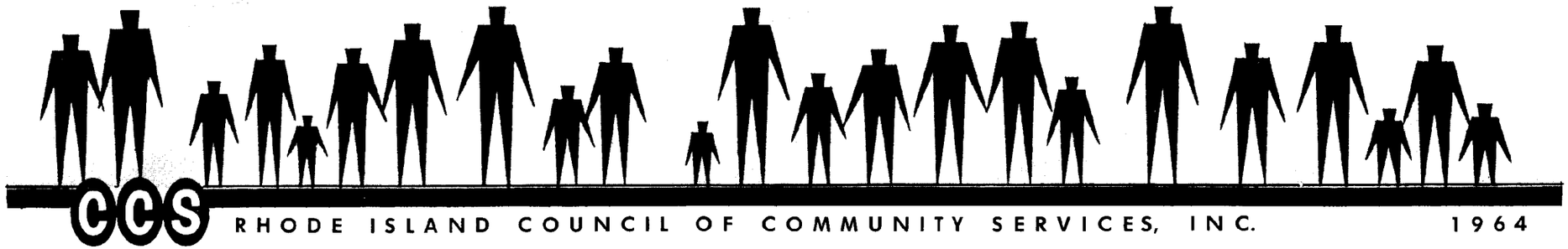
A SOCIAL PLAN

FOR COMMUNITY RENEWAL
OF THE CITY OF PROVIDENCE RHODE ISLAND



RHODE ISLAND COUNCIL OF COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC. 1964

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A SOCIAL PLAN

FOR COMMUNITY RENEWAL OF THE CITY OF PROVIDENCE

PREPARED FOR THE CITY OF PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND
CHARLES R. WOOD, URBAN RENEWAL COORDINATOR, BY THE
RHODE ISLAND COUNCIL OF COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC. 1964

PREFACE

This document is a report of the Rhode Island Council of Community Services to the City of Providence. It is the product of two years of planning and research aimed at bringing the role of people into proper perspective in the efforts of the municipality to renew the City. The report fulfills a contract entered into with the Council by the City for a study of the social foundations of urban renewal action.

The recommendations resulting from this study are presented herein as a social plan for community renewal which includes: (1) a plan for the mobilization and focus of health, education, welfare, recreation, housing and employment services as part of urban renewal treatments, and (2) a plan for citizen participation and the services necessary to make these activities an effective part of urban renewal treatments.

To carry out its planning and research functions in this study, the Council divided its work into four major parts. The first part was an assessment through social research of

1. the relative incidence of major problems manifested by the City's residents
2. the strengths and weaknesses of neighborhoods as functioning social units
3. the major municipal and community services available to the City's residents.

A listing and description of the various studies undertaken is included in Appendix A. The second part was the establishment of general social goals which the City should pursue on behalf of its residents. The third part was the formulation of a plan to gear health, education, welfare, recreation, housing, and employment programs to meet documented problems and to reach goals. The fourth part, to be activated soon after the publication of this report, is the implementation of the programs outlined.

In the preparation of this report four considerations have been borne in mind — the report's timeliness, its uniqueness, its emphasis on people, and its readership.

Many cities throughout the United States are currently considering the adoption or rejection of urban renewal as the means for their revitalization. The effect of urban renewal upon people is one of the pivotal considerations which will determine the outcome of such deliberation and will be a criterion by which the success of Providence's urban renewal program will be measured. This study is timely, therefore, in that it brings to Providence and other cities some new potential for making urban renewal work for people.

The study and the resulting plan are unique in that they are among the first such efforts to be developed within the framework of urban renewal. Although the findings on the nature and extent of social problems may seem stark and unusual, there is reason to believe that this picture is characteristic of most American cities.

Emphasis upon people, as ends in themselves, is the distinctive mark of this study. This emphasis can be made on a narrower basis as well. People are the City's most valuable resource for its development and renewal. To attain the goal of urban renewal, the creation of a livable and viable City, this report proposes that the City be made the best possible medium for the optimum development of the capacities of its residents.

Finally the report has been written for a broad and varied readership. While elected officials and municipal administrators are the first groups to be concerned with this study, the public at large, many civic groups, professional and lay leadership of our social services, representatives of the professions concerned with community life, and university-related people also have an important stake in the actions proposed. With this in mind, the report

has been written in non-technical language so as to disseminate as widely as possible the meaning of its central ideas, findings and recommendations. The Technical Supplement, published under separate cover, presents the methodology of the study and its findings in greater detail.

Many people have made essential contributions to this study. The Council's Program Development and Research Advisory Committees met for nearly two years to guide this project to completion. With untiring energy the respective Chairmen of these two Committees, Ambrose B. Kelly and The Very Reverend Vincent C. Dore, carried a large measure of responsibility for the preparation of this report. The work of the Committees in unraveling thorny issues of policy and in constant review of research ideas contributed substantially to the quality of this project. The members of the two Committees are:

Program Development Committee Ambrose B. Kelly, Chairman, Francis E. Arnone, Katharine K. Cutts, M.D., Harry B. Freeman, Mrs. Newton P. Leonard, E. John Lownes, Jr., James F. McCoy, Julius C. Michaelson, Charles V. Raymond, Joseph R. Weisberger, Charles R. Wood.

Research Bureau Advisory Committee — The Very Reverend Vincent C. Dore, O.P., Chairman, Mrs. Margaret Ackroyd, George W. Anderson, MD., Joseph E. Cannon, M.D., Ruth Coogan, Elmer Cornwell, Ph.D., Ralph W. England, Jr., Ph.D., Mary Hackett, Herbert A. Ruesch, Caleb Smith, Ph.D., J. Walter Wilson, Ph.D.

The active interest and ready cooperation of the numerous agencies, governmental and voluntary, which made available the data necessary for this study is gratefully acknowledged.

Appreciation is expressed to Lachlan F. Blair and Edward W. Wood, Jr., of Blair Associates, the firm responsible for the physical aspects of the Community Renewal Program. Mr. Blair and Mr. Wood came to a difficult task well prepared to recognize the need for closely examining the social aspects of the City. The intensive working relationship between the staff of Blair Associates and the staff of the Rhode Island Council of Community Services was among the first of such relationships between physical and social planners. Working together has been a most valuable experience for the Council, and hopefully, too, for the Council's physical planning colleagues.

Gratitude is expressed to Charles R. Wood, Urban Renewal Coordinator for the City of Providence, for his valued help and constant support of the work of the Council. Mr. Wood's unusual ability to combine social insights with practical realities has made the job much easier and potentially far more fruitful than could be anticipated at the outset of the study.

This report is essentially a product of Council staff. The project was initiated and directed by Dr. Sidney Dillick, Executive Director of the Council. The heaviest responsibility for the design and conduct of the technical work fell to Franklin M. Zweig, at that time Staff Consultant for Research, with the assistance of F. Paul Frinsko and Dianne M. Parker, successively Research Assistants. Mr. Zweig prepared the first draft of the report. Peter G. Strand, then Staff Consultant for Family and Child Welfare prepared the inventory of services and helped in the formulation of the project. Robert R. Mayer, now Staff Consultant for Research, has had the main responsibility for editing the initial draft and carrying it through several revisions. All staff contributed criticism and suggestions throughout the duration of the project. The performance of the Council's clerical staff in the production of working materials and final manuscript has been unfailing.

During the early stages of the project, consultation was obtained on certain points of methodology from: Fern M. Colborn, Dr. Irwin T. Sanders, Dr. Basil G. Zimmer, Dr. Leonard S. Kogan, and Dr. David E. French. The content of this report, however, in all respects is the sole responsibility of the Rhode Island Council of Community Services, Inc.

This document is dedicated to the people of Providence, for whom it opens new opportunity to rebuild their City as the dynamic center of an urban state.

Rhode Island Council of
Community Services, Inc.

Sidney Dillick, Ph.D., M.S.W.
Executive Director

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Why A Social Plan For Urban Renewal?

The Providence urban renewal program, like similar programs in many other cities, has its enthusiastic supporters and ardent critics. The supporters of urban renewal cite its accomplishments, actual or potential, in terms of an increased tax base for the City, new or expanded commercial and industrial enterprise, demolition and redevelopment of the most blighted areas and, in some measure, better housing. The magnitude of these gains has been difficult to measure and provides the basis for much controversy.

The critics of urban renewal argue that it has concentrated on economic objectives with little consideration given to its effects upon people. They point out that in order to increase assessed valuations and tax revenues sites are cleared which often include good housing. Self-reliant owners and tenants of good housing are sometimes forced to move into poor housing in deteriorated neighborhoods. They characterize it as being self-defeating in that those for whom re-housing was intended seldom benefit from it. Under most vigorous attack is the characteristic "project orientation" of the program. This, the critics hold, undermines the urban complex by creating small, socially and physically isolated segments which often reinforce existing racial and cultural ghettos.

As a program for the eradication and prevention of blight, urban renewal is customarily viewed as directed toward

physical changes in the City achieved by the use of physical treatments. It proposes to improve the City's livability by changing traffic patterns, segregating land uses, and eliminating unsafe and unsanitary housing and commercial structures. But there are social causes of physical blight which require social treatments. And in addition, people's way of life and the functioning of our social institutions are inextricably involved in the ways in which land is used. Therefore, urban renewal as a blight prevention program must attack social as well as physical causes with social as well as physical means.

There are many social factors which stand as obstacles to urban renewal efforts at City improvement. One such factor, racial discrimination in housing, is currently receiving widespread public attention. Negroes who can afford good housing in good neighborhoods are confronted by the barrier of discrimination. Many of these families are forced to live in sub-standard areas. Another factor is the lack of good housing within the incomes of all those who most need it. Not so commonly recognized, however, is the fact that some of the people, both Negroes and whites, who live in deteriorated areas are ill-equipped to cope with living in a relatively impersonal and complex urban society. They are ill-equipped by virtue of their attitudes of hopelessness, lack of aspirations, lack of job skills, and lack of emotionally satisfying social relationships which are aggravated by economic deprivation. Some of these people are both the consumers of blight and the producers of blight. They are the consumers of blight in that they occupy neglected housing which is unlivable and dilapidated, and for which they pay small rents out of meager incomes. They are producers of blight in that they do not have the means or appreciation for the care of property, and their actions add to the more complete deterioration of their dwellings. They do not believe that an opportunity will ever be forthcoming for the better life which abounds about them.

As urban renewal shifts people from place to place in the traditional relocation process, this handicapped segment of the community carries with it an infectious, chronic, blighting behavior which is not changed because no one provides the help necessary for these people to deal with the problems which underlie their destructive actions.

Therefore, the success of the urban renewal program is largely dependent upon breaking the vicious combination of housing decay and social handicaps confronting many of this City's residents. The social handicaps documented in this study are of five types: economic dependency, ill health, family breakdown, inadequate education, anti-social behavior. It is recognized that racial discrimination and the unavailability of adequate housing for lowest income families are social handicaps which must be overcome if urban renewal is to succeed. In the policies proposed to guide the City it is recommended that re-housing opportunities be made available without regard to race, religion or national origin. In this plan there is proposed a course of action by which adequate housing may be made available to lowest income families most in need of it.

If the "housing-human problems process" is to be transformed effectively, urban renewal must modify its objectives to include social goals and effective social measures must be developed as part of the urban renewal program. Thus a social plan becomes an essential ingredient of the Community Renewal Program for the City of Providence.

I.

PROBLEMS OF PEOPLE AND NEIGHBORHOODS

THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF PROBLEMS

The extent of problems facing individuals and families in the City of Providence has been carefully documented in this study by means of the Social Pathology Index. A full technical description of the Index is contained in the Technical Supplement to this report. Suffice it to say here that the Social Pathology Index, or S.P.I. as it will be referred to throughout this report, is a tool developed for this study which ranks each of the City's 216 enumeration districts according to the relative incidence of problems facing individuals and families living in those districts.[1] The twenty-three problems which form the basis of the Index were selected because they are considered to be good indicators of the standard of life of individuals and families with respect to health, economic self-support, family unity and child care, education, personal behavior, and conduct.

The word **problem** as used in this report has three different connotations. An **individual or family problem** refers to conditions of individuals or families which society considers to be sub-standard and which prevent them from living an adequate and wholesome life. A **neighborhood problem** refers to conditions which are characteristic of the neighborhood as a unit and which are injurious or unsatisfactory to its residents. Thus a poor school, an unsafe traffic pattern, or racial tension would be examples of a neighborhood problem. A **social problem** refers to conditions which are characteristic of society as a whole and which prevent people from achieving their highest capacity. Thus the lack of a needed service or the failure of an agency to meet the needs of people which it purports to serve would be a social problem. Likewise, the sys-

[1] An enumeration district is a subdivision of a census tract developed by the Bureau of the Census as an area which is encompassible by one enumerator at the taking of the census. It is the smallest geographical unit used by the Bureau in publishing population data.

tematic denial of opportunity to individuals or groups is a social problem.

The twenty-three different problems in the S.P.I. do not represent all of the possible problems that can confront individuals and families in the five categories. They do tend, however, to reflect basic handicapping conditions which touch major segments of the City's population. Here are some examples cited for February 1960. Over 3,800 residents were receiving Unemployment Compensation and 10,000 individuals and families were receiving Public Assistance, a rough indication of the number of people facing difficulty in economic self-support. Nearly 6,000 children, more than 11 percent of all children in the City of Providence under 20 years of age, came from families receiving Aid to Dependent Children. In one enumeration district, for example, 85 percent of the children in this age range came from families receiving Aid to Dependent Children. The broken homes and incomplete families implied by this statistic represent tragic and serious handicaps to the children involved. Nearly 350 Providence residents were reported at Rhode Island Hospital as new cases for diagnosis or treatment of mental illness. In the area of education over 1,100 children dropped out of school annually in the City of Providence during the three-year span from 1959 to 1961.

Geographically the occurrence of these problems is widespread and is not restricted to small or isolated sections of the City. This distribution can be seen in Figure 1. In this Figure, all

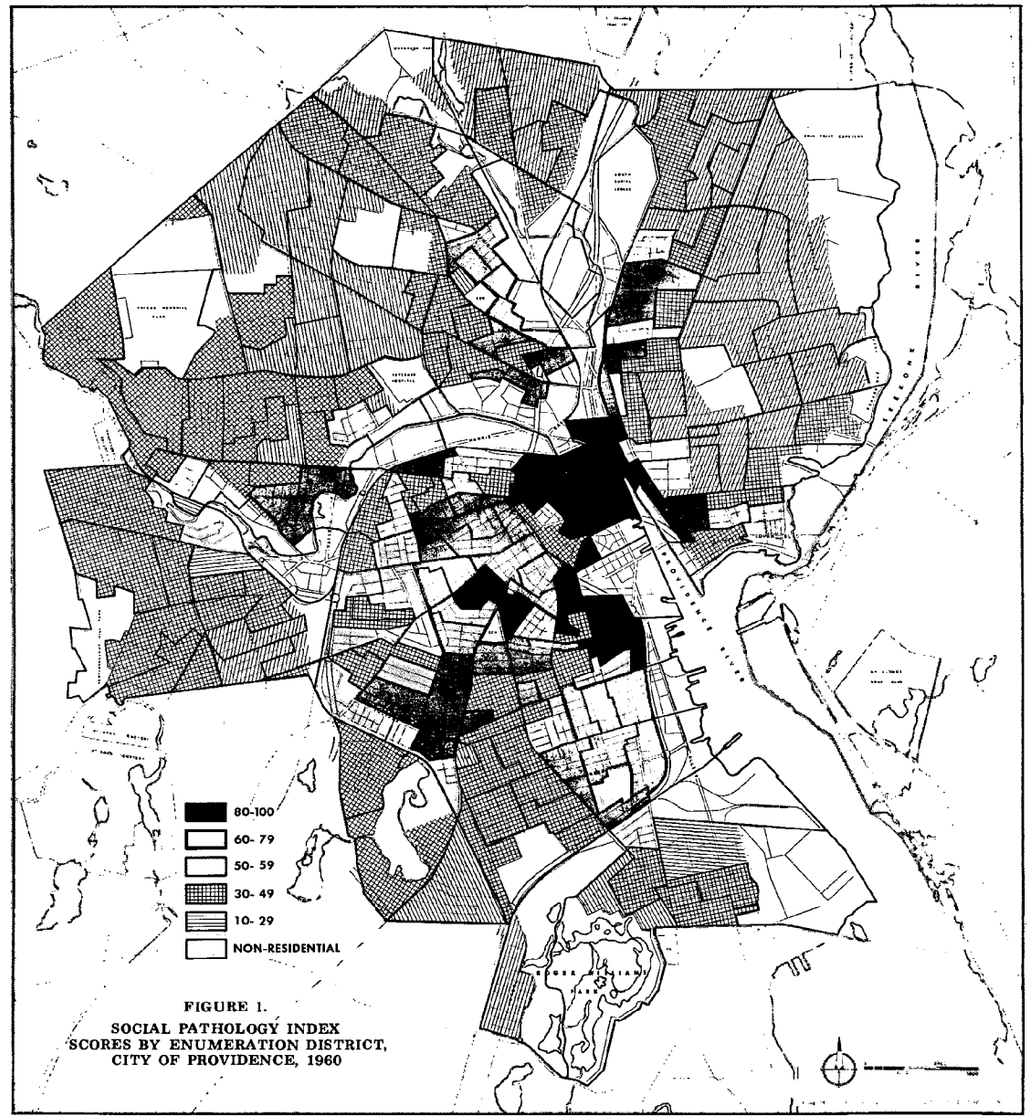


FIGURE 1.
SOCIAL PATHOLOGY INDEX
SCORES BY ENUMERATION DISTRICT,
CITY OF PROVIDENCE, 1960

of the 216 enumeration districts in the City have been plotted on a map according to their S.P.I. scores. It should be noted that a score of 100 denotes the highest concentration of individual and family problems among all enumeration districts of the City.

The central neighborhoods of the City are the most gravely affected in terms of the incidence of problems. The concentrations of problems tend to be lighter toward the City's periphery. Some areas of the City not directly connected with the downtown area, for example Olneyville and Fox Point, have a much higher incidence of problems in comparison with the City as a whole.

Table 1 illustrates the relative concentration problems for each neighborhood of the City. It should be noted that within each neighborhood there is variation among enumeration districts in the incidence of problems. In neighborhoods with an over-all high concentration of problems there may still be enumeration districts with low concentrations.

Almost all of Providence's 20 neighborhoods have concentrations of problems which will cause concern. However, the City has been divided into four types of Program Areas, A, B, C, and D. These Program Areas, which are depicted in Figure 2, were delineated by S.P.I. scores, population concentrations, neighborhood boundaries, and "natural" barriers, as specified in Appendix B. They provide the basis for social treatment plans discussed later in this report.

TABLE 1.

CONCENTRATION OF PROBLEMS OF INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES BY NEIGHBORHOOD AS DETERMINED BY SOCIAL PATHOLOGY INDEX, CITY OF PROVIDENCE, 1960

Neighborhood	Range of S.P.I.[a] Scores Among E.D.'s[b]	Average S.P.I. Score All E.D.'s	No. of E.D.'s	% E.D.'s with S.P.I. Score >[c]60	% E.D.'s with S.P.I. Score >[c]40
Annex	10-59	35.5	16	26	40
Camp	40-79	58.5	6	10	15
Downtown	20-89	54.5	2	03	05
Eagle Park	10-79	44.9	7	11	17
East Side	10-49	34.5	16	28	40
Elmhurst	10-39	24.5	9	15	22
Elmwood	10-79	44.5	13	21	32
Federal Hill	43-70	56.5	17	28	42
Fox Point	45-67	56.5	5	08	12
Hope	10-59	34.5	11	18	20
Manton	10-59	34.5	4	06	10
Mount Pleasant	10-59	34.5	13	21	32
Olneyville	39-66	52.7	10	16	25
Smith Hill	10-79	44.5	10	16	25
South Providence	10-89	49.5	25	40	60
Wanskuck	20-39	29.5	10	16	25
Washington Park	20-59	39.5	6	10	15
West Elmwood	20-39	29.5	4	06	40
West End	10-99	54.5	16	26	40
West River	10-79	44.5	4	06	10

[a] Social Pathology Index
[b] Enumeration districts.
[c] Means "greater than."

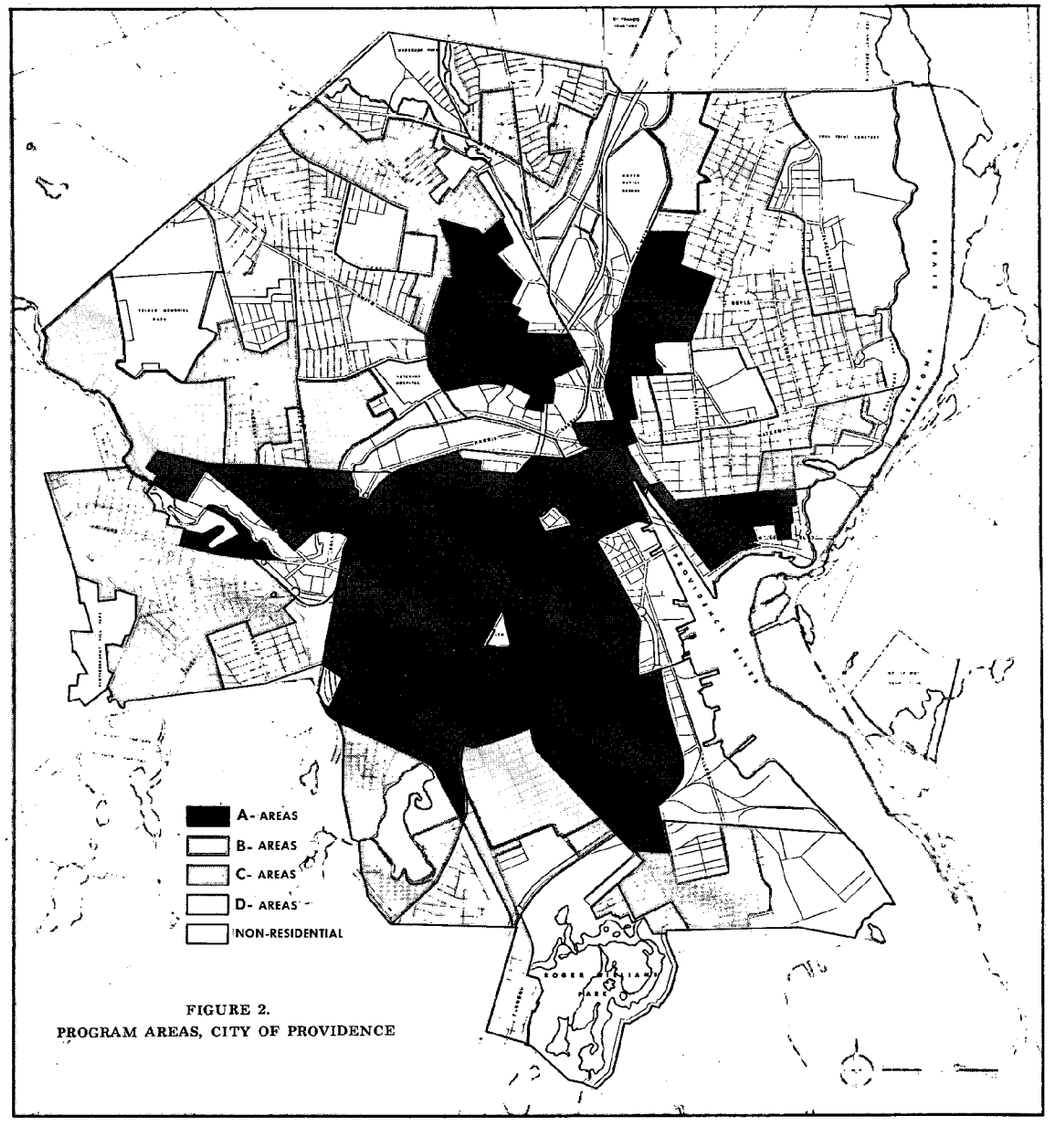


FIGURE 2.
PROGRAM AREAS, CITY OF PROVIDENCE

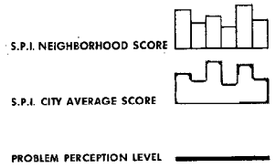
It should be noted that while two neighborhoods may have the same S.P.I. scores, the nature of the problems in each may vary markedly. While one scores high on unemployment, for example, and the other scores low on this factor, they may reverse their relative positions in public assistance scores. These variations have important implications for the mobilization and focus of services as part of urban renewal treatments. These variations can be seen with reference to eight selected neighborhoods in Figure 3.

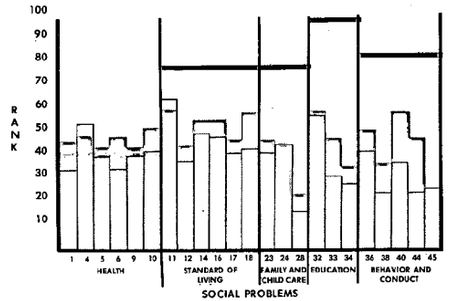
Problems of individuals and families in Providence are closely interrelated. A family which faces alcoholism on the part of the father is also likely to face unemployment, family breakdown, dropping out of school, and conduct problems. This interrelatedness has important implications for the application of social service treatments. Where people face severe and disabling social problems, other factors tend to run against them. Thus, in the areas of Providence with a high incidence of problems and in the areas with medium incidence, the income is low, educational levels are low, mobility is high, and job skills are low. The life opportunities for those living in such areas are very poor.

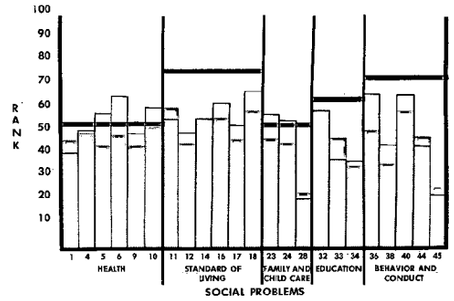
The incidence of personal problems in Providence occurs in direct relationship to housing blight. In those areas with a high concentration of problems there tends to be a high concentration of housing blight. Where the concentration of problems is less

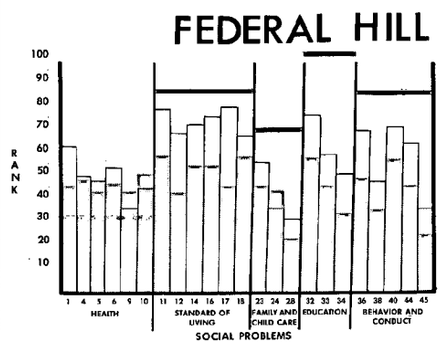
FIGURE 3

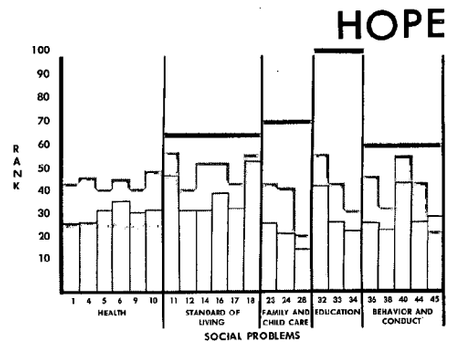
SOCIAL PATHOLOGY INDEX PROFILES for Eight Selected Neighborhoods

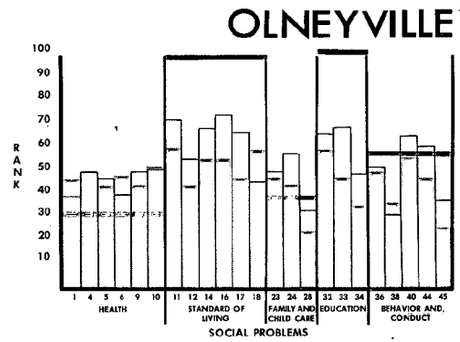


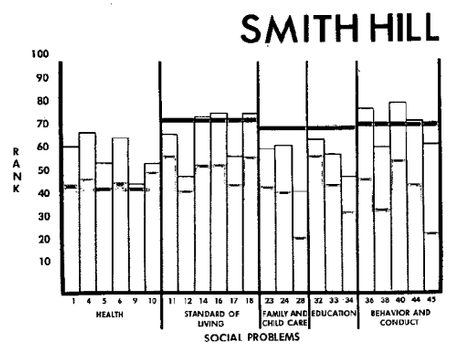


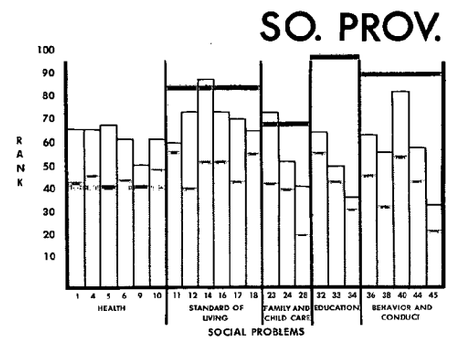


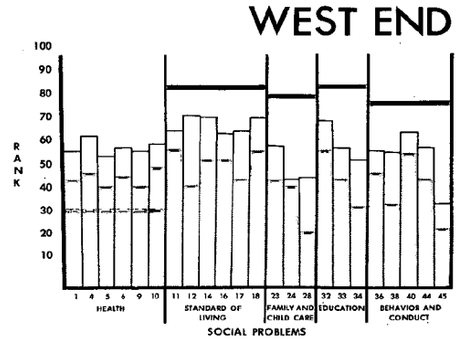












serious, housing and neighborhood decay tend to be less serious. This can be seen by comparing the S.P.I. scores shown in Figure 1 and the condition of residential structures shown in Figure 4.

In the process of attacking blight in neighborhoods with a high incidence of housing deterioration, urban renewal programs will encounter a heavy concentration of residents with handicapping conditions. Where such conditions contribute directly to the blighted condition of housing and neighborhoods, urban renewal will be unable to achieve its objectives without adequate treatment of such personal and family problems as well.

The City's public housing developments tend to have a relatively high concentration of individual and family problems. Some housing developments are in enumeration districts having the highest concentrations of problems. Other developments are located in districts which, though not among the City's most seriously affected, have concentrations of problems which are high in relation to their neighboring enumeration districts. Types of housing which bring together families who are economically dependent seem to be social problem centers.

Another implication must be noted here. With the migration of predominantly self-sufficient families from the City to the suburbs there remains within the City a relatively increasing proportion of residents with inadequate income and education who are handicapped with problems. This trend not

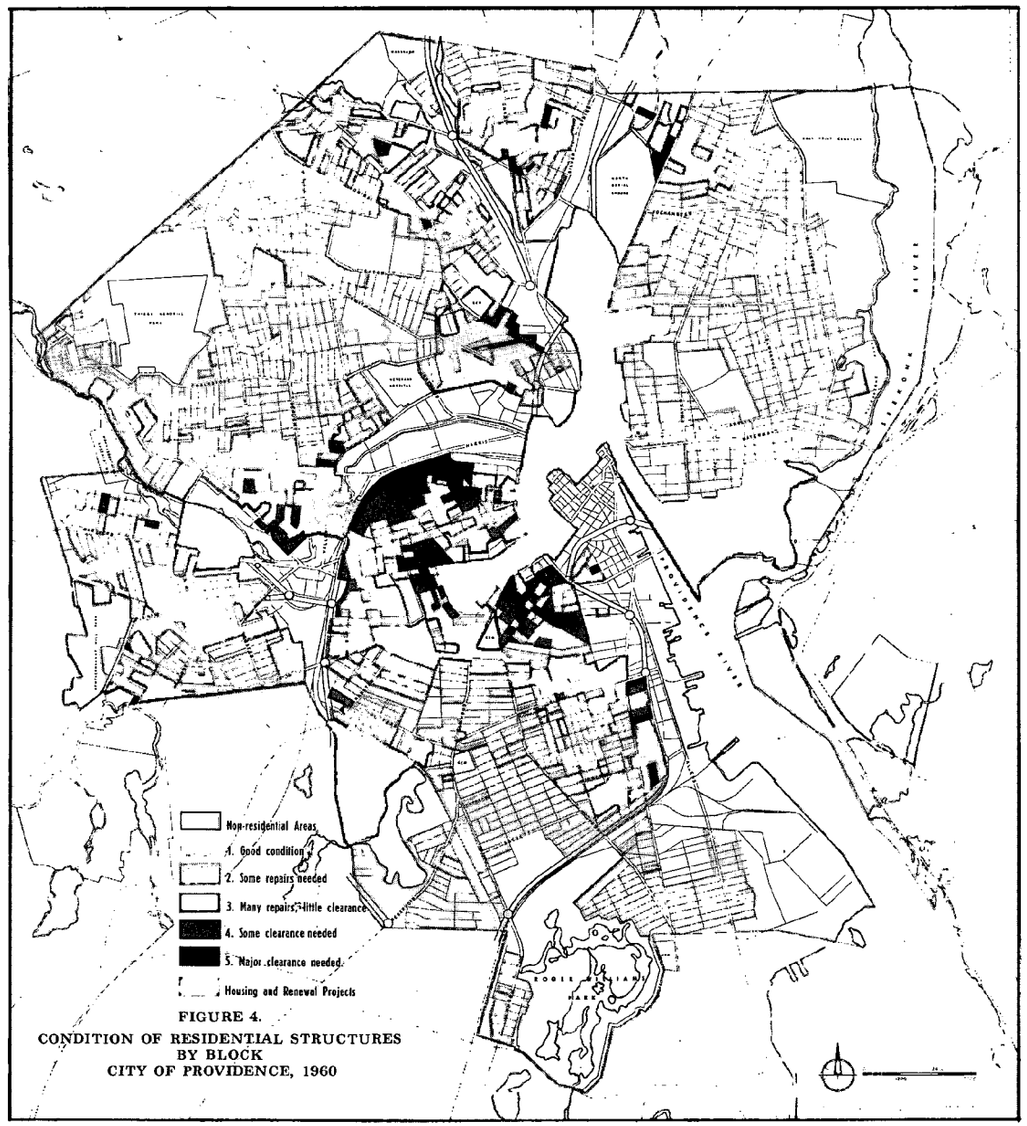


FIGURE 4.
CONDITION OF RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURES
BY BLOCK
CITY OF PROVIDENCE, 1960

only increases the problem facing the City in providing sufficient services, but reduces its financial resources to pay for such services. Efforts at social, physical, and economic renewal must proceed hand-in-hand in order to reverse the alarming trend which leaves the City as the residence of disadvantaged people.

THE NATURE OF PROVIDENCE NEIGHBORHOODS

The strengths and weaknesses of Providence neighborhoods were evaluated for the purpose of providing a factual basis for the development of a plan for citizen participation in urban renewal. While a more technical discussion of the methodology used in this phase of the study is contained in the Technical Supplement, a brief summary of the procedure is included here to make the findings more meaningful.

Interviews with three groups of leaders identified by the Council and by neighborhood residents themselves were conducted in each neighborhood of the City by a professional social worker employed by the Council. Each group was composed of about ten persons. In addition to these group interviews, individual households were also interviewed. Approximately ten households were selected at random in each neighborhood for this purpose. The same interview schedule was used in both the group and household interviews. A special set of questions was covered in the group interviews on the following subjects:

1. **social characteristics of the neighborhood** — its boundaries, its major population groups and its important social institutions
2. **neighborhood problems** — the seriousness of each of sixty problems as rated on a five point scale
3. **patterns of neighborhood leadership** — identification of people in the neighborhood who initiate or otherwise affect action on neighborhood projects
4. **neighborhood problem solving process** — how the neighborhood might go about solving three hypothetical neighborhood problems
5. **attitudes toward social services** — rating of a comprehensive list of health, education, welfare, recreation, employment, correction, and planning services according to use and the neighborhood attitudes toward such services
6. **attitudes toward urban renewal and the City administration** — the attitudes of the neighborhood toward urban renewal and the extent to which people have been considered in urban renewal activities.

In addition, upon completion of the neighborhood interviews, the interviewers ranked each neighborhood on the following dimensions:

1. ability to articulate problems facing the neighborhood
2. the extent of agreement between perception of problems and documentation of problems
3. degree of anxiety evidenced about problems
4. attractiveness of the neighborhood for its residents and pride evidenced by them
5. potential for leadership among elected officials, existing organizations and residents
6. motivation for neighborhood change.

In addition to these structured groups, existing neighborhood organizations were interviewed wherever possible. These included neighborhood improvement groups and/or associations of residents such as the West Side Neighborhood Council, the Mount Hope Neighborhood Council, Nickerson House Neighborhood Association, South Providence Improvement Association and the Federal Hill Improvement Association. Groups of residents in public housing developments were interviewed in the Chad Brown, Admiral Terrace, and Hartford Park developments. Individuals were interviewed in the Manton Heights and Roger Williams developments.

General conclusions can be drawn from the study of Providence neighborhoods which, though not definitive, have important implications for the Community Renewal Program and for the City's residents.

Problem Perceptions of Neighborhood Residents

The perception of the severity of neighborhood problems on the part of residents reflects an important ingredient of a neighborhood's potential for citizen participation. The results of neighborhood interviews with respect to such perceptions grouped according to the five types of problems are presented in Table 2 for those neighborhoods where sufficient data are available. A comparison of this perceived severity with the actual severity documented by the S.P.I. is shown in Figure 3.

As can be seen from Table 2, the perceived severity of the different problems varied considerably from neighborhood to neighborhood. Health problems were generally perceived to be less severe, while educational problems were generally perceived more severe than other problems. Such evidence of the neighborhood's perception of problems can help to indicate whether the necessary motivation is present to make action programs possible.

About three-fourths of the responses included in these scores were given by group participants. The problem perception scores for those interviewed in households were considerably lower than the scores for group participants. This differential has considerable significance for the citizen participation plan because it distinguishes between leaders' perceptions and followers' perceptions.

TABLE 2.

SEVERITY OF PROBLEMS AS PERCEIVED BY RESIDENTS BY TYPE OF PROBLEM AND BY NEIGHBORHOOD CITY OF PROVIDENCE, 1960

Neighborhood	Type of Problem				
	Health	Economic Self-Support	Family Life Child Care	Education	Behavior and Conduct
Eagle Park	4.0 [a]	7.4	7.6	10.0	7.8
Elmwood	5.2	7.0	5.2	6.0	6.8
Federal Hill	2.8	8.0	6.0	10.0	8.2
Hope	2.4	6.0	6.4	10.0	5.8
Olneyville	3.0	9.4	3.4	10.0	5.2
Smith Hill	4.2	7.0	6.0	6.0	6.6
South Providence	4.0	8.2	6.2	10.0	8.1
West End	3.2	8.0	7.6	8.0	7.4
Mean Rating for City	3.6	7.7	6.2	8.7	7.1

[a] Ratings based on a ten point scale, 1 indicating low severity, 10 indicating high severity.

The problems of most concern to the greatest number of people were "apathy about the neighborhood" and "neighborhood instability." As many as 319 respondents rated these as "extremely serious." This indicates that among its tasks the Community Renewal Program will have to overcome apathy and deal with neighborhood instability.

Neighborhood Boundaries

All individuals and groups interviewed were asked to draw what they considered to be the boundaries of their neighborhoods. This information was requested in order to set neighborhood limits for use in community renewal treatments which will reflect boundaries meaningful to residents.

In general, the neighborhoods described by residents were very much similar to those delineated by the Council for the Providence City Plan Commission in 1951. There were some differences, however, which are significant for the Community Renewal Program.

One of the differences was the shift away from medium sized neighborhoods. This shift seems to be taking place both toward larger and toward smaller neighborhoods. For example, of 61 persons interviewed in South Providence, 81 percent indicated that they live in upper or lower South Providence, where Public Street is the North-South dividing line. Furthermore, 70 percent indicated that South Providence is actually part of the "South Side", an ill-defined area which is described as encompassing a portion of the West End, Elmwood, West Elmwood and Washington Park neighborhoods. Indeed, as the development of Interstate Highway 95 proceeds in that area the "South Side" will be completely circumscribed by the superhighway. Perhaps this fact, together with the accompanying "widened view" of the neighborhood as a kind of super neighborhood, has a most important implication for the Community Renewal Program: Should we plan in a deliberate way for the development of the City's districts?

Leadership for Problem Solving

It can be assumed that all neighborhoods of Providence have some active leaders. In some cases leadership is asserted through a formal neighborhood organization, such as the Parent-Teacher Association. In other cases leadership is asserted informally by individual neighborhood residents and groups.

However, in neighborhoods where housing blight and social problems are the greatest indigenous leadership is often the least active or apparent. It is an all too frequent occurrence that the articulate and self-starting leaders in such neighborhoods are the ones who are most likely to move out when the opportunity arises. This situation creates a special need for outside stimulation of neighborhood organization for problem solving. What is lacking in such neighborhoods is the know-how, organizational structure, self-confidence, and attitudes toward community improvement which are essential for the development of indigenous action programs.

Neighborhood Organization

Concern for neighborhood improvement gives rise to neighborhood organization, often in the form of neighborhood associations and neighborhood councils. A sense of crisis may stimulate initiative and provide a focus for the interests of neighborhood residents. Other factors related to the capacity of neighborhoods for self-organization are: educational level and leadership ability of neighborhood residents, residential stability and values and attitudes prevalent in the neighborhood.

Many neighborhood organizations are erratic in their functioning. It has become a commonplace experience for a neighborhood group to become discouraged and slow-moving once it has become frustrated in attaining a desired objective. This tends to be overcome where professional staff service is available. Such service helps to formulate realistic goals, develop workable organization, build cohesive relationships among members, and analyze blocks to action.

Urban Renewal as a Stimulus

Those having responsibility for this study have been struck by the stimulation which urban renewal activity creates for self-initiated neighborhood action. No other issue stimulates as much neighborhood activity and concern.

In those neighborhoods where urban renewal treatments have been used, the neighborhood has usually mobilized itself to act. Unfortunately, these actions are often defensive. For example, even in seemingly apathetic and deteriorated neighborhoods residents may be stimulated by the unannounced appearance of an inspector from the Redevelopment Agency to inspect a structure for possible condemnation. Talk among the neighborhood spreads rapidly and, in many cases, the facts become distorted. Rumors run rife, and many formal and informal groups are quickly created. The tendency for these groups is to work together to put up a "neighborhood front." Several weeks of working together results in more activity on behalf of the neighborhood than has been generated over many years. The misfortune of this situation is that the neighborhood which has at last come alive with desire for preservation and improvement already has been marked for radical surgery.

Were there a choice of alternative urban renewal treatments, and were there time for neighborhood residents to participate in planning for the renewal of the neighborhood, urban renewal could be used as an initiating force for positive action by neighborhood residents on behalf of their neighborhoods.

Providence has an opportunity for positive action at the neighborhood level, but such action cannot occur without professional staff service and a careful analysis of the necessary ingredients for successful citizen-initiated improvement programs at the neighborhood level. Proposals to accomplish this as part of the Social Plan are set forth in Chapter V.

II.

COSTS OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

ECONOMIC COSTS

The failure to resolve individual and family problems in our community results in social problems incurring hidden costs which, if documented, would be of staggering proportions. Although it is difficult to pinpoint and document these hidden or indirect costs they can be suggested by the data presented in this report.

For example, non-completion of high school on the part of young people represents a potential for lower earning capacity, higher rates of unemployment and more dependence on public assistance.[1] Of all employed men, as of 1957, 92 percent of those who completed eight years of elementary school earned less than $6,000. In contrast 65 percent of those who completed high school and only 29 percent of those who graduated from college had incomes below this level.[2] A Department of Labor study for March 1959 showed that workers with under five years of completed education had an unemployment rate of 10.0 percent and those with five to seven years of schooling had a 9.8 percent rate. However, workers who were high school graduates had an unemployment rate of 4.8 percent and those who were college graduates, a rate of 1.8 percent.[3]

In addition to these more immediate costs, failure to complete basic education retards growth in the economic output of the community as pointed

[1] "Limited Educational Attainment: Extent and Consequences", **Health, Education and Welfare Indicators** (U.S. Department Health, Education and Welfare), April 1962, p. vi.

[2] **Ibid.**, p. ix.

[3] **Ibid.**

out by the President's Council of Economic Advisors.[2]

The costs to the community suggested by these figures is indeed considerable when they are replicated in the experiences of each of the approximately 1100 young people who drop out of school in Providence each year.

Another indirect cost of social breakdown is the lack of purchasing power of families with low income. The Community Renewal Program has documented the fact that one-half of the families of Providence have an income of less than $5,000 per year and twenty percent of the families have an income less than $3,000 per year. It is for these reasons that the Social Plan for Community Renewal must, of necessity, include as one of its goals the raising of family income.

A third indirect cost of social breakdown is the deterrent to industrial development posed by a non-skilled work force. New industries look for a reservoir of workers with necessary skills before relocating or expanding. And development of requisite skills is difficult at best in a population facing great problems with low aspirations. It is of utmost necessity that any plan for the social renewal of the City include a method for inducing people to attain usable work skills, to provide the means for acquiring those skills and to provide the basic social services to keep the work force effective.

HUMAN COSTS

Social breakdown can result in costs to the community which are more than the immediate expenditure of dollars and anticipated loss of potential income. Social breakdown levies a human cost in despair, emotional pain, loneliness, and the failure to develop the potential of human personality. Though not directly evident, these costs have economic and physical implications for the life of the City by perpetuating economic dependency, spawning an atmosphere of defeatism in which children are reared, and contributing to the physical deterioration of neighborhoods.

Culture of Poverty

There exists in many American communities among those families which are constantly exposed to the frustrations and deprivations of poverty, a particular style of life. This style of life is characterized by a sense of despair, of hopelessness, a deep-rooted belief that peoples' lives are at the mercy of fate. These attitudes stifle initiative and retard aspirations. They can be passed on from generation to generation as well as reinforced by those sharing the same social experiences. It is this shared way of life which recently has been termed the culture of poverty. An example of the conditions out of which the culture of poverty emerges is contained in a composite case example, Appendix C, drawn from material uncovered during the course of this study.

According to one prominent investigator, Bradley Buell, this group of families, sometimes termed multi-problem or hard-to-reach families, constitutes 6 percent of the urban population and utilizes 50 percent of the community's social services.[2] One of the most common characteristics of these families is their dependence on public assistance programs at several points during their lifetimes. Bradley Buell points out that chronic illness was found among more than one-third of the seriously disorganized and multi-problem families he studied.[3]

Certain characteristics of the local employment picture tend to aggravate the culture of poverty. The Providence labor market is oriented toward relatively low earnings with a predominance of light industry. In recent years a high rate of unemployment has prevailed. These facts make it difficult for men to make adequate financial provision for their families. The relatively high percentage of women in the labor force is a reflection, in part, of the fact that women increasingly have found it necessary to get jobs in order to supplement inadequate family income.

In cases where the wife and mother is able to find employment and the father

1 "Investment in Human Resources", **ibid.**, March 1962, p. v-xiv.

2 Bradley Buell and Associates, **Community Planning for Human Services** (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), p. 9.

3 **Ibid, p. 160.**

is without work the structure of the family may be weakened. The father's ability to command the respect of his children is undermined. In cases where both parents are working the mother must find suitable alternatives for child care.

The implications of these facts for community renewal are two-fold. First, economic development to create new jobs must increase opportunities for male employment at adequate levels of earnings. Second, appropriate aids must be provided to assure adequate care for children of mothers who must work.

Urban renewal activities which are aimed at social and economic as well as physical goals can break the vicious circle of poverty and housing. Unless the social aspects of physical blight are taken into consideration in urban renewal treatments, mere physical renewal will simply transplant existing slum conditions into other neighborhoods.

Implications for Public Housing

The fact that public housing eligibility requires a low income means that public housing developments will tend to have a higher proportion of families facing severe problems then occurs in the population of the City as a whole. This means that people with handicapping conditions are concentrated in a small geographic area, a situation which fosters the culture of poverty.

Over the country there is a growing indication that public housing carries a stigma which makes it unacceptable to many of the people who can qualify for it financially.[1] Many people object to making public the fact that their financial situation qualifies them for public housing. Many object to being separated from normal neighborhood life. Many feel that public housing does not afford enough privacy or neighbors with acceptable standards.

Of the 94 residents of public housing developments interviewed in this study, 80 percent described the limits of the housing development as being the limits of the neighborhood. Another outstanding indication is that those interviewed feel they stand alone, that the residents of the surrounding areas are not interested in them, and that they have little interest in neighborhood activities beyond the public housing development.

This may be described as a kind of isolation of the residents of housing developments. Indeed, where there is communication between the development and the neighborhood, responsibility for it is taken by the manager of the housing development. There are no tenants' councils in the housing developments built before 1960, and no formalized modes of communication exist.

Interviews with the residents of public housing indicate that they are primarily concerned about the needs of the housing development. They are concerned especially about the physical repair of their particular units, and about the behavior of teenagers and children living in the developments. Little concern was expressed about the problems of people outside. Tenants of public housing were aware of the high problem concentrations of their areas, but felt completely inadequate to do anything about them.

One of the factors which plays a part in concentrating families with handicaps in public housing is the fact that families which are stronger and which make an upward economic climb are forced to leave the development when their income rises beyond a certain point. As an example, a healthy family of seven might spend a year or two in public housing during which time the husband and breadwinner is in the process of finding a new job or learning skills that will make him employable. The family seems relatively content to stay in public housing, but must move when the husband's new job brings in income which exceeds the maximum limit allowable for public housing. Such a family must tear up roots, often having to accept deteriorating housing because that is all they can afford. Their forced move may represent the loss of a positive influence in the activities of the development. A potentially stable household has been

[1] See U.S., Housing and Home Finance Agency, Public Housing Administration, **Mobility and Motivations . . . Survey of Families Moving from Low-rent Housing**, 1958. This study reports that 27% of persons who left public housing developments by choice gave as their reason for doing so the social climate of the development.

forced to become mobile in a situation in which stability is to be valued.

In summary, public housing meets the basic need of some of the City's residents for low-cost housing but manifests several characteristics which cause concern: high concentration of people with problems; units socially isolated from surrounding neighborhoods; lack of social services; considerable stigma; high mobility; maximum income levels and no tenant participation in the management of public housing units. In order to encourage self-dependency and active participation in community life among these residents of Providence it will be necessary for the Housing Authority of the City of Providence to revise some policies and to add new services.

PHYSICAL COSTS

The forces causing blight in American cities have been operating since urbanization began, prompted by the Industrial Revolution during the early 19th Century. It was not until the emergence of the American social reform movement around the turn of this century that action to counteract urban decay was begun.[1] The movement expressed concern about the rapid spread of urban slums, their effects upon people, and the unplanned development of cities. It fostered the city planning and public housing movements, the forerunners of urban renewal programs.

The Federal urban renewal program, authorized in the Federal Housing Act of 1949, for the first time provided tools for American cities to revitalize themselves. The Act provided funds to communities for the clearance and redevelopment of urban slums. The Act has been amended several times since its passage, and has authorized housing rehabilitation, housing and neighborhood conservation, and community renewal programs.

In spite of these advances, however, most urban renewal programs have not yet fully understood the role of people in the renewal picture. It is of utmost importance that the physical effects of social breakdown be placed in perspective for the Providence Community Renewal Program.

The findings of the Community Renewal Program indicate that hundreds of housing units will qualify for urban renewal treatments. The cost of treating appropriately all of the housing units and all the neighborhoods would be prohibitive in terms of even the most favorable financial resources of the City.

Blighted conditions are the result of many influences. A major influence is sheer neglect, where the owner is unwilling or unable to maintain a structure properly. In some cases the rents received are not sufficient to warrant the expense of major renovation. In other cases owners seek to maximize the return on the structure by not maintaining it, and letting it qualify for governmental action.

A second major influence producing blight is the behavior of people who occupy deteriorating neighborhoods. Some families, having no regard for higher standards of housing, prefer to spend their limited incomes in other ways and abuse the property. In some cases, the housekeeping habits of families are highly disordered and destructive. An example of how attitudes and habit patterns foster blighted conditions can be seen in the extent to which people express concern about the sanitation of their dwellings and neighborhoods. In assessing the concentrations of justified complaints of substandard sanitation as documented by the Providence Health Department it was found that some blighted sections of the City had many fewer complaints about sanitation than other equally blighted areas. This fact suggests that some residents value sanitation more than others, and that this valuation affects how they behave toward the units which they occupy. An additional observation can be made. In neighborhoods where owner-occupied structures predominate, blight and sub-standard sanitation are minimal.

How people feel about their neighborhoods seems to be a third major factor influencing blight. Among seventy problems rated by 339 residents of all of Providence's neighborhoods, several were included to reflect how respondents felt about neighbor-

[1]Robert L. Barre, "The Environment for Physical Planning", **Seminar on Community Planning for Older Adults,** Proceedings of a Seminar held at Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, (New York: United Community Funds and Councils of America, Inc. 1962) pp. 12-25.

hood problems. The responses to two of these questions are especially significant. In neighborhoods where blight was most pronounced, residents gave "apathy about the neighborhood" and "neighborhood population instability" a 80 to 100 rating on a 100 point scale. In neighborhoods where blight was not pronounced, residents gave the same two items a 30 to 40 rating.

The analysis of leadership and problem-solving ability notes that where a neighborhood is attractive for its residents, where they feel comfortable and able to interact with others, where they have a stake in remaining because of good schools, good shopping, or other reasons, pride about the neighborhood is apparent. Where there is no pride or concern, concentrations of people with problems are greatest, incomes are lowest, and housing is most blighted. The dilemma facing the City can be stated in this question: How can people be helped to overcome the problems facing them, to develop values in favor of good housing, to rid themselves of blighting behavior through the development of a stake in their neighborhoods? This question is among the most complex facing American cities, and it would be naive to think its answer will be obtained easily in this generation. Some pertinent directions for beginning efforts to answer this question must be a part of a feasible approach to community renewal.

III.

CRITICAL ISSUES FOR SERVICES AND HOUSING

COMMUNITY SERVICES

Community services are established under law or by voluntary groups to promote or enhance the well-being of the community's residents in accordance with basic standards of health, education, welfare, recreation, employment, and housing. Such services have come to play an increasingly central role in our society. With industrialization has come an increase in urbanization and a weakened family structure, thus causing people to be more dependent on the community for help when in need.[1]

In Rhode Island there are some 750 health, education, welfare, recreation, and employment service units listed in the **Directory, Rhode Island Health, Recreation, Welfare Agencies, 1963.**[2] A description of the thousands of specialized services offered by these agencies would be virtually impossible. The presentation of a general classification of community services, however, provides an adequate basis for discussing the crisis facing these services and the community.

[1]Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, **Industrial Society and Social Welfare** (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1958).

[2]Published by Rhode Island Council of Community Services, Inc., Providence, Rhode Island.

Classification of Services

Most community services can be classified according to their relationship to the treatment or remedy of handicapping conditions. As such they fall into the following categories:

1. **Information, consultation and referral services** — Giving information about services to help alleviate or prevent a problem and to help the inquirer get the appropriate service.
2. **Service carriers** — Identifying or diagnosing problems and sensitizing the persons having such problems as to their nature or extent. An example here might be the visiting nurse service or the local public recreation center. A nurse making a home visit for medical purposes might identify a condition of marital difficulty or child neglect. Having established a relationship with the family, the nurse might attempt to interpret these additional problems with the goal of sensitizing the family to seek or accept help. The same process would hold true for the recreation center worker who is able to ascertain that a child in one of his groups has a serious emotional problem.
3. **Direct remedial services** — Providing a remedy or a palliative for a recognized problem. An example here might be the public assistance agency which, after application is received for help, determines that a particular family is in need of income and that the family is eligible for financial assistance. The agency then dispenses funds to remedy the problem. Another example might be the family counseling agency which, after application is received from a family seeking help, ascertains that the family has a marital problem which is in need of solution, and that the services offered by the agency are appropriate.
4. **Education-prevention services** — distributing knowledge about a single problem or series of problems to a large group of people in the community. An example might be an educational program about the danger signals of cancer by which a health agency seeks to educate people to the procedures they need to follow to avoid being stricken by this disease.
5. **Social intervention services** — Intervening in the relationships of groups of people. These services are geared to inter-group and inter-institutional relationships at scales of community life beyond family or household. An example here might be a local neighborhood center which identifies a neighborhood problem of conflict among three groups of youth who are constantly fighting and terrorizing the neighborhood. The agency might seek to assign one of its staff people to work with these groups, to diagnose the basis of their conflicts, to mediate a peaceful settlement, and to motivate the groups to embark upon more socially acceptable activities.
6. **Planning** — Developing community plans and programs to serve more effectively the needs of community residents, and analyzing major community problems in terms of programs to solve or prevent those problems. An example here might be a community planning council which conducts a survey of the adequacy of programs for the retarded. The council would identify the number and geographical location of the retarded, summarize the needs of the retarded by age, evaluate current programs for the retarded, develop plans for new, modified or strengthened programs, establish and execute a plan for the implementation of such programs, and carry out such demonstration and research work in relation to the plan as might be appropriate.

Many agencies offer several of the services described above, while some agencies offer only one kind of service. Most agencies, however, emphasize one or two of the above service types and are known for that emphasis. For example, the family service agency emphasizes direct remedial services to families, but that organization also does some information, consultation and referral work, some planning

work, and some education-prevention work.

During the course of this study several characteristics of the service system were examined in considering the establishment of community services as a working partner in the urban renewal process. These characteristics are: variety of services offered, expenditures for such services, present modes of offering services, geographic distribution of board members by residence. Particulars are included in the Technical Supplement.

Critical Situation

In Providence, as in most urban centers, a critical situation faces community services; namely that poverty with its attendent depair and defeatism persists in a society of affluence despite decades of effort to eradicate it. Urban renewal has thrust this situation into full view.

If community services are to become partners in the renewal and revitalization of the City, thought must be given as to how these services can better address themselves to related human problems, especially the persistent problems of impoverished people. Following are five characteristics which are considered in this report to impair the service system's effectiveness for making inroads into this situation.

Specialization and fractionation of services — As knowledge of human behavior has increased there has been a growing tendency to segmentalize the treatment of human behavior to permit both the pursuit of knowledge and the giving of service in more depth. This is the natural result of expansion in the knowledge base of any profession or science. This tendency, however, creates problems for the effective servicing of the needs of individuals and families. As agency services have become more specialized there has been a tendency, long apparent in the field of medicine, to confine treatment to special age groups, to special types of problems within an individual or to certain parts of the human body. The result has been that treatment of the family unit as a whole, so vital to social well-being of the individual, has been fast disappearing. This fractionation of community services poses an additional serious obstacle to families with multiple problems who are often least able to relate to such a specialized service system.

Absence of integrated efforts — A second major issue in community services is the lack of an integrated effort by those agencies offering specialized services. It is well-known that health, income maintenance, family and child care, education and conduct problems are found in close association. A single basic problem may generate problems in many other areas. For example, the father of a family may have a problem of alcoholism which may precipitate income maintenance problems by marital conflict, lack of educational achievement by the children, or conduct problems such as auto theft by a son.

It is not uncommon to find several agencies offering a variety of specialized services to such a family without sufficient knowledge on the part of each as to how the others are treating that client. It is also not uncommon to find specialized agencies treating one problem in the family and ignoring others, one of which may be the basic and precipitating problem.

It is possible to put together an effective configuration of specialized services, but the integrating mechanism has not yet been created which is capable of doing the job. Integration is not to be confused with coordination of services. Coordination is basically a process by which agreements are reached to divide up the territory of agency operations so as to minimize inter-agency friction. Integration of services is a process by which collaborative agency actions are brought to bear upon a configuration of problems. Often the suggestion of integrated efforts is viewed as a threat to the integrity of agencies, and, in an effort to preserve autonomy, agencies will tend to engage in coordinated efforts rather than approach problems or clients in a collaborative way.

Lack of outreach — Another issue in the community service crisis revolves around the question of outreach, that is, the tendency for agency services to be increasingly inaccessible in terms of location and philosophy to people who are handicapped with problems.

The application of health, education, welfare, recreation, and employment services in conjunction with urban renewal treatments is a rather new idea. It stems from the long established idea that in order to offer services to people

effectively they should be offered in their neighborhoods, and a service worker should visit the homes of troubled people in order to help them overcome barriers to getting help with their problems.

Increasing inaccessibility is the result of two factors. Increasing specialization of services tends to result in geographical centralization of services because of their interdependence upon one another. In addition psychological theories prevalent in many social welfare agencies have given rise to the assumption that people must generate enough anxiety about their problems before they will be motivated to change. Therefore it is assumed that unless people are motivated enough to come into the office for help they will not be able to benefit from the service provided. Recent sociological theories, however, have pointed out that there may be other barriers to utilizing service such as social class barriers, cultural barriers, perceptions on the part of potential clients about the agency, or the possibility of solving a given problem.

A few agencies have continued to offer services in a neighborhood setting. Notable among these is the settlement house or neighborhood center. These agencies also have attempted to combine specialized functions under one roof. Other agencies continue to provide outreach through home visitation, such as public health nursing agencies and some public welfare agencies. Many of the agencies whose services are needed to get to the roots of problems are not willing to reach out. This lack of outreach poses a serious obstacle to mobilizing services as a part of urban renewal treatments. It is an issue which must be dealt with if social services are to be effectively joined with physical aids in moving toward a livable city. Another aspect of outreach which should be considered is the need for cultural change and raising aspirational levels so that people perceive and understand problems and develop desire to do something about them.

Timeliness — Another important issue concerning community services and their ability to perform in urban development work is their unavailability at times of personal crisis. In general, people seek help most actively and utilize help best when anxiety is aroused, particularly through crisis situations. But it is not unusual to find that service agencies enter the picture too late to be effective, or that they are not open when people can get to them. In addition many people do not know where to turn when a crisis arises. Agency services must be available to people at the point of crisis, whenever this occurs, if they are to be useful in urban renewal treatment. People in the culture of poverty do not plan ahead or think in terms of scheduled treatment. To overcome apathy, help must be timely.

Inadequate stress on prevention — Providence, like most American communities, puts more of its efforts into picking up the pieces after the family has fallen apart, than into a vigorous program of planning which anticipates the disintegration and takes steps to prevent its occurrence. One indication of this imbalance of effort can be seen from the distribution of expenditures for services by categories of service in the State of Rhode Island in Table 3. This Table lists the categories of service as described above and presents a percentage distribution of expenditures in 1960.

If an impact is to be made on the social problem picture facing Providence, there must be a change in the emphasis of expenditures. These problems cannot be dealt with mainly by offering remedial treatments to individuals or families. Bold action is needed by large-scale programs geared to prevention. Otherwise, the proliferation of the problems will outstrip the community's ability to meet them, financially and in other ways.

This crisis in community services can be resolved. It will take new efforts by service agencies to review and redraft their present objectives, policies, practices, and services. If the important service agencies can make this adjustment, Providence can count on a community service program which will perform effectively. This adjustment will also provide a system of services which can play a competent role in community development and renewal. If not, new service agencies will have to be designed and created. The social breakdown challenge of this City must be met.

TABLE 3.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURES FOR COMMUNITY SERVICES, BY CATEGORY OF SERVICE, STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, 1960

Category of Service [a]	Percent of Total Expended for All Services
Information, Consultation and Referral	0.0 [b]
Carriers of service	7.8
Direct remedial services	88.7
Education-prevention services	2.8
Social intervention services	0.0 [b]
Planning, research and program development services	0.6
Total	99.9 ($80,234,737)

Source: **Expenditures for Health, Recreation, Welfare, State of Rhode Island, 1960** (Providence: Rhode Island Council of Community Services, unpublished).

a As described on Page 20
b Less than .05%

HOUSING

The realization of a livable city is a goal of the Community Renewal Program. Livable, in its social sense, means a community which can adequately house its residents, induce self-dependent functioning, and provide an economic climate which is conducive to realizing these conditions.

Among the many obstacles which block the realization of a livable community is the inadequacy of present housing conditions. Housing is intimately related to effective functioning of people. It can contribute to or detract from effective functioning. In this sense housing should be included in the spectrum of community services designed to enhance functioning, along with health, education, welfare, recreation, and employment services. The crucial test of urban renewal, its continued acceptance by the public and by legislative bodies, rests in part on the degree to which it can make the City more livable by rehousing its residents.

Providence faces a housing crisis. Extensive areas of the City require urban renewal treatments of the rehabilitation and clearance types. These same areas tend to have high concentrations of various conditions which handicap people.

The Community Renewal Program is concerned to effect a process of upgrading the City's livability. Its perspective has been set at seven years. According to the forecasts made by economic consultants to the Community Renewal

Program five years of those seven have been committed already in terms of the City's financial capacity. Current projects, mostly commercial and industrial in nature, command the City's resources for the five year period. This situation presents a major obstacle to rehousing programs.

Another obstacle to rehousing is the difficulty in relocating "rent-poor" families from clearance sites into housing of approximately the same rent as that vacated but of standard quality. New residential structures built upon the cleared site are too expensive for "rent-poor" families even under optimum conditions of low-cost construction and financing. It is often the case, therefore, that efforts to raise the standard of housing of people in clearance areas are doomed from the start.

Large-scale clearance is not anticipated in the future. Rehabilitation, the drastic renovation of deteriorating structures and neighborhoods, will be the treatment for most remaining areas. In light of the severe limitations of municipal financing, the success of rehabilitation will depend to a large extent on the investment of private capital in existing structures to bring these structures up to acceptable condition. The Community Renewal Program has pointed out that under optimum conditions of financing rents in a typical rehabilitated structure would be raised $10 to $25 per month per family unit in order to cover the cost of renovations. With an average contract rent of $44.00 per month paid in the City of Providence in 1960, a renovated family unit would rent in a range from $54.00, an 18 percent increase, to $69.00, a 45 percent increase per month. Noting that 22 percent of Providence families have an income of less than $3,000 per year and that 50 percent of Providence families have an income of less than $5,000 per year, it appears that many families would be forced out of present quarters by a rehabilitation program. The goal of rehousing these families would not be realized, thereby defeating the purpose of urban renewal.

Public housing also presents obstacles for rent-poor people. For example, if a family earns beyond the maximum income limit of eligibility for public housing, it is forced to leave public housing. But it can afford only the lowest rent and poorest housing available in the Providence private housing market. Large, low income families again are hardest hit. The utilization of public housing as a solution to this problem faces another obstacle in the unwillingness of families to consider it as a resource because of the stigmas attached to it as described in Chapter II.

Efforts to overcome these and related social problems must be guided by appropriate social goals such as those recommended in the next chapter.

IV.

SOCIAL GOALS AND GOVERNMENTAL FUNCTIONS

GOALS AND POLICIES

Goals

During the course of the study of the social foundations of urban renewal, the Program Development and Research Advisory Committees of the Council were concerned with the all-important question: What should be the objectives of a plan for community development and renewal as it concerns people? In light of the technical data collected, what policies suggest themselves for adoption by the City as the basis for attacking these problems? The Committees were convinced that in order for a Community Renewal Program to be implemented, there must be established a formal set of goals to which the City would be committed. In addition, policies need to be established to permit and to enhance implementation of recommended programs. After several months of deliberation, the Council committees adopted a set of goals and policies which would be necessary and sufficient as the basis for action in the Community Renewal Program.

The recommended goals and policies have been approved by the Council's Board of Directors. These goals and policies were developed in conjunction with representatives of Blair Associates, the Providence City Plan Commission, and the City's Urban Renewal Coordinator. They are written in such a way as to facilitate their incorporation into the general goals and policies which provide the foundation of the City's General Plan being completed by the Providence City Plan Commission.

The goals and policies were developed in light of the facts of community life revealed by the study. They rest on two fundamental assumptions:

1. that the City has responsibility for enhancing the social adequacy of people, not only because the City ultimately is for people but also because such functioning is essential to the City's viability and growth
2. that the City can fulfill this responsibility by revising certain policies and related municipal functioning with a relatively modest increase in the current level of expenditures

The following are social goals proposed for the City as objectives of the Community Renewal Program:

1. to promote the well-being of the City's residents
2. to further the self-dependence of individuals and families residing in the City
3. to facilitate the adequate social functioning of the residents of the City
4. to afford to residents of the City opportunities and assistance to maintain well-being, self-dependency, and adequate social functioning.

These objectives may appear to be easily attained. But the actions proposed for reaching these goals will require considerable effort and statesmanship on the part of the City's legislative and executive leaders.

Policies

The social policies recommended for adoption by the City are presented with the expectation that, after review and discussion by the City Council and those City Departments having responsibility in the areas outlined, they will be adopted as official policy by the City Council for the guidance of the Mayor and the heads of departments concerned.

Neighborhood development. — Any plan for treating the physical environment should include consideration for the creation and strengthening of the neighborhood as a social unit. Such a step is necessary to promote the development of a social as well as a physical and economic environment conducive to the establishment of satisfactory interpersonal relationships at the smallest social scale of urban life outside the family. It is also necessary for the promotion of inter-organizational and inter-institutional relationships at all levels of urban life.

Participation in planning. — Any community renewal activity should provide opportunity for persons, neighborhoods, and organizations to participate in developing plans for changes with those having official responsibility. There should be explicit provision for this through an organizational structure at the neighborhood level with the necessary professional staff services of a community organization and community education nature. Such a procedure will also set in motion the collaboration of citizens in solving social problems which can have important implications for preventing their recurrence.

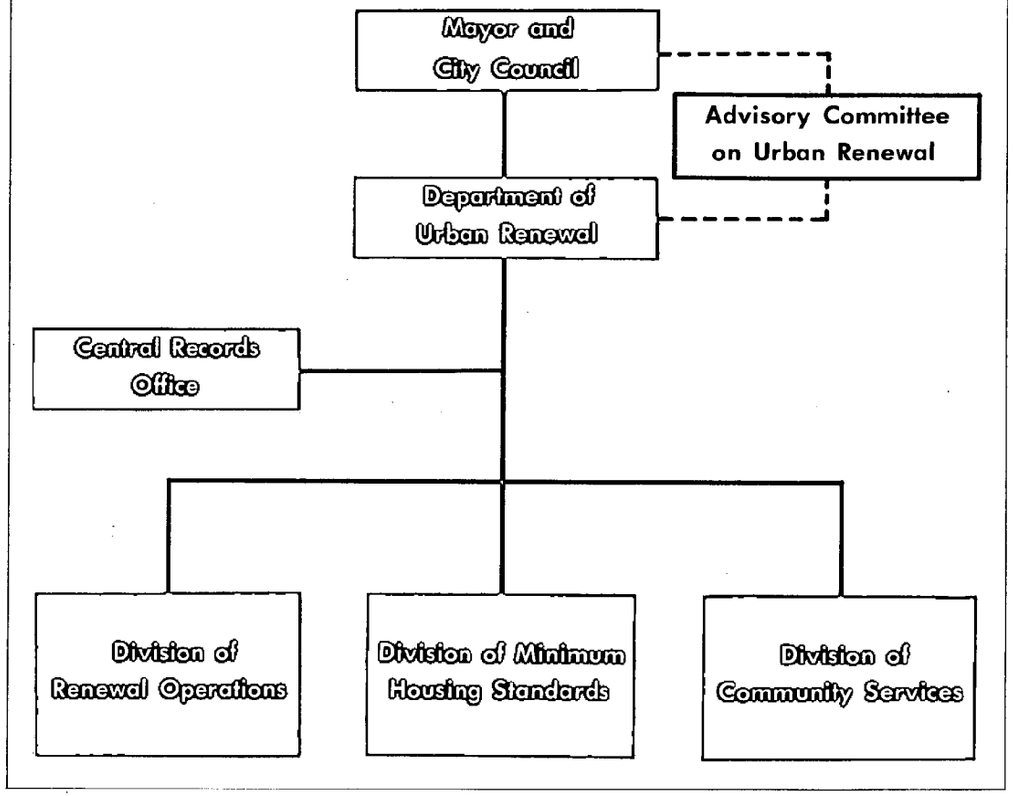
Rehousing and relocation. — The rehousing of the City's residents should be viewed as one of the primary emphases of the City's development and renewal program. Relocation should be recognized as merely one tool for rehousing. In order to accomplish this shift in focus the reconditioning and renovation of sound existing structures must be utilized as the primary means for assuring opportunity for housing in units of acceptable standard. Rehousing by reconditioning or remodeling of existing structures provides an important opportunity to improve the standard of life of the people affected. In all rehousing efforts opportunities should be offered individuals according to their need for rehousing but without regard to race, religion, ethnic, or national origin. Relocation should be utilized only when it is unavoidable, by (1) providing that an adequate referral period shall be allowed before requiring relocation, and (2) offering professional counseling services and other services during this period. Persons affected by public projects should be required to relocate only after plans have been developed for the re-use of the affected area and only after a detailed plan for rehousing opportunities has been developed, including plans and follow-up services for the readjustment of relocatees in the areas into which they move.

Public housing. — The use of public housing as a tool in community renewal should concentrate on the ac-

quisition or construction of smaller multi-family structures containing up to six family units. These structures should be scattered in neighborhoods of privately owned housing in contrast to the construction of large public housing developments. Such units should be used to encourage self-dependence by making them available for purchase as the resident family's income permits, and in so doing free public capital for additional units for new needy families.

Social services. — The City should assure the effective application of community social services in partnership with economic and physical activities to improve the well-being of individuals, families, and neighborhoods of the City. Where necessary the City should make special services available to residents facing special kinds and degrees of problems. The City should promote the highest quality of service by encouraging the employment of qualified personnel and the establishment of high standards of performance by City departments and other agencies concerned with the success of the General Plan and the Community Renewal Program. Attainment of the objectives of the Social Plan should be sought by strengthening existing services and creating new services only as a means of making more effective the existing pattern of community services. The services of voluntary agencies should be utilized in those situations for which they have been especially developed. It is the intent of this plan that services should be offered to those needing assistance, and should not be in any way forced upon citizens.

FIGURE 5.
STRUCTURE OF THE PROPOSED DEPARTMENT OF URBAN RENEWAL



The above-stated policies contain some bold new ideas. Because the City of Providence can expect to continue to have the State's largest concentration of people with handicapping conditions, bold action must be taken based on imaginative policies. In the view of the Rhode Island Council of Community Services, the above-stated policies provide the basis for such action.

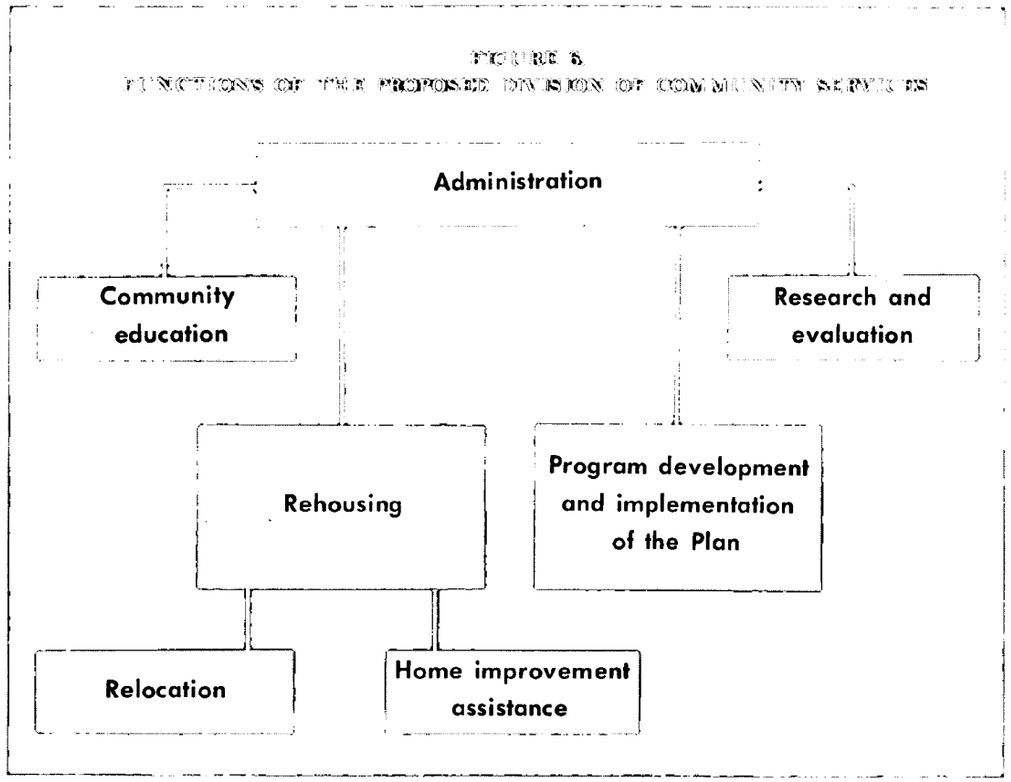
DIVISION OF COMMUNITY SERVICES

If the social goals of community renewal are to be reached, and if the policies recommended herein are to be implemented, the City of Providence must adapt some of its administrative structure to the objectives of development and renewal. In the full report of the Community Renewal Program prepared by Blair Associates, proposals are presented for grouping certain municipal functions into a new Department of Urban Renewal. The Department would have three major divisions: Renewal Operations, Minimum Housing Standards, and Community services. The new administrative structure is outlined in Figure 5. It is the function of this section to spell out in detail the division of Community Services, including the basic operating rationale to be adopted by such a Division.

Purpose of the Division

The purpose of the Division of Community Services should be to integrate into community development and renewal activities appropriate social components, such as community services, citizen participation, and rehousing. These components are aimed at improving the social well-being of the persons, families, and neighborhoods affected by renewal activities in accordance with the Social Plan for Community Renewal.

FIGURE 5
FUNCTIONS OF THE PROPOSED DIVISION OF COMMUNITY SERVICES



Functions of the Division

In order to carry out this purpose, the Division of Community Services will have to undertake a number of functions. These are outlined in Figure 6.

Implementation of the Social Plan

The Social Plan for Community Renewal will recommend a series of projects to be carried out as the social aspects of urban renewal treatments. The Division of Community Services should seek to obtain commitments from indicated tax-supported and voluntary agencies in health, education, welfare, recreation, employment, and community organization to carry out the recommended projects. In this regard, the Division of Community Services, with the exception of the functions indicated below, should direct its efforts at the coordination and integration of existing services. It should not

seek to render these services as part of its functions. When a direct service is indicated, the Division should contract with reliable available agencies for such service rather than develop it within the Division.

Evaluation of the Social Plan

The Division should seek to determine what are the effects of its actions in relation to the social goals and purposes of the Plan. It should also seek to evaluate the effectiveness of its methods for implementing the Social Plan for Community Renewal. Exercise of this evaluative function will help to assure progress towards the goals of community development and renewal.

Revision and Maintenance of the Social Plan

The Plan should be reviewed periodically and maintained as an integral part of the entire development and renewal program. Changes in the physical and economic plan, general changes in social conditions, and changes due to the implementation of the Social Plan itself will require that the Plan be kept up to date using the best central records and data system that can be devised.

Provision of Services to People

Relocation and rehousing. — This service is a crucial one in the success of redevelopment, reconditioning, and rehabilitation treatments. The service should be operated in a manner consistent with the General Plan, particularly in regard to social goals and policies.

Community education. — Adequate understanding of the goals and benefits of urban renewal treatments on the part of the community is essential to the success of the Community Renewal Program. While this holds true on a city-wide basis, it is especially true at the neighborhood and project levels. Acceptance and implementation are needed not only for physical treatments, but for economic and social treatments as well. It should be noted, however, that community education services differ from community social work services. The latter are concerned with creating structures through which residents may participate in solving neighborhood problems, including actions to obtain the resources for so doing. Community social work services should be obtained through contracts with agencies having expertness in such matters as one of the direct services to be integrated into the Social Plan.

Home improvement assistance. — The success of reconditioning, rehabilitation, and conservation treatments will depend largely upon the motivation and resourcefulness of homeowners in improving and maintaining their structures. The Division of Community Services should make available technical assistance in architecture, landscaping, building construction, and financing under the most recent amendments to the Federal Housing Act. A program of this kind of assistance can be of great value in the prevention of blight.

Structure of the Division

Staff

In establishing the Division two new positions will be needed and an existing position, Chief of the Relocation Service, should be modified.

Director of the Division of Community Services. — Basic qualifications should include at least five years of professional experience in social service program planning, administration, community organization, coordination and research. Academic requirements should consist of a master's degree from an accredited school of social work with a major concentration in community organization, administration and research. Advanced training at the doctoral level would be highly desirable. Persons with less education and experience will not be able to carry the responsibilities of this Division effectively. Additional duties carried by this position will be program development, evaluation, research, and community education.

Head of the Rehousing Section. — Basic qualifications for this position should include a master's degree, graduation from an accredited school of social work with a major concentration in case social work and five years of experience in social service agency administration, relocation work, public housing, or equivalent activities. Additional duties carried by this position will include the home improvement service.

Chief of the Relocation Service. — Basic qualifications should include a master's degree from an accredited school of social work with a major concentration in case social work and five years of experience, at least two years of which should have been in a casework supervisory capacity. Additional duties include supervising and directing case social work staff.

As implementation of a community renewal program proceeds, the following positions can be created as needed.

Head of the Program Development Section. — Basic qualifications for this position should include at least two years of professional experience in community planning for social services, agency coordination, community education, and neighborhood social work. Academic requirements should include a master's degree from an accredited school of social work.

Chief of the Home Improvement Service. — Basic qualifications should include graduation from an accredited college or university with major concentration in architecture, housing construction, landscape architecture, or other disciplines related to home improvement and maintenance. Qualifications should include experience or evidence of capacity for developing a program of home improvement assistance and working with home owners and neighborhood groups.

Assistant Director for Research and Evaluation. — Basic qualifications should include professional experience in applied social research, with evidence of capacity to develop a program of research in the area of social services and community planning. Academic qualifications should include a master's or doctor's degree from an accredited school of social work with a major in research, or a master's or a doctor's degree in sociology, social psychology, or social science.

Assistant Director for Community Education. — Basic qualification should include graduation from an accredited college or university with major concentration in adult education, public relations, or a related field. Professional experience should indicate capacity to develop a community education program geared to the needs of neighborhoods with respect to the social goals and plans of the Community Renewal Program.

The Community Services Commission

A seven member Community Services Commission, a segment of the larger Advisory Committee on Urban Renewal, should have the following functions:

1. To develop and recommend for adoption goals, policies, and procedures necessary to protect and promote the social and personal well-being of the persons, families, neighborhoods and City as a whole as they may be affected by the City's community development and renewal activities with special attention given to the effect of such activities on ethnic and minority groups.
2. To oversee the adoption and implementation of the Social Plan for Community Renewal.

In summary, the Division of Community Services should seek to implement the Social Plan for Community Renewal in such fashion that it contributes to reversing the alarming trend in social problems.

V.

ELEMENTS OF THE PLAN

TWO REQUISITES

If urban renewal is to succeed in the future, and if the Community Renewal Program is to be implemented effectively, City agencies having responsibility in urban renewal planning and execution must recognize and incorporate two basic requirements into their work. The first requirement is to treat Providence as a single community so as to minimize the effects that the project approach necessarily produces. The second requirement is to incorporate in the planning and execution of urban renewal projects such steps as are necessary for taking people into account in urban renewal treatments.

Linking Areas of the City for Programming

Interdependence of Social Institutions

Providence, like most cities, is composed of interdependent elements. They are dependent upon one another for functioning and survival and each is important to the whole. This interdependence can be seen in the dispersion throughout the City of the important elements of community life.

If one plots the location of businesses and industries employing over 75 persons one will find that they are dispersed throughout the City. They do not cluster in one, two, or three loca-

tions. This dispersion holds true for schools, churches, social services, professions, as well as civic, political, and labor organizations. Thus, a product manufactured in one part of the City, a child educated at an elementary school in one part of the City, and a family facing poverty in one part of the City affect other parts of the City in very basic ways. The product is very likely sold in another part of the City, the child will usually attend high school in another part of the City, the family's plight will affect relatives living in other parts of the City and will call into play the social agencies located in all parts of the City.

This dispersion of important social institutions results in a criss-cross pattern of use which makes evident the interrelatedness of the various parts of the City.

Fragmentation of the City

There is also evident a division of the City into geographic units. New highway complexes, new land use patterns, and urban renewal projects have tended to fragment the City. The large superhighways, which are now being constructed and which permeate the fiber of the urban geography, seem to section the City into geographically identifiable parts. According to the neighborhood surveys made in this study, social interaction still takes place across the boundaries created by the interstate highways. However, in the opinion of city planning officials and reflected in the thinking of neighborhood leaders, these structures increas-

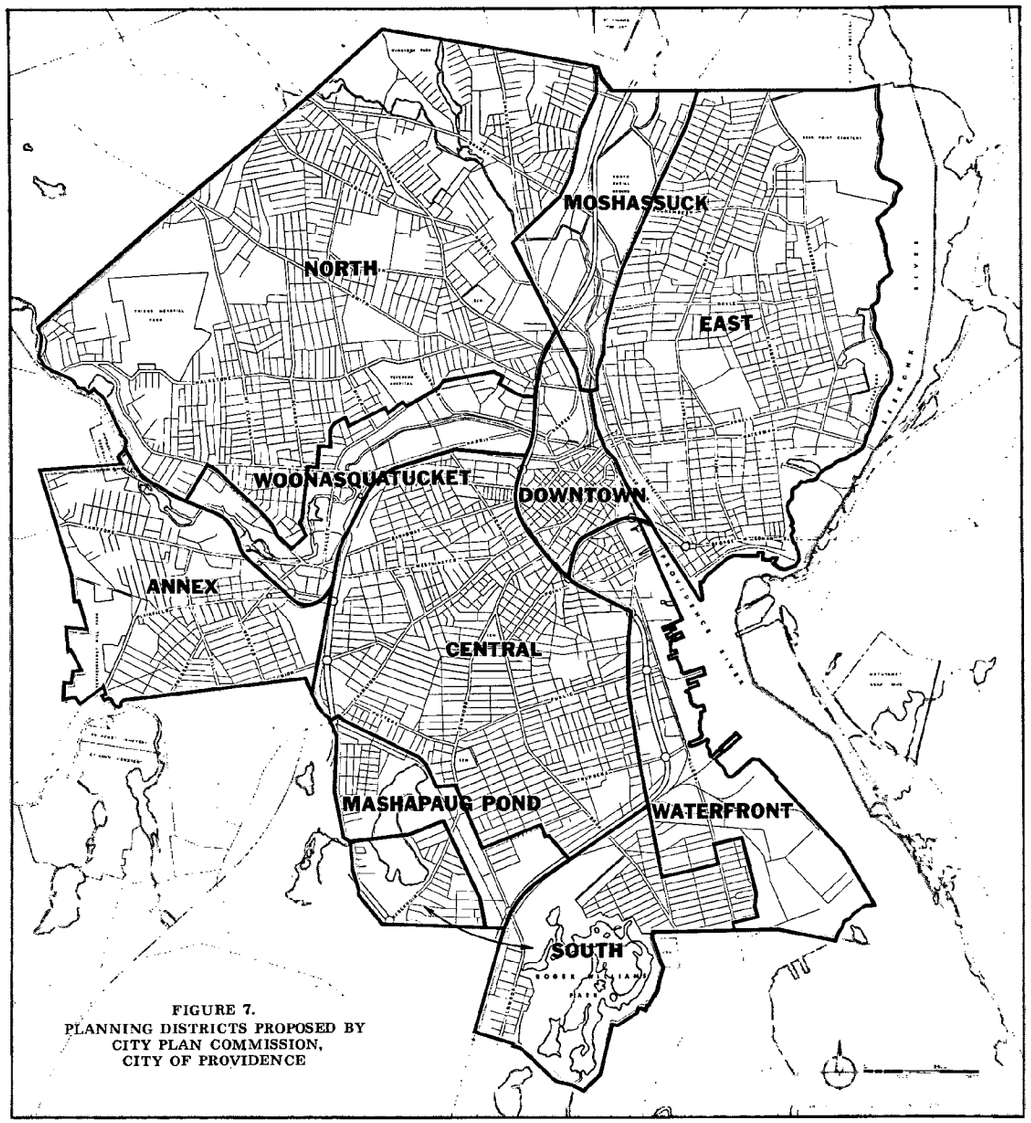


FIGURE 7.
PLANNING DISTRICTS PROPOSED BY CITY PLAN COMMISSION, CITY OF PROVIDENCE

ingly will become barriers to social interaction within a very few years. So much precedence is given to this prediction that the Providence City Plan Commission has created planning districts for the City based upon the pattern of superhighways being developed. These districts are presented in Figure 7.

Physical changes due to new land use patterns have resulted in physical barriers by which the City's territory is segmented.

Urban renewal treatments also contribute to fragmenting the City. When an area is cleared and rebuilt new types of structures and new traffic patterns set off that area from the adjacent areas which it originally resembled. This fragmentation often disrupts patterns of neighborhood functioning. In neighborhood interviews it was learned that those continuing to reside in areas adjacent to renewed areas felt that the City had forgotten them because they were not deemed worthy of consideration. They tended to feel that their situation was even worse by contrast with the renewed area.

The City must maximize the interdependent nature of its geographic areas in order to achieve collaborative action, greater cohesiveness, greater pride, and greater hope for Providence.

Adoption of a District Framework

Information obtained during the neighborhood interviewing process indicates that many neighborhood residents are beginning to recognize larger areas of the City as their places of residence. For example, it was not unusual to find many old-time residents of South Providence, even in the "Frog Hollow" area, referring to the South Side as including the Elmwood and West End neighborhoods. Not included, by virtue of its strong ethnic composition, was Federal Hill. The East Side is referred to by many as including Fox Point, Benefit Street, Lippitt Hill, Camp, Hope, and the original East Side neighborhoods. The North End, a term originally reserved for the Wanskuck neighborhood, is now generalized to include the Elmhurst, Mount Pleasant, and Wanskuck neighborhoods. The boundaries of Olneyville have been expanded to include the Manton and Hartford Park housing developments. This stretching of boundaries identified by residents seems to have taken place as an accompaniment of the growth of the highway system, with increased urban renewal activity, and the increasing number of children attending elementary and high school in Providence schools.

Upon examination of the physical barriers which fragment the City, as mentioned above, it is apparent that the City tends to be divided into four similarly sized areas which can be called districts. In a study of the dispersion of the major social institutions throughout the City, it has been found that they are all present in each district. It is recommended that these districts of the City be recognized formally and named, and that a citizen participation structure, a district community council, be created in each of them.

Interrelatedness of Project Areas

An urban renewal treatment in any area can have serious effects upon adjacent and related areas of the City. For example, if a business is forced to move from an area being cleared, the effect of its removal can be very significant to related business activities and to employees who may lose their jobs. Physical improvement of the renewed area may make adjacent areas undesirable by contrast. If the estimated negative effect upon an adjacent area seems great, certain kinds of renewal treatments might be applied simultaneously in the adjacent area. In this way, the adjacent area experiences some benefit from renewal treatments and can be sustained in its desire for further renewal until the financial circumstances of the City permit full treatment of that area.

Preparation of Receiver Neighborhoods

Two kinds of neighborhoods can be identified in urban renewal activities when relocation is used: donor neighborhoods and receiver neighborhoods. Donor neighborhoods are those from which people move. Receiver neighborhoods are those into which people relocate. One of the greatest concerns expressed in interviews in established neighborhoods was that people from urban renewal projects, both white and Negro, would soon relocate in their neighborhoods. The attitudes toward relocatees were very negative. Persons

forced to relocate were stereotyped as "undesirable" and "destructive". Accurate estimates can be made of the neighborhoods into which people are forced to relocate from donor neighborhoods. Efforts should be made to prepare these neighborhoods to accept relocatees through a process of citizen participation and education which would dispel misinformation and false stereotypes and motivate residents to help the newcomer adapt and take pride in his new setting. The neighborhood association can be the basic tool in this process.

Utilizing the principles outlined above the City can be more firmly knit into a whole community in which the best use is made of its interdependent parts.

Phased Social Planning in Urban Renewal

Urban renewal planners have accumulated considerable expertise in the preparation of plans for the physical treatment of urban renewal sites. The Federal government, in reviewing applications for grants-in-aid for urban renewal treatments, requires that a process be undertaken which is known as the survey and planning process.[1] In this process, which takes from three months to a year, the urban renewal planners acquire detailed knowledge of the area to be treated and its environs. On the basis of this survey and planning work determination is made of the specific structures and community facilities to be treated and the nature of the area when redeveloped.

Certainly no less is required for the people of an area than is required for its physical structures. Urban renewal and social planners across the nation have been slow to recognize the necessity for this step. Providence should adopt a social survey and planning process for every urban renewal site. This is one way in which the City can assure the implementation of the social aspects of the community renewal program.

Two basic principles are included in the development of a phased plan for the social aspects of urban renewal. The first principle is that the people of an area have a right to know about and participate in the development of plans for their neighborhood. The second principle is that exact knowledge of the social problems confronting the neighborhood is necessary in order to prescribe accurately the social treatments needed to counteract those problems.

The following model for a Phased Social Plan, Figure 8, has been developed for use in renewal planning. This model should be applied in each area for each kind of residential renewal activity. It will be noted that clearance, rehabilitation, and conservation treatments are included in the model.

Each step in the above model is planned to fulfill requirements of the two principles presented above. These steps are intended to enhance the urban renewal process and to make urban renewal treatments more effective. The Model for a Phased Social Plan can be initiated during the physical survey and planning period and therefore need not delay urban renewal activities. It is strongly urged that the Providence Redevelopment Agency and the proposed Department of Urban Renewal adopt this model.

REHOUSING

As has been recognized at the outset of this report, urban renewal leaders seeking to rehouse the nation's ill-housed persons find that they are unable to provide housing of an acceptable standard at prices which low-income families can afford.

At the present time the community is providing a number of subsidies by which to surmount this barrier. By meeting the basic maintenance needs of families economically dependent upon society, public assistance provides a housing subsidy. Public housing also provides a housing subsidy for families who are otherwise economically self-sufficient. Many low-income families, particularly those with a large number

[1] U.S., Housing and Home Finance Agency, Urban Renewal Administration, **Urban Renewal Manual, Policies and Requirements for Local Public Agencies** (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1962).

FIGURE 8.

MODEL FOR A PHASED SOCIAL PLAN

Phases	Activity	Timing	Auspice
Public information	Informing residents on a household and group basis about plans for their neighborhood	Two years prior to condemnation date	D.C.S.[a] Community education staff
Neighborhood organization	Assisting groups to react to plans and formulate counter proposals, if necessary	Two years prior to condemnation in the case of clearance, or project initiation in case of rehabilitation	Private community social work agency under contract with D.C.S. D.C.S. Home Improvement Service Redevelopment Agency
Social Survey	Interviewing households to obtain information about housing needs and related problems	18 months prior to condemnation or project initiation	D.C.S. Relocation Service research staff
Social Treatments	**Rehabilitation/Conservation**— Assisting households to conform with rehabilitation or conservation plan	18 months prior to project initiation or condemnation	D.C.S. Home Improvement Service
	Clearance/Rehabilitation— Preparing receiver neighborhoods	12 months prior to renovation in rehabilitation or clearance in redevelopment.	D.C.S. Relocation Service
	Clearance/Rehabilitation— Referring families with problems and promoting inter-agency planning in keeping with the "A" Area Treatment Model	18 months prior to condemnation or renovation	D.C.S. Relocation Service
Evaluation	Interviewing relocatees to determine effect of relocation	Periodic up to 3 years after completion of each project	D.C.S. Relocation Service research staff
	Analyzing progress in rehabilitation, conservation, and rehousing programs		D.C.S. program development staff research staff

[a] Refers to Division of Community Services

of children, have incomes which cover their basic needs. However they are forced to live in sub-standard housing in order to make ends meet. Many landlords of dilapidated housing receive indirect community subsidies because of a low tax-assessment on properties which yield a high rate of return on their investments. In addition they are "guaranteed" rents from public assistance clients. New methods need to be found for applying these subsidies to housing such families.

The proposals which follow are designed to be more effective in providing low rent housing of adequate standards with more socially desirable consequences.

One method which might be tested is the use of the powers of the Providence Redevelopment Agency and a new, nonprofit housing corporation in a collaborative effort at housing. Under such a plan the Providence Redevelopment Agency would purchase land and structures marked for residential rehabilitation under its powers of eminent domain. The Redevelopment Agency would then sell the property under three possible plans.

Under the first plan a city-wide nonprofit housing corporation, e.g. Housing, Inc., could buy up large numbers of such units and contract with private firms to renovate the structures. Once they are renovated the corporation would sell the properties on the commercial market to private parties. Long-term low-interest mortgage money is needed to help former residents who cannot afford the commercial rents to purchase structures at prices slightly above their cost. Purchase of "double" and "triple deckers" would be encouraged by people in need of rehousing who would rent out the other units. This would encourage home ownership and spread the management function. Rents would be stabilized at levels that could be afforded by other people in need of rehousing, and the purchaser would be assured of a fair return in terms of rents. The corporation would require extensive capital or would have to be able to guarantee mortgage money advanced by lending institutions for long terms at low interest rates.

Under the second plan the Redevelopment Agency would sell properties to commercial developers at write-down prices. The commercial groups would borrow through established banks in order to purchase and renovate the structures. The Housing Corporation would insure the bank mortgages which would not qualify for insurance under current FHA regulations. The Corporation would also require that rehabilitation be done according to specified plans. After renovating properties the developers would sell them to private parties as above. Rehousing is again accomplished. One disadvantage in this method could be failure to attract developers in light of a probable small return on the investment required. Another disadvantage is that rents would probably be beyond the reach of many persons in need of rehousing.

Under the third plan the Providence Housing Authority would purchase properties at write-down prices from the Redevelopment Agency, would renovate them and would rent them. The advantage in this case is the provision of "private" housing to families requiring continuing income subsidies. It is believed that such a plan utilized on a highly selective basis would facilitate the return of many families to self-dependency and to participation in the commercial market. An obstacle could be the public investment required.

The availability of adequate housing is a vital function of any city. Housing services which seek to enhance this availability must therefore be viewed by the community as a social service of equal importance to other social services. Goals, policies, and action programs must express the close relationship between housing and the behavior, attitudes, and problems of people who inhabit housing if a significant inroad is to be made in the elimination of substandard housing in Providence. There must be joint action, a partnership of those interests concerned with the development of housing and those interested in the development of people. There have been unilateral attempts through housing, to wit the public housing of the 1930's and 1940's, and through social services to resolve this important consequence of urbanization. These attempts have in the main fallen far short of their goals. It is believed that comprehensive, concerted actions utilizing the

best tools of all services — housing, employment, health, education, welfare, recreation, and planning — can be the only realistic method of approaching this complex problem of urban life.

SOCIAL TREATMENTS

It has been pointed out in this report that the concentration of persons facing severe problems in areas with a potential for urban renewal treatment is relatively high.[1] These areas have been named "A" areas in this study.

It has also been noted that community services must join in partnership with physical renewal and economic development activities geared to the improvement of the City. In order to do so community service organizations must be ready to concentrate services in selected urban renewal areas because urban renewal is geographically oriented.

In laying out a plan for social treatment it is not realistic to expect that expenditures for community services can be multiplied. Increases, however, will be necessary even though the main emphasis is placed upon using existing services.

Programming for community service in partnership with urban renewal is thus a large order requiring innovation and economy. In response to this challenge, the Rhode Island Council of Community Services, Inc. has proposed a way to mobilize and focus community services in urban renewal. This form is called the "A" Area Social Treatment Model. This community service programming must be tested in order to ascertain its efficacy.

The "A" Area Social Treatment Model has three major components:

1. a neighborhood service agent which identifies problems and integrates services
2. a concerted application of health, education, welfare, recreation, and employment services
3. a neighborhood service center.

Neighborhood Information Service

It is proposed that a neighborhood service agent in the form of an information, consultation, and integration service be established as the first essential component of the "A" Area Social Treatment Model.[2] This service would be staffed by social workers with competence in planning services to individuals, families, groups, and communities. Such a Neighborhood Information Service (NIS) would be located in the "A" Area, would be constantly available to residents, and would seek to establish relationship with the entire neighborhood. This Neighborhood Information Service, through the social work staff in its employ, would have the following functions:

Problem documentation — The Neighborhood Information Service would have the function of documenting the difficulties which residents of the neighborhood have in getting help with their problems. This would be based on referrals to the Service by existing agencies making visits in the area — referred to earlier as carriers of service — and on self-referrals of families and individuals seeking information and help. For example, over the course of a year referrals from such agencies as the local recreation center, visiting nurse association, public welfare office, school, church, and employment agency can document the kinds of problems which are not getting attention, the kinds of people who have difficulty in knowing where to go for help, and the kinds of agency policies or services to which clients have difficulty relating.

Diagnosis, information, consultation and referral — The second major function of the Neighborhood Information Service is actually a group of functions which, by their very nature, must be interrelated. This group of functions indicates that the Neighborhood Information Service would diagnose the problems facing individuals and families referred. The Service would attempt to give information about the specialized services appropriate to a given family or might render social work services, temporarily, if other services are not available. When services are available, the Neighborhood Information Service would render help to the family in obtaining that service. After referral had been made, the Neighborhood Information Service

[1] See page 6.

[2] Establishment of a five-year demonstration and research project supported locally and by the U.S. Public Health Service is proposed.

would continue contact with the family to make sure the family had received the help for which it had applied or to document the blocks to obtaining service when it did not materialize.

> For example, when the M family was referred to the Neighborhood Information Service the mother seemed almost totally lacking in knowledge of homemaking and child care. The children, one of whom had congenital heart disease, were somewhat neglected physically and Mrs. M had little sense of their emotional needs. Well along in her third pregnancy she had not had any prenatal care and seemed to be quite depressed. Mr. M, an unskilled factory worker, was irregularly employed and his parents occasionally helped out by providing extra food. They frequently interfered with criticism of his wife's homemaking and training of the children. Much of the work with this family was done initially in the home by the Neighborhood Information Service worker. Mrs. M. was referred to a clinic and helped to keep her appointments. During this period it was determined that the mother was insecure in her role as a parent and depressed over her husband's unstable employment and the family relationships. Mr. M expressed his concern about his lack of regular work. After the baby was born the husband and wife were helped to accept referral to the family service agency for counselling. The youngster with the congenital heart diagnosis was referred for re-evaluation and treatment at a state health clinic. Mr. M was referred to the local office of the state employment service.

Integration of community services — A major function of the Neighborhood Information Service is to integrate those specialized services which are indicated and utilized for any particular family. For example, liaison with the representative of the medical services of the hospital, the counselling services of the family agency, and the services of the Department of Employment Security would be maintained by the Neighborhood Information Service social worker. He would also convene them when he considered this step helpful. This case conference could be used to assure planning for the entire family's needs and the collaborative application of appropriate kinds of services offered by the various agencies. This community service team working with the family could then, with the continuing aid and coordination of the NIS social worker, maintain a relationship with the family and watch its progress during the course of treatment. More specialized services might be called in during the course of the time during which the NIS works with the family. When the family seems to have achieved an adequate solution to its problems, the community service team would disband and the Neighborhood Information Service would maintain periodic communication with the family to follow its progress. In this way, the whole family and the entire configuration of problems is dealt with by bringing existing services into a collaborative working relationship with that family.

Program development — During the course of its work, the NIS would find problems for which appropriate services do not exist. In some cases services may exist but may be ineffective for treating the problem at hand. In these cases the NIS social worker would have the responsibility of interpreting such gaps to the appropriate bodies so that changes and/or new programs could be considered. For example, let us suppose that the need for group counselling to keep neighborhood children in school is identified as a primary neighborhood need. The NIS would document the need for such services and would refer this information to various planning and program development organizations such as the Providence School Department, the Rhode Island Council of Community Services, Inc., the Rhode Island Department of Education and so on. The NIS would help those organizations by presenting the dimensions for a group counselling service which would be molded to the needs of the neighborhood. These dimensions would be arrived at through a process of neighborhood discussion and consideration in which professional and lay persons in the neighborhood would participate. This process of identification and consensus would be accomplished through a neighborhood services advisory committee representing residents and agency personnel. The committee would be given staff service by the NIS social worker.

Concerted Application of Services

A concerted services effort is the integrated and intensified application of indicated services for a specific period of time in a circumscribed area. The purpose of such an approach is to reduce the problems facing the residents of a given area.

Based on an analysis of the kinds of problems peculiar to a particular neighborhood the kinds of services required for any given neighborhood or "A" Area of Providence can be readily discerned. For example, in Federal Hill those problems of highest documented incidence, according to the S.P.I., are unemployment, dependency due to physical handicaps, and dropping out of school. In Smith Hill the documented problems with highest incidence are adult crime, youth crime, and economic dependency due to old age.[1] A variation of the most severe problems will be seen when examining all neighborhoods. Based on this variation of problems, different configurations of services needed in each area can be developed. In Smith Hill, for example, the following kinds of basic services seem indicated at this point:

1. saturation of service to probationers and parolees
2. job retraining and placement
3. volunteer service corps of elderly residents.

For this purpose it should be noted that the Social Pathology Index is a gross kind of tool. More refined documentation, such as that provided by a social survey and a Neighborhood Information Service, would be important in delineating the kinds of services necessary for an area.

Of critical importance in determining a neighborhood service pattern is the problem perception of the neighborhood's residents. As has been illustrated in this study, such perception does not always coincide with an evaluation based on objective data. The relationship between these different evaluations has an important bearing on the effect which action programs will have in a given neighborhood.

If a concerted services effort is to avoid the pitfalls outlined in the discussion of the crises facing community services these services must be visible, available, accessible, and acceptable to the neighborhood's residents. Careful thought must go into the housing and location of these services. The procedures for making the services available must be in keeping with a thorough analysis of the current blocks to the neighborhood residents' getting help with their problems. A design for a program of concerted services using Smith Hill as an example is presented in Figure 9. It provides the basis for the actual establishment of the "A" Area Social Treatment Model.

Neighborhood Service Center

The service center can be defined as a single building or group of buildings in close enough proximity to be identified as a unit from which are offered the services of health, education, recreation, welfare, employment, and housing agencies. This service center may be an existing structure such as an abandoned fire house or school. It may be a newly constructed building. It may be the headquarters of an ongoing neighborhood service program, such as a school, church, or settlement house.

In order to qualify for the "A" Area Social Treatment Model, the service center must have the ability to house representatives of the major organizations carrying out social service work, community social work in the neighborhood, and the neighborhood information service. This service center should be housed and the services presented in such a way that the center is viewed favorably by neighborhood residents. As was ascertained during the group interview procedures, various organizations were not held in high esteem, and it is believed that their buildings would not be the proper places to develop service centers.

In Figure 10 recommendations are given for structures to house neighborhood service centers in each of the "A" areas. In establishing "A" Area Models attention should be given to varying the service center auspice in different areas, to make possible a test of the difference of effect in utilizing school buildings, voluntary agencies, and public agencies as service centers.

Significance of the Treatment Model

The "A" Area Social Treatment Model seems to be a promising answer to many vexing problems documented and discussed in this report. It fulfills the basic requirement for the mobilization and focus of community services as a part of urban renewal treatments.

[1] See Figure 3, page 7.

FIGURE 9.
DESIGN FOR "A" AREA SOCIAL TREATMENT USING
SMITH HILL NEIGHBORHOOD AS AN EXAMPLE

Goal	Program	Auspice	Staff	Time Period	Cost and Source	Permanent Transfer
Casefinding and referral	Home visiting to identify family problems and needs and to sensitize, motivate, and inform family so they can seek appropriate help	Providence District Nursing Association — nurse team to act as "carrier" of referral and information service as well as providing health care, and to maintain liaison between selected families and Neighborhood Information Service	16 nurse team initially, 8 thereafter	Initially 1 year with followup after 6 months	$55,000 from National Institute of Health — Harvard	Yes, on a selected basis to Providence District Nursing Association
	Accepting requests for help in finding service, seeking to integrate and expand existing services to enhance treatments	Neighborhood Information Service — also Council of Community Services Community Information Service which would supervise its operation	3 case social workers	3 years	$54,000 from National Institute of Health	Yes, on a selected basis to Rhode Island Council of Community Services
Economic self-dependency	Training of selected men and women for existing positions in labor market	Department of Employment Security sponsored at Smith Hill Center				No
	Provision of day care services for children of working women	Smith Hill Center with advice from Rhode Island Council of Community Services			United Fund	Yes, Smith Hill Center
	Counseling dependent families capable of growth with emphasis on household management and budgeting	Smith Hill and public housing authority	8 specially trained caseworkers with maximum loads of 60 cases	3 years	$168,000 Bureau of Family Services, Department of Health, Education, Welfare	Rhode Island Department of Social Welfare
Improvement of family functioning	Family counseling for selected persons with marital and family problems	Family Service with office at service center in Smith Hill Center	2 social workers	2 years	$28,000 from United Fund	Yes, to Family Service Association
Reduction of adult and juvenile crime	Immediate classification of first offenders	Special arrangement of NIS and police				
	Referral of first offender	NIS	NIS social worker and special youth and adult police officer assigned to form a team for evaluation and referral	2 years	$28,000 National Council Crime and Delinquency and City of Providence	
	Saturation of services to probationers and parolees	NIS under special arrangement with Adult Correctional Institution, Division of Probation and Parole	2 special probation officers			

FIGURE 9., (Cont'd.)

Goal	Program	Auspice	Staff	Time Period	Cost and Source	Permanent Transfer
Reduction of adult and juvenile crime (Cont'd.)	Job retraining and placement	Department of Employment Security as above			Manpower Retraining Act	
Early treatment of mental illness	Psychiatric evaluation and treatment	To be located in Center	1 full - time psychiatric team	3 years	$47,000 from National Institute of Mental Health	Yes, to Mental Hygiene Services
Completion of education	Early identification of school drop-outs by concentrated testing, reporting, and diagnosis of family situation		School social worker	6 months		
	Vocational counseling for broadening occupational aspirations	Special counseling unit at Danforth Street School	Permanent number to meet full time National Education Association requirements			School Department
	Job training program for drop-outs	Special unit through Department of Employment Security as above		2 years	Manpower Retraining Act	Possibly to School Department
Maintaining social relationships of retired persons	A neighborhood volunteer service corps composed of older people and supervised by an appropriate professional would be organized to tutor students after school hours, staff day nursery in part, do secretarial work at the Center, lead or advise activity clubs. The employment could be partially paid.	Smith Hill Center	1 staff supervisor and equivalent of 1 other staff person	3 years	$30,000 from National Council on Aging	Yes, Smith Hill Center
Preparation of children for life in a changing society	Upgrading teacher programs Special course work geared to broaden life perspectives of students Special activities to enhance home, school and community adjustment	To be developed in conjunction with and through the Providence School Department and Rhode Island College				
Creation of neighborhood social structure	See recommended Plan for Community Organization Structures and Services, Figure 11.					

It does not require large expenditures of additional monies. Its major emphasis is on a new method for delivering services which are already financed by the community. New services would be created only if such services are not available for this kind of venture. It would not require capital expenditures for buildings. It is flexible in response to ever changing problems of a given area. It begins to answer some of the large questions posed by current emphasis on agency specialization, the fractionation of services to families, tardy intervention in the problems, the unavailability of services during crisis periods, and the relative inflexibility of institutional policies and procedures.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

The active participation of citizens in the affairs of their community is inherent in a democratic society. It is based on the principle that each person has a right and an obligation to participate in the shaping of his destiny. It is expected, therefore, that citizen participation should be a vital part of urban renewal activity which has such important consequences for the lives of people in their neighborhoods.

In the context of a specific governmental program, such as urban renewal, the function of citizen organizations must be clearly delineated. The City needs the advice of citizen groups in relation to the Community Renewal Program, whether at the neighborhood

FIGURE 10.
PROPOSED
HOUSING FOR NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICE CENTERS

"A" Area [a]	Structure Recommended as Service Center	Important Characteristics [b]
1	Nickerson Settlement House	Central location with easy access. Favorably viewed by neighborhood residents. Acceptability rank 4. New structure.
	Joslin St. Pool Center Joslin St. Elementary School	Central location. Acceptability rank 3.
2	Federal Hill House	Acceptability rank 3. Excellent location.
3	John Hope Settlement House	Acceptability rank 4. Wide knowledge of neighborhood. Agency working closely with Redevelopment Agency. Location not optimal in light of Central - Classical Redevelopment Project.
	Junior High School	Fair service location. Acceptability rank 5.
	Elementary School	Acceptability rank 4. Good proximity to areas of high relocation density.
4	No existing structure appears suitable	
5	South Providence Boys Club	Acceptability rank 5. Excellent location.
	Salvation Army Settlement and Day Nursery	Acceptability rank 5. Good location.
	Fogarty Elementary School	Acceptability rank 5. Good location.
6	Dudley Street Pool Center	Acceptability rank 5. Good location.
	Flynn Elementary School	Acceptability rank 5. Good location.
7	No existing structure appears suitable	
8	Not included in survey in light of Downtown Master Plan.	
9	No existing structure appears suitable, although the new Lippitt Hill School could possibly serve this function.	
10	Smith Hill Center	Acceptability rank 4. Good central location. Proximity to Chad Brown and Admiral Terrace Housing Developments.

[a] For clarification as to what section of the City is referred to by each number, see Figure 2, page 6

[b] Acceptability rank is derived from an analysis of residents' attitudes toward and use of agency services as indicated in neighborhood interviews. Acceptability scale ranges from a low value of 1 to a high value of 5.

or the City-wide level. The City should provide, therefore, the opportunity for citizens to voice their concerns and desires to City officials regarding the plans that are made for their neighborhoods, and for City officials and planners to integrate into their plans the needs and aspirations of the people for whom they are planning. This function is essential to carrying out the social goals for community renewal. It is recognized that autonomous citizen organizations have the right to act independently in order to influence political decisions on behalf of neighborhoods. This interpretation of the function of citizen participation recognizes that official responsibility for making decisions affecting a given area of the City rests with the City Council whose members, after all, are elected by the people.

The success of urban renewal requires that as many people as possible be motivated to participate in community activity on their concerns. This fact is given recognition by the requirement that every community receiving Federal grants-in-aid for urban renewal have a plan for citizen participation. Without the participation of the citizenry in urban renewal activities there will be no understanding of the goals of urban renewal, little appreciation of its achievements, and little interest in maintaining such improvements for any period of time.

We know, however, that some individuals are oriented to active participation while others are not. And many people find obstacles to their participation which some are working diligently to overcome, but which nevertheless exist. There are people who find obstacles because of their color, economic status, education, or occupation. Thus, some people have less chance to be heard than others, less opportunity to translate their aspirations into actions, and less chance to affect the nature of their community.

Everybody reacts to changes that take place in his community. If no opportunity to participate in shaping those changes has been provided, reaction may take the form of apathy or some hostile action such as rock-throwing at city hall. Neither of these forms is acceptable or constructive. It is in the City's interest, therefore, to provide acceptable ways in which citizens can participate in making plans for their community and in implementing those plans.

It is the goal of the Rhode Island Council of Community Services, Inc., in developing a citizen participation plan at the request of the City, that constructive and acceptable ways of participation and the means to implement them be developed for the City. Cities have had varying degrees of success with citizen participation in urban renewal, but there have been few attempts to develop a plan for city-wide participation at various levels.

Structures for Participation

The most appropriate and constructive way in which people can participate in urban renewal activities is through formal groups at various levels of community life. In general there are three levels which lend themselves to citizen participation — the neighborhood, the district, and the city-wide level. Formal groups at each of these levels provide a sounding board for opinion, a medium for concensus about action, and the ability to communicate interests and ideas to other groups, to officials, and to the community.

At the neighborhood level the neighborhood association, an association of residents interested in improving their neighborhood, is the usual form of organization. Neighborhood councils, which are representative of many groups — industrial, business, commercial, labor, education, professional, welfare, and civic — are also created at this level where there are many different kinds of interests.

At the district level, usually an area encompassing several neighborhoods, the district community council usually is representative of groups and reflects civic interest on the problems of that area of the City and its future. A discussion of the typical functions of a district community council is contained in Appendix D.

As noted in an earlier part of this report, there is a trend in Providence to look at the City in terms of its major districts. It was also noted earlier that one of the ways in which the City can maintain its integrity and function as a whole community is to recognize these districts of the City and to provide the formal citizen participation organizations to activate them as social units.

At the city-wide level a representative body of community leadership can be effective in advising municipal government, political and other interests, as to ways in which to proceed with community renewal.

Such a citizen participation structure has been recommended by Blair Associates. The advisory Committee on Urban Renewal has been suggested as being the guiding citizen framework within which the Department of Urban Renewal and its Divisions would operate. This is an effective way to consider the problems of the City at its broadest scale. In order to effect the necessary communication between the Advisory Committee on Urban Renewal and smaller scales of citizen activity, it is suggested that each district of the City be represented by an elected delegate on the Advisory Committee. This would give representatives of each of the four districts full membership on the Advisory Committee on Urban Renewal and provide for the steady flow of information between top policy-making levels and smaller scales of community life.

Two additional kinds of citizen participation groups need to be introduced in the City. The first is the neighborhood services advisory committee concerned particularly with the operation of the "A" Area Social Treatment Model in terms of identifying neighborhood social problems and obtaining resources to deal with those problems. The second new kind of citizen organization needed in Providence is a tenant's council within each of Providence's public housing developments. Earlier it was noted that public housing is often isolated from community life and that the residents of public housing do not have sufficient means at their disposal with which to voice their concerns and affect housing conditions. It is recommended, therefore, that a tenant's council composed of no less than five percent of the number of residents be established in each public housing development.

Aids for Effective Participation

There are at present several citizen participation groups in Providence. Many of these groups are not oriented toward urban renewal programming and toward plan making. As was noted earlier in this report, it is essential that planning with neighborhoods begin on a phased basis several years before the actual execution of urban renewal treatments. The place of the neighborhood and district organizations has been noted in reacting to and implementing planning ideas proposed by City government.

In addition to establishing citizen participation organizations, there is a need for community social work services to facilitate the functioning of those organizations. The professional staff person enables the given unit at the neighborhood, district, or city-wide level to function at its optimum. At present only a few organizations have devoted significant staff assistance to neighborhood groups. Among these is the John Hope Settlement House, an organization which has worked closely with urban renewal officials in the planning and execution of the Central-Classical Urban Renewal Project. The Nickerson Settlement House also provides staff assistance to the Nickerson House Neighborhood Association concerned with Olneyville and the Manton area.

Those neighborhoods which have neighborhood settlements or neighborhood centers, as they are sometimes called, are fortunate in having the services of a type of agency that has been time tested over many decades in helping residents improve their neighborhoods. In order that such services be available anywhere in the City, the formation of a federation of neighborhood centers would provide a flexible instrument for making neighborhood organization services available wherever needed.

The Rhode Island Council of Community Services, Inc. seeks to facilitate the functioning of citizen committees and planning groups at the state-wide and municipal levels. The Providence Redevelopment Agency has begun its own neighborhood organization activities in connection with the East Side Renewal Project. The Urban League of Rhode Island gives staff assistance to the East Side Neighborhood Council in an attempt to facilitate the functioning of that organization concerning the problems and development of parts of the East Side.

In the process of helping neighborhoods carry out action programs, these community social workers help communities to identify neighborhood

conditions which could give rise to handicapping conditions of individuals and families and learn how to take effective action.

The aids to participation and community organization structures proposed for specific areas of the City are shown in Figure 11.

Implementing the Plan for Participation

Four major alternatives for fostering citizen participation can be utilized:

1. establishment of a new organization where none exists
2. revitalization of an existing, but lagging organization
3. provision of continuing assistance for an existing but functioning organization
4. surveying the neighborhood for possible future action concerning a citizen organization.

When a citizen organization is created by design, seven basic steps need to be followed:

1. assessment of feasibility and interest focus of such an organization
2. assignment of a staff person to the unit or neighborhood
3. choice of type of organization to be created or modified
4. enlistment of membership
5. establishment of relationship with other appropriate organizations, such as the Advisory Committee on Urban Renewal.
6. choice of relevant planning, public education, social intervention or preventive projects
7. implementation and execution of those projects.

The plan presented in this report is recommended to the City of Providence and to its citizens as a guideline for the establishment of citizen participation organizations. This is an ideal kind of plan and it is recommended in full knowledge that all of it cannot be implemented in the next year or two. Sometimes neighborhood groups will want to become more quickly established than recommended in this report. In some cases a different type of organization may be desired. These matters can be left to the choice of the individuals concerned with establishing those groups. It is believed that the adoption of this kind of plan, particularly in areas to be accorded urban renewal treatments, will greatly facilitate the enduring value of urban renewal activities.

FIGURE 11.
RECOMMENDED PLAN FOR COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION STRUCTURES AND SERVICES

Level of Citizen Participation	Type of Organization	Auspice for Staff Services	Date of Initiation	Explanation
City-wide District	Advisory Committee on Urban Renewal District Community Council	Department of Urban Renewal Rhode Island Council of Community Services, Community Councils Bureau, under contract with City of Providence	January 1965 Upon initiation of a demonstration project in a given area	Plan set up by Blair Associates in Community Renewal Program Basic necessity for preserving areas of the City which can relate to City as a whole
Olneyville	Neighborhood Association or Council	Nickerson House, federation of neighborhood centers, or new community work agency	January 1965	Expand Nickerson House Neighborhood Council to be more representative of entire neighborhood interests.
	Tenants Council in Hartford Park and Manton Heights Housing Developments	Providence Housing Authority or under contract with federation of neighborhood centers, Nickerson House, or new community work agency	January 1965	Need to establish new pattern of citizen organization in public housing development with professional community social work staff
	Neighborhood Services Advisory Committee (if "A" Area Model established)	Neighborhood Information Service	Upon establishment of "A" Area Model	
Federal Hill	Neighborhood Association	Federal Hill House, federation of neighborhood centers, or new community work agency	January 1965 or as soon as organizations are able	Need to establish association of residents who live in the area — current citizen participation is mainly of non-residents
	Neighborhood Services Advisory Committee (if "A" Area Model established)	Neighborhood Information Service	Upon establishment of "A" Area Model	

Level of Citizen Participation	Type of Organization	Auspice for Staff Services	Date of Initiation	Explanation
Smith Hill	Neighborhood Association or Council	Smith Hill Center, federation of neighborhood centers or new community work agency	As soon as plans for urban renewal get past formative stages	Existing community will be able to utilize such services when they see how urban renewal activities will affect them.
	Tenant's Council	Providence Housing Authority, or under contract with federation of neighborhood centers, Nickerson House, or through a new community work agency	January 1965	Need to establish new pattern of citizen organization in public housing development
	Neighborhood Services Advisory Committee (if "A" Area Model established)	Neighborhood Information Service	Upon selection as "A" Area for demonstration	Any effort must be closely related to work in public housing development in Eagle Park.
Eagle Park	(See proposal for Smith Hill)			
Wanskuck	No community organization structure or services are needed at this time			Condition of housing is sound and there is a relative lack of social problems. Investigators rated this as a very cohesive neighborhood.
Elmhurst	(See proposal for Wanskuck)			
Mt. Pleasant	(See proposal for Wanskuck)			
Manton	(See proposal for Olneyville)			
West River	A continuing service not warranted			As the Randall Square Redevelopment Project is completed, this will cease to exist as a residential neighborhood. Relocation preparation for both donor and receiver neighborhoods indicated.

Level of Citizen Participation	Type of Organization	Auspice for Staff Services	Date of Initiation	Explanation
West End	Neighborhood Association or Council	John Hope Community Center under contract with City, federation of neighborhood centers, or new community work agency		Staff should be added to work on neighborhood development.
	Tenant's Council	Providence Housing Authority or under contract with federation of neighborhood centers, Nickerson House, or a new community work agency	January 1965	Need to establish new pattern of citizen organization in public housing development with professional community social work staff
	Neighborhood Services Advisory Committee	Neighborhood Information Service	January 1965	This area has highest incidence of problems in City. Treatment should begin whether an "A" Area demonstration can be developed or not.
Elmwood	Neighborhood Association	Federation of neighborhood centers or new community work agency	January 1965	This area is losing identity quickly and in need of developing neighborhood cohesiveness. Interest of residents is not high but neighborhood has potential for revitalization as a residential area.
West Elmwood	None recommended			Neighborhood has ceased to exist as a distinct residential area.
Washington Park	Neighborhood Association or Council	Federation of neighborhood centers or new community work agency	September 1964	This area is losing identity quickly and in is in need of developing neighborhood cohesiveness. Interest of residents is not high, but neighborhood has potential for revitalization as a residential area.

Level of Citizen Participation	Type of Organization	Auspice for Staff Services	Date of Initiation	Explanation
South Providence	Neighborhood Association	Federation of neighborhood centers or new community work agency	As soon as possible	The South Providence Improvement Association should be expanded with a half time staff. This group is capable of becoming an important and constructive neighborhood force. If this group does not continue for lack of assistance, a new organization along its lines should be established.
	Neighborhood Council	Rhode Island Council of Community Services	As soon as possible	Assistance is needed to continue work of South Providence Cooperative Assembly. This organization can be an important planning mechanism in the improvement of South Providence.
	Tenant's Council, Roger Williams Homes	Providence Housing Authority or under contract with federation of neighborhood centers, Nickerson House or a new community work agency	January 1965	Need to establish new pattern of citizen organization in public housing development
	Neighborhood Services Advisory Committee	Neighborhood Information Service	As soon as possible	This area has highest incidence of problems in the City and families are in need of immediate assistance.
Fox Point	Recommendations here should be made contingent upon most recent work of Providence Redevelopment Agency, East Side Renewal Project.			
East Side	No community organization structure or services are needed at this time			Condition of housing is sound and there is a relative lack of social problems. Investigators rated this as a very cohesive neighborhood.

Level of Citizen Participation	Type of Organization	Auspice for Staff Services	Date of Initiation	Explanation
Hope	Neighborhood Association or Council	Federation of neighborhood centers or by Rhode Island Council of Community Services	Continuing	Mt. Hope Neighborhood Council has great potential. Staff assistance needed in order to operate Council at its maximum capacity.
Lippitt Hill	Neighborhood Association	Rhode Island Council of Community Services under contract with management of University Heights	September 1965 or upon completion of apartments	Community work assistance needed to develop surrounding area as successful bi-racial neighborhood.
Camp	Neighborhood Association	Urban League	Continuing	East Side Council could be effective planning and citizen participation device and should be developed to fullest capacity.
	Neighborhood Services Advisory Committee	Neighborhood Information Service	January 1965	This will be receiver neighborhood for Randall Square and should be treated with as much urgency as possible. Problem incidence is expected to rise.
Annex	Neighborhood Association	Federation of neighborhood centers or new community work agency	September 1965	Neighborhood is one of few to gain residents and is in need of assistance in order to prevent neighborhood deterioration.

EPILOGUE

Toward Demonstration

The approach presented in this Plan is geared to physical, social, and economic actions taken jointly. It proposes action at the scale most appropriate for the Community Renewal Program, the neighborhood scale. The neighborhood is the geographic scale at which such changes can be brought to bear most effectively. This is the level at which people interact most intimately in relation to problems of families and housing conditions, thus setting the stage for rehabilitative actions. The central theme of this approach is the creation of a livable unit of the City, the re-structuring of urban neighborhoods.

There exists a need across the country as well as locally for demonstrating the value of integrated social, physical, and economic development. A large number of cities in the United States have suffered from the lack of cooperation among these necessary and interrelated activities. Providence, with its backdrop of plans and the data basic to those plans, provides a prime place to demonstrate community renewal and development through collaborative planning and action.

The community renewal program spells out needed social, physical and economic treatments for the entire City to be carried out over the next seven years. The program recommended is of considerable magnitude and cost. One way to begin to finance implementation of these treatments is to

make maximum use of demonstration and research monies available through the Federal government and large national foundations. During the course of the community renewal study, Federal and foundation officials were consulted and interest was stimulated in the desirability of utilizing Providence as a major demonstration center. This interest should be capitalized upon and demonstration projects entered into as soon as possible.

Demonstration efforts should include but not be limited to the following components:

1. joint social, physical and economic treatments
2. application of treatments on a phased basis
3. consideration of the relationship of the demonstration to enhancing the unity of the City
4. application in two or more neighborhoods linked by factors described in Chapter V of this report
5. use of the "A" Area Social Treatment Model
6. development of appropriate citizen participation structures and services
7. integration with experimental attempts in rehousing including the use of new forms of housing rehabilitation and its financing as outlined in Chapter V
8. inclusion of economic activity aimed at improving family income in the sites to be treated.

In considering an area for the kind of demonstration effort suggested, it is necessary that certain criteria be applied so as to provide an adequate test of the program to be developed.

The following criteria are presented for consideration:

1. The area should not be completely homogeneous ethnically. An area without some differences in social cultural and national origin characteristics will tend to be very rigid in accepting newcomers seeking better housing.
2. The area should have some walk-to-work opportunities in keeping with established employment patterns in Providence.
3. The area should not be in the extremes of mobility; that is, the area should not be one of those which has experienced highest population losses due to voluntary moves. The establishment and testing of programs is greatly hindered by such mobility.
4. The area should include some form of public housing. One of the important components in such a demonstration effort could well be assistance to public housing residents to return to neighborhood living in a number of ways.
5. The area should be small enough to allow for pedestrian access to a neighborhood service center and should be large enough to supply enough volume of clients to warrant the location of agency services.
6. The area should be amenable to the establishment or improvement of community facilities.
7. Each area should qualify as a rehabilitation or clearance area under Federal regulations for both housing and environmental treatments.

While all of the above criteria are important, flexibility will have to be exercised in applying them. Few areas of the City would qualify on all points covered.

Work should proceed forthwith on general design and detail and in obtaining support for this kind of demonstration and research effort. Research is an important component in this undertaking because essential new knowledge is needed about people, the City and their relationship to one another in order to make the City more livable for people.

APPENDIX

A. List of Studies Undertaken

B. Basis for Delineation of Program Areas

C. Case Example of the Culture of Poverty

D. Typical Functions of a District Community Council

APPENDIX A

List of Studies Undertaken

This appendix enumerates the separate but related pieces of work comprising the study of social foundations of urban renewal. Each piece of work is a limited study in itself and was designed to supplement and to complement all other pieces of work. The studies were designed to develop both accurate information as well as a working philosophy for social aspects of community renewal.

1. **The Social Goals of Urban Renewal Actions.** — This document briefly treats the historical background of the City and outlines and explains four social objectives for urban renewal actions: rehousing, the provision of social utilities, integrity of neighborhood units, opportunity for participation in community change.
2. **Delineation of Planning Districts for the City of Providence.** — Planning districts were formulated as the units within which inter-organizational forms of citizen participation and administration of human services could best take place. This study constitutes a separate report.
3. **Theoretical Framework for the Effective Concentration of Human Services.** — This document presents a set of principles and hypotheses to be used in formulating the plans for services and for citizen participation. It provides an orderly pattern for determining when human services will tend to be effective in helping to solve problems and when they will tend to be ineffective.
4. **Social Pathology Index.** — This component documented the incidence of some forty-five health, standard of living, family and child rearing, educational and behavior problems in the City of Providence by the residence of people facing such problems. The S.P.I. indicates where each small area (enumeration district) falls on a pathology scale of 0 to 100 and provides social problem profiles for each neighborhood of Providence.
5. **Analysis of program areas for human services.** — Program Areas are multiple enumeration districts which are delineated according to the degree of social problem concentrations they contain. Four types of areas were formulated and delineated. Each enumeration district in Providence was placed in one of the four types. Each type was analyzed to determine which problems are most severe and how many people are facing these problems each year.
6. **Problem perceptions of people living in program areas.** — An analysis was made of the difference between documented problems (by means of the S.P.I.) and perceived problems (by means of individual and group interviews).
7. **Inventory of Services Rendered by Agencies.** — The purpose of this document was to examine the services offered by agencies in sufficient detail to match those services to documented and perceived problems.
8. **Attitudes toward service agencies in program areas.** — The purpose of this component was to point up how acceptable a given agency appears to residents of program areas. The material for this component was obtained during individual and group interviews.
9. **Delineation of Providence neighborhoods.** — In 1950 the Council and the Providence City Plan Commission jointly mapped out the boundaries of Providence's neighborhoods. These boundaries were reviewed in terms of how the residents of neighborhoods view them by means of group interviews in neighborhoods.
10. **Description of action modes in neighborhoods.** — In order to determine the kind, volume and intensity of community organization services needed in Providence, the ways in which neighborhoods solve problems were analyzed by means of group interviews. Leadership patterns in neighborhoods were also documented.
11. **Attitudes toward Providence's urban renewal program.** — By means of group interviews in neighborhoods, an indication of attitudes toward Providence's Urban Renewal Program was obtained.
12. **Anaylsis of social treatment types.** — Four types of treatment were developed for tying in human services with urban renewal treatments.
13. **Board members' attitudes toward participation in urban renewal activities.** — An opinion questionnaire was sent to approximately 350 members of voluntary and tax-supported agency boards of directors. It elicited the attitudes of an informed segment of Providence's citizenry toward urban renewal and toward health, education, and welfare agencies' participation in urban renewal activities.
14. **Analysis of urban renewal as a social process.** — The development of the urban renewal program in Providence was traced as abstracted from newspaper accounts since 1947. It highlights leadership behind urban renewal in Providence as well as the various attitudes of public, civic and political leaders toward urban renewal.

APPENDIX B

Basis for Delineation of Program Areas

The City of Providence was divided into Program Areas on the basis of three criteria: (1) S.P.I. scores, (2) geographical barriers, and (3) population density. The cutting points for including enumeration districts in any one of the Program Areas are as follow:

Type "A": S.P.I. score of 60 and above plus contiguous enumeration districts with scores of 50 to 59.

Type "B": S.P.I. score of 40 to 60 plus contiguous enumeration districts with scores from 30 to 39.

Type "C": S.P.I. score from 30 to 40 plus contiguous enumeration districts with scores of 20 to 29.

Type "D": S.P.I. score under 20.

Major geographical features which tend to separate sections of the City were utilized as boundaries. In addition, boundaries were extended to include blocks contiguous to a Program Area with a population density equal to that of the area.

These Program Areas form the basis for the application of social treatments as a part of urban renewal treatments.

Type "A" Areas require on-site applications of social treatments, that is, the location of health, education, welfare, recreation and employment services in the program area. **Type "B" Areas** require intensive outreaching services addressed to particular problem factors, but not the on-site application of services. **Type "C" Areas** require public education efforts aimed at creating knowledge of the availability of community services. **Type "D" Areas** require no special treatment.

The formulation of modes of treatment for each of the Program Areas has its basis in a conceptual framework regarding the effective concentration of human services at various geographical levels.

APPENDIX C

Case Example of the Culture of Poverty

The following is a composite case story constructed out of several case histories collected during the course of this study. It serves to illustrate the conditions which foster the culture of poverty.

Mr. L. came to this country in 1911 from Europe. He was married to a girl whom he had known all his life in his home town where his family had lived for hundreds of years. When Mr. L arrived in this country he had hoped to create a new life for himself and his family and thus to escape the famine that had periodically plagued his homeland. Originally Mr. L had hoped to make his fortune in America and then return to his country a well-to-do man. He did not learn English before coming to this country, and he felt little compulsion to do so in view of his anticipated temporary stay here.

Mr. and Mrs. L located in a small, two-room apartment in the Olneyville section of Providence. Mr. L went to work in a mill. Mrs. L had two children. Torn from the familiar environs of their homeland, not having a strong church affiliation, being unable to speak the language of the new country, Mr. and Mrs. L felt loneliness, isolation, and growing frustration. Mrs. L had her third child during the first world war. The war prevented Mr. L from returning to Europe.

Economically the family was able to make ends meet. The first year here proved that the streets were not paved with gold. Mr. L worked 70 hours a week and earned $11. This was just enough to pay the bills. Little could be saved, and the dream of returning to their homeland began to fade. Work was plentiful during the war, and in order to earn a little more money Mr. L worked an additional 20 hours a week. In 1919 Mr. L contracted tuberculosis.

Mr. L was hospitalized for a year and was virtually an invalid for two more. Desperate, still unable to communicate in the new language effectively, Mrs. L took in laundry to buy food and pay the rent. The little money which the family had saved was spent on doctors' services and medicine. The children were learning a new language and adopting the ways of the new land. Mrs. L went to work in a mill. Mr. L, his hope shattered, began to drink. Twice the oldest boy was treated at a hospital for wounds evidently the result of beatings. The other children, who had not known the more beneficient father, assumed that all of this was to be expected. Mrs. L, unable to cope with the forces shattering the family, began to withdraw into herself although she continued to support the family. In 1926 Mr. L died of the combined effects of tuberculosis and alcohol.

Mrs. L held the family together but could not cope with the new culture of the children. The brutalized older boy, seeing that the family had not gotten anywhere when many families were moving up on the social and economic ladder, began to steal and became connected with the underworld in an attempt to avail himself of the plenty being produced in America. The two younger children rebelled and rejected the European ways and thoughts of their mother. Despair characterized the entire family. Mrs. L, while remaining at home, was mentally ill.

The second boy quit school at 14 years of age in order to support his mother and sister. He could not cope with his mother's mental illness and in an attempt to escape was married at the age of 18 to a girl two years his senior. Mrs. L and the young wife could not communicate and, after having two children, the young Mr. L deserted his family in 1935. The young family took ad-

vantage of the Public Assistance program and, without the help to overcome their attitudes of hopelessness, became embedded in the culture of poverty and dependency.

The third child of Mr. and Mrs. L, a girl quit school at 13, had a child out of wedlock at 16 and spent the rest of her life between marginal employment and the state mental hospital.

By the third generation, the progeny of Mr. and Mrs. L had a much different view of the world and of life than had Mr. L when he first set out for this country. Instead of aspiration there was resignation. Instead of thorough education there was ignorance and limited training to earn a living. Instead of health there was illness, both physical and mental. Instead of proper conduct and standards there was crime. Instead of family unity there was family breakdown. Instead of economic security there was the constant threat of poverty. Instead of love there was hate.

This case history illustrates the processes by which a single family became embedded in the culture of poverty. This family has passed on this unhealthy way of life from generation to generation. This family still resides in the center of the City, in inadequate housing and in ill health.

APPENDIX D

Typical Functions of a District Community Council

District citizen participation takes places through district community councils. District councils are inter-organizational groups composed of representatives of education, religious, business, industrial, welfare, civic, and professional groups located in the planning district. Neighborhood associations, such as those mentioned above, are also members of district community councils and send their delegates to council meetings.

District community councils are concerned with the problems occurring within their respective districts. They are able to see district problems with an overview and a resulting objectivity not possible for neighborhood associations. District councils can be potent forces for coordinating efforts at the neighborhood level and for developing city-wide perspective. District community councils are voluntary organizations. They are neither public nor quasi-public in nature. Their success in enhancing self-dependence of people and in supplementing and complementing municipal decision-making is largely dependent upon skilled staff service.

Some common functions of district community councils are as follows:

1. To study the social conditions, including the housing conditions, of neighborhoods within each respective district and to recommend ways of correcting undesirable conditions to appropriate public departments and officials, to appropriate voluntary agencies and officials and to appropriate private groups and individuals.
2. To act to obtain for neighborhoods within each respective district needed resources and services found to be necessary to correct adverse social and housing conditions or to be necessary to bring to an optimum level the living conditions of district residents.
3. To assure adequate quality and quantity of health, education, welfare, recreation, employment, and other human services, both tax-supported and voluntary, for the residents of each respective district.
4. To emphasize the creation of balanced, stable, livable neighborhoods within each district.
5. To serve as a sounding board on matters appropriate to community interest within each respective district, and to serve as a means for individuals, groups, and various corporate bodies to bring to the attention of the community matters for consideration, discussion, and recommendation.
6. To emphasize and promote citizen action for blight prevention and blight elimination within each district.
7. To act as a liaison between neighborhood associations and community institutions within the district and City urban renewal advisory committees and other city-wide advisory, planning, and action groups.
8. To foster citizen education for intelligent action in support of the foregoing functions.