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The settlement's role in initiating an urban renewal project through law enforcement - Philadelphia 1954

Herman P. Nelson
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

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THE SETTLEMENT'S ROLE IN INITIATING AN URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT THROUGH LAW ENFORCEMENT - PHILADELPHIA 1954

A THESIS
Submited to the faculty of Atlanta University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Social Work

By
HERMAN PRESTON NELSON

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
JUNE 1955
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Significance of the Study

From the early organization of settlements, improvement of neighborhood conditions has been a prevailing philosophy and aim. The neighborhood was the social unit of settlement concern. All social ills were approached on this sectional basis, including housing. Historically, the problem of housing was attacked by settlements from a number of angles.¹

In the past two or three decades, settlements throughout the country customarily reported undesirable or illegal housing conditions to public officials charged with the enforcement of the law and pressed for correction of these conditions.

Settlements are living social organisms. Their life and breath are seen in the enduring convictions about the worth of the individual and the family, about the importance of personal rights, self-realization, and social responsibility, and about the possibility of human progress. As living, growing things, they accept challenges growing out of their changing environment. Changing human needs must be met by adapting or by abandoning old services and procedures and by instituting new ones.²

The writer, while performing field work with the United Neighbors Association, a settlement, at Philadelphia, had the opportunity to participate in and observe a different approach to the problem of housing.

The City of Philadelphia began a pilot program to improve four


²Lorene Pacey, Readings in the Development of Settlement Work quoting John McDowell and others (New York, 1950, p. 307.)
blighted neighborhoods and to make them more livable and desirable.

The approach, to improve each of these neighborhoods was different. However, the over-all approach, through community organization, was based on encouraging residents to improve their own neighborhoods as much as possible.

The first neighborhood was a relatively good area but was threatened by blight. The emphasis was on conservation measures. The second was beginning to deteriorate and the emphasis was on voluntary rehabilitation. The third was a substandard neighborhood that could be salvaged. The emphasis was on law enforcement of the housing code. The fourth was a completely deteriorated slum area and here emphasis was on demolition and reconstruction.

The pilot program involved the cooperation of two settlements with the city plan. One of each of the settlements was located in the second and third areas. A settlement is in a particularly good position to know the effects of such a program on family and neighborhood life. It can share with the city the responsibility of achieving and maintaining decent neighborhood life.¹

United Neighbors was selected by the city to assist in the third area. In this pilot area the approach was to create an atmosphere of understanding between the property owners and the tenants, to encourage their participation and cooperation, and to interpret to both groups the City's plan. The Philadelphia Department of Licenses and Inspections, not United

Neighbors, had full powers of law enforcement when and if the property owners and tenants did not cooperate with the program.

A significant contribution was made by United Neighbors, the writer felt, to the neighborhood and the City of Philadelphia by participating in this program. Participation in this program was also good public relations for the settlement.

The study was of particular significance to the writer because he was selected by United Neighbors to devote full staff time to this project, which provided an opportunity for him to practice the social work principles and methods to which he had been exposed and also to pursue his general interest in the field of housing.

Purpose of the Study

The purposes of this study were: (1) to describe the pilot project; (2) to give a description of the factors which contributed to blight; (3) to point out the role of the settlement and the city in this pilot project; and (4) to analyze the processes used.

In preparing this study, the writer selected as many methods and techniques as possible considered common to the community organization process. It is important to point out that the emphasis of this study was on the social work processes involved rather than on the achievements.

Method of Procedure

The historical research method was used to a great extent in this study. Books in the field of social work, primarily, were used as a resource for documenting the social work methods and principles.

Statistical data in relation to the population, the condition of the dwellings, and the facilities available and those needed were compiled by
by the writer from the United States Housing and Population Census of Philadelphia, 1950. Research materials from existing studies and surveys in the Public Library of Philadelphia and by the City Planning Commission of Philadelphia were also used in this study.

Since this pilot project was an initial attempt by United Neighbors and the City to improve the poor housing condition through law enforcement, the process involved was taken from the process records of United Neighbors. The writer was the author and the custodian of these records.

Unstructured interviews and informal conferences were held with those individuals charged with the law enforcement of the housing code and with those individuals, as many as possible, charged with the revision of the code to obtain a history of the new code and the pilot project. The schedule was not used because none of the individuals mentioned wished to commit themselves on the type of comments which formal schedule would require.

Scope and Limitations

This study was limited to one pilot project in Southeast Central Philadelphia in 1951. The project covered approximately three and one half census tracts consisting of sixty three census tract blocks.\(^1\) This study was also limited to one social work agency, United Neighbors, for its professional leadership.

Inasmuch as the writer was performing a block field work assignment, this study was limited to six months. The writer's knowledge of and

experience in social work methods and techniques as well as the fields of housing and research placed limitations on this study.

Definition of Terms

United Neighbors regarded Neighborhood as a relatively small area where people lived near one another, and where the family was considered the social unit of living in which the individuals could recognize and understand their own needs, and where the individuals could plan together and experience the results of cooperative effort. This concept has been basic in the settlement program.¹

Settlement implied a group of people living in a neighborhood and identifying themselves with its life as a means of understanding and improving conditions.²

Community organization is one of the processes in social work. Community organization for social welfare consists of the skills that were used to coordinate, promote and interpret the social services in any setting.³ In this study community organization and neighborhood organization were used interchangeably.

Urban renewal consists of all of the undertakings necessary to rebuild, remodel, or repair existing areas so that they will become decent, safe and sanitary.

¹Jean M. Maxwell and John McDowell, op. cit., p. 4.
³Campbell G. Murphy, Community Organization Practice (New York, 1954), p. 29.
CHAPTER II

HOUSING CONDITIONS IN SOUTHEAST CENTRAL PHILADELPHIA

Philadelphia, as laid out by William Penn in 1682 in an area of two square miles, was one of the first planned cities in the country; but, as it outgrew this plan, it developed more or less in a haphazard fashion. The result of this type of development was a condition of deterioration and blight in large portions of the older sections of the city.

Of all of the blights that can overtake a community, one of the worse, because of its effects on people as well as buildings, is what town planners call "creeping obsolescence". Planners usually mean this in terms of houses, buildings, street structures becoming old and neglected. But of equal importance is the "creeping obsolescence" of the human community spirit which always goes with the physical deterioration. One feeds on the other, until there comes a time in the life of every community that wants to live and grow when total reconstruction, spiritual and physical, must take place.

In Philadelphia, the central business section was almost completely surrounded by an area which once contained good homes and small commercial and industrial enterprises. Today, this area has been deserted by many of its original occupants and has deteriorated to a point where it was no longer a desirable place to live.

Southeast Central Philadelphia was located approximately one mile south of City Hall or from the center of the City. It was, as shown in

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appendix A, rectangular in shape, contained about four hundred eighty-five acres of land and divided into two hundred ninety-eight census tract blocks, about thirty of which were non-residential.

The area was bounded on the north by Lombard Street, on the east by the Delaware River, on the south by Washington Avenue, and on the west by Broad Street. There were approximately twelve thousand, six hundred seventy-five dwelling units and a population of forty-five thousand, three hundred ten.

The southeast corner of the area was the site of an early Swedish settlement. Along the streets near the Delaware River were still to be found houses dating back to Colonial days. Prior to 1830, the section west of Fifth Street, and south of Bainbridge Street, was farm land until groups of substantial houses were built and a delightful suburban area was established.

Toward Broad Street there were many of the "band-box" type of houses, one floor on top of the other, seventy-five to one hundred years old. In the area east of Front Street, huge warehouses overshadowed the small houses; along Washington Avenue, there were railroad tracts in the center of the street with groups of houses between the commercial buildings.

Broad Street was largely commercial except for a Branch of the Public Library, a church and a hospital; South Street was commercial, although

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3 Philadelphia Housing Quality Survey of the Southeast Central Area, op. cit., p. 2.
some of the stores had dwelling units on the upper floors; and, Lombard Street had a mixture of small businesses and small "row-type" houses throughout most of its length.

In the center of the area, the residential houses were deteriorating due to a series of influences. As the original owners died or moved to other sections, many of the houses were rented. Soon the anxiety of the owners and the heirs to increase their incomes from properties induced the building of small houses in the back yards. This proving profitable, more houses were built in any remaining space.\(^1\)

There had been a constant shifting of the population in the Southeast Central section. First came the influx of European immigrants who had friends in the area and came to join them until the condition of overcrowding became extremely severe. Following this period, came the gradual adjustment of these "new" Americans to the American ways of life and a decline in the overcrowding in the area as some of the younger generation married and moved into outlying districts. This period was followed, especially in the northern part of the area, by an influx of Negro laborers and their families from the South.\(^2\)

At the writing of this study, there were many prosperous retail stores, open-air markets, commercial and industrial warehouses attracting customers from all over the city.

Physical Factors

Southeast Central Philadelphia had a number of advantages. It was

\(^1\)Ibid.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 4.
located so as to be easily accessible to the central part of the City, and to several industrial areas and other centers of employment. It had good transportation facilities, with buses and trolleys on almost every north and south street and on four of the east and west streets.

Among the many modern and active industrial buildings of historical interest and architectural significance in the Southeast Central area were: the Settlement Music School which offered instruction to music students; the Graphic Sketch Club housed the first year class of the School of Industrial Arts; the Old Swedes' Church; and the Shot Tower. Also there were a number of settlement houses, schools and churches which offered educational, social, recreation and religious opportunities. The several small parks were being equipped with modern facilities.

Unsafe, unsanitary, or overcrowded conditions.-Residential dwellings were in need of major repairs. There were approximately fifty per cent of all of the dwellings in the area that were without private bath or plumbing facilities or they were unfit for human habitation.¹

"Row-house", attached in a line like formation, designed for a single family was the most common type of structure. Structures with one room to a floor, known as "band-box" houses, were also common in the area. In addition, these small houses were overcrowded by large families.² Frequently, they were not provided with private sanitary facilities, but the residents used "out-houses" which were grouped together in a common inner court location.

²Ibid.
A great number of wooden fences, extremely small yards and closely built houses created fire hazards. In addition, the lack of open air space, the small size of the rooms, and the congestion of human beings who lived in these small rooms encouraged the spread of disease.

**Excessive land coverage by buildings.** The land coverage by buildings in the area was more excessive than in any other area in the city. More than ninety per cent of the residential blocks contained fifty or more dwellings per acre.\(^1\) Consequently, there was almost a total absence of front, rear, or side yards.

Narrow streets, dead-end alleys, small courts, and inadequate yards with high fences, reduced the amount of light air, and open space in the area.

**Defective design and arrangement of the buildings.** Structures of the "ban-box" type were defective in design, unsuitable to house any size family, and were so arranged that they prevented any of the pleasant features of healthful living. "A dwelling is overcrowded when more than one and one-half persons live in a room".\(^2\)

It was obvious that many of the "band-box" type houses were built at a time when sanitary facilities were not installed within the structure. Such a condition created hazards to health.

**Faulty street or lot layout.** The entire area is characterized by faulty street layout. There were many streets less than forty feet in width, many narrow dead-end alleys serving no useful function other than to provide access to inferior dwellings. The streets were crooked and

---

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 4.

circulation was inadequate. 1

A large portion of the blocks were too "shallow", resulting in adequate backyards and open space between adjacent rows of houses in the same block. There were several diagonal intersections which created traffic hazards. On at least three north-south streets, out-door markets and push carts obstructed the flow of traffic.

Undesirable land uses.- There were many factories in the area surrounded on three sides by residential structures. These factories were not concentrated in any one portion of the area, but were distributed throughout the entire section.

The switching movements on the railroad running at street level on Washington Avenue were extremely undesirable from the point of view of the residents in the area. 2

Nuisance industries in the area, such as rubber vulcanizing, coal yards, junk yards were objectional as well as injurious to health. The mixture of commercial and residential use of the land was objectionable both from the point of view of trade and residence.

The wisest use of land space, the best location for home and market, the allotment of room for play and most efficient highway connections between all of these are some of the more important concerns of the city planner. He has been assisted in his work by the ecologist who is concerned with the interrelationships, in space between people, industries, types of activities. Together these two can give assistance not only for correcting present conditions but more especially in the preparation of long-range city plans. 3

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1 Philadelphia City Planning Commission, op. cit., p. 5.

2 Ibid.

Economic Factors

Income.—One of the community's most important functions is to provide a living for its citizens, thereby making possible the jobs and wages with which to buy material needs as well as the goods and services which could make life more desirable and satisfying.¹

According to the United Bureau of the Census for 1950 and as illustrated in Tables one and two, approximately twenty three thousand five hundred persons in the Southeast Central section were employed. Of this total, twenty two thousand two hundred thirty four were employed in the major occupational groups. Among the women in this group, the majority were employed as operatives, service and clerical workers, while the majority of the men were employed as operatives, laborers and craftsmen. The major source of income was derived from manufacturing, retail, and waterfront industries, as may be seen in Table one.

Occupancy.—The number of home owners, particularly in the center of the area, is surprisingly large for a blighted area. Units occupied by home owners were in better condition than the rented units. According to the Housing Quality Survey of the Southeast Central Area, nineteen per cent of the owner occupied units had no basic deficiencies and forty eight per cent had only one, while only five per cent of the tenant occupied units had no basic deficiency and fourteen per cent had only one.² Basic deficiencies included inadequate toilet and bath facilities, room crowding and deterioration.

²Housing Quality Survey of the Southeast Central Area, op. cit., p. 5.
### TABLE 1

**EMPLOYMENT STATUS IN SOUTHEAST CENTRAL PHILADELPHIA BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUPS AND SEX**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUPS</th>
<th>NUMBER EMPLOYED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MALE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>14,681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional, technical and kindred workers</td>
<td>915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers, official, and proprietors</td>
<td>1,470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and kindred workers</td>
<td>1,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales workers</td>
<td>1,015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers</td>
<td>2,255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives and kindred workers</td>
<td>3,285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private household workers</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service workers, except private household</td>
<td>1,761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers, except mine workers</td>
<td>2,752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation not reported</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


1 Data were taken from census tracts 2A, 2B, 2C, 3A, 3B, 4A, 4B, 5A, 7A, and 7B. Data were not available by blocks and the southeast central area constituted portions of 2A, 2B, 5A, 7A, and 7B.
# TABLE 2
WAGE EARNERS IN THE SOUTHEAST CENTRAL AREA BY SIZE OF ANNUAL INCOME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANNUAL INCOME</th>
<th>NUMBER OF WORKERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 500</td>
<td>5,210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$500 - 999</td>
<td>2,675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000 - 1,499</td>
<td>2,320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,500 - 1,999</td>
<td>1,780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000 - 2,499</td>
<td>2,140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,500 - 2,999</td>
<td>1,605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000 - 3,499</td>
<td>1,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,500 - 3,999</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,000 - 4,499</td>
<td>680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,500 - 4,999</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,000 - 5,499</td>
<td>795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6,000 - 6,999</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7,000 - 9,999</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000 &amp; over</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income not reported</td>
<td>1,685</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Data were taken from census tracts 2A, 2B, 2C, 3A, 3B, 4A, 4B, 5A, 7A, and 7B. Data were not available by blocks and the southeast central area constituted portions of 2A, 2B, 5A, 7A, and 7B.
It was obvious to assume that there were a greater number of deficiencies in those multi-family structures, three or more families per structure, where there was absentee ownership. Units of multi-family structures were in better condition when the owner lived on the premises.\(^1\)

Rent levels. Rents in the area were low; in three-fourths of the rented units, the rent was less than twenty five dollars per month and almost two out of every five of these units rented for less than fifteen dollars per month. Of those units which rented for less than twenty five dollars, thirty four per cent of those rented to white households had four or more deficiencies while sixty per cent of those rented to the non-white households having an equal number of deficiencies. Forty two per cent of the dwellings in the area were occupied by non-white households.\(^2\)

The Hawthorne Area

The Hawthorne area was so named because the Hawthorne Elementary School seemed to be the only acceptable facility in the area which had some real meaning for the people living there. The area, as indicated in Appendix A, consisted of approximately three and one half census tracts or a total of sixty three census tract blocks. It had a population of approximately seven thousand, of which eighty per cent were non-white. The Hawthorne area was one of the worse in the city in terms of the poor housing conditions.

According to Table three, there were two thousand two hundred eighty eight occupied units in the Hawthorne area and eighty per cent of them

\(^1\)Ibid.
\(^2\)Ibid.
were renter occupied. On the other hand, Table four illustrated that seventy per cent of the two thousand one hundred seventeen units reporting the condition and plumbing facilities had either no private bath or they were dilapidated, and thirty seven per cent of them had either no running water or they were dilapidated.

TABLE 3

CHARACTERISTICS OF ALL DWELLING UNITS IN THE HAWTHORNE AREA BY OCCUPANCY AND PER CENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPANCY</th>
<th>NUMBER OF UNITS</th>
<th>PER CENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,288</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner occupied</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renter occupied</td>
<td>2,106</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


TABLE 4

CHARACTERISTICS OF DWELLING UNITS IN THE HAWTHORNE AREA BY CONDITION AND PLUMBING FACILITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONDITION AND PLUMBING FACILITIES</th>
<th>NUMBER OF UNITS</th>
<th>PER CENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number reporting</td>
<td>2,117</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number private bath or dilapidated</td>
<td>1,504</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number running water or dilapidated</td>
<td>777</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER III

INITIATION OF THE PILOT PROJECT

The American public, or at least part of it, has for some time been conscious of the serious housing situation which makes it necessary for great numbers of families to live in unsanitary and unwholesome houses. It has also become aware of the striking manner in which this type of housing bears upon our social and economic structure.

Housing is a triangular problem, not to be grasped successfully from any one angle. In the first place, it is a social problem. Bad housing conditions are a deep and serious threat to social welfare, above all to the institution of the family and the democratic doctrine of equal opportunity. Slum emphasizes the need to establish and implement social standards for human environment...

Secondly, there is the economic angle, presented by the restricted and uncertain market for new housing which seriously undermines employment and prosperity and points to the need for more efficient production and distribution...

The third is the civic problem of urban blight and chaotic decentralization, and increasingly serious trend which at long last begins to suggest that residential building can not be satisfactorily planned or located without drastic civic reorientation, based on a fresh analysis of the form and function of modern community life. This new concern has brought forth the movement of "urban redevelopment".1

The house, or the home, is the immediate environment into which our citizens are born, in which their early lives are molded and in which they should find happiness, rest and inspiration. But the home environment neither begins nor ends at the doorstep. It extends into the neighborhood. The goal of good housing means a wholesome way of living;

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and that involves the whole neighborhood. If the replanned neighborhood were to fit into the plan of the city, neighborhoods in turn should involve the whole city.

Only a few cities had plans that were official and comprehensive and were authoritative guides for the present and future growth of the city. So the problem of urban blight has brought about the consciousness of considering future planning of cities. Financially, slums are very expensive, as studies of expenditures by cities have shown.

Philadelphia—1947 study, Bureau of Municipal Research: Facts in the study were related to an area slated for redevelopment. The study consists of detailed cataloging of city and school district expenditures in the area and all of the revenues therefrom. The figures totaled: Revenues, $160,980.09; expenditures, $271,394.

Newark—1946 study gives comparative figures for Lower Prospect area (slum) and Upper Prospect area (superior residential neighborhood). Lower Prospect area: Total revenue, $167,462; total expenditure $533,866. Upper Prospect area: Total revenue, $111,185; total expenditure $55,111.

Baltimore—1948 study. The blighted district, 9 1/2 per cent of our city's area, receives 40 per cent of the city's budget... Property assessments in the area where blight exists decreased almost $10 million from 1938 to 1945. A comparison of annual income and outgo of five sample slum areas covering 495 acres: Total annual service costs by city $2,212,485; total annual income to city, $957,761; annual loss, $1,254,724.

Columbus, Ohio—1948 study summarizes receipts and net costs for the city as a whole and for the Goodale area, a slum area for 1940. City: total income, $5,118,518; total net cost, $41,499,894. Goodale area: total income $29,866; total net cost, $72,286.

Denver—1950 series of articles in the Denver Post. Denver's blighted area comprises less than 10 per cent of the land in the city, about 6 per cent of the population, and 6 per cent of living units... It receives 40 per cent of all general relief funds—nearly seven times its share on a population basis. It receives 34 per cent of all aid to dependent children money—nearly six times its share on a population basis. It accounts for 32 per cent of all police calls—more than three times its share on a population basis. It produces 30 per cent of Denver General Hospital's case load—five times its share on a population basis. It provides a third of the work load for the city sanitation department—five times its share on a living unit basis...

Assessment records show clearly that blighted property pays less taxes than standard areas...Take a typical block in the substandard area. It contains 25 living units and 2 commercial developments. The entire block pays the city $1,300 a year in taxes... It isn’t hard to see where the money comes from—and where it goes.

Los Angeles—1947 study—blighted areas compared with non-blighted areas: what they pay in taxes, $4.25 per capita, blighted areas; $11.30 per capita, non-blighted areas. What they cost you for fire, police, health, park services—blighted areas, $7.11 per capita; non-blighted areas, $3.67 per capita.

San Francisco—1947 study, summary on cost and income for slum area and good residential area; Slum area; revenue, $368,020, expenditures $714,319. Good area; revenue $555,583, expenditures, $86,659.

In tracing the origin of slums and the lack of a supply of good housing, it has been discovered how degenerating to cities the age old practice of housing a large part of the population in the cast-off housing of the more prosperous. Since 1930, various measures have been adopted to meet the housing needs of that large part of the population in the low income group.

The City of Philadelphia has attempted to meet the housing needs of the low income group and, at the same time, rid the city of depressed areas through its pilot program.

The City’s Role

Philadelphia has initiated a comprehensive plan for the city. It will take approximately twenty seven years to effect this plan. Unlike most cities, Philadelphia was founded on a master plan. In 1682, William Penn donated “five open squares” to the city and laid it out in an orderly

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1 "The Cost of Slums to Local Governments", A report to the President of the United States, by the President’s Advisory Committee on Government Housing Policies and Programs (Washington, D. C., December, 1953).
pattern of streets that was to be the foundation for the future Philadelphia. In rapid urbanization that accompanied the industrial revolution, the town idea of an earlier time was lost and forgot. The rapid development gave rise to a new kind of city, the crowded, formless city of today.

Seeking a solution, Philadelphia rediscovered its own past, not in Penn's master plan for a city that no longer existed, but in a still flourishing democratic tradition itself, the determination to precede action with full discussion and the active participation of citizens in the city's affairs.

A whole community is also a well community in which sore spots are increasingly being healed and in which a unity of purpose prevades the members. Constructive leadership will move toward this goal and will produce more agreement than disagreement, more willingness to do something about chronic community ailments while at the same time keeping a positive optimistic point of view. Some would-be performers concentrate so much upon what is bad that they lose their perspective and overlook much that is good. There is a happy medium between a wailing Jeremiah and an unrealistic pollyanna, between the doleful "this place has gone to the dogs" and the booster-like "best little town in Michigan". The happy medium is a whole community.1

Since 1940, many important housing agencies have been established, not including the Philadelphia Housing Authority, in the City of Philadelphia to effect the Philadelphia movement.

The Philadelphia Housing Authority was responsible for the construction and maintenance of low-rent housing for families of low income. With the help of loans and subsidies under the United States Housing Act of 1937, 1949, and 1954, the Authority acquired sites, built homes and rented them to eligible applicants. Low rents were made possible by the federal subsidies as well as local contributions in the form of reduced taxes.

Philadelphia City Planning Commission was responsible for preparing the physical development plan of the city to afford adequate facilities for the housing, transportation, distribution, health and welfare of the population. It was also responsible for preparing

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1Irvin T. Sanders, op. cit., p. 13.
zoning ordinances, maps, and amendments and regulations governing the subdivision of land; and for certifying redevelopment plans.

Department of Licenses and Inspections was created to issue licenses and to enforce all laws governing the erection, alteration, maintenance, and demolition of structures, for example, the housing code, the building code and the plumbing code. Its duties also included the inspection of buildings under construction and in use, and issued orders to correct dangerous and unlawful conditions.

City Rent Commission was responsible for administering the Philadelphia Rent Control Ordinance of 1954. This law fixed maximum rents on housing accommodations, established criteria for evictions, and empowered the Commission to conduct investigations and hearings. Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority was established to acquire slum land by the right of eminent domain and to clear and improve it, providing that the City Planning Commission had certified the area for redevelopment and prepared a plan for its reuse. The Authority's function was to make available for economically sound redevelopment of blighted areas in the city. Families displaced by this governmental activity were assisted by the Authority in finding other quarters, as required by the federal and state law.

Office of the Housing Coordinator was created in 1951 to coordinate the activities of all of the various agencies dealing with housing or with parts of the basic problem and to prepare a master plan to attack and solve the social disintegration which springs from inadequate housing. In 1951, the City Planning Commission, The Philadelphia Housing Authority, and the Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority made a joint study on the quality of housing in the blighted areas of the city. Many of the findings of that study were mentioned in chapter two of the writer's study. However, the study further recommended:

The extent and character of the substandard conditions and housing blight, affecting the lives of thousands of families and threatening to undermine the foundation of the municipal financial structure, clearly shows the need for a broad attack utilizing all of the resources which can be mustered. In addition to improved and strengthened basic regulatory legislation and enforcement techniques, it will require vigorous application of remedial measures, full utilization of the city, state, and federal aids for slum clearance, urban rehabilitation, public housing, and the provision of needed community facilities. Most important, each of these elements must be coordinated to fit a clearly articulated total neighborhood program which has been developed in consultation with

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1 City Housing Agencies and Their Purposes, (Philadelphia, 1954).
the residents of the area and which has their full understanding and support. In this way a basic attack on the problem can be made.\(^1\)

Following an analysis of the study, the Office of the Housing Coordinator was created. Almost immediately the Coordinator began to work on the city's housing problem with emphasis upon slum clearance and the checking of blight.

The city is going to try an unusual experiment of encouraging voluntary rehabilitation of certain blighted and fringe-blighted residential areas.

A "pilot program" is being drawn up involving three types of neighborhoods. If the city Council's approval is obtained, the city should be able to launch the project by about June 15.

The cooperation and assistance of many businesses and agencies is being sought in the hope of offering householders who take part in a "package" of services and advice of experts.

Among those being asked by the city to join forces in the project are the various real estate boards, banks, and building and loan associations, housing, social welfare and other agencies.

If the project proves successful, the city hopes it will spread and that a bigger and more economical contribution can be made toward the major effort now being put forth in slum clearance.

The project is the idea of William Rafsky, the city's recently named Housing Coordinator. It represents the first big undertaking of his one-man office.

As envisioned by Rafsky, the city would select three areas for its pilot project. The first would be a fairly good residential area that is just beginning to deteriorate. The second would be a substandard area that can still be salvaged. The third would be a completely deteriorated slum area.

In the third..., an attempt would be made to bring down the full powers of enforcement of the Department of Licenses and Inspections on property owners who did not cooperate.

Rafsky said he could not name the sections where the three areas will be selected because he wants to confer with City Council. He said he has a few tentative sites in mind but has not made a final selection.\(^2\)

The Housing Coordinator's comment to the press stimulated a great deal

\(^1\)Housing Quality Survey, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

of concern at United Neighbors:

My staff has just read with great interest the article recently published under the by-line "City Maps Plan to Fight Slums". We feel no finer or more progressive program could be initiated.

Our agency, comprised of three settlement houses and a Field Work program in Southeast Central Philadelphia has been concerned with the problem of inadequate and substandard housing for a number of years. We are also located in an area designated as No. 9 for redevelopment. It is a matter of record, as you of course know, that our area is gradually deteriorating. But, of course, so are many other sections of the city.

We have, however, through our area program developed a number of groups in our community who are concerned with trying to work out their social problems. In the process we have been able to develop latent leadership and to at least plant some rays of hope in a generally apathetic and depressed area.

We are especially concerned with relationship to improved housing, with the area from Eleventh Street to Broad Street, and from Lombard Street to Christian Street. We are suggesting that this area be given consideration for several reasons. The most obvious is it is a substandard area of substantial proportions. However, in this area are several grass roots groups acquainted with the problem, recognizing the need for improved housing, with neighborhood leadership ready and willing to accept responsibility. Also important is the fact our agency has a staff worker assigned to this area and actively involved with these groups, who can give guidance and help in implementing any proposed program.

We would at least welcome an opportunity to discuss our desire to be considered as a part of a pilot project since we feel we possess all the ingredients to insure relative success in the venture.1

Months later, the Housing Coordinator, included the services, and the resources of United Neighbors in the city's approach to improve the housing conditions in the Southeast Central area.

The city government's concern with the continued deterioration of our neighborhoods has led to the undertaking of a new program of urban renewal to supplement existing activity of slum clearance, on the one hand, and to develop desirable residential communities on undeveloped land, on the other. In order to find out what can be done to save our existing neighborhoods from becoming slum-ridden, this office has chosen four leadership areas to test the techniques necessary to combat the causes of blight.

1Excerpts from a letter sent to Housing Coordinator, William Rafsky, by the Assistant Executive Director of United Neighbors, Milton Brown, April 22, 1951.
One of these areas in which we plan to concentrate on a program of law enforcement is the neighborhood bounded by Eleventh Street to Broad Street, Washington Avenue to Lombard Street. The experience obtained in working in this neighborhood will be used to undertake similar programs at a later date in other parts of the city.

Essentially, this is a volunteer undertaking. It is our objective to have the neighborhood become organized so that residents, property owners, and community organizations will work together in harmony in an effort to improve their homes, their streets, and the neighborhood in which they live.

In line with our exploratory talks, I am officially requesting that your organization take the initiative in rallying the neighborhoods and community groups to work on this law enforcement program. Arrangements are being conducted to make available to such neighborhood organizations an advisory committee consisting of leading representatives of the real estate brokers, the home builders, the mortgage bankers, savings and loans associations, the Health and Welfare Council, the Philadelphia Housing Association, the Citizens' Council on City Planning, the Federation of Community Councils, the Chamber of Commerce, and others. These advisors will be in a position to share their "know-how" and experience on questions and problems that arise, such as financing home improvements and relocating families forced to move because of overcrowding.

Furthermore, through arrangements with Managing Director Robert K. Sawyer, the city's service departments, including Police, Fire, Health, Recreation, Streets, and Licenses and Inspections, will give top priority in trying to solve neighborhood problems. This mobilizing neighborhood, private, and public agencies will concentrate on eradicating the factors which produce blight.  

The Housing Code

Realizing that the City's Housing Code of 1915 did not contain the necessary provisions which would suggest desirable livable housing conditions, the Mayor and City Council of Philadelphia appointed a committee to revise the code. The revised code was approved by the Mayor and City Council in 1954.

The purpose of the 1954 code was to protect the public health, safety,
and welfare by: (1) establishing minimum standards for basic equipment and facilities; for light, ventilation and heating; for safety from fire; for space, use and location; for cooking equipment of all dwellings now in existence or hereafter constructed; for safe and sanitary maintenance; (2) determining the responsibilities of owners, operators and occupants of dwellings; (3) providing for licensing of the operation of rooming houses and multi-family dwellings; and (4) providing for administration, enforcement, and penalties.¹

Some of the main requirements of the new code over and above those of the old were indoor toilets, bathrooms, hot water and heating facilities. The responsibilities of owners and occupants were clearly defined.

Among the most important requirements were those in relation to occupancy. Few factors have contributed as much to city deterioration and blight as the use of structures and equipment by too many people. Also there is probably no other single factor that contributed as much to family disintegration, desertion, disease, delinquency, and disorder as the lack of adequate living space.²

In administration of the new code, there was an exception clause to deal with those dwellings which differed from the code in some respect. The exception clause empowered the Department of Licenses and Inspections to authorize a variance from the terms of the code because of special conditions, undue hardship would result from literal enforcement, and when such variance substantially met the spirit of the code.³ This was the City of Philadelphia's approach to the problems of housing.

¹Philadelphia Housing Code of 1954, section 1, paragraph 1.
CHAPTER IV

THE SETTLEMENT'S ROLE

United Neighbors, a Red Feather Agency, was a merger of four settlement houses and a camp which later developed a decentralized community program. Although this newly merged organization was eight years old, the settlement idea had been deeply rooted in the neighborhood life, along the waterfront in Southeast Central Philadelphia, for more than fifty years.

United Neighbors was intended to be more than just a name; it was the primary objective of the association. In 1945, three boards of three settlement houses; Southwark House, Stanfield House, Workman Place and House of Industry; merged in order to carry on a more unified program for neighborhoods which they covered. This merger was known as the United Neighbors Association. At this point, a five-year agreement was made between these three boards to set up a probationary period in which the boards might observe, study and anticipate the possible effects of this merger. However, at the end of two and one half years, it was determined that the merger was workable, practical, and desirable, and the Association as it is known today, became a legal entity.

The history of United Neighbors pointed to a significant concept in the development of settlement work. Settlements presupposed that they had a responsibility to work with indigenous groups in the neighborhood.

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Too, it was their prerogative to help create associations of neighborhood people as a means of stimulating their interest in neighborhood conditions, and their wider understanding of the implications of these conditions.¹

The purpose of the agency was expressed as being dedicated to a program of cooperative action which makes it possible for the neighbors to think, plan and work together for better living within their neighborhoods with guidance from the united Neighbors' staff and support of the larger community.² This cooperative self-help approach was the key to the philosophy of the agency.

After United Neighbors became a merger in 1946, two of the four settlement houses were closed and the community projects department greatly expanded. The area for which the agency provided professional leadership was approximately one and one-half miles.

The decentralized community program of United Neighbors concurred with the purposes and functions of settlements. Through this program the agency helped to organize neighborhood groups and organizations; helped to organize the program and to secure program resources. Resources may be persons or facilities; social welfare agencies, other organizations and groups, individuals in the community, employed personnel, equipment and materials, laws, funds, leadership, public understanding and good will and volunteer


participation. The program also provided trained leadership and assisted the neighborhood groups on activities other than education and recreation.

Fact Finding

Having been deeply rooted in the neighborhood life through its decentralized community program, United Neighbors accepted the opportunity to work with the City of Philadelphia in its pilot housing project.

Our professional responsibility impels a primary concern with people, with their attitudes towards each other and with their attitudes towards the whole community. That responsibility, then, becomes all the sharper when re-shaping of attitude patterns is called for. For certainly social work, and especially the settlement house agencies, are inescapably involved in the attitudes of people. Not only settlement work, of course.

Those of us who are caseworkers are concerned with feelings that people have about themselves, and their problems, and the projection of their personal problems upon their environment. Group workers are especially concerned about the attitudes that people hold toward each other and their group, and the attitudes developed by groups toward their members. In the community organization field, we are concerned with attitudes which individuals and groups have toward the whole community, as a part of the role they play in building a sounder community life.

But those in the settlement house field are called upon for all of these skills, because the individual, the family, the group and the community are all the responsibility of the settlement specialists, we do have a responsibility for that job of reshaping the American community—reshaping the community by refurbishing the American spirit.

In organizing a community, factual information concerning the community should be collected. Any sound planning, whether it be in social welfare,

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1 Miss Frankie V. Adams, "Resources in the Field" (Lecture to class in Community Organization, Atlanta University School of Social Work, Atlanta, Georgia, December 15, 1953).

2 Lorene M. Pacey, op. cit., p. 310.

3 Lester B. Granger, "Social Work's Role in Reshaping the American Community" (Unpublished speech at the National Association of Settlements, Cleveland, Ohio, March 1951), p. 2.
in business or in industry, must rest on factual information. Fact finding adds to the knowledge of a given community, agency problem, and provides a factual basis for important decisions in community organization.¹

A considerable amount of time was spent in fact finding on the pilot area. United Neighbors conducted a survey of the area for almost one month. The population on the basis of race, nationality, income and occupation was computed. Conditions of the dwellings in the area were computed in relation to the occupancy, and health and sanitation facilities available in the dwellings. These data were computed from the United States Census of Housing and Population for Philadelphia for 1950.

Through staff consultation "key people" in the community were discovered. These "key people" included tenants, property owners, clergymen, school principals, and officials of social agencies, civic and social organizations.

In order for these data to be of use, they were analyzed in light of the implications they held for the planning of the project. Once the data were collected and assembled, maps and charts were prepared as media of interpretation. An analysis of these data was discussed in chapters two and three.

Education and Interpretation

Fact finding, analysis, determination of priorities, development of proposals to meet needs are merely intellectual exercises if they do not eventuate into action which will benefit the community. It is not enough to develop a program, no matter how scientific, if it is not put to use.²

¹Ray Johns and David F. DeMarche, Community Organization and Agency Responsibility (New York, 1951), pp. 150-52.

²Ibid., p. 151.
Several interviews were held with "key people" of civic and social neighborhood organizations in the pilot area and with the property owners in order that the pilot project could be interpreted, to obtain their feelings toward it, and to solicit their participation in it. United Neighbors recognized the fact that a community does not exist chiefly because of formal planning and organization, but through direct personal acquaintance and relationships, in a spirit of fellowship.

Its members were people who to a considerable extent had cast lots together, who shared problems and prospects, who had a sense of mutual responsibility and who actually planned and worked together for common ends... There must be mutual understanding, respect, aid and confidence.\(^1\)

All of these community people and property owners felt that the pilot project was a valuable plan by which the community could be improved. They also welcomed the opportunity to participate in the project. However, there were hostile attitudes on the part of the tenants to the property owners and on the part of the property owners to the tenants. The tenants felt that they were being exploited, economically, while the property owners felt that the tenants were inherently destructive and a detrimental factor to improved housing.

United Neighbors recognized these hostile attitudes as being a destructive influence to the project. Therefore a meeting was held at United Neighbors to discuss these feeling tones, and to create the spirit of understanding and cooperation among the conflicting groups.

It is possible to analyze the energy which comes out only through group interaction. The more we examine the idea the more important it becomes. A major concern of group dynamics is how to release this energy, but it can be seen at work without benefit of scientific study in the army, in conference and in discussion groups, in some boards of directors. We see its negative power in mob violence or a theatre panic.

As a group creature we do not make sufficient use of our heritage. The failure to do so not only costs society a great deal of constructive energy but probably increases individual loneliness, tension and conflict. Group dynamics has already gone far enough to show that amiable sentiments about the brotherhood of man and rewards of cooperation are not enough. Much more spontaneous energy will come from a group where the structure has been designed to encourage the process...It is beginning to look as if well-structured groups can solve certain types of problems better than any individual. 

As a result of this meeting and discussion, there developed a greater understanding and acceptance of the tenants and property owners for one another, their ideas, opinions, beliefs and problems. There also developed a greater understanding of the pilot project and an expressed desire by both groups to work together for the improvement of the neighborhood housing conditions. An important principle in community organization was observed, participation in the discussion led to the understanding of the problems and individuals, and brought a spirit of cooperation among those involved. 

The result of the meeting was the keynote for United Neighbors to proceed with its planning phase of the project. The individuals who were involved in the discussion became the nucleus group from which the "snowball" technique was to be effected. "Once the people become interested in and understand your project, you can be reasonably assured that the nucleus will enlarge itself indefinitely." 

In addition to relying upon the efforts of the nucleus to expand the

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3 Ibid., p. 14.
awareness of the project throughout the community, other media of interpretation and public relations were used; "the written word, the spoken word, and pictures." The written word included articles in two of the city newspapers, the Philadelphia Daily Bulletin, and the Philadelphia Daily News; and through the publication of a monthly neighborhood newspaper which was circulated throughout the entire area and for which United Neighbors had leadership responsibility, through the resources of the public schools. This neighborhood newspaper was a "by-product" of community participation. An editorial committee consisting of community people and staff of the agency wrote the articles, while the public relations committee of the agency, consisting of board, staff, and community people, edited the articles, and the public schools published and distributed the paper. Leaflets and "fliers" were also used.

The spoken word came in the form of a mass meeting, and discussions in the various neighborhood groups and organizations. Maps, charts, and a television program were the pictorial media of interpretation and education.

**Organization**

In the pilot area, none of the existing organizations had any or much experience similar or related to the pilot project. Therefore, two committees were established in this initiation stage, primarily to make plans to enlist greater community support.

The two committees were the Tenants' Committee and the Property Owners' Committee. Each of the committees consisted of seven members. The Tenants' Committee, whose officers consisted of a chairman and a secretary,

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had as its purposes: to handle the day to day problems of the families in the area, to obtain necessary information in order to deal with those family problems as they arise, to establish a specific contact or captain in each of the sixty three blocks, and to supervise and give aid to those specific contacts or block captains. On the other hand, the Property Owners' Committee, whose officer was a chairman, had as its purpose to represent the interests and ideas of the owners.

Since the bulk of the work could not be done by the total organization and could not be done by a single individual, the committee was the most democratic and practical device that could be utilized. The committee is also an important tool in community organization. Hence, the writer concurred with Audrey and Harleigh Trecker in relation to the guiding principles of effective committee work:

Effective committees are guided in their work by their belief in and respect for democratic values; have responsible, constructive, and creative leaders who give continuous guidance to the committee process; have a clear statement and a clear understanding of their purpose or job assignment; are made up of carefully selected members who are interested and qualified; approach and conduct their work planfully by outlining in advance the logical steps to be taken; release and utilize the contributions of members who participate actively in discussion, deliberation, and decision making; do their work according to mutually agreed upon rules and function as a team rather than as individual performers; move through their work assignment in an orderly and progressive manner taking one step at a time; develop realistically in relation to time needs and demands; keep adequate records which are used in preparing the final report for presentation to the organization; look at themselves from time to time and endeavor to improve upon their work by means of systematic evaluation; and provide for their members the human basic satisfactions when work is well done. 1

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL WORK PROCESSES

Various authors in social work literature in recent years have recognized the interrelatedness of the several processes of social work. Particularly, writers in community organization have shown awareness of the need to use tools and skills of the processes of case work and group work. There is also a growing acceptance and use of the knowledges gained from materials related to human behavior. In the latter connection, Campbell Murphy has emphasized the bearing of relationship of a worker in a community organization situation to the furtherance of a community project. Relationship, to Mr. Murphy, means the establishing of a bond. Moreover, the deepening of such a bond is largely effected through the interview process which specifically is a case work tool.¹

Establishing lines of association between groups calls for utilization of skills and tools from the group work process while activating large groups in solving their problems calls for skills in the community organization process. The role of the worker in the pilot project, therefore, involved some utilization of knowledge, skill and method of several processes. The pilot project was a long term project and the extent to which the desired goals were being reached or the effectiveness of the social work methods was difficult to measure in this initiation stage.

Assuming that the community was the over-all setting for the practice of social work the worker utilized the three processes of social work; case work, group work, and community organization, in the initiation stage

¹Campbell G. Murphy, op. cit., p. 402.
of the project.

The Case Work Process

After United Neighbors had accepted the responsibilities assigned to it by the city, the worker began to look for the "key people" in the community whom he might first contact in relation to the project.¹ The individuals having been selected and located, the worker then used the interview technique to inform them about the project and to solicit their cooperation and participation. The interview was also used to examine the feelings of these individuals toward the project as well as their desires and interests. The project, no matter what its origin was or what methods were used in giving it roots, may be said to be established as an incentive to action when enough competent people are mulling the matter over and discussing it with one another.²

The case work device served to begin a relationship between the worker and the persons interviewed. It verified the need, too, for further information about the community. Consequently, other methods of research were utilized.

The Community Organization Process

The effectuating of social welfare programs constitutes the process of initiation of community welfare organization. The process is concerned with the inauguration of new services into the community, the modification of old, and the abolition of those which are no longer needed, as well as the securing of desirable social advantages. At times, changes are introduced formally and after considerable and deliberate attention. But formality need

¹Irwin T. Sanders, op. cit., p. 36.
²Ibid., p. 37.
be a feature of the process. Informal changes of a community's social welfare program also reveal the same process. All social agencies practice this process to some degree.1

In attempting to plan to meet needs of a community various forms of fact finding must be used in order to define the problem, to ascertain the nature of the community, and to access the resources.

The community organization worker must be able to get the facts about a community to come to understand the community and to identify its needs. He must know its resources and appraise them with respect to needs. The worker should be familiar with research methodology and be able to judge the scope and intensity of the studies required. The community organization worker must have "ability in research" and "ability in applying research findings to problems of community organization".2

Fact finding. All communities, to some extent, are different. It was of particular importance to find out to what extent the pilot area was different and to understand the social traits of those individuals who were to be affected by the pilot project.

In the pilot area, as in every community, there was an already established way of doing things.3 To what extent these established ways of doing things could affect the project was of great concern. Of equal importance in working with people was the understanding and general acceptance of the social values. "You gain a key to understanding of a given culture if you understand the social value of that culture".4

The population of the area was predominately non-white which had

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2Ray Johns and David F. DeMarche, op. cit., p. 230.
3Irvin T. Sanders, op. cit., p. 19.
4Ibid., p. 29.
migrated from the South. It was necessary to know to what extent their original mores and folkways were affected as a result of the sectional change, and to understand the value which they placed upon improved housing conditions.

This pilot project had one aspect which the writer seriously questioned from the standpoint of individualizing the community and treating the "ills" in light of the facts assembled. This area of concern was that of program planning. These facts were known or, in a way, obvious: the income of the people, affected by the project, was low; a large segment of the population was of a transient and single aged variety; and there was a serious shortage of safe, sanitary, and decent housing for these groups at a price they could afford to pay. Seemingly, there had been little or no planning around these problems and a "wait and see what happens next" attitude prevailed. Consequently, the writer concurred with Arthur Morgan:

Should people of serious purpose realize the extent to which the local community is the seed bed of civilization, the source of basic character and culture, as well as the medium for their preservation and transmission, then within their communities, they might be sowing the seeds and cultivating the growth of a better future. The slowness of this process may seem discouraging, yet to expect quicker results may be wishful dreaming, a common cause of cynical despair. One sees everywhere frustration and disillusionment among young people as they measure their small individual power against vast world currents. Could they see clearly the process by which the future is made and the opportunities they have to share in the making, they would have compelling reasons for a sense of significance and validity for their lives.¹

In the utilization of fact finding, the worker discovered the physical dilapidation of the community as well as apathy and hostility among the citizens in the community.

¹Arthur E. Morgan, op. cit., p. 11.
Arrangement of meeting. Meetings were arranged at intervals. In connection with these, the worker notified these citizens by written notices, explaining the purpose of the meeting and the desired goals. On the date of the meeting, the worker personally contacted each of the individuals to whom the notices were sent to remind them of the meeting and to see if they had made plans to attend. It was discovered by the worker that these follow-ups were necessary because they frequently forgot about the meeting, and such personal contacts gave the individuals a feeling of their importance in the project. The primary function here was to get the people together and to establish a relationship.\(^1\)

Committee management. Committees were established in which the worker supplied indirect leadership. "Leadership is the activity of influencing people to cooperate to some goal which they come to find desirable".\(^2\) The worker assisted the chairman in handling the mechanics of the meetings. These mechanics included; sending notices, following up those notices with personal contacts, making agendas, and assisting the chairman in keeping the committee discussion focused on the purposes of the committee. He also assisted the committee members in the planning of their objectives to reach the desired goals as well as interpreted the pilot program and stimulated interest and greater participation.

All citizens must be jarred from the rut of apathy and indifference in which so many of them have been traveling, with reference to their failures as practicing citizens in the assumption of a bill of duties as a correlative part of a bill of rights. We

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\(^1\)Clarence King, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

need to muster all resources both of intellect and of moral purpose to meet the responsibilities of our time.¹

Inter-agency negotiation and interpretation. The worker also assumed the role of a liaison person between the city, owners, tenants and the agency. Meetings could not be scheduled as often as necessary to have them. Consequently, the worker kept all of the groups well informed through personal contacts. "The community organization worker has a crucial and vital role to play in the social drama of our time - the role of a servant of democracy".²

Prior to being able to work on the physical conditions, it was deemed necessary to bring the individuals into discussion groups in order to permit the hostility to resolve.

The Group Work Process

The worker discovered that a great deal of hostility existed between the important groups, the tenants and owners. The worker felt that these groups should meet as one group to discuss their hostilities and release them through group discussion, as groups can solve certain types of problems better than any individual.³ The worker also felt that these feelings of hostilities could be transformed into a spirit of cooperation, understanding and participation.


³Stuart Chase, op cit., p. 236.
The community organization worker is interested in social relationships. He could not conceive of "social needs" without thinking of people in relationships, he could not conceive of "adjusting social resources to social needs" without recognizing that the basic problem with which one is dealing is that of relationships between people.

After the people had assembled for the meeting, the worker led the discussion in the areas which seemed to produce the hostility, until the two groups began to make favorable and desirable comments about each other. These comments led to the verbal expression of desires and willingness of the groups to work together just to see what would happen in relation to improving neighborhood conditions.

This analysis of the role of the worker verified to the writer the interrelatedness of the social work processes, not only in respect to the progress of a project but also in respect to the daily activity of the worker. Hence, this attempt to put this analysis in any bracket ignored the step by step procedure.

It was interesting to the author to analyze the kinds of help he gave to the various groups in relation to role. In connection with the initial discussion group, the worker's role was permissive; in connection with the committee chairman and members, his role was that of supporter or an enabler; in connection with city officials, his role was that of direct leadership. A professional staff person in community organization must be able to use discretion in selecting his role so as not to let it interfere with the progress of his project.

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CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study of the settlement's role in cooperating in the initiation of an urban renewal project had as its purposes: to describe the pilot project; to give a description of the factors which contributed to blight; to point out the roles of the settlement and the city; and to analyze the social work processes employed.

The study of the social work processes employed by the settlement in stimulating neighborhood people to participate in an urban renewal project revealed the following conclusions:

1. From the early organization of settlements, the problems of housing and other social ills have been attacked from a number of angles. For the first time in Philadelphia, the city and the settlement worked as a unit in planning and initiating a project to improve the housing conditions. This project was known as the Hawthorne Urban Renewal Project.

2. Housing is a problem which may be affected by both the physical and economic factors of a community. The physical factors included unsafe, unsanitary or overcrowded conditions, excessive coverage of land by buildings; faulty street and lot layout; defective design and arrangement of the buildings; and undesirable land uses. Such economic factors as income; occupancy and tenure of the houses; and rent levels also affected the conditions of the houses. On the other hand, poor housing is both a social and financial problem. It is detrimental to the safety and welfare of the people and it is expensive to the local government.
3. The concentration of this pilot project was in the Southeast Central Section of Philadelphia. It had a diversity of population, most of which was non-white, had low income, and most of the houses were occupied by tenants. The Hawthorne area, located in the northwest corner of the Southeast Central area, was one of the most depressed areas in the city in terms of substandard housing. More than half of the houses did not have private bath facilities, and almost half of them did not have inside running water.

4. Philadelphia initiated a pilot program to improve the housing conditions in four neighborhoods, one of which was the Hawthorne area. This pilot program required the cooperation of the city's housing agencies: Office of the Housing Coordinator, the Housing Authority, the Redevelopment Authority, the City Planning Commission, Department of Licenses and Inspections and the Rent Commission; and United Neighbors.

5. The Philadelphia Housing Code was revised and adopted in 1954 in order to protect the public health, safety, and welfare. It was the guide by which the housing conditions in the pilot program were to be improved. In the Code, there was an exception clause which empowered the law enforcement agency, Department of Licenses and Inspections, to authorize an exception from the terms of the Code because of special conditions; undue hardship would result from literal enforcement, and when such exception substantially met the spirit of the code.

6. United Neighbors was located in the Southeast Central Section of Philadelphia. It represented a merger of two settlement houses, a decentralized community program, and a camp. Although this was a new organization, the settlement idea has been deeply rooted in the neighborhood life of the Southeast Central area for more than fifty years.
7. United Neighbors utilized two community organization methods at the initiation stage of the pilot project; fact finding and education and interpretation. The committee was recognized and utilized as a basic tool in community organization. This device was utilized for the purpose of enabling the larger organization to move with greater rapidity and productivity.

8. Three social work processes; case work, group work, and community organization; were utilized by the worker to further the project. The role of the worker consisted of the following services; as a supporter and an enabler to the committee chairman and members; the permissive role in group discussions, and as a direct leader in connection with city officials. These roles were utilized in developing community support through human relations.

While the writer was not able to see the conclusion of the project because it was a long term project, he was able to observe the growing desire of neighborhood citizens to improve the conditions of apathy and indifference which prevailed.
APPENDIXES
APPENDIX A

MAP OF SOUTHEAST CENTRAL PHILADELPHIA

*Source: Map of the Southeast Central area, Philadelphia City Planning Commission, 1947*

LEGEND:

— Commercial and industrial area

— Institutions

— Parks and Playgrounds

— Hawthorne Urban Renewal Area
APPENDIX B

ORGANIZATION IN THE HAWTHORNE AREA AT THE INITIATION STAGE

OFFICE OF THE HOUSING COORDINATOR

UNITED NEIGHBORS ASSOCIATION

TENANT'S COMMITTEE

PROPERTY OWNERS' COMMITTEE
APPENDIX C

THE STRUCTURE OF THE UNITED NEIGHBORS ASSOCIATION

UNITED NEIGHBORS ASSOCIATION

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

PROGRAM DIRECTOR

SOUTMARK HOUSE (House Director)

STAFF

FIELD WORK STUDENTS

CAMP DIRECTOR

HOUSE OF INDUSTRY (House Director)

STAFF

FIELD WORK STUDENTS

ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE AND SUPERVISOR OF COMMUNITY PROJECTS

CAMP LINDEN

STAFF

STAFF

FIELD WORK STUDENTS
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Letters
