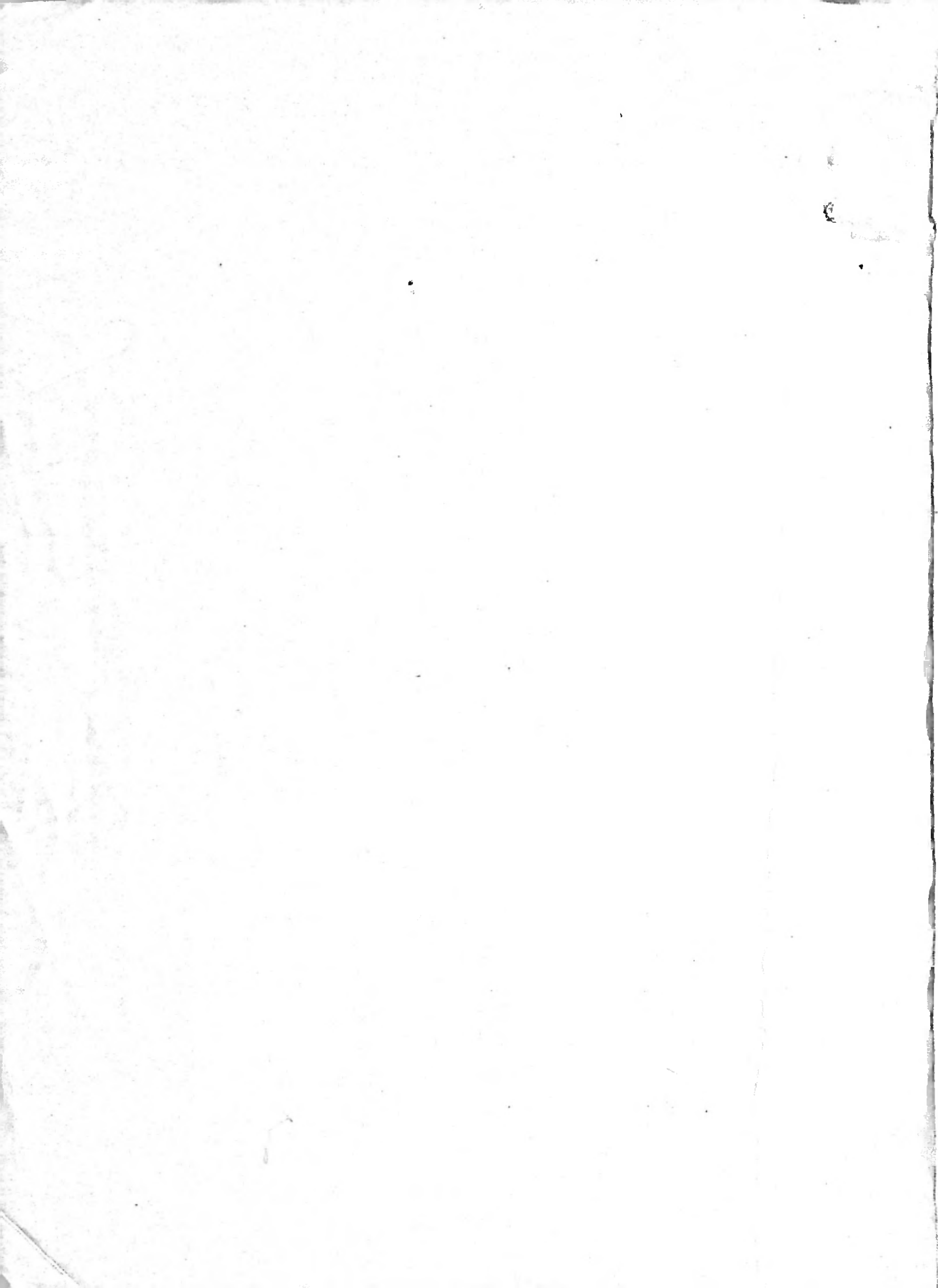


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# HOUSING



# PEOPLE



*U.S. Federal Public Housing Authority  
"Region 2, I."*

HOUSING IS PEOPLE

As revealed in a series of Public Housing conferences held in California and Utah, June, July and September, 1944.



"The family that lives in a bleak and uninviting atmosphere with a complete lack of neighborliness can live on its own fervor and patriotism for only so long.....We must build a sense of living into our housing projects."

Commissioner Klutznick

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APPROVED FOR THE PRESIDENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
ON 10/10/18



THE PRESIDENT HAS RECEIVED A COPY OF THE  
REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
ON THE PROGRESS OF THE WORK OF THE  
COMMISSIONERS OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE  
FOR THE YEAR 1918

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In one of our housing projects we talked to a war-worker wife, newly arrived from Texas. She was lonely, filled with a sense of strangeness, and utterly discouraged. "We were all right", she said, "until we got this fool notion that we wanted to help with the war effort."

We went into these conferences assuming that somehow or other it was part of our job in housing to bring more than bare shelter into the lives of this woman and the many others like her, to fill the human needs that, unfilled, had made her deplore her own patriotic impulse.

We invited residents themselves to come tell us what these needs were and how we could work with them to get the job done. The answers they gave startled us out of any complacency of which we might have been guilty, and shook up a number of preconceived ideas about what war-workers want.

The striking contrast between examples of belligerent tenant opposition to management policies on the one hand, and vigorous tenant cooperation with management on the other, challenged us to search out and grasp the methods which had produced the latter. In the summary that follows the success we achieved is recorded.

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VOX POP

"We've waited two years for a chance to meet with management in conference", said Mrs. Barbara Morel of Dana Strand Village in Los Angeles. That general feeling explains, possibly, why the discussion of the residents was lively, constructive, and to the point. They were asked to tell us what residents wanted for themselves and their families, and how they proposed to work with management to achieve their desires. From them we learned that

RESIDENTS OF WAR HOUSING ARE GENUINELY CONCERNED ABOUT

Skilled supervision for their children They meant pre-schoolers, teeners and that "neglected in-between age". "A working mother cannot extend herself to meet all her children's needs," said Mrs. O'Neill from San Diego. Mrs. Lindsey of Channel Heights made an eloquent plea for a school building to relieve the over-crowded conditions of San Pedro schools and their over-worked teachers. The need for a child care center and for extended school care at Dana Strand was dramatically demonstrated by Mrs. Morel when she told us that a mother attributed the death of her six-year old child to the lack of such supervision. At Fairfield residents listed "trained" recreation leadership for children as their primary need, and said that mutual recognition of this need had been the starting point of community organization and of several cooperative plans.

Adequate out-door play space "Someone is seriously at fault for not having made more effort to provide adequate playgrounds in our communities", stated Mr. Rogers of Linda Vista, San Diego. "The only place for the children to play is in the streets." Accounts of this need for playgrounds and equipment were similarly expressed by other residents elsewhere.

"We need doctors" was the urgent cry of residents from Los Altos and several other San Diego projects. Much interest was expressed by representatives from Vallejo, Marin, and San Diego, concerning the effectiveness of group medical plans and medical centers. "We have a medical center, but there have been many violations of charges", said Mrs. Yost from Linda Vista. "I think we should take some responsibility in making that group responsible to a board of standards."

Garbage disposal was a constantly recurring subject of discussion. "I'm certain", said a teen-age girl from San Diego, housekeeper for her father and brothers, "that the unsanitary condition of our garbage yards is going to cause disease in our project." Sanitation problems and "sumps" under trailers in trailer projects were pointed to by several residents as a serious menace to health and decent living.

Over and over again came the plea for more street lights, better police protections, more effective traffic rules. "It is agreed by our council that one of the most important problems is street lights. We don't have a speck of light out there. We feel that's one reason we're having trouble with our children at nights", was the statement by Mrs. Greaves from San Diego. Mr. Rogers from Linda Vista felt that police protection "must" be provided and that "we're

Decent safety standards

entitled to it because FPHA pays taxes". Residents at Fairfield were seriously perturbed over the number of cars speeding through their streets and were taking up with the town Chief of Police the question of his jurisdiction over traffic violations within the project site.

Well-operated Residents from Marin and Vallejo in particular spoke of their  
cafeterias concern and desire for "clean and well-run cafeterias and  
and stores fair prices in their stores."

"Sidewalks and lawns" were mentioned many times as representing not only a mere convenience and an antidote to adobe mud, but the sense of pride the residents seemed to feel they would like to be able to take  
Site im- in the general appearance of their projects. A resident from  
provements Banning Homes made the statement that so long as "our homes look like slums", there could be little interest in working toward higher living standards.

RESIDENTS IN WAR HOUSING PROJECTS DESIRE A  
VIGOROUS PROGRAM OF COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES,  
embracing,

Recreation for "The children have entertainment", said Mrs. Cheek from  
adults as well Torrey Pines in San Diego, "but there is nothing for the  
as for children adults. We don't have any way to get into town. The men folks want pool, baseball and football. The people are dissatisfied and unhappy." "Many of the war-workers are leaving the projects", said another, "because there just isn't enough for them to do." They want athletic leagues, poker clubs, Red Cross classes, socials, pot-luck suppers, movies, and multiple other group activities, - in short they would like to be able to do what they have always done at home.

The younger generation clamored for "things to do" and plenty of "variety". Said Joan Bentley from Bayview Terrace, San Diego, "Last year there was nothing for teenagers, so I went to Maintenance and demanded...well not exactly demanded, I asked them politely, 'Please, can you give us something to do?' So they gave us a place to hold dances, pool tables, a  
Teen-age club room, everything we wanted." "There isn't much going on",  
clubs said a teen-ager from another project. "We're all a little bashful or shy. It would be nice if we could take in National City in everything we do. We go to school with other kids, we want to be able to have those kids in with our entertainment." Elmo Miles from Richmond felt the answer to teen-age problems at his Harbor Gate project had been found in their "Youth Federation Clubs", open to young ship-yard workers and high school youngsters, and through which, as he put it, "everyone can challenge one another and have athletic contests."

A place in Several expressed the need for a place in which they could meet  
which to and could both plan and carry out their activities program. One  
gather resident sighed for "a little store or some place where you can go and sit down and do a little talking. Back home we used to do a lot of planning in a drug store. You take your time about it and meet your neighbors and the first thing you know, something has been organized." The group from Chollas View in San Diego put up the liveliest arguments



for more community space. "I'm shouting for a community building," said Mrs. Duffy. "We have a little brown house which used to be a home and is all cut up into small rooms, and no large room where we can have dances." Residents from projects with adequate community buildings were in most instances proud of them. As Mrs. Wilkas from Los Altos said, "we use the building as if it belonged to us."

An opportunity to get to know each other so that they may become something more than strangers. Mrs. West from Fairfield felt that their greatest need "was to get everybody acquainted so we can do things together." Similar observations were constantly made during the conferences. Just as Mrs. Morel had wished for "a chance to get chummy with Management", so Major Shipley, Executive Director in Winslow, Arizona, voiced management's "feeling of comradeship" for the residents.

Finally, those who represented war housing residents urgently wished to raise the living standards within their communities. Mrs. Morel, chairman of the inter-project council in Los Angeles, was an eloquent spokesman for this point of view: "War housing as well as public housing generally should aim at fostering a community life which will make for better citizenship; which will develop character, teach social behavior and create democratic attitudes." The whole concern of all the others for neater looking projects, better sewage disposal, better police protection, better medical care, better children's programs, better participation - was at bottom a yearning for better living. By constant repetition it became overwhelmingly clear that our residents do care what happens to them and to their children.

Perhaps the most impressive thing about the many demands which residents made both upon management and community agencies was that they were, in the main, not made irresponsibly but on the assumption that they themselves must assume much of the burden of getting them accomplished. "We saw that if we wanted to get these things done, we would have to do them ourselves," was the comment of Mr. Hoffenblume from Vallejo.

It was becoming quite evident by now that

RESIDENTS CAN AND WILL BAND TOGETHER  
TO DO THINGS FOR THEMSELVES, such as

To plan and conduct their own leisure time activities In projects like Fairfield, Moffett Homes, Dunsmuir, Oxnard, and any number of isolated projects in Nevada and Arizona, whatever recreation leadership they had, was being furnished by volunteers among the residents themselves. In a Vallejo project paid leadership had been hired out of tenant funds. In many other instances, "recreation committees" were supplying guidance and moral support to community leadership. Libraries supplied out of public funds and staffed by resident volunteers are the rule throughout the region.

Many residents were giving time to supervise their own and others' children. The VICS (Volunteers in Community Service) at Marin City, take on, as Mrs. James described it, "the jobs that are too big for the men to do." Conse-

quently, they serve as volunteer leaders for children's activities, teenage dances and general community events.

Mr. Dahn from San Diego had wandered into a woman's tea party at the community building, was nabbed as a potential leader, and is now volunteering two mornings a week "to organize the boys into teams and teach them clean sports and fair play." Even teen-agers have taken on responsibility for running their own show, for "planning activities and deciding rules," as one of them put it, through their Youth Councils, Gals and Gallants, and Thirteen-Twenty clubs.

Vallejo, San Diego and dozens of other housing communities boasted resident-constructed swings and backstops. At Lockwood Gardens, Linda Vista, Hillside Dormitories, in other projects represented, residents had through their own efforts raised funds to buy play equipment or to share that expense with management.

To build or purchase play equipment for playgrounds Efforts to "do things together" had shown them the awkwardness of "not being acquainted" with their fellow residents, with the result that councils from many of the projects had actively functioning "Hospitality Committees."

To publish their own newspapers whether it be a modest, mimeographed "RIVERLAWN RAMBLINGS" or a more ambitious "MARIN CITIZEN" outclassing every newspaper in the county for size and circulation.

To maintain a vigilant watch over commercial facilities and demand that standards of service and cleanliness be maintained. "We consider it our jobs", said a resident at Vallejo, "to see that commercial operators give the kind of service their contracts call for."

To organize and operate cooperative ventures The cooperative store at Normont Terrace in Los Angeles was perhaps the finest example of tenant initiative and group effort of all those described. Here is a financially sound, going concern, a successful piece of human enterprise which began with eighteen members and now has sixty, and which achieves its very practical purpose of "giving consumers and producers a break on prices." Another flourishing cooperative is the nursery school in Fairfield, jointly financed and operated by mothers from the project and outside mothers from the nearby town.

To secure necessary services from community agencies Housing residents are evidently finding their voices as citizens. They are working with management to make community agencies aware of their responsibilities toward the citizens living in war housing communities, and to secure essential services; for we discovered that a group of residents sometimes pack a lot of weight as a group of independent citizens. This was true, for example, in Channel Heights where residents, faced with a choice of walking two miles to the nearest street

car, or securing bus service to the project, approached every interested group in the community - business people, shipyard corporations, trade unions - engineered a meeting at the City Hall, invited the proper Federal agencies to attend, and secured a one-bus service to the project by the very force of their dramatic demonstration of need.

A group from Olivewood in San Diego, working through management, contacted City Police and made arrangements for an auxiliary police force in the project.

To discover and make known the needs of the group as occurred in Dana Strand Village where the women themselves recognized the need for child care, made a house to house canvas of working mothers, and presented a complete report of need to the proper agencies. At the Richmond conference, it was pointed out that without a vocal residents' council, dissatisfactions may grow to the point of explosion before management even becomes aware of them. As Mike Smith from Marin City said, "A residents' council or committee is the best way to get an accurate reflection of needs and complaints. You get at them efficiently and fairly, ferret out the facts, and learn the wishes of the majority."

And, finally, residents will set and enforce by group pressure, their own standards of social behavior. "I couldn't seem to enforce my garbage rules," confessed Mr. Sunschein, Manager of Frontier Homes in San Diego, "but when the tenants organized, they did it for me." "We had a social problem here," said one of the girls from Riverlawn Dormitories, "but

To set and enforce standards of social behavior we got a house committee and worked it out." Mrs. Biava from Federal Terrace said that her fellow residents were not all aware of their "maintenance responsibilities," but that her council was working to make them so. A manager from Los Angeles found his most effective solution to ill-kept lawns, not in eviction, but in "bringing group opinion to bear on the small percentage of residents who are rotten housekeepers, and who must be forced to take better care of their lawn for the sake of all."

Insistent as they were upon their obligation - and right - to do and to decide these things for themselves, it was plain to us that residents regard this kind of cooperation as a two-way affair. They made it clear that

RESIDENTS EXPECT MANAGEMENT TO FULFILL  
CERTAIN MINIMUM RESPONSIBILITIES:

to fill all reasonable requests, as one resident put it; to provide minimum maintenance; to enforce project rules-- although some felt that residents had primary responsibility for this; to be available to hear resident suggestions and complaints; to be positive and honest for, as Mr. Baldwin of William Mead Homes said, "there is a pseudo kind of democratic dealing that we don't like"; to be the prime mover in building community life and neighborliness..."we need to be stimulated", one resident said.

On the other hand, residents perceive - or can be shown - ways in which they can assist management in some of the more vexatious aspects of its job. When the question was put to participants at Wilmington, they replied that

RESIDENTS CAN HELP MANAGEMENT ACHIEVE:

Prompt rent collection by counseling with management in arranging convenient hours, and by bringing pressure through civic councils. Mr. Baldwin commented that "we have, after all, a certain sense of pride in paying our own way."

Better maintenance by keeping up their own yards and by repairing community-use equipment, or collecting small fees to cover repair costs. At San Diego we had discovered that residents in many of the projects there were already assuming such responsibility. At Los Altos the community council had on its own initiative organized a project clean-up week.

Freedom from squabbles by taking care of their own "neighborhood squabbles." Mr. James from Marin, Mr. Baldwin from Los Angeles, and a number of others felt that residents' councils should take these difficult, intimate problems off of management's shoulders wherever they could.

From this presentation of a multiplicity of aims, practices and adventures in the search for satisfying patterns of living, it was possible to draw

A NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT CONCLUSIONS.

(1) Residents organizations are not necessarily gripe clubs. They may indeed protest rent raises (as did the Vallejo group), protest poor sanitation measures (as did the San Diego trailer groups), make disproportionate demands upon management. But if those who spoke at our conferences were truly representative, "90% of their action," to quote one of them, "has not been gripes," but has been constructive, productive, cooperative, and characterized by good faith. It is perhaps time for us to do what Mike Smith recommended that we do,-- "get the suspicion" out of our minds "regarding what residents' councils are for."

(2) The way of the resident leader is not strewn with roses. They face, and recognize that they face, apathy and ignorance of the principles of group work within their own constituencies. "It isn't always easy", as Mr. Baldwin said, "to get people to think the same way." A process of education must take place in order to help people to understand the why and how of group participation. Constant effort is required on the part of the resident leaders to "get others to take responsibility", and to enlarge and renew the small circle of those who carry the load. Residents from Fairfield felt that "not all tenants have the same realization of group needs", and planned attractive community events through which they hoped this awareness and interest might be increased. Residence turn-over is an ever-present obstacle to the continuity of community work.

But the spirit as a whole, far from being one of defeat, seemed to be one of determination to devise ways of over-coming these obstacles through steady perserverance by the more interested to stimulate the less interested members of the group. Faith that collective endeavor and collective thinking produce results in the end seemed to remain unshaken.

(3) Resident leaders  
desire and need manage-  
ment's help.

community."

They need it both as a mainstay and as a stimulus, because, as Mrs. Morel said, "residents cannot give the over-all direction; they need trained personnel to guide them in activities which will better their

## VOX MANAGEMENT

In the discussion which followed the residents' statements it became quite clear that a number of pertinent and urgent questions had been forming in the minds of the managers.

"What is a housing manager?" These centered first around a question as to why management should bother with these matters at all. "What is a housing manager--a landlord, or a social reformer?" asked Henry Brown at Richmond. Asked another, "What business is it of mine if families squabble?..why should I snoop into it?" Yet we discovered, as the afternoon passed, that Mr. Brown had concerned himself over Victory gardens to the extent of appointing resident "garden commissioners" to organize the work; that Mr. Shubat had sought the aid of agency after agency in his attempt to solve a severe problem of individual need within the project; that Al Wahlberg takes an active part in every community event planned by the "Lockwood Improvement Club", and that many others had personally concerned themselves with family problems which had been brought to their attention.

As we passed from conference to conference this general experience proved to be common to all of them: Mrs. Morrison of Chollas View in San Diego took pride in the cup for "best community achievement" which her residents and their modest brown building had won. Mrs. Fikkert felt that "the sheer pressure of paper work" was preventing her from paying the personal attention to her dormitory girls which she wanted to give. Managers like John Ward from isolated communities in Arizona and Nevada had found themselves not only setting new standards for community activities within their own projects but within the surrounding neighborhoods as well.

"Are we doing too much?" At Wilmington Hall, Major Shipley's question "are we doing too much for our tenants?" provoked considerable thought and expression of opinion. Some thought we were; others thought that management must not only provide Public Housing with the traditional landlord service (like mending broken stoves), but must also assume responsibility for "maintaining decent standards of living"--a phrase which so delighted Mr. Davis, manager at San Miguel, that he wanted to have it "ring around the world!"

At Fairfield Mr. Phillips from Chester was seeking means of providing a Seeing Eye dog for a blind boy in his project. Mr. MacFarlane described in humorous detail his formula for solving problems of financial embarrassment amongst his Happy Camp families.

As the evidence piled up, it became clear that management staffs have, as a matter of fact, willy-nilly undertaken tasks which far transcend any narrow concept of "landlordism", partly because such tasks have been forced on them as an inescapable part of war housing management, but also because they have come to see Public Housing as something much more than custody of property. In any case, the conviction which Commissioner Klutznich expressed in Richmond appeared to be shared by many: "There is nothing communistic, or socialistic, or even particularly progressive about providing people with opportunities to enjoy a friendly community and neighborly living."

Thus we came to conclusion that: AS WE HAVE EMERGED FROM THE DEVELOPMENT INTO THE OPERATING STAGES OF WAR HOUSING, TENANT WELFARE HAS BECOME AS MUCH A RESPONSIBILITY OF MANAGEMENT AS MAINTENANCE, RENT COLLECTION AND FISCAL OPERATION.

"If the people feel good about management"

Discussion which followed dealt with the possible connection between community welfare on the project and other management problems. It was suggested that in some instances a willingness on the part of the manager to interest himself in the welfare of his tenants had seemed to evoke a positive response from them in return. At Irving Abkin's San Diego project, for example, this response had expressed itself in improved tenant maintenance, and an increased sense of "tenant responsibility". When it was suggested at Richmond that this response might even take the form of prompter rent payments, many managers wondered with Mr. Maher of Napa "what rents could have to do with project services". As though in reply, a resident observed later at Wilmington that "the people would pay their rents faster if they felt good about management".

At Richmond it was also pointed out that although management might rightfully consider family problems none of its business (except, as George Binen pointed out, where one family problem begins to affect other families and thus becomes a "management problem"), still it is conceivable that parent education classes, once started, might result eventually in better behaved children, less destruction of property, and fewer management headaches. A San Diego manager remarked in this connection that "the function of teen-age organizations cannot be separated from the number of broken windows and cut clothes lines on your project."

Mr. Markham's vivid description of discontented residents in the government owned trailer project he manages in San Diego was an illuminating illustration of the way in which low tenant morale might aggravate other management problems. Here are tenants who, thoroughly disgruntled because they have been forced to live too long in inadequate space and without community facilities, find it hard to sympathize with management's problems. "They came out here expecting houses," he said. "they are given a trailer. They feel that they have become forgotten people. They don't like it. They don't have any place to meet or any place for the children. They blame management, the F.P.H.A., the whole world. The parents don't care if the children pound the trailers. They say, 'Go pound the utility building too!'"

"Other problems begin to dissolve"

It would seem then that many managers have made the incidental discovery that as they undertake to deal effectively with problems which, for lack of a better term, might be labeled "community welfare", many other vexing and seemingly unrelated problems begin to dissolve. A genuine and resourceful interest on the part of management in the wholly human problems among their residents evidently pays dividends in the form of better maintenance, and closer observance of rules on garbage disposal. It has in fact often taken these and similar forms. As one manager said in Richmond: "If the manager is good in his human relations....other problems tend to solve themselves."

We concluded here that: TENANT MORALE HAS A DIRECT BEARING UPON THE SOLUTION OF OTHER MANAGEMENT PROBLEMS.

A working relationship emerges As we attempted to grasp the full meaning of this correlation between human problems in housing and fiscal and physical problems, we saw emerging the ingredients for a way of managing--a method if you will -- of promoting a working relationship between management and resident toward the achievement of common goals.

Striking examples of this kind of a working relationship in actual practice socked home the validity of our conclusions thus far. In each one of these management investment in tenant welfare had produced genuine tenant effort-- both in their own behalf and in management's. Joint solution of a pest control problem in Vallejo was "perfectly simple", according to Mr. Pisle. "We just got the residents and management and the Health Department together and thrashed the thing out. We found the sources, management provided the rat poison, the residents carried out the dead rats, and in three days the thing was well on its way to being solved." Construction of a baseball backstop at another Vallejo project demonstrated similar methods: residents saw the need for the equipment, management provided the materials and some technical assistance, residents provided the labor, and the backstop got built. At Upland, lawns were grown on a minimum budget when management provided the seed and residents did the planting.

Mr. McConaha's oft mentioned barbecue pits at Moffett Homes were the result of exactly the same kind of cooperation. Management and residents almost simultaneously perceived the potentialities of a certain unused corner in the project site. Management produced brick and tile, the women agreed to produce the men at the appointed hour, a skilled metal worker from the project fashioned the grills, a combined management-resident foraging party hauled in green bamboo to plant a wind-break, and the dedication ceremony became a community event.

Apparently, then: BY CONCERNING ITSELF WITH TENANT WELFARE, MANAGEMENT CAN DRAW UPON TENANT EFFORT AND RESOURCES TO SOLVE PROBLEMS OF CONCERN TO BOTH.

"How to keep off each other's toes?" With such examples before us, the concept of a "working relationship" between management and resident seemed to take concrete form. It was apparent, however, that the nature of this relationship was still somewhat confused in our minds.

Revelations by representatives from Vallejo that they had held mass meetings protesting rent raises; by Marin residents that a commercial operator who had violated O.P.A. rulings was forced out partly through action of their council; by Mrs. West from Fairfield that if the school didn't provide bus transportation she would advise the mothers to "go right to the board of education and demand a bus"....caused many managers to feel that cooperation with tenants and encouragement of tenant associations might mean that tenants would invade the realm of management. If residents can protest rent increases and make decisions about commercial operators; and if management is to become involved in family affairs and community activi-



ties, then "just how", as Mr. Davis asked at Wilmington, "do we keep from treading on each other's toes?"

"Areas of responsibility must be defined"

It was at this point in each of our conferences that we attempted to define carefully the areas of responsibility within the resident/management relationship. We worked out under three headings--"management's responsibility", "residents' responsibility", and "joint responsibilities"--all of the essential phases of management functions and community life. Items like rent collection and eligibility rules fell clearly into management's column. Scheduling of group activities and election of resident representatives fell clearly into the residents' column. Other aspects of the job--maintenance, Health, contacts with outside agencies, fire and safety, determination of the representative character of the residents' organization, proved more complex, and there was frequent disagreement as to where the ultimate responsibility rests for getting these done.

"Who makes the decisions?"

At Wilmington it was strongly felt that although residents should schedule their own activities, management had some responsibility for "proper use" of community buildings. In fact considerable time was spent in thrashing out the question as to who decides for what purposes community space should be available and to what groups. A good many executive directors agreed with Bill Pendleton and Major Shipley that on all "ticklish" (political or religious) meetings the board of commissioners must make the decision; others left all such choices up to the resident body itself. One of the managers advocating this delegation of authority made the point that "the more responsible and permanently organized" the tenant group, "the more assurance you had" that it would exercise sound judgement on the use of the community building.

"Who supervises the community building?"

At the San Diego conference the discovery that community buildings had remained closed until the manager could be assured of continuous paid supervision brought forth the tale of Oxnard: There Al Dryer and Alice Heatherington called together residents who were not even fully acquainted with each other, had them elect temporary committee members by pointing at individuals and saying, "I like your looks, I nominate you", and turned over to them community building keys and complete responsibility for scheduling and use. "Why shouldn't we have done it?" asked Alice. "It's their building." Here of course, the property responsibility which is management's in the final analysis, had been delegated to a resident group and had become theirs in practice.

"Who stimulates tenant organization?"

At Richmond difference of opinion was expressed concerning responsibility for stimulating formation of residents' organizations: does this lie exclusively with residents themselves, or does management share it with them? Mr. Comstock from Alameda and several others felt that management should wait until residents expressed the need and desire to organize themselves and should then help where it could. "If this thing is right and a natural desire," Neil Clark put it, "then won't it spring up spontaneously?" Others felt that managers did have a responsibility to provide temporary leadership in stimulating tenants to form their own committees and councils, both

because residents were strangers to each other, and because they were often totally unacquainted with the techniques of organizing effective groups. These also stressed the importance of getting groups organized on constructive lines instead of waiting for gripes and grievances to provide a purely negative spur to action.

The chart reproduced in this report is a composite of those we finally drew up at each of the conferences.

	MANAGEMENT DECISION	MANAGEMENT RESPONSIBILITY TO RESIDENTS	RESIDENT RESPONSIBILITY TO MANAGEMENT	RESIDENT DECISION
RESIDENT COUNCIL	Guarantee democratic election.	Advise residents on methods of organization, appropriate use of funds; encourage its formation.	Inform Management of plans and program.	Determine form of resident organization, method of election, uses of funds.
COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES		Assist and encourage resident-generated program.	Inform Management regarding program.	
USE OF COMMUNITY BUILDING	Protect property.	Make available to residents.	Protect property. Guarantee proper use of building.	Schedule activities, determine best use.
SERVICES FROM OUTSIDE AGENCIES	Make contacts. Secure services.	Confer as to needs.	Assist in determining need, mobilize group interest, provide spokesmen.	Determine which agencies desired.
HEALTH	Set standards.	Conference (To discuss standards, plan programs)		Operate program.
MAINTENANCE	General upkeep grounds and Community Building.	Conference (Place responsibilities, plan means of bettering maintenance)		Upkeep related to special events or small group parties & individual yards.
FIRE & SAFETY	Set standards.	Conference (To discuss standards, plan program)		Operate program.
RENTS	Establish rates, make collections.	Interpret F.P.H.A. policy.	Facilitate payment.	
ELIGIBILITY FOR HOUSING	Establish rules.	Interpret F.P.H.A. policy.		
BUDGETING OF MANAGEMENT FUNDS	Conform to F.P.H.A. Manual, determine project needs.	Inform residents of budget policies and limitations.	Assist in budget planning where resident needs affected.	

"Why confer with tenants?" We were impressed with the fact that no single phase of management remained in one column along--some even extended across the board into all the columns. We recognized that some rather close distinctions had been drawn in the division of responsibilities, and that probably none of these clarifications are satisfactorily made unless:

the conference method is used in all matters which vitally concern both management and residents, and

there is a mutual flow of information on matters decided by one or the other but of interest to both.

One manager in Fairfield pertinently asked, "Why confer with somebody if you're going to make the decision yourself in the end anyhow?" Answers were readily provided by the group: 1) that "you gather in all the facts because these may alter or have a bearing in your decision", and 2) that a better feeling and understanding, and a more gracious acceptance are more likely to come about if residents are informed beforehand of a decision which will affect them. We were reminded in this connection of Mr. Pisle's comment, "I sure wish we had known these facts about rent raises in Vallejo--implying not necessarily that the group he represented would not have protested the raise, but that they might have approached it in a less belligerent manner, understanding the reasons for the change.

Thus our chart findings brought us to the conclusion that:  
A WORKING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MANAGEMENT AND RESIDENT BECOMES PRACTICAL WHEN RESPECTIVE AREAS OF RESPONSIBILITY ARE CLEARLY DEFINED, AND THE "CONFERENCE METHOD" IS FREELY USED.

"Responsibility shared" The whole discussion in San Diego on maintenance of the community building illustrated how shared responsibility can and actually does work out. We attempted to find out just what specific tasks residents would--and should--take on, and what "minimum maintenance" management must consider it its job to provide. Though the opening part of the discussion was aptly characterized by Don Tweedy as being much like a "rotary eggbeater", we finally succeeded in making some practical delineations. With Irving Abkin and Los Altos furnishing the case material, we were able to determine that: Management shall provide "basic" maintenance--washing windows, repairing furniture, day to day cleaning of "impersonal" dirtiness. Residents will prepare and restore rooms used for special events involving special groups. They will also, as was later pointed out, take on maintenance of community use equipment like billiard cues, either by collecting small fees or by providing labor. Here an interesting distinction was implied between the responsibility assigned to a janitor as part of a job load, and that voluntarily assumed by residents out of interest and a sense of obligation. It was observed that the latter kind of responsibility is none the less real even though you can't fire a resident for not fulfilling it.....that it is in fact the very backbone of a program of community participation.

"Who pulls the wagon?" Drayton Bryant's comparison of the management/resident job to a "wagon being pulled by two horses"--as against management pulling the entire project load with the tenants sitting on top of it--seemed particularly apt at this point. Illustrations such as these made us pause and consider that there must be many burdens now being carried by managers which could be shared with residents. As Hilda said, "Many managers are working themselves to death with jobs that tenants could be doing." As a matter of fact, we found a number of instances in which it seemed as though residents might well relieve management of controversial decisions.

"What about the dogs?" The tale of Hugo Allardt's dogs was one of these. In this case a project where residents were formerly allowed to have dogs came for the first time under the jurisdiction of the local housing authority, which had ruled against dogs in its projects. Opposition sprang up and became vocal. Even the town newspapers took up the cause and wept copious tears over dogless children. A hearing was held by the authority, rules for dog-owners were suggested by those in attendance, and in the end an individual arrangement was worked out with each tenant, most of whom were allowed to keep their dogs. Thus the authority wisely called residents into the final decision, and placed upon the group itself the chore of answering those who might object to that decision.

A similar technique had already been described at such projects as Marin City, Oxnard, and Los Altos, where tenants assume responsibility for scheduling the community building, and thus relieve management of decisions which might involve political or religious groups and might easily impair hard-won public relations. Based on these experiences, the supposition seemed warranted that where this type of decision is made by residents themselves, and where they agree in advance to group-made rules and regulations, management probably maintains better relations all around, and the residents will have a feeling of responsibility to back up their own decisions.

ONCE RESPECTIVE RESPONSIBILITIES ARE DEFINED, then, WE MAY FIND THAT MANY DECISIONS HERETOFORE MADE BY MANAGEMENT CAN BE MADE BY TENANTS TO THE MUTUAL BENEFIT OF ALL.

"Make responsibility stick" A pertinent warning was given by Drayton Bryant from Los Angeles at this point, when he suggested that we could defeat our own purpose unless we made the responsibility stick once it had been placed. His tale of the wandering junglegym proved a stimulating example of this hands-off policy in a decision already assigned to residents. A "site planning" tenant committee was asked to determine placement of a junglegym. When they made a decision not in accord with Drayton's suggestions, he refused to take back the responsibility he had delegated, even though he knew that their choice of site was a wrong one which they would eventually have to correct, and did. "Let them make a few mistakes," was his comment, "rather than kill their initiative."

"Why all this machinery?" Analysis of these experiences and others like them brought forth at different times in all four conferences the accumulating evidence that residents' organizations are in effect a technique for:

1. referring back to the residents group decisions which concern them more than management;
2. providing machinery through which responsibility for community activities can be planned and assigned;
3. efficient handling of residents' suggestions and complaints which would otherwise have to be dealt with individually.

A Richmond manager, critical of the seemingly complex structure of residents' organizations, wanted to know "why we need all this machinery" to make things go. Sharing his feelings, others expressed their preference for informal committees and "interest groups" which might function quite effectively until such time as need for a more formal association made itself evident.

FINAL CONCLUSIONS ARE DRAWN

As each conference drew to a close we attempted to put into simple terms the understanding we had gained about working relationships with tenants, and the means through which they can be brought about.

"Resident/management relationship: a method of management" We saw first that a good resident/management relationship could actually become a method of management. Out of apparent complexity had emerged a simple pattern common to many housing projects in which management was finding it possible and profitable to work through a nucleus of resident leaders in order that both residents and managers might achieve together their joint aims of better management and greater participation by the tenant group as a whole. Hilda's phrase characterizing this nucleus as the "core of management" seemed a highly appropriate designation.

Feelings: the key to this relationship We saw, secondly, that the key to this relationship lies in how management and residents feel about each other. Over and over again the importance of "how we feel about each other" was unknowingly implied, or hinted at, or openly affirmed. It seemed evident, from our pooled experience, that the points of view management has towards "war workers" or Public Housing tenants as such, and that tenants develop toward management as such, will to a large extent govern their dealings with one another.

A resident from Banning Homes said, "If we were looked upon as decent Americans a lot of these other problems would adjust themselves." Other residents said the same thing in one way or another at all four conferences. Mrs. Worcester's strong emphasis in San Diego upon "that first contact with management", is therefore extremely pertinent because it is obvious that the treatment received by a new resident at the hands of the rental clerk or the information girl or the maintenance man is the first indication of just what management's attitude is going to be. Because it is the first impression it may well last the longest. "I cannot understand why anybody should be anything but friendly", said a participant at the San Diego conference. Yet resident comments force us to face the fact that "friendliness" is not always a tenant's first impression of management, and that his own response to management will probably be just as positive or as negative as that first experience turns out to be.

"Public Housing or public institution?" At Wilmington a resident's blunt statement that "75% of the people in housing projects would get out if they could...because they feel like inmates of a 'public institution'" startled us into a genuine attempt to find out just how these attitudes express themselves and how important they are. Drawing together the results of that effort, we saw that:

Attitudes of Management express themselves:

1. in the first contact a resident has with a management employee which "sets the tone" for future relationships and which may be full of friendliness and mutual respect or full of disdain and mutual distrust;

2. in the rigidity or freedom of rules and regulations;
3. in the degree to which residents are encouraged to govern themselves.

Attitudes of residents express themselves:

1. in the degree to which residents are willing to help with the job of management;
2. in their readiness to resent or their willingness to accept the unavoidable physical deficiencies of war housing...the faulty drainage, the insufficient clothes lines, the inadequate garbage disposal and general lack of breathing space vividly described by Frank Wilkinson in his "confessions of a housing manager who is also a resident."

"Does your good faith percolate?" We had every reason to be convinced that management can affect and control resident attitudes by its own show of consideration and right feeling which, as Syd Green said, "is reflected in every single management operation," and, as Irving Abkin said, "must percolate down through every employee on the project."

It seemed safe to conclude that only through such good faith and deliberately positive and expectant attitudes can we hope to establish sound working relationships and that high quality of management which results in a satisfying community life for the occupants of our war housing.



As the last of our conferences came to a close, those who had planned them were left with a feeling of genuine accomplishment. The content of the conference recommendations, and the unsolicited expressions of satisfaction made us believe that this feeling was shared by many. We are certain, in any case, that to those participants who willingly offered honest opinion, genuine fears and frankly recounted experience goes credit for whatever fruitful conclusions our conferences reached. It was through this whole hearted participation that we were able to keep the discussion within the realm of tested experience and out of the realm of swivel chair philosophy.

In retrospect we recognize that the most articulate of the resident group and of the management group were often at the same time the most alert, the most aware of each other's problems, and the most responsible. The realization that many in both groups do not have the same awareness or the same sense of responsibility should challenge us to approach our problems with complete realism. But if the effectiveness of the democratic methods made explicit throughout this summary is meaningful to us at all, it is precisely to this task of bringing more and more of the residents and managers into the common effort that we must devote ourselves.

Whether or not the use of this technique becomes an actuality will ultimately be determined by executives and administrators throughout the housing program; for it must be generated by them, and will fail without their support. This responsibility is a serious one, for by no other single method can we hope to take the sure steps toward the goals we have here endorsed. Nor will tomorrow nor the day after tomorrow be ample time for the beginning. To our human failing of procrastination let Barbara Morel's perception be a reproach - "The houses may be temporary," she said, "but our lives are not." Surely the effect of inadequate living can be permanent indeed. Decent, safe, and democratic living in every housing project is perhaps the least we can be expected to achieve.

64 questions

What is the administrative relationship between manager and project services advisor?

At both San Diego and Ogden, where good-sized project services staffs are actively functioning, this question was of considerable interest to all concerned.

There seemed to be two points of view in the beginning: one, that the project services advisor should represent a separate branch of management, working outside the jurisdiction of the manager and responsible to an overall project services supervisor; the other, that he should function as a part of management, be a member of the manager's staff, at the same time taking technical guidance and assistance from an overall project services head.

As we weighed these two views it became clear that arguments in favor of a detached project services program sprang mainly from the fear that, were it otherwise, a manager uninterested or even actively opposed to the program could obstruct it completely. The example was offered of a project badly in need of a child care program but lacking it because the manager himself had not perceived the need. Further analysis of such a situation, however, made us see clearly that

- a. it would be no solution to pull project services and the rest of management apart administratively since the program would suffer even more by having two individuals of equal authority working at cross purposes, and that
- b. it would be best first to regard project services as a part of the job of management in the same sense that maintenance and rent collection are management functions, and then to realize that if a manager is not willing to carry out, or will not allow others to carry out this part of his responsibility, then this constitutes an administrative problem to be solved by those in authority over him.

Thus we arrived at an interpretation which seemed acceptable to all: The manager is responsible for project services. He may carry this responsibility out himself, or he may delegate it to a specialist. In the latter case the specialist is a member of his staff charged with responsibility for developing an adequate program of community activities, just as the maintenance man is responsible to him for seeing that plumbing is in good condition, and the cashier is responsible for taking rent payments.

What techniques have been evolved for working with community agencies?

At both Wilmington and San Diego much valuable experience on this question was presented and discussed. Mrs. Morel opened the subject by saying "It is essential to establish relations with the outside community" in order to

- a. secure the services which are indispensable (schools, transportation, police protection, etc.), and

- b. create a friendly feeling between the "old" and the "new" communities.

The most successful method of achieving the first objective seems to have been employed at Channel Heights, William Mead Homes and other Los Angeles projects; namely, management working with a residents' organization to mobilize community interest in the problem at hand. At William Mead, for example, when a sudden epidemic of broken windows violently demonstrated the lack of recreation supervision, the Recreation Commission, School Department and Juvenile Department were called together, the problem was presented, and a solution reached in the form of two full-time recreation leaders to serve both project and non-project children in the community facilities.

From the case material thus provided we were able to describe two techniques which could be applied:

ONE, to call together every group interested in a particular community problem, and press for joint action.

TWO, to approach the agency which is legally responsible for providing the service required, and then, if need be, to rally the support of other agencies which are concerned, though they may have no legal responsibility.

Commenting on this procedure, one of the residents said that "We don't enjoy being pressure groups...but it is sometimes necessary in order to get these slow-moving city and federal agencies into action." Although no sure cure was offered for the snail-like pace of most public agencies, all agreed that we must continue to enlist the co-operation of more people and more organizations in order to help them to "understand their responsibility", as one resident said, and at the same time be resourceful enough to utilize immediate emergency measures such as those represented in converting dwelling units to temporary use as schools or child care centers. We were forcefully reminded by Mrs. Morel that these needs are immediate and the watchword should be "NOW".

Means of achieving the second objective - good feeling between residents and community - was suggested to us by actual experiences both in Los Angeles and San Diego. In both instances determined efforts had been made by residents and management to bring groups of residents and groups of non-residents together in friendly, informal gatherings. At Upland Mrs. Black had assisted residents to affiliate with community clubs and organizations, and encouraged those outside of the project to participate in project affairs. "This participation", she stated, "has changed attitudes for the better."

At Wilmington, through management's interest, the residents council was approached by the town co-ordinating council and asked to participate in a "KNOW YOUR NEIGHBOR" series of discussions revolving around minority groups, and designed to alleviate race tensions and misunderstandings. "Marked respect has been gained on both sides", was Oliver Haskell's evaluation of this method. At Estrada Courts joint community programs were being planned by residents and representatives of the Catholic Settlement House in that area.

This job of cementing relations between old and new communities was not presented as an easy one. Lack of homogeneity between old neighborhood and new community, racial intolerance, preconceived ideas about in-migrant war-workers, all worked together to make the problem tough and the need to solve it serious. At Presidio Homes in San Diego some members of the community had forbidden their children to enter the project because Mexican boys from "old-town" were allowed to use the community building. Recognition of these problems, and study of methods already successfully used, prompted us to reaffirm the necessity, and eventual effectiveness, of "getting them together" by every conceivable means our ingenuity could devise.

Who is responsible to whom? Discussion in San Diego dealt with the actual details of establishing a working relationship with the community agency once its services had been secured. As we tried to answer such questions as, "to whom is the recreation leader hired by the city responsible?" and "As a project services advisor, what is my connection with the teacher in the child care center?", we realized that the agency representative assigned to a housing project may well be caught in an intricate three-way relationship in which he has to please not only his own supervisor, but a housing manager or project services advisor and a residents council as well. And that, unless these relationships are simplified, he may, as one of the conference participants said, "spend three quarters of his time being responsible to somebody."

On the other hand, actual experiences of managers had taught them that difficulties arise where a recreation leader, for instance, is assigned to a housing project, but is responsible only to his supervisor and cannot accept guidance from management or residents. The general feeling seemed to be that although the Recreation Superintendent hires this leader and consequently should have administrative and technical supervision over him, the housing manager should still be expected to offer guidance in terms of his own objectives, and the residents should be invited to express their needs and preferences.

In instances where (a) understanding and complete agreement had been reached by all concerned before the leader was assigned, and (b) the conference method was being regularly used to maintain this kind of understanding and to solve unforeseen complications, it had been possible to bring about smooth working relationships amongst all concerned.

A rather clear cut definition of the respective functions of management and outside agencies was offered when it was suggested that

- (1) the agency (school board, recreation commission, health department, etc.) is responsible for doing the job and for maintaining professional standards; and,
- (2) management is responsible for interpreting housing objectives, for helping to determine resident need and shifts in interest, and for informing the residents that the service is there.

How is FPHA racial policy working out in practice?

At San Diego the subject was introduced by requests for a clarification of the federal policy of non-segregation. Hilda Smith defined it as meaning "to take people as they come to apply for houses" - in the order in which they come, regardless of race, creed or color - "and to use the same policy on priority of eligibility", admitting first those for whom the project was primarily built. Similarly it means that community activities are open to all races alike.

As a means of further applying this policy to actual situations, the question was asked, "Should a group which specifically excludes other races in the project be allowed to meet in the community building?" This issue proved to be quite controversial, with some declaring that no group the rules of which "violated FPHA policy" should use the community building; others maintaining that so long as these small "private" meetings did not interfere with general use of the building, or with "open public affairs", management had no right to dictate club rules or composition. It was pointed out, however, that this concept of "private" versus "public" groups might bear further exploration in terms both of applicability of all FPHA policy to use of the community building, and of practical distribution of limited-community space. The choicest comment on non-segregation was made by Frankie Crum from the Linda Vista 13-20 Club, speaking from a properly disdainful and enlightened viewpoint, "In our club we have every race you can think of - we even have two Okies!"

At Fairfield a comparison of the effects of varying application or non-application of FPHA policy led to the general conclusion that,

1. many problems and tensions can be precluded by a firm stand in the very beginning, and a refusal to segregate when initial occupancy takes place; whereas to draw the color line at that time will mean compromise from there on out.
2. Although a small group of residents may raise violent objections to the practice of non-segregation, the amount of weight they pack is usually exaggerated, and the time it takes for the steam to blow off usually pretty short. Managers who had stood firm on this issue reported that very few families had ever made good their threats to move off the project rather than live next door to a Negro. And many declared that although integration of the two races in community activities was not always accomplished, non-segregation in assignment of dwelling units had been successfully achieved.
3. When Negro tenants are assigned to a project after the arrival of white residents, the manager may find himself in the position of opposing his tenant council and thus jeopardizing a carefully built up relationship. It was agreed that this was a chance he would have to take, as he would in enforcing a rent raise, but that preliminary preparation of the white residents and a sincere effort on his own part to understand and use the basic arguments behind the policy, would do much toward winning the opposition to his side.

Should Public Housing provide for its residents services which Private Housing does not provide?

This question stimulated a lively exchange of opinions at both Richmond and Wilmington. "It isn't part of our job," asserted several managers at Richmond, "to compete with the outside community." Some backed up this assertion by pointing out that a housing project is part of the community and therefore should take whatever services are already available and accept whatever standards prevail in that community. Others challenged the statement that private housing "does not provide these services" and described instances which seemed to indicate that builders of private housing were beginning to consider community space and activities a standard part of their job.

We got at the real issue behind the question, however, when some one wondered whether the comparison was not a fallacious one to begin with, and whether there was not some basic objectives which public housing was committed to fulfill, quite aside from what private housing was doing. In this case it became more pertinent to ask, "What is the responsibility of public housing management to its residents?" It was the conviction of many attending the Wilmington conference that this responsibility was one of "raising the standard of living in America", and that this might well involve setting a pace within the project which the surrounding community would strive to equal.

What community resources can the manager draw upon to aid him in solving social welfare problems?

Of all the community agencies already discovered and made use of, social welfare agencies seemed to be the least well known. Managers at Richmond and Fairfield in particular had grappled with problems of severe individual need amongst their residents, and indicated a desire for guidance and more information. In answer to the question, "Is this our business?", it was made clear that in concerning ourselves with such things, we were not attempting to snoop into other people's private lives, nor to take on someone else's personal problems. We were merely facing the fact that a manager may be, and often is, confronted with the task of helping some individual weather a storm which he cannot weather alone. Sooner or later the manager is almost sure to be involved, directly or indirectly, whether the problem be one of finances, of neglected children, of sudden death or illness or of disrupted family relations.

Although most managers were acquainted with the "hardship clause" in FPHA rent bulletins and had utilized it where necessary, it was agreed that in the majority of instances where financial need was great, other types of family problems were also apt to be present, and that the deeper reasons behind the financial distress required more careful analysis than most of us were able to give.

Thus many managers had already perceived that their chief responsibility lay not in attempting to handle by themselves a family situation which might require skilled social case work, but in recognizing the existence of such problems in order to refer them to the proper welfare agency. The need to become acquainted with the available resources in the community in order to move effectively when the problem arose, was clearly pointed up by an example provided by Mr. Shubat of Cutting War Apartments. He had applied to every city and county agency known to him for help with a family the father

of which was bed-ridden with a serious back injury, and the mother about to be confined. Residence clauses in county and city welfare statutes made this family ineligible for their services.

In the process of exploring the possible means of assistance the manager might secure for this family, we outlined a number of potential resources:

- (1) as a long-term approach; public and private welfare agencies in the community should be contacted for future reference, and their functions and limitations understood. Some of these might be,
  - a. City and County Public Welfare departments
  - b. Travelers Aid Society
  - c. American Red Cross (families of service men)
  - d. Various private family welfare associations or children's agencies.
  - e. Special welfare services offered by industries who employ the residents.
- (2) where all such resources fail, the State Department of Social Welfare should be contacted for assistance in determining next steps.
- (3) to meet financial emergencies - while the public agencies are getting into action - the following immediate resources were suggested as temporary measures:
  - a. a tenant "benefit" fund. In some projects spur-of-the-moment collections had been made to meet sudden emergencies. A more far-seeing solution had been found in the establishment of a continuous benefit fund maintained by the residents council for the welfare of their own needy families; this had happened at Marin City, for example.
  - b. contributions from the industry served by the particular needy resident.
  - c. use of the FPHA hardship clause.

At Richmond a visitor from the Family Welfare Association of America concluded our discussion by giving us a professional social worker's viewpoint, and suggesting to us that since "our social agencies are not always set up to do the job which now confronts them, the people in housing may have to step out and help the community to find the answers and to provide for these needs."

How do you start a tenants' council? Repeated requests for a primer of first steps which would provide a practical rather than theoretical answer to this question planted in the steering committee's minds the notion of presenting the material in dramatic form. Not without fear and trembling, but banking on an essentially sporting attitude within

the conference group, we staged impromptu demonstrations on "how to organize a tenants' association" at the two conferences where interest in this particular subject and the mood of the participants seemed to warrant a try-Fairfield and Richmond.

With Dick playing the part of the harrassed manager, and members of the conference entering spontaneously into hastily assigned roles as representatives of special interest groups, we transformed ourselves into a mass meeting of residents. Better maintenance was clamored for, rent raises were hotly protested, and activities of every description were demanded. Genuine humor followed from the assignment of the role of dog-owners to Mr. Allardt and Mr. Schaefer, both of whom had described distressing "dog problems" at their project; from the appointment of one peacefully dozing individual as chairman of the "We Protest" society; and from charging a rugged member of the Vallejo Authority with the promotion of bigger and better Sunday schools. All rose to the occasion beautifully; the heartiest laugh of the day was furnished by Hugo Allardt when he left the meeting with an indignant, "this isn't getting us anywhere", and returned five minutes later to announce triumphantly, "I've just been to the office and they told me it wasn't my dog that trampled the petunias."

As sophisticated elements came to the fore, temporary chairmen were elected and committees appointed to take protests and plans under consideration. Manager Mitchell sank exhaustedly into his chair, and the meeting broke up with all heads intact, and all of us delighted with our histrionic abilities.

On sober second thought we realized that spontaneous as it was, the psuedo residents' meeting had been a pretty close facsimile of the real thing, and that we had actually learned much from it. A brief analysis of the techniques which had been demoustrated gave us a working guide for future reference:

- (1) a residents' organization will take many and varied forms depending upon the past experience of the group; but the starting point must be sought in the particular interests and interest groups within the project, be these victory gardens, Sunday schools, better traffic rules or grievances.
- (2) The manager's first job is to be alert to those expressed interests which involve group activity or are common to many individuals alike. As these desires are made known to him, he does not attempt to solve each problem himself, but holds them in abeyance until it has been possible to gather sufficient subject matter for group discussion.
- (3) His second job is to bring together all those residents similarly affected or interested. He has come to know them, but they do not know each other. Consequently he is really the only agent in a position to initiate such a meeting.
- (4) At the meeting itself, the manager uses every opportunity to throw decisions back to the residents. He allows them to air their feelings, and gives frank and honest answers as to his ability or inability to remedy specific complaints. But whenever a matter is introduced which



the resident group should settle, he asks for their decision, and indicates that responsibility for action rests with them.

- (5) He seizes the proper moment to suggest that an organization be formed. Unless members of the group themselves perceive the need, he must avoid making such a suggestion before the group is ready since many might be fearful of responsibility or of an organizational structure they do not understand. But when "action" is called for and the object in view is seen to be one at which all need to work together, it is timely to point out that the only guarantee for action lies in placing specific responsibilities on specific individuals. Then the way is clear for the formation of temporary committees and the election of temporary chairmen.
- (6) The first phase of organizing the association is thus completed when the manager "steps down" from his chair and turns the meeting over to the newly elected chairman. He may remain to guide and to assist in delineating areas of responsibility - if the right kind of relationship has been established, it is presumed that the residents will ask for that assistance. But the responsibility for directing their own affairs had been decisively shifted from the manager's shoulders to those of the resident leaders.

In further analyzing this whole process of working democratically with resident groups, we perceived that two basic beliefs underlie and sustain it, namely

- a. the belief that it is right and essential that people should do things for themselves; and
- b. the belief that the people - no matter what kind or what the degree of education - do have the capacity to govern themselves.

Unless we hold these two beliefs, it was pointed out, we are not likely to be able to make the thing happen. We cannot open up our heads and pour convictions into them; but we can perhaps gain convictions by opening our ears and minds to the successful experience of others, and then be willing to give them a try.

It seems appropriate to repeat here the comment Drayton Bryant made when some of the managers discussed their fears that tenants organizations would develop into non-representative councils controlled by a few "professional grippers". "The answer to too little democracy", he said, "is more democracy." Thus he defined one of the prime responsibilities of the manager toward his residents: to see that their organization becomes and remains representative of the entire group. The manager is under no obligation to recognize the demands of an irresponsible or non-representative clique, as Dick made us aware, but he does have the obligation to help residents replace it with a bona fide, democratically elected community council.

Teen-agers: delinquents  
or co-belligerents?

At the Utah conference problems of the younger set occupied much of our time. On the morning which had been set aside for resident contribution, teen-agers attended en masse. Their demands were

many, and their manner impressively earnest. Managers had a number of grievances: vandalism was a common occurrence, "gangs" were roaming the projects, rooms assigned to teen-age groups had not been properly used. Admitting the truth of most of these charges the youngsters attending the conference at the same time expressed their resentment at being branded "delinquents" because of the misdeeds of a few. As disagreements and misunderstandings were subjected to the light of day it began to be clear that:

1. Teen-agers wanted "more things to do." Not only the usual program of activities, but a chance to participate in project life--and incidentally the war effort--to the extent of promoting project "clean-up campaigns" and similar undertakings.
2. Management was perfectly ready to provide space in community buildings, even to remodel auditoriums for indoor basketball, provided it would be given some guarantee that property would be properly protected and that vandalism elsewhere on the project would stop.
3. Teen-agers are willing to give this kind of a guarantee, so far as it is in their power to do so, provided they are approached, not as delinquents, but as a group of decent kids anxious to act in good faith.

The comment by one of the boys that "when we knock off the tips of a billiard cue we do it to hurt management" challenged us to scrutinize our relationship with this group and discover how we could make it better. A demonstration on the spot of what Dick described as "horse-trading with the teen-agers" provided us with the embryo of a method which seemed to offer more than discipline or condemnation. In analyzing just what that method was we were able to make the following techniques explicit:

1. We made no commitments on use of space and provision of equipment until they understood and were willing to take on their part of the bargain. The suggestion was made that an actual contract be drawn up and signed by all parties.
2. We didn't ask them to spy on their peers since this would constitute a serious violation of their own group code, and, as Mr. Millar Manager, Ogden Area said, "We don't care half so much who committed the vandalism as we do about knowing that it is going to stop." We did ask them to set group standards and enforce them through pressure and their own club organization.
3. We asked them to take on only responsibilities that we knew they could carry out. We did not expect them, for instance, to completely control offenders outside their own group, but did request their cooperation in getting these individuals into their activities.
4. We dealt in specifics as much as possible--"Will you and your dads help build this backstop?" "Will your club make rules and live up to them?"

5. We talked and acted as though we had confidence that these teen-agers did want to do the right thing, and were capable of acting as one of them said, "In a grown-up manner."

Among the many comments made about this method the following seemed particularly pertinent:

1. Dick: We have on our projects a tremendous potential of "youth-power"; a considerable amount of energy, spirit, and good brains--all of which wants to get into action and needs direction. Aside from the fact that clean-up campaigns may pay off in dollars and cents, it gives them constructive and satisfying activity.
2. Mr. Rampton: It is usually only a small percentage of the group which is indulging in vandalism and other forms of misbehavior. The solution lies not in punishing the whole group but in searching out the real villains and working with them. The "in" group can help us to find ways of bringing the "out" group into the fold.
3. Mr. Wetzel: Negotiations with teen-agers are apt to be more successful if they have formed a representative responsible club or organization.
4. Mr. Strong: The more they can feel it's their program the less apt we are to have difficulty. As one of the boys said, "If they could be made to see that this is their equipment and their loss, the pleasure in breaking it would be gone."

At the conclusion of our discussion we realized that the real significance of our meeting with the teen-agers lay not in what basketball games and softball diamonds might result, but in the fact that we sat down with them in good faith, talked it out man to man, and then threw out some challenges calculated to call forth the very best in them. We were reminded of a comment Henry Smith had made earlier that, "the secret of success lies in making people responsible participants instead of critical spectators."

What is the remedy for a tottering tenants' Association?

In Utah this puzzler turned out to be one of the problems of most concern to all. Here we had a history of any number of residents organizations the

formation of which had been stimulated by management soon after initial occupancy, which had flourished for a time, and which now seemed to be dying slow and painful deaths. Where resident officers and committees had once taken on and carried out responsibilities for their own community affairs, interest and the numbers interested had gradually dwindled. The result had been that in many instances project services advisers, rather than allow the organization to fail, had taken these chores upon their own shoulders. The dilemma seemed a genuine one, and our attempt to get at some of the failures produced a number of questions:

1. Is this loss of interest a normal expectation, part of a cycle?

2. Have managers left too much responsibility to project services advisers without giving them authority to make decisions requested by the resident group?
3. Have too small a percentage of residents been carrying the load and must we devise means of enlisting the participation of more?
4. Do the divergent interests and characteristics of our tenant group constitute too great an obstacle to be overcome?

Although all of these factors seemed related to the problem, none seemed to get at basic causes. When Henry Smith and Mrs. Robinson began to describe their experiences at their two Tooele projects, however these struck us as possibly embodying the facts we were after. Two aspects of their experience seemed particularly striking.

1. The council at Tod Homes takes on complete responsibility for their dances -- finances, building supervision, everything. This means that management gives them real authority to control the use of the community building while they're in it, taking the chance that they will use it properly.
2. Once this responsibility is placed, management consistently refuses to take it back, even though to refuse to do so might mean the failure of an activity. In the case of Edgemont Terrace this refusal resulted in the discontinuance of a resident council for which, Mrs. Robinson commented, "the residents probably weren't ready anyway."

Even where the formal organization disbanded, however, tenant initiative came to the fore, in the form of a group of some ten volunteers who offered to take on supervision of the community building in order to make it available to their own and other families during evening hours.

As the possibility of a correlation between this kind of management attitude and increased resident responsibility, we asked ourselves:

1. in attempting to give artificial respiration to some of these "drowning bodies", are we not perhaps super-imposing a program which tenants don't really want?
2. in taking on a neglected tenant responsibility rather than allow what might be a "healthy failure", is the project services adviser doing too much for tenants, thereby making them dependent upon management?
3. in its desire to keep close track of resident plans has management put itself in a position of exerting controls which might in themselves create resentment and disinterest? Insistence that a management representative be present at every council meeting was referred to as one of these "controls".

Referring to this last problem, Mrs. Robinson from Tooele said quite frankly, "I felt that the residents resented my uninvited presence so I stopped attending. Now they come to us with any problems that concerns us at all." Many managers expressed their concern that if they were to stay away from meetings tenants would make decisions that were "out of line," that were not actually theirs to make. It was pointed out that this kind of action on the part of residents was not precluded by the presence of management at official meetings since residents could hold, and had held, meetings elsewhere and at unannounced times without benefit of management counsel. Our guarantee that residents will concern themselves with problems rightfully theirs lies rather in making certain that management has clearly defined respective areas of responsibility, and in giving honest answers and sound reasons for decisions which management alone must make.

Our discussion was brought to a fruitful conclusion when one of the managers made the recommendation that "since we'd tried other methods and they hadn't worked," it might be worth while to try a new one: namely, that of encouraging resident councils to meet without management representatives with the understanding that information would continue to flow both ways, and that management would be available when its presence was desired. There seemed to be general acceptance of this recommendation on the part of the managers present.

