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CHANGING ROLES FOR A SETTLEMENT HOUSE
IN A NEW ENGLAND CITY: 1965-1990

A Dissertation Presented

by

GORDON P. HARGROVE

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

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School of Education

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CHANGING ROLES FOR A SETTLEMENT HOUSE
IN A NEW ENGLAND CITY: 1965-1990

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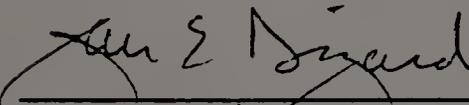
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DEDICATION

This dissertation, which has been so much a part of my life and work, is dedicated to Byrd L. Jones. Byrd is my mentor, my consultant, my friend.

I have worked with him from the time I entered the University in 1981. During the years, Byrd has been an unending source of support, not only for my graduate program but for my work at Friendly House as well. Byrd was more than generous with his time even though we may have strayed to issues relative to the Agency or a family who was struggling with the day to day realities of poverty.

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I have been privileged to know and to have worked with Byrd L. Jones.

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ABSTRACT

CHANGING ROLES FOR A SETTLEMENT HOUSE IN A
NEW ENGLAND CITY: 1965-1990

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Today inner city neighborhoods seem more threatened by poverty and lack of civil order than at any time since the beginning of the century. Many families confront of hunger, homelessness, sickness and a lack of support on a daily basis. For over a century, settlement houses or neighborhood centers have responded to these needs while, contending with funding, staffing, and changing urban landscapes.

This study investigated the transition of one settlement house located in a New England city from 1965-1990. Specifically, this investigation describes the response, during this critical time, to these challenges by the staff and leadership of Friendly House, located in Worcester, Massachusetts.

An ethnomethodological approach was adopted. The data provided the history and the achievements of Friendly House and the base for possible comparison and contrasts between

the Agency and other similar neighborhood centers. This descriptive case study was written by the Director who has had close and prolonged contact with Friendly House.

The research questions focus upon the central theme of agency responsiveness to multiple social service requests from a rapidly challenging urban clientele.

The results of the study suggest that the most effective and efficient means of delivering services to individuals and families who reside in impoverished inner city neighborhoods is through the settlement house model.

Friendly House provides appropriate neighborhood-based services in a nonformalized atmosphere. The Agency affords the opportunity for an individual to be seen and talked to about his or her entire life situation in a setting close to home. Moreover, Friendly House can support at-risk families and offer a secure environment for their vulnerable children.

Strategically located in a diverse, low-income neighborhood, Friendly House linked residents with central and public agencies. By continually seeking new sources of funding, Friendly House has adjusted to needs while remaining true to its settlement house roots.

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C H A P T E R I

PERSPECTIVES ON SETTLEMENT HOUSE ROLES

This case study focuses on the response to these challenges by Friendly House staff and leadership from 1965-1990. During this critical period the people in the community served by Friendly House continually developed new needs: new groups arrived, some residents became isolated, relationships and interactions evolved, and public interests shifted. On a continuing basis, Friendly House faced new challenges to obtain local, state, and federal funding.

This in-depth case study of a single social service organization attempts to identify issues central to successful evolution of a multifaceted neighborhood center/settlement house. Specifically, the study involves the intensive examination by the Executive Director of Friendly House, Inc., Worcester, Massachusetts. The primary focus of this study is "changing roles for a settlement house in a New England City: 1965-1990."

Friendly House, Inc., a settlement house located in the Grafton Hill section of Worcester, Massachusetts, is an example of an agency that sustained positive growth while facing constant challenges. This case study is of a neighborhood-based organization over a period of 25 years from 1965 to 1990. Friendly House was originally founded in 1920 to provide comprehensive neighborhood-based services for families. This study focuses on the extraordinary

energy shown by the staff and the neighbors that sustained the goal during the past 25 years.

In adjusting to new ethnic groups, new needs, shifting resources, changing public attitudes, shifting roles of neighborhood institutions, and increasing competition for funding, Friendly House drew on its history in the Grafton Hill neighborhood(s) since 1920. Founded as a settlement house and supported initially by philanthropic women's groups, Friendly House had evolved by 1960 into a fairly typical youth recreation center servicing a neighborhood in Worcester, Massachusetts with a staff of one professional director, eight part-time recreation leaders, and about 50 volunteers.

Locally, community groups and organizations compete with each other for inadequate human services and community development support. In addition, many social and economic solutions lie beyond the capacity of a single organization or even a single community. Currently, settlement houses seek to alleviate homelessness, family violence, unemployment, teenage pregnancy, substance abuse, inadequate health care, and hunger within a context of recession and diminished opportunities for those in the bottom half of society.

As of 1990, settlement houses/neighborhood centers were challenged by eroding public support for human services. Severe cuts in human service budgets at all levels of

government coupled with an emphasis on program monitoring and "proper" fiscal management created an uncertain environment for settlement house directors, staff and the people they serve. An "environment of scarcity" produces organizational instability, personnel losses, and reduced services or diminished quality (Dluhy, 1990, p. 10). Yet poor communities have a continued need for support that fits their specific needs and draws the large community together.

Roles for Settlement Houses

By virtue of their location and basic philosophy, settlement houses/neighborhood centers are able to provide needed programs, to advocate for the poor, and to urge policies that relieve specific causes of poverty. As social workers demonstrated during the settlement house era, one of the principal trademarks of the profession is a simultaneous concern with individual well-being and with environmental or systemic factors in the whole urban environment.

The settlement or neighborhood center works with entire families, both nuclear and extended, as an integrating force for the families and the neighborhood it serves. Robert L. Bond (1990, p. 55), listed key attributes of a settlement or neighborhood center:

It is rooted geographically in a neighborhood, or group of neighborhoods, frequently called a district. It seeks to develop the potential of its neighbors through empowerment or self-help programs. It first seeks to obtain the services needed by its neighbors from public and voluntary agencies or bodies, before directly providing

these services. It relates the neighborhood to the city, the state and nation, and sometimes the world community.

It is concerned with the entire family and each of its members. It seeks to provide opportunities for each individual to realize his or her potential for a full life through self-direction and growth.

Settlements have often recognized and supported the various "pathways" for the delivery of effective services and have determined the obstacles that hindered the delivery of services to the neighborhood. Knowing the most appropriate times for providing service to a segment of the neighborhood's population is as important as understanding a city-wide improvement program. Settlements have recognized various ethnic groups that reside within the neighborhood, and have identified the formal and informal leaders.

The settlement house may be conceptualized as the bridge between the neighborhood of alienated poor and the uninvolved, misinformed non-poor (Green and Zurcher, 1969). The basic question, then, concerns the kinds of services families and individuals should receive, the appropriate techniques to deliver these services and the role the settlement house plays in "bridging" the service "gap." Can indigenous people see a positive change in their lives as a result of the "decentralized" services made available through the settlement house? Can community agencies and individuals gain access to people in need through settlement

houses rather than single purpose agencies or the present welfare system?

A settlement house "bridges lines of race, religion, national origin and socio-economic status-consciously seeking to improve relationships among people of different backgrounds through individual, group and inter-group experiences" (Bond, 1990, p. 55). In essence, the settlement house becomes the "link" between the residents of the neighborhood, many of whom are alienated and poor and uninterested, misinformed, or uninvolved individuals and formal agencies. It is imperative, therefore, that the neighborhood center is seen as belonging to the neighborhood--not an isolated output of the city government or of philanthropic (and often patronizing) groups.

Challenges for Settlement Houses

Historically, many settlements engaged in social action and political reform. Early history in the twentieth century, strongly urged reforms of social injustice and the promotion of the "common welfare." In particular, Jane Addams of Hull House in Chicago, influenced the course of social welfare and the quality of life in the settlement neighborhood and in the entire country. Shifting demographics, changing funding patterns and professionalism have moved settlements from social action to programming designed to meet specific needs.

Selected program specialization has also replaced generalized family and neighborhood services once offered by many settlements. H. Daniel Carpenter (1990, p. 7) notes that funding skews services:

Real neighborhood needs are ignored in the efforts to obtain categorical government funding. Thus, settlements are less able to adapt to the changing needs of their neighborhoods, less able to share solutions to pressing neighborhood problems, less outspoken about policies that deny opportunities to all, regardless of their backgrounds.

On a daily basis directors face a variety of staffing issues. The problems of recruitment, retention, adequate compensation of qualified staff and work atmosphere all require multifaceted approaches. Low pay and uncertain support discourage professional staff and training staff from seeking employment in neighborhood-based organizations.

Presently, many employees of settlement houses suffer from a sense of powerlessness based on their connection to disadvantaged populations. In addition, a sense of powerlessness is reinforced for many minority staff members by their general lack of status in society. To counteract this sentiment, directors must develop a milieu that emphasizes "an individual's attainment of political and even manipulative skills so as to change organizations" (Brilliant, 1986, p. 327). A "blending" of professional and lay expertise is critical in the development of solutions for neighborhood problems.

Over the past decade, many directors opted for a controlling management/administrative style--a style based on a business-oriented prototype (Hopps, 1986). Their agencies come to resemble public welfare offices in which paper work and bureaucratic routines are more important than people's needs. Yet informality and weakening atmosphere may overwhelm agencies that always lack resources to meet everyone's needs.

Leadership implies a commitment to empower poor and disadvantaged people and to help staff improve the quality of life in our neighborhoods. As poor neighborhoods experience social and economic decline, middle class residents move out. Consequently, many urban areas are now experiencing a growing concentrations of poverty and physical deterioration. In "homogeneously" poor neighborhoods, people are exposed to adverse social and physical environments and isolated from positive role models. Poverty then becomes the predominant status in a neighborhood and affects all who live in its midst (Wilson, 1987; Coulton, Pandey, & Chow, 1990).

In 1990, inner city neighborhoods seemed more threatened by poverty and lack of civil order than at any time since the beginning of the century. Problems that are broadly characteristic of many neighborhoods in large urban cities in the United States include: inadequate and substandard housing, inadequate financing and staffing for

schools, high delinquency and crime rates, widespread unemployment and underemployment, air and water pollution, drug abuse, family dissolution, homelessness, and economic dependency of a large segment of the population--especially female-headed households (Peterson, 1985).

In 1990, the poverty rate increased dramatically while the incomes of Americans declined--"2.1 million more Americans were living in poverty in 1990 than in the previous year" (De Parle, 1991, p. 1). The poverty rate reflects the percentage of Americans living below a threshold of minimal need, estimated at \$13,359 for a family of four. In 1990 the poverty rate rose to 13.5 percent, higher than at any time during the 1970s. "The poverty rate for whites rose to 10.7 percent, from 10 percent, for Hispanic people the figures rose to 28.1 percent from 26.2 percent. The rate for Blacks remained the highest of three groups at 31.9 percent" (De Parle, 1991, p. 85).

Compelling evidence of future problems is the growing number of children in poverty. Since 1974, children have been the poorest age group in the United States (Katz, 1989). Poverty among children is highest within central cities. Twenty-nine percent of all children less than eighteen years of age, or twenty-two percent of White children and forty-four percent of Blacks, live below the poverty line. Seventy percent of Hispanic children with a

single female head of household were at or below the poverty level (Bureau of Census, 1989).

Families with children are the fastest growing subgroup among the homeless population. Approximately 225,000 school-aged children are now homeless. Nearly 65,000 do not attend school on a regular basis. Further, more than 100,000 children live in shelters while 118,920 children stay with relatives or friends or live "elsewhere" (Reed & Sautter, 1990).

In a chilling account, Kevin Fedarno (1992, p. 21), described the life children led in a northeastern city:

Like children everywhere, Camden's young make wish lists, but their wishes are different from most children's. They wish they knew their fathers' faces and not just their names. They wish for something better for their own kids, which many of them already have. And they wish they didn't have to dodge the gunfire of drug battles in their neighborhoods.

Poverty brings human stresses for many. Poverty means social isolation, alienation, withdrawal, effective denial and engaging in dysfunctional networks. The residents of neighborhoods with high concentrations of poverty have little contact or interaction with individuals or families with a stable work history. They lack decent housing, effective schools, and healthy recreational opportunities. They seldom have frequent or sustained contact with friends or relatives in the more stable areas of the city or in the suburbs (Wilson, 1976). Many social scientists believe that the aforementioned conditions result in a sense of

individual helplessness and a feeling of despair and estrangement from society.

Informal networks or the systems of relationships among family members, friends, and neighbors for support are an important resource to people in emergencies. Informal helping relationships in and of themselves, especially in inner-city, low-income neighborhoods are limited solutions to the crisis in public support for basic human services. Often these networks are small and fragile and may already be fully tapped. These networks have eroded with the cuts in benefits for the poor and failed social policies of the 1980s (Katz, 1989).

According to Lipsky (1980, p. 27), most social service executives believe they lack sufficient resources:

"Resources are chronically inadequate relative to the tasks workers are asked to perform." Further, "when additional services and/or resources are made available, the demand will increase to consume them" (Lipsky, 1980, p. 33).

There remains the enduring dilemma of social service delivery, whether through private charity or public programs to the poor: No one should go hungry or be without a place to live. Yet no one should be totally dependent on the "system." Resources are finite and neither the public or private sector have delivered them in the quantities that are needed or expected (Katz, 1989). An outsider might conclude that the middle class would not allow anyone to

starve but would make charity as demeaning and uncomfortable as possible.

Effective neighborhood solutions must somehow draw strength and support from those areas that are most effected--the neighborhood grassroots level. Poor people lack access and information about the distant forces that affect their lives and have diminished political voice. Yet they can join in local betterment efforts and establish pride in their accomplishments. The ongoing challenge for settlements is to facilitate local self-help while preventing emergencies from overwhelming individuals and families.

Statement of the Problem

Founded in 1920, Friendly House, settlement house, in Worcester, Massachusetts has reduced the human deprivation found in the Grafton Hill neighborhoods. Settlement houses/neighborhood centers serve a diverse poverty populations in multiple ways. Because services have to reach an increasing number of diverse people with a multiplicity of problems in inner-city neighborhoods, there is a need to understand how some agencies succeed in responding to the needs of their target areas and populations.

The United States has always had ambivalent attitudes toward poor and dependent people. Their preferred solution has been a mix of public and private support with the

rhetoric of a decent safety net but a reality of near deprivation. The outcome is reluctant support ostensibly intended to encourage work and self-responsibility--although the ill, aged, children, and caretakers of children are unable to earn even a poverty level income.

Since the Great Depression, periods of rapid economic growth has brought employment for more people, displacements are of shorter duration, family and informal support networks are strengthened, and both private and public support exists for welfare and programs aimed at reducing dependency. Problems of poverty led to positive programs and optimism prevailed in the late 1960s.

Since 1973, economic growth in the United States has stagnated. In the 1970s inflation seemed the problem, followed by two severe recessions at beginning and end of 1980s. A dominant conservative ideology has blamed problems on too much government and too secure a safety net. That political climate has marked funding opportunities for neighborhood centers.

The 1950s were a quiet period with economic growth, diminished immigration and private contributions, followed by rising to expectations in 1950s and 1960s of African American and other ethnic groups, a federal War on Poverty that continued well into the 1970s though with diminished enthusiasm. Then in the 1980s came a phase of resistance to taxes, bigotry against new immigrant groups from Asia and

Latin America, and a political rhetoric hostile to those in need.

The challenge for Friendly House was to rise to each challenge--each new need and opportunity for positive programs--without losing sight of its fundamental mission as a settlement house serving people in a particular neighborhood or losing fiscal control as funding rose or fell unexpectedly. In Worcester, those challenges compounded by new neighbors--mainly Puerto Rican and southeast Asian who had no historical connections with Friendly House. The transitions were eased by Friendly House's history in the Wall Street area, its support from United Way and a board of concerned citizens, its linkages with other public and private agencies (including schools), and its staff who responded to each challenge with responsible programs and a caring attitude.

Moreover, directors are responsible and accountable for the distributions of public and private funds, are required to know poor families and neighborhoods. They must assess who is the most "deserving," in the greatest "need" or who will "benefit" the most from these limited dollars. Directors also represent the needs of poor neighborhoods before governmental agencies and private donors. Unfortunately, not all neighborhoods are equal in development and political priority. Thus, directors are torn among management accountability rules and a commitment

to social change demonstrated through a commitment to community development.

The neighborhood approach to social problems by an organization that is "there" may, depending upon one's goals and philosophy, be successful, whether the final goal is social control or social change. Neighborhoods are closest to grass roots concerns. This closeness may be used to foster the development of social change or it may choose to deter movements toward greater social control. Each agency makes that choice!

Further, many agencies are finding it necessary to provide more services to more multiproblem clients despite level or even reduced funding. Community needs are continuing to rise resulting in many stressful situations for human service providers. A major question involves the impact of the current budget crisis on the quality and quantity of services that can be delivered. In addition, many "front-line" service providers receive reduced support by virtue of the population served.

Directors face multiple roles that continually threaten their tenure because appropriate behaviors must match the task at hand. Communication--with powerless and powerful--raise daily questions of language and tone. It is harder to be friendly to the poor and tough with the powerful than the reverse. Professional knowledge and fiscal accountability conflict with responding to needs of those whose problems

fall into several program areas. Being overwhelmed by problems, directors often find themselves stretched too thin. Additional tensions ensue when they are confronted with deciding between service or advocacy.

Each dilemma has to be treated in its immediate context. There are no general rules other than sustaining overall effectiveness of the agency. While that rule has most visible application in fiscal accounts and not burning bridges to power groups in the community, its most important application is to be able to respond to neighborhood needs for shelter, food, and a center for personal and community development.

Significance of the Study

There are several reasons for conducting this research at this time. First, the research will contribute to the advancement of the settlement house movement in the 1990s. Second, other settlement houses may use this material in assessing their present overall programming. Finally, this research will contribute to the application of qualitative research within the neighborhood center system. Particular attention will be on relations with other agencies-- national, state, and local.

This case study will attempt to reveal some general facts about a social institution through a detailed examination of the actions of a number of individual program participants. In particular, the research focuses on one

agency's response to issues of homelessness, hunger, ethnicity, and neighborhood. The study presents a series of vignettes, reviews the rationale for those approaches, and seeks to draw conclusions in response to specific questions and issues raised in related literature about settlement houses, poverty, social work, organizational management and community development.

Present neighborhood centers/settlement houses are faced with declining public support, states' budget crises and increasing attempts at privatization. One needs to be able to examine successful programming, at a time when many social welfare agencies are failing and demands for service are increasing at a significant rate.

Trolander (1987) suggests, that settlements, as instruments of reform, are no longer effective. She maintains further that the settlement house movement has declined in influence and prestige and in fact, their time may have passed. Today's neighborhood centers bear little resemblance to settlement houses of the early 1900s. Although many modern settlements are difficult "to distinguish from a host of other varied agencies that have no common settlement heritage. . . and the movement as such is only a shadow of the past" (Trolander, 1987, p. 241), the question remains: Are settlements relevant given the realities of today's world?

"From its beginnings," observed Trolander (1989, p. 18), the settlement house approach to social reform has generally been a cooperative, consensus-building one that utilizes established channels. The tendency to emphasize cooperation may have been due to the fact that settlements were, historically, a mixture of well-to-do board members and contributors, middle-class staff, and lower-class clientele. Settlement house workers consciously desired to build bridges among the different urban classes that had lost touch with one another as people separated into class-stratified neighborhoods.

Traditionally, part of this cooperative approach also placed the settlement worker in the role of interpreter of the poor to the well-to-do and the larger community. With metropolitan areas divided into generally affluent suburbs with limited needs for social services and urban centers with poor people and a high need for social services, there is a growing need for agencies that can bridge these gaps.

Research Questions

How has Friendly House, in light of dramatic neighborhood changes and funding shifts, continued its successful operation? Many settlement houses have failed or lost their multiple roles within a neighborhood. By 1989 fewer than 60 settlements were active in the United Neighborhood Centers of America. Friendly House stands out as an exception to that pattern. While always falling short

of community needs, Friendly House evolved and grew in response to new conditions.

Obviously any organization's success depends on many factors: its staff, board leadership, neighborhood and community support, funding, mission, and goals. Typically, organizations evolve through periods of stability followed by crises and strategy and structure refocusing. One way to examine success factors would be an historical account of programs, people, and problems. A chronological account might capture the dynamics of shifting mission and funding sources, provide details about hundreds of programs and thousands of personalities who shaped Friendly House during those years.

An historical recounting, however, would entail millions of complex details without much significance to outsiders. The staff has had experience with multiple crises over the years, each challenging the organization's capacity to respond. An account of leadership perspective might read like the "Perils of Pauline" with dramatic rescues followed by fresh disasters. The details and cast of characters would require more than a weekly serial to cover the period from 1965 to 1990.

Accordingly, this study is arranged around certain themes--history, homelessness, hunger, and personal crises. Based on a preliminary account of Friendly House and its recent history in Worcester, a number of possible

explanations were developed. These items were found in settlement house literature and seemed appropriate for a more detailed examination. The following issues were used as probes to develop further specific questions: the importance of face-to-face relationships; utilization of new knowledge and social techniques; decentralized services close to individuals in need; cultural activities and creative uses of leisure time; neighborhood input into planning and execution of programs; and a match between demands and resources.

This study will address the following subsidiary issues of management and leadership drawn from social work literature and studies of poverty intervention organizations and social change:

A. Social isolation and the lack of appropriate or functional networks for poor people;

B. New demographic patterns, funding sources, political perspectives, and national trends; and

C. Low morale in the national settlement house movement.

The primary question remaining is why has Friendly House experienced continued success? Intuitively that depended on how all the parts worked together to serve multiple community needs. "The broad question of a research project can," according to Bohr (1991, p. 63), "be operationalized in a series of sub-questions." Further, Yin

(1990, p. 76) maintains that "the heart of the protocol is a set of substantive questions reflecting the actual inquiry."

The following questions were formulated as an informal protocol for collecting information:

1. How does Friendly House serve as one of the few agencies in contemporary society that is not wholly formalized, bureaucratized, or "channelized"--an agency that offers a personal face-to-face relationship in which an individual can be seen and talked to in his or her entire life situation?

2. How does Friendly House offer a sense of identification, a sense of self-worth, and a sense of stability to its service recipients?

3. How does Friendly House afford opportunities for experimentation in the use of new knowledge and social techniques for dealing with social problems?

4. How does Friendly House provide decentralized services to people who need help in areas close to their homes?

5. How does Friendly House help directly or indirectly to promote cultural activities and ways of using increasing leisure time creatively?

6. How does Friendly House involve neighborhood residents in the planning and execution of its programs?

7. How does Friendly House maintain a continued level of support to respond at a pace consistent with the demands of the neighborhood(s)?

Methodology

As a research strategy, a case study design was selected to match the nature of the phenomenon and the purposes of this particular research project. This study will seek to explain and understand the specific features that existed for Friendly House during a critical period of time. In examining a complete social unit that functions within the larger society a case study approach is appropriate. "When the goal of the research is to study intensively, the background, current status, and environmental interactions of a particular unit, it can be classified as a case or generalized case study" (Grosf and Sardy, 1985, p. 112). They identified a number of major applications of the case study approach:

Case and generalized case studies can be extremely useful as preliminaries to major investigations: because they are intensive, they may bring to light variables, processes, and relationships that deserve more extensive attention. Often they are the source of hypotheses for further research. . . and they provide anecdotal evidence to illustrate more generalized findings.

A case study characteristically does not focus on any particular type of evidence and its findings will lack generalized applicability. The case study, however, encourages conjecture and further exploration. "Case studies," according to Bohr (1991, p. 76), "are best at

examining a contemporary phenomenon in its real life context, particularly when boundaries between the phenomenon and its context are unclear and when multiple sources of information are used."

Case studies allow an "investigation to retain holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events--such as individual life cycles, organizational and managerial processes, and neighborhood change" (Yin, 1990, p. 14). Further, studying and comparing leadership of a number of settlement houses/neighborhood centers must be tailored to a particular center's strategies and goals. Research must take into consideration the time period and the location of the center. Needs, conflicts, and evolution of local communities vary from place to place and over time. Generalizations gained from this research to include neighborhood houses serving varying populations in other geographic locations must be made cautiously (Green and Zurcher, 1969). Consequently, this study is not intended to be a recipe that can be applied anywhere at any time.

This study, like Roland Barth's (1980) account of his role as Principal of the Angier Elementary School in Newton, Massachusetts, is an examination by one leader about one organization in one section of the country. It is written from the point of view of a practicing director, based on immediate knowledge of the motivations and intentions of major policy decisions made over the past 25 years.

Although leaders may offer self-serving accounts that emphasize their perspectives and insights, they also can accurately reflect that personal knowledge which outsiders can only intuit. Structured interviews will be the exception rather than the norm. Interviews are an important data gathering technique. "Interviews explain and put into a larger context what the ethnographer sees and experiences. Ethnographers use interviews to help classify and organize an individual's perception of reality" (Fetterman, 1989, p. 50). Although there are a variety of interview techniques, informal interviews and retrospective interviews will be used for this study. Informal interviews, the most common in ethnographic work, merge informal conversation with specific questions.

Retrospective interviews will be used to reconstruct the past. Similar to Glasgow's (1981) decision to be a participant observer because of his subjects' attitude toward research, much of the work will "be on the run" or result from spontaneous situations, permitting a more natural communication. The main goal then of the research will be to capture the essence of the experience as completely as possible.

Yin (1990, p. 87) maintains that "for many case studies, archival records also may be relevant." He cited:

service records, such as those showing the number of clients served over a period of time;
organizational records, such as organizational charts and budgets over a period of time;

maps and charts of the geographical characteristics of a place;
survey data such as census records or data previously collected about a "site;" and
personal records, such as diaries, calendars, and telephone listings.

For this study, the author has maintained a collection of documents such as funding proposals, evaluations from various funders, neighborhood surveys, audit reports (especially management letters), financial and programmatic reports, personnel policies, newspaper clippings, and minutes of Board meetings. Documents may provide important details about a research site. Bohr (1991, p. 70) notes that "documents provide a written record from which to partially reconstruct historical sequences of events to some degree than can provide insight into the perceptions and thoughts of those who write them."

In September, 1974, the Public Relations Committee of Friendly House "requested" Gail Farnsworth, a University Year for Action intern, to assess the existing Friendly House programs in light of neighborhood needs.

In 1983, Friendly House commissioned Peter Fellenz of Haviland Associates to survey "from a poverty perspective" the residents in the Union Hill service area. The 42-page report on "People in Poverty" provides a graphic interpretation of needs and services of the six neighborhood served by Friendly House. In August, 1990, the City of Worcester's office of Planning and Community Development (OPCD) mandated Friendly House, Inc. to pursue the

integration of social services in the central corridor of Worcester by helping agencies work more collaboratively with existing neighborhood centers in planning "base line" services to residents. Friendly House, in turn, commissioned the Center for Organizational and Community Development (COCD) at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst to assist in the study.

Archival records for this study were retrieved from a variety of sources including the Worcester Public Library, the Worcester Historical Society, United Way of Central Massachusetts, the American Antiquarian Society, the files of Friendly House, and private individuals. In most cases, the archival evidence was relevant; however, the author noted a number of inconsistencies especially when the Agency's location was concerned. Yin (1990, p. 88), however, advises researchers to "carefully ascertain the conditions under which archival evidence was provided as well as the accuracy of the evidence."

Van Maanen (1988, p. 45) believes that "the most prominent, familiar, prevalent, popular, and recognized form of ethnographic writing is the realist account of a culture--be it a society, an occupation, a community, an ethnic enclave, an organization, or a small group with common interests." The true test of ethnography lies in whether or not the ethnographer is able to accurately interpret and anticipate what goes on in a society or social group as

appropriately as one of its member. In that sense, good leadership and good ethnography may share similar skills.

In addition, the author will recreate several vignettes based upon recent interactions with needy people in the neighborhood. The people who speak in this study reveal themselves during one particular time in their lives. People must not be identified or labelled as hungry or homeless or dysfunctional. They come with their life histories. Further, people should not be stereotyped because of their race, creed, or color.

Whythe et al. (1989) believe that science is not achieved by distancing oneself from the world; as social scientists have recognized the greatest conceptual and mythological challenges come from the engagement with the world. Consequently, they argue for the practical value of participatory action research as a powerful strategy to advance both science and practice.

Biklen and Bogdan (1982) summarize the task of presenting results from a qualitative research study as follows:

A good qualitative paper is well documented with description taken from the data to illustrate and substantiate the assertions made. There are no formal conventions used to establish truth in a qualitative research paper. Your task is to convince the reader of the plausibility of your presentation. (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982, p. 177)

There are three separate aspects of the one data collection process which are carried on simultaneously:

recording, validating, and data analysis (Dobbert, 1982, p. 42).

Initial data are recorded; validation processes suggested the need for further collection to confirm already gathered materials or to clarify contradictions discovered; and analytic processes suggest new hypotheses and additional areas from which new data should be gathered.

The entire process will be guided by the original research proposal, however, as events unfold, modifications to the process may prove necessary.

Table 1 provides a summarization of the characteristics of qualitative research. This table, based upon Biklen and Bogdan's (1982, pp. 45-48) Discussion of Qualitative Research reviews the major points.

In summary, evidence for this case study in which the author has tried to understand the events of an organization over time came from five sources: archival records, interviews, documents, participant observation and direct observation. This multiple approach provides a multiple perspective from which to understand a phenomenon more completely. Additionally, using these multiple qualitative methods increases the overall depth and understanding of the organization under study (Bohr, 1991).

Table 1
 Characteristics of Qualitative Research

Phrases Associated with the Approach	
ethnographic field work inner perspective naturalistic descriptive	participant observation documentary life history case study
Key Concepts Associated with the Approach	
meaning common-sense understanding definition of situation everyday life	process for all practical purposes social construction
Data	
descriptive personal documents field notes photographs	people's own words official documents other artifacts
Techniques or Methods	
observation reviewing various documents and artifacts	participant observation open-ended interviewing
Relationship with Subjects	
empathy emphasis on trust equalitarian	intense contact subject as friend
Instruments and Tools	
tape recorder transcriber	(the researcher is often the only instrument)

In addition, according to Wolcott (1973, p. xi), the inquiry "cannot ignore the broader context in which an individual lives and works, and the various ways in which circumstances which appear to be external to his occupational role may actually exert considerable impact." The external forces of the war on poverty, the Reagan administration's dismantling of domestic social programs and currently Bush's "conservative war on poverty" have had a considerable impact on the programming and funding of Friendly House.

The purpose of this study is to analyze a neighborhood agency from a cultural perspective. This report of individual and social consequences of a settlement house is based upon a single case as seen by one administrator (Executive Director) during a particular period of time. This study will take a humanistic approach, and particular attention will be given to the Director's personal experience with the staff, community leaders, and neighborhood residents. The present report will also focus on the evolution of the neighborhood center and its role as a "bridge" between the neighborhood and the larger community.

C H A P T E R I I

THE SETTLEMENT HOUSE MOVEMENT

Barnett turned to Oxford and Cambridge Universities for their human resources and because they symbolized the high point of "morally justifiable qualitative consumption." Barnett was "encouraged" by Oxford and Cambridge Universities and especially by Arnold Toynbee, a young economic historian who shared his feelings about social conditions. Arnold Toynbee died in 1883 at the age of 31. Before his death Toynbee wrote that "the middle class, 'not merely the very rich,' had sinned against the poor, 'offering charity not justice,' and that it was the duty of the middle class 'to devote our lives to our service.'"

University Settlement Idea

Barnett proposed his settlement philosophies at a meeting in Oxford in 1883. Here Barnett declared "It is distance that makes friendship between classes almost impossible, and, therefore, residence among the poor is suggested as a simple way in which Oxford men may serve their generation." A university-based association of supporters of "settlement" was established and became a registered joint stock undertaking in July 1884 with three distinct

objectives: first and most important, to bring education and recreation to the people who resided in the poorer districts of London and to pursue social research into conditions affecting the poor; second, to purchase a facility in which to house those engaged in philanthropic or educational work; third, to seek funds to support the workers engaged in providing "relief" to the poor (Briggs and Macartiney, 1984).

Toynbee Hall

On Christmas Eve, 1884, the first resident, C.H. Grinling of Hertford College, "settled" in Toynbee Hall. Samuel Barnett--Cannon Barnett--the founder became the first warden. "Toynbee Hall was," according to Himmelfarb (1990, p. 379), "not just a 'settlement house'; it was a 'university settlement'--not only because its residents were university men and because it offered university extension courses, but also because it was deliberately constructed (except for its red-brick facade) to resemble a college hall." Toynbee Hall's founding objectives were, and remain to assist towards the relief of poverty, old age, infirmity or other disability, to offer wider educational opportunities, especially for young, to encourage the arts, to assist in the provision of social welfare, especially for the deprived; to undertake research into social problems, and to provide

accommodation for clubs, classes, and meetings. The organization was an attempt to deal organically with the new poverty, the new concentration of urban poor created by the Industrial Revolution. For the first time "It was a slum neighborhood itself, attended to as a unit that was to be the organizing principal of a program to relieve the poor" (Heifetz and Weissman, October 1968, pp. 40-49).

Unlike "the charity worker" the settlement workers concerned themselves with all aspects of environment of the poor and became an intrinsic part of the neighborhood by "settling" or living there. The organization was literally a settlement of concerned citizens who chose to live among the poor to establish relationships and to improve the quality of neighborhood life. It was the bridge that spanned the "gulf" that industrialism had created between rich and poor, the bridge between the ignorance of one class for another, and it was, according to Davis, "an outpost of education and culture."

The American Settlement House Movement

Many of the social forces which produced the settlement house movement at the turn of the century affected the United States: industrialism and urbanization left many dependent on uncertain work for others. Children had few useful economic roles.

Accidents maimed or killed workers, leaving women and children dependent. The poor drifted in search of jobs lacking any community from which to draw informal support. Crowded and unsanitary housing, tuberculosis and other health problems, sweatshops and neglect were a way of life for those of the working class.

Toynbee Hall became a practical and concrete model for American social activists. Robert Woods, Jane Addams, Mary Simkhovitch, and Stanton Coit--early American settlement leaders--visited or in some cases took up residency at Toynbee Hall. All were deeply affected by the poverty they witnessed in the London slums and viewed the settlement idea as a step in reforming the social malaise of their cities. The settlement movement which combined human services with social reform offered an English "patent" which could be adapted to American conditions.

Robert A. Woods, a graduate of Amherst College and the Andover Theological Seminary, left for England in May 1890. After a residence of six months at Toynbee Hall, Woods returned to the United States to lecture and published a series of articles under the title of English Social Movement. This and later accounts by Woods of the work of Toynbee Hall profoundly influenced the early American settlement house movement. Mina Carson in Settlement Folk Social Thought and the

American Settlement Movement, 1885-1930, notes that the English Settlement movement was still in its infancy when Robert Woods reembarked for the United States. Despite his pleasure at the apparent convergence of so many reform initiatives in a moderate, humane, and essentially Christian "socialism," the extent of English social problems had staggered him. "I must admit," Woods told a friend, ". . . I find that we human beings are not nearly so far on as I thought we were" (Carson, 1990, p. 35). Robert Woods was 27 when he began his work at Andover House in Boston. In 1895 the name was changed to South End House. This was done he said, "in order to release the settlement from certain restraints which the old name placed upon its natural progress."

University Settlement

Another Amherst alumnus, St. Anton Coit, returned from Toynbee Hall and founded in 1886 what he called a "Neighborhood Guild." Coit's Neighborhood Guild, the first United States settlement, was located on the lower east side of New York City. Coit criticized the Toynbee program as "without method." His Guild was a "unit" of 100 or fewer families, made up of "all the people, men, women, and children, in any one street, or any small number of streets, in every working class district. . . organized into a set of clubs, which by

themselves, or in alliance with those of other neighborhoods, would carry out, or induce others to carry out, all the reforms. . . domestic, industrial, educational, provident, or recreative, which the social ideal demands." In 1888 Coit left for London to "sell" Neighborhood Guilds to the British. The new guild was, in 1891, reorganized and renamed University Settlement with the stated purpose of

bringing men and women of education in closer relations with the laboring classes for their mutual benefit. The society shall establish and maintain in the tenement house district places of residence for college men and others desirous of aiding in the work, with rooms where the people of the neighborhood may meet for social and educational purposes. (Kennedy and Woods, 1911, p. 228)

University Settlement provided a kindergarten school and social athletic and social clubs for boys. Lectures were given in the winter on social and economic "questions." The University Settlement's library contained nearly 3,000 volumes. Annual art and picture exhibits attracted over 50,000 people (Percy, 1898). University Settlement reflected the Barnett model and value system.

The settlement movement in the United States gained momentum with the organization, in the autumn of 1887, of the College Settlement Association. This Smith College Alumnae organization sponsored five settlement houses within a relatively short period of time and influenced the formation of four other houses. In 1889 seven young women

leased a tenement building opposite the Neighborhood Guild on Rivington Street in New York City, calling it College Settlement. "Seven lilies have been dropped in the mud, and the mud does not seem particularly pleased" was the opinion expressed by a New York newspaper description of the well-dressed women who were residing in the slums (David, 1969). Additional College Settlements were founded in Philadelphia and Boston in 1892, Henry Street in New York City in 1893, and College Settlement in Los Angeles in 1894.

Hull House

Hull House, "the most famous American Settlement House," according to Reinders, "owes an immediate debt to Toynbee Hall." Jane Addams and Ellen Starr visited Toynbee Hall in June, 1888 with "high expectations" and a certain belief that whatever "perplexities and discouragement concerning the life of the poor were in store" they would at least know something firsthand and have the solace of daily activity (Addams, 1981).

Hull House, directly influenced by Toynbee Hall, was "soberly opened" in Chicago in 1889, on the theory that the dependence of classes on each other is reciprocal, and that as the social relation is essentially a reciprocal relation, it gives a form of expression that has peculiar value (Addams, 1963, p. 91).

Addams further identified the basic spirit and purpose of the settlement house movement:

My definition of a settlement is that it is an attempt to express the meaning of life itself in forms of activity. . . The word settlement which we have borrowed from London implies migrating from one condition of life to another totally unlike it. The dominating interest in knowledge has become its use, the conditions under which and ways in which, it may be most effectively employed in human conduct; . . . these groups which are called settlements have naturally sought the spots where the dearth of this applied knowledge was most obvious, the depressed quarters of great cities. . . [the settlement's] social relations are successful as it touches to life the dreary and isolated, and brings them into a fuller participation of the common inheritance.
(Johnson, 1960, pp. 24-25)

Settlements Become an American Institution

In the decades that followed the founding of Hull House, the settlement idea was replicated many times over in many cities throughout the United States.

Settlement houses enjoyed the most prestige and influence during the early twentieth century reform period, the progressive era. At that time, the public and the infant social work profession regarded settlement houses as innovative, successful in helping immigrants adjust to life in the United States, useful in meeting the needs of low-income neighborhoods, and effective in bringing about a wide variety of reforms.
(Trolander, 1987, pp. 7-8)

A number of the settlement houses "embellished wholesale" the philosophy of Toynbee Hall. There was a sense of purpose and meaning to settlement life. Because settlement residents actually lived in a low-income neighborhood they saw problems firsthand and often became organizers of reform. "By 1918 settlements became permanent fixtures on the urban landscape, with more than 400 houses scattered across the country" (UNHN, 1991, p. 4).

Settlements were particularly well adapted to American cities, with their evolving programs and concern for social issues. Holden (1922, p. 34) described his visit to a number of settlement houses in New York City:

The stranger, who is unfamiliar with tenement conditions, is invariably impressed with the drab appearance of such a neighborhood, the eternal sameness and the eternal hopelessness of it all.

The average settlement is fairly conspicuous in such an atmosphere. Sandwiched in between tenement houses, perhaps actually occupying one of the old buildings, it will nevertheless wear a more cheerful aspect. A few judiciously placed floor boxes will advertise its presence. There may be a chattering group on the sidewalk. In the foyer there will be another group talking and seemingly not very much concerned about anything likely to happen.

Although many settlements became nothing more than "clubs" for youth, others such as Hull House, South End House, and University Settlement became "spearheads for reform in the Progressive era" (Davis, 1967, p. 25).

Percy (1898, p. 137) observed that "although there are in America over 70 so-called settlements, it is necessary to discriminate carefully between those which embody the settlement idea and those which have simply adopted the name without the substance." Percy believed further that

not more than twenty or thirty of these institutions, at the most, are settlements, in our acceptance of the term. In many cases there are no residents, and many again are simply evangelistic missions which do not recognize the neighborhood idea of prime importance. The Americans are very quick to seize upon names that are useful and popular, and I fear that the term will soon become so common that "settlement" will at last come to mean any mission attached to a

church. It is useful to point this out lest it should be thought that England, which gave birth to the idea, had allowed itself to be out-distanced in the development.

"All settlements," noted Knapp (1895, p. 10),

both in England and America seem to begin upon one uniform principle. The first object, to which every other is subsidiary, is to make friends with the neighborhood--to become part of its common life; to associate with the people on equal terms, without either patronage on the one side or subserviency on the other; to share in the joys and sorrows, the occupations and amusements of the people; to bring them to regard the members of the settlements as their friends.

Although there were many similarities, the most obvious difference between the settlement movements in the two countries was the domination in Britain of male residents and of female residents in the United States (Reinders, 1982, p. 45). In fact, many in the United States were founded, sponsored, governed, directed, staffed and supported by women. Settlements provided atmosphere which many women found intellectually stimulating, as places where they could be put into action. This had as practical consequences with the formation in many American settlements of daycare centers, child welfare clinics, playgrounds, homemaking programs and advocacy for child and labor legislation.

The physical character of English and its American counterparts initially showed some significant differences. "Toynbee began," according to Reinders (1982, p. 46), "with a large and imposing building, and as the years passed new

buildings were added. . . American settlements, however, started humbly; often they were no more than a tenement, or a large home of faded gentility lost in a slum."

Today, settlements or neighborhood centers bear little resemblance to their forbearers. Many centers rent quarters or occupy space in a public housing development. Few settlements maintain residents for staff and few of the "better class" see a vocation or avocation in volunteering to help its poor. Furthermore, most settlements have deemphasized comprehensive services staffed through volunteered time. The emphasis is placed on concentrated services to specific age groups or populations: children, youth, adults, and the elderly.

Social reform, an early feature of the earlier settlement houses, has been deemphasized because so much funding came from government programs.

Typical of today's daily settlement activities is the program of the first settlement in the United States. Activities at New York's University settlement in 1986 include head start and other day care services; clubs, tutoring, cultural, sports, and community service groups for youth; adult classes in home economics and English; hot meals and social events for the elderly; plus a professionally staffed mental health clinic and family therapy services. (Trolander, 1987, p. 235)

This service trend not only reflects funding shifts and priorities, but a cycle of change that is experienced in many inner city neighborhoods. New neighborhood centers obtain many of their resources from government programs that

entail controls for delivering certain services to defined groups. Financial accountability seems more important than a spirit of charity. Physical deterioration, significant population shifts, and a reduction in social status greatly influence the types of services delivered by the neighborhood center.

Nevertheless, neighborhood centers retain many links to the past. The settlement remains as a group of people working and, in many cases, living in a definite area from a common center with a view of imparting skills that make upward mobility possible. They still seek to aid the relocation of the recent arrival in the city. Most centers offer a variety of classes and clubs for area residents. The settlement is concerned with the quality of life within the neighborhood that it serves. That concern for a community and a neighborhood as well as for public revenue sources has kept settlements engaged in political relations with local power structures. Mary Simkhovitch, founder and director of Greenwich House, New York City, summarized the primary task of the settlement house as

that of community organization and the furthering of democracy. Our country is made up of neighborhoods. These neighborhoods are testing grounds for wider focuses and, at the same time, seed beds for creative purposes. For what happens in these neighborhoods happens in the country as a whole. (Sklar, 1986, p. 9)

Friendly House, 1920-1960

The growth of American cities between 1875 and 1920 resulted primarily from the influx of immigrants who came in response to increasing labor demands from a rapidly industrializing economy. The Irish met early labor needs in Worcester, Massachusetts, followed by overlapping waves of immigrants from French-Canada, Sweden, Poland, Lithuania, Italy, Armenia, Syria and Lebanon (Thompson, 1980). Worcester's most dramatic growth occurred in the first quarter of the twentieth century with an increase of 72,336 people from 118,421 in 1900 to 190,757 in 1925.

At the turn of the century, Worcester began experienced some of the "by-products" of urban social problems. Over 1,000 people annually were left stranded at Worcester's railroad station. Bewildered old people, lost children, young girls, women with little children and runaway boys and girls sought "help and protection." The charitable impulse was apparent in Worcester in the mid and late 1800s. The organization, however, of efficient charity was not conspicuous until the first decade of the twentieth century.

Numerous "settlement houses" were established to "improve the moral and material conditions of their various districts or neighborhoods. On December 6, 1906, the Worcester social settlement opened its doors at 13 Millbury Street. In 1907, the Endicott House Settlement opened.

The Saint Rose Settlement House, 9 Sheridan Street, was a milk station in 1912 (open hours from 8:30 to 9:30 a.m.).

During World War I, the National Civic Federation House opened on 58 Shrewsbury Street in an area where, according to their brochure, "our neighbors are mostly foreigners and we are doing valuable Americanization work among them." The Emergency Society, a group of "well-to-do women," provided for the poor of Worcester without once conducting an external fund drive.

In 1908, the Clean Milk Station Committee began working to provide the proper hygienic environment, suitable food, and medical guidance to the poor and less fortunate mothers and children of Worcester. The Station supplied bottle-fed infants clean milk at the price of ordinary milk. Through the nurse in charge of the Station, the mothers were instructed in how to keep their babies well, especially during hot weather. The Fresh Air Fund provided rural retreats for inner-city children during the summer months.

Founding of Friendly House

Neighborly House originated as an Americanization committee during World War I. It sponsored classes in cooking at the Old House of the Allies on Shrewsbury Street. A soup kitchen was opened and during the influenza epidemic, hot meals were carried to sick families. In the course of a year, Neighborly House was bought and opened as a settlement house under the direction of Mrs. John C. Dewey. Neighborly

House later relocated to 8 East Park Terrace and sponsored a group of clinics and a health center. When the new out-patient building at Memorial Hospital opened, Neighborly House was discontinued in January, 1928.

Friendly House first opened its doors in 1920 under the sponsorship of the Worcester Civic League. On December 13, 1920, having been formed as a branch of the National Civic Federation, the League was incorporated "to promote neighborhood health and welfare for the betterment of Worcester and its people." The chief activities initiated by the Civic League, a member of the Welfare Federation and a participating organization in the Golden Rule Fund, were Neighborly House, Friendly House, the Folk Stitchery Department and the Lunch and Tea Room at Wetherell House located at 2 State Street.

The women of the Norfolk Hill area were anxious to become members of Neighborly House but, because of the long walk to Shrewsbury Street, many crossed the railroad tracks on a shorter but dangerous route. Because the Civic League did not wish the women to endanger their lives in this manner, and because Neighborly House was already overcrowded, they "brought Friendly House to the Hill." Friendly House, therefore, according to Mrs. Daniel F. Gay, the Civic League's first Chair, was a "child of Neighborly House."

Educating Immigrants.

The primary organizational mission, at the time, was to "further the interests of Worcester's foreign born," introducing them to the customs and traditions of their new home and helping them to become an integral part of Worcester's civil life. Three small rooms in a tenement at 37 Norfolk Street provided the first home for the settlement house. Friendly House initially shared quarters with the Worcester Society for District Nursing and one year later, in 1921, with the Worcester Young Men's Clean Up Club. The building, known to the residents as the "Barracks," because of its appearance, housed four side-by-side units.

According to a Worcester Civic League brochure from 1922,

Friendly House means really friendly rooms. There are three--a club room, a kitchen, and a dental room in the heart of the Syrian district. . . We offer classes in housekeeping, cooking, and nursing for the younger girls from eight to fourteen. For the older girls, clubs are organized for instruction in dressmaking, basketry and millinery.

Boys have manual training each week. Frequent social afternoons and evenings are planned for the various groups of both boys and girls. During the summer picnics prove very popular.

Syrians first came to Worcester in the 1890s and lived in the Shrewsbury Street section and on Dungarven Hill (Norfolk, Suffolk, and Wall Street) (Cohen, 1976). Wall Street, which intersects with Norfolk Street, became the main street of this group. St. George's Syrian Orthodox

Church was organized in 1905 and was first located at 100 Wall Street, opposite from the 37 Norfolk Street location of Friendly House.

Two members of the Junior League "helped" with the sewing classes at Friendly House on Monday afternoons. The "Motor Corps" provided transportation for the Public Health nurse who instructed the children in first aid. The need for dental care was critical, but funds for a full-scale program were scarce. In 1921, members of the Civic League purchased a second-hand barber chair for three dollars and established the Dental Clinic. The dental hygienist at Neighborly House divided her time between the two sites, as did a social worker.

During the mid-1920s the programs at Friendly House expanded to include a pre-school nursery with an average attendance of thirty-eight children. A Red Cross first aid course, singing and sewing provided "instructive occupation" for ninety girls. The Dental Clinic provided the services of an "interested" Worcester dentist and a hygienist for forty-two children.

The 1925 Annual Report of the Worcester Civic League pointed out that "there are about three thousand former inhabitants of Syria who come directly or indirectly within the range of the educational center." The report further states that the League was "not exclusively working for the Syrians; in our nursery for pre-school children we find six

nationalities represented." In 1925, Friendly House was overseen by Mrs. Donald W. Campbell who "took charge of classes and was responsible for an annual budget of \$2,279.91."

At times settlement workers exhibited a sense of superiority toward the new neighborhood residents. Robert A. Woods, of the South End House in Boston and the Secretary of the National Federation of Settlements, was concerned about the "moral health" of the "new immigrants." An active member of the Immigration Restriction League, Woods and his colleagues adopted rigid standards toward the qualities of immigrant groups. Although they explained these qualities in terms of social and cultural backwardness rather than in terms of heredity and race inferiority, they were of the opinion that the process of remolding and re-educating newly arrived immigrants according to the Anglo-Saxon model had been very slow, and was becoming impossible because of the great numbers of immigrants coming into the country (Lissak, 1983, p. 22). Instilling consciousness of an American way of life in immigrant families meant breaking with cultural traditions and their ethnic identity.

During the interwar period, Friendly House generally followed an elitist approach typical of other settlement houses. The 1926 Annual Report encouraged those who wished to make nursery schools the Junior League's "big" work to become involved with the pre-school children at Friendly

House. "This group of youngsters should be excellent material to experiment with." The 1930 Report proudly told of two afternoon teas that had taken place at Friendly House. "The home-making teachers have emphasized courtesy and manners, and have given, probably, the first lessons these youngsters have had in correct eating habits." The eight-year-old children who participated in the story-telling groups were, also, made "aware of new roles of courtesy and conduct. . . these opportunities in social living will influence them for the better all their lives."

Florence Bowker noted in 1929 "that one of the greatest problems at Friendly House has been to create interest among the Syrians in the better recreational and educational opportunities of the city--Racially, they seem difficult to assimilate." The Report was concluded with the following lament, "Sometimes it [the volunteer service at Friendly House] has meant a readjusting of our philosophies."

Sally M. Naughton observed, however, that Friendly House in the early 1930s has won the respect of the people of this community. "They now seek the guidance and opportunities which they associate with Friendly House." In 1934, the appearance of Friendly House was made "much more home like by the House Committee, and the Friendly House sign has been changed to read only in English."

Despite their faults, settlements were for many years in the vanguard of social action which grew from their

experience in impoverished neighborhoods. In arguing for the irrelevancy or inadequacy of the settlement house "critics make it sound as if this particular institution alone was meant to solve the 'social problem' or even any one aspect of that problem" (Himmelfarb, 1990, pp. 373-384).

In 1934, the Friendly House Newsletter, the Blue Triangle published the following poem:

Mother's Opinion

I send my daughter to
 sew and cook,
 And pass her time to
 read a book,
 I have no fear when
 she is there
 They learn what's right
 and do their share.

Daughter's Opinion
 I love to pass my time
 in there
 The treatment you get
 is always fair,
 Some useful thing I'll
 surely need,
 It may come in handy
 In doing a deed.

(Anonymous participant, 1934, p. 2)

If immigrants and the poor at times resented a patronizing tone, many appreciated the help they found at Friendly House.

The early years of Friendly House reflected the trend of the movement in the 1920s by providing space and facilities for a variety of social, educational, and recreational programs, while not engaging in advocacy. "Local settlements," wrote Clark A. Chambers, "often felt

obliged to stress their service functions and to restrict their social action programs" (Chambers, 1963, p. 119).

Friendly House, with its emphasis on constructive recreational programs for youth avoided controversy.

Although the majority of the programs offered by Friendly House were recreational, in nature, they were not "the end," but rather "the means to the end." Through leisure time activities, settlements, unlike the traditional recreation agency, sought to maintain neighborhood relationships and focus on problems within their target area.

Charitable Women

The Junior League of Worcester, Inc., founded in 1925, initially supported the activities of the Worcester Civic League. This organization of women, drawn from the area's middle and upper classes, volunteered their time during the Junior League's first year of operation to the three main projects of the Civic League. Its work was divided among three Junior League "chairmen." According to Mary H. Gage, the League's first Chair, "one took charge of the classes at Friendly House, one had charge of the clinics at Neighborly House and one had charge of 'anything to be done'."

The classes at Friendly House, under the direction of Miss Whittall, consisted of a sewing program which

was held every Tuesday afternoon and the kindergarten or nursery school group which met on Fridays in the morning. This group varied in number from twenty-five to thirty children, ages two to six years. In 1927, the League was "presented" with an opportunity to assume responsibility for Friendly House. Its Annual Report noted:

This Social Service Center, established by the Civic League on Norfolk Street, in the Syrian district has justified its name, and the children of the neighborhood, and through them the parents, are being helped in adjustment to American ways.

Marjorie Morgan observed that, "Friendly House could take care of an enormous neighborhood and all members of a family from the nursery school up to the mother's groups."

Beulah Washburn, the President of the Junior League of Worcester, in her annual message to the Directors in the Spring of 1927, stated "that we can all share in, and if we put into it the same enthusiasm and spirit of the cooperation that I have always found in our League, then its success is assured." Friendly House officially moved from the "guardianship" of the Worcester Civic League in 1928 to that of the Junior League.

In the Fall of 1927, Friendly House moved into new headquarters at 57 Norfolk Street. The sign, "Friendly House," which hung at the entrance to the former store

was written in English and Arabic. On January 28, 1928, an article entitled, "Airy Playroom Calls Children," the reporter described his visit to the new site:

The new headquarters are admirably fitted for the various branches of activity. Entering at the door which once led into the store, we find ourselves in a large attractive room where, if it is morning, there are probably 20 or 30 children of pre-school age grouped around the table, or still looking with interest at the Christmas tree. For the tree must stay here until after the Syrian Christmas. . . Behind the playroom in the new building is the dental clinic room, fully equipped with a dental chair and other things necessary for this work. . . On the same floor is the kitchen where classes in cooking and housekeeping are held. Upstairs are three rooms to which there is another entrance, besides that going through the playroom. Two of these will be devoted to the sewing classes and one will house the home nursing classes.

The 57 Norfolk Street site provided morning activities for the "little" children. The afternoons were reserved for the older school age children. Members of the Junior League volunteered as activity directors on Monday, Tuesday and Friday. "Every morning the children come to stay in the playroom. Most of them hold tightly clasped in their hands the penny which is the fee." One was assured, however, that no child would ever be turned away if he or she did not have the penny.

The Report concluded with the author proposing the impossibility of knowing how far-reaching Friendly House is in its influence on the community. "The house stands as a friend to them [the children] entering their lives in a variety of ways, carrying a better understanding of American standards of health and right living into their homes." With the eminent closing of Neighborly House, the Americanization and other social welfare work of the Civic League moved to Friendly House.

Although the building was a vast improvement over the original one, it soon became over-crowded. Enrollment was on a first come, first serve basis and upper floor classrooms could not be heated in winter. Finally, the State Building Inspector visited the facility on 57 Norfolk Street and "demanded radical changes in the housing conditions." While carrying on its daily work, the Board once again had the task of finding new quarters.

In 1927, the "Board" of Friendly House was expanding to include non Junior League members. President Florence D. Bowken, in the spring of 1928, reported to the membership that a five-year lease was secured on "a two-story, ten room building with furnace heat, flooded with sunlight, a spacious yard for gardens and a playground."

On November 9, 1928 at eleven o'clock, nine members held the first organizational meeting of the new Board of Directors of Friendly House. Although Friendly House remained under the supervision of the Junior League, the new Board of Directors was a recognized corporation. The purpose for which Friendly House was formed and filed with the Department of Corporations and Taxation was as follows: "The educational, social, and family betterment of residents of the City of Worcester." The original Board of Directors had names recognized as among Worcester's elite. The governing body included Florence D. Bowker - President, Marjorie S. Clary - First Vice President, Jeannette H. Campbell - Second Vice President, Katharine I. Clark - Treasurer, Rosemond Crompton - Secretary, Marjorie S. Morgan, Elizabeth K. Alton, and Katherine S. Whitcomb and Beulah M. Washburn.

With the new facility came a larger registration and more classes. In addition, Friendly House continually developed "helpful" contacts with other community social and service agencies. "Open house was observed at number 38 Wall Street on January 5, 1929. The formal opening of the new home included demonstrations by members of the nurses' school, the pre-school program pupils in "session" and songs

"given" by the older children. The nine Board members "received the visitors" during the day.

Marion G. Lantz, Director, reported to the Board of Directors that a total of 7,598 units of service, were provided in ten programs during the first year on Wall Street (see Table 2). The preschool dental clinic cared for 413 children.

In 1930, Marjorie Morgan, the new President of the Board, reported to the Junior League membership

That we have almost reached the bounds set by equipment and personnel, our next step must be towards more intensive work. The past year has been one of adjusting ourselves to new conditions; next year we can go on with more assurance. . . Friendly House is giving to its children training in leadership, health standards, recreational facilities, and opportunities in social living which will influence them for the better all their lives. Already their teachers see evidences of a center in the classrooms; parents in the homes. . . . The home-making teachers have emphasized courtesy and manners, and have given, probably, the first lessons these youngsters have had in correct eating habits. . . . They have, also, been made aware of new rules of conduct.

In many communities there are loyal men and women who devote their time and energies to the benefit of others in that locality. Unlike some cities, however, Worcester had a set of elite families with remarkable continuity. The

Table 2
Service Statistics FY 1929-1930

Group	Total Enrollment	Total Attendance	Average Attendance
Nursery School	51	3,180	21 x 5
Boys' Club	32	529	25
Industrial Girls	20	426	14
Girl Reservers	33	845	26
Story Telling	23	565	10
Sewing Classes	36	671	9
Home Making	24	586	7
Basketry	12	217	8
Rainbow Club	13	279	10
Glee Club	24	300	15
Total	268	7,598	229 per week

Morgan legacy was to continue for two succeeding generations. Paul Morgan, the President of Morgan Construction Company and the son of Marjorie Morgan, was the President of the Board of Directors in the mid-1950s. Daniel Morgan, Paul Morgan's son, chaired the Friendly House Board during the early 1980s.

Founded in 1888 by Charles Hill Morgan, Morgan Construction Company helped to industrialize Worcester in the Nineteenth Century. The company was one of the first manufacturers of machinery for the emerging steel industry. Morgan Construction Company remains as the largest locally owned and managed business in the City of Worcester. The Morgans have, through the years, been involved in Worcester's political, business, and community life. For over sixty-five years, the Morgans have unselfishly supported Friendly House.

In the spring of 1970, Marjorie Morgan, in a taped interview with Julie Chase of Radio Station WTAG, discussed her memories of Friendly House.

It was when I first came to Worcester in 1922 to live and, being somewhat bored, inquired around as to where I could do some good work, and Mrs. Robert Shaw put me on to Friendly House up on Norfolk Street. She said up there there was need of somebody to have group of small children instructed in housekeeping, and I took it on for that summer. . . And they had a folk stitchery class where the women did their handiwork and it was beautiful handiwork . . .

. . . And all this time we were so limited in space although they wanted to develop all kinds of work for different groups, there was no space. So we walked the streets hunting for a larger quarters and the nuns' home was there but it wasn't in a very good state of repair. We were hoping to find something better and even larger, but as it turned out, there was nothing else but the nuns' home. . .

The Junior League bought the nuns' home. . . . Oh, it was extremely limited, and the walls were bursting because, we gave up, we had to give up the idea of running this just by volunteer work of the Junior Leaguers, and it was early evident we had to have a trained social worker as a director. And, luckily, we found an excellent person in Miss Marion Lantz who, amazingly, developed classes for all members of the family. We had a large nursery school. There were cooking classes; there was handiwork classes; sewing classes; classes for boys; mothers' groups. And that mothers' group was really delightful because they would put on the most delicious meals for the Board every once in a while.

In recalling her early years at Friendly House, Anne Swydan, a current Board member, stated:¹

I must have been in the third or fourth grade at Grafton Street School when a close friend of mine asked me, "Do you want to go to a place where you can have a lot of fun?" That evening my mother gave me permission to go to Friendly House. Friendly House was located in the 'old store' next to the spaghetti factory on Norfolk Street. It must have been sometime in the mid-twenties that I first sat around a table with twelve other girls while the 'teacher' told us a story. Friendly House was a place for us to get together and I

¹Anne Swydan has been involved with Friendly House since 1928. She wrote for the Blue Triangle, the newsletter of the 1930s and was the advisor to the Friendly House Star, a monthly periodical of the 1950s. She assisted with the Wall Street Journal and the Grafton Hill News, publications of the 1960s and 1970s. At age 77, Anne Swydan remains an active Board member.

remember learning many important skills. We were taught that milk and cream and eating lots of fruits and vegetables would make us healthy and beautiful. I remember that only six of us at one time would be able to participate in the cooking class because the stove was so small. Miss Lantz did the cooking and we observed. Each day we would be involved in some activity whether handicrafts, cooking or storytelling. The time would pass so quickly and before I knew it we were singing a good night song.

Anne Swydan spoke very highly of the Director and the members of the Junior League who volunteered at Friendly House.

The staff was exceptionally good and when the time came they would take us to very special places. There were very much concerned about us but they were not aloof. I recall that we were able to call the teachers by their first names.

Anne Swydan had positive memories about her experiences at Friendly House. She was a member of the Girl Reserves, an organization of girls in reserve to help America.

Most of the girls who came were Lebanese and we were involved in many community projects. All of the activities when I went to Friendly House were for girls. We were so busy that we didn't miss the boys.

The members of the Board of Directors, the staff and Junior League volunteers, tended to emphasize cooperation and consensus building among their peers and with Worcester's established agencies. All of the early Annual Reports stressed the activities of the various clubs and classes, large group events, the Nursery School, the Dental Clinic, and especially the contacts made with "outside"

individuals and organizations. Marjorie S. Morgan observed in 1930 that:

The Child Guidance Clinic came to us one morning, testing four children and getting acquainted with the others. The Temporary Home and Day Nursery teachers and nurses have visited us three times this year; and the kindergarten teachers from Grafton Street School came to visit just before the February term. Took the names of our children ready for kindergarten, called upon their mothers and have watched them carefully this term. . . . The two Girl Reserve clubs connected with the Y.W.C.A. and they made a quilt for the Temporary Home and Day Nursery. The Girl Reserve clubs have had the services of the health department of the Y.W.C.A. with the use of the gymnasium, roller skating, clog dancing, lessons, game periods, lectures, and parties.

Depression and War

The 1930s were a decade of growth and constant challenge for Friendly House. The rapid growth of the late 1920s changed abruptly with the stock market crash in 1929 and the Great Depression that followed. Sally M. Naughton, who succeeded Marjorie Morgan, observed, "One cannot escape recognizing the unusual and strained economic and social conditions in which we have all been involved during the years 1931-1932." One year later, she spoke at length of the effect the Depression was having on Friendly House. "Because we know the people on the 'hill' where Friendly House is located," she reported,

they look toward Friendly House and need it as never before, we appreciate the trust we hold, and have endeavored to give service in greater measure than ever before regardless of ever diminishing financial resources.

In an effort to meet the demands of the community even though the Friendly House Community Chest allocation was cut from \$4,700 to \$3,800, the Board of Directors reduced salaries, the rent, and gave up "extras," such as the expense of picnics, to keep within the reduced budget.

As the Depression deepened, Friendly House became involved for the first time with a government-supported program. In 1934, the outdoor recreational activities for the children were improved with the assistance of a Federal Emergency Relief Administration worker. One year later Friendly House utilized the services of five E.R.A. workers. "By accepting an offer of the E.R.A. last summer," Ruth Edwards stated in her 1936 Annual Report to the Junior League membership at large, "we were able to give our children a three months recreational program. This winter co-operating with the W.P.A. (Works Progress Administration), we have been able to carry out the "boys' work." The federal projects were carried out under the supervision of Frank Stevens (one of the first male staff members). By the end of 1936 the Agency employed a total of eight W.P.A. workers as both group leaders and "janitors."

Unfortunately, the federal "relationship" was short lived. "We regret," Mrs. Edwards stated, "that we were unable to co-operate with the W.P.A. in a mutually satisfactory manner, but its activities demonstrate the demand and need of more recreational facilities in "that

neighborhood." A center for boys and girls was opened in 1937 in St. George's Church Hall (next door to Friendly House). The free services offered to the neighborhood by the government agency naturally competed with registration at Friendly House.

Prior to World War II, most settlements shied away from public subsidies. According to Lipsky and Smith (1991, p. 80),

Dependency on private funds was consistent with the settlement house philosophy that the community should take care of its own citizens. Except for small subsidies or in-kind assistance, such as the assignment of a Public Health nurse, settlement houses relied primarily on private contributions.

Private philanthropy during this period became centralized with the establishment of the Community Chest. Such centralization, while assuring funding for agency programs, weakened the policy making power of individual settlement house boards. The agency for distributing Community Chest funds to Friendly House was the Worcester Welfare Federation. The agency's allocations during the 1920s averaged \$2,500 per year. The support for the decade of the 1930s averaged \$4,200. Board President Sally M. Naughton wrote in 1932, "due to the faith of the Community Chest of Worcester (formerly the Worcester Welfare Federation) as well as the general public in recreational and character building work, we have been allowed to carry on as before."

During the years that Friendly House was under the sponsorship of the Junior League, the only hint of reform appeared in the 1934-1935 Annual Report when President Katharine B. White reported on the formation of a Neighborhood Council to improve the existing housing and park conditions in the area. The Council was, also, changed with giving "more leadership training." Little was mentioned regarding the activities of the Council in the subsequent reports. "The more a settlement is involved in social action," observed Trolander (1987, p. 193), "the greater the problem in raising money."

The Depression Era found Friendly House advancing in its endeavor to fulfill its purpose as a settlement house. This was supported with the results of a "study" conducted by Mr. Albert J. Kennedy, the head worker of University House in New York City. Mr. Kennedy reported, in 1927, that Friendly House "was theoretically sound and that there was a definite need of such a center, not only on the hill, but in other sections of the city." Furthermore, as a result of the findings, it was suggested that Friendly House "might well be used as an experimental community center with different agencies, both public and private, working together on a program to determine the advisability of establishing similar centers in strategically located districts which are not adequately covered at the present time because of the centralized agency set-up."

After a complete and thorough study of Albert Kennedy's report and "as a result of our own observations," the Junior League felt "very definitely" that Friendly House should be considered as a Community Chest Agency and not as a Junior League Project. In 1937, Ruth Edwards, President of the Junior League, recommended that Friendly House become a project of the Community Chest under a community-based board.

This may be the last Friendly House report ever presented to the Junior League. Many of us have had "confused emotions." Surely it must be gratifying to realize that the Friendly House, which you accepted as a challenge nine years ago, has grown and been proved to be a valuable component of the welfare work of the city. It has provided varied opportunities and given happiness to many, the far-reaching effects of which we may never know. We, too, have benefited perhaps more than we realize. It has given us opportunities to express ourselves and has made us familiar with social work in many of its phases. It has also acquainted us in tangible ways with the other side of life, which perhaps otherwise we might not have understood so well, and thus awakened us to our Civic responsibilities.

Friendly House sponsorship was assumed in the fall of 1937 by a city-wide Board of Directors and, therefore, became a true "child" of the Community Chest. The advent of Community Chest funding pressured Friendly House and other settlements to emphasize programming and social control rather than social change activity. "The Chest," according to Trolander (1987, p. 23),

eliminated reliance on church support and tended to standardize the level of funding among settlements as well as other aspects of their operation. However it added an additional layer

of bureaucracy along with social control. Should a settlement board allow a controversial program in a house, the local Community Chest, which controlled the house's budget was likely to stop it. In practice, few settlements risked the wrath of Chest officials.

On October 5, 1932, Marion Emerson, a social worker from Manchester, New Hampshire, became the Director of Friendly House. She was succeeded, in 1937, by Clementina DeRocco, who served as the Director until 1941. She, in turn, was replaced in the early spring of 1941 by Mrs. Edwin L. Morris, who "took charge of the house for a short period of time." In May of 1941, Emily Reed, an experienced settlement house worker, succeeded Morris.

"I am impressed by the effort which has been made at Friendly House," commented Reed, after her first month as Director.

Friendly House has drawn the neighborhood together for its own advantage and its own programs! I find that the majority are largely of Syrian, Italian, and French descent. The Syrians are the most hospitable people I have ever found. Another thing which impresses me here is the willingness and interest of the young people in the neighborhood to serve as leaders in this settlement house. (Hutchinson, 1941, p. 7)

Reed's observations of the leadership abilities of the youth have held even to the present. "One of the objectives of Friendly House," according to Reed, "is to arouse initiative in the young people to improve the physical appearance of their neighborhood." To this end a tree planting ceremony was held in the front yard at 38 Wall Street while the members of the Dramatic Club read poems and

prose. "The strengthening of the finest family standards and the highest American ideals is the underlying educational purpose of such a settlement house. Friendly House helps them [the children] to remember that all races, religions, and nationalities can learn to live happy together in a thinking America."

Friendly House was opened from 8:30 a.m. to 9:00 p.m. The major activities of the late 1930s and early 1940s included sewing and cooking classes, hobby clubs, and the music programs, which included harmonica and rhythm bands and a glee club. Arts and crafts classes included painting, clay modelling, airplane modelling, leather work and embroidery. The Press Club published a small bulletin called "The Friendly House Star." The nursery school, which "accommodated" an average of twenty-five children under five years of age, was held every morning. One of the most important activities at that time was the pre-school dental clinic. This program was open for ten mornings each month for fillings and extractions for children "not over six years old."

Friendly House depended on volunteer leaders from the Bancroft School, Worcester Art Museum School and the Girls' Trade School to conduct the various classes. In addition, the volunteers oversaw various social clubs, the chief objective of which was to "inspire the children to be good Americans."

Perhaps one of the most important era of challenge and disruption for the settlement house movement occurred during World War II. The War meant that many settlements were faced with severe staffing shortages forcing them to work with skeleton staffs (Trolander, 1987). The settlements lost men to the armed forces, while many women opted for higher paying defense positions. Volunteer status, at the same time, was effected by the continued emphasis on professionalism. Many settlements feared that untrained volunteers could not function in positions of responsibility. Settlements, with the decline in the sixteen to twenty-five year old memberships, focused their programs on school-age children.

"The war took its toll," according to Director Madalene B. Sawyer. "Most of the young men who used to act as volunteer directors of the various boys' activities have gone off to war." Consequently, the fourteen and fifteen year old boys who had recently "graduated" from swing and sandbox play took over the task of playground supervision.

For more than one year, during the War, Friendly House operated without a director. (Reed resigned in 1943.) This resulted from a shortage of social workers. In 1943, the Board of Directors were forced to assign part-time workers "to keep things going" until the appointment in the spring of 1944 of Miss Madalene B. Sawyer as Director. "Good Neighbors" as volunteers were invaluable during the War

years. The War also meant that children had few alternatives and choices. Consequently, attendance for the 1944-45 season was over 20,000, and for the month of October, 1945, it was 2,500.

Many settlements provided day care services for working mothers, many of whom were employed in defense industries. The federal government, through the Lanham Act, provided day care subsidies to settlements during the War. Although the Lanham Act was designed to facilitate the participation of woman in war work, "it was," according to Trolander, (1987, p. 28), "one more step on the road to a direct federal government/private agency relationship. This enlarged role of the federal government would benefit private agencies, such as settlement houses; but it would also make them more vulnerable to shifting federal policies."

The Nursery School Program at Friendly House was filled to capacity during the War years. When no leader or space was available for a woodworking class, Anthony Arnieri volunteered to conduct several classes in his woodworking shop, a few doors away. Early teenagers were pressed into service as recreation leaders "with real enthusiasm." Lillie M. Peck (1943, p. 475) noted that "the flexibility of the settlements has given it a special meaning in the war services."

Sawyer's stated purpose of Friendly House during the last years of World War II was twofold. "First we want to

get across to the children that you don't have to go far from home to find amusement and second, I'm rather partial to nature study and want to start the children off in that direction." Consequently, accessibility and good sportsmanship were the underlying themes in most of the Friendly House programs during Mrs. Sawyer's tenure. Boxing was promoted as the major activity because "more than any other sport, boxing teaches and fosters the fundamentals of fair play and good sportsmanship." The girls participated primarily in the cooking program. Ping-pong, dancing and group singing were favorite programs in the mid-1940s.

The 1950s

Following World War II, settlements and the neighborhoods themselves experienced dramatic changes. For the first time men began to outnumber women as directors, and residence in the Agency was all but abandoned. Settlements hired increasing numbers of new professionals, who, because of their "educational background" began to distance themselves from their neighborhood residence (Trolander, 1987). One had to maintain a "professional distance" from one's client.

Through the 1940s, Friendly House was sponsored entirely by the Community Chest. There was no endowment and with the exception of the small membership fees paid by the children and money raised by the Mothers' Club, the Agency

had no other source of income. According to a brochure, "the staff does wonders by serving more than 700 families and children under the Community Chest budget."

The Worcester District Nursing Society continued to support the Friendly House Well Baby Clinic one day per week for the benefit of neighborhood families. Elizabeth Dinsmore (1947, p. 8) reported that

many of these families cannot afford to pay a private physician for all minor difficulties of childhood, and the clinic has a registration of nearly 100 infants and half as many pre-school children. The physician and the district nurse in charge, examines the children and discusses with parents special problems such as feeding, behavior, on the need for immunization from communicable diseases.

Friendly House and the District Nursing Society also sponsored a Dental Clinic with an average of twenty-four appointments per week. Each small patient, whose teeth were in perfect condition, was awarded a 100 Percent Button. As payment for being a "good patient," the children not only received a bright orange medal, but were allowed to choose a small trophy from a box in the clinic. The Dental Clinic, after the War, became a cooperative project including several different agencies: specifically, Friendly House, the Worcester District Dental Society, Edward Street Day Nursery and the Board of Health.

When the Clinic first began operation, it was managed and staffed on a completely voluntary basis by the Worcester District Dental Society. However, because of the shortage

of dentists during World War II, the project had to be abandoned for several years. In 1947, the city of Worcester provided funding for a dentist and a dental hygienist. Children who "belonged" to Friendly House received a regular inspection, cavity fillings, and dental hygiene instruction free of charge. Others paid a nominal fee.

The Dental Clinic continued to operate until December, 1971 when the building at 38 Wall Street was permanently closed. An average of 22 children attended the Friendly House Nursery School each morning during the postwar period. "Training begins as the children arrive, and in the first weeks of school they learn to enter quietly, take off their own coats and rubbers, and to keep the nursery room neat" (Dinsmore, 1949, p. 8).

Ruth M. Trainor was appointed Director of Friendly House on September 1, 1947. Trainor when asked "What kind of children are there at Friendly House?" replied, "I didn't know there was more than one kind of child. Children are people--the same everywhere." Ruth Trainor remained the Director of Friendly House until her death in November 1969.

The primary focus of Friendly House still remained its school-age recreational programs. As was true of many settlements, at the time, children came for music, arts and crafts, drawing, cooking, sewing, and games. Friendly House was seen by the Community Chest as a recreation agency. Consequently, it was grouped, for allocation purposes, with

the Boys and Girls Clubs, the Y.W.C.A., and the Y.M.C.A. For the most part, programming and funding remained stable for Friendly House and other settlements during the postwar period, the 1950s and the early 1960s. Community Chest or Federated Funding for settlements contributed to this stability, but unfortunately it tended to lower the rate of innovation (Stuart, 1990).

Friendly House, as was typical of the average settlement house in the 1950s and early 1960s, offered a range of "after school" and summer services for children. Cooking, sewing, handicrafts, and nature programs were provided to children of grammar school age. "Club time for girls, aged ten to twelve, boys' athletics, and the "little folks" program were offered to the neighborhood children as well.

The July summer program for boys and girls included outings at Green Hill Park and crafts, nature work, along with games and singing at Lake Park. The major activity for the summer of 1952 was a trip to Fenway Park in Boston.

It was a hot afternoon when Patrolmen Thomas V. Cardwell and Edward J. Jessie of Precinct 3 passed by the playground of the Friendly House, Inc. on 38 Wall Street. A group of boys was huddled under a tree, a portable radio blaring out the Red Sox-Detroit Tigers game. The patrolmen were interested. "Ever see a game boys?" they asked. "No," replied the boys, "but we'd like to."

On July 14, 1952, eighty boys from the neighborhood went to see the Boston Red Sox baseball team.

Over the years that followed the War, Friendly House, according to Ruth Trainor, became designated as a community or neighborhood center, largely because the term "settlement house" was thought by many to imply work with poverty-stricken families. Mrs. Trainor, until her death in November, 1969, often argued that

Our national organization is the National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers and I see nothing wrong in using the term settlement house. After all, the term originated when young students from Oxford 'settled' into a neighborhood to work with the people and this is just what we have done in this neighborhood--settled, worked, and learned something.

In 1957, Friendly House became affiliated with the National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers--the national organization. On March 25, 1958, Margaret E. Berry, Field Representative of the National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, spoke at a Board of Directors meeting on "The Role of the Neighborhood Center--'Settlement House'--in the Modern Day Community."

Berry reviewed with the Board the work that was being done by other neighborhood centers in other cities. The Board, in its turn, attempted to clarify the role of Friendly House in the light of national trends and of the specific needs of the Worcester community. Opinions varied that evening, but general agreement was reached on what

should be the primary purpose of an organization such as Friendly House--the betterment of the specific neighborhood which it was organized to serve. Berry pointed out that this was the original purpose of the settlement, and that it remains the "first purpose."

"Neighborhood centers throughout the country have broadened their activities in recent years to achieve many additional aims." The principal among these new activities, she noted, "has been a major emphasis on community organization or neighborhood improvement services."

"Today," she said,

there is a double focus in neighborhood center work. I believe it is true that you must do a good job in the area in which you are located. But, I think you have an additional responsibility, as population grows and spreads out to see that all areas of the community have the services that they need. (Worcester Telegram, March 25, 1958)

Some Board members questioned the wisdom of such a move even though it had been a recommendation of a recent study undertaken by the Greater Worcester Community Chest. The principal objection was that the agency might "spread itself too thin" by taking on responsibilities in addition to those it already has. Other members felt "that the program at the center itself might suffer if the agency were to begin operating on a community basis or to take over specific programs in other sections of the city."

Concurrent with this meeting, Harley Trecker, former Dean of the University of Connecticut School of Social Work

and a Site Evaluator for National Federation, had recommended that a number of improvements be implemented. These included an addition of a part-time secretary, the addition of a full-time program director to free the director for "outside work," and the entrance of the agency into neighborhood renewal work.

During the decade of the 1950s, Friendly House received over ninety-five percent of its support from the Worcester Community Chest's Red Feather campaign. The balance of the Agency's income was derived from membership fees, money raised from special events, and small contributions from private individuals. Friendly House was seen by many people as a small organization serving a limited number of youngsters in a specific neighborhood in the city. According to Ruth M. Trainor, the Director, "The public thinks we're either a branch of an ice cream chain (the Friendly Ice Cream Corporation) or a girl's organization especially with a woman as its Director" (1960, p. 29). Consequently, the Agency's funding was minimal and bequests were small. In 1959, the Community Chest's allocation for Friendly House was only \$20,414. When the Community Chest Drive failed to reach its goal the following year, the allocation was reduced by \$381.

Friendly House was primarily staffed by women which accounted for the fact that less than one hundred boys were members out of a total of six hundred participants. With

its limited budget, Friendly House only operated a four-week summer program, was closed when the city schools did not operate. Evening programming was limited to special events that included an occasional neighborhood "pot luck" supper, a once per month mother's club meeting and a monthly pre-teen dance. The Dental Clinic for preschool children operated from nine to noon on Tuesdays and the well-baby clinic was conducted only on the second and fourth Fridays of the month.

The 1960s saw a major change in resources and mission for Friendly House. The agency received its first major non-Community Chest (United Way) funding from the Office of Economic Opportunity. By joining President Johnson's War on Poverty, Friendly House could employ for the first time, significant numbers of indigenous workers. Poor people helping the poor became a key theme of community action agencies (Trolander, 1987). Friendly House was one of the very few settlement houses that successfully blended the traditional United Way funded programs with those of the Poverty Program.

C H A P T E R I I I

WAR ON POVERTY

On January 1, 1970 Gordon P. Hargrove was named executive director of Friendly House, Inc. His first experience in settlements was the Fall of 1957, when as an undergraduate student at Worcester State College he became a group leader at Friendly House in Worcester, Massachusetts.

After graduation and two years of graduate study at Clark University and the University of Oregon, Hargrove spent two years in the army. His first position, upon completion of his military service in 1965, was that of Program Director of Friendly House. In 1965, he assumed, with the commencement of Poverty Program funding, the position of Project Director of the Community Action Programming of Friendly House. Consequently he functioned, for a period of three and one half years in a dual capacity at Friendly House. He succeeded the late Ruth M. Trainor, who was the executive director for 22 years. In 1970, Hargrove received a masters degree in social work from the University of Connecticut School of Social Work. He was enrolled, initially, in the group work sequence--the traditional educational program for settlement house workers. In 1968, however, with his experience in the war on poverty, he changed his major concentration to community organization. Prior to his Friendly House employment he was

a recreational leader, during the early 1950s, at the Ionic Avenue Boy's Club in Worcester, Massachusetts. He was the Water Front Director, at the Worcester Boy's Club Camp for a period of four summers. Currently Hargrove is executive director of Friendly House.

He remembers the first day that he climbed the stairs to the "Old building" that housed Friendly House at 38 Wall street. "I was employed at two dollars per day to provide recreation programming for the boys in the neighborhoods served by Friendly House. I recalled, the term "settlement house" being used to describe Friendly House, but, at the time, I had no idea what that meant. For years I would describe the Agency as being "similar to the Boys Club, but only with girls."

I primarily organized yard games with the neighborhood children, and during periods of inclement weather, we would all crowd into a 12 foot by 14 foot room to play board games. The champion of the day would receive 25 cents. I initiated, on a formalized basis, the basketball, baseball, and football teams which are still an important aspect of the Agency's programming for many residents. For four years, I was the sports writer for the Friendly House Star-- a monthly newsletter published by the journal club.

Often, during the late spring, money would "run out," and Mrs. Trainor would say "Well, we do not have funding to pay people until July, but if you can 'stay on' for a few

more weeks I would certainly appreciate it." Most of the staff did, indeed, stay. I believe that loyalty reflected the feelings we had for the Agency and the neighborhood.

The War on Poverty Program

On August 20, 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed into law the Economic Opportunity Act. This Act established the Office of Economic Opportunity (O.E.O.), declared a "War on Poverty," and set a foundation for his Great Society movement. "A primary intent of the Economic Opportunity Act," according to Zurcher and Green (1969, p. 5),

was to stimulate or accelerate change in the socioeconomic structures of communities by going beyond the usual expedient of mechanically supplying material resources to the poor. The plan was to involve the poor, through 'maximum feasible participation' in decisions and processes that led to resource acquisition (Economic Opportunity Act, 1964). The strategy of funds, programs, and active involvement of the poor was designed with the hope of disrupting the cycle of poverty.

The war on poverty or the anti-poverty program changed dramatically the programming of Friendly House and Gordon Hargrove's role. Poverty became politicized and as a result poverty agencies were forced to continually lobby for funding. The war on poverty dramatized for Friendly House. The contemporary rediscovery of poverty. The result was that issues of neighborhood poverty were lifted from benign neglect to the main focus of the Agency.

Community Participation

O.E.O. affirmed the participation of low-income and minority residents in decisions that directly affected their lives. Neighborhood residents were encouraged to sit on agency boards, to staff local social service facilities, to establish and/or support change-oriented organizations, and to speak out directly in support of racial and ethnic minorities. O.E.O.'s strategy encouraged the participation of Blacks at a time when the Civil Rights movement's strength was peaking. "The inclusion of low-income citizens in the development and administration of government programs had few precedents in American politics" (Greenstone and Peterson, 1977, p. 258).

O.E.O. funding, also, provided a myriad of programs aimed at eliminating poverty. Head Start, an educational enrichment program for preschool children, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, an employment program for low-income teens, and the Job Corps, a vocational/educational program geared primarily for high school dropouts were among the more popular antipoverty programs. Title II of the Economic Act provided funding to local administrative organizations known as Community Action Agencies (CAAs) which, in turn, "funneled" the dollars to local neighborhood service agencies. These neighborhood centers, often storefront operations, provided a variety of programs. The term multi-service center often described these new agencies.

In 1966, Friendly House received \$9,716 from the Worcester Community Action Council (the local CAP agency) to offer a variety of previously unprovided programs to the residents in Eastern Worcester's "pocket of poverty" in the Grafton Hill neighborhood. Neighborhood residents were recruited and employed as neighborhood aides or neighborhood outreach workers, to circulate information and provide basic services.

Volunteer in Service to America workers (VISTA) and Neighborhood Youth Corps workers (NYC) were added to the staff. Often, this was the first opportunity for low-income residents to be employed by a social service organization. It was, also, the first time for area residents to receive a variety of social services from a single neighborhood organization.

Neighborhood Council

Residents were invited to join the "Oak Hill" Neighborhood Council, the body which was responsible for monitoring the programs funded by O.E.O. The Neighborhood Council granted unprecedented opportunities for participation in both policymaking and administrative positions. The members of the original Neighborhood Council voted to house the O.E.O. funded programs at Friendly House.

This local level policy group not only took responsibility for the expenditures of program funds, it also effectively lobbied for programs in behalf of the

neighborhood. However, many other neighborhood groups established "storefront" operations rather than associate with a conservative, nonresponsive area settlement house.

The Poverty boards were perhaps the most difficult with which to work, in part, because of the distrust bordering on paranoia that they often exhibited toward established agencies. The settlements, for their part, probably could have been more adventurous in following the lead of the Poverty board sooner. After all, one reason the Poverty boards were created was to bypass the "establishment." (Trolander, 1987, p. 190)

With the War on Poverty programs, Friendly House became almost a dual agency. The O.E.O. funded multi-service programs were overseen by the Neighborhood Council, while the traditional Board of Directors, although responsible for the entire Agency, focused on the recreation programs. The War on Poverty would alter Friendly House's traditional methods, its approach to the neighborhood, and its funding patterns, and indirectly its accessibility and attitude toward social or language minorities. It was no longer acceptable for the Agency to operate a "business as usual" schedule while the poor in the neighborhoods continued to suffer.

Neighborhood Action

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, community action became a major focus for Friendly House. Neighborhood residents were involved in issues which directly affected their lives. A crime-watch program was established to combat the effects of drugs in the neighborhood. The

residents effectively stopped the construction of the Massachusetts Turnpike connector which would have split their neighborhood and eliminated nearly eight housing units.

In addition, the community was instrumental in the design of the new building. Every major segment of the population was represented. The youth planned the gymnasium and the game room; the elderly group discussed programming and space for their activities; parents decided on the use and the space dimensions of six classrooms; and the teenagers requested a room of their own. The neighborhood division of the building fund drive raised over \$20,000--double the neighborhood's goal. Clearly, people had a stake in the facility which was completed in 1972 and an involvement in the daily programming that followed.

Changed Roles for Settlements

With the advent of O.E.O. funding came fresh demands for programmatic accountability. As a consequence, management procedures were emphasized at the expense of spontaneous programming that was a hallmark of the settlement house. For instance, Friendly House had to check income levels in order to establish eligibility for various programs regardless of whether the individual might benefit. The challenge for Friendly House, with government funding, was to retain its historical roots, to be relevant to the

neighborhood, and not become an agent of the government in the expansion of a welfare bureaucracy.

In response to level funding by the United Fund for the decade of the 1960s, increasing community needs, and the availability of funds from a variety of funders, Friendly House, like many settlements, relied on a combination of individual fund raising efforts and grants from local, state, and federal agencies. This funding mix continues today, with Friendly House receiving dollars from seventeen different sources.

Michael Lipsky and Steven R. Smith (1990, p. 95) noted that

Settlement houses, initially reluctant to accept government support, were especially attractive funding targets for public officials because they were usually located in low-income neighborhoods and offered governments the opportunity to respond quickly to social problems associated with poverty.

Lipsky and Smith further observed:

Friendly House, a settlement house in Worcester, Massachusetts provides a good example of this transformation. It was designated as a community action agency in the mid-1960s and then received government funds for daycare services for abused and neglected children in the 1970s. By 1980, government was providing 49 percent of the agency's total revenues of \$677 thousand. In the late 1970s, the wealthy board members who had provided the bulk of financial support for the agency throughout its history resigned and were succeeded by individuals more comfortable with the substantial dependence of the agency on government funding.

Bertram M. Beck, the Executive Director of the Henry Street Settlement Urban Life Center in New York City, observed that "raising funds to sustain and expand services is a major problem in nearly every settlement" (Beck, 1976, p. 271). Beck and other settlement house leaders saw public support as intrusive, and believed that community action and reforms would be compromised by government funding. Consequently, many settlements tended not to be involved until the late 1960s with large government grants. Unfortunately for many settlements, it was either accept public funding or go out of business. "The growth of government funding clearly bailed out many financially troubled traditional agencies" (Lipsky & Smith, 1990, p. 94).

Additionally, Friendly House had to contend with another consequence of federal concern for the poor--a loss of support. Once the only agency operating in the neighborhood, Friendly House had to take its place, in the late 1960s, with an array of newly formed organizations with similar missions.

Analysis

In 1968, Camille Lambert, Jr. and Leah R. Lambert completed an analysis of the changes that occurred between 1960 and 1967 in sixteen voluntary agencies in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, that sponsored programs funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity (Lambert and Lambert, 1970). A

number of settlement houses with O.E.O. funded programs were included in the study. The issues discussed and the focus of the study is relevant for evaluating the changes caused by federal funding to Friendly House.

The study was organized around the following issues: the service emphases of the agencies, the clientele, the structure and techniques for delivering services (including use of personnel), the policymaking body, and the financial supports of the agencies.

I. Program Emphases. Did Friendly House develop more new services encompassing new techniques, and not merely extending or expanding the existing services? In 1965, Friendly House was only providing specialized recreational programs for a limited segment of the neighborhood population (ages 6 through 14). The well-baby clinic and the dental clinic continued to be sponsored by the Department of Public Health. Each clinic was held only one day per week. In 1976, the Social Service Corporation, an organization that provided planning and management assistance to Worcester human service agencies, identified thirty-nine specific services provided by Friendly House. Primary services ranged from elder health services, job placement and referral, food stamp issuance, adult education classes to neighborhood development and social issues advocacy groups. O.E.O. funding emphasized, in particular, community involvement in all aspects of programming.

Recreation programming has increased over the years to include residents from 3.5 years to those in their senior years.

II. Who Should Be Served? Did Friendly House allocate a larger portion of non-O.E.O. funds to serve more poor persons, more minority poor and more people residing in the neighborhood?

Friendly House, with O.E.O. funding increased its services to a great number of families. Initially, however, as was true with the surveyed settlements, the proportion of families with incomes under the poverty level and minority persons changed very little. Significant changes came when the new building opened in 1972. The addition of space and programming allowed for an increase in the number of people serviced. The early and mid-1970s saw a dramatic increase in the number of Blacks using the programs. It was not until 1990 that Friendly House social services were provided to a larger proportion of poor minority families than poor whites. Generally, the composition of those who received services reflected the demographic characteristics of the neighborhood. With the closing of a number of the neighborhood centers in 1989, Friendly House has experienced a high proportion of poor minority families from all sections of the city.

III. How Families Should Be Served. Did Friendly House develop a greater variety of techniques for reaching out to neighborhood families?

The community action programs and the involvement of indigenous neighborhood residents, "brought the delivery system closer to the consumer" (Lambert and Lambert, 1970, p. 57). Additionally, Friendly House developed a greater variety of techniques for reaching out to neighborhood people.

Each year the Neighborhood Council held an election among the neighborhood residents to choose officers for the Council and to elect representatives for the Community Action Council Board. Moynihan (1969, p. 137) noted:

The device of holding elections among the poor to choose representatives for the CAP governing boards made the program look absurd. The turnouts in effect declared that the poor weren't interested: in Philadelphia 2.7 percent; Los Angeles 0.7 percent; Boston 2.4 percent; Cleveland 4.2 percent; Kansas City, Mo. 5.0 percent.

In the early 1970s, the Neighborhood Council members and students from a civics class in a local school brought ballots to the homes of residents who could not travel to Friendly House to vote. The one-day effort each year resulted in over 12 percent neighborhood participation. The residents sent a letter to Daniel P. Moynihan informing him of their success. He never replied.

Joint programming with other social service agencies have been emphasized since 1966. Currently the agency is cooperating with or referring people to well over two hundred agencies on an annual basis. Since the development of O.E.O. programming, Friendly House has aggressively reached out to the neighborhood poor and isolated elderly. Unfortunately, this approach has, at times, "backfired." Often the Agency has been unable to provide the expected service due to the increased numbers of people. Recently, one hundred people had to be turned away from the Christmas party because of safety issues. In 1990, the Agency ran out of Thanksgiving and Christmas food.

IV. Staffing Crisis. Has Friendly House increased the number of staff and volunteers in its programs and have new positions been filled by poor or minority persons?

The total number of staff has increased since 1966 and, in particular, since the Agency has secured public funding. In 1965, Friendly House employed two full-time and ten part-time staff members. The number of staff increased by six with the first O.E.O. grant (two full-time and four part-time). More than half of the total Agency staff were from the neighborhood. In 1973, Friendly House hired its first minority staff person--a Black outreach worker. Since that time the Agency has actively recruited and hired minority staff for all segments of the operation. At

present, over one-third of the staff employed by Friendly House is minority.

Since the War on Poverty, Friendly House has tried to be true to the basic philosophy of neighborhood involvement, program accessibility and the need to be aware of who is living in the neighborhood. During the decade of the 1980s, the Friendly House service area experienced a rapid growth in its minority population. The major increase has occurred within the Latino community. According to the 1980 census, the total Latino population of the City of Worcester (Figure III) was 6,877 or 4 percent of the total population of 161,799. In 1990, 16,258 people of "Hispanic origin" were living in Worcester. Puerto Ricans represent over 90 percent of the total Latino population. Consequently, Friendly House has been committed to understanding the needs and aspirations of the Puerto Rican community. Latino staff members were recruited and are now employed. All workers regardless of their own ethnic background had to become sensitive to and knowledgeable of Puerto Rican life styles and culture.

V. Decision Makers. Has Friendly House Board and committee composition changed since 1966?

When the Neighborhood Council was responsible for overseeing the O.E.O. funded programs, the Agency Board of Directors began to include, for the first time, poor and minority residents. The Neighborhood Council, an open-ended

body, was made up of consumers and/or neighborhood residents, while the Friendly House Board generally included "successful" at large members. The two governing bodies always managed to agree with each other's function and worked together until the Neighborhood Council voted to dissolve in 1978.

This decision was based on the steady decline of Poverty Program dollars, and the Worcester Community Action Council requirements that each contracting agency be managed by a not-for-profit, incorporated, 501(c)3 governing body. It appeared that many council members were "tired" and frustrated at having to always "fidget" for scarce resources. Additionally, the Council recommended that the Friendly House Board of Directors actively recruit and accept for membership neighborhood residents--especially those who had been active on the neighborhood body.

Neighborhood Council members, for the most part, felt that influential people were necessary to raise money for Friendly House. Consequently, the Friendly House Board has always included a majority of members from outside the neighborhood. Of all of the "gains" the Agency has made, participation of poor and minorities at the Board level has been the poorest. This trend seems to hold true for many settlement houses. "The poor," note Lambert and Lambert (1970, p. 59), "were considered not only unsuccessful and no

asset to the agency, but persons who would feel uncomfortable with and inferior to other board members."

VI. Funding Practices. Has funding increased to meet the needs of low-income residents in the Friendly House service area?

In 1965, Friendly House had an operating budget of \$21,00. Today, Friendly House receives in excess of 1.4 million dollars to support its programs. It has received increases in not only its public dollars but its non-governmental money as well. The non-O.E.O. funded portions of the budgets (mainly United Way) for many settlements remained stable or decreased.

Government Funding

Friendly House has, since 1966, been increasingly dependent upon state, and local governmental funding. Unlike the 1970s, the Agency receives over 60 percent of its dollars from state contracts. "Changes in social service funding in the 1980s," according to Lipsky & Smith (1990, p. 106),

were complex. The federal government reduced expenditures in some areas but increased them in others. State governments assumed responsibility for many services started in the 1970s by federal grants, and increasingly spent funds to purchase services from non profit agencies.

Tables 3 and 4 reflect an overview of funding for Friendly House for the decade of the 1980s.

Table 3
Revenue from Private Sources
(in thousands)

	United way	Contributions	Investments	Client fees	Endowments	Total Revenue
1980	180	134	--	24	0	693
1989	225	80	--	73	0	1199

Table 4
Government Funding Trends, 1980-1988

	Government funding	Percent of total revenues	(Deficit) Surplus
1980	330	48	--
1985	626	61	2
1988	781	65	(11)*

*Currently Friendly House has a surplus of income over expenses and has eliminated all deficits.

When the "new" building was completed in 1972, it was clear that Friendly House could no longer depend on United Way funding, although since 1972 the Agency has received substantial allocations from the United Way along with private contributions, in-kind assistance and endowment income. The time came for Friendly House to align itself with the public funders in providing social services.

The Agency has avoided depending on one or even two sources of funding. Friendly House has applied for relatively stable grants, such as child feeding, temporary sheltering and daycare. It has structured its funding in such a way that a loss of one source would not jeopardize the Agency. Further, Friendly House never "chased dollars" for the sake of increasing its operating budget. It stayed focused on its mission and neighborhood.

Friendly House and Drugs

The War on Poverty brought hopes for fundamental change at a time of public and private turmoil. Young people across the nation questioned authority, notably around the war in Vietnam and illegality of drugs, especially marijuana. Students on campuses organized protests. Drugs hit many schools and neighborhoods with a vengeance. It seemed as though everyone was doing drugs and the heavy users became hard to control in schools or on the streets. Friendly House had opened its doors to expanded programs for

the poor, but was unprepared for the large numbers of "freaks" who openly used drugs.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, drug abuse and drug related street crimes reached "crisis" proportions in the United States. A rapid acceleration of marijuana use occurred on college campuses during the late 1960s, and by the early 1970s a majority of college students had some experience with the drug.

Pot smoking" among many inner city neighborhood youths reflected similar use patterns. "Explanations for use of marijuana follow well-established traditions in the behavioral sciences: experimental personalities are said to more likely try it than their less venturesome peers, as an illegal behavior and an iconoclastic act, 'smoking pot' provides status among alienated youth, it is also a means of flaunting conventional roles. (Brown et al., 1974, p. 527)

Other causal interpretations of accelerated drug use ranged from apathy, educational constraints, the Vietnam war, the materialistic values of the 1950s and 1960s, association with "user" peers, and other personal factors.

Drug problems came to the City of Worcester and the Grafton Hill neighborhood in 1970. Friendly House staff were preoccupied with initial stages of construction for a new building. At the same time, we tried to understand the consequences of the situation and the efficacy of drug education programs. Illegal drugs quickly achieved a surprising visibility. It was difficult to quantify the

exact extent of drug use among neighborhood youth, but they threatened to overwhelm the neighborhood and Friendly House.

The Agency became a "magnet" for many users as a place to hang out. A local neighborhood "spa" (variety store) was a major distribution center for drugs in the eastern section of Worcester. Many users were of high school or college age, who did not attend school. They ranged in socioeconomic background from low to upper income. Very quickly the area serviced by Friendly House "decayed." Barbiturates and heroin replaced marijuana as the drugs of choice. The area adjacent to the building became a tough place to live. It seemed, at the time, that Friendly House or a neighborhood resident experienced "a rip off" on a daily basis.

University Year for Action

Our challenge during the early 1970s was to remain relevant to those youngsters who had "dropped out" and to provide ongoing services to the rest of the neighborhood who opposed and/or did not understand the counterculture. In 1971, relief came when Friendly House became a placement organization for students from the University Year for Action Program (U.Y.A.). Students were recruited from the University of Massachusetts at Amherst--the sponsoring institution of higher education. On July 1, 1971, the Federal Volunteer Programs were consolidated under Action, a new and independent agency. University Year for Action, an

innovative, volunteer, social action program, was included under the Action umbrella and was officially launched in September, 1971.

U.Y.A. grew in an era that dramatized the slums and conditions of poverty. Over twenty-five million Americans were below the poverty level--a condition that many saw as self-perpetuating. There was a strong desire of many of the young people to live in a low-income community and to share its problems. U.Y.A. enabled many neighborhood centers to return to their roots in the settlement movement.

Posing new alternatives to the conventional curriculum in higher education, University Year for Action represented a response about how universities might address two parallel problems: poverty and societal separation.

Too many students of my generation have indeed suffered from what might be called "liberal Arts Lag"--a problem of transition from the ordered concepts of the ivory tower to the capriciousness and complexity that are normal to the lives most people lead. It is a continuing fact that there are still 25 million Americans below the poverty line, in spite of long-term and large-scale efforts by both governments and private groups. Only recently has this condition been recognized as a self-perpetuating one, requiring more extensive participation of responsible institutions if the cycle is to be broken. Universities share in this responsibility. (Blachford, 1972, p. 38)

Ten universities participated in the first phase of U.Y.A. They were selected on the basis of their "demonstrated commitment" to the anti-poverty efforts and their ability to deal with it. "Each candidate school

submitted proposals for community action projects worked out with local anti-poverty agencies" (Blatchford, 1972, p. 38). The eastern portion of the United States was represented by Howard University, Federal City College, Morgan State College, and the two campuses of the University of Massachusetts. "The program," as described further by Blatchford, "was in effect a four-way partnership involving Action, the University, individual students, and local development agencies (such as legal aid, a community school, or a community action program)."

The university, in return for its involvement in the U.Y.A. Program, received funding for program administration, training allowances, volunteer stipends (averaging \$200.00 per month), and travel costs. In turn, the educational institution was required to recruit prospective students, arrange for appropriate placements, develop job descriptions, provide faculty supervision, and assign the appropriate academic credits for the students' practical work. Students received one year of academic credit for fifty weeks at forty hours per week of work in the community. The agencies received not only a staff person at no cost, but some resources from universities as well.

The University Year for Action Program was a new model of education, a model of effective service to the larger community, and a reciprocal exchange of resources, needs, and personnel. "The program," according to Dr. Ruth W.

Burgin, Director of the University of Massachusetts' U.Y.A. Program,

differs from previously existing programs in several important ways; first, it has specific academic aims--to transfer the learning experience from the classroom to the field without losing academic standards and approaches to learning; second, to make available the resources of the University--audiovisual and educational aids, faculty and student expertise, student manpower--to the poor community. To achieve these goals, action develops and coordinates the interests and activities of the poor, the colleges and universities, the organizations that sponsor volunteers, and the volunteers themselves (Burgin, 1973, p. 1).

UYA Volunteers at Friendly House

U.Y.A. students brought an enthusiasm and a commitment to Friendly House that has, during my tenure, been unduplicated. Courrien Turner, a community businesswoman and a Board member, during the U.Y.A. era, recently commented: "The students came at a most critical time in the history of Friendly House. Considering the number of things we had to deal with, I doubt seriously that we could have ever made it through the early seventies without them. We owe a great deal to each and everyone of them."

The U.Y.A. Program was the breath of fresh air and support that Friendly House needed to cope with drugs and a spirit of community activism based on raised expectations. A number of our programs were level funded and the Program Director resigned for a higher paying position at the local community action agency. In addition, the construction of

the new facility and the neighborhood's request for assistance in dealing with the drug problem put almost impossible demands on the director's time. U.Y.A. opened the ivory towers. It bridged a gap between universities and neighborhoods.

Friendly House with U.Y.A. had gone back to its settlement house roots. "What happens to the people is of primary concern to neighborhood centers" (Colborn, 1963, p. 1). In order to address those issues, the director had to bridge the "gulf" from the friendly informal milieu of the Agency to the formal environment of the University. The events and the tragedies of Grafton Hill needed to be interpreted to those involved with the U.Y.A. Program.

The Cummington Experience

One of the training programs for students about to embark for one year into their assigned communities was held in the Conference Center in Cummington, Massachusetts. This experience shaped the way that I thought, spoke, advocated, and worked with the minority community. In the course of the week's events, I reconstructed the history of the minority people with whom I worked; people who shared my life at Friendly House, but not my ways; people whose lives differed from that of mine and my family.

For the first time I began to understand that racism affects every person and every institution in our society; it is a part of everyday life. Racism is complex. There

are many who seek to maintain and benefit from racist practices.

"Racism," according to Delaney and Mizio (1981, p. 62), serves not only economic purposes by psychic purposes as well. The exploitation of other countries has allowed the higher standard of living that this country has enjoyed and is not seeking to protect. Minorities become societal scapegoats, an explanation for avoidance of dealing with the complexities of a faltering economy. It is easier for individuals to hold on to racist attitudes than come to terms with their own inadequacies, lack of self-esteem, or feelings of guilt or shame.

I explored, for the first time, the issue of power and racism, and realized that power resides not only with those who control production in this country, but exists within the social work profession as well. The question then, for me, (and still is) as a practitioner and agency director what commitment have I made toward rectifying present inequities in society? How have the policies of Friendly House improved the lives of our minority neighbors? Conversely, how have the policies of the Agency perpetuated racism?

Each practitioner must not only strive to deliver racist-free services, but acknowledge his or her own racist "hang-ups" and question how these are being manifested. How much distance are we maintaining in our daily private lives? Do we view a minority person as only a client and not someone who is equal in stature to ourselves? Inherent differences are often used to exploit others, and thereby

serving our own self interests. Are we willing to not only acknowledge differences but similarities as well, and to what extent do we focus on these differences? Minority families who utilize the services of Friendly House must be involved in every aspect of the Agency's operation. This has to be true in the decision-making processes, program feedback, hiring, and the day-to-day operation.

Are your minority staff only "window dressing" or are they truly involved in the operating policies? This question was asked of all agency representatives who attended the Cummington Program. If the answer was minorities share in the agency process, we were in turn questioned on the numbers of minority staff and their positions with the organization. What is the "comfort level" of the minority staff at Friendly House, are they patronized or do they truly feel important as far as the overall mission of the Agency is concerned? How well does your White staff work with them? Have you, as the director of the agency, discussed with minority staff members their experiences with regard to oppression at Friendly House? How are they perceived by members of their own community?

The Cummington experiences brought to light issues relative to institutional racism. "Institutional racism," according to Carmichael and Hamilton (1967, p. 4), "is less overt, far more subtle, less identifiable in terms of

specific individuals, individuals committing the acts. But it is no less destructive of human life."

Institutions in the United States are fairly stable social arrangements and practices through which collective actions are taken. Medical institutions, for example, determine medical policies and establish practices and ethics. Public and private institutions of higher learning determine what is considered knowledge and to whom and by whom this knowledge is taught. Further, institutions reward and penalize. Institutional racism is deeply imbedded in American society and unfortunately is perpetrated by frightened and bigoted individuals, and sometimes by good citizens who wish to keep the status quo. It may even be further perpetrated by social "do gooders" who are well-intentioned but nonetheless naive in their attempts to carry out reform. Not only have minority populations and, in particular, members of the Black community been excluded from the business community, but many have been relegated to the lowest level of the labor "scale." Unemployment and underemployment are the results of overt racial discrimination in hiring and promotions.

The lack of minority control of schools is a major factor in the alienation of minority groups. The problem is not a lack of education, but the lack of power to control these institutions. Minority groups must look upon schools as expressions of their own aspirations, not as remote White

structures which intrude in their lives. Schools, through the use of racist textbooks written, edited, published, selected and taught by Whites, are inculcating into White children false notions of superiority over people of color by presenting a distorted view of the historical and contemporary roles of whites and nonwhites in the world. In addition, our schools teach children an attitude of optimism toward race relations, and a notion that "Things aren't really so bad" and "Everything will work out" if we just keep on as we have been doing.

The real question for me when I left Cummington was one of commitment and responsibility. I understood that it was not enough to simply talk about oppression, but rather to be committed daily to work through personnel attitudes, to assure agency relevance and a multicultural presence. The task is awesome, the challenge great. If there is no commitment to changing the institutions of White society both individual and the organization will have failed.

"Cummington" changed my reactions to people of color and my stereotypical ideas. I emerged with an appreciation for ways of life which were different from my own and the limitations often imposed by my dominant culture. The Cummington experience was one of the most important single events in my life.

U.Y.A. Staff

On September 9, 1971, Albert L. Alessi was interviewed and placed in the position of Program Director at Friendly House. He was one of the forty-nine U.Y.A. students who were in community programs during Phase One. His first, and perhaps, his most important assignment was to become involved with the neighborhood youth--to "relate." Alessi developed a range of programs from teen discussion sessions ("rap" groups) to a neighborhood crime watch. He commanded respect from even hard core drug users. Today, many who were heavily involved in drug use, then labeled "freaks" mention his name in the course of conversation.

Alessi not only completed his U.Y.A. tenure but was hired in September, 1972 as the Director of Programming--a position which he held until December, 1974. In 1991, Alessi visited Friendly House and commented upon his first year as a U.Y.A. volunteer:

I was initially attracted by the fact that I would be able to leave the insulated world of Amherst and get out into the real world in the post-Kent State era. I was also motivated by the U.Y.A. stipend since I did not have the tuition money for my senior year. Given the sequence of events that were occurring on campus and with the nation as a whole, it was time for me to leave the university and change the world.

Friendly House was the fourth community organization that Mr. Alessi had visited.

My first impression was here's a place that is different from all the others, a place with genuine warmth. I felt at home. During my placement year, I became truly connected with

those in the counterculture. Each day I experienced a sense of need and that I was participating in a mission. It was the 'flavor' of the past--my one half year in the old building on 38 Wall Street that enabled me to enter with confidence on February 1, 1972 into the new building. I felt at times intimidated by the notion that we were moving into a new facility and a new era with myself as the Director of Programming.

Friendly House, with its myriad of programming and directions coupled with its built-in flexibility, accommodated a range of political views, interests and skills found among the U.Y.A. students. Alessi elaborated on this fact when he observed further that

The flexibility of Friendly House was what carried me through my three years as Program Director and I believe honestly that it was this flexibility and caring that resulted in the saving of many of the young people.

Five University Year for Action students were placed at Friendly House for one year beginning January, 1973. In a feature story entitled, Working at Friendly House U. Mass Students Learn on the Job. John M. McAllister (1973, p. 3) wrote,

Mary D. Pritchard is a junior at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, and she finds campus life 'very boring.' In January she started working at Friendly House, planning a day care center for the young children of Grafton Hill. . . . Joan M. O'Connor, a junior at U. Mass., also works at Friendly House as a youth worker. Since Ms. O'Connor has been at Friendly House she has organized a series of 'rap sessions' for teen-age girls in which they can talk about a problem or concern. She also is an advisor to the Center's

Youth Council and works with projects such as photography and videotape classes at Friendly House and she tutors.

Carol A. Kresge and Richard A. Anderson worked in PACE (Project in Alternative Community Education), an alternative school project held at Friendly House, and a special recreation project for handicapped children. Dwight Jameson, another Action student, also worked in the Alternative Education Program PACE and an adult tutoring program.

Karl Krantz, a senior at the time of his placement, came to Friendly House in June, 1972. His major project was the establishment of a teen drop-in center at Friendly House. The program was opened to youth between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one and ran from six p.m. to ten p.m. each evening. Mr. Krantz was instrumental in bringing to the Agency musicians for various Worcester organizations--an activity which remains ongoing twenty years later.

The University Year for Action Program enhanced immeasurably the programs at Friendly House. The students and their projects were an almost perfect match for the problems faced by the neighborhood and Friendly House. Unfortunately, UYA, although intense, was short-lived. Phase V or the commencement of the third year of the program required sponsoring agencies to contribute a portion of the student's stipend. With severe cutbacks a reality, the program found it difficult to place students. Often a

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student was forced to transfer from one agency to another when his or her funds were curtailed. Friendly House averaged two students for the final two years of the Program. The interns continued to work in the PACE Program as well as in the Neighborhood Development Program.

Project of Alternatives in Community Education

PACE

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, Friendly House staff and many neighborhood parents had grown concerned with the numbers of alienated and hostile youth who frequented the agency and refused to attend school. At the time, the trends of alienation from parents and formal education had been escalating downward to younger adolescents as the trend for centralized schooling became necessary. When the Child Study Department of the Worcester Public Schools approached Friendly House with the idea of forming an alternative school for junior high students on the basis of the success of the Satellite School at the Worcester Girls Club, it was decided that the concept of this program could offer a solution to a neighborhood problem.

Throughout the winter and spring of 1972, meetings were held with various interested school personnel and Friendly House staff to determine the feasibility of PACE. Funding for the project was seen as the major deterrent for the establishment of the Alternative School. Proposals were sent out to private foundations, without success. In late

August, 1972, the Worcester East Middle School formally committed a teacher from their staff for PACE. Friendly House, in turn, committed a staff member who organized a team of volunteers and scheduled the use of the facility.

PACE was initially conceived as a pilot alternative program for youth who had demonstrated difficulties in relating to structured and formalized education, had a record of frequent truancy and a history of negative behaviors both in school and the neighborhood. The project aimed at improving the student's self image and learning socially acceptable solutions to daily problems by demonstrating that learning is living and that learning takes place through formal and informal education.

The proposed project design had been for thirty male and female students in the eighth and ninth grades from the junior high schools that serviced the Grafton Hill neighborhood. The design for PACE was altered, at the time, to fifteen students (boys and girls) from the eighth grade at Worcester East Middle School. The decision was made to proceed with PACE, unfunded, staffed by volunteers and materials on hand, rather than have no program at all. On October 10, 1972, the first day of PACE was held at Friendly House.

The standard procedure for a student's entry into PACE was referral by the student's Guidance Counselor on the administrative staff at the Worcester East Middle School or

by a member of the Friendly House staff. Students either requested entry into the project or it was offered to the student as an alternative to the full-day school program. The teacher released to work with PACE was often involved in the final selection. There were two conditions that the student had to accept from PACE to participate: (1) the student had to have the desire to join the project, rather than a straight referral from the school system, and (2) the student had to attend the morning classes at Worcester East Middle School. During the first year of operation, only five students were terminated from the program and this only after much "soul searching" by the total staff. Throughout the first terms of PACE, there were a total of twenty students--fourteen boys and six girls.

During the first four months, the teacher released from the East Middle School and May (the other co-director was Mary B. Tetro, a Program Developer of Friendly House) served as co-directors for a team of twenty-four volunteers who regularly participated in the weekly activities. The schedule of times that the volunteers participated were constant from week to week but not every day. Staff ratio even fell below one to five, and often it was as low as one to two. That low staff ratio was one of the strongest assets of the PACE program. It gave the opportunity for the student to relate informally with adults, socially and

academically, and, in turn, created an environment for learning new behaviors.

The volunteers were considered as staff throughout the years of PACE. The following organizations provided volunteers for the project: Worcester Area Council of Jewish Women, University of Massachusetts, Assumption College, Fitchburg State College School of Nursing, Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Worcester State College, and community minded individuals.

Dwight Jameson, a U.Y.A. student and staff member of PACE, discussed the involvement of the Worcester section of the National Council of Jewish Women, and, in particular, Mrs. Doris Porter with PACE, in an article which appeared in the October, 1973 edition of the Wall St. Journal (the neighborhood newspaper).

During PACE's first year, the Council provided a good deal of financial help: five teacher aides from their ranks and most importantly, the leadership of Doris Porter. Mrs. Porter, who has four children of her own, became lovingly know as "Ma" to students and staff. She taught reading, planned special PACE luncheons and took part in all major field trips. She even loaned her car for a four-day trip to Washington, D. C. (Jameson, 1973, p. 1)

In January, 1973, three University Year for Action students were assigned to PACE by Friendly House to initially serve to remedy the problem of the daily fluctuation in staff. Their presence alone, not to mention the whole dimension of sensitivity and dedication, added

consistency and continuity to PACE. Throughout the time of Action, all volunteers spent a portion of their tenure with PACE.

PACE combined academic, vocational, cultural and recreational programs. The academics included individual and remedial assistance to the students as it was found that many were far below the eighth grade level. The daily schedule of activities were planned a week in advance at the staff meetings. Each day had its own schedule with purposely varied time blocks to prevent a routine from being established and to minimize boredom. The students were regularly consulted and involved in planning special activities and interest areas. From the outset, the staff learned that a prepared plan was vital to the creation of a stimulating learning experience.

The regularly scheduled classes were: English and reading, math, science, arts and crafts, cooking, physical education and counselling. The staff, also, offered a variety of short-term programs (averaging approximately six weeks in length) in sewing, auto mechanics and jewelry-making. PACE, also, incorporated day trips and the students toured such places as the Worcester airport, Trade schools, other alternative programs, local colleges, business establishments and museums. The program utilized the swimming pool of the YWCA and the Boys' Club, and the State ice skating rink. Guest speakers and films were

periodically part of the program on special interest issues such as drugs, alcohol, teenage culture, and camping.

Students developed an enthusiasm for overnight camping from the head teacher and the Action staff. With "borrowed equipment" and donated funds, a number of field trips were arranged to such places as the White Mountains, Washington, D.C., Camp Blanchard and, during a "summer section," Cape Cod. Camping helped with the issue that PACE was only held for three or so hours a day and the students returned back to their dysfunctional environments. The camping experience was found to be a vehicle for developing group solidarity, interpersonal relationships, mutual trust and the individual's sense of duty and responsibility to himself/herself and the group. It strengthened the relationships and trust among the staff and students that began in the regular PACE programs.

It was important to maintain a spirit of flexibility throughout the scheduling, amending techniques and coursework to the talents, capabilities and needs of the students and the multiplicity of programs at Friendly House. The overall program was geared to creating successful experiences in the development of positive self-image, academic skills, and socially acceptable behavior with the emphasis on rewards rather than punishment. Students were constantly encouraged to make their feelings known so as to work out their frustrations and/or hostilities.

Parental Involvement

The early planning phase of PACE, when Friendly House and the Worcester School Department were first determining the need and methods for an alternative educational experience for junior high school students, included a discussion for the need for developing a corresponding group made up of parents of the participating students. It was the opinion, at the time, that parental participation would serve the dual function of providing input from the home environment and providing the means for additional feedback from the program staff. Furthermore, a parents' group would serve to make the program more sensitive to the students' needs and in the long run, a more effective program.

The initial involvement of the parents in the program was centered on home visits by the head teacher, on his own time. The initial purpose of these visits was to clarify the goals and intentions of PACE, to provide opportunities to the parents to learn about the teacher in an informal setting and hopefully to create an atmosphere about PACE that would make parents feel free to communicate with program staff when needs arose about PACE or a school-related problem.

The actual development of a parents' group did not become a reality until much later in the first school year with the involvement of the Action students. The students were charged with the responsibility of furthering

relationships with the families of the participating students and to organize the parents' group. For nearly two years meetings were held on a monthly basis, during the school year with parents, to discuss the activities and the programs in PACE, the future of the program and their children's future needs for education. The meetings were conducted informally, with spontaneous discussion encouraged. Every year since the mid 1970s a parent of two students visits Friendly House to thank me for PACE and to talk about how well her "children" are doing.

Pace in Retrospect

The major "frustration" experienced by the staff revolved around the lack of materials and reliable funding for activities. PACE's unfunded status was alleviated when funding was made available by the United Way, the Council of Jewish Women and the Junior League. PACE outlived all of the major alternative programs in the City of Worcester and, were it not for the enactment of Proposition 2 1/2 in Massachusetts, I strongly believe that the program or a variation would still be at Friendly House today.

PACE was an extremely intense program that depended upon the spirit of cooperation between the Worcester School Department, Worcester East Middle School, the students, the staff of PACE and the staff at Friendly House. PACE worked also because of the dedication of Frank Giannini from

Worcester East Middle School and the college students who gave their time, energy, love and money.

Jameson (1973, p. 12) summarized PACE:

The kids loved the program. Their attendance rate nearly doubled. They did not feel that placement in this type of a program was a stigma, as is often the case when students are grouped into special classes. PACE made them feel special in a positive way. They learned math and reading, but they also learned about themselves. Most importantly, they discovered that there are some people who really care about them and appreciate them for what they are. (Jameson, 1973, p. 12)

Cooperating with Neighborhood Schools

In addition to its on-going relationship with the Worcester East Middle School, Friendly House maintains continues contact with all of the neighborhood schools. An "out reach" recreation program is provided to Grafton Street School, Addams Street School, Lake View School and Union Hill School. North High School, Dartmouth Street School, and Rice Square School have all utilized the facilities at Friendly House. High school age students for the Worcester Alternative School participate in morning physical education activities in the gymnasium. Between 50 and 100 separate contacts per month are made between the staff of Friendly House and Worcester school officials.

For the past five years, Friendly House has provided space for Worcester's Alternative High School. With the exception of a few joint programs, the activities are parallel in nature.

The longest and closest working relationship has been with Grafton Street School. For the entire decade of the 1980s, I chaired the Principals' Advisory Committee and, in turn, teachers and administrators served on the Friendly House Board of Directors. Through cooperative planning, the Agency has attempted to provide those services or resources which were eliminated as a result of budget cuts. In the Spring of 1988, Friendly House staff assisted the kindergarten teacher at Grafton Street School until an aide was replaced. The gymnasium is used on a regular basis by the physical education instructor. All special event activities involving the entire student body at Grafton Street School are held at Friendly House.

Historically, settlements in Worcester had collaborated, shared staff, and referred those in need to an appropriate agency. This level of cooperation, sometimes marred by competition for CAA funds, expanded greatly during the War on Poverty. Friendly House worked with schools, other neighborhood centers, and on a daily basis with Department of Public Welfare, Worcester State Hospital, the courts, job placement and training programs. Sometimes Friendly House acted as an advocate for poor people, sometimes as an information source. But the major focus was to encourage access to services by neighborhood residents.

C H A P T E R I V
HUNGER AND HOMELESSNESS

Hunger

As the war on poverty faded into the revenue sharing programs under President Richard M. Nixon's new federalism, Friendly House found itself engaged in a far wider array of neighborhood services and organizational relationships than it had been in 1960. The traditional recreation programs continue to function with local support from the United Way for a director, three full-time group leaders, and a number of part-time recreation aides. Some of the community organizing activities of the war on poverty and the U.Y.A. consensus as federal funding patterns shifted from community action to direct service activities. "By the early 1980s" according to T. Rulander (1987, p. 230) "there was no real interest in funding settlements to do social action or strengthen their relationship with their neighborhoods."

Friendly House found itself constrained as a result of categorical funding limitations, to respond to emerging neighborhood needs. Unfortunately, Johnson's Great Society Programs never matched results with promises. A series of economic down turns in the 1970s and early 1980s supported the Reagan administration's assault on federal programs to assist those in poverty. As a result, with many of these devastating cuts, the numbers of people who were living at

poverty levels increased dramatically. People's needs began to become more desperate.

A large part of the story of Friendly House from 1975 to 1990 deals with hunger and homelessness. On the one hand, these programs were in direct response to visible needs among people who came to Friendly House expecting help. On the other hand, these programs evolved in a bewildering array of funding sources, volunteers, accounting procedures, and the logistics of responding to the thousands of needs, Friendly House distributed tons of food and housed many hundreds in a variety of shelters.

Throughout Friendly House served a classic role in America's needs-based welfare system. Although government programs, foundations, philanthropists, and volunteers could provide resources, they did not know the people who had needs. Friendly House, with its roots in the east Worcester Community has a reputation for providing assistance that extends throughout the state. It has served a major role in matching resources with needs and in providing basic support so that persons and families can recover from emergency needs.

Friendly House, however, absorbed one function that local relief was expected to play. The local welfare authorities were expected to separate the truly needy or deserving poor from those whose plight might seem as a result of their own doing. In part, they served the purpose

of the new right's belief that "government handouts" excused poor and unemployed persons from taking responsibility for their own destinies. Consequently "the welfare state" according to Wineman (1984, p. 36) "maintains political stability by dividing the underclass of welfare poor from the middle-class and upper section of the working-class and creating structural conflict between them." The issue becomes not one of job security, but rather excessive taxation. The welfare poor who are perceived as lazy are then the targets of middle-class blame for the inequitable distribution of income.

In fact, welfare is demoralizing and negatively affects one's feelings of self worth. All too often, those who need to be part of the welfare system are perceived with indifference or hatred. I present a series of vignettes that hopefully will personalize those who are poor and in trouble. No one really just "takes advantage of the welfare system." The personal insights will be presented in such a manner that confidentiality will be insured.

We braced ourselves against the rain for the one-half mile walk to the Welfare Department. Martha and her three children were abandoned by her estranged husband at a local motel on their way through the city. "I just knew when he left for cigarettes that he was not coming back, but at that point we had not eaten for nearly two days and I just did not care any more." The woman at the desk in the motel had

called Friendly House when it became apparent that the children were in need of food and the bill for lodging would not be paid. As we were walking, Martha's oldest daughter of seven years suddenly reached down and picked a half eaten apple out of the gutter and began to eat it. By the time Martha could react, the child had already swallowed a portion of the apple.

For children to be hungry in the United States is a cause not only for alarm but also for terrible shame. One sentence stands out in the recently published Children's Defense Fund's Report on Childhood Poverty: "More children are hungry in the United States than there are total children in such countries as Angola, Somalia, Haiti, Zimbabwe, El Salvador, or Cambodia" (Jackson, 1991). After parents struggle to pay for housing, utilities and other necessities, there is often little money left for food. Some families begin the month eating well-balanced meals, but by the end of the month families are eating more filling less nutritious items. Many parents often skip their meals so that their children will not go without.

The Massachusetts Department of Public Health, the Massachusetts Anti-Hunger Coalition and representatives from Project Bread in October 1990 began an intensive five-month state-wide study of families with at least one child under age twelve. Participation in the study required that families have incomes below one hundred eighty-five percent

of the Federal poverty level: i.e., Twenty-four Thousand Dollars or less for a family of four. Known as the Community Childhood Hunger Identification Project (CCHIP), the study concluded "that eighty thousand children under twelve in the Commonwealth are hungry and an additional one hundred fifteen thousand are at risk of being hungry. This means that nearly two hundred thousand Massachusetts children under twelve--one in four--are hungry or at risk of being hungry." The CCHIP study noted that all low income households were experiencing hunger or were at risk of being hungry during the twelve months prior to the study.

Since its inception, Friendly House has provided or been involved with numerous food programs whether through its cooking programs for children and adults, in the early 1920s and 1930s or its benefit food drives in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, the Agency has given a high priority to food distribution programs. The 1990 distribution provided food for nearly seventeen hundred families or 3,300 individuals. Friendly House officially began the holiday canned food program in the early 1970s with the cooperation of Becker College and Worcester Polytechnic Institute's Project Kidnap. Fraternity members of Lambda Chi Alpha at Worcester Polytechnic Institute dressed up as gangsters and used old cars to "kidnap" the presidents of each of the dormitories at Becker College where canned goods had been stored. Becker students had to pay "ransom" of the canned

goods to get the presidents back. The canned goods in turn were donated to Friendly House where volunteers put them in boxes to be distributed to the needy for Thanksgiving. The students donated 14,000 pounds of food and 102 turkeys during the first year of the project. Each year until 1989, the program has averaged 18,000 pounds of food. During the first year turkey baskets went to 136 families with an additional 37 families receiving canned goods.

In 1990, Friendly House in conjunction with the Worcester Hunger Consortium coordinated the major food drives for the City of Worcester. This effort provided complete dinners to over 1,000 families during Thanksgiving. Including the Christmas distribution, over ten tons of food was distributed city-wide.

Federal Programs

During the summer of 1969, the Agency first became involved with the Department of Education Bureau of Nutrition Child Feeding Program providing one hundred meals a day for children during the summer program. During the years the Agency has expanded the program where now thirteen hundred breakfasts and lunches are prepared each day during the summer. Four separate feeding programs are provided for the fall, winter and spring programs with the evening supper being the most heavily attended. In 1989 an average of 30 children participated in the evening meal. Currently meals

are served to 150 children per evening. During the last two weeks of the month, the numbers increase.

Often parents will call to be certain that the evening meal will be served. Mrs. Martinez stated, "I am not sure what I would do without this program. I know my children can eat very well at Friendly House, especially during the days before I can get my food stamps." Mrs. Johnson, who lives in Plumley Village, the public-private housing development located one and one-half miles from Friendly House, walks each way with her five children to be sure that they participate in the supper program. "After I pay all of my bills there just is not enough money for even food. I am trying to do some housekeeping (under the table), just to buy milk and a few extras but I cannot feed my children with what I have as well as they can eat at Friendly House."

Friendly House also provides meals to fifty seniors per day through the State Department of Elder Affairs Nutrition Program. Unfortunately due to severe budget cutbacks the Agency limited this program only to those seniors who live in the immediate neighborhood. At one time the Agency provided meals to a total of four hundred seniors per day at sites located throughout the entire eastern section of Worcester.

Surplus Food

On Monday, May 8, 1982, Friendly House became the first Massachusetts Agency to distribute United States Department

of Agriculture surplus food. Sixty thousand pounds or twelve thousand blocks of cheese were distributed to needy families in Worcester as part of a nationwide distribution program. The special cheese distribution began December 22, 1981 when President Reagan "issued orders to release at least thirty million pounds of processed American cheese from the United States Department of Agriculture warehouses." The cheese was part of an especially large government surplus that, if not used, government officials worried might spoil.

The distribution was to be a one-time release of surplus dairy products through the Special Dairy Distribution Program (SDDP). SDDP operated under the 1981 Agriculture and Food Act (Public Law 97-98) from January 1982 to March 1983. During this period, states were encouraged to order as much of these commodities as they could usefully distribute. Paperwork requirements were kept at a minimum. In addition, states established their own eligibility requirements for recipients of the products.

In March, 1983 the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP) replaced SDDP. Title II of the Jobs Bill (Public Law 98-8) directed U.S.D.A. "to distribute surplus cheese, butter, nonfat dry milk, flour, cornmeal, rice and honey to charitable institutions, food banks, hunger centers, soup kitchens, and other public or private non profit organizations for distribution to people classified

as living in poverty and unemployed individuals." In addition, the Act made \$50 million available annually to states to reimburse them for costs incurred in storing and distributing commodities. Friendly House could not have continued its distribution program without that additional support for trucking, distribution personnel, and administrative costs. Prior to this, the Agency depended on volunteers and a grant from the Greater Worcester Community Foundation. The Agency received nearly \$40,000 annually to cover the costs of distribution.

Beatrice LaPlante, 72, received a number when she entered the gymnasium. Within a few minutes her number was called from one of the volunteers seated at a table in the gym. Beatrice showed the woman proof of being part of the Supplemental Security Income Program and then signed a sheet stating she received the cheese. Beatrice then made her way to the other side of the gym where she received a long, brown five-pound box of cheese. "I made a great spaghetti sauce early today and tonight for dinner I'm going to crumble my free cheese on my spaghetti."

Standing with her daughter by her side and with boxes of cheese in her arms, Shirley Stebbins said, "I called one of the local community groups today and found out that the cheese was to be distributed today. I've been waiting for this day for two weeks." As three year old Jamie Scott held a box of cheese in the foyer of Friendly House, her mother,

Sandra, said she was surprised she did not have to wait in a long line in the cold. "I'm going to make casseroles, cheese sandwiches and put it on hamburgers," she said.

The lines were relatively small because Friendly House operated seventeen sites throughout the City. That required a great deal of work and coordination. The most recent distribution provided six products weighing in excess of 250,000 pounds to over 14,000 households. The distribution program for the City is now conducted through 40 organizations, utilizing over 120 volunteers, and is run every three months. While this form of food distribution is the most visible to the public, it remains a response to temporary surpluses.

Political scientist Michael Lipsky in a report on the TEFAP Program, July 1985, argues that the released surpluses have made a vital contribution to the functioning of private feeding programs that have experienced annual demand increases of between fifty to three hundred percent since 1981. Because of intense media attention, the plight of the hungry has been highlighted in the public's mind and contributions to private sector feeding programs have increased (Lipsky and Thibodeau, 1985).

Jane Adams, staff reporter for the Worcester Telegram & Gazette, recently observed, "At one point [during the distribution] there were three lines of people snaking through the lobby of Friendly House on Wall Street, waiting

for the peanut butter, rice, pears, flour and butter." Barbara Koblbeck, a volunteer waiting in line when she arrived to distribute the food said, "This is the worst I can remember it since the Great Depression."

Other Programs

The "Feed a Friend" Program, a food collection and distribution effort, was first initiated through the efforts of the Mayor of the City of Worcester and Worcester neighborhood centers. In 1981 Friendly House was and still remains coordinating agency for this project. The "Feed a Friend" Program not only provides food for the neighborhood centers' food pantries, but according to Bohr, (1991), marked the first system-wide interagency cooperation and meetings of neighborhood centers' directors. Friendly House arranged for the collection of food by area colleges, public and private schools and area businesses, and later distributed food to the hungry through the neighborhood centers. The Agency also arranged for publicity in the involvement of key public and school officials during "Feed-A-Friend Week." This Week is traditionally held in late May or June to remind the community that even though the summer is approaching, hunger persists.

Feed-A-Friend served as the catalyst in the formation of the structured Food Pantry at Friendly House. Currently hundreds of people every month turn to the Agency Food Pantry to provide a meal for themselves and their families.

Prior to the establishment of a structured pantry, the Agency would respond on occasion to sudden one-time emergencies such as an illness, an injury or a fire that destroyed a family's home. Food donations were requested from local markets.

In September, October, and November of 1990, Project Bread surveyed emergency feeding networks in Massachusetts. The results confirms "that hunger continues to be a problem affecting thousands of families each month in cities and town across the State" and reflects the current demand upon the Friendly House Food Pantry. The vast majority of surveyed programs reported an increase in need from the current year's experience to that of 1989. Eighty-three percent of the food pantries reported an increase, as did eighty percent of the meal programs. When asked why one finds it necessary to turn to the Pantry for assistance, families most often cite reasons as unemployment, inadequate public benefits, underemployment, high rental and utility bills.

Each person who requests an emergency food basket is given, in addition to the available dry and canned food, a voucher for milk, juice, lettuce, eggs, bacon and cheese. The Agency, therefore, insures that families are provided with basic nutritious food.

In June 1989 Friendly House was awarded \$8,000 for the Farmers' Market Coupon Program for low-income elders.

Farmers' Market Coupon Program provides coupons to low-income elders across Massachusetts that are redeemable at farmers' markets for fresh locally grown produce. The program is designed to promote consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables, to encourage elder recipients to shop at farmers' markets and to support farmers and markets that serve low-income consumers. Funding for the program is provided by the United States Department of Agriculture Food and Nutrition Service, by the Massachusetts Department of Food and Agriculture and by local agencies and foundations.

This program officially known as the "Elderly Nutrition Enhancement Act" authorizes the establishment of demonstration projects in seven states. Elders received in 1989 a minimum of \$10 worth of coupons to be redeemed during July, August and September. The Act further provided that "coupons issued maybe used at farmers' markets or at any other redemption agency determined by the Secretary to be appropriate to purchase commodities or the products thereof. Further, the amount of a coupon provided under this Act shall not be considered to be income or resources of an individual for the purposes of determining eligibility to participate in or benefits available under any other Federal law."

In order to be considered for the coupon distribution program, Friendly House had to include the towns of Barre and Hardwick. In 1990 the program was expanded to include

low-income residents who sought help for food. Each family received \$10 worth of coupons for each household member. The elders, however, only received \$5 worth of coupons. Friendly House was awarded \$7,000 worth of coupons for seniors and \$5,000 worth of coupons for low-income residents for 1991. Elders were still only to receive \$5 worth of coupons while low-income families could only have \$10 worth of coupons for a family of four and under and \$20 for families with five or more household members. Friendly House distributes the coupons through neighborhood centers, elder meal sites and elderly housing units. The Worcester program has had one of the highest participant rates of any program in the State and the highest percentage of coupons used at the farmers' market sites.

Neighborhood Food Cooperatives

Friendly House, since 1973, has been the catalyst also for a number of neighborhood food cooperative programs. The first program began with a nucleus of thirty-five neighborhood residents and expanded at its height to fifty participants. All of the neighbors were required to work on the program and in return would receive a weekly food allotment at a discounted price. Unfortunately, the program was terminated in the spring of 1975 because the central distribution warehouse no longer earned a profit.

A second attempt by the neighborhood with a food cooperative began in 1985 with a nucleus of fifteen

residents. This weekly program which was dependent upon the Worcester County Food Bank ran for three years. Some weeks the program served as many as one hundred forty residents. For a "donation" of Five Dollars, the cooperative members received a large box of food. Unfortunately the program during the last year was controlled by a neighborhood clique of 12 people. The Agency cut its sponsorship of the program when it became apparent that those in charge were stealing food and violating the Food Bank policy by mandating that everyone be required to make a payment of Five Dollars.

Recently Friendly House has become involved with SHARE Massachusetts. This program, modelled after World SHARE, is open to everyone regardless of income. "Anyone who eats is able to participate." With a payment of Thirteen Dollars in either cash or food stamps and a commitment to provide two hours per month of community service area residents receive \$35-\$40 worth of food. After five two-hour training sessions with ten neighborhood residents the program began upon completion of a two-day registration program with 87 food orders. Residents have to provide their own transportation to the warehouse in Canton, Massachusetts to bag the food and to plan for a once-per-month distribution day.

The Agency had planned to close registration for the Grafton Hill cooperative at 150 families. Three hundred twenty-six people registered for the October 1991

distribution. In addition, Friendly House established a satellite center for Project SHARE in the Main South section of the City of Worcester. Fifty-two people registered for the October distribution as well. This program, which is in its infancy, has proven to be extremely popular.

Food Stamps

Melissa, a girl of ten and one of five children in her family, knocked on my office window. "Gordon," Melissa said, "My mother wants to know if you have Thirty Dollars. . . but she will give you Thirty Dollars in food stamps. She needs to take us kids to the store and buy stuff--you know--soap, shampoo and cigarettes, stuff that you cannot buy with food stamps. Some cab drivers, you know, Gordon, won't take food stamps anymore."

"Melissa, where is your mother and the other children?" I asked.

"She's in the street with all the kids. Can you give us the money, Gordon? Will you buy the food stamps?"

I left the building and went into the street with Melissa and talked with her mother. Helen was leaning against the wall rocking a stroller in one hand and holding a bottle for her two year old child in the other.

"Gordon, I just ran out of money. My boy friend's in jail and all I have left is \$30 in food stamps. You know it's a good thing that we are able to get food stamps at

Friendly House because there's no other place for miles that gives them out."

Friendly House provided transportation for Helen and her family to the local market and from the "Emergency Fund" purchased the items which could not be bought with food stamps. I insisted, however, that she use her food stamps to buy food.

The food stamp program is the largest food assistance program for low-income families in the United States. Funded by the United States Department of Agriculture, the program provides monthly benefits to families and individuals whose gross income is at or below one hundred thirty percent of the Federal poverty level. In order to qualify for the program, households must meet eligibility criteria and provide proof of their statements about household assistance. Households are issued a monthly allotment of food stamps. The value of the allotment is based on the Thrifty Food Plan for that particular household size and on the household's net income. The Thrifty Food Plan is a diet required to feed a family of four persons. It is adjusted by the Department of Agriculture on an annual basis.

Households can use food stamps to buy the following: any food or food product for human consumption in addition to seeds and plants for use in home gardens to produce food. Households cannot use food stamps to buy alcoholic beverages

and tobacco, ready-to-eat foods, lunch counter items, vitamins or medicines, pet foods and non-food items, i.e. soap, cleaners, diapers, etc. Food stamps cannot be exchanged for cash. In May of 1990, Friendly House was approved by the Regional Office of the United States Department of Agriculture to be a distribution site for food stamps. Currently, the Agency is exchanging between eight hundred and one thousand vouchers for food stamps per month.

Friendly House receives \$1.30 per transaction. Consequently, the program receives much needed flexible or nonrestricted dollars which are used to support management expenses. Many people who use this service are, also, made aware of the variety of programs offered by the organization.

Emergency Help

During fiscal period October 1, 1989 to September 1, 1990, Friendly House received a FEMA (Federal Emergency Management Assistance) Grant of \$14,000 to provide emergency food and shelter assistance to families. Emergency food requests averaged forty per month. The allocation for F.Y. 1990-1991 was \$38,700. Currently the number of requests for emergency food are 40 to 50 families per day.

Often a family is only able to purchase enough food to last for three weeks with their allocation of food stamps. The last week of the month, therefore, is the most difficult for low-income families and for the staff at Friendly House.

Many times during this period, one hundred or more requests are made for food on a daily basis.

An average food allotment consists of ten pounds of donated United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) food at five dollars per pound, twenty pounds of canned food purchased at fourteen cents per pound from the Central Massachusetts Food Bank, three pounds of food donated by Rachel's Table of Worcester, and an eight dollar voucher for bread, milk, juice, eggs, and meat from a neighborhood market.

The Emergency Good Distribution Program is financed primarily by the FEMA allocation. Additional dollars are provided by the United Way of Central Massachusetts and by private contributions made to the Agency's specific assistance or emergency account.

Friendly House and Homeless Families

During the spring of 1988, I received a call from a young mother who had been deserted by her boyfriend. With a rent that was nearly double the amount of her AFDC check she soon fell way behind in her rent and all of her belongings were put in the street. As she and her children were getting into my car to go to the Shelter, I wondered if this was all that she had. Her clothes and personal items fit in the trunk. After arriving at the Shelter, she asked if she could sit in the car for a few minutes. As the "reality" of

having no home settled in, she became hysterical. It took a considerable amount of energy to persuade her to come into the Shelter and she assured me she was doing it only for her children.

We were just in time for the evening prepared by a local chef who was completing his community service hours on Saturday evenings. During his stay he provided a choice of two new menu items. Mother and her children became occupied with their first good meal in some time. Anna remained in the Shelter for nearly seven months and during her stay she oftentimes assisted the staff in helping other mothers adjust to shelter life. When it finally came time for her to say goodbye, she broke down and cried. I assured her, however, that "her family" was not far away and that we would be there to help her in times of need.

Prior to the 1980s, Friendly House occasionally became involved with families who found themselves without a place to live. Generally this was a result of an eviction or a problem where a mother and her children had to leave an abusive situation.

During the Spring of 1984, many homeless people who were housed in area hotels and motels were evicted because area colleges were holding graduations and it was felt that the families of the graduates would "spend more money than the people receiving welfare"--a more lucrative proposition for the motels. We opened our classrooms in May 1984 for

five families and housed fifteen people for four days. As it turned out, the Red Cross cots were not needed because someone had made a large donation of bedding to the Agency. Everyone had an individual room and, in fact, the children were delighted when a Friday evening dance was held in the gymnasium.

During October of that year, Friendly House was approached by representatives from the United Way, The Worcester Committee on Homelessness and Housing, and the Red Cross asking for assistance in housing homeless families during the winter of 1984. The feeling was if we could house five families so successfully, why not house twenty-five or thirty people for six months from November through May. In October of that year the Agency received an emergency shelter grant from the Department of Public Welfare to provide shelter for 25 people. At the outset, Friendly House assumed that the Shelter which was located in our upper-level classrooms would be only temporary and people would have to leave during the day. In fact, we felt that a ten-day maximum stay would be imposed on each family.

The first November day that our shelter was open was extremely cold and bleak. Obviously, we did not ask our guests to leave. Where could a mother and young children go between nine a.m. and six p.m.? It also became very apparent for us that it would be impossible to find a permanent living situation for our eighteen guests within

ten days. Consequently, our mandated maximum stay rule was abolished.

At the end of the first week we were sheltering 25 guests and in January of 1985, we housed 37 people. Conditions at the Agency were extremely crowded and the building was utilized to its maximum capacity on many days. Life was difficult in that many people had to share a room and during the day the beds were folded and along with the family's personal belongings and moved to a storage area. On the other hand, our guests found a caring, dedicated staff. During their stay, they assisted in the programming and the maintenance of the facility, a fact that enabled many to have some dignity.

During the three years that the Shelter was located at the Wall Street site, people compared the modest living arrangements with that of other permanent shelters. Friendly House, however, had one thing that the other shelters did not and that was a myriad of programs that all of the guests at one time or another participated in. Young children enrolled in the "Little Folks" program which was held every afternoon. Older children participated in the games room, gymnasium and arts and crafts program and, during the summer, went to camp or the gym and swim program. During the summer, parents volunteered and as a consequence brought their children on special trips. Fathers were employed on a part-time basis as custodians or often times

assisted in the distribution of the USDA commodity foods. Teens joined team groups and often used the gymnasium long after it was closed to the general neighborhood population. Summer Sundays were special times with outdoor barbecues, trips to state parks, and the use of a small wading pools in the back yard.

Learning About the Homeless

The first six months of the Shelter Program taught Friendly House staff many important lessons about who needed housing. For many families, homelessness resulted from events beyond their control. Rents had doubled or more. Reagan administration "reforms" resulted in fewer people qualifying for assistance. Those who came to Friendly House were typically single-parent families. Most often the head of the household was a teenager. Most homeless people, prior to 1980, historically were single men plus some women, often alcoholic, who lived on the streets or in the "skid row" sections of the nation's cities. Now the "ranks" of the homeless include families with children whose welfare assistance simply does not cover housing and those who had relocated in search of work, but did not qualify and found themselves without the traditional social support structures. Often the latter group is young and overwhelmingly Black or Latino. Most never finished high school and are chronic drug users.

The stresses of homelessness on families manifested itself in a number of different ways. Many mothers would just go to bed and stay there for most of the day while their children oftentimes would be "out of control." Some people became aggressive--taking out their anger on staff people or other "guests." Others refused to leave the Shelter because they experienced their first and somewhat permanent and secure living situation with activities and decent meals in a supportive environment.

In an attempt to establish a "normal routine," children are immediately registered at local schools or are bussed to their original school. The Worcester Public Schools have agreed, when possible, to allow a child to continue at his or her school without interruption for the school year. The Shelter offers a tutorial program for all children. The staff encourages the youngsters to complete their homework before they are allowed in the playroom. School administrators and teachers have been understanding and supportive. One Worcester school "adopted" the Shelter for a year.

The Shelter was due to close on May 31, 1985; however, our population was at thirty-seven and the reporters were ready to do a story about an agency that evicted homeless mothers and their children. Obviously we stayed open after quickly negotiating a six month continuation agreement with the State Department of Public Welfare. By the end of a

second year the Shelter had taken its toll on the buildings and the programs. Head Start found it difficult to coexist with the Shelter and was relocated in Grafton Street School. Children would often interrupt meetings and often would refuse to leave until mother was called. It was apparent that the agency would either have to cease the program or locate new quarters.

A Permanent Shelter

In the winter of 1986 the Board of Directors made a decision to continue with the Shelter program and to explore other site options. After a considerable search with the "Worcester Emergency Shelter Search Committee" that included members of the Worcester City Council, the Office of Planning and Community Development and the Diocese, the Agency located space at 11 Sycamore Street on the second floor of Centro Las Americas. After an architectural study, it was determined that the building could be rehabilitated for \$150,000.00. After negotiating the contract with the Board of Directors of Centro Las Americas, construction began even though all of the money was not in place. After completing a vigorous and intensive fundraising program, Friendly House opened the doors for its new permanent shelter on November 1, 1987.

Two senior members of the Grafton Hill Neighborhood recently presented an overview of the Friendly House Shelter Program for one of their college classes. They observed

This shelter houses approximately 85-90 families a year, providing 3 meals a day, open 24-hours a day. Two thirds of these clients eventually move into permanent housing and do well when settled. The children continue to go to their original schools so as not to disrupt this structure in their lives. The children in the middle and upper grades however, find it difficult to cope as they don't want their school friends to know that they are living in a shelter. They can't invite their friends over to socialize after school.

The new permanent Shelter employed a housing search worker who assisted families in the application process for rental subsidies, public housing, and market rentals. A family life advocate provides nutrition education counselling and budget management. Once a week a nursing team provides health examinations and also gives presentations to the women on child health issues. Free legal assistance is provided by the local Bar Association. Additionally, laundry and recreational facilities are provided on the premises.

Meal times are a social gathering for the guests and later the school children are encouraged to do their homework while cleanup after meals takes place ... Families become their own support group to each other resulting in lasting friendships, which helps to reduce the incredible stress that these families feel (Abrams and Romano, 1989, p. 1).

Friendly House Alternative Temporary Shelter housed ninety families during the first year of operation with its thirty-bed capacity. The Shelter never fell below one hundred percent at any time. In fact, for many months we housed 35 or 40 people. Each family had their own room and,

in 1988, with a generous gift from the radio station WEEI (the Boston 590 Fund) we opened our lounge and children's playroom. The emphasis was on providing a clean, safe, caring and dignified atmosphere for our guests.

Other Shelter Programs

Recently, I was called on a Sunday afternoon by a child asking that I help her family because they were in the street. When I came to the address the mother and her six children were sitting on plastic bags containing all of their personal belongings. Her house had been recently condemned and the living arrangement with her sister only lasted for a few days. It is very difficult to keep a mother and six children quiet in one room. When we got to the motel her oldest daughter asked me how long they would be living in their new home. I assured them that it would not be for long; however, they stayed for three weeks. Staff members drove the children to school every day and saw to it that they participated in after-school programs at Friendly House. Each evening they returned to the motel with the children and prepared food.

On another occasion Evelyn Velez was waiting for me in our Emergency Shelter. She and her five children were left in the street by her sister who had promised her permanent housing in Worcester, Massachusetts. She had come directly to her sister's home from Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, "when

life became impossible." Evelyn had taken the first step a family takes when it is dispossessed. She had walked the streets with her children in the hopes of being taken in by friends of her sister or even an acquaintance. Finally, someone suggested that she call the Shelter. Unfortunately all the beds were taken and on this particular evening, a family was spending the night in the Children's Play Room. The staff in the Shelter provided the evening meal for her family and gave her additional food for the first day in a motel.

The motel with which the Agency has contracted is new and very clean, and safe. All families are accorded dignity and respect by the management for the duration of their stay. When I left Mrs. Velez in the motel I thought of my experience with "welfare" hotels and in particular the visions of the Hotel Martinique--the infamous "hellhole" that housed hundreds of New York City's homeless families. I vowed that as long as Friendly House controlled the hotel/motel emergency funds that no family who came for help from Friendly House would face or experience the indignities and horrors described by Kozol at Hotel Martinique.

Although Evelyn was homeless, her set of circumstances differed from those that had come before. Unfortunately the miseries that are shared are similar. Mrs. Velez was afraid of being alone; afraid of not being able to provide food or a sense of order for her children. I assured her that our

outreach worker would be at the motel in the morning with food and provide her with transportation to the Welfare Department. Once her "case was settled" by having Welfare benefits restored, Evelyn and her children would, with the help of the homeless outreach workers from the Welfare Department and the neighborhood workers at Friendly House, find an affordable apartment for her family. Until that time, I assured her that she would not have to be on the streets again. Each of her children thanked me and shook my hand as I left the room.

We have often been criticized for trying to "be all things to all people." Something, which if we believed or permitted, would have smothered the Agency many years ago. We are many things to those who are in desperate situations. The staff of the Agency believes in our families. Seldom is the word "client" used and never is a family referred to as "second class" or belonging to the "underclass." Such criticism or stereotyping reflects an uneasiness on the part of those who have distanced themselves from the realities of the poor.

Friendly House manages and coordinates hotel-motel money from the F.E.M.A. (Federal Emergency Management Assistance Program). If at any time a family or individual is without a place to stay, Friendly House pays the cost of shelter. Since 1985, Friendly House has coordinated the

Motel Placement of Homeless families and vulnerable single adults.

In July of 1987, Friendly House received the largest grant ever made by the Greater Worcester Foundation. The amount of \$25,000.00 was to be used as seed money to open a transitional residence for women and children. On April 4, 1988, Friendly House opened the Frances Perkins Home for 25 residents. The transitional home, named in honor of Frances Perkins the first woman to attain a cabinet position at the Federal level, provided shelter and services to high-risk families to make the transition back into community life.

The transitional housing program of Worcester is a consortium of the social service agencies--Youth Opportunities Upheld, Inc. (YOU, Inc.), The Lutheran Child and Family Services of Massachusetts, and Friendly House, Inc. Together the agencies operate the transitional housing program for 26 families, each of whom remain in one of these locations for varying lengths of time before leaving on their own. Expectant single mothers and single mothers with young children who are homeless or living in shelters are the prime beneficiaries of the five-year \$1.5 million federal grant. The money provides approximately half of the operating costs for the program with the City of Worcester and the Consortium required to match federal money dollar-for-dollar. The City's share is committed from the State Title 707 Rental Assistance Program. The certificates

are "attached" to each unit and remain with the programs. The Greater Worcester Community Foundation has given the Consortium an annual grant of \$30,000. In addition, each program receives approximately \$30,000 per year from the Department of Social Services.

Friendly House operates the Francis Perkins Transitional Home on 16-18 Cottage Street for seven families. Originally, the goal of the "Perkins Home" was to move women from their cycle of institutionalized poverty and a dependence on the welfare system to a position of self-sufficiency. Unfortunately the majority of women and families who live in the home were multi-problem and, in many cases, dysfunctional. Currently the Agency is operating on a refocused goal of stabilization. "Our goals were too unrealistic when we began the program," according to Lois Maitland, the Director of the shelters. "We were being eaten up with their problems while we were trying to secure employment for them in the high 'tech' companies."

The programs stress responsibility--a mother is responsible to herself and to her children. The transitional home provides a safe, secure environment, something that was unknown to many of the families. Each family has their own apartment, and they share a common kitchen and living room space. "Together we support each other," stated Maria, a mother with two children. "Before I came here, I was not caring for my children the way that I

should. Now I watch them or make sure that they are in good hands before I go out."

Oak Hill Community Development Corporation

In January, 1981, a motion was passed at the Friendly House Board of Director's meeting which endorsed a new concept and direction for Friendly House. The Directors approved the establishment of a neighborhood revitalization program. The area surrounding Friendly House was quickly, according to one of the members, becoming a "ghost town." Within a period of three years, eighteen units of housing and one business were razed. Over 70 people were displaced from an area directly across the street from Friendly House. This phenomenon of neighborhood-wide physical deterioration is known as concentrated and contagious abandonment. "When this occurs the problem shifts from an individual building to a neighborhood problem" (Hallman, 1984, p. 219).

The situation was similar in other sections of the neighborhood. Absentee landlords were just "collecting rents," not reinvesting in their properties. When a building became run down, it was either torn down or burnt. Arson was a serious problem in the mid-1970s for the neighborhood. Many settlements were finding that not only were their neighbors gone, but their homes were gone as well.

Housing abandonment reached epidemic proportions in the late 1960s and early 1970s. "Landlords," according to Hallman(1984, p. 218),

found maintenance and operating costs rising (including higher fuel costs after 1973), but not enough potential renters who could afford to pay higher rents. Vandalism, rent withholding in protest of poor maintenance, and general neighborhood deterioration added to the problems. Owners experienced a negative cash flow but couldn't find buyers for their properties. So they vacated the building and abandoned it.

In February, 1981, I called together a group of residents who were involved in the dormant Oak Hill housing organization to explore the potential of coming together again with other neighborhood residents to form a new housing corporation. The primary purpose of the new neighborhood-controlled organization was the planning, financing and the construction of affordable housing units for the residents of Grafton Hill.

With staff funded by the Worcester Community Action council, volunteers, and student interns, and the perseverance of numerous community people, the Oak Hill Community Development Corporation (Oak Hill C.D.C.), became a reality. "Oak Hill's office" was a desk located in Friendly House. In 1985, the Oak Hill C.D.C. became an independent, private not for profit organization. Oak Hill C.D.C.'s mission, as outlined in their charter, was "community improvement, through: creating affordable

housing, initiating community improvement projects, and stimulating neighborhood economic growth."

In 1980, Mike Arrage of 35A Wall Street spoke of the Oak Hill Estates program and praised the idea of the new housing program which allows him to own his own condominium.¹

I first heard of Oak Hill Estates from Butch Anderson, a neighbor who attended the first meeting about Oak Hill Estates at Friendly House. Beverly Pellon, who works at Friendly House, got us the application. My wife and I went to a drawing they had for the condominiums and we were the first ones picked. They had a drawing for each separate condo. We wanted 35A and we won that drawing, too! We got along real well with the landlord and we got a good deal on the rent, but the houses were in bad shape. We wanted to be home owners and stay in the neighborhood.
(Powers, 1980, p. 6)

On June 1, 1989, Oak Hill C.D.C. moved from 36 Wall Street (the Friendly House location) to new headquarters located at 17 Wall Street. To date, Oak Hill C.D.C. has created eight affordable housing units on the vacant property across from Friendly House.

In the Spring of 1989, Oak Hill C.D.C. helped a group of tenants in the Union Hill section buy their buildings from absentee landlords by forming Worcester's first tenant cooperative. Ten families, currently living in their own

¹In 1990, Mike Arrase's son, Michael Jr., attends the programs at Friendly House, just as his father did 20 years ago.

apartments, are the nucleus of the Union Hill Tenants Cooperative.

On July 2, 1991, the Worcester City Council voted unanimously to endorse the Oak Hill C.D.C.'s proposal to convert the former Upsala Street School building into 42 units of affordable elderly housing. Oak Hill will act as developer of the project with an estimated cost of nearly four million dollars. The Oak Hill C.D.C. with its two full-time staff members, a VISTA volunteer, and an active neighborhood Board of Directors, derives financial support for projects and operations from private lenders, small business and corporate contributions, individual donations, government programs, charitable foundations and project income.

This multiple strategy approach by Friendly House with regard to homelessness addresses not only the immediate concern of homeless families but a long-term issue of decent, affordable housing. Recognizing the fact that physical rehabilitation and new construction alone is insufficient, Friendly House and Oak Hill C.D.C. cooperate to address the social and economic problems of the neighborhood, as well. The Grafton Hill experience has shown that neighborhood revitalization is possible. Moreover, low-income people can be involved in the rebuilding process--a process that not only improves their

environment, but affords the opportunity from home ownership.

C H A P T E R V

PUTTING PEOPLE'S NEEDS FIRST

Friendly House provides services to an average of 500 people on a daily basis. During food distribution times or special events, well over 1,000 individuals may participate. Prior to the closing in 1990 of a number of Worcester's neighborhood centers, most participants came from the Grafton Hill neighborhoods. Now the Agency draws participants from all areas of the city and, in a few cases, from the surrounding towns. Individuals and families are also referred to Friendly House by public and private agencies from across the state.

Participation in most of the programs offered by Friendly House is by choice; the major exception being the Emergency Shelter Program for homeless families. Because this program receives major funding from the State Department of Public Welfare, homeless welfare families are placed without an option for shelter selection. Often a person will express an interest in a service or an activity that he or she observes while receiving assistance in another area. Many times families who seek emergency food will participate in one of the feeding sessions and will register their children in the recreation program. People tend not to think "categorically" about their needs and interests. "An integrated and comprehensive set of

services," notes a United Neighborhood Houses of New York, Inc. study (1991, p. 29-30), "is the result of the participant and settlement staff working together; if all works well the effect is greater than either the participant or staff can achieve alone." Most people who seek assistance from the Social Service Department come with a multitude of problems. Our families are often isolated, have very low self-esteem, and lack the confidence and resources to provide even fundamental needs.

Whenever possible, people are offered a broad range of services, even though they may have articulated only one problem. Workers are encouraged to approach a situation in a nonjudgmental manner, to reduce demands such as time, money, and travel that "professionalized agencies" place on a family. Above all, staff must be flexible.

The vignettes that follow suggest that people come to Friendly House with a wide range of complex problems. Consequently, our services and policies cannot be constraining or restricted by professional or bureaucratic regulations

In Need of Support

When Rosa Hernandez, a woman in her early forties, moved from New York City to Worcester in 1982 she had expected to leave the poverty and corruption of her Bronx neighborhood behind. "Auntie," as she is now known in the inner city streets, lived in a number of apartments in the

Main South section of Worcester. Recently she moved into a single room occupancy hotel located in the Main South section of Worcester. The building, consisting of forty units, was run down--its exterior needs paint, the elevator was inoperative and the hallways were dimly lit. Rosa's room is small--fourteen feet by eight feet. A bureau with two drawers was the only piece of furniture that was in the room.

The manager seemed relieved when we arrived with a recently donated sleep sofa. She had used his only extra bed. "I told her she could have it for only a few days ... her time was up today." When asked what would happen if we did not bring the sofa, he answered, "It's her problem. I need the bed for a new tenant who is paying \$90 a week. Mrs. Hernandez is only paying 65 a week."

Rosa came to Worcester in order to assist her niece in raising her five children. However, after only a few days, Rosa was referred to Friendly House because her niece lacked the resources to support her aunt.

The family immediately referred Rosa to Friendly House when she admitted to them that she had tested positive for the HIV virus. Rosa was informed by the physician who treated her for severe bruises after she was severely beaten by her boyfriend. Unfortunately, our shelter at that time was overcrowded. Consequently, Rosa was referred to the local women's shelter where she stayed for a period of six

weeks. Although the usual stay at this particular shelter was normally ten days, I was able because of our close working relationship to extend the time for Rosa.

During the first week of her stay in the shelter, Rosa shared sleeping quarters with other women, having to respond to house rules, having a curfew and depending upon the local soup kitchen for meals. I worked closely with her because of self-importance and self-worth. The horror of her affliction and the trauma of being homeless was "the step before my death."

Friendly House located a subsidized apartment for Rosa in one of the towns outside of Worcester. The apartment was completely furnished through our Donations Clearing House program. She was referred to the local Meals on Wheels program and was assigned a counselor from Project AIDS Worcester. She is beginning to establish her own small network of support although she admits to me she does miss some of her "friends" from Worcester.

Without the continued support of Friendly House or another similar organization, many people find themselves involved in a limited "patchwork" network of non coordinated programs. Each program rarely receives adequate funding-- transportation services for some, food for others, adequate medical care in some facilities, but not in others.

Although Rosa has done well in making sense of a difficult

system, I suspect, with the advance of her disease, she will be unable to advocate for herself.

They Think That they Are Going Back

During the Dukakis administration, families "without documentation," or a term the less friendly term of "illegal aliens," were provided assistance by the Aid to Families of Dependent Children (AFDC) program. In essence, Massachusetts was a "free state," a place where families seeking political asylum could reside and receive services without fear of reprisal. Friendly House offers its services to families without documentation. Each family is assured that no information will be given to anyone regarding their status. As a result, Friendly House, especially during the last ten years, has seen a dramatic increase in people seeking services under these circumstances.

During the El Salvadorian civil war, many El Salvadorians came to Worcester because employment and social services were available. In the first three years of the 1980s, Friendly House was a certified Cuban resettlement agency. However, this ceased when President Castro "did not cooperate with our government." People from Honduras, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Santo Domingo, Lebanon, Iraq, Liberia, Togo, Columbia and Venezuela have all received services from Friendly House. The only condition that Friendly House sets is that the family does not and will not engage in any

illegal activity, sell drugs, use drugs or engage in violence.

Recently I received a call from the assistant to the Mayor of the City of Worcester who indicated that he had a "problem" for me. He, in turn, had received a call from the deacon of a Russian Orthodox Church in Worcester. The Church was involved with a family who had recently come to Worcester from Russia. The family had been here for almost eight months. However, mother and two daughters were deserted by her husband and their visa had expired. The family, unable to find work here, faced termination notices from the utility companies as well as an eviction letter from the landlord. It was apparent to me at the time that we had to assist the family with their immediate crises, plan for the future and work with the Church to develop a structured social service program.

I immediately contacted a colleague at the Worcester office of the Department of Public Welfare and was told, yes, we can help but she did not guarantee, unlike the past, that the information regarding the family would not be shared with the Immigration Naturalization Department (INS).

I asked the deacon to convene a meeting with myself and the family in order to alleviate the immediate problems: utility shut off, potential homelessness and hunger. I first contacted a former Board member of Friendly House at the Commonwealth Gas Company and asked for a reprieve for

one month. I also requested that the account have a notice stating that Friendly House should be called prior to any further termination of services. I negotiated a similar arrangement with the Massachusetts Electric Company. This was done with a person that the Agency has worked with for many years. We satisfied each company with a minimum payment made from a Friendly House emergency fund.

The local Community Action Program (CAP) administers the fuel and utility discount program. I met with the director and colleague to discuss the situation. Thinking "creatively," we secured a \$550.00 allotment and a thirty percent utility discount for the family. The Worcester Housing Information Center administers emergency rental and mortgage payments for families who are facing eviction. This one month allotment is funded through the FEMA program. The Agency agreed to assist the family with the understanding that Friendly House provide a refrigerator for one of their families.

We made arrangements for the Church to become a member of the Worcester County Food Bank. I saw this as the first step in the Church developing their own social service component. During the visit to the Food Bank of which I was a past board member, we acquired enough food to last for one month. At a subsequent meeting, it was clear that the family's main concern was the infamous knock on the door by someone from Immigration and that they would be jailed and

forced to return to Russia. I spent a great deal of time as I do with each family that is undocumented informing them of their rights and procedures that they should follow in the event that they may happen to be "picked up."

During the meeting, I contacted an attorney who specializes in immigration law from the Boston Legal Services office and a colleague in Washington with the National Lutheran Refugee Program to substantiate what I had told the family. Each time that I call I am always informed of additional pieces of information that assure refugees and people seeking asylum. Friendly House had in the past worked closely with Congressman Joseph Markey in framing the bill that allowed El Salvadorians to remain in the United States for a period of two years without deportation.

Through the Church, we arranged for employment for the daughter in a local bakery. We were also working to secure political asylum status for the children as part of their father's request. Then mother, unfortunately, was omitted. If political asylum status is not granted, and I honestly believe that it will not because of the current "positive" situation with many of the former countries of the Soviet Union we will explore other options. We are attempting, by working with a local university, to begin the process of acquiring a student visa for the older daughter. Once this is secured and the daughter is situated, mother may apply for permanent residency under the sponsorship of her

daughter. Meanwhile, the Agency is working with a number of arts funding programs to secure a grant to teach folk dancing and music at Friendly House. The mother, who is a professional dance instructor, will be employed for one year. The program is part of the total enrichment series sponsored by Friendly House.

Families Without Support

Social isolation and the lack of appropriate or functional networks for many of the families especially single parent families is an issue of those seeking service at Friendly House. For the most part, suburban families depend on relatives, neighbors and friends for assistance during difficult times. Food is shared, vehicles are loaned and child care is provided often without thought of remuneration. Conversely, many poor families find themselves very much alone or "clustered" together with other impoverished families. They are, in many cases, cut off from families or life long friends.

Although these "networks may be closely knit, with strong ties, intra network communication is limited or nonexistent and accordingly access to resources that enhance health and development is, also, very limited. "Often they are all so depleted of resources," that, according to Coulton & Pandey (1992, p. 252), "they have little to give to one another while much is demanded of them." Generally, the lower one's income the more fragile or dysfunctional

their network will be. Further, people living under such circumstances are faced with uncertainty and insecurity resulting from their lack of control over external factors, i.e. resources and events. Mothers often complain that they are "disowned" by their own families as a result of "their problem"--being pregnant and/or having a child "out of wedlock."

No One Seems To Care

Women make up the largest category of welfare recipients. "One-fifth of all women," noted Ropers (1991, p. 99),

regardless of age, benefitted from one or more of the major welfare programs. This high percentage of women receiving welfare reflects the disproportionate percentage of women among the poverty population, and is due also to the fact that poor women are likely to live in a family with no husband present. The poverty rate for a family without a spouse is four times higher (34.6 percent) than for persons (7.1 percent) in married couples families.

Approximately 40 percent of female head of household families have incomes below \$10,000. Further, an unmarried teen-age mother has a 75 percent chance of going on welfare by her baby's fourth birthday.

Mary, a young woman of nineteen, stood at the entry way to Friendly House with her son of six months in a basket on the walk in front of the building. Her dress was torn and her shoes were worn.

"Hi, Mary," I said. "How are you doing?"

"I'm not doing very well, Gordon. Do you have any room in your shelter for me and my son?"

I picked the basket up to move the baby out of the sunlight. "Mary, your baby is very heavy," I said, "How much does he weigh?"

"I had him weighed a few days ago at Pernet Family Services and they told me he weighed eighteen pounds but they also told me the scale wasn't working because of budget cutbacks."

"Well, one thing's for sure, he certainly weighs more than that and he is healthy."

"I do my best, Gordon, but Welfare always seems to mess up. D.S.S. (Department of Social Services) gave me back my daughter two months ago and Welfare still has not put her on my check. I haven't been able to afford my rent and the landlord is taking me to court tomorrow. I know I'm going to be evicted but I have no place to go and no one to talk to. The only one that can help me with this problem is Friendly House."

I assured her that she would not have to spend any time in the streets and once she determined her situation, we would have a place for her in our transitional home. Unlike many people who face the prospect of being placed in a shelter, Mary seemed extremely relieved and even a bit excited at the prospect of meeting other women of her age.

As I left Mary and entered the office, I found Maria shaking and crying, while one of the neighborhood workers tried to console her. Maria, a woman of twenty-three with three children, recently, with the assistance of Friendly House, had "rescued" her sister and four children from an extremely abusive situation in Bridgeport, Connecticut. Her sister moved in with only one suitcase of clothing. I had never seen Maria in this state. She was the one that had traditionally provided shelter, food and clothing for many of her family members and friends.

"Que passa, Maria."

"Gordon, I do not know where to turn but she cannot stay in my house any more. She humiliated me and slapped me in the face in front of my neighbors. When I asked her why, she took my money. You have to help me because I have no other place to go."

While consoling Maria and promising her that we would see to it that her sister would be taken out of the home and that she would be provided with food and shelter, I left Maria smiling but still shaking uncontrollably. Shortly afterward I received notice that Ana S. was on the phone and that it was an emergency. When I answered the phone, it turned out to be Carmen, Ana's twelve year old daughter who had run away from home and was living with her girlfriend, Vicky, a sixteen year old who was pregnant and had been put out of her home by her parents. In turn, Vicky was living

in an apartment rented by two twenty-two year old males. The following morning Carmen again called the Agency. I spent a considerable amount of time on the phone and convinced her to meet me to discuss her situation. She agreed and I was able to persuade her that she should stay with her grandmother until we could work out the problems between her and her mother.

"How is your sister doing?" I asked.

"She's doing real good, Gordon, and after she had the baby she's getting all the attention. I'm not getting any attention. It felt real good to know that all the policemen were out looking for me last night. At least someone cares about me," she said.

I assured her that we at Friendly House cared and that it was important, if not critical, for her to work on her problems. Once she was able to show us progress, I assured her, we would have an after school job available for her at Friendly House.

Support for Children

Those concerned about children's developmental disabilities must recognize the critical role that poverty plays in the maldevelopment of many of the nation's children. Today children are the largest and fastest-growing poverty group in the United States and, as a result, their health, education, and survival are compromised (Korbin, 1992). "The evidence," according to

Garmozy (1991, p. 416), "is sturdy that many children and adults do overcome life's difficulties, consequently it is critical to identify those 'protective' factors that seemingly enable individuals to circumvent life's stressors."

Many children and adults, however, do overcome the difficulties associated with poverty. Further, poor urban neighborhoods are not homogeneous: consequently, the impact of poverty on children varies depending on the nature of the neighborhood in which they live (Coulton & Pandey, 1992). It is, therefore, critical to identify those "protective" factors that seemingly enable individuals to overcome their "social impoverishment." A core of positive variables may be found in poverty level families such as warmth, cohesion, and the presence of some caring adult (a grandparent). Another variable is the presence of a source of external support, as exemplified by a strong maternal substitute, a concerned teacher or the presence of an institutional structure, such as a caring agency or a church that "softens" the effects of poverty. Settlements must serve as that critical support system for families seeking to escape the disabling consequences of poor environments.

Over the years, Friendly House has tried to maintain a "climate" of caring, security and well being. Through its dedicated staff, the Agency is virtually a protective shield to help children withstand the negative aspects of the

environment. Programs are available to all ages, consequently a person does not have to leave. Protective role models enhance an individual's competence; therefore, antisocial behavior is dampened. People succeed at Friendly House, whether in the choir, the arts and craft classes for children and adults, the game room, volunteering, being employed in the food service program, winning at softball, or helping with special events.

Additionally, the Agency provides base-line services--food, clothing, and shelter, and crisis counseling on an immediate basis. The inability to secure basic necessities of food and shelter constitutes absolute poverty. The Friendly House support programs have operated under the assumption "that reducing stress from any source and increasing the parent's ability to cope with it would not only benefit the parent, but the child as well" (Chase-Lansdale et al., 1992, p. 307). At Friendly House a parent can talk to someone other than to his or her children, thus relieving the stress caused by isolation which oftentimes manifests as violence.

Many times the Agency provides a service (refrigerator repair, extermination, or transportation) or a resource (diapers, furniture, personal items or medicine and formula) that tends to remove the final "straw." By offering specific help, the Agency improves a family's situation until their next check.

Moving Toward Another Source

Our overall goal is one of support, to allow families the chance to overcome obstacles and maybe eventually break out from the despair of poverty. On occasion, the Agency has been criticized for its attempt to support on a long-term basis impoverished families, but my reply is often "some of our children do not even have boots let alone boot straps."

The informal supports, therefore, from families and friends, that could buffer isolation, impairment, stress malnourishment are less likely to be there for our poorest families. "Given the way helping systems operate," Schorr (1991, p. 30) notes, "these are the children that will not get the kind of attention that could provide them with protection against adversity."

Research Questions

Recent studies (UNHNY, 1991; Schorr, 1988) suggest that, in order to be effective, services to at-risk families must be immediate flexible, accessible, and able to meet multiple needs. Although Friendly House needs to continue to refine and adjust its systems of providing services, I believe the Agency provides appropriate, quality comprehensive programming to a wide range of people. The following research questions focus on the issue of

responsiveness of Friendly House to a changing and challenging population.

1. How does Friendly House serve as one of the few agencies in contemporary society that is now wholly formalized, bureaucratized or "channelized"--an agency that offers a personal face-to-face relationship in which an individual can be seen and talked to in his or her entire life situation?

Friendly House has remained a neighborhood organization. Most people who participate in the agency's programs live within walking distance of the facility. The agency's concern for the individual and the neighborhood is reflected in the fact that the workers and the center accord the utmost respect and dignity to each and every person. The overriding service philosophy maintains that an individual has the right to make his or her own choices, within the limits of restrictions imposed by society, and that the individual and family members (when appropriate) agree to therapeutic or treatment plans. Everyone is special.

"The center's program of service and action is determined by environmental conditions which the neighborhood presents and by the needs of people in the neighborhood" (NFSNC, 1968, p. 5). Consequently, programming and priorities will vary from one person to another depending upon the changing needs and situations in

the neighborhood. Just as neighborhoods differ, seldom if ever are two settlements exactly alike in their approach. As a result, a variety of methods, practices, and responses are used to alleviate a problem rather than a single, mandated service approach. Services must meet the needs of individuals in conjunction with each available services.

Recognizing that the agency cannot be "all things to all people," Friendly House is constantly "encouraging" the appropriate public or private agency to undertake or meet those needs that are their local responsibility. Unfortunately, with the closing of a number of social service organizations to budget reductions, Friendly House has become for many the organization of "first and last resort." The agency believes that a service especially one that will relieve an emergency situation (lack of food, shelter or fear for safety) must be provided as expeditiously as possible. Some services may be offered to alleviate a stressful problem (roaches, utility turn off, inoperative appliance, lack of furniture). Friendly House maintains an "emergency fund" to react to these situations, and to "fill in the social service gaps." Workers see their families in the office, on the street or in their homes.

A service program of such variety demands a staff drawn from a variety of backgrounds and professional disciplines. Since the basic objective of Friendly House has been to ensure service quality, the agency attempts to recruit staff

of the highest caliber whether from within or outside the neighborhood, and to provide incentives for the retention of its staff (i.e. training, competitive wages, and a reasonable benefit program).

Additionally, Friendly House has encouraged the use of its facility by staff from larger, centralized agencies in order that services are brought to people. Additionally, the agency interprets the needs of its participants in order that the service or programs may be appropriate to our families. The Boy Scouts wanted to establish a troop within the agency for neighborhood boys. The following issues were brought to the attention of the administrators: uniform cost, language, and the inability of the boys' only parent to volunteer.

2. How does Friendly House offer a sense of identification; a sense of self worth, and a sense of stability to its service participants?

For more than 70 years, Friendly House has been, for many residents, a focal point in the neighborhood. Staff turnover during the past 25 years has been minimal. A number of employees have seen as many as three generations of the same family at Friendly House. This coupled with a relatively stable financial position, community respect and a continuous growth pattern has contributed to an image of stability and security on the part of the residents.

The physical facilities are a major component of the center. Health, fire, and code ordinances are fully complied with by Friendly House. I have tried to insure that the buildings and equipment are suitable for the program, attractive in appearance and properly maintained. A neat and clean appearance sends a positive message to participants that "you are worth a well-kept building and that you will be safe here." In fact, many children are able to "work off" their membership fee by cleaning the grounds, the sidewalks and the gymnasium.

Children at work decorate the walls and offices of the building and their trophies are displayed in the recently constructed trophy case. This was build by the same person who as a child had attended the Boston Red Sox baseball game (See p. 61).

Friendly House is a registered "safe place" for children who are concerned for their well being. Often, many families have fled and sought refuge from an abusive spouse or boyfriend. Undocumented persons have come to know the center as a "safe house"--a place where they may be able to come for services and guidance without being reported to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) authorities.

By providing services for children, youth, adults, and the elderly as well as encouraging inter-generational

program participation individuals are able to utilize services at Friendly House throughout their lives.

A child may start out in Project Smile; enter the summer pre-school program or the "Little Folks" after school activity; graduate to Head Start, attend the Agency's after-school, day-care program, go on to day camp, or the gym and swim program. Teenagers are encouraged to enroll in the counselor-in-training program, or the summer neighborhood youth corps. A teen center operates five nights per week at the Agency. Often adults in turn enroll their own children in the programs of Friendly House while participating in one or more activities designed for adults. Many residents, participating as children, have returned in their senior years for meals and companionship, at the senior center, while others become volunteers, staff, benefactors, and board members. Since Friendly House provides sheltering programs, babies are often born to residents and brought back into the Friendly House Shelter, then progress to the transitional home, and finally relocate in the immediate service area.

Rather than focusing on individual weaknesses, or defining people in terms of pathologies, Friendly House strives to foster strength, a positive self-image, neighborhood cohesion, and independence. The Agency accomplishes this by helping people to take care of themselves, the members of their family and their

neighborhood, by insisting that institutions and community services be effective and responsive to neighborhood residents by involving other resources to strengthen individuals and families, and by developing leadership skills and opportunities.

Participants and staff of Friendly House reflect the ethnic/racial diversity of its neighborhoods. Friendly House's responsiveness to its neighborhood's diversity is shown in many of its activities. Signs and notices posted in the facility, as well as brochures and mailings sent to residents are written in the languages spoken by the participants.

Friendly House belongs to the people in the neighborhood. Recently I was asked by a group of children "who owns Friendly House?" I replied "we all own Friendly House." The children went "scurrying" to claim their own special piece of the building.

3. How does Friendly House afford the opportunity for experimentation in the utilization of new knowledge and social techniques for dealing with social problems?

Many social activities, now regarded as commonplace, were initiated in the settlements. "They were experiment stations where new proposals in education, recreation, and public health work were tested. The first kindergartens were established in settlements" (Holden, 1922, p. 184). Henry Street Settlement in New York City pioneered medical

inspection and school nursing. Community organizing and community action programs had their "roots" in the settlement movement.

Friendly House has been a prototype for other neighborhood centers that have been established in the city. The United States Department of Housing and Urban Development accepted Friendly House as the first agency of its kind in the city to be considered for a federal grant for capital purposes. The agency's new facility was an example of how to obtain "outside" support that many other community organizations subsequently studied and followed. The preschool dental program at Friendly House was one of first such clinics to be opened in a settlement house in the United States

Friendly House, by its very nature and history has traditionally been a pioneer in the social service arena. Many of the programs and services on which residents of Worcester's low income neighborhoods now depend, were Friendly House innovations or became common largely through the support of Friendly House, (i.g. the feed-a-friend program, the summer feeding program for children, and the U.S.D.A. needy quality food distribution).

In 1978, Friendly House began the specialized child care program on "Special Reck", an after-school, day-care program for "special needs" children. This project, which focuses on hyperactive, emotionally disturbed neighborhood

children, was the first of its kind in Massachusetts. Fellen (1985, p. 41) observed that "The Union Hill Survey, conducted by G. Hargrove and Friendly House in the early 80s reached more families and households of lower income and larger size than the Census Bureau." This study has been used to support numerous requests made to government and private funders. Many have been successful including a 1990 HUD grant for a neighborhood "Pocket Park" in the Union Hill Section.

Friendly House is a flexible institution, always actively developing and incorporating programs that meet new needs and that apply a wide variety of methods, practices and techniques. The agency does not focus upon a specific segment of the population or a restrictive treatment plan. Friendly House is open to all residents regardless of class, race, ethnicity, or sex and responds to new needs as they emerge.

4. How does Friendly House provide decentralized services to people who need help in areas close to their homes?

One of the greatest strengths of Friendly House has been the ability of staff, Board members and volunteers to bring physical, economic, social, political, and informational resources into the neighborhood. In view of its strategic location in the neighborhood and its closeness to the people, Friendly House has had the responsibility for acting as the "bridge" between residents and centralized

organizations. Often residents may lose their way in attempting to negotiate the complex maze of large impersonal social service organizations. Often they do not even bother to keep their appointment at a hospital, the Quadrant High School, or even the Welfare Department. Often this involves the establishment of cooperative venture programs with agencies or organizations located outside the neighborhood.

In 1973, after an intense neighborhood study, indicated a need for a neighborhood mental health clinic, the Agency in partnership with Worcester State Hospital opened a "decentralized" program for deinstitutionalized neighborhood residents. The clinic was staffed twice per week by a psychiatrist and two mental health nurses. Medication was dispensed and the residents level of functioning was monitored.

Friendly House coordinated, as was previously discussed, the United States Department of Agriculture Needy Food Distribution Program. With 39 separate sites, all Worcester residents are less than one-half mile from a food outlet. Health screening services for children and elder residents are held on a weekly basis in conjunction with St. Vincent's Hospital. Nurses and nursing students take blood pressures, dispense influenza inoculations, monitor medication, and check for head lice. In 1990, over 2,000 individuals were seen in the clinic.

In 1990, the Worcester Free Public branch libraries were closed. Friendly House and three other centers collaborated to bring a homework center project with materials from the closed branches, back into the neighborhoods. The program is open to neighborhood children each afternoon. Tutorial services are provided by area high school and college students.

"Baseline" services (food, clothing, furniture, shelter, and emergency counseling) are offered on a daily basis to residents. People who are unable, because of a disability, illness, or child care responsibilities, to come to the agency for assistance, are visited by one of the Social Service Department's neighborhood outreach workers.

5. How does Friendly House help directly or indirectly to promote cultural activities and ways of using increasing leisure time creatively?

On February 1, 1972, Friendly House with the opening of its new facility and expanded staff offered nearly 50 different types of recreation programs to neighborhood residents. The center then became an important recreation entity in not only the neighborhood, but the City as well. The building, including the camp, equipment and recreation staff represented a significant resource in the positive use of leisure time. Agency recreation programs are both "means" and ends". In the majority of situations, residents first come to Friendly House to participate in one or more

of the recreation activities. Once an individual is known and feels comfortable with the agency, his or her needs are often articulated to a recreation staff person who, in turn, "introduces" the individual to the other programs at Friendly House. On the other hand, many people come just to participate in one particular program, such as basketball or soccer.

The array of programs offered by Friendly House include daily elder socials, after school games and arts and crafts for school-age children, evening teen group activities and weekend leagues for adults. The summer program is offered to over 500 children on a daily basis and includes a day camp in Leicester, Massachusetts, a preschool nutritional education and recreation program, Gym-n-Swim activities for school age youngsters, a teen science camp, a summer fun program at the largest low-income housing project in the city, a teenage basketball and softball league, and an eight hour per day, day-care program for abused and neglected children.

Historically, Friendly House has always encouraged programming that would "enhance" individuals' cultures. In 1978, former Teacher Corps students from the University of Massachusetts at Amherst conducted a summer-long, multicultural day camp for over 70 children. Each week a particular ethnic group was highlighted with specific activities and discussion groups. In terms of awareness

"from whence one cometh" the program was one of the most successful.

Ethnic dinners and dances are held, along with dance and music classes. In July 1978, Friendly House received a \$5,000 grant from the Alden Trust (a Worcester, Massachusetts foundation) to develop the learning club, a collection of cultural programs in many different areas of the arts and humanities. The learning club had these goals: exposure to different art forms, i.e., music, drama, and dance, experience in working with these art forms, as well as with the artists themselves, and education for those who wanted more intensive training in a particular art.

The program which ran for two eleven-week blocks combined "big event" performances and small group study sessions. The Hartford Ballet, the New England Repertory Theater, the Learning Guild, and the Performing Arts School provided experiences for the neighborhood children that ranged from instruction in a musical instrument to workshops in video. Over 2,000 people attended the performances in the gymnasium, the various workshops, and the individual instruction sessions.

In 1980, Friendly House received a grant of \$2,000 from the Greater Worcester Community Foundation which was matched by the New England Council for the Arts. This, in turn, resulted in a six-part fine arts series which was attended by over 500 people for each performance. Activities to

promote Black history month are held weekly during February. The programs, run by the Recreation Department, are constantly being monitored for safety, participant satisfaction, and the extent that they are relevant.

6. How does Friendly House involve neighborhood residents in the planning and execution of its programs?

Friendly House believes that the people who reside in the neighborhoods within its service area are a valuable resource, and have been too often ignored. The agency has tried, since the inception of the community action programs in the mid-1960s to build upon the strengths and capacities of the individuals, families, and organizations in the neighborhood while creating an environment that allowed the "maximum feasible participation" of the residents. With the formation, in 1966, of the first neighborhood council or resident board, the agency began to obtain input from a broader, more diverse number of residents than it had in the past. Residents had input into the planning, policy-making, conduct, funding and the evaluation of the programs of the neighborhood center.

In 1969, in reaction to drug related crimes, residents were involved in the establishment of a crime-watch program. In 1973, residents developed and assisted the recreation staff in the administration of the agency "Code of Conduct", or behavior "guidelines" for the participating youth. Residents suggested, planned and implemented the first

Fourth of July block party, the Christmas Party and the Halloween program for the area residents. In 1990, the twenty-fourth annual block party, attracted over 2,000 residents. Fifteen hundred children and adults were "guests" at the 1990 15th Annual Christmas Pageant.

The Oak Hill Community Development Corporation is composed entirely of area residents who work to improve the physical aspects (housing, playgrounds, streets) of the neighborhood. The Share Program or Neighborhood Food Cooperative with an average monthly attendance of over 200 people is managed entirely by area residents, as is the case of the Union Hill Tenants Cooperative (UHTC). The UHTC, with the assistance of Friendly House and Oak Hill CDC, purchased three absentee owned properties, rehabed them and sold the units back to area residents.

In 1990, over half the staff employed by Friendly House lived in one of its target neighborhoods. In the spring of each year, the recreation staff conducted a leadership development or counselor-in-training program for the 12 to 14 year old age group. Youngsters who complete the course are then placed as junior leaders in the various summer recreation programs. The teenage group members assist the agency staff with the children's meal programs, the basketball leagues, dances and all of the major agency events. The adult softball team has attained national prominence, when in 1989, it was ranked sixth in the entire

country. Over \$4,000 was raised by residents to send the team to El Paso, Texas to participate in the Softball World Series.

Moreover, the agency is recognized as an organization that works with other neighborhood organizations in collaborative and cooperative efforts and is interested in sharing its resources and management with other neighborhood groups. Each year, since 1980, Friendly House has collaborated with the Grafton Street School Principal's Advisory Council in the Christmas Program, miscellaneous fund raising events, the book distribution program and the 6th Grade graduation ceremony. Residents have had their wedding ceremonies and receptions at Friendly House. Baby showers and birthday celebrations are reoccurring events. The neighborhood is the focus for Friendly House and conversely the center can be the focus for neighborhood residents.

7. How does Friendly House maintain a continued level of support to respond at a pace consistent with the demands of the neighborhood(s)?

The ability of Friendly House to generate revenue and consequently to sustain the activities of the Agency that fall within the parameters of the mission statement was (and still is) critical to the success of the Agency. This success depended on first determining what activities it would undertake, and secondly, how to generate the funds to

support those activities. Often what services to produce and in what quantities are driven by neighborhood needs, the "prestigious" level of the program, funding availability, and the capability of the Agency to successfully implement a particular program. Additionally, the Agency examines the compatibility of a particular program with those that are in place, and whether or not the program is able to "pay its way." Will the income associated with a particular program cover all the direct (program) and indirect (management) costs?

In a few cases, Friendly House has undertaken programs such as emergency feeding that clearly meet a critical need, but run at a deficit. This loss must be offset by a gain, either through supplemental fundraising or through revenues generated by a "profit center." Money received through the exchange of vouchers for food stamps is an example of one program area supporting another.

According to Akerman (1986, p. 187),

Organizations characteristically find themselves taking on profitmaking activities that will cover the deficit incurred in other activities. This phenomenon represents the class case of cross-subsidization; and it is a factor that must be given substantial weight in projecting how non profit organizations are likely to perform when providing public services.

The funding of Friendly House has always been a challenge. The competition for traditional social service funding (United Way, local, state and federal government grants, and foundation funding) continues to increase.

Additionally, the Agency constantly faces the prospect of a high priority program receiving less support in favor of another. Funders tend to support programs that are politically and socially "correct" at a particular period of time. The financial strength of the Agency lies in its multi-funding structure. In 1990, Friendly House received funding from 17 separate sources. If a reduction occurred in one area, the Agency, although finding it difficult for a while, would survive. Friendly House now employs a full-time comptroller, a full-time accountant-bookkeeper, and two half-time contracts managers. The operation is reviewed on a weekly basis by members of the finance committee. In 1975, the Agency only employed a part-time offsite bookkeeper.

The demand for greater accountability and the interest in decentralization are not necessarily contradictory.

Community organizations, whether or not they trace their ancestry to settlements, need to husband the heritage of the settlements as it pertains to the use of small organizations to influence larger social structures--through advocacy, upward mobility, and volunteerism. At the same time, there should be a planning process on the neighborhood level that submerges individual organizational interests into a rational system of services based on what people appear to need as well as what they say they want. (Beck, 1986, p. 126)

It was trying on staff who saw problems in personal terms, shared the Agency's commitment to help, and had to

adjust service around the recordkeeping and specific guidelines of dozens of programs. Hardly a week passes when one auditor or inspector does not review a particular service.

Friendly House has continually worked to improve its working relationships with its funders and to educate them on new directions. Too often, however, the issue of the degree of autonomy of Friendly House from traditional funding sources must be examined. The question, "To what extent does the agency bend to funders' priorities and to what extent does it attempt to influence the priority setting process of funders?" is an enduring one.

In recent years, the Agency has experienced a positive growth rate in fundraising. This includes not only cash contributions, but "in kind" or donated services and goods as well. With the assistance of the Fundraising Committee, the Agency conducts two major campaigns per year. Goals are established for this committee when the budget is prepared and subsequently reviewed by the Finance Committee. Analysis of all income is done on a monthly basis: grants, contracts for service, rental income, business related income, membership fees, direct mail appeal, investment income and foundation gifts. The tension which occurs daily is meeting an infinite number of needs with a finite amount of resources.

In the final analysis, being a social service provider in a neighborhood is not enough. "The project, settlement house" noted Wineman (1984, p. 85), "requires negative class consciousness, an active commitment to revoke class privilege, and affirm the autonomy of people who by and large have been dominated by professionals." People have to be at the "heart" of the operation. The organization must support a spirit of openness, be free of actual or perceived barriers that could hinder acceptance by all residents. In addition, I have tried to reverse the notion that all poor people are "flawed" and therefore responsible for their poverty.

Unfortunately, many anti-poverty programs by and large "assimilated the conventional ideology of social services by focusing on personal change rather than by social change" (Wineman, 1984, p. 95). The poor must not be cast as incompetent to account for their plight. To consistently attribute the life styles of those afflicted by a social condition as the cause of the condition is the essence of the blaming the victim ideology.

When the Reagan and Bush administration reversed the income transfers that accounted for the gains for the poor, poverty rates dramatically increased. Disparities in the treatment of rich and poor have violated many people's sense of fairness. On a daily basis, Friendly House has tried to extend assistance and opportunities to those in need, in a

sense to "even the odds." Services are provided in a caring, face-to-face, dignified manner. People have a "stake" in the solutions to their perceived problem(s). The person receiving assistance must be looked at as a source of help. Two-way helping creates a realistic perception of people as encompassing various combinations of strengths and weaknesses. All people have something to give and receive.

The staff are encouraged to be friendly, reasonable, reassuring, and nonjudgmental. Often a word of encouragement, a tangible service delivered on an immediate basis without fanfare, a ride, free tickets to an event, asking for someone's assistance at the agency, or acknowledging a child's schoolwork helps to promote personal autonomy and break the domination syndrome experienced by many "clients" with their professional helpers. I have asked the staff to not use the word "client" when referring to a person or a family. Staff visit people on their own "turf"--in their homes whenever possible. Youth workers meet their teens in the streets, the pool halls, or the playgrounds.

Most people need assistance of some form during their life times. The challenge for Friendly House continues to be how to normally "weave" this give and take support into the fabric of a person's daily life.

Although the original focus on service orientation has changed for Friendly House and for settlements in general,

the agencies are unique in their continued commitment in helping people in need survive in an often hostile environment. Strategies to accomplish this end differ now. Program goals are accomplished through effective service delivery and professional relationships rather than by confrontation. Because no one really expects poverty to go away in the near future, and because community action agencies are survivors, no one envisions the demise of the neighborhood center (Bok, 1988; Trolander, 1987).

Summary

As Friendly House looks toward its seventy-fifth anniversary in 1995, the author accents the fact there will be continuous dynamic growth and development in Worcester, Massachusetts. Although Worcester's poverty conditions do not compare in magnitude or concentration with those in the large metropolitan areas, the social processes sustaining poverty and an individual's experience of poverty are similar. Demographically, Worcester is changing and clearly this will impact the programming and future focus of Friendly House.

Clearly, settlements have lost their unique identity and characteristic. "There was a time when one could properly speak of the settlement movement, meaning the actions of middle and upper individuals who lived in the ghettos and forged programs out of their experience" (Beck, 1976, p. 271). Today, however, many people who are directly

associated with a settlement house are at a loss to define its mission and purpose, or to clearly distinguish it from other social service agencies located in the neighborhood.

Of interest is the fact that Friendly House and many other settlements have continued to survive and attract support. I suspect that the answer lies in the fact that these agencies offer endless potential for creativity in that according to Beck (1976, p. 272), "It may be anything that the community, the board, and the staff want it to be and can obtain finances for." The history of Friendly House is one of flexibility and commitment to the neighborhood.

Friendly House has had to adjust to the cycles of changing social circumstances and the strategies for dealing with them. In the 1960s when federal funds were abundant, settlement houses either joined in or were left behind by new community groups--often with more direct political agendas and representatives from new ethnic/racial groups. The settlement quickly found that "longevity alone does not prove merit" (Beck, 1976, p. 271). In the 1970s, block grants shifted controls to state and local governments; consequently, neighborhood centers found it necessary to establish a new set of relationships. Also, in many cases that meant that donors sought a kind of early "privatization" of previously public services so that Friendly House received funds for summer recreation and other activities, and it was listed as a city service and

not a direct and new response to changing neighborhood needs. Currently, Friendly House has been asked to consider taking the responsibility for staffing and maintaining one of the city's swimming pools. Funds were maintaining the agencies and, in turn, they "maintained" the poor. This was not unlike the Great Society programs of the late 1960s with the sense that poverty could be eliminated and neighborhoods developed.

In the 1980s, the maintenance functions were kept for the poor while funding declined beyond "safety net" levels. The Reagan administration raised military spending beyond rates of inflation while keeping non-needs based transfer programs (Social Security for the elderly) even with inflation and cutting needs based programs relative to inflation or needs. In the early 1980s, the deepest recession since 1945 left millions unemployed. Additionally, a shift in labor markets throughout the 1980s resulted in a markedly greater inequity of earnings among those with jobs. Professional and highly skilled jobs grew and earnings were high for those with educational qualifications, while high-paying industrial jobs were lost throughout the country. The bulk of these new jobs were low-paying service or assembly positions. Additionally, many jobs were part-time, with frequent layoffs, and salaries were at or below the poverty level for many families. Although federal spending rose for some of the

basic needs programs, e.g., food stamps, child meals, etc., during the 1980s they generally failed to keep pace with the rate of inflation and steadily fell behind meeting the needs of those legislatively eligible for those services. For example, by the end of the decade only about one in four children eligible for the Head Start Program nationally were actually enrolled to a program because funding was inadequate.

Although at times, Reagan talked about private charity filling the gap, it never happened. With decreasing profits, many corporations could no longer give at past levels. Increasingly, local businesses were merged or bought out by larger companies with home offices located far from the community. Consequently, the problems of Worcester were no longer the concerns of companies based elsewhere. Private foundations funded specific programs, which left agencies "scrambling" for "flexible" and administrative dollars. A tone of general hostility to the demands of the poor--made visible by street people begging, and families waiting in line for cheese, resulted in charitable giving focused on universities and the arts rather than the United Way type programs.

This pattern of large shifts in national moods and direction often mirrored in local communities and states, forced neighborhood centers to remain even more flexible and open to new approaches. For Friendly House it meant drawing

on a history of service to community groups, increasing the support from the Board of Directors, United Way, city agencies, state agencies, and federal programs. It meant constant attention to financial accounting and record keeping. This rise to fresh demands for accountability by funders resulted in new levels of management structures for many agencies.

In the 100 years since the founding of Toynbee Hall, people have grown skeptical and tired of the "dole" and a patronizing tone that "the poor" need to be shown how to be middle class. That got reinforced by consciousness raised by African Americans during War on Poverty--by Malcolm X and his point that he could not conceivably wish to assimilate into a racist society. At the same time, if children are hungry and homeless and without a place to play it seems awkward and silly to say we should wait for the revolution or for multicultural acceptance before doing something.

Charity can be patronizing and demeaning to recipients but it does not have to be. "Americanization" can be a denial of cultural values of Syrians, Italians, Greeks, African Americans, Latinos--but food, shelter, a gym, Head Start, GED programs, PACE, and Day Care are also opportunities to make it here in the United States. The value of a neighborhood center is its ability to adapt to new needs, to changing demographics, to shifts in national

mood while continuing to bridge the gaps between the powerful and powerless.

National Organization

In 1911, Jane Addams and other settlement leaders organized The National Federation of Settlements when the movement enjoyed its greatest prestige. The purpose was to reinforce all phases of federated activity among neighborhood agencies, to bring together the result of the settlement experience throughout the country, to secure capable recruits, to urge measures of state and national legislation suggested by settlement experience, and to promote better organization of neighborhood life generally (1929, p. 556).

Trolander (1987, p. 3) observed that

the National Federation of Settlements denied membership to houses that proselytized extensively. As long as the remaining houses were eager to be part of the National Organization, membership into National Federation provided a convenient means of identifying an agency as a settlement house.

The National Organization was officially incorporated as The National Federation of Settlements in 1929.

A review of the social Work Year Books from 1929 through 1971 indicated that membership in the National Organization was relatively stable, with a low of 160 settlements in 1929 to a high of 273 houses in 1954. In 1949, the Board of the National Federation of Settlements voted in a move to broaden its definition of eligible agencies to add "and neighborhood centers" to its name. This move was related to the fact that most of the member organizations were moving away from requiring residence.

Membership, however, was concentrated primarily in the larger cities in the northeast and the midwest.

The War on Poverty was seen by many as the single largest factor which contributed not only to the demise of the National Organization, but to the movement itself. The War on Poverty spawned literally thousands of community self-help groups that provided many of the same services which were traditionally sponsored by settlement houses. These O.E.O. (Office of Economic Opportunity) Neighborhood Centers offered a range of recreational, social and educational services to residents of particular neighborhoods.

The National Organization began to experience a serious decline in membership during the late 1970s and early 1980s. With cuts in funding, many agencies questioned the legitimacy of paying dues. "Dues were 1 percent of an agency's budget for those with budgets under \$100,000; 1.5 percent for those between \$100,000 and \$500,000; and 2 percent for those above \$500,000" (Trolander, 1987, p. 222). Further, most of the settlements that discontinued their national memberships still continued their programs. Thirty years after, the National Organization voted to add "and neighborhood centers" to its name; it eliminated the word "settlements" and became the "United Neighborhood Centers of America," or UNCA.

During the 1980s, local organizations became more important with the shift in funding from the federal to the state governments. Advocacy was replaced by direct service block grants. Local dollars were spent on specific services to meet specific problems. "In many neighborhoods," noted Trolander (1987, p. 233), "it became difficult even for settlement workers themselves to describe how their problems, and special service-oriented agencies differed from a host of others in the neighborhood, that had no connection with the settlement house tradition." Many became known for specific services, i.e. day care alternative education, sheltering the homeless, etc. Thus "the phrase 'settlement house' no longer seemed appropriate or was even much used in describing the neighborhood centers of the 1980s" (Trolander, 1987, p. 233).

Local affiliations of neighborhood centers influenced the environment in which neighborhood centers existed.

"Worcester's Neighborhood Center Association(WNCA)", states

profoundly affected the way the relationship between funders and neighborhood centers was played out. It seems funders became much more focused on neighborhood centers as a system and though in terms of their coordination more than they had prior to the WNCA's existence. Funders' support stabilized neighborhood centers, particularly through the funders' agreement and subsequent funders' coordination.

With the availability of local funding for specific programming, and the subsequent decline of community organizing, the unique settlement program, UNCA, for many,

seemed no longer necessary. Also, local settlements were beginning to align themselves with other agencies on a city, state and national level. In 1990 UNCA, with less than 50 dues-paying organizations and serious financial problems, was for all practical purposes out of business. Recently, attempts are being made to restructure and revitalize a national settlement house movement.

Since the mid-1980s there has been considerable investigation and research for a model that

will insure programmatically effective and cost-efficient delivery of services to inner-city families and neighborhoods. The emerging consensus is that the best models provide comprehensive, coordinated, neighborhood-based and family-focused services. (United Neighborhood Houses of New York, Inc., 1991, p. 1)

The final recommended model bears a striking resemblance to what we at Friendly House have been doing for many years.

As long as society is divided by class, race, gender and other issues, there will always be a role for settlements--but not the exact one of any past period. Again, as a century ago, the Settlement House movement offers opportunities for adventure and challenge on the part of a new generation of settlement workers who catch its pioneering spirit in the application of flexible and creative methods to changing conditions.

Ultimately there is meaning for a person's life in striving to make certain that others are not hungry, homeless and overwhelmed by multiple problems. When help is offered

in ways that are personal and responsive, the benefits are often far greater than from impersonal welfare bureaucracies. At the same time, jobs and decent, affordable housing and neighborhood amenities of parks and garbage collection and effective schools cannot be provided by neighborhood centers. In the 1980s social problems and diminished funding threatened the viability of many neighborhood centers in Worcester and across the nation. Friendly House offers an early warning that poverty among children threatens everyone's future.

APPENDIX A

BY-LAWS OF FRIENDLY HOUSE, INC.

BY-LAWS OF FRIENDLY HOUSE, INC.

ARTICLE I

Name

The name of this corporation shall be "Friendly House, Inc.,"

ARTICLE II

Location

The principal office or rooms of the corporation shall be in Worcester, Massachusetts.

ARTICLE III

Purpose

The purpose of this corporation shall be the educational, social and family betterment of residents of Worcester, Massachusetts.

ARTICLE IV

Membership

The membership of this corporation shall consist of the members of the Junior League of Worcester.

ARTICLE V

Board of Directors

The governing body of this corporation shall be a Board of Directors, consisting of not more than fifteen (15) persons, elected by and from the members of the corporation at each annual meeting thereof. The Board of Directors shall have the management and control of all the affairs and property of the corporation, shall have power to make contracts binding on the corporation, and to employ such agents or servants as they may deem expedient for carrying on the work of the corporation, and fix their compensation and duties. The Board of Directors shall have power to fill any vacancy occurring in any office of the corporation.

ARTICLE VI

Officers

The officers shall consist of a President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the corporation and of the Board of Directors, and shall be ex-officio member of all committees. With the approval of the Board she shall have power to fill all vacancies on the Board and to appoint committee chairmen. In the absence of the Treasurer, or during her inability to serve, the President may endorse the corporate name on checks for deposit in the bank account of the corporation, and may sign checks and contracts, and she shall, with the Treasurer, execute such contracts as shall be authorized by the Board of Directors.

In the absence of the President, the Vice-Presidents in their numerical order shall officiate in the place of the President and while so acting shall have all the powers and perform all the duties of the President.

The Secretary shall keep a record of the business transacted at all meetings of the corporation and of the Board of Directors, and shall give notice of all meetings of the corporation and of the Board of Directors.

The Treasurer shall under the direction of the Board of Directors, have the custody of all the moneys, debts, checks, contracts, books of account and the corporate seal. She shall collect all money due the corporation and disburse the same pursuant to the contracts and obligations of the corporation or the order of its Finance Committee Chairman, keeping an accurate account of the same in the proper books belonging to the corporation. She shall endorse in the corporate name checks, drafts or other instruments in the ordinary course of business for deposit in the bank account of the corporation. She shall sign all checks, drafts, contracts and promissory notes. she shall, with the President, execute such contracts as shall be authorized by the Board of Directors. she shall at the annual meeting of the corporation render an account of its financial condition. When required by the Directors she shall render an account of her transactions. The Treasurer's annual account shall be certified by a qualified public account or auditor.

ARTICLE VII

Meetings

The annual meeting of this corporation shall be held in May of each year at such time and place in the City of Worcester as the Directors shall designate, notice thereof to be sent two (2) weeks in advance to all members. The annual meeting of the Directors shall be held immediately following the adjournment of the annual meeting of the corporation.

Special meetings of the corporation may be called by the President or by a majority of the Directors, and shall be called by the Secretary upon the written application of twenty (20) members of the corporation, the purpose of such meetings being stated with the notice sent to all members of at least one (1) week in advance thereof.

The Board of Directors shall hold monthly meetings from September to June inclusive, at such place and time as the Directors may designate.

Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the President.

A quorum of the corporation shall be one-third (1/3) of the membership.

A quorum of the Board of Directors shall be a majority.

ARTICLE VIII

Election of Officers

The Directors and officers of the corporation shall be elected by written ballot at each annual meeting of the corporation to serve until the annual meeting of the corporation next following their election or until their successors have been duly elected. The President, with the approval of the Board of Directors, shall at least two weeks prior to each annual meeting of the corporation, appoint a nominating committee, consisting of members of the corporation, to present nominations for the Directors and officers. In all cases a majority of all votes cast shall be necessary to constitute an election.

ARTICLE IX

Amendments

These By-laws, and any amendments thereof, may be amended at any meeting of this corporation, notice of which meeting has contained a notification of such proposed amendment, by two-thirds (2/3) vote of the members of the corporation present.

APPENDIX B

"THE JULIE CHASE PROGRAM"

"THE JULIE CHASE PROGRAM"
On Radio Station WTAG, May, 1 1972
"Friendly House"

JULIE CHASE:

"On Wednesday, May 3rd, the new building that houses Friendly House will have its official open house and dedication and everyone is invited. In the next few minutes, we'd like to take a look at how it all began as well as the present and future plans for Friendly House. The how it began begins with Mrs. Philip Morgan in a conversation with her in her home on a cold spring day with a fire going in the fireplace. We asked her to recall the beginning of Friendly House from her personal memory."

MRS. MORGAN:

"That goes back so many, many years. It was when I first came to Worcester in 1922 to live and, being somewhat bored, inquired around as to where I could do some good work, and Mrs. Robert Shaw put me on to Friendly House up on Norfolk Street. She said up there there was need of somebody to have group of small children instructed in housekeeping, and I took in on for that summer. Now, Friendly House must have been started before then. It was an outshoot, actually, of Neighborly House, which was on Shrewsbury Street, started by a group of women who called themselves the Civic league, and that was largely devoted to the Italians down there. And they had a folk stitchery

class where the women did their handiwork and it was beautiful handiwork, and I think it was largely due to that folk stitchery work that the Syrian women became interested in carrying on their special handicrafts which was quite different but very unique, very attractive actually. And so there was a small building up on Norfolk Street that was taken over by the Civic League and where they each week had the women come in to get the materials for the sewing and bring in the finished work. And, also, in that same building the district nurse had a baby clinic and that's where I went up there the first summer I was in town to have a class of little girls to teach them housekeeping."

JULIE CHASE:

"Mrs. Morgan, ever since I can remember, the Junior League was very instrumental in the beginning days of Friendly House. How did this come about?"

MRS. MORGAN:

"The Junior League wasn't started until 1925 and, shortly after being organized and having a small membership, they looked around for a project, and there were two opportunities that they could go in for. One was for a convalescent home for women and then there was Friendly House, to take it over from the Civic League, which by that time was rather anxious to get rid of it, actually."

JULIE CHASE:

"Why did they decide do you think on the Friendly House rather than the convalescent home? Was there any special reason?"

MRS. MORGAN:

"Well, as I remember it, it seemed to me the main issue was that a convalescent home was rather limited in the number of people it could take care of, although everyone granted that the need was great. But Friendly House could take care of an enormous neighborhood and all members of a family from the nursery school up to the mothers' groups.'

JULIE CHASE:

"So it had a far reaching"

MRS. MORGAN:

"Well, it had a great appeal actually."

JULIE CHASE:

"So Friendly House became the project?"

MRS. MORGAN:

"Friendly House became the project and we moved from very, very small quarters into a rather sizeable empty bakery which was just one large room, and the work was limited to a nursery school, although, as I recall, the district nurse had a baby clinic there one day a week. The idea was that the Board operating Friendly House should be a completely working board. Everybody should have a hand in it. But as it turned out, it was like putting square pegs

in round holes. A great many people were not adapted for social service work, even for running a nursery school."

JULIE CHASE:

"It takes a certain type of person, doesn't it?"

MRS. MORGAN:

"Oh, it definitely does. And all this time were so limited in space although they wanted to develop all kinds of work for different groups, there was no space. So we walked the streets hunting for a larger quarters and the nuns' home was there but it wasn't in a very good state of repair. We were hoping to find something better and even larger, but as it turned out, there was nothing else but the nuns' home."

JULIE CHASE:

"And that became"

MRS. MORGAN:

"The Junior League bought the nuns home."

JULIE CHASE:

"And that's the former location of Friendly House before their new building was"

MRS. MORGAN:

"Yes."

JULIE CHASE:

"But even that was a little limited."

MRS. MORGAN:

"Oh, it was extremely limited, and the walls were bursting because, we gave up, we had to give up the idea of running thus just by volunteer work of the Junior Leaguers and it was early evident we had to have a trained social worker as a director. And, luckily, we found an excellent person in Miss Marianne Lanz who, amazingly, developed classes for all members of the family. We had a large nursery school. There were cooking classes; there was handiwork classes; sewing classes; classes for boys; mothers' groups. And that mothers' group was really delightful because they would put on the most delicious meals for the Board every once in a while."

JULIE CHASE:

"That's sort of nice added attraction, I think."

MRS. MORGAN:

"Well, it gave the members of the Board a very intimate notion of Syrian life because, after all, we were eating their food."

JULIE CHASE:

"Have you any idea how the budget worked out in those days? Did you ever have enough money to do everything you wanted to do?"

MRS. MORGAN:

"No, of course not."

JULIE CHASE:

"Norman S. Wood is the immediate Past President of the Board of Directors of Friendly House. He was President from 1963 to 1971 and we wondered what Friendly House was like when he became President in 1963."

NORMAN S. WOOD:

"Well, Julie, it was quite a different agency than it is today. It was more of a youth-oriented agency and more of a recreation-oriented agency. Today it's a multiservice center and are working with people from all ages, from babies right through senior citizens. So I would say that it was performing a rather specialized function for a rather small group of people even though they happened to be in the Oak Hill Neighborhood. Well, like so many things, this new building that we have and are about to dedicate started on a note of semi-disaster. We heard from people in Boston after some new legislation had been passed in 1964 that we were going to have to close our nursery school unless we did a number of things to the old building, fire escapes and so forth and so on, and so we explored the cost of this kind of renovations. It was too much to put into an old building like the old Friendly House and we told that we couldn't do it. So we then faced several possibilities and among them, of course, was a new building and that's the one we chose after a good deal of time and effort. But, as I say, at the

beginning it liked we were having our services curtailed and things were getting worse all the time."

JULIE CHASE:

"Well, then, what about land? You didn't have too much land previously."

NORMAN S. WOOD:

"We didn't have enough land, of course, to build anything more than the same kind of three-decker, perhaps, that we had before but we were lucky. The church next door, St. George's Church, was in the process of developing plans for a new church, which has since built, and therefore they were going to be looking for a buyer about the time that we were looking for a seller, and so that's what we did. We bought the land next door and expanded in that direction. After we had explored the different things that we might do, among them was even closing the agency. We talked about that. A study committee was formed through Community Services to see what our role should be and they came back with a conclusion that we should have a new building, and that we should stay in the same neighborhood, and we should continue in our basic services and expand. That was back in 1965. So that we, in effect, said, yes, let's build a new building and we knew the church did have land available, but the problem then was money, and Friendly House was a rather small agency, at that time, particularly, and the neighborhood itself could not really contribute the kind of

money to building a building that was needed. We weren't, for example, like a college with an alumni group who we could go to for money. The people who used our services couldn't give very much no matter how interested they were. The nature of our particular building was such that we were going to have trouble raising capital-type money. We might still be in that spot, I guess, if it wasn't for HUD with a particular provision in the Act that passed in 1965 and it was, of course, through that government grant that we were able to start and build around that and raise money to do the building.

JULIE CHASE:

"Well, then you've decided, you're going ahead with the building now, how about the plans for a building like this? How do you have a building be all the things to all people?"

NORMAN S. WOOD:

"Well, I can't speak for other buildings. I suppose if you're building a house you get an architect and when you build a house, you tell him what you want. We went about it a little differently. The first group of people we went to was our Program Committee and we said to hem, what kind of a building should we build? And they said, you're asking us what kind of programs should be run in a new building? And said, Yes, that's what we're asking you. And they said, well, let's find out from the people who live here in the neighborhood what they think should be the programs. So

that's what we did. The Program Committee met with numbers of people in the neighborhood and they came up with a list, which I might say was much longer than could possible be taken care of, but that was all right. It was a good starting place and from there we could cut and trim and pick the ones that we could accomplish and not have some of the ones that might be nice but couldn't do them. And so I'd say that the consumers themselves really, in a sense, planned the building, and then we sent to the architect and said, now, build us a building that will fill these requirements."

JULIE CHASE:

"We asked Gordon Hargrove, the Executive Director of Friendly House, how he looked at the community's involvement in the building of Friendly House."

GORDON HARGROVE:

"The main factor I'd like to stress here is that unlike many other centers, the building did not happen to drop out of the sky into the neighborhood, but there was a lot of work, a lot of planning that went into it. For example, in the gymnasiums or the multi-purpose rooms, there were a number of teenage youngsters that worked with the architect and Board people to design the area--what type of backboards? what type of floor should be used? the bleachers the score clock, where should that go? what things should be done in the gymnasium? how big should it

be? how high should the ceiling be? and so forth. These were all questions that were asked and answered. The other area in terms of our educational wing, a number of parents had input in this area in terms of space, in terms of actual utilization of these particular rooms. I think another important thing was that staff also had input in this. So that we really felt good when we opened that it was a mutual effort--the architect, Board members, neighborhood residents and staff people many of whom, by the way, are neighborhood residents as well."

"My name is Lorriane Plonsky. I'm Chairlady of the Grafton Hill Neighborhood Council. The Neighborhood Council is an O.E.O. funded project and it works very closely with Friendly House which is a Community Services funded project. I would like to cordially invite you to attend our opening house on May 3rd with the official dedication at five-thirty."

JULIE CHASE:

"Gordon Hargrove now comments on the difference in the activity and hours of Friendly House now and when he first went there."

GORDON HARGROVE:

"Basically when I first came to Friendly House our time was from three to about five o'clock when it would be heavily used. This is back in the 50s. Now when we open, people start coming in about eight o'clock and leave about

eleven at night, eight in the morning to eleven at night. We also run a Saturday program and the building is open Sunday as well for specialized programs."

JULIE CHASE:

"Henry Cummings, the newly elected President of the Board, was asked about his feeling regarding the cooperation of groups that had made Friendly House successful."

HENRY CUMMINGS:

"I like to feel kind of as though the expression, you know, "two's company and three's a crowd," that this is not true at all at Friendly House. And the threesome that I'm speaking of here are the three groups that need to be brought together and are being brought together very magically and successfully by Friendly House."

JULIE CHASE:

"What are they?"

HENRY CUMMINGS:

"These groups are the community services which represent the Worcester area residents, the local and federal government group and also the neighborhood residents. Here we have three groups that have a lot of interests in common and, I think as any leader, as any president should do, is identify these common objectives and then organize a program to satisfy these common objectives."

JULIE CHASE:

"Gordon Hargrove now gives a specific example as to the cooperation of other groups with Friendly House."

GORDON HARGROVE:

"In terms of our working relationship with the local government, we have a close liaison with the Parks Department, for example. We run a mutual football program in the fall and we run various special even activities, for example Fourth of July celebrations, Halloween and Christmas, and so forth, with the Parks Department. Other areas that we work with are with the Manpower Development Program or the camps secretariat. This program provides manpower and jobs for Grafton Hill residents as well as summer monies for employment in our various programs by neighborhood youth."

"My name is Paul Garofoli and I am a member of this neighborhood. I've been hanging around Friendly House almost all my life. The people up there are really fantastic. They're really a good bunch of people. I'd like to invite you to the dedication on May 3rd, starting at three o'clock and the dedication of the building will be held at five o'clock."

JULIE CHASE:

"Since finances play an important part in all organizations, we asked Mr. Cummings about the present financial outlook for Friendly House."

HENRY CUMMINGS:

"Finances are what keep things going, but there is another side besides, in addition to the finances, and this is the voluntary efforts, and I think if we look at the funding as it were as both manpower donations, manpower funding and financial funding, this is where these three groups are working together most magically and most effectively. We are supported primarily by our local Community Services, but this serves as a catalyst enabling us then to utilize federal funds and state funds and Worcester City funds to help expand the programs even further."

JULIE CHASE:

"Al Alessi, Program Director of Friendly House, discusses how the new building makes possible some new programs."

AL ALESSI:

"Well, there's a number of areas there. One thing that we have built into the new building is a medical clinic which we're not exactly sure what directions we're going to move in yet. We're conducting a survey right now that will hopefully point to us the needs in the neighborhood in terms of health and our dream is a community health center. We've got the two clinical rooms and an out-patient room and so forth. So, that's one area that I think is quite exciting and that's a large area. Another important area in

education that we didn't have the room before for a large teenage group. We're working closely with the School Department, Child Study, Youth Guidance and so forth, on a satellite school program which would take children in eighth grade, some in seventh, some in ninth, who are generally schoolphobic and, you know, withdrawn. They don't relate to the school environment, either shy or very strong discipline problems, and bring them to Friendly House from ten to two, something like that, for programs that would build on their self-image and their confidence in themselves, and hopefully get them back into the mainstream of Worcester educational system. We are expanding our adult education program. We've had for a while, English as a second language and now expanding into a yoga class for women. With the gym we'd like to eventually have slimnastics and those kind of programs. For men, too, there's a lot of paunchy men in the neighborhood.

JULIE CHASE:

"In every neighborhood."

AL ALESSI:

"In every neighborhood."

GORDON HARGROVE"

"I think, Julie, this is one of the most gratifying points at Friendly House is the fact that we are a neighborhood center for neighborhood people but, I think more than that, our staff, the majority of our staff, is

composed of neighborhood residents. In summer programs neighborhood residents, of course, do have first priority in terms of hiring in the summer day camp programs. I think that this has reflected itself in the fact that we've had virtually no vandalism."

"Hi! I'm Andy Delaney, professional street hockey player. I play a lot of games at the new Friendly House and it's really great. The uniturf floor lets me run faster. The wind resistance is almost nothing. The new building has added a few more years to my career and if you come to the open house dedication on May 3rd, you can see me in person, maybe get my autograph."

JULIE CHASE:

"When someone has gone through a building program and a campaign to raise money, we wondered if that person would do it again, and so we asked Norm Wood that question. Would he do it again?"

NORMAN WOOD:

"If I had it to do all over again and if I knew it was going to turn out the way it did, I'd say, yes, I would do it all over again. It has been worth it. It has been a fantastic exhibition of people working together. Pete mentioned that earlier, how the three groups worked together to run it day to day. But there was a tremendous amount of cooperation from all kinds of groups which put this building where it is. Let me just run through a few of them, because

each one represents a large group and I wouldn't dare try to name names. I know I'd leave a lot of people out. But you start with the neighborhood itself, with its input, with its working, and, incidentally, with its money because there was a neighborhood division in the fund drive and it gave about \$20,000.00 to the building through its own hard work. And then you go to people like the staff at Friendly House and the Board of Directors and then the in ever-widening circles you get to the Worcester community, Community Services, who backed us through the early stages of applying for the federal grant and were standing behind us if we fell flat on our faces any particular time, and supported us with all kinds of volunteer people helping us in the fund drive and so forth. And in the fund drive we had individuals, we had the corporations, we had the foundations in Worcester. They all gave. And then the City of Worcester, without whom we couldn't have even applied for the federal grant, in other words, if the City Council had said, no, to the vote, any one of three times when it was voted, that would have been the end of the federal grant and without the federal money we wouldn't have really been able to start anything. This was sort of the cornerstone that we built on and, by that I mean, not only the City Council, but the City Manager and the Legal Department and the Planning Department. All of these people had a little part to play in the development of the building. And finally, of course, furthest out on the

ring maybe the large circle, is the federal government, but they did provide \$362,000.00 and that's a lot of money in anybody's language. And they've been terrific and they've gone out on the limb for Friendly House at a time, sometimes during the last few years, when some of the government monies have not been easy to come by. They have said, this is a good operation up there in Worcester, and we ought to put the money into it, and so they've been very helpful. It's really been an amazing display of cooperation and that perhaps is the biggest thing that I've gotten out of it."

JULIE CHASE:

"Peter Cummings comments on his hopes for future for Friendly House.'

PETER CUMMINGS:

"All right, Julie, you asked if I had any goals for the future and I certainly do have a goal for the future and I'm glad you asked the question. If I try to put words around the goal, I think I would describe it as I want to maintain and enhance the friendly way at Friendly House. Now, what is the friendly way? When I first saw Friendly House, it was in the old building and there was a very warm, friendly spirit, a heart, and a closeness of people working together there. In our new building which is more lovely and certainly offers many, many more facilities, we are faced with a real challenge to maintain the heart of the old building in our new facilities, and so my goal is to keep

the friendly way by encouraging people to work closely together, obtaining the individual expression for their thoughts, and gaining the social relationships, the health programs and all in all the joyful creative spirit that Friendly House really means."

JULIE CHASE:

"We had asked Al Alessi earlier if he had any special dream for Friendly House."

Al ALESSI:

"A little while ago you asked me if I had a dream for the new Friendly House, and I think kind of my pet dream is the area of communication. Communication is the key to understanding and I think it's understanding that helps people with their problems. And, well, I'm working presently on the Wall Street Journal which is a newspaper in the neighborhood newspaper. I have a larger dream of someday a local FM radio station up on the hill and maybe, you know, depending on technological advances, perhaps even a CATV or something like that in the area and then perhaps won't call up Friendly House ordering a gallon of vanilla ice cream. They'll understand what Friendly House is."

GORDON HARGROVE:

"Julie, I'd like to relate a little story that's one of my favorites whenever I think of Friendly House. It happened about four or so years ago when we had one of the representatives from the Housing and Urban Development, HUD,

come down to actually look at Friendly House, what was the neighborhood and what the agency that they were going to spend the money in. Well, Mrs. Lois Alexander came by, representative, and she was in Friendly House looking at the programs being carried on, this was the old building, and also talking with staff people. Well, I can recall the evening before, we had a group of young boys making birdhouses. It was a very creative thing for the youngsters since a number of them had never before in their lives done anything like that. Now they had painted the birdhouses and they were asked to come in the following evening to take them home. Well, this one youngster was so excited that he had actually created a birdhouse that he had to come in during the afternoon which just so happened to be the time that Mrs. Alexander was there at the Agency. Well, this youngster does not have two parents living with him in the family, just a mother, and he grabbed the birdhouse and in his enthusiasm he ran up to the stairs and bumped right into Mrs. Alexander, and he said to her, looking up, 'Look what I made. I actually made this.' And, to be very honest, I think it's this type of spirit, this type of enthusiasm that sold Friendly House, and is selling Friendly House."

MRS. MORGAN:

"I think that it's wonderful that this dream that started in such a small way has developed into anything as

stupendous as this present building that they have, and it shows that the seed planted sometimes grows."

JULIE CHASE:

"What's your name?"

"Keith Prescott."

"And how hold are you, Keith?"

"Six."

"Six, and what do like to do here at Friendly House?"

"Play, go on the trampoline and all the even things I like to go to school."

"Oh, you do. What'd you think of the new building?"

"It's terrific."

"Nice, huh?"

"And even or so I'm going to, I practiced on the guitar when you were in here and I like to play a little tune for you."

"We want to invite people to come to the open house?"

"Yes."

"Do you know when it is?"

"Yes."

"When is it?"

"Saturday."

"No."

"Monday?"

"Wednesday."

"Wednesday."

"May 3rd."

"May 3rd."

"During the last few minutes with the help of our special guests, we have looked at some of the history along with the present and future of Friendly House. This has been a story of Friendly House and how it grew. This is Julie Chase with another Community Service feature of WTAG in Worcester."

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