

1961

Implications for population shifts for group service agencies.

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BOSTON UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

IMPLICATIONS OF POPULATION SHIFTS
FOR GROUP SERVICE AGENCIES

A THESIS

Submitted by

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(B.A., Earlham College, 1948)

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of Study

This study will explore current population shifts in urban communities with special attention to changes in minority groups and in racial composition. It will also discuss the problems this presents for the policy, programming and staffing of group service agencies which serve these neighborhoods in transition. As a specific example of these processes, the population shifts in one community will be more carefully discussed, together with the differing responses of three group service agencies in this community. The agency response was obtained primarily through interviews with the executive directors. Finally, in the light of these examples, the significance of population shifts of this kind for group service agencies will again be considered.

Movement of People

By long established custom whoever speaks of immigration must refer to it as a problem. It was a problem to the first English pioneers in the New World scattered up and down the Atlantic coast. Whenever a vessel anchored in the James River and a few score weary and emaciated gentlemen, worn out by three months on the Atlantic, stumbled up the bank, the veterans who had survived nature's rigorous "seasoning" looked at one another in despair and asked: "Who is going to feed them? Who is going to teach them to fight the Indians, or grow tobacco, or clear the marshy land and build a home in the malaria-infested swamps? These immigrants certainly are a problem" And 100 years later when, in the course of a summer, more than a million Europeans walked down the gangplanks of the Ocean Greyhounds into the large reception halls built to receive them, government officials, social workers, journalists said: "How are these people from the peasant farms of the Mediterranean going to adjust themselves to the routine of the mines and industries, and how are they going to live in a country where the language is strange, and how are they, former subjects of monarchs and lords, going to partake in the business of governing

themselves? These immigrants certainly are a problem."¹

The great surge of immigration was severely cut in the 20's by quota laws and virtually stopped by the depression of the 30's. Immigration since this time by comparison has been slight. The "problem" of the immigrant has been supplanted by the "problem" of the migrant.

That people in the United States are on the move is practically indisputable. It is equally indisputable that such movement will not only continue but will increase. Economic and industrial change on the farm and in cities is making it an economic necessity for people to move. Middle class America has placed much value on upward mobility. This frequently necessitates geographic mobility. In a paper presented at the 85th Annual Forum of the National Conference of Social Work in 1958, the following statements were made:

At this moment (1958) there are 173.21 million people in the United States, 20 million more than were counted in the last census . . . a population of 200 million by 1970 has already become a conservative estimate.²

Changing farming methods have drastically cut the number of people who can make their living off the farm.

In 1957, according to the Department of Agriculture, 2 million people left their farms. Today there are 4.5 million farm youngsters between the ages of 10 and 19. By the time they grow up, 65 per cent of them will have to leave their homesteads simply because there will not be enough productive work left on the farms to give them a livelihood.³

¹Marcus L. Hansen, "The Third Generation: Search for Continuity," in Social Perspectives on Behaviour, p. 139.

²Murray B. Meld, "The Changing City and Family Life," Community Organization Papers from the 1958 National Conference on Social Welfare, p. 30.

³ Ibid., p. 31.

The upwardly mobile family cannot allow the impedimenta that might hold them in one place. They must be able to move as opportunity beckons.

We are seeing more and more of the streamlined or nuclear family, unhampered by relatives or roots and ready to pack its two-and-a-half children and three-quarters of a dog into the station wagon for whatever destination the job requires. The average worker changes his residence eight times during his working life.⁴

During the last twenty years minority groups, including Puerto Ricans and Negroes, because of some increased mobility as well as economic and social pressures are also moving in large numbers. In 1790, 91.1 per cent of the Negro population lived in the southern part of the country. In 1940 only 77.0 per cent of the Negro population lived in the South, and by 1950 the percentages of the Negro population living in the South had decreased to 68.5 per cent. Most of the Negroes leaving the South went to the northern part of the country, and presumably to urban areas where the labor market is greatest. In 1750, 89 per cent of the Negro population lived in the South and in 1950 27.6 per cent lived in the North. The number of Negroes living in the West is slowly increasing. In 1950 the percentage was 3.9⁵ (see Table I). Mr. Meld says, of this situation:

Color qualifies the migration story. Negro families are leaving the southern and rural areas at a faster rate than White. Much of this movement has taken place since 1940. Today (1958) a monthly average of 1,400 arrive in New York, 2,000 in Chicago,

⁴Ibid

⁵George Eaton Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination, p. 725.

and 1,700 in Philadelphia. Ten years projections indicate the following proportions of Negroes to the total population in these cities: New York, 13 per cent; Chicago and Philadelphia, 22 per cent; Los Angeles, 29 per cent; Detroit, 31 per cent; St. Louis, 35 per cent; Baltimore, 38 per cent; and in Washington, 53 per cent.⁶

Since 1939 the Puerto Rican immigration to the United States has increased twelve to nineteen times what it was in 1939.

⁶Meld, op. cit., p. 31

TABLE 1
LOCATION OF NEGRO POPULATION BY REGION 1790-1950*

	North ^a		South		West	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1790	63,424	8.9	689,784	91.1	--	--
1860	340,240	7.7	4,097,111	92.2	4,479	0.1
1910	1,027,674	10.5	8,749,427	89.0	50,662	0.5
1940	2,790,293	21.7	9,904,619	77.0	170,706	1.3
1950 ^b	4,109,000	27.6	10,208,000	68.5	576,000	3.9

^aIncludes Northeast and North Central

^bEstimate

Source: Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949, and General Characteristics of the Population by Regions, April 1, 1950, Preliminary report released by the Bureau of the Census, April 30, 1951.

*This table is taken from: George Eaton Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination, p. 725.

The vast majority of these people settle in New York City. The Puerto Ricans in New York are not highly concentrated geographically. However, because of difficulty in obtaining low cost housing and because building owners, in order to realize a profit through low rentals, must subdivide apartments into smaller units and also in many instances decrease service, the usual result is a totally Puerto Rican building or, sometimes, mixed Puerto Rican and Negro. The pressure is then for the building next door to do the same thing. Thus, single buildings, or a block, or a section of blocks may become heavily Puerto Rican. These smallish pockets are scattered throughout parts of Brooklyn, Manhattan and the Bronx. They are characterized by extremely poor living conditions, overcrowding, poor sanitation and poor building and city service.⁷ The assimilation of the Puerto Rican is beginning to occur and is probably accelerated somewhat by the absence of large ghettos and the United States citizenship of Puerto Ricans.⁸ However, the effect upon the neighborhoods into which they move and upon New York City as a whole is extensive. Of the Puerto Rican migration Mr. Meld says:

Because of its air and water terminals New York is the most frequently used port of debarkation for Puerto Rican settlers. The Municipal Planning Department estimates that the city's future population growth will come almost entirely from non-White and Puerto Rican minorities. By 1970, the Department estimates, New York's White population will decline by 720,000 but non-Whites will increase by 484,000 and Puerto Ricans by 914,000.⁹

⁷Morris Eagle, "Puerto Rican in New York," in Studies in Housing and Minority Groups, p. 153.

⁸Ibid., p. 174.

⁹Meld, op. cit., p. 31-32.

That people are now on the move is of itself of minimal importance. What is important and certainly of significance to social agencies is the effect of this movement on the people and the areas into which they move. Jack Rothman, in a paper read to the East Liberty Community Service Association, states that in his opinion the problem-ridden changing community has one transcending difficulty, the core of all the other problems: this is normlessness.

It would be easy to start by doing an inventory of the various problems that are likely to be faced by changing neighborhoods . . . physical deterioration of buildings and streets, juvenile delinquency, truancy, narcotics, venereal disease, gang fights, inter-group tensions, and the like. But it seems to me that there is one overriding problem in the changing community which transcends the others and of which the others are reflections and symptoms. This is the problem of normlessness - the lack of social connections and controls, the absence of commonly-shared values and behaviour expectations, the social and moral isolation of individuals and families, the void in group standards and group morale which may guide the individual and give him a sense of psychic sustenance. Not only is the community physically on the move, but its residents feel psychologically on the move also - temporary, aimless and rootless.¹⁰

As evidence that "normlessness" is not confined to low economic level communities but rather to changing communities regardless of socioeconomic level Mr. Rothman, later in the same paper, reports on a study by Bernard Lander:

. . . he found only a slight relationship between delinquency and a number of conditions we usually associate with it. For example, there was little correlation between delinquency and overcrowding, substandard housing, low educational level, nationality make-up of the population and concentration of commercial or industrial enterprise

¹⁰Jack Rothman, "The Transition Community and its Problems: A Theoretical Formulation and Implications for Community Organization," Oct. 28, 1960, p. 1

in the neighborhood. In other words, some communities of low socio-economic order had higher delinquency rates, while other communities of equally low socio-economic order had low delinquency rates. Obviously the delinquency was affected by considerations other than those of economic standing and cultural level. Lander, in probing into this statistically, found that it was the cohesiveness and stability of the neighborhood that was the primary variable associated with the delinquency rates This is not to throw economic considerations out the window. Lander states: "Areas characterized by instability and anomie are frequently the same districts which are also characterized by bad housing, low rentals and overcrowding. But the delinquency is fundamentally related to the anomie and not the poor socio-economic conditions of an area."¹¹

If, then the anomie or, as Jack Rothman says, normlessness, is the underlying reason for, in these instances, delinquency and suicide, and if such normlessness is associated frequently, although not always, with the poor socio-economic conditions which frequently go hand in hand with many other kinds of social and individual disorder, might it not be that the primary role of the group service agency is the counteraction of normlessness?

Expansion of population and movements of people across the country have tended to upset homogeneous groupings. Minorities and majorities are frequently found living in the same neighborhood or block. This has, in some instances, precipitated overt intergroup conflict. This movement, combined with other social, economic and political factors, has created a great awareness on the part of the community at large of actual and potential tension and conflict. Edward A. Suchman and Robert M. Williams, Jr., say, in their introduction to A Manual of Intergroup Relations:

¹¹Rothman, op. cit., p. 2-3.

For some years the world situation in intergroup relations has been changing, often accompanied by conflict and tension. Here in the United States the social changes set in motion by World War II led to greater mobility among different groups of people, to community restlessness, and to fears of social tensions and riots. Mayors' committees and interracial commissions sprang up to handle the possible outbreak of violence.¹²

Social Group Work Serving Communities in Transition

Since earliest times man has apparently felt some degree of responsibility for those less fortunate than himself. Judaism and Christianity both emphasize the importance of giving. Man has traditionally felt a primary responsibility to his "own". Historically, previous to the 17th century, poverty and presumably other social and physical disabilities were handled as locally as possible by families, clans, villages or religious groups.

In England, this way of dealing with problems of individuals became obsolete and ineffective with the breakup of the feudal system. Hordes of people, released from a very structured, confining and, to some degree, protecting social system, wandered about the countryside. These people had no relationship to anyone or to anything that was permanent. They had no means of support. It is understandable that these people became a serious threat to the community at large, which resulted in legislative action. This action was the English Poor Laws of 1601. The Poor Laws both recognized a legislative responsibility and formulated a philosophy, motivated, apparently, by fear. Poverty was equated to badness. The poor had to be sustained, but in a punishing manner and from the

¹²John P. Dean and Alex Rosen, A Manual of Intergroup Relations, Introduction.

greatest distance possible. These laws, with minor changes now and again, dictated the communities' response to "the poor" both in England and in the United States for almost three centuries.

The middle of the 19th century began to see profound changes in both the letter and the spirit of the Poor Laws. The catchall phrase "the poor" began to be broken down into its component parts: those who were sick, or insane, or blind, or deaf, or children. The catchall institution, the almshouse, gave way to more specialized institutions. Because local communities could not support a variety of such institutions, counties and states began to assume these responsibilities. This resulted in the development of state boards of charity. There was great variation in the powers and functions of these boards, but each developed in response to the need for some kind of centralized control.

The conscience of the American people began to find expression during this period:

. . .the first of many societies devoted to the problems of pauperism, with the title of the New York Society for the Prevention of Pauperism. Its purpose was to study the cause of pauperism and promote measures for its prevention.¹³

This was a great departure from the punishing Poor Laws. This society was interest not only in meeting the needs but also in doing something about the conditions that beset those in need.

The charity organizations were also developed during this period.

The charity organization movement is still the most successful answer to the frustration suffered by men and women of good will in urban communities when they attempt to exercise the immemorial

¹³ Arthur F. Fink, and others, The Field of Social Work, p. 63

heritage of sharing with their less fortunate fellow men, and find that it is not practical.¹⁴

The YMCA and the YWCA, founded in the early and mid 1800's, were dedicated to the easing of the plight of those less fortunate than the founders. The Jewish Community Center Movement was also established in this period. The last part of the 19th century saw the beginnings of the Settlement Movement in the United States. Settlements were based on a philosophy similar to that which motivated other similar movements of the period. The founders of the settlement, however, expressed their commitment by a greater rolling up of the sleeves and actually diving in.¹⁵

Industrialization in America had not only created tremendous wealth but also the very conditions that made that wealth unattainable to all but a few. Social work, including the latest addition of the settlements, tried to understand the problems of the disadvantaged and to help them to realize opportunities for effective living in a social order that was none too tender with those who had failed to succeed.¹⁶

Settlements have traditionally been located in cities, often in areas occupied by strong nationality groupings, areas where newcomers from other lands frequently settled. A major part of the settlement job has been that of helping to integrate newcomers into the American ways of life. The settlement became a "safe" place in a largely alien world. Classes were offered in citizenship and English. The settlement workers, as well as working within the house, tramped the streets, knocked on doors, talked to people, discussed their problems, primarily environmental problems, and set about trying to remedy them, often becoming involved in

¹⁴Frank J. Bruno, Trends in Social Work, p. 96.

¹⁵Fink, op. cit., p. 502.

¹⁶Fink, op. cit., p. 73.

city administration and politics of various kinds.

The YWCA, as an example of another kind of agency serving a different clientele and with a slightly different purpose, also had classes and groups in an effort to help the emerging woman to obtain the skills necessary for employment. A "safe" place to live was provided for girls away from home. The YWCA was also concerned about the social scene and committed to action. Volunteer leaders literally fought bloody battles for fair employment practices for women, for equal wages for equal work, and for much social legislation.

The beginnings of the 20th century saw further differentiation of problems. The concepts of cure and rehabilitation began to be applied to social problems. Social conscience and good will on the part of an increasing number of people, while extremely important, were not adequate to the job of alleviating social ills. A body of knowledge, methods, skills and techniques began to be defined and social case work was born. Agencies began to examine their methods and to share with each other their findings and their problems. Professional schools of social work developed. Soon case work was being practised in institutions other than those by which it had been conceived: hospitals, churches, courts, even industry. Continuing delineation of purposes and methods have given case work a fairly well-defined job to do and a fairly stable place in the family of professions.¹⁷

The development of social group work, although thirty years later, shows a remarkable similarity. Group work, like case work, was

¹⁷Bruno, op. cit., p. 184-191.

actually practised well before it was named. It was first practised in the Y's, settlement houses and Jewish centers. Group work, even before it was called group work, had three major elements: recreation, education and social work.¹⁸ While maintaining these three elements, group work was to become primarily identified with social work.

Agencies, recognizing similarities of purpose, began to share with each other that which seemed to accomplish these purposes. Again a delineation of methods and skills began. In group work, however, there was no very early Mary Richmond to spell out a firm beginning. Nevertheless, even without a very definite idea of what it was all about, almost simultaneously with the first delineation of methods, group work became describable and was incorporated into the curriculum of at least one school of social work. The sequence was then known as "training for group service"¹⁹ and thus became primarily identified with social work.

In 1935 (twelve years after its first incorporation into a school of social work) the process of group work had come to be sufficiently agreed upon that Wilber I. Newstetter of the School of Applied Social Sciences could present a paper called 'What is Social Group Work?' By that time the term had been so thoroughly accepted as defining one of the major activities of social work that the Conference itself, in reorganizing its program, placed social group work on a parity with the other three major functions of social work: social case work, community organization and social action.²⁰

Group work has, in fairly recent years, like case work, branched out so as to be found in agencies other than those in which it was

¹⁸Fink, op. cit., p. 507.

¹⁹Clara A. Kaiser, "Group Work Education in the Last Decade," The Group, Vol. 15, No. 5 (June, 1953), p. 4.

²⁰Bruno, op. cit., p. 273.

formulated: hospitals, clinics, rehabilitation centers, homes and schools of various kinds. Meanwhile, many of the traditional group service agencies, after a vigorous start, seemed to lose their courage for causes. They seemed to retreat into their "houses" to concentrate almost entirely on classes, physical education, clubs and other "leisure time" activities. It seems to this writer that this occurred for several reasons:

1. Because many of the causes were to some degree won. City agencies took over the responsibility for checking the plumbing. Women to most outward appearances achieved "equality".

2. The introduction of "Group Workers" who, because of training and conditioning, were more comfortable within the walls with a small group.

3. A national tone of isolationism and 'mind your own business' followed by heavy value placed on "middle of the road-ness", neither of which were much fodder for causes.

4. Federated financing which, because of purse-string control, infected agencies with the prevalent tone of caution. Also, perhaps character building was easier to sell to the general public than was "cause chasing".

Recently, however, because of the transient conditions of many urban communities, "normlessness" and the resultant delinquency, youth gang activity, poor housing conditions, and the many other attendant social and individual ills, agencies have been more critically looking at their purposes and methods. They are searching to find ways to meet the needs of people on the move, particularly in the transient urban community. These efforts are most frequently with the support of the larger community,

and sometimes at its initiation.

A workshop held by the National Federation of Settlement and Neighborhood Centers at Arden House in 1958 brought together settlement people and resources from public service and from academic disciplines that bear upon social planning and analysis and the interpretation of social change.²¹ "When the discussion at Arden House began, 'mobility' was the key word linked with settlement problems apparently uppermost in the speaker's mind."²²

²¹National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, Neighborhood Goals in a Rapidly Changing World, Foreword.

²²Ibid., p. 7.

CHAPTER II

AN EXAMPLE OF AN URBAN COMMUNITY EXPERIENCING SEVERE POPULATION SHIFTS

"Roxbury is a community of 113,000 people; one of the fifteen Health and Welfare Districts of the City of Boston."¹ Health and Welfare Districts in Boston have been determined by the Federal Census Tracts. Roxbury includes twenty-one census tracts. These, as well as the boundaries of the Health and Welfare District are shown on Figures 2, 3 and 4.

In the 18th and early 19th centuries, Roxbury was a center of summer residence for socially and economically prominent Bostonians. A number of large and once luxurious houses which are still standing bear witness to this era. Most of these are now multiple family dwellings. During the middle 19th century, three strong influences changed the aspect of this community almost entirely. Improved methods of transportation developed. The mountains and seashores became more accessible. Summer residents left Roxbury to establish more distant vacation homes. In 1868 Roxbury, which until this time had been an independent community, was annexed to Metropolitan Boston. It was also during this time that great numbers of people from Ireland were emigrating to Boston. The large homes were deserted by their former residents. Public buildings, schools and roads were built by the city. In the ten years after annexation, the population almost doubled. Many of the immigrating Irish settled and lived for many years in this area.²

¹Roxbury Special Youth Project, "Roxbury and the Project Area," p.3.

²Francis S. Drake, The Town of Roxbury.

As the Boston Irish began to ascend the political and economic ladders in the early 1900's, many of them left Roxbury for the more desirable suburban areas. Their places were taken by first generation Italians and Jews, principally of Russian descent. Negroes in Boston have traditionally lived in that area of the city known as the "South End". The "South End" is adjacent to the northern central edge of Roxbury. (See Figure 2) During the boom years preceding the depression of the 30's, many Negroes left the southern part of the United States for the industrial northern cities. The "South End" began to overflow into Roxbury.

As can be seen from Figure 2 there was a strong concentration of Negroes in the central northern area of Roxbury in the 1930's (tracts R-1, R-2 and R-3). The Upper Eastern area (tracts Q-1, Q-2 and Q-3) had become a center of Italian population. The lower and central Eastern areas (Figure 2, tracts Q-4, U-1, U-2) were largely populated by Jewish people, while the Western section (tracts S-2, S-3, S-4, S-5, S-6, U-3, V-2) continued to be populated primarily by those of Irish descent. Individuals of Yankee, Canadian, English and Scottish backgrounds were to be found scattered throughout, but especially in the Southern area (tracts V-1, U-5, U-6A, U-6B) known as "Outer Roxbury".³ Thus in 1930 it can be seen that Roxbury ethnically was a very mixed community, with each of the ethnic groups living in fairly circumscribed areas.

During World War II and in the boom which followed, Negroes again migrated in great masses from the southern United States to the North.

³Dr. Walter Miller, Research Director, Roxbury Special Youth Project.

In the North more money and some increased social mobility encouraged Negroes to leave the very circumscribed and crowded areas which they had inhabited. Thus Roxbury's increasing Negro population has come from the "South End" and from the southern United States. There has also been in recent years increased immigration from Jamaica and the West Indies. Negroes have to a large degree been replacing Jewish people, who have been moving farther into the suburbs in increasing numbers. Other groups of white non-Jewish people are also leaving Roxbury.⁴

⁴Anne Jones, "Study of Patterns of Community Participation in the Roxbury Community Council, Topics discussed and Resultant Actions", p. 25.

FIGURE 1

COMPARATIVE WHITE AND NON-WHITE POPULATION,
ROXBURY, MASS., - FEDERAL CENSUS 1930, 1940, 1950

WHITE 
NEGRO 

PERCENT OF
POPULATION

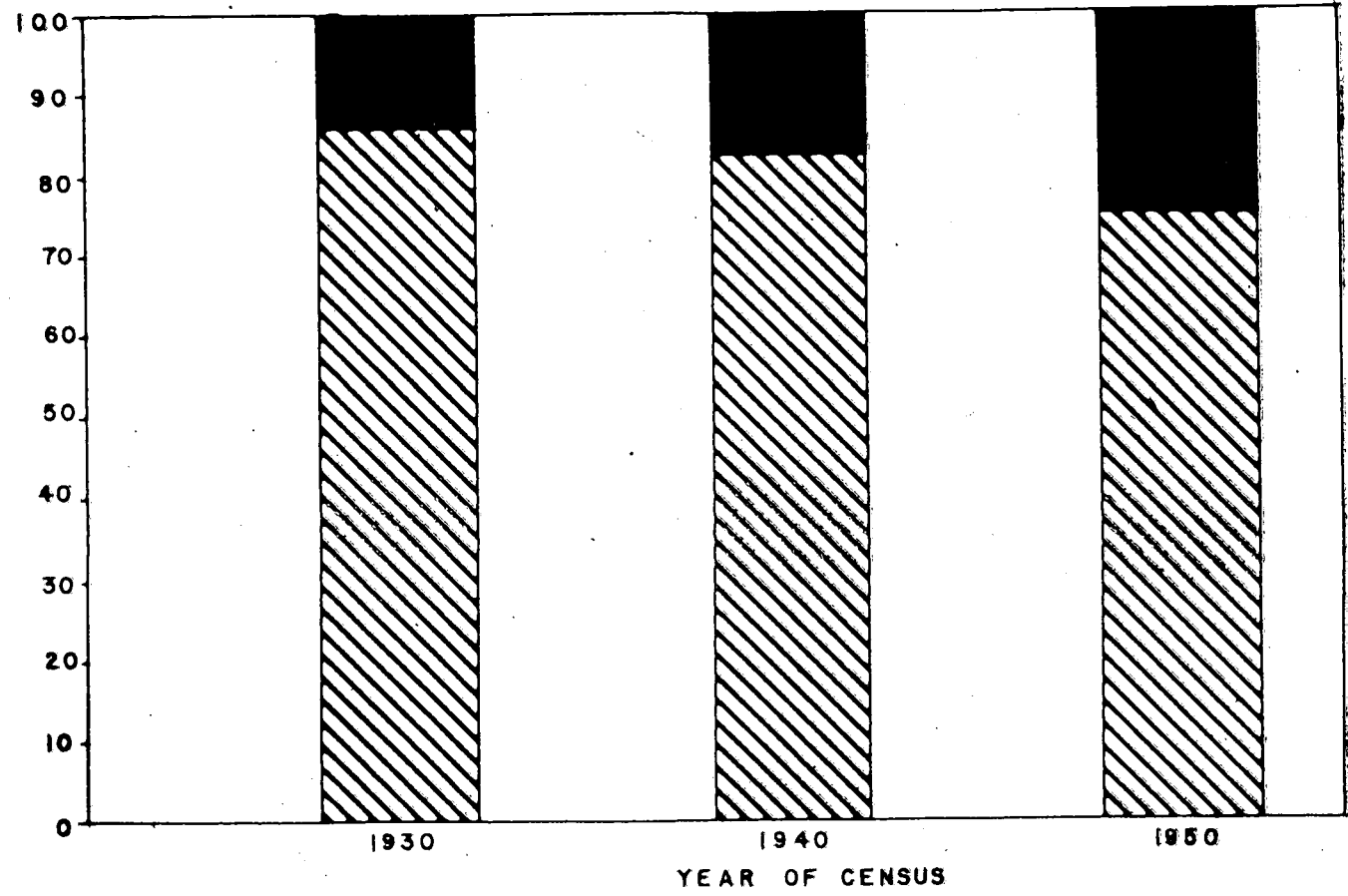


FIGURE 2
 WHITE AND NON-WHITE POPULATION,
 ROXBURY, MASS., FEDERAL CENSUS 1930

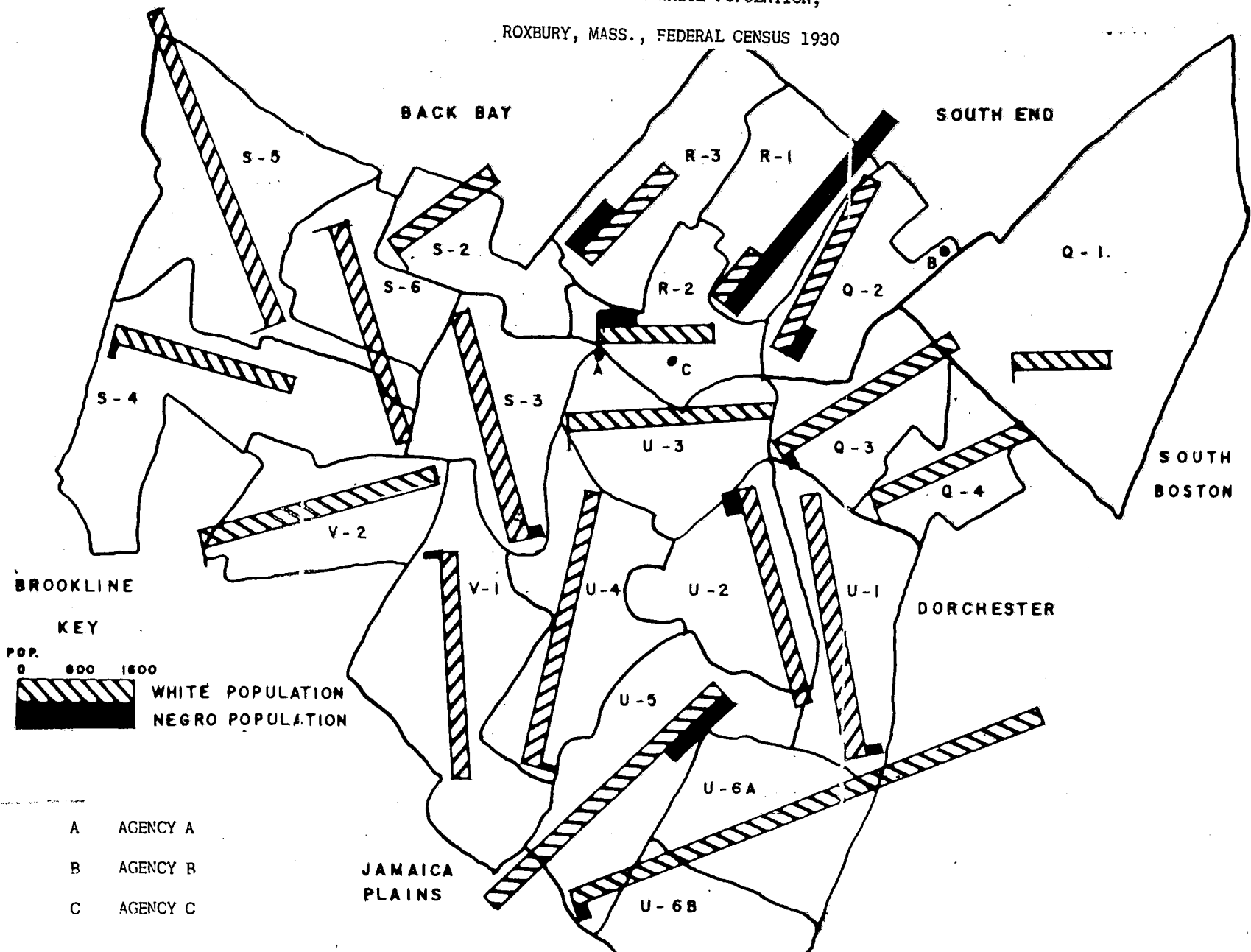


Figure 1 shows an increase in Negro population from 14 per cent in 1930 to 24 per cent in 1950. Figures 2, 3 and 4 show this same increase in more geographic detail and show not only the increasing numbers of Negroes but also their geographical spread. Table 2 has been included to show this trend over a longer period of time, from 1890 to 1950. This table has been compiled from the census reports of the total of Metropolitan Boston and is valid for this study, in that the Negroes in Boston have, until very recently, been concentrated entirely in the "South End" and Roxbury. Thus the reports apply actually only to these areas.

Since 1950 the movement of Negroes into Roxbury has increased substantially. An informed estimate⁵ is that 50 per cent of the total Roxbury population is now Negro.

On the whole, Roxbury is characterized by low level incomes and low status occupations. The population is mainly Irish, Italian, Negro and Jewish. Roxbury is a community in transition with a rapidly increasing Negro population and a very rapidly decreasing Jewish population. Other groups of non-Jewish whites are also leaving. As a result of the constantly changing population, the people of this area lack an identification with the community or even with neighborhoods within the community.⁶

⁵Dr. Walter Miller, Research Director, Roxbury Special Youth Project.

⁶Anne Jones, op. cit., p. 26.

TABLE 2
 TOTAL POPULATION AND NEGRO GROUPS WITH THE
 NEGRO PER CENT OF THE TOTAL - IN BOSTON, 1890 - 1950.*

Population Year	Total	Negro	Per Cent Negro
1890	448,477	8,125	1.8
1900	560,892	11,591	2.1
1910	670,585	13,564	2.0
1920	748,060	16,530	2.2
1930	781,188	20,574	2.6
1940	770,816	23,675	3.1
1950	801,444	40,057	5.0

*Source: A study relating to the Program of the Urban League of Greater Boston to Community Patterns - Conducted for the Board of Directors, Urban League of Greater Boston, Inc., by Warren M. Barner.

FIGURE 3

WHITE AND NON-WHITE POPULATION,
ROXBURY, MASS., FEDERAL CENSUS 1940

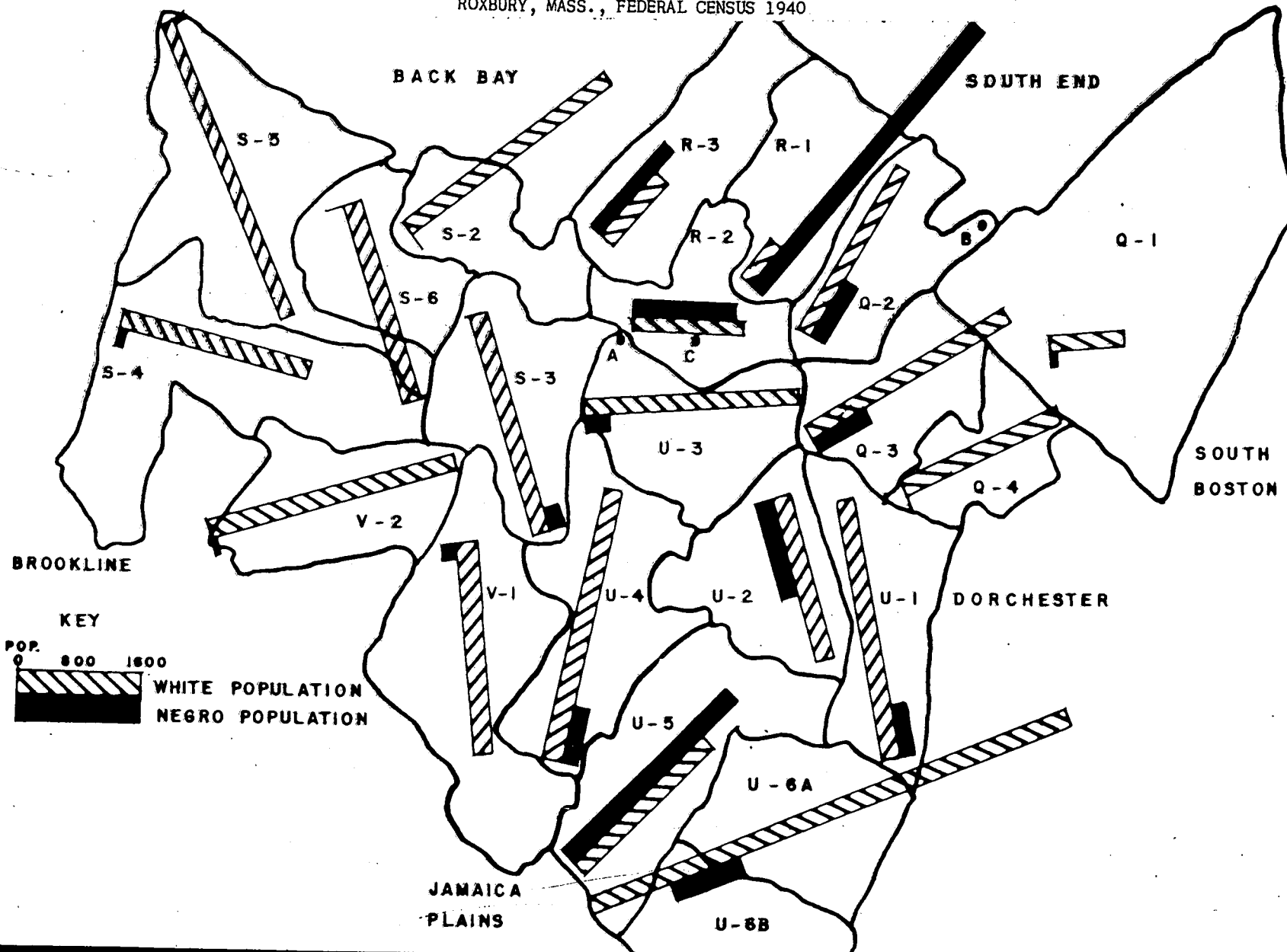
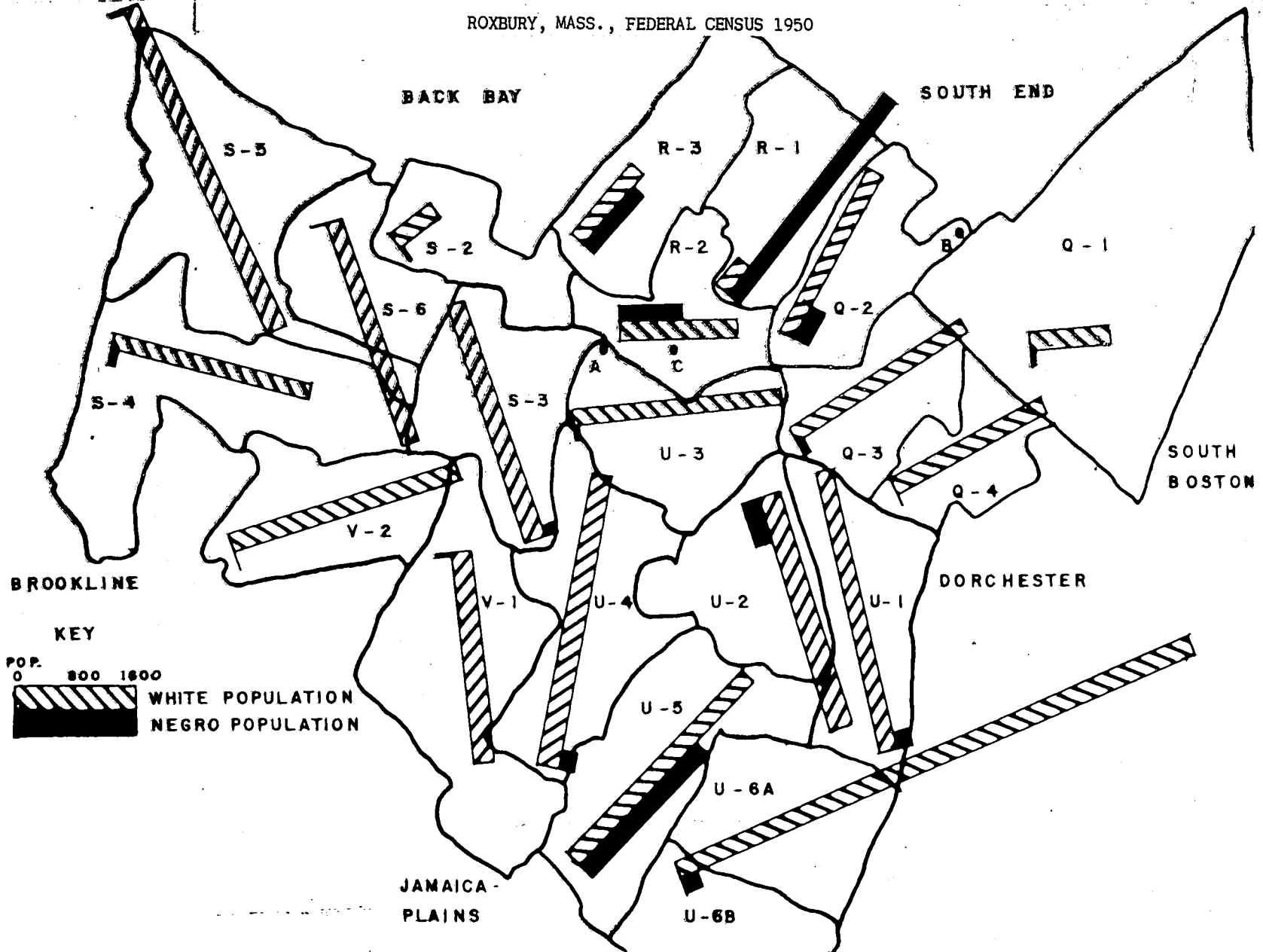


FIGURE 4.

WHITE AND NON-WHITE POPULATION,
ROXBURY, MASS., FEDERAL CENSUS 1950



KEY

POP.
0 800 1600



WHITE POPULATION
NEGRO POPULATION

A community of this type is subject to many difficulties, conflicts and problems. In Roxbury there is little home ownership. Birth rates are high. In 1950, 27 per cent of the Juvenile Court cases came from Roxbury which contains only 16 per cent of the city's juvenile population.⁷

⁷Anne Jones, op. cit., p. 26

CHAPTER III

RESPONSES OF THREE GROUP WORK AGENCIES TO THESE POPULATION SHIFTS

Introduction

Roxbury, which has been described previously, is a community which is in the throes of a fundamental population change. Three agencies in this community will be described in relation to changes in program and policy which have resulted directly from changes in the population. This is a very small segment of the total picture of social agencies in relation to the community which they serve. This is a description of three specific group work and recreational agencies.

The writer had personal interviews with the executive director of each of the agencies described. The schedule for these interviews is included in the appendix. The interview method was most valuable in that it provided some direct insight into the attitudes and direction of the executive and more indirectly to that found within the agency. This method was limited in that there was a possibility of subjective reaction to the executive's comments. Each of the executives was very interested in the subject and eager to express his own as well as the agency's views. Due to this interest in the many ramifications of this problem on the part of both interviewer and interviewee, portions of the interviews deviated from the primary focus of the study. It is also very difficult to isolate one specific social change from the many other accompanying changes.

Description of the Three Agencies

This study is interested in three group work and recreation agencies which function in this community setting. These agencies are located in and serve the residents of Roxbury. The service rendered is primarily group work and recreation. These agencies share three other important characteristics:

1. They participate in the Red Feather Drive of Metropolitan Boston. They are, therefore, members of the United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston. This requires adherence to certain standards. These standards require: responsibility of board and administration, quality of staff in relation to service rendered, a clear need in the community for the service, and methods and practices that meet the professional standards which are accepted throughout the country. Specific stipulations are required in regard to budgeting and fund raising.¹
2. Each of the three agencies is affiliated with a national organization.
3. As can be seen on Figure 2 in Chapter II, all three agencies are located in the northern part of Roxbury and serve areas which since 1930 have contained a number of Negroes and which, since that time, have seen the greatest influx of Negro families.

¹United Community Services, "Standards for Membership" (included in Appendix).

Agency A

Agency A is a settlement and is a member of the National Federation of Settlements. Agency A looks at its purpose as one of working with people, in learning how to live together, and how to secure good living conditions.

During the 1956-1957 winter program, 762 members were registered. Of these, 350 were enrolled in the afternoon program for elementary school children, 147 in the evening program for teenagers, and 265 in the adult program. As in all settlements, membership is open to all. Pre-school children were not being served in the winter program at this time. Agency A serves primarily census tracts U-2, U-3 and U-4. Some members do come from outside this area. The agency employed five full time workers. Approximately seventy-five part-time workers were employed by the agency or rendered volunteer service. The members of the Board of Managers were primarily non-residents of the community. The afternoon program emphasized activity groups. Boy and Girl Scouts also met under the auspices of the house. The teenage program was loosely structured and centered around lounge and game rooms. A few teenage clubs met in the building and were given leadership by the house. Detached work had been started with neighborhood gangs. The agency operated two playgrounds during the summer.

Agency B

Agency B is a settlement and a member of the Federation of Settlements. Membership is open to all ages and both sexes. The agency serves primarily census tracts Q-1, Q-2, Q-3 and Q-4. During the winter of

1956-1957 there were 562 registered members. The largest proportion of these were elementary and pre-school children in the afternoon program. One hundred and seventy-three teenagers were enrolled and seventy-four adults. The agency had a full time professional staff of six, and seventeen part-time workers. The members of the board of directors came primarily from outside of the neighborhood. The program included some informal education groups and athletic activities. The teenage program was divided into boys' and girls' departments. There were a few co-ed clubs and several co-ed activities. The primary focus of the teenage program was club groups. Adults were included in parents' groups, civic improvement projects and social activities. A playground and resident camps were operated during the summer.

A publication of the Settlement Council of Greater Boston, when speaking of Agency B, states:

Today, this agency is a focus and force in the area for the individual, family and community improvement. The program gives opportunity, particularly for adults and teenagers, for individual growth in areas of physical, social and intellectual need. Such a program aims to supplement and reinforce programs of other institutions . . . the home, the school, and the church . . . to encourage the use of public resources and available social services, and to arouse the neighborhood to unite its forces for the common good.³

Agency C

Agency C is a social agency devoted to providing recreational opportunities to boys from the age of six years to the age of twenty-two years. Agency C is a branch of a local agency and is affiliated with a national organization. The stated purpose of the national organization

³The Settlement Council of Greater Boston, United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston, 1957, p. 30.

is, "the guidance of boys in health, physical, mental, vocational, social and character development." This agency during the winter of 1956-1957 had 3300 registered members. Membership is drawn from Roxbury, Dorchester, Jamaica Plain and West Roxbury. Six full time workers and twenty-five part-time workers were employed by the agency. Until 1957 Agency C functioned under the Board of the Boston Organization. A separate board of directors had recently been organized. This was in a very formative state and little information was available. Informal education classes were a strong emphasis in this program. All kinds of athletic activities were offered to members. Every boy received a medical examination and dental service was available within the club house. Game rooms and a library were staffed by the agency. A day camp and two resident camps were operated during the summer.

Changes in Program and Policy

It has been shown that these three agencies are located in a changing community. Each agency offers and emphasizes a different program. Each executive was asked what changes, if any, in program and policy over the last few years seemed to have resulted from changes in the population of Roxbury.

Agency A⁴

The executive was confident that the change in population of the area in the years that he had been at the house was extreme. He esti-

⁴From an interview with the Executive Director who had been with the Agency since 1952.

mated that in 1952 the population of the area served by Agency A was about 20 per cent Negro. At the time of the interview (July, 1957) he estimated that the population was approximately 75 per cent Negro. He felt that the number of Negroes in the area increased weekly. He said that the neighborhood was extremely transient and unsettled. He felt that until recently many of the Negroes who moved in were families moving upward socially and economically. During the last year this no longer seemed to be true. The more stable Negro families were leaving and their places taken by less stable families. The neighborhood had continued to decline socially and economically.

The increase in the Negro population of the area was reflected by increased Negro membership. Table 3 shows that in 1952, 5 per cent of the membership of Agency A was Negro. The table also shows that in 1957, 45 per cent of membership was Negro. The executive felt that ideally in this kind of situation the Negro-White ratio of the staff should approximate the Negro-White ratio in the community. However, he hired primarily on the basis of social work skill and understanding of the neighborhood.

Since 1952 the Board of Managers had added one Negro to its membership. In 1952 there were no Negroes on the Board. The executive said that the Board was interested in including other Negroes with appropriate skills.

The executive doubted that human needs change. Roxbury adults and children have always needed association with their fellows. There had for many years been acute need in the realm of community improvement.

Due to the transient nature of the population and to the tensions between White and Negro, these needs had intensified. They had also become more difficult for social agencies to meet. A population in transition, almost by definition, feels little or no identification with the community in which it lives.

The executive said that settlement policy had always been broad and inclusive. However, he thought that over the last few years the agency had had a greater challenge to implement, with action, its existing policy.

TABLE 3
 PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES AND WHITES ON
 BOARDS, STAFFS AND IN MEMBERSHIP IN THE THREE
 AGENCIES STUDIED FOR 1952 and 1957.*

	Agencies					
	A		B		C	
	1952	1957	1952	1957	1952	1957
<u>Membership</u>					**	
White	95%	55%	96%	78.5%	-	60.5%
Negro	5%	45%	4%	21.5%	-	39.5%
<u>Board</u>					**	
White	100%	97%	100%	100%	-	100%
Negro	0%	3%	0%	0%	-	0%
<u>Staff</u>					**	**
White	97%	56%	100%	70%	-	-
Negro	3%	49%	0%	30%	-	-

* 1952 percentages have been taken from: Anne Harrison, "A Study of the Current Philosophy and Practices in Developing Inter-racial Understanding of 12 Group Work Agencies in Boston," p. 22.

** Data not available.

TABLE 4

1957 MEMBERSHIP AND LEADERSHIP FIGURES SHOWING
NEGRO-WHITE BREAKDOWN

	AGENCY A			AGENCY B			AGENCY C		
	Total	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White
Leadership									
Staff	80	44%	56%	23	30%	70%	31	*	*
Full Time	5	20	80	6	16	84	6	*	*
Part Time	75	33	57	17	35	65	25	*	*
Board	31	3	97	34	0	100	*	*	*
Membership	762	45	55	562	21	79	3300	40%	60%
Pre-School	**	**	**)				**	**	**
Elementary	350	60	40)	315	33	57	*	*	*
Teenage	147	50	50	173	19	81	*	*	*
Adult	265	15	85	74	8	92	*	*	*

* Data not available

** Agency does not serve this age

Program was changing constantly to meet new situations. The executive stated that during the last five years Agency A has had to feel its way and do a great deal of experimenting. Basic pragmatic changes emphasized a moving out of the house into the community. A detached worker was added to the staff in 1956. This enabled Agency A to extend service to neighborhood gangs, primarily teenage boys who were not able to make constructive use of house facilities. Concern about residents' lack of identification with the neighborhood prompted the agency to add a full time community organizer for 1958.

The afternoon program had seen the least change. This program was the first to attract Negroes and continued to have the greatest percentage of Negroes participating. The teenage program tried, as the number of Negroes in the area increased, to bring Negro groups into the program. This was done through individual contacts by staff and detached workers. Efforts were made to help the Negro teenager to feel comfortable in the house. Parts of the program were changed in an effort to accommodate the hostile and aggressive teenager, both Negro and White. In 1952 the evening program for teenagers emphasized activity and club groups. This was changed to a less structured game room and lounge program. It was hoped that teenagers would be able to form relationships with staff and thus be able to identify with the agency. It was hoped that in this way insecure and aggressive teenagers would be able to build the foundation, which they seemed to lack, for a constructive group experience. A teenage theatre was also added to the program for those who could use, needed, and wanted a more directed experience. The teenage theatre was also a purposeful

effort towards interracial programming. In the evening program there was some evidence of racial tension. It was felt that these teenagers were not ready for an extensive interracial experience. There were no interracial clubs. Lounge and game rooms were, of course, open to any member. In the game room, where pool and pingpong were played, there was some interracial activity. This was much less true in the lounge where dancing, talking and watching were engaged in.

From October 1956 to May 1957 the writer worked in the lounge one night a week. Her observation concurred with that of the executive. During the fall and early winter on most evenings there was a large group of very active Negro teenagers at one end of the room and a much smaller, less active group of white teenagers at the other end. As the year progressed the White group became smaller and smaller. By late winter White teenagers would look in the lounge, or perhaps drop in for a short period. By spring a White member was almost never seen in the lounge. White teenagers did continue to use the game room.

Agency B⁵

The first Negroes came into the area served by Agency B in 1942 when a housing project was built with accommodated Negro families. This was 10 per cent of the families residing in the project. The Negro population had increased steadily since that time; and since 1952 the increase had accelerated. The Director estimated that Negroes comprised about 50 per cent of the population of the area in 1957.

Table 3 shows that in 1952, four per cent of the membership of

⁵ From an interview with the Executive Director who had been with the agency for thirty-five years.

this agency was Negro. In 1957 Negroes composed 21.5 per cent of the total membership. The greatest percentage of Negro members was in the afternoon program, which was 33 per cent Negro. The teenage program was approximately 19 per cent Negro. Eight per cent of those enrolled in the adult program were Negro. Attendance by Negro members was greater than that by Whites. The Director said that 21 per cent of the membership came from the Negro population. It is interesting to note, however, that so far as regular participation in the program is concerned, the percentage was much higher. For instance, on the playground, by far the largest proportion was Negro.

Table 3 also shows that there were no Negroes on the professional staff in 1952. In 1957 one full time and one part-time staff member were Negro. Actually, previous to 1952 a Negro, who was also a resident of the community, conducted a cooking class. The agency employed this part-time Negro with a conscious effort to encourage Negro attendance. The Director stated that she hired staff on the basis of professional qualification; however, she felt that an agency which was attempting to establish relationships with new residents who were Negro and to help these people to use the agency should make every effort to include on the staff at least one Negro. The Board of Directors had never included any Negroes. The Director stated that the Board was not opposed to extending membership to Negroes.

The Director did not think that needs in the community had changed. She felt that needs had intensified and had become more difficult to meet. Population changes, in this instance, brought with them other problems:

an increase in the prevalence of the anti-social teenager and the inevitable lack of identification of residents with the community. In the case of Roxbury this was accentuated by some racial tensions. These tensions seemed to be manifest, particularly on the adult level, by an inability of the two races to be comfortable together.

The Director felt that in 1957 the primary goal of the agency's program was to help the residents towards establishing a greater identification with their community, in order to provide for themselves a better place in which to live. Another goal was to help the anti-social teenager to become a more positively integrated part of the community. Settlement policy had always been inclusive and had stressed "helping people to help themselves". Thus, she felt that there was no need for a change of policy.

The format of program had not changed very much over the last seven years. Minor changes which would be expected over this time period in any agency in which program grows with the shifting needs of the people had been made. Changes which the agency had seen in program had been changes in emphasis of agency goals and in the way in which the staff translated these changes into work with groups and individuals. In 1942, when the first Negroes moved into the area, a very definite and concentrated effort was made to draw these new residents into the program. One conscious effort was the employing of a member of this group as a part-time staff member. Efforts continued to draw Negroes into the program and to provide within the program experiences which, it was hoped, would help Negroes and Whites to live together and work together towards the

betterment of the community in which they lived.

The Director felt that the loss of the Roxbury Special Youth Program⁶ detached workers would be felt extensively by the neighborhood. She would very much have liked to add a detached worker to the staff. She was not interested in doing this to the detriment of the quality or quantity of existing program. She would have been very much interested in sharing a community organization worker with another agency in the area.

Agency C⁷

This agency served a large number of boys through an activity-centered program. The Director was reluctant to discuss changes in the Negro-White ratio, either in the community or in membership. He did not seem to be aware of changes in the community. He interpreted the inclusive membership policy of the agency as one which ignored in theory the fact of racial differences but accepted them in practice. This ambivalence was reflected in an official policy of not recording Negro attendance but actually of keeping some informal check. During the last few years membership had increased by about one-third. Because the agency served a cross-section of boys in the area, it can be assumed that the Negroes in membership had also increased. During the 1956-1957 program year 40 per cent of the membership was Negro. Prior to this date no

⁶An experimental program which was charged with reaching the "hard-to-reach" youth of the area and with research pertaining to this. The SYP completed its third and last year in 1957.

⁷From an interview with the Branch Director who had been with the agency for four years.

percentage figures were available. The Director felt that membership had increased because of increased quality and quantity of program. No Negro-White figures were available on staff.

Comparison of the Three Agencies

Looking at these three agencies, two things became evident:

1. Each agency saw and approached its job differently. Two very different ways of work emerged.
2. Extensive changes to meet new needs were made in only one agency.

The settlement houses, because of their goals and purposes and because of their traditional commitment to their community, serve an encompassable area, a neighborhood or perhaps two neighborhoods. The settlements think, talk, plan and act in relation to these neighborhoods. The individual statements of purpose of the two settlement houses, while consistent with the National Federation of Settlements and consistent with their basic commitment to the betterment of life in the community, change focus from time to time as needs vary and communities change. The executives of both the settlement houses felt that basic policy and purpose had not been changed, rather changes had been made in focus and emphasis.

The Director of Agency C, on the other hand, was extremely reluctant to even discuss the community and particularly reluctant to discuss racial changes. There are a number of possible reasons, exclusive of this agency's purpose or way of work, which could account in part for this reluctance. The interviewer had no previous relationship with this executive. The fact that the interviewer was collecting data for

a thesis in a school of social work quite possibly accentuated an unfortunate distance sometimes felt between those who are social group workers and those who are recreational workers. Also, Agency C serves not one or two communities, but several widely scattered areas. Another factor which may have affected the executive was structural changes within the agency itself. It was for this reason that no figures in regard to the board were available at this time. However, despite the possibility of extenuating circumstances, it is evident that a difference of purpose and way of work existed between Agency C and the settlements.

The national purpose of Agency C said nothing about neighborhoods or communities, except by slight implication. Agency C focused plainly and squarely on the individual boy's health, physical, mental, vocational, social and character development. Agency C served only boys, and only boys within certain ages. Agency C had a less encompassing purpose than had the other two agencies.

Because of differences in purpose Agency C and the settlements operate very differently. The settlements are constantly studying, evaluating and replanning. Agency C is primarily interested in getting on with the business at hand. Agency C operates on the principle that a boy is a boy, and regardless of race, color, religion or national origin, it is good for boys to play baseball and basketball and to work in the woodshop. The membership of Agency C in July of 1957 was almost three times as large as the combined total memberships in the two settlements.

While all of these agencies had existed for many years in a mixed Negro and White community, and while all of them had for many years

been integrated agencies, and while each, in different ways, heartily endorsed integration for his agency, only one, Agency A, had a Negro on the Board of Directors (see Tables 3 and 4). In each the Board was entirely, or almost entirely, White. The Board of Agency A, composed of thirty-one members, included one Negro, who was added since 1955. Agency C could not release no facts or figures on their board, except that it had been all White. All of these boards were composed primarily of non-residents. The purposes of each of these agencies implied the development of leadership among constituents, but apparently not that they reach the Board level. Neither of the settlements held much hope for any greater representation of the community on the Board in the near future.

Both the settlements felt that the Negro-White ratio of the staff should, ideally, be equivalent to the Negro-White ratio in the area served. They both also said that they hired on the basis of professional qualifications, not race. However, the Negro-White ratio of staff in both of the settlements very closely approximated the Negro-White ratio, not of the community, but of the membership. (See Table 3.) There were no staff percentages available for Agency C. Each of these agencies hired a large number of part-time staff. In the cases of the settlement houses, some of the part-time staff were residents of the community. This was purposefully planned. The total staff of Agency A was large in relation to the other agencies, and in relation to its own membership. This was so, in part, because leadership for groups which were not center members, such as Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts, were included in the total figure. Agency C, in relation to its membership and that of the other agencies, had a very small staff.

The membership figures show that all of the agencies were integrated. (See Table 3). In no agency did the number of Negroes reach fifty per cent of the total membership, which is considerably less than the estimate for the total community. It should be remembered that both settlement house executives said that, while White membership was greater than Negro membership, participation by Negroes was greater than participation by Whites. Agency A had the largest proportion of Negroes in membership. Agency C had the second highest, and Agency B had the lowest percentage. In each of the settlement houses the elementary and pre-school membership comprised more than half of the actual membership. The adult membership figure for Agency A was large, but the executive said that this included a number of large groups which traditionally met at the House but had little or no further connection. In both the settlements the elementary and pre-school groups had the greatest percentage of Negroes. The teenage groups were next, and the adult groups contained a relatively small percentage of Negroes. These figures for the settlement houses differ from each other, but they descend correspondingly.

Because of differing purposes it would be expected that the methods selected to achieve these purposes would differ. Thus program differs, and the training and skill of the employed staff differ also. Agency C had the smallest ratio of staff to members. There was one staff person to approximately one hundred and six members. The staff-membership ratio at Agency G was about one staff person to twenty-five members. The ratio of staff to members at Agency A was one staff to every ten members. As a large number of staff in each instance was part-time and it is not

known how much time, collectively, was given, our figures do not give a completely true picture. However, they do seem to relate to the program of each of the agencies. Agency C emphasized almost exclusively a more formal program of athletics and camp as the primary activities. Agency B also emphasized classes and athletics, but their primary focus with teenagers was club groups. The adult program was also focused towards groups of various kinds. Agency A, which had the highest ratio of staff to membership, had the least structured program, particularly for teenagers. The teenage program centered around lounge and game room, where the object was to establish a relationship to the agency through relationships with staff. Only a very few teenage clubs met in the building. There was almost no informal education (with the exception of the drama group). Agency A, over the last few years, made basic changes in program for teenagers. These changes were efforts to meet more adequately the needs of hostile, aggressive youngsters. No social group workers were employed by Agency C. More than one-half of the full time employed workers in both Agency A and Agency B were social group workers.

Agency A had, of the three, seen the greatest changes since 1952. These changes were made primarily in the terms spoken of above. However, since 1952 a detached worker was added to the staff. There were plans to add a community worker in 1958.

Agency B had made only minor changes in program since 1952. The executive was concerned about the teenagers who were unable to use the house. The executive would have liked to add a detached worker to the staff, but this, in July 1957, had not been done. She would have liked to have shared a community worker with another agency, but this had

not, in July 1957, been realized. The executive felt that existing program served important needs and she did not want to jeopardize this to meet new or other needs.

Agency C had increased membership about one-third over this period of time. According to the executive, this increase was not related to population changes, but was the result of more program and some changes in the kind of programming.

Each of the agencies has a different purpose and serves a different clientele. Thus, they approach their work differently. Each agency has seen some changes in program. Agencies A and B had made some changes in an effort to more adequately serve the changing neighborhood. Agency C had made changes apparently in a successful effort to serve more boys. Agency A and Agency B had purposefully tried to increase Negroes in membership, Agency C had not. Agency A had completely revamped program in an effort to meet the needs of the hostile and aggressive teenager of both races. Agency B had made much less drastic changes. Agency B was concerned about the teenagers who do not or cannot use the house, but apparently was more interested in continuing and improving service to those who could and did use the house. In all three agencies changes were almost exclusively at the program level. None of the agencies had made policy changes. Board changes had been very slight. Agency A had recently included one Negro on the board.

CHAPTER IV
CONCLUSIONS

In this day of extremely mobile populations, many formerly stable communities are now in transition. Some such communities exhibit the symptoms of severe difficulties: high delinquency and crime rates, extensive substandard housing and low incomes. These many difficulties seem to be related to three basic characteristics of many communities in transition. The first of these is a lack of community identity. Everybody is either coming or going and can see little need or has little desire to develop a "better place in which to live." Secondly, there is frequently a lack of understanding, appreciation or acceptance between the newcomers and the old residents, or between different groups among the newcomers. Where there are readily distinguishable minority groups, such as Negroes, this difficulty is often greatly intensified. Thirdly, such communities are often characterized by what Mr. Rothman calls "normlessness." Not only can this result in the traditional slum community, where values and norms in the culture of the home are at variance with the so-called "middle class" values of the world at large, as reflected in the public school systems and often in group service agencies, which are unattainable to many; but it can also result in the temporary, aimless and rootless nature of the community.

Roxbury, since the mid 1900's when the socially and economically prominent Bostonians who had made it their summer home sought more distant vacation residences, has been in transition. First came the Irish. When they departed for more desirable locations, their places were

taken by Italians and Jews. During the 1930's the currently increasing movement of Negroes into Roxbury began. In 1930 the Negro population of Roxbury was less than 15% of the total. In 1950 the Negro population was about 25% of the total. In late 1956 one informed estimate was that Negroes comprised about 50% of the population. Roxbury is characterized by low income, low status occupations, and little home ownership. The percentage of juvenile court cases in comparison to that of the total Boston area was considerably greater than the percentage, by the same comparison, of youths living in Roxbury.

Interviews with the executives of the agencies studied certainly indicated that they see lack of community identification, intergroup tension, and normlessness, as evidenced by relatively large numbers of antisocial teenagers, as a basic part of this transition community. What, then, do these three agencies see as their role in this community, and how do they implement this role?

All agencies exist for reasons. All have purposes and goals. It is appropriate to assume that the program of such agencies will be developed in relationship to these purposes and goals, and with some understanding of and knowledge about the individual, group and community to be served.

The purpose of Agency C, as stated in Chapter III, is "mental, vocational and character development." An unstated assumption is that this purpose will be carried out in an informal, recreational setting. Many boys, regardless of race, religion, national origin or environmental experience, enjoy one or more of the activities offered by Agency C. There is evidence that these activities, with responsible leadership, can be beneficial to boys. Except through the boys that the agency has

influenced, the agency itself has no direct impact on the community or society in general. This focus on the boys primarily is consistent with the purpose of the agency, and the program developed is consistent with their knowledge and understanding of boys.

The purposes of Agency A and Agency B are more complex and encompassing. These agencies strive to make more satisfactory life for individuals within groups and within communities; that is, for men and women, boys and girls, individually and in a number of kinds of groupings. This certainly means in Roxbury, endeavoring in some way to counteract:

1. lack of community identity;
2. intergroup tensions;
- and 3. normlessness.

In Agency A and in Agency B, as well as in most settlements and many similar agencies, regardless of the particular program developed to further the purpose of the agency, the predominant method used is that of social work, particularly social group work.

It seems to this writer that there was substantial difference in program between Agency A and Agency B, two agencies with very similar purposes, and which see the community in very similar ways. Agency B was relying on the effectiveness of social group work in the traditional sense of work with organized groups within the agency itself. The executive of Agency B stated that the agency did not reach the aggressive and hostile teenager.

Agency A had made some changes in the more traditional group work approach. It had adapted group work and social work method (as many others have done) in an effort to invoke change by a more direct approach to more specific problems. The House program had been changed

from club groups to more informal, less structured lounge and game room activity in an effort to reach the hostile and aggressive teenager. A detached worker had been hired in an endeavor to reach those teenagers who could not use the house facilities at all. A community worker was to be brought in to work specifically with community groups. The effectiveness of each approach might make an appropriate study itself.

In the area of intergroup tensions there are several questions which can be raised relative to the potential effectiveness of each of the agencies. Dean and Rosen, in stating a number of propositions developed out of extensive study and experience and intended as guides to effective intergroup relations, state the following:

An effective intergroup relations program generally requires adequate minority representation among those who develop and guide the activities of the organization.¹

Of the Boards of the described agencies in Roxbury, one had token Negro representation, the others had no representation. In the cases of Agency A and Agency B, the executives stated that the Boards were interested in adding or increasing Negro representation, but they doubted that this would be accomplished in the near future, the implication being that the quality of Negro leadership desired was hard to find. As both these Boards were composed primarily of non-residents, it would not seem essential that such Negro leadership come from the immediate community. Dean and Rosen say of this difficulty in finding qualified minority group

¹ John P. Dean and Alex Rosen, A Manual of Intergroup Relations, p. 23.

leadership:

When a minority community is small, it is sometimes difficult to find the minority leaders one would like. Acutely conscious of the generally lower educational level of some minorities, some leaders reject minority participation by taking refuge in the seeming difficulty of finding college graduates, people of middle class background or people who have demonstrated community leadership and responsibility.

Since there are many different types of teachers in different ethnic groups, the majority-group person is seriously handicapped in recognizing or even being aware of the existence of 'teachers' within specific nationality and racial groups.²

The ambivalence of Agency C, evident in the recording of Negro participation, despite an official policy of not recording such participation, unquestionably limits somewhat the promotion of better intergroup relations. The official policy of not recording Negro membership and apparently trying not to be aware of racial difference may also be a limiting factor. Another proposition of Dean and Rosen is that: "Intergroup understanding is impeded by ignoring individual and group differences and treating all persons as though they were alike."³

Thus, it seems that these three agencies, while undoubtedly they had some positive effect on intergroup relations in Roxbury, could, with greater acceptance and understanding of the difficulty, particularly at the Board level, have had a more positive impact.

Experience is showing that the group work method can be effective outside of agency walls and with a greater variety of groups than was

² Ibid., pp. 27-28 .

³ Ibid., p. 23 .

once envisioned. Agency A had hired a group worker to work almost exclusively outside the house. Agency B had considered this. By the same token it would seem that agencies with a social work orientation, situated within communities in transition, might broaden the traditional conception of group work to include a still greater variety of groups: the task-oriented group, interest groups, or the informally gathered adult group. The problems of the community in transition, as seen in Roxbury and in many other communities, seem to need a broader and, at the same time, a more intensified attack than has been waged to date.

*Accepted 5-15-61
Katherine Spencer*

APPENDIX A

TABLE 5

ROXBURY WHITE AND NON-WHITE POPULATION BY CENSUS TRACTS FOR 1930, 1940 and 1950 - FROM THE UNITED STATES CENSUS

Tract	1930			1940			1950		
	Non White	White	Total	Non White	White	Total	Non White	White	Total
Q-1	23	2140	2190	30	1737	1767	38	1523	1561
Q-2	725	4248	4993	793	3953	4747	793	4093	4886
Q-3	160	4551	4711	162	4449	4611	755	4932	5687
Q-4	17	3726	3744	11	3764	3775	52	3656	3708
R-1	5490	1370	6860	5475	782	6257	7252	653	7905
R-2	1065	2590	3670	1435	2622	4057	2280	2303	4583
R-3	1203	2713	3916	1628	2007	3635	2291	1677	3968
S-2	2	2680	2682	36	1155	1191	64	5290	5354
S-3	212	5092	5304	220	5228	5448	447	4769	5216
S-4	131	4152	4283	123	4367	4490	158	4108	4266
S-5	42	7145	7187	27	7387	7414	54	6537	6591
S-6	65	4815	4880	8	4931	4939	35	4337	4373
U-1	245	5793	6038	335	6022	6357	954	5302	6256
U-2	545	4866	5411	931	5008	5939	2007	3405	5412
U-3	77	4626	4703	113	4592	4705	420	4531	4951
U-4	142	6044	6186	309	6271	6580	1188	5739	6927
U-5	1881	6831	8712	3534	5326	8860	4846	3815	8661
U-6	210	11955	12165	415*	12082*	12497*	1505*	10927*	12432*
V-1	169	4766	4935	92	4477	4569	202	4479	4681
V-2	16	5414	5430	15	5149	5164	104	5415	5519
Total	12420	95520	107940	15693	91309	107002	25445	87491	112936
	14%	86%	100%	16%	84%	100%	24%	76%	100%

*The 1940 and 1950 census split the tract U-6 into U-6A and U-6B. U-6 represents the combined U-6A and U-6B for 1940 and 1950.

APPENDIX B

SCHEDULE USED IN INTERVIEW WITH EXECUTIVE

1. How do you see the population shift in Roxbury?
2. What changes have you seen in the racial composition of your membership?
3. How do you feel that the needs of the community have changed because of this population shift?
4. What changes, if any, have been made in agency policy, written or understood?
5. What changes, which are due to changes in population, have occurred in the program of the agency?

APPENDIX C

INFORMATION SHEET FOR AGENCY A

Area Served

Primarily tracts U-2, U-3, U-4.

Total Number of Registered Members

762 - 45% Negro, 55% White

Afternoon Program (Elementary School)

350 - 60% Negro, 40% White

Evening Program (Junior and Senior High School)

147 - 50% Negro, 50% White

Adults

265 - 15% Negro, 85% White

Total Number of Staff

80 - 44% Negro, 56% White

Full-time Staff

5 - 20% Negro, 80% White

Part-time Staff

75 - 33% Negro, 57% White

Total Number of Board

31 - 3% Negro, 97% White

National Affiliation - yes

Member U. C. S. - yes

APPENDIX D
INFORMATION SHEET FOR AGENCY B

Area Served

Primarily tracts Q-1, Q-2, Q-3, Q-4

Total Number of Registered Members

562 - 21% Negro, 79% White

Afternoon Program (Elementary School and Pre-school)

315 - 33% Negro, 57% White

Teenage Program (Junior and Senior High School)

173 - 19% Negro, 81% White

Adult Program

74 - 8% Negro, 92% White

Total Number of Staff

23 - 30% Negro, 70% White

Full-time Staff

6 - 16% Negro, 84% White

Part-time Staff

17 - 35% Negro, 65% White

Total Number of Board

1 - 0% Negro, 100% White

National Affiliation - yes

Member U. C. S. - yes

APPENDIX E
 INFORMATION SHEET FOR AGENCY C

Area Served

Roxbury, Dorchester, Jamaica Plain and West Roxbury - this includes all of the census tracts shown on the maps plus other census tracts not shown.

Total Number of Registered Membership

3300 - 40% Negro, 60% White

Midgets (6-9 years)	:	
Juniors (10-13 years)	:	no Negro-White breakdown
Intermediates (13-16 years)	:	available
Seniors (16-22 years)	:	

Total Number of Staff

31 -

Full-time Staff

6 -

no Negro-White breakdown
available

Part-time Staff

25 -

Total Number of Board

Number not available. No Negroes on Board.

National Affiliation - yes

Member U. C. S. - yes

APPENDIX F

STANDARDS FOR MEMBERSHIP IN UNITED COMMUNITY SERVICES - UNITED COMMUNITY SERVICES OF METROPOLITAN BOSTON

BOARD

An agency should have a responsible administration in terms of structure and operation, and should be organized according to the legal requirements pertaining to the conduct of charitable corporations or unincorporated organizations. It should operate under adequate By-laws. It should have a representative Board of Directors actively concerned in its work. There should be a reasonable turnover in the membership of the governing body so as to assure yearly additions of new persons. The Board should meet regularly and attendance of members should be sufficiently regular to indicate genuine interest and participation. The agency should comply with all provisions of statutes calling for the making and filling of reports. The agency Board must have authority in policy making.

STAFF

It is desirable that an agency employing a staff should have a statement of personnel standards and practices.

The quality of the staff should be such as to give assurance that the program is competently administered and continuous efforts toward improvement are being made.

There should be sound staff-Board relationships, with possibilities for both volunteer and staff participation in all parts of the program.

NEED FOR SERVICES

There must be a clear need in the community for the service. The agency should engage in no plans for expansion of services or any material change in program, without consultation with an appropriate Division of United Community Services and proper budgetary permission for such expansion.

STANDARDS OF SERVICE

In its methods and practices any health or social work agency should meet the accepted standards for agencies in its field of work throughout the country. Statements of standards for hospitals, health and social agencies which may be used as guides have been developed by various national organizations. It is understood that any agency operating under ecclesiastical control or jurisdiction will be evaluated on the basis of its social service or health program.

ACCOUNTING AND STATISTICS

In general the agency should follow such budgetary procedures and policies as may be adopted by the Budgeting and Allocating Divisional Committee of United Community Services.

The accounting methods of an agency should be in line with standard business requirements. A yearly audit of the accounts should be made by a qualified accountant from outside the agency. Officers and staff members who handle substantial agency funds should be bonded. The agency should keep adequate records of its work. Where appropriate the agency should keep an accurate statistical count of services rendered, and furnished monthly and annual reports as requested.

LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES

The activities of an agency in the field of legislation must be limited to legislation which is directly and fundamentally connected with the purposes and functions of the organization. No substantial part of the organization's total activities from the point of view either of the money involved or the total man hours expended may be devoted to legislation in violation of the conditions contained in Section 101 (6) of the Internal Revenue Code.

FUND RAISING

The agency should recognize and accept the obligations of participation in United Community Services activities including joint fund-raising efforts of United Community Services. The agencies must recognize the long-term necessity of familiarizing the general public with those Red Feather services which participate in the Campaign. Annual Reports, monthly reports, or other regular agency publications and letterheads sent out during the year should carry the official Red Feather symbol with a statement to the effect that the agency participates in United Community Services or that it is a Red Feather service. All staff and Board members should consider themselves representatives of United Community Services as well as of their particular agency.

So long as an agency remains eligible for allotment it shall be required to assist in the fund raising campaign by furnishing pertinent data, stimulating participation by its members, staff, board, committee members and friends and cooperating generally in the campaign, (Article XVIII, Section 2 of the By-laws).

The agency must solicit no funds for current purposes, special or capital needs without an understanding and permission from United Community Services. Unsolicited designated gifts to the agency, if accepted, may be retained by the agency and expended in accordance with the wishes of the donor. All gifts should be reported.

The agency must engage in no fund raising efforts, such as benefits, entertainments, pop concerts, and the like without special permission from United Community Services.

Recognizing that one purpose of United Community Services is to permit orderly budgeting of the needs of all participating agencies, the applicant shall not stimulate or encourage designated contributions in the annual campaign by direct mail, newspaper advertising, or otherwise. Donors may designate the agency to receive their gifts, but such designations will be paid as part of the allotment up to, but not exceeding the total allotment made by the budget committee to the agency.

It is understood that Financial Participation in United Community Services shall continue in force from year to year unless terminated in accordance with the provisions of United Community Services.

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