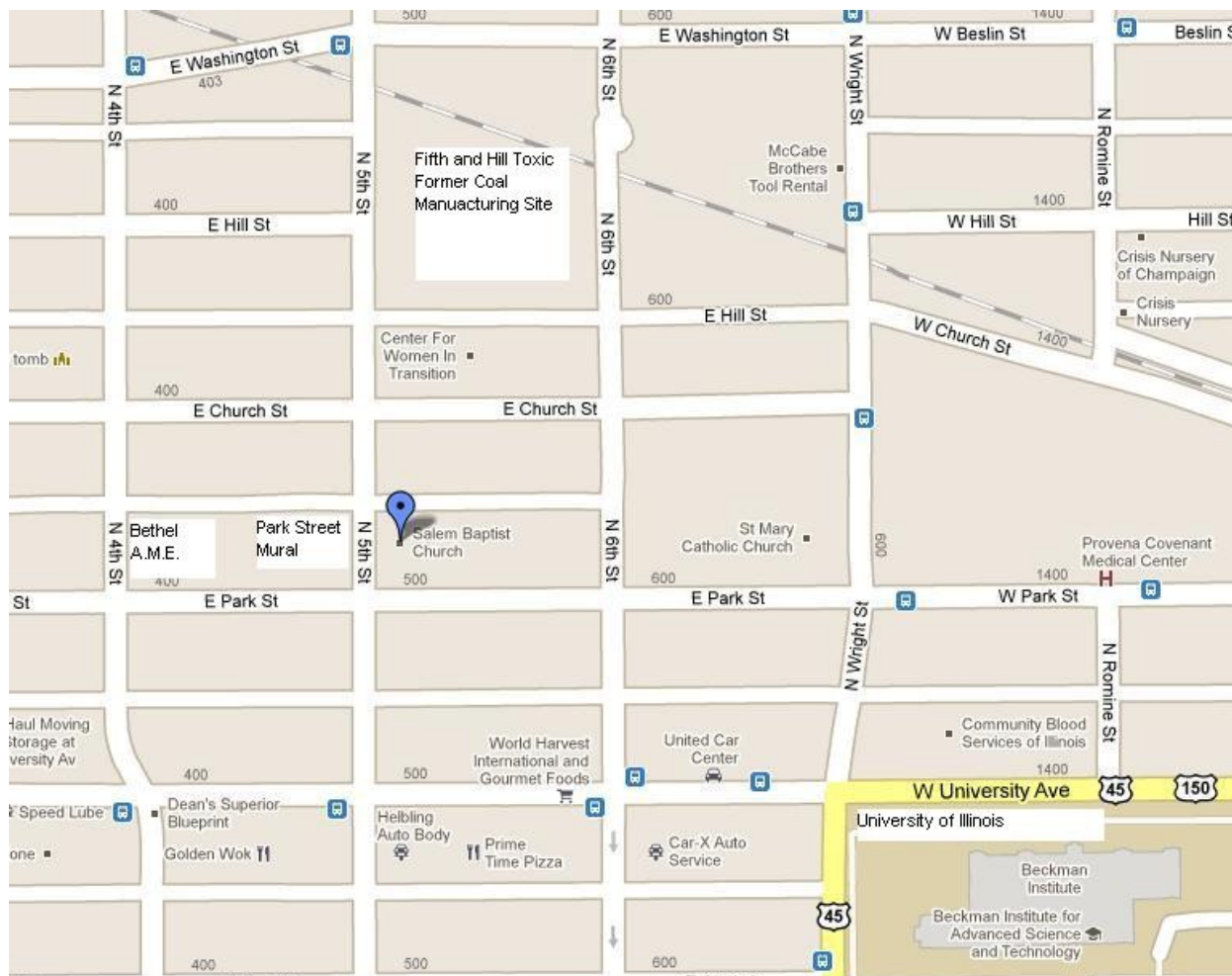
Figure 11: Salem Baptist Church with landmarks noted in text. Source: Google Maps.

After I worked with Salem for a month we produced digitized copies of all records and other

documentation I was able to uncover on the church's history in local CMOs, which included

church programs, church histories, and photographs dating to the 1940s. I transferred all this

digitized documentation onto CDs and presented it to members of the church as a way to show

them how they could use digital technology to access and hold onto the past. Furthermore, the

CD, as a tangible artifact, represented a return of the actual in a way not accomplished at the

North First Street project. Along with this CD I also created a digital exhibit celebrating the

church's use of technology over the twentieth century, including its acquisition and use of the

mimeograph and photocopier. This exhibit historically contextualized the church's present acquisition and incorporation of digital technologies into its life. As in the North First Street project, however, the absence of a fully mobilized cyber-organizer within the church participating fully in these digital history projects hampered their reach, impact and sustainability.

The Salem Baptist Church CDs were released in mid-March 2010 to ten members of Salem Baptist Church. The CDs were given to individuals actively involved with the Cyber-Church Committee as well as church administration in the form of the pastor, secretary and clerk. In retrospect, I believe the CD and related programs in Spring 2010 at Salem Baptist Church would have had greater success had I found a way to directly engage the congregation of the church, as opposed to the administrative arm of the Church. One month after the CD was released the church held its annual Family and Friends Day, at which, by my estimate, 300 individuals attended. The Family and Friends Day is similar to a family reunion in which all church members, both active and in-active, attend to celebrate the Church's history and its sense of community. The Family and Friends Day celebration featured a powerpoint presentation of digitized images of deceased church members to honor their legacy. This PPT was put together by a University of Illinois PhD Student in Landscape Architecture who was also a member of the church. He independently worked with church members to digitize their photographs and put together the powerpoint. Two other independent projects in the church led to the creation of a church Facebook page and a second Facebook page for the Angels of Praise youth music group. These projects, completely independent of the Cyber-Church Committee, illustrates the multiple sub-communities in the church finding ways to use technology. The eBlackCU project, based in

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the Cyber-Church Committee, was only able to engage with one of these sub-communities. As the year progressed, I realized this group represented a small sub-community isolated from much of the bonding social that sustains the church throughout its work. I read into this finding that in some community organizations there may be multiple, sometimes competing, cyberorganizers, each independently doing their own digital work without any over-arching unity.

In addition to not completely understanding the internal dynamics of the church, another factor shaping my work in Spring 2010 was a mismatch between expectations of the church members and myself. I found, at both North First Street and at Salem Baptist Church, that there were many individuals interested in learning more about their community's past and contributing to the production of public history by loaning, upon request, material to digitize. However, those desires did not translate into willingness to engage with us in learning the technical and research skills to actually produce digital memory texts, as opposed to having us do the digital work for them.

The temptation to do the digital work for others is a powerful one in digital public history. In the community informatics informed public history work of Klaebe, et. al. (2007), they designed a series of workshops to "empower[] participants by teaching the skills required that would enable them to produce their own digital stories." However, after the first iteration of the project they found that:

> it quickly became apparent that the participants' primary goal in participating in the workshop was to contribute to a public history project rather than to 'express' themselves or to share their life experiences. While the participants enthusiastically participated in the workshop at a social level, they did not represent themselves as being especially interested in becoming filmmakers or digital creative producers.

Klaebe's team, responding to this finding, in the second iteration of the digital memory

workshops left much of the digital work to the highly-skilled project team, without requiring the

citizens who participated to actively engage in the digital production elements:

> The stories created in the second workshop proved to be just as empowering for the
> storytellers as the first, but without any accompanying intervention into 'digital divide'
> issues or attempts to build computer literacy.

This project, in some ways similar to ours, raises the question of the purpose of digital public

history, or digital community archives in a community informatics framework. For someone

interested in collective remembering and public history it can be tempting to side-step the digital

inequalities that frame such projects by doing most or all of the digital work necessary for

community groups, rather than training those community groups to do the work themselves. This

dilemma can be visualized in Figure 12.

Figure 12: Conceptual chart of paths in development of digital public history. We hypothesize the
middle path to be the one most likely to be sustained as it meets both community and external
stakeholder needs.

Alexa Mills discovered this dilemma in her digital community media work in two historically

black neighborhoods of Brooklyn, where she noted that everything took "four times as long" to

do when she forced herself to wait for her community partners to do the digital work as opposed

to her doing it for them. (Cunningham and Mills, 2008). I found similar findings in Champaign

Urbana. At the November eBlackCU Symposium there was a panel on graduate student research

in the local African-American community. A PhD student in history pointed out that, with her training in archival research, she was more than happy to do the archival research to find answers to questions of histories of police brutality in the local community that for her would take seconds but would take community member much, much longer (Pimblott, 2010).

We see in this dilemma a definite opportunity for community informatics to make a strong intervention into digital public history and related bridging social capital-driven initiatives to work with communities on their past through technology. By insisting on the need to produce community-based cyberpower transferable to other self-determined community purposes, rather than focusing primarily on filling in gaps in public archives or public memory through technological interventions (Vos and Ketelaar, 2007), we see a possibility for CMOs to play a stronger role in the discourse on digital divides. I have not yet figured out best-practices to address this dilemma, yet believe that future research should continue to explore this issue. This project falls somewhere between the two poles of Figure 10. On the one hand, especially in Spring 2010, the digital work relied almost entirely on my labor. On the other hand, in Summer 2010 through the intern program I attempted to train at least a small sub-set of the community in the digital work necessary to support this digital history work. Yet obstacles remained in retaining the interns following the completion of the paid internship (see below) hampering the development of long-term community cyberpower. Furthermore, from an archival perspective, if the community itself doesn't take ownership and invest in building its own memory and recordkeeping projects, it will be very hard for it to be empowered by them on their own terms. I hoped to partially address this dilemma through the Summer Intern program.

Before leaving Salem Baptist Church to analyze this intern program, I must point to the ways

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that I shifted the project's course in late Summer and Fall 2010 in response to some of the above difficulties. After participating in the church's life for over half-a-year, it became clear that the cyber-church committee was not a completely functional unit of the church. Part of this dysfunction related to confusion around the committee's role and its relation to the broader UC2B big-broadband development. In any case, to address this confusion we began working directly at community organizing at Salem Baptist Church around technology.

In mid-September 2010 I proposed the committee organize an open house to showcase to the church congregation what the cyber-church was about and how it could benefit them. I then assisted in organizing the logistics for the open house, held October 5, 2010. Although the committee was concerned that no one would come, a total of 24 individuals attended the open house, which featured a powerpoint presentation by the Cyber-Church Committee (Carol Lewis Cyber-Church Committee Archives). One of the highlights of the powerpoint presentation was an image of the summer interns using the church computer lab, which inspired members to visit the computer lab themselves following the presentation.

The following Tuesday, October 12, 2010, the committee then repeated a modified version of the presentation for Teen-Talk, Salem Baptist Church's youth ministry. For a variety of reasons not explored in this analysis, there was tension between the Cyber-Church Committee and the youth ministry at Salem Baptist Church regarding ownership of the church's computer lab. The invitation to present at Teen-Talk, following a reciprocal invitation for the leader of Teen-Talk to attend a Committee meeting, helped address these confusions. These meetings and organizing, facilitated by participation in the church, enabled me to also help a group of three GSLIS students assigned to work with Salem Baptist Church as part of a service-learning assignment in

a community informatics course navigate the politics of the church to launch a computer instruction course for seniors in October 2010. According to sign-in sheets prepared by the Cyber-Church Committee secretary, these interventions lead to a surge of use in the lab, which increased from none at the beginning of the Fall, to 121 recorded uses of the lab between the open house and January 4, 2011 (Carol Lewis Cyber-Church Committee Archives). More research should analyze this data to investigate who was coming to the lab during this time and what motivated them to participate in the lab's programming.

Although this community organizing had nothing, at the surface, in relation to the digital cultural heritage project, I realized during work at Salem that I had a choice of two paths to follow. I could either continue to do the digital public history work in which most of the digital work was being done by me alone, or instead do the more laborious, long-term work of community organizing around technology that could lead to cyberpower for this community institution. I chose to pursue the latter course at Salem Baptist Church. I continue to attend their Cyber-Church committee meetings. One goal for the second year of the eBlackCU project will be to work with the planning committee for the annual Family and Friends Day Celebration to see how and if the committee can embed digital technology into this annual celebration of the church's past and future in a way that supports the creation of cyberpower for the church.

We compare the experience at Salem Baptist Church and North First Street in Table 16. This table shows how the absence of public computing potential at North First negatively impacted project development. In contrast, the disunity of the Church around extant technological resources at Salem hampered development there. In both cases we see ubiquitous UIUC-Community connections, at almost every level.

	Salem Baptist Church	**North First Street**
Structure	Hierarchical	Loose Structure
Stability of Institutions	Stable	Unstable; constant flux
Orientation	Religion	Street
Demographics	Aging population. Many youth, many elders, few in-between.	Predominantly middle-aged and younger
Computers	Computer Lab present	No computer lab
Cybernavigators	Multiple, disunified cybernavigators	No cybernavigator
CMO Documentation	Much documentation in CMOs	Sparse documentation in CMOs
University of Illinois connections	UIUC PhD students, Undergraduates, Faculty and Staff all active members in the Church; Church table at Quad Day; Church Member secures UIUC Armory to host Hallelujah Night; Mo'betta base at Salem; Willie Summerville and Afro498 concert at Salem	UIUC graduate is co-owner Rose & Taylor Barbershop; UIUC engagement at Land of Lincoln (job training) Sam Smith and Clarence Davidson partnership on cultural center proposal;, UIUC Landscape Architecture/Extension involved in Prosperity Garden; eBlackCU; Rose & Taylor Back to School Day for UIUC/Parkland students

Table 16: Comparison of Salem Baptist Church and North First Street.

5. 5 Spiders and Youth

The main focus of the eBlackChampaign-Urbana project remained, however, the digital

library and digital exhibits, composed of, ideally, collaboratively digitized objects and records

from diverse public and private collections on the local African-American experience. Almost all

the work of building this library in Spring 2010 came from me, as I struggled to get something

off-the-ground that would convince both campus and community stake-holders that eBlackCU

represented a legitimate project trying to do something meaningful and worth sustaining. In mid-

Spring 2010, to address my inability to incorporate more stakeholders in the project, the project

adviser and I decided to recruit and pay six youths who would work with us throughout the

Summer to build the digital library while learning technological skills transferable to other contexts. Our recruitment efforts were not aimed at atomized individuals, however. Instead we attempted to recruit in dyads. A dyad is the relationship between two actors in a network. In social network theory, the dyad, not the individual, is the critical unit of analysis (Williams and Durrance, 2008). Our goal was to recruit the interns in such a way that they not only brought their own energies and motivations to the project, but also the energy and contacts of whatever social networks they were strongly tied into.

We required all applicants to submit a letter from a community sponsor who would vouch for the applicant's willingness to take part in all aspects of the project. Letters were received from church leaders and school teachers, illustrating the strength of these two institutions on local young peoples' lives. Furthermore, we attempted to recruit in such a way that we achieved representatives from most of the area high schools. There are four public high schools, a University high school, private high schools, a community college and two alternative high schools in the area. We were able to hire representatives from three public high schools, one private school, the community college and the University high school. Gender and age balance was also seen as required and achieved. Finally, the applicants' personal statements and interests were factored into the decision making process. We were searching for interns who would serve as leaders for the project in whatever social networks they represented beyond the Summer.

We also attempted to get a sense of the community networks within which the interns lived their lives. In our interviews and interactions with the seven interns[8] who worked with us on the project we found evidence of all three types of community described in the literature review --

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8   We hired six interns - but one intern had to leave the project early for an Americorps position in Mississippi. We replaced her, making seven interns in total.
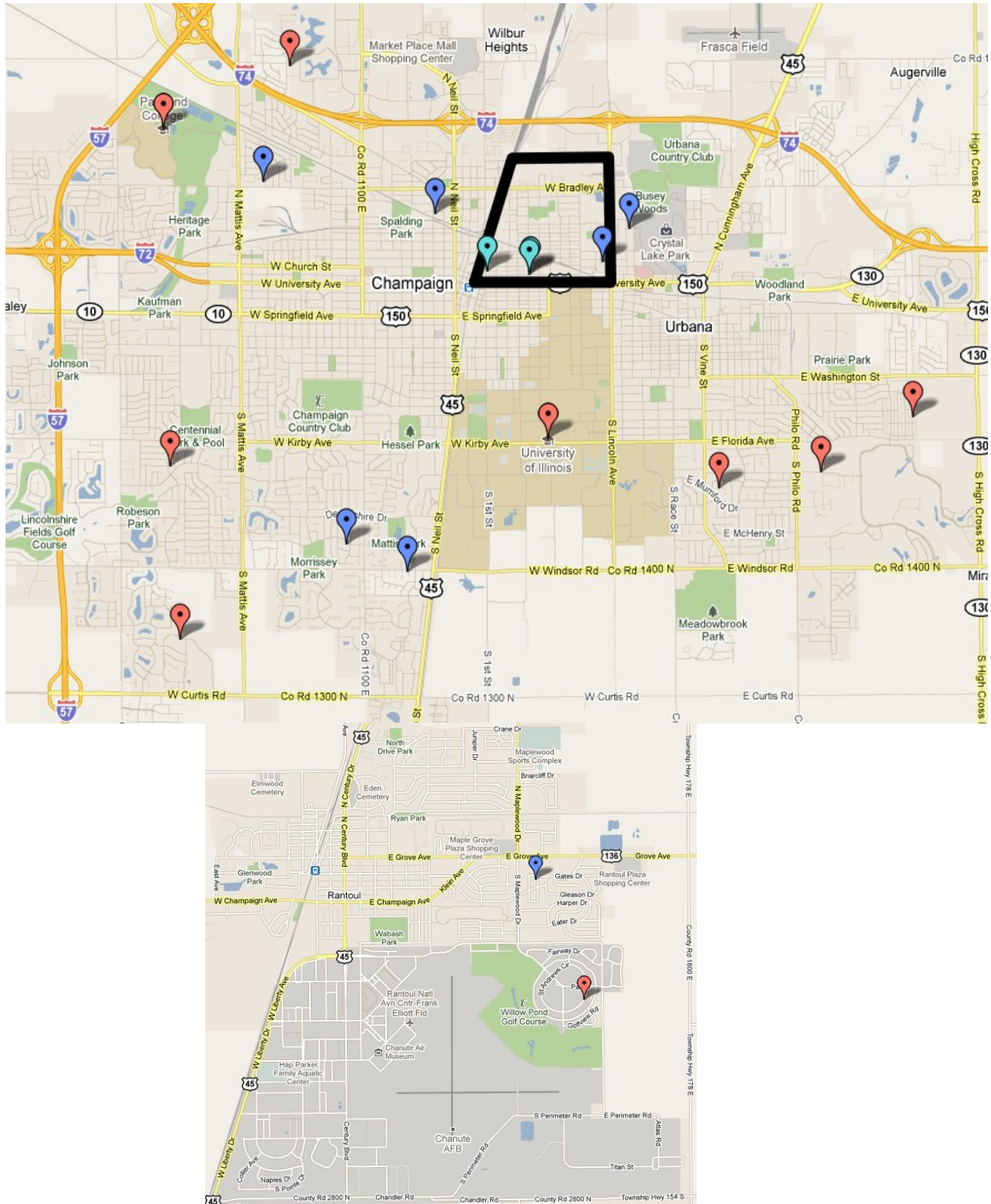
Figure 13: Location of interns (blue), intern applicants (red) and project sites (teal) in Champaign-Urbana (below) and Rantoul (bottom). Source: Google Maps.

lost, saved and liberated -- operating in their lives and influencing their perceptions of both technology and memory.

As shown in the context section of this paper, the cohesive Black neighborhood of Champaign-Urbana has come under great stress over the last 30 years. Figure 13, above, shows the locations of the interns and intern applicants for the Summer program. The first map is of Champaign-Urbana. The second map is of Rantoul, a town 20 miles north of Champaign-Urbana that because of an Air Force Base located there for most of the Twentieth century has had strong ties to the black community in north Champaign-Urbana. The blue circles represent the interns we selected; the red circles represent the applicants we were unable to accept; the light blue circles represent the sites of the three projects focused on in 2010: Park Street Mural, Salem Baptist Church and North First Street.

From these maps it can be observed that only one applicant from the historical North End was received, which according to oral history, census records and racist covenants during the time of segregation in Champaign-Urbana was bounded by the train tracks to the West, University to the South and Lincoln Avenue to the East (Franke, 1990). As alluded to above, following urban renewal and the end to formal residential segregation, the black community diffused across the cities, both east and west into the areas adjacent to the historical North End as well as further afield. With an expanded notion of North Champaign-Urbana as the "black community," then, we see four applicants from this community, all four of which were accepted. We also accepted two applicants from Southwest Champaign, a predominantly white, middle-class neighborhood. We also accepted one intern from Rantoul. All were African-American.

All but four of the applicants were females. Asked about why this trend may be, another

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GSLIS faculty member who had worked with local youth in various contexts for the past eight years remarked that she too had seen great difficulty getting African-American male youth to apply to University-funded opportunities such as this one.[9] More research is needed to investigate some of the gendered implications of campus-community engagement and campus-community divides.

In any case, based on reading the interns' applications, it was clear that the youths' reasons for desiring to participate in the project differed widely. Some were looking for a worthwhile project to gain experience valuable for college; others simply looking for summer employment. Still others were attracted to the opportunity to learn more about local African-American history and to do something positive for the African-American community. Two applicants listed an interest in technology as the main reason for their applications -- these two applicants were also both enrolled in digital media curriculum at Parkland Community College.

All the interns we accepted relied on strong ties and bonding social capital in hearing about the position. Against Granovetter (1983) who hypothesized that in finding employment individuals rely on weak ties to hear about job openings, we found that among these youths it was strong ties that empowered them to find out about and apply for the openings. Three interns heard about the position directly from adult family members, two interns heard about the position from leaders of social groups with which they volunteered, and two interns heard about the position from school guidance counselors who had familial relationships with the interns. I hypothesize, from this fact, that despite the apparent disunity of the Black community in Champaign-Urbana, a "community saved" exists oriented around families and a smaller number of social organizations (including church and school).

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9   Ann Bishop, personal communication, 5 May 2010.

However, when pressed on this point some of the interns did acknowledge that they were much more deeply connected to inter-generational, religious support networks than many other African-Americans from their schools. One of the interns, when asked if she felt like her situation was exceptional, remarked:

> Oh yes definitely. Especially at [the intern's high school] there are a lot of kids, especially African-American students, who don't have much support. Like in my classes, I'm in almost all honors classes, and there's barely black people in there. So like some kids I know they are really smart but they're not in those classes and I feel like if they had the support and actually tried to keep their grades up they could be in those classes but they don't have the support that they need.

This intern, who came from a working-class background and lived in a relatively small apartment with her family in North Champaign-Urbana, appears to have thrived, based on her own assessment of the situation, because of the strong family/religious social ties supporting her, ties she acknowledged were not common for all in the local African-American community. This fact illustrates how community saved and community lost operate simultaneously in the local context. In recruiting youth for such a program as the Spiders one needs to be careful not only to recruit from the community saved in the local Black Community, or in other words from those individuals who because of strong social ties will be able to thrive with or without such a program, but also from the community lost, more difficult to reach, but also in need of such programs.

This statement is a critical point because a second finding from the exit interviews with the interns was that all seven had aspirations to leave Champaign-Urbana. When asked if they saw themselves living their lives locally none responded in the affirmative. Paradoxically, then, we could interpret this finding to signify that the strong social ties supporting these interns push them up and out of the local context, exacerbating the sense of community lost of those not

supported by such ties. At least some of these interns were aware of these contradictions. One of

the interns, who also lived in North Champaign-Urbana, pointed out that he was already well

supported by family and friends, but it was those without such support who really needed this

sense of history and place to support them and make their lives better:

> I believe it needs to go to places like Scottswood, the Garden Hills, the place over by
> Douglass Park [low-income neighborhoods in North Champaigna-Urbana and East
> Urbana], ... to me the places that really need this. Not to go out into the places like
> Beringer Commons [suburban developments in Southeastern Urbana], these places that
> you already know might have a little bit of it, not the people who graduated with a little
> bit of understanding. I'm talking about the people who dropping out of high school, the
> people who are caught up in the school systems that aren't teaching them any real
> substance, and because I live in Urbana I think of the areas near King School [the
> historical black neighborhood elementary school in Urbana] 'cause I live by there... It's
> something you can call your own, you know, what was here before my house was. And I
> think people will cherish things like that....So I think people would really gravitate
> towards this program, especially if it was targeted at their community so that they can
> learn more about this....But we need to be able to target those children that live in those
> low-income housing at these workshops.

In addition to the paradoxes of community lost and community saved co-existing in the African-

American community of Champaign-Urbana, I also witnessed the phenomenon of community

liberated. The two interns from Southwest Champaign illustrated the idea of close ties spanning

entire cities, while bypassing geographic neighborhoods:

> Where we live now we don't really interact with our neighbors at all....now there is no
> interaction. I think my dad and my family we really understand our community in terms
> of our church [located in the historical North End]. So like where we live at is just a
> house. It's not really a neighborhood. There is very little interaction between my family
> and the rest of the neighborhood.

This quote hints at some of the senses of community liberated wherein someone can live in any

part of Champaign-Urbana, liberated from traditional neighborhood ties, and still feel connected

to a sense of community through church and church-related functions.

Community liberated can also be seen operating in the positive feedback and support for the

eBlackCU project from former Champaign-Urbana African-American residents now living across the country, but connected to their home through information technologies. The challenge, then, is to both recognize that the three levels of community -- lost, saved and liberated -- operate simultaneously in the African-American community of Champaign-Urbana and then to strategize about how all three communities could be unified around technology, a shared past, and the future of the entire African-American community. As the project has currently developed we have had most success in reaching the community liberated and community saved, but far less success in reaching and working with the community lost that exists in its midst.

In any case, as the Summer began we wanted to avoid the term intern, and the finite connotations of such a word. We opted to use the term "Spiders" instead to describe the interns and their work. The "Spiders" concept was developed by Alkalimat in his ten year ethnographic study of a community technology center in Toledo, Ohio. As Alkalimat writes, "Spiders are small creatures, but they spin webs that allow them achievements far beyond what one might consider possible....'When spiders unite, they can tie up lions,' as the proverb tells us" (Alkalimat, 2003, 145/1). The concept of "Spiders" draws on what Alkalimat and Williams term the highest-level of cyberpower, the ideological (adapted from Tim Jordan's imaginary cyberpower): "gaining skills and making connections in order to advance the imaginary: a vision, a movement, an ideological purpose" (Alkalimat and Williams, 2001). The interns were educated in the skill-sets to give them what Jordan would call individual cyberpower, or the creation of new human capital in the community. However, our primary aim was through this investment in human capital -- in terms of our time and our money, as well as the time of the Spiders' community sponsors and parents -- to develop social and ideological cyberpower that would change the way technology

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was both used and framed in the African-American community.

The general way in which this goal was approached was to organize the Summer into three separate units, which occurred simultaneously throughout the 10 weeks the Spiders were employed with us:

- Individual Cyberpower - formalized and over-the-shoulder (Twidale, 2000) instruction and work in new technologies and technological skills (digitization, website development, wikis, blogs, metadata, information management, video and photo editing);
- Social Cyberpower - Construction of the eBlackChampaign-Urbana digital library, web exhibits, interviewing and presenting of work at a conference of area educators; and
- Ideological Cyberpower - Weekly small group discussions on the larger issues framing this project (digital inequalities, fourth world, information age, digital history work, memory and identity).

The Spiders learned eBlackCU at a technical level (individual cyberpower), participated in the creation of a community website and the digitization of community memory (social cyberpower), and learned about the far-reaching societal changes contextualizing their work (ideological cyberpower). At the conclusion of the ten weeks, a public graduation ceremony was held for interns, family members and community sponsors during which they presented their work. The goal was to get them to take ownership of the project in a way that they could re-invest the different levels of cyberpower acquired in the project into the social networks within which they were strongly tied.

Previous research suggests there is a strong class element inherent in local campus-community engagement with youth, which also shaped this project. Reporting on these issues as they appeared in a paid youth opportunity program for low-income youth in the early 2000s at the University Krannert Art Museum, former Education PhD student Troy (Kamau) LaRaviere (2004) reported that:

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> [T]he youth participants in the program were paid and Krannert staff felt that this has a limiting effect, saying that the middle class white kids were in it for the intrinsic value of it, while the poor black kids where in it for the money.

This insight suggests the importance of fully incorporating class understanding into the design of campus-community youth programs, especially when the University may be seen first as a source of a paycheck and only second as a source of education.

Despite this observation, I found all the youth interns, who came from both working class and lower-middle class backgrounds, to all be deeply engaged with the project's goals. Exit interviews revealed that the interns felt most engaged when they could clearly see before their eyes the community impact of their work. One intern noted:

> I definitely enjoyed collecting the oral histories the most. It was one of the most personal things that we did - actually talking to people. I liked the interactions and the way we had to rely on the people we were interviewing because they had something we really needed, you know, we really wanted their information that they had. And I liked the personal manifestation of history with so many things to talk about. And it was just fun to sit down and have those conversations.

Although for much of the Summer the interns were in the lab working hard on digitization, acquiring technological skills and editing photos and video, when the interns went out to do field-work at the Urbana School District's American History Teachers Collaborative or the North First Street Oral History Day they all expressed pride in their accomplishments and having something concrete to contribute.

However, this sense of pride was occasionally hampered by moments of disorganization throughout the Summer. Since the Spiders program was not proposed until mid-March 2010, and not fully organized until after the program had already begun, the interns could sense the disorganization of the program, which negatively impacted their sense of pride in being project participants. Fortunately, however, the funding agency that released monies for the first year of

eBlackCU project development have awarded us a second, smaller grant for year 2011. So in good action research fashion we have the opportunity to iteratively feed results from one cycle of project development into a second cycle.

The interns reacted positively, however, to serious intellectual discussion on technology and their own lives. For example, during a discussion of Patrick Finn's "powerful literacy" (2009) we interrogated the different levels of technological education that different students had received at a variety of schools in Champaign-Urbana. The one intern from the University Laboratory High School, recognized as being one of the most elite public high schools in the country (Mathews, 2009), pointed out that in her Freshman year she was required to take an in-depth technology course aimed at increasing technological literacy across all levels. She was later expected to use these skills for concrete, project-based learning, creating a periodic table accessible on an iPod, for example, and creating a radio documentary on discrimination in athletics. The youth in the city public schools were amazed at this level of work. The remarked that in their schools technology was primarily associated with business and science training, and not for communication, as it was at the University Laboratory High School. We then used this discussion to talk about how institutions such as the University of Illinois were informatizing across all levels, including its elite high school, yet digital divides could be perceived locally along class and ethnic lines that we challenged the interns to work to address.

Work and analysis also focused on history, historical consciousness and how digital technology could democratize the means of production of historical narratives and digital archives. The two most substantial historical projects completed during the summer were websites on the history of North First Street as an African-American business district and on the

Park Street Mural, a Black Arts Movement mural created in 1978 by local artists. None of the youth had any real consciousness of either of these histories before beginning the projects. Their work entailed digitizing and amassing primary source material (clippings, photographs, texts) and creating oral histories with individuals who lived the histories discussed. Involved at all levels of production, the interns made the contacts to recruit informants and designed the websites that would house their amassed material. This digital work was greatly facilitated by having on our project team a digital media student from Parkland College, who brought with him the technical skills to provide over-the-shoulder mentoring to the other interns. The experience of helping the other interns also made him re-think some of his ideas about technology. In his exit interview he noted that "[The other interns] might want to help other people as well with technology," illustrating that the cycle of community mutual help around technology had filtered into his thinking about technology and technology education.

Finally, in addition to these specific projects, the interns also provided labor in eBlackCU's mass digitization efforts to make available online the primary source documents of local African-American history located in public CMOs. Throughout the Summer nearly 149 specific items were added to the eBlackCU digital library, a 175 percent increase on what was available before the Summer began. Furthermore, these were substantial texts, with roughly 16760 pages digitized throughout the Summer by the interns. This work was done on a shoe-string budget. Rather than use very expensive equipment, we used $100 flat-bed scanners installed at a local church computer lab and a standard office photocopier with a built-in scanning function. This simple set-up was chosen in part because our goal was to develop something that could be adopted by any type of community institution. In addition to scanning these items, the interns

were also responsible for post-digitization file management, including processing of files in

GIMP and Adobe Acrobat Pro, uploading the files to the eBlackCU library, and adding

appropriate metadata using the Dublin Core metadata standard that is built into the Omeka

Content Management System. In summary, the goal was to effectively provide robust and

comprehensive training into what it takes to launch a digital library in the real world. I hope

these skills will be transferable, or at the very least provide the interns with the self-confidence to

tackle other technical tasks that may present themselves in the future, either in their lives or in

the lives of individuals to whom they are connected in their social networks.

Based on exit interviews and the interns' final presentations at the Champaign Public Library

for family and friends it appears this goal was met. Although the interns acknowledged where

their technical skills were deficient (which can in fact be interpreted as a positive since it

indicates awareness of what still must be learned), all the interns reported increased self-

confidence with technology. One of the interns, who was graduating from high school and

preparing to serve as an Americorps intern in Clarksdale, Mississippi, expressed optimism about

using technology in her field-work during this program. Others expressed an interest to

investigate technology course offerings both in high school and college. One of the interns, who

grew up in Rantoul but spent much of his time in Champaign-Urbana to attend community

college, expressed an interest in developing something similar to eBlackCU for his home

community.

Despite this excitement and energy at the end of the intern program, we can also critically

analyze some of the program's failings. Firm plans were not set in place to actively involve the

interns in the project following the completion of the internship. As the school year began and

interns and the project director became enmeshed in the school cycle it became difficult to find ways to sustain the energy of the Summer into the school year. One way to analyze this deficiency is from the perspective of leadership. Although the interns were put through a rigorous training program, not enough was done to prepare them to serve as independent technological leaders, or cyber-organizers, in their own social networks, where they could not count on having the group supporting them. We hypothesize that the momentum of the Summer dissipated because of the inability to maintain this strong support network through the transition into the school year.

Finally, economics must be incorporated into the analysis of the Summer program. Especially for those youth who were from more modest backgrounds, the economic aspect was critical. We only had funds to pay the interns through the Summer. Although it was clear that the interns enjoyed their work, it was far less clear that they would be willing, or able, to do this work without a paycheck attached to it. Indeed, near the end of the internship two of the interns approached me to inquire if there would be any funding to continue to pay them through the Fall. At a time when jobs were scarce for everyone in Champaign-Urbana, the association between eBlackCU and jobs hampered the development of a voluntary Spiders group following the completion of the paid internships.

5.6 University-Community Relations

Around mid-February the eBlackChampaign-Urbana project began addressing the strained campus-community relations which our project inherited. Recognizing the large amount of energy and desire on-campus to do good works in the community, my adviser and I saw it as imperative not to ignore this historical context. Rather, we addressed it by organizing a series of

meetings, primarily aimed at graduate students doing research in the local community, to discuss

how their research could be better synthesized and aggregated to institutionalize report-back

mechanisms to the community. This report-back was designed to address the suspicions of

community members that, as one informant put it at a public March 2010 meeting, "people from

over there [the University] come here all the time with this or that study, but we never see

anything come of it."[10] We recognized immediately that this history was in fact a key constituent

in the historical evolution of the local African-American community, and needed to be directly

addressed in our digital collaborative on community history.

During meetings with graduate students from the University of Illinois doing research in

the local community we first had to confront the fragmented ad-hocracy that we argue

characterizes the disaggregated nature of campus-community engagement. The fragmented

adhocracy is a theory of management proposed in the early 1980s by Richard Whitley to describe

the uncoordinated state of management studies, and later re-applied to the emerging community

informatics discipline (Stillman and Linger, 2009). Whitley's description of the fragmented

adhocracy maps closely to our observations on the state of campus-community engagement and

research in the African-American community of Champaign-Urbana:

> This sort of scientific field is characterized by a high degree of task uncertainty and a low degree of coordination of research procedures and strategies between researchers and research sites. Research in these fields is rather personal, idiosyncratic and open to varied interpretations. Scientists do not have to produce specific contributions that fit in to those of others in a clear and unambiguous manner but rather make diffuse contributions to broad and fluid intellectual goals which are contingent upon local exigencies and environmental pressures. The political structures of fragmented adhocracies are pluralistic and shifting with dominant coalitions being formed by temporary and unstable groups controlling resources and charismatic reputational leaders. Intellectual problems, objects and procedures are formulated in everyday language and communication between researchers is not very standardized or formalized. (Whitley, 1984)

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10 Notes from a meeting at Douglass Branch Library, March 15, 2010.

By mid-February 2010 I had already uncovered twenty different and disconnected ongoing projects involving some kind of research and/or service-learning and on-campus graduate students working in the local African-American community. But in my initial attempts to unite this grouping of individuals I received criticism for attempting to create such unity without deep community involvement at all levels. It seemed as though the line between activist and intellectual had been completely blurred and the ad hoc arrangement prevailed, or, in other words, the graduate students were so caught up in being activists they didn't, or couldn't, step back to analyze the larger structural forces surrounding and shaping their work in the community.

One of the findings of the eBlackCU project has been that community-based research rarely acknowledges all the other community-based research occurring in the same community. I hypothesize analyzing the different networks and research projects ongoing in particular communities could represent the overlaps and silences in community-based research, community by community. This work, as an archival function, could support making archives into what Iacovino (2009) calls "arsenals of accountability" for historically marginalized communities.

In any case, it became clear from these monthly meetings that there was a strong level of disorganization, disunity and lack of accountability regarding campus-community engagement. In such a situation anyone could do almost anything. There were no real mechanisms to ensure accountability for the community. This observation was bolstered by our research. We uncovered four historians, at both the junior faculty and PhD level, who at various points over the last forty years (one in the 1970s; one in the 1980s; one in the 1990s; and one in the 2000s), had done research on local African-American history. However, despite sparse records of these research projects in local CMOs, none of these four individuals had left behind any real texts from their

work or what they uncovered. All four were e-mailed to see if they had any texts they could send us (all four are now tenured or junior faculty at different colleges and universities across the country), but none had anything to send us. This culture of doing something and not leaving anything behind appeared to be endemic to the campus-community research environment.

Out of these early meetings my adviser and I developed the idea of a print volume bringing together documentation of all recent campus-community engagement and research, as well as selected historical texts documenting the campus impact in the community over the twentieth century. I was able to identify, through web searching, citation tracking and blast e-mails, individuals from roughly 80 different projects, from all across campus, that had some kind of foot-print in the local black community. In the cases where individuals simply did not get back to us even after repeated e-mails and phone calls I was still able to find public domain documentation of their projects online that was included in the volume for the sake of completeness. This volume, which developed throughout the entire year, reflects the actual-virtual-actual cycle wherein the actual disorganization of campus-community engagement is mediated through the ability of digital technology to bring information together and finally out-puted as actual print text that will endure and can be distributed to people's offices and bookshelves. Ideally this cycle would repeat. However we have thus far not found any campus unit willing to embrace this model as an institutional function of University of Illinois public engagement. As historical context to this present situation, Maynard Brichford (1967), the first University of Illinois archivist, had attempted something similar in the late 1960s, but he too was unable to get any traction at the administrative level to have a publication of this nature become recurring,[11] suggesting that this problem is not without its own history worthy of further research.

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11 Personal communication, May 2010.

This type of publication is especially pressing in the informatics moment, in which public land-grant universities are re-inventing themselves as informaticized institutions (Forrest, 2006). As part of this transformation, the land-grant tradition of institutions such as the University of Illinois, which revolutionized agriculture in the twentieth century, needs to be re-thought for the Information Age. Part of re-thinking this transformation requires firm knowledge of what the University is already doing in low-income communities struggling to stay connected to global transformations. Furthermore, individuals doing this type of research must find ways to feed that research both into communities and into the research literature.

Meetings to organize graduate students doing some form of community-based research in the local African-American community began in February 2010 and were held each month in February, March, and April, and again in September 2010. In addition to these meetings there was also a group formed in February 2010 that emerged under the banner Campus-Community-Computerization Committee (or C-3) that had as one of its purposes to find ways for the Campus and Community to work together around embedding computing into community life in the African-American community. These C-3 meetings were held in February and March 2010, and again in August and September 2010.

As the year developed, we saw the idea of holding a campus-community Symposium as a powerful way to build unity around the need to work together to improve campus-community relationships and engagement, especially technological engagement. As the Symposium began to develop we tried to gather together interested individuals into a campus-community committee to plan the event. These meetings were held from May to October 2010, on a monthly basis. Data on attendees is included in our meetings spreadsheet in Appendix 2 although this information is

incomplete. Minutes or notes of most of these meetings are included in the project archives. One trend that can be seen from the data is the lack of consistency among attendees as these varied meetings wherein there was often extreme variation in who came from meeting to meeting. In this start-up phase of the project it became difficult to hold and sustain individuals' attentions with the vagaries involved in an action research project. The project team internalized these findings and following the November 5 and 6 Symposium a firm and closed C-3 Committee emerged to meet weekly to plan and organize logistics for the January 8 follow-up meeting.

5.6.2 Descriptive Statistics from Community Engagement @ Illinois

The data-table for campus-community engagement has 62 entries for projects represented in the book *Community Engagement @ Illinois*, and an additional 18 entries for projects contacted but which did not submit material for our deadline, for a total of 80 entries. These entries represent ongoing and/or projects completed within the last three years with some form of engagement in the local African-American community. The sample does not include one-off volunteer projects, either individual or as part of a group effort, although this phenomenon certainly constitutes part of the University's local engagement. For example, the Illini Medical Screening Society, an undergraduate student organization, held blood pressure screenings at Salem Baptist Church and New Hope Church in North Champaign in Spring 2009. Although important, I would not describe such a one-off volunteer event as a project.

Table 17 represents the source of projects, reporting on whether or not the projects emanated out of administrative units of the University, faculty projects, graduate or undergraduate research and service, and/or staff initiatives. We differentiate administration and staff by the academic/nonacademic hourly pay differential that structures the hierarchy of University

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positions. Academic hourly positions are classified as administration; nonacademic hourly are classified as staff. As can be seen, projects emanate almost equally from faculty and administrative initiatives, with the combined student project number (22) very nearly equal as well. The outlier is staff projects, which at only 3 represents the smallest number in the total, despite the fact, reported in the 1972 *Report on Higher Education Public Responsibilities in the Black Community* that most local African-Americans who are employed at the University of Illinois are employed in nonacademic hourly staff positions (Pisciotte and Gove, 1972). It is clear from this table that despite the recommendations of this 1972 report the University has not yet found a way to make its local engagement take advantage of this "community in the University" to lead community engagement.

Source of campus community engagement	Number of Projects
Administration	32
Faculty	27
Graduate Students	16
Undergraduate Students	6
Staff	3
TOTAL	**80**

Table 17: Source of campus-community engagement, by title of project director. Source: Community Engagement @ Illinois Data, Appendix 2.

Table 18 represents the type of engagement. For the sake of simplicity I have come up with three codes: service, research and service-learning, with service-learning initiatives falling somewhere between service and research. Over fifty percent of efforts are service projects. This trend suggests there is room for more rigorous research on local issues facing African-Americans.

Type of campus community engagement	Number of Projects
Service	43
Research	19
Service-learning	16
TOTAL	**77**

Table 18: Type of campus-community engagement. Three projects had an unknown orientation. Source: Community Engagement @ Illinois Data, Appendix 2

Funding source of campus community engagement	Number of Projects
None	32
Grant	24
Internal	24
TOTAL	**80**

Table 19: Funding source of campus-community engagement. Source: Community Engagement @ Illinois Data, Appendix 2.

Table 19 reports on how these different projects were funded. "None" represents no special budget allocated to this projects, the most common situation for student research and for service-learning courses, which rely on unpaid student labor for completion. This voluntary engagement is the most common type. "Grant" represents some form of grant, either from one University unit to another or from some external granting agency funding the engagement projects. "Internal" represents a budgeted line item in a University unit's budget for engagement. This type of engagement is the most common type of engagement for administrative engagement and the work of "Community Outreach" and/or "Community Engagement" coordinators in units such as the Krannert Center for Performing Arts, Illinois Public Media, Department of Urban Planning, Office of Equal Opportunity and Access, Department of African-American Studies and other units which have budgeted into their internal functions paid administrative engagement positions.

Table 20 represents the ethnicity of the directors of the engagement projects. African-

Americans constitute just under 50 % of project leaders. Whites constitute just over 40 % of project leaders, with Asians and Latinos each accounting for roughly 4 % of project leaders. This table makes clear that although African-Americans are heading a majority of engagement projects in the African-American community, there are also many other individuals, of diverse backgrounds, leading these projects. Investigating the motivations of project directors would in and of itself be a topic worthy of further research.

Ethnicity of campus community engagement director	Number of Projects
African-American	39
White	33
Asian	3
Latino	3
Multiple	2
TOTAL	**80**

Table 20: Ethnicity of campus community engagement director. Source: Community Engagement @ Illinois Data, Appendix 2.

Campus Affiliations of Engagement Projects	Number of Projects
Professional Education	50
Non-Academic Units	25
Liberal Arts (excl. African-American Studies)	19
African-American Studies/Cultural Center	18
Science and Engineering	1
TOTAL	**113**

Table 21: Summary table of campus affiliations of engagement projects. Many projects had multiple on-campus affiliations, which is way the total is above 80. For full table see Appendix 1: Table A2. Source: Community Engagement @ Illinois Data, Appendix 2.

Table 21 includes University affiliations of engagement projects. In the absence of a formal survey, this chart was composed based on material either submitted to the eBlackCU project and/or found on the Internet. Any errors in the data are my responsibility, and I welcome

corrections. The full data-table is in Appendix 2. This table shows that campus-community engagement in the black community is ubiquitous across the campus. Nonetheless, one can see the domination of this engagement by professional education, such as in Library and Information Science, Education, Social Work, Urban Planning, and Law. The under-representation of scientific and engineering fields in the sample illustrates that this is a sector of campus that could participate more in local engagement in the African-American community. One interpretation of this data is that engagement efforts are dominated by either service-units of the University and/or departments that engage in professional education and thus have an imperative to place their students in real-world contexts, often in the local context. We can note the relative under-representation of high-technology units of the University, as well as the traditional academic core of the University, in campus-community initiatives. Future research could attempt to parse out of this data a correlation between presence or absence of African-Americans in these fields, as both faculty and students, and presence of engagement projects in the local African-American community.

Table 22 attempts to report on public partners of campus-community engagement. This table requires more fleshing out and research. As I built this table I relied on whatever information was submitted to the project or I was able to find on the Internet. Public partners were not always explicit from this information. Follow-up surveys would make this data more complete. Nonetheless, despite this data's incompleteness one can notice some trends. For example, the dominance of projects focused on youth suggests a trend. One finding from this table is that despite the ubiquity of campus-community engagement, it appears to cluster predominantly around certain sectors of community life, as opposed to engaging throughout the entire

community. Future research should investigate this finding in more detail.

Community Partner	Number of Projects
Unknown	35
Youth	28
Government	15
Social Services	8
Labor/Economic Development	8
Cultural Memory Organizations (incl. Libraries)	8
Community	7
Activists	7
TOTAL	**117**

Table 22: Summary table of community partners in engagement projects. Total is above 80 as many projects have multiple community partners. See Appendix 1: Table A3 for full Table. Source: Community Engagement @ Illinois Data, Appendix 2.

5.7 UC2B and Community Technology Development

The final section of this report focuses on how the eBlackCU project contributed to the black community's ability to have its voice heard and responded to by the decision-makers of the $30 million UC2B, BTOP project to build high-speed Internet in their community. In the context of this project I will analyze how eBlackCU's digital memory work enabled the project team: to move from a few small toe-holds in the community established in Spring 2010 to the whole, or at least a substantially larger sample of the, community; to create actual change through reaching out to actual individuals represented in this digital library and honor their accomplishments; and to create a symposium in which community voices could discuss digital technology in a public forum with powerful community members in the audience.

Although the lead up to this symposium took place throughout the year, most of the work leading into the two-day Symposium occurred following the completion of the Spiders internship

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program in mid-August 2010. Small meetings on- and off-campus with individuals interested in the Symposium were held between May and October 2010 to bolster momentum and recruit on- and off-campus partners interested in making the event a success. Furthermore, my ethnographic participant observation in the inchoate online networks being created by local African-Americans enabled the eBlackCU team to mobilize existing digital resources to reach out to interested individuals. In addition to this digital outreach, mobilization also occurred through the distribution of three print newsletters in the weeks leading up to the Symposium at local businesses, media outlets, churches and governmental offices. This distribution was facilitated and augmented by the campus and community individuals who had begun to see the value of our work and worked to support it.

However, there was not immediate positive feedback and mobilization behind the idea of the Symposium. We countered criticisms from some that a symposium was "too academic," "too formal," or too "outside of normal community life," by pointing out that at least two local African-American churches had mounted three grassroots conferences during the past year: Canaan Baptist and Glory Center International. Our persistence behind the idea of the symposium as a valuable mechanism to powerfully bring people together from a variety of perspectives and places in life around technology and campus-community engagement won over people. The final, and perhaps most important, tool used to bring people to the event was to honor local difference makers in the African-American community. Based on research in digitized material in the eBlackCU digital library, 103 individuals were selected to be honored at the Symposium with a commemorative collective biography booklet, certificate and copy of *Community Engagement @ Illinois* (described above). Names, brief bios and photographs of the

awardees were announced once a day in the week preceding the Symposium on Facebook --
building momentum into the event. I hypothesize that this publication, based on the contacts and
knowledge amassed in the process of creating the eBlackCU digital library and the historical
research it required, tapped into the African-American community's collective memory of a
strong, unified black community that oral history suggested existed in the past, yet was presently
frayed.[12]

This mobilization led approximately 244 individuals from across the campus and across the
community to come to the eBlackChampaign-Urbana Campus-Community Symposium (see
Table 24), where across two days discussions were organized around campus-community
engagement and digital technology in community life. The full audio-visual-pictorial archive of
the event is also freely accessible online at http://www.eblackcu.net/portal/symposium/. As noted
above over 600 individuals have visited this Symposium site. Some of the themes that emerged
out of the event were general confusion about the variety of ways the campus engages with the
local African-American community; struggles by community members to find ways to integrate
technology into their various community organizations; and desires by many to work together to
incorporate technology into community life. 130 individuals signed a manifesto (Appendix 2) in
which they committed themselves to work together to bridge digital divides and end digital
inequalities in the local community. Getting people literally on the same page through this
manifesto is one of the ways I can demonstrate the cyberpower of the eBlackCU project. See
Table 23 for the numbers of individuals from different sectors of the local society that signed the
manifesto. One can see that although individuals from higher education were most likely to sign
a manifesto, commitments were also received from throughout civil society.

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12 Personal communication with Danny Walker, September 2010.

Category of Manifesto Signer	Number of Signers
Higher Education	41
Community	40
Government/Social Service	19
Culture and Media	11
Youth Organizations	9
Activists	8
UC2B	4
TOTAL	**130**

Table 23: Summary table of signers of the eBlackCU manifesto. The goal of this manifesto is to get the Champaign-Urbana community organized around technology and the future of the community. Full text of Manifesto in appendix. See Appendix 1: Table A4 for full table. Source: Manifesto Signer Data, Appendix 2.

The Symposium, especially the second day of the Symposium, also offered a platform for local community organizations to express frustrations and successes with digital technology in a public forum. Powerful individuals in decision-making roles regarding technology infrastructure, and UC2B in particular -- but also city and county government and University of Illinois administration -- heard what was going on from the community point of view in relation to technology. See Tables 24 and 25 for the numbers of individuals from different sectors of society who attended both the November 5-6 Symposium and the follow-up January 8 event. The ambiguity around the affiliation of event attendees illustrates a gap in the data I hope to fill in for future research. One can see that although "community" was most common type of attendee at both events, the percent of community attendees jumped from 42% to 59% from the November 5 and 6 Symposium to the January 8 event. This trend illustrates growing community mobilization around technology. We can also see UC2B moved from the bottom of the list in Table 24 to the third place in Table 25, illustrating a growing discourse between the community and UC2B.

By targeting individuals and institutions located and identified through the process of

bringing together information in eBlackCU we were able to bring together a body of individuals who in their day-to-day lives would have little opportunity to network and discuss. Out of these discussions we can point to a successful, largely independent, program oriented out of the historically African-American churches of Champaign-Urbana in which the ministers signed a letter pressuring UC2B to funnel some of the funds to be collected through broadband subscriptions in North Champaign back to their churches, which sustain community life in the local African-American community. We term this mobilization of the community's collective memory of African-American unity cyber-resurrection. In other words, the mobilization of community collective memory for cyberpower and community building in the present.

Figure 14: Photograph of Difference Makers at the eBlackChampaign-Urbana Campus-Community Symposium.

Collapsed Code of Symposium Attendee	Number of Attendees
Community	103
Higher Education	71
Culture and Media	18
Government/Social Service	17
Youth	15
Activists	11
UC2B	9
TOTAL	**244**

Table 24: Summary Table of attendees of the eBlackCU symposium. Individuals were not asked for their affiliations in signing-in, leading to the high level of ambiguity in this data. See Appendix 1: Table A5 for Full Table. Source: November 5-6 Symposium Attendee Data.

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A follow-up meeting to the symposium was organized for January 8, 2011, to focus on perhaps the most pressing issue in the local African-American community, jobs and technology. This follow-up meeting, although only three hours in length and featuring a much more muted advertising campaign -- as can be seen by the attendance of only one individual from culture and media -- still attracted approximately 100 people. At the January 8 meeting the ministers' group attended with the signatures of 14 ministers of historically African-American congregations to present their proposal to UC2B. Our intentions are to turn over the cyberpower this project has created to the emerging Community Coalition for Cyberpower, based on the committee that organized the January 8 meeting. The contacts we have amassed throughout our year-long public programming include an e-mail list of 1369 names. This information is available for this group to use in its follow-up community organizing around UC2B and community technology.

Collapsed Code of Jan. 8 Attendee	Number of Attendees
Community	40
Higher Education	9
UC2B	7
Government/Social Service	4
Youth	4
Activists	3
Culture and Media	1
TOTAL	**68**

Table 25: Summary Table of attendees of the eBlackCU January 8 Meeting on Technology and Jobs. Note that in this table "community" was assigned to all individuals of unknown affiliation. Also note that due to the chaotic set-up of this event a large under-count occurred. We estimate based on head counts and the video record that in reality approximately 100 individuals attended this meeting. See Appendix 1: Table A6 for Full Table. Source: January 8 Attendee Data, Project Archives.

CHAPTER 6

FINAL ASSESSMENT: RESEARCH TOPICS

Before advancing to future research, we will present a final assessment of the four research topics analyzed throughout the eBlackChampaign-Urbana Project, followed by an autoethnographic assessment. Preceding the narrative assessment of these topics is a table, Table 26, presenting positive and negative assessments, as well as future work.

Topic	Positive	Negative	Future Work
Afro-Am Independent Curation	Disaggregated resources now more accessible; Digital Library used by many	Digital Library contributed to by few	More education and workshops and institutionalization of Spiders
Local CMOs	Eyes opened to larger documentary universe beyond specific repositories; Contribute to need to digitize holdings	Still not connected and unified around role of cultural heritage in digital inequalities	More work to embed eBlackCU model into functions of local CMOs
UI Tech Engagement	Publication of work creates unified portrait of engagement; reaches leaders on campus and in community	Still fragmented adhocracy	Need to do more to institutionalize report-back to community for accountability
Community and Tech.	Unified at eBlackCU events; Ministers' letter; Coalition Committee functions	Need to move from talk to action and community ownership of technology	Continue mobilization in follow-up large and small meetings

Table 26: Final assessment of research topics shaping study.

African-American independent community curation of cultural heritage information.

Although it became clear from meetings with community individuals that some people in the community (as well as former community residents) had already started to use the eBlackCU digital library as a valuable information source for downloading information, it was far less clear that the site would also serve as a platform for independent uploading and curation of local

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cultural heritage information. An anecdote illustrates this dilemma, and the need for stronger

education and cyberorganizing to address it: A middle-aged African-Americn woman who

regularly posted photos of community events to ShutterFly and Facebook independently found

information about her late father, an important pastor in the community, in our digital library. She

e-mailed me to ask if she could post some of her own personal archives to our database, which I

enthusiastically supported. However, instead of using the contribution plug-in in the eBlackCU

database -- http://eblackcu.net/portal/contribution -- that allows anyone to add to the collections

she instead uploaded some of her archives to Facebook and then e-mailed me so that I could re-

post it to eBlackCU. This anecdote illustrates that issues of technological literacy and

technological comfort are enormous issues that must be addressed to close the divides between

the development of open-source platforms for collaborative community archives and actual

community uses of digital technology. Nonetheless, our data shows that many in the community

are using our digital library, and *are* using technology, indicating that education programs around

the library in the future could begin to address these issues.

Cultural memory organization curation of African-American information. The results of

eBlackCU's impact on this topic are also mixed. Although the one CMO that started this project,

the Early American Museum and its Doris K. Wylie Hoskins Archive for Cultural Diversity,

currently completely depends on the eBlackCU digital library to make its collections available

online, the impact on other CMOs has been less profound. Some of the CMOs questioned the use

of digital technology in a community where digital inequalities are quite pronounced. Although

the eBlackCU approach was that CMOs can in fact play a role in ending digital inequalities

through responsible uses of digital technology in collaborative digitization and educational

programs, this message was not completely received, accepted or adopted. Nonetheless, through

our organization of meetings around eBlackCU I believe we have opened local CMOs eyes to the

complex, inter-connected universe of community documentation, including records, within

which they operate.

University of Illinois technological engagement in the African-American community.
Although the eBlackCU Campus-Community Symposium and *Community Engagement @*

Illinois book focused in part on this question, more research is required to address the splintering

effects of multiple projects operating simultaneously within the same community. More work is

also needed to bring about unity on the key issues facing that community through the creation of

an engagement agenda with everyone on the same page. Nonetheless, comments at the Campus-

Community Symposium, and afterward, appear to indicate that the idea of reporting back to the

community in an organized fashion has at least been planted as a goal. Furthermore, the fact that

this project was renewed for a second year of funding indicates that the project has achieved a

certain level of traction upon which future work can build to change campus-community

engagement for the betterment of both community-based research and the community itself.

African-American community participation in technology infrastructure development. The

connections made between historical information and the contemporary uses of technology in the

African-American community suggest that increased community participation in decision-

making is emerging. Numerous leaders in the community commented to me during and after the

symposium that they rarely had opportunities to network with other community leaders and/or to

find ways to work together, suggesting that the project at least succeeded at this level. Our ability

to get people from across civil society to show up to our meetings and discuss the issues at hand

demonstrates a level of cyberpower, which we hope to turn over to a community group to continue this mobilization around participation in technological infrastructure development.

Although the impacts made on the four topics framing this project have not been monumental, and future research is necessary to conclusively measure these impacts, I have succeeded in crystallizing some of the issues and creating some degree of conceptual clarity and unity that will serve both the research community and the local, historical, organic community into the future. I can also point to some additional positive outcomes from the project. Material which was previously disaggregated and inaccessible has now been combined and brought together. It has, or will shortly, be used in at least five courses (Ken Salo, Spring 2010; Amira Davis, Spring 2010; William Patterson, Fall 2010; Sang Lee, Spring 2011; Leonard Heumann, Spring 2011). Finally, a GSLIS Community Archives course in Spring 2011 will feature four GSLIS students participating in the eBlackCU project as part of service-learning requirements in the course. By being backed up offline at local CMOs, the library will remain as a resource for both University and high school-level instruction and research, as well as supporting genealogical research and community memory of both current and past Champaign-Urbana residents.

Finally, in the spirit of transparency, and since a recurring refrain in interactions with community members was that University people come into their community and take information but don't give really contribute, I will conclude with an explicit assessment of what I personally got out of this project. In addition to the experience of project management in juggling multiple commitments, stake-holders and goals over a sustained amount of time, I also experienced the resiliency of the local African-American community in events such as Salem

Baptist Church's Family and Friends Day, the eBlackCU campus-community symposium, Champaign-Urbana Days and events of the National Council of Negro Women. I observed at these events that people are willing and interested in helping each other when opportunities arise in which they feel they can make a difference. Two community groups stepped forward to volunteer their time at our symposium to make it a success simply because they recognized the good we were trying to create. No one was being paid for their attendance and work at community meetings and events, both sponsored by eBlackCU and by community organizations.

In addition, I observed the technological literacy issues that must be addressed in the collaborative co-creation of digital archives and digital cultural heritage. Participant observation at community sites and with the eBlackCU Spiders made me aware of the very real digital inequalities that contextualize and must be incorporated into digital memory work, including digital community archives. This insight challenged some of the assumptions I had about archives, and what they could do, and what their role is -- in which technological education is almost never explicitly included -- prompting me to contextualize the archival and memory work of the project within the larger societal and technological changes ongoing in society. I myself learned new technological skills throughout the course of the year, learning on-the-fly about video editing, video format conversion, online video streaming and basic php and mysql programming. As I both learned new things, about archives, community and technology, and as I tried to teach those things I learned to others, the final, and perhaps most important, thing I gained from the eBlackCU project was an affirmation of the power and necessity of mutual help, especially based on bonding social capital, for sustaining communities, including archives in communities, across space and time.

CHAPTER 7

FUTURE RESEARCH AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Future Research

Recognizing the successes (and failures) made throughout the first year of development of eBlackCU I now turn to next steps. In terms of sustainability of the project I am trying to meet with organizations at their regular meetings, so as to embed our model into their organizations' functioning. For example I am are working to embed some of the Spiders functions in extant youth groups, such as African-American clubs at local high schools. Since I recognize that the eBlackCU project is finite, as are almost all campus-community engagement initiatives, this step must be taken. My orientation in year two will be towards stronger recruitment of organizations rather than individuals. I intend to financially and materially support community organizations, such as school, church or scouting groups, that would like to develop some sort of digital history project based on either their private archives or public CMOs. I will encourage them to use the eBlackCU technical infrastructure, with the goal being to support extant grassroots leadership rather than to try to create our own cyber-organizers whom realistically can not be supported beyond the duration of an internship.

The overarching goal of this project is to develop the best practices to move collaborative digitization beyond CMOs to include local, historical communities. In this process CMOs will have a more concrete role to play in community informatics and digital inclusion discourses. At the same time, however, I recognize that CMOs also have digital divides and more must be done to work with them to embed technology and technological education into their normal work-flows. This project also has, specifically, implications for University archives in thinking about

how they document Universities' foot-prints in the local communities they serve. Using the perspectives of societal provenance and co-creation will aid in this effort.

I also hope to do more to draw on citizen science frameworks (Hand, 2010) to think about the creation of information infrastructures that facilitate community participation in cultural heritage curation, for example the distributed indexing of Yearbooks and other cultural heritage information. A small citizen archivist movement has emerged in archival studies (Cox, 2009), but more must be done to build and sustian it.

A stronger response must also be developed to the Facebook dilemma and the question of the commodification of documentation, including records. As more and more communities gravitate towards Facebook and other corporate entities for the curation of their historical memory to investigations should look to what the responses of CMOs could be, and has been, to this development.

Future work can also more extensively utilize the data and project archive I have kept. The descriptive statistics of the project included in this report can be expanded upon through future cross tabulation and other visualization of data. From an analysis perspective, then, more work is to be done.

Future work will also lead to broader contextualization of this initiative. Work is underway to develop measurements on African-American cultural heritage institutions across the state of Illinois. Web searching and the mining of newspapers and directories of museums, historical societies, historic sites, archives, and libraries has produced a list of approximately 250 African-American cultural heritage organizations or projects across the state of Illinois. Future work will also extend this case study to compare African-American and Afro-Brazilian community curation

of cultural heritage information. Continued investigation of what is occurring around cultural heritage and technology at the grassroots of society is needed so that this particular case study can have a stronger impact in both theoretical and applied discourses.

Future work will also explore the context of this project within narratives of collective remembering and communities' knowledge of their pasts. Since at least the mid-1980s, the United States has had national conversations about Americans' knowledge (or lack of knowledge) about the past (Rozenzweig and Thalen, 2000). More needs to be researched about what community conversations are happening around community memory, archives, and record-keeping practices, especially in the Information Age. This research requires deeper study into vernacular understandings of archives and the impulses to hold onto and preserve community memory outside of mainstream cultural heritage institutions (Ruffins, 1992; Fabre and O'Meally, 1994).

This problem also touches on the emerging discourse of digital humanities. As alluded to earlier, there is the risk that digital humanities could exacerbate divides between academic and vernacular understandings of the past (VandeCreek, 2010). For example a December 2010 digital humanities conference entitled "Virtual Cities/Digital Histories" (2010) featured presentations from around the world on digital humanities projects using technology to visualize information on community histories. However, none of the projects featured made any attempt to involve current residents of those communities into their digital architectures. An exception to this trend is the work of Angel David Nieves' (2009) to involve the community of Soweto in his digital humanities project on the Soweto '76 Uprising. More research is needed to see how the tradition of publicly engaged historical scholarship will continue in the Information Age.

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Finally, future work will investigate how this project's mobilization around technology in the local African-American community will continue to affect policy developments around technology infrastructure, and UC2B's Big Broadband program, in particular. Future work will continue to both seek broader community mobilization and find the methodologies appropriate to measure this mobilization and its impact on policy makers and community unity.

Future work in 2011 and beyond, both by our project team and by individuals able to follow the documentation we have left of our project, will be able to continue the threads created and investigate their ramifications for: a) the professional development of archivists, librarians and museum curators in the digital age; b) the community informatics and cultural heritage research programs; and c) the continuity and transformation of the local, historical, organic African-American community in Champaign-Urbana.

7.2 Conclusions

Traditionally, collaborative digitization involves libraries, archives and museums working together to digitize cultural heritage information. This step is where traditional collaboration digitization ceases. However, the eBlackCU project took this model one step further. Community Informatics adds the perspective that digital memory work must support community self-determined needs rather than "siloing" memory from the complex realities of community life. eBlackStudies adds the activism around which community-based research must support ending digital inequalities that exacerbate historical inequalities facing African-American communities. With these perspectives informing the eBlackCU project, I moved collaborative digitization beyond CMOs to think about what community self-determined needs such work could support. The cyberpower of the ministers' letter to UC2B and the two symposiums was facilitated by

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digital memory work throughout the year. Although different communities may have different self-determined needs based on their unique socio-political characteristics, I nonetheless believe that libraries, archives and museums, aggregated into cultural memory organizations, will have an important role to play in the broader informatization of society. This research has investigated, through action research, what some of these roles could be.

As an experimental program based on the action research framework, this project ventured into unexpected terrain using the iterative feedback approach to research design. Although we did not initially budget into our grant proposal summer interns, we found that such a program would be essential to the success and sustainability of the program. Furthermore, after the UC2B above-ground grant was left unfunded, we saw the eBlackChampaign-Urbana Campus-Community Symposium as a critical element in ensuring the local African-American community maintained a voice in policy decisions regarding digital technology infrastructure development.

In conclusion, the eBlackChampaign-Urbana represents an experimental approach to bring the collaborative digitization paradigm -- which originated in the convergence of libraries, archives and museums around digital technology -- into local, historical, organic communities through the theories and methodologies of community informatics and eBlackStudies. This case study was in many ways a test-bed to experimentally investigate and develop, based on the existing literature, best practices that could be used in other communities and other CMOs to develop collaborative digitization programs in low-income, historically marginalized communities.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Full Tables Corresponding to Summary Tables in Text

Code of Giver of Positive Feedback	Collapsed Code	Number of Individuals
Youth Agency in Community (incl. Schools)	Youth	12
Cultural Memory Organizations	Culture and Media	9
UIUC Graduate Student	Higher Education	9
UIUC Faculty	Higher Education	8
Activist in Community	Activists	6
Government Official	Government/Social Service	6
Media	Culture and Media	6
University of Illinois Staff	Higher Education	6
Community Member (no clear affiliation)	Community	5
Social Service Agency	Government/Social Service	4
UIUC Undergraduate	Higher Education	4
UC2B Committee Member	UC2B	3
Parkland Student or Staff	Higher Education	2
Religious Institution	Community	2
Community Business	Community	1
Chinese Citizen	Other	1
Women's Organization	Community	1
TOTAL		**85**

Table A1: Number of coded individuals who gave positive feedback to project, either via e-mail or online contact form. Evidence of cyberpower of project. See Table 15 for Summary Table featuring the collapsed categories: Youth Organizations, Culture and Media, Higher Education, Activists, Government/Social Service, UC2B, Community, Other. Source: Feedback Data, Appendix 2.

Campus Affiliation of Project	Collapsed Code	# of Project
Graduate School of Library and Info Sci	Professional	13
College of Education	Professional	12
Department of African-American Studies	Afro-Am	10
Bruce D. Nesbitt African American Cultural Center	Afro-Am	8
Department of Urban and Regional Planning	Professional	8
Community Psychology, Psychology Department	LAS	4
English Department	LAS	4
College of Business	Professional	3
Office of Equal Opportunity and Access	Non-Academic	3
Office of Vice Chancellor for Public Engagement	Non-Academic	3
Social Work = Professional	Professional	3
WILL Illinois Public Media	Non-Academic	3
Campus Information Tech and Educational Tech	Non-Academic	2
Department of Human & Community Development; ACES	Professional	2
Department of Landscape Architecture	Professional	2
Department of Sociology	LAS	2
Ethnography of the University Initiative	LAS	2
History Department	LAS	2
Krannert Center for the Performing Arts	Non-Academic	2
School of Architecture	Professional	2
School of Art and Design	Professional	2
Division of Safety and Compliance	Non-Academic	2
Anthropology Department	LAS	1
Armory	Non-Academic	1
Business Innovation Services	Non-Academic	1
College of Engineering	Science	1
College of Law	Professional	1
Illinois Program for Research in the Humanities	LAS	1
Journalism Department, College of Media	Professional	1
Kinesiology and Community Health	Professional	1
Krannert Art Museum	Non-Academic	1
Office of the Chancellor	Non-Academic	1
Office of Volunteer Programs, Illini Union	Non-Academic	1
Office of Minority Student Affairs	Non-Academic	1
Osher Lifelong Learning Institute = Non-Academic	Non-Academic	1
Political Science	LAS	1
School of Music	LAS	1
Stewarding Excellencee @ Illinois	LAS	1
University Library	Non-Academic	1
UI Capital Programs and Real Estate Services	Non-Academic	1
University of Illinois Extension	Non-Academic	1
TOTAL		113

Table A2: Campus Affiliations of Engagement Projects. See Table 21 in text for the collapsed version of this table. Source: Community Engagement @ Illinois Data, Appendix 2.

Community Partner	Code	Number of Projects
unknown	unknown	14
No explicit partner	unknown	11
Don Moyer Boys and Girls Club	Youth	10
Multiple	unknown	10
Champaign Unit 4 School District	Youth	9
Champaign Park District	Government	7
C-U Citizens for Peace and Justice	Activists	5
City of Champaign	Government	5
Salem Baptist Church	Community	4
Urbana School District	Youth	4
Champaign County Historical Archives	CMOs	3
Champaign County Juvenline Detention Center	Youth	3
North First Street Business Association	Labor/Econ	3
City of Urbana	Government	2
Douglas Branch of Champaign Public Library	CMOs	2
Early American Museum	CMOs	2
Land of Lincoln Legal Assistance Foundation	Labor/Econ	2
United Way of Champaign County	Social Serv	2
Urban League of Champaign County	Social Serv	2
Bethel A.M.E. Church	Community	1
Books 2 Prisoners	Activists	1
C-U Area Project	Social Serv	1
Champaign County Black Chamber of Commerce	Labor/Econ	1
Champaign County Regional Planning Commission	Government	1
East Central Illinois Building and Construction Trades Council	Labor/Econ	1
Graduate Employees Organization	Community	1
Illinois Central Management Business Enterprise Program	Labor/Econ	1
League of Women Voters of Champaign County	Activists	1
McKinley Foundation	Social Serv	1
Mental Health Center of Champaign County	Social Serv	1
News-Gazette	CMOs	1
Parkland College	Social Serv	1
Peer Ambassadors	Youth	1
SisterNet	Community	1
Tap In Academy	Youth	1
Urbana Free Library	CMOs	1
TOTAL		**117**

Table A3: Community Partners in Engagement. See Table 22 for Summary Table, featuring collapsed categories: Youth, Government, Social Services (incl. government funded services), Activists, Labor and Economic Development, Community, Cultural Memory Organizations (incl. all libraries), Unknown. Total above 80 because many projects featured multiple partners.
Source: Community Engagement @ Illinois Data, Appendix 2.

Code of Manifesto Signer	Collapsed Category	Number of Signers
UIUC Graduate Student	Higher Education	25
Social Service Agency Representative	Gov/Soc Serv.	13
Religious Organization Representative	Community	12
Youth Organization Representative	Youth	9
Activist Organization Representative	Activists	8
Community Individual	Community	8
Unknown affiliation	Community	7
Women's Group Representative	Community	7
UIUC Undergraduate Student	Higher Education	6
Library Representative	Culture/Media	6
Media Representative	Culture/Media	5
Business Representative	Community	4
Government Representative	Gov/Soc Serv.	4
UC2B Committee Representative	UC2B	4
UIUC Faculty	Higher Education	4
UIUC Staff	Higher Education	4
Parkland Student	Higher Education	2
Technology in Community	Community	2
TOTAL		**130**

Table A4: Full Table of signers of the eBlackCU Manifesto. See Table 23 for Summary Table featuring collapsed categories: Youth Organizations, Culture and Media, Higher Education, Activists, Government/Social Service, UC2B, Community. Source: Manifesto Signer Data, Appendix 2.

Code of Symposium Attendee	Collapsed Code	Number of Attendees
Unknown	Community	49
UIUC Undergraduate	Higher Education	34
Community	Community	23
Religious Representative	Community	17
UIUC Staff and Administration	Higher Education	16
Youth Organization Representative	Community	15
Activist	Activists	11
UIUC Faculty	Higher Education	11
Social Services Organization Representative	Gov/Social Service	10
Media Representative	Culture and Media	9
UC2B Representative	UC2B	9
Women's Organization Representative	Community	9
Library	Culture and Media	9
Government Representative	Gov/Social Service	7
UIUC undergraduate	Higher Education	6
Business representative	Community	5
Parkland College Representative	Higher Education	4
TOTAL		244

Table A5: Full Table of coded numbers of attendees of the eBlackCU Symposium. See Table 24 for Summary Table featuring collapsed categories: Culture and Media, Youth, Higher Education, Activists, Government/Social Service, UC2B, Community. Source: November 5-6 Symposium Attendee Data, Appendix 2.

Code of January 8 meeting Attendee	Collapsed Code	Number of Attendees
Community	Community	24
Religions Institutions	Community	10
UC2B	UC2B	7
Technology Institutions	Community	4
UIUC Graduate Student	Higher Education	4
UIUC Staff	Higher Education	4
Youth Organizations	Youth	4
Activists Organizations	Activists	3
Government	Government/Soc.Serv.	2
Social Services	Government/Soc.Serv.	2
Business	Community	1
Media	Culture and Media	1
UIUC Faculty	Higher Education	1
Women's Organizations	Community	1
TOTAL		**68**

Table A6: Full Table of coded numbers of attendees of the eBlackCU January 8 Follow-Up
Meeting on Technology and Jobs. See Table 25 for Summary Table featuring categories:
Community, UC2B, Higher Education, Youth, Activists, Government/Social Service, Culture and
Media. Source: January 8 Attendee Data, Appendix 2.

Appendix 2: C.A.S. DVD

DVD features:
- Introductory Video
- Full data-tables in csv format
- Symposia documentation (including video)
- Texts produced by project
- Publicity and posters
- Digital exhibits
- Project archives finding aid

Content of DVD also available at: http://eblackcu.net/portal/items/show/861.

Noah Lenstra Curriculum Vitae

I. Educational History

A. Educational Background

2011, February, expected. University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign), Certificate of Advanced Study, Library and Information Science, Adviser: Abdul Alkalimat.

2009. University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign), Master of Science in Library and Information Science.

2007. University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign), Bachelor of Arts, English (minors in Geology and Portuguese).

B. Continuing Professional Development

2009, Records Management for Archives. Two-day Society of American Archivists pre-conference workshop, Austin, Texas, August 9-10.

C. Honors, Certificates, and Outstanding Achievements

2010, Selected for Best Paper Award, 5th International Conference on Cooperation and Promotion of Information Resources in Science and Technology (COINFO 2010): Information Sharing in U-Era, Beijing, 27-28 November.

2010, Fall. Conference Travel Award, Graduate College, University of Illinois.

2010-2011, HASTAC (Humanities, Arts, Science and Technology Advanced Collaboratory) Scholar.

2010, Community Informatics certificate, Community Informatics Initiative, GSLIS, UIUC.

2009, Special Collections certificate, Midwest Book & Manuscript Studies, GSLIS, UIUC.

2009, Social Justice Award, GSLIS, UIUC.

2009, Beta Phi Mu, International Library & Information Studies Honor Society, inductee.

2007, Phi Beta Kappa inductee.

II. Publications and Research

(* = peer reviewied)

A. Certificate of Advanced Study Project

Project Title: eBlackChampaign-Urbana: Social Capital and Community Archives (expected defense: February 15, 2011). Committee: Abdul Alkalimat (Chair), Kate Williams, Anne Gilliland (UCLA). DRAFT at: http://www.eBlackCU.net/cas.

B. Publications

*2012, (in progress). "Brazilian Archives in a Global Context: A History of Foreign 'Missions' to Brazilian Archives by European and North American Archivists." *American Archivist* Special issue on Latin American and Latin American diaspora archives.

2010, (edited) *Community Engagement @ Illinois: Connecting Research and Service*. http://hdl.handle.net/2142/17462.

2010, (edited) *Difference Makers 2010*. Champaign: eBlackChampaign-Urbana. http://hdl.handle.net/2142/18077.

2010, with Abdul Alkalimat. "Webliography of African-American Champaign-Urbana," *CI Lab Note* 12.http://hdl.handle.net/2142/17435.

C. Conference Proceedings and Presentations

*2010, "The history and future of local history infrastructure: Open access and Commodification of local history in the United States and the Anglosphere," Paper presented at The 5th International Conference on Cooperation and Promotion of Information Resources in Science and Technology (COINFO'10): Information Sharing in U-Era, Beijing, China, November 27-29, 2010.
[Selected for Best Paper Award. Versions of paper also presented at Peking University (November 30) and Renmin University (December 1), both in Beijing]. http://hdl.handle.net/2142/17434.

2009, "Data Curation and GIS in Municipal Governments," presentation at Illinois GIS Association meeting, April 28-29, Champaign.

2008, "Service Learning & Archives Education," Presentation as part of panel entitled *From Student to Professional: What Schools Can Do to Prepare Future Archivists*, Midwest Archives Conference, April 17-19, Louisville, KY.

2008, "How Does Off-Campus Service Learning Affect the Campus Climate at University of Illinois?" Panel presentation at the Race, Diversity and Campus Climate Conference sponsored by the Center on Democracy in a Multiracial Society at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, April 10, 2008.

2005, "Combining Geodesy with Seismology in the New Madrid Seismic Zone," Presentation at Research Experience for Undegraduates (REU) Annual Conference, Mid-America Earthquake Center, Reno, Nevada. http://mae.cee.uiuc.edu/graduate/slc_online_magazine_2005_november.html.

D. Posters

*2010, "eBlackChampaign-Urbana: Data Curation Meets Community Informatics," Digital Curation Conference, Chicago, December 6-8, 2010. [Submitted as peer reviewed paper, rejected, re-submitted as poster]. http://hdl.handle.net/2142/17439.

2010, "eBlackCU: A Collaborative Portal on African-American Experiences in Champaign-Urbana," Presented at eChicago2010, April 30-May 1; 2010 GSLIS Research Showcase, April 9; and UIUC Public Engagement Symposium, March 3.

2009, "Finding a Sustainable Place for Archivists within the American Library Association: A Historical Investigation," Society of American Archivists Research Forum, August 11, Austin, TX, http://hdl.handle.net/2142/16601.

2009, (with SAA student chapter), "A New Community Partnership: The UIUC Student Chapter and the Frances Willard Memorial Library and Archives," Society of American Archivists Graduate Student Poster Session, August 13, Austin, TX. http://hdl.handle.net/2142/17411.

2008, (with SAA student chapter), "SAA UIUC Student Chapter: At Home and On the Road," Society of American Archivists Graduate Student Poster Session, August 28, San Francisco. http://hdl.handle.net/2142/17410.

E. Book Reviews

Forthcoming, *Mídia cidadã : utopia brasileira*. (ed. José Marques de Melo; Maria Cristina Gobbi; Luciano Sathler). Reviewed for *The Journal of Community Informatics*, special issue on Community Informatics in Brazil.

2010, *Archives and Archivists in Twentieth Century England*, Elizabeth Shepherd. Reviewed for *Archival Issues: the Journal of the Midwest Archives Conference*.

2009, *What are Archives? Cultural and Theoretical Perspectives: a reader* (ed. Louise Craven). Reviewed for *Archival Issues: the Journal of the Midwest Archives Conference*.

F. Grants/Funding Received

2011, $12,000. (with Abdul Alkalimat). Office of the Vice Chancellor for Public Engagement Grant, University of Illinois. "eBlackChampaign-Urbana: Using Spiders to Build Webs of Digital Memory."

2011, $1000. (with Sharon Irish and Anke Voss). Center for Advanced Study/MillerComm Lecture application to bring Andrew Flinn, University College London Information Studies Faculty, for guest lecture on Community Archives and Activism.

2010, $20,000. (with Abdul Alkalimat). Office of the Vice Chancellor for Public Engagment Grant, University of Illinois. "eBlackCU: A Collaborative Portal on African-American Experiences in Champaign-Urbana."

2009, $500. (with Adriana Cuervo). University of Illinois Library Small Marketing Grant. "Sousa Archives and Center for American Music Traveling Poster."

2008, $500. (with Kaitlin Costello). Illinois Program for Research in the Humanities Reading Group Award. "Archives, Community, and Use."

G. Articles in Professional Newsletters

2010, "Student Gets Creative To Tough Out a Rough Economy," Up and Comers Column, *Midwest Archives Conference (MAC) Newslette*r, vol. 38, issue 2: 23-25.

2008, "'Mining' the Web for Primary Resources on Midwest Mines and Miners," Webliography, *Midwest Archives Conference (MAC) Newsletter,* volume 36, issue 1: 22-23.

2008, "University of Illinois Students Create Bridge to East St. Louis," *Chapters & Loose Papers*, student newsletter of the Society of American Archivists, volume 2, issue 2.

H. Invited Lectures

1 March 2011. "eBlackChampaign-Urbana and Community Informatics: Using Technology and Information to Connect and Empower" YWCA Know Your University lecture series. http://www.universityymca.org/kyu/.

17 February 2011. "Current Topics in LIS: A Graduate Student Panel" Panel, Mortenson Center for International Library Programs for visiting South African librarians. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

23 September 2010. "eBlackChampaign-Urbana: Community Archives and Social Capital." Presentation for LIS581: Archives Administration, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

III. Service (Public Engagement, Professional/Disciplinary, and University)

A. Public Engagement

2011, Martin Luther King Community Culminating Celebration Committee, January 22, 2011, Krannert Center for the Performing Arts

2010, eBlackCU: A Collaborative Portal on African-American History in Champaign-Urbana.
Duties: Served as project director. Hired and supervised six high school and community college age summer interns. Met regularly with community groups to involve them in the process of building the eBlackCU portal. http://www.eBlackCU.net.

2008-2010, Volunteer, Champaign County Historical Archives, Urbana Free Library.
Processed community newsletter collection. Appraised and processed defunct community organization database.

2007-2008, Volunteer, Books 2 Prisoners.
Created volunteer resource guide; assisted in management/promotion of book sale.

B. Service to Disciplinary and Professional Societies or Associations

2010-2011, Member, Membership Outreach Committee, Midwest Archives Work Group.

2010, Program Committee Member and Chair Student Interest Sub-Committee, Midwest Archives Conference Meeting, Chicago, April 22-24.

July 2009 to present, Museums at the Crossroads: Museums in Champaign County, Sousa Archives and Center for American Music representative.

Peer reviewer for: *The Journal of Community Informatics*.

C. University Service

2010-present, Research Member, Community Informatics Research Laboratory, GSLIS, UIUC.

2009-2010, C.A.S. Student Representative, GSLIS Curriculum Committee.

2009-2010, President, Society of American Archivists student chapter.

2009, (with Emily Shaw), Designed and installed Eloisa Cartonera/Dulcineia Catadora exhibit for Marshall Gallery, University of Illinois Library.

2008-2009, Treasurer, Society of American Archivists student chapter.

C. Professional Association Memberships

Society of American Archivists (since January 2008)

Midwest Archives Conference (since January 2008)

Illinois Library Association (since January 2009)

American Library Association (since January 2009)

IV. Professional Experience

A. Professional Experience (Archives and Libraries)

2009 - 2010, Lawrence King Special Collections Graduate Assistant, Music and Performing Arts Library, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Library.
Duties: Processing archival record groups, Reference Desk, Strategic Planning for Special Collections.

2009, Intern, Early American Museum, Champaign County Forest Preserve District, Mahomet.
Duties: Supervise hiring of interns and processing of Doris K. Wylie Hoskins Archive for Cultural Diversity.

2009. Alternate Spring Break, Smithsonian National Museum of American History Archives Center.

2008 - 2010, Graduate Assistant, Sousa Archives and Center for American Music, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Library.
Duties: Processing archival record groups, Exhibit design and installation, Reference, Supply Ordering.

2008. Alternate Spring Break, Missouri History Museum Library and Research Center.

Fall 2007/Fall 2008/Spring 2010, Graduate Hourly Employee, Community Informatics Initiative, GSLIS.
Duties: Assist adjunct professor Anke Voss in curriculum development to incorporate community archives into an introduction to archives course and a newly developed Community Archives course.

2007 - 2008, Research Assistant, East St. Louis Action Research Project, UIUC.
Duties: Collaborated with Katherine Dunham Centers for Arts & Humanities in East St. Louis in emergency preservation tasks and rudimentary inventorying of collection. Recruited and led groups of students volunteers to help with project and provided tours of Dunham Centers' Museum.

2007 - 2008, Graduate Assistant, Monograph Cataloging, University of Illinois Library.
Duties: Copy cataloging of general collection books, with a specialization in Latin American monographs. Developed and began implementation of metadata clean-up project for Spanish Civil War digital collection compiled from material from the Rare Book & Manuscript Library using ContentDM.

B. Professional Experience (Language)

Spring 2010/Fall 2010, Graduate Hourly Research Assistant for Dr. Joseph Love, Interim Director, Lehmann Institute of Brazilian Studies, UIUC. Duties: Assist Dr. Love in checking sources for manuscript on Chibata Naval revolt in early twentieth century Rio de Janeiro.

Winter 2006, Translator for Professor Emeritus of Geography, Donald L. Johnson. Duties: Translate scholarly articles from Portuguese to English for publication: *Landmark Papers in Biogeomorphology* (D.L. Johnson, ed.), in prep.

2006-2008, Officer, Luso-Brazilian Association UIUC registered Student Organization.

C. Offices Held in Professional Societies

August 2008-August 2010, Newsletter Editor, Latin American and Caribbean Cultural Heritage Archives Roundtable, Society of American Archivists. http://www.archivists.org/saagroups/laccha/newsletters.htm.

D. Skills

Technical: Functional knowledge of XML and use of DTDs, especially EAD (Encoded Archival Description). Basic ability with FORTRAN computer language and XHTML, javascript, CSS and ability with UNIX and LINUX; Windows 9X/2000/XP/Vista/7; and MacOS 9.X/10 operating systems, and associated programs. Ability to initiate and maintain websites, blogs, wikis and associated applications. Working knowledge of Omeka, ContentDM, Archon and Voyager Cataloging. Working knowledge of Dublin Core, AACR2, MARC21.

Languages: Writing, Reading and Speaking ability in English and Portuguese; reading and conversational Spanish.