

SHELTERING OUR HOMELESS:
INDIVIDUAL AND INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES
TO THE MORAL IMPERATIVE

by

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ABSTRACT

Despite its deep rooting in Judeo-Christian tradition, the age-old call to serve the poor, feed the hungry, and shelter the homeless is one that has been largely ignored by all but a few individuals.

Long viewed as an accident of fate, poor judgment, or the consequence of individual lack of initiative, homelessness is now seen as the spewed-out consequence of a public service system and a market economy that have failed to meet the needs of the disadvantaged.

With the exception of recent initiatives undertaken by Governor Michael Dukakis, there has been virtually no governmental response to homelessness in Massachusetts. The Governor's leadership has taken the shape of inquiry into the system and its actors. During the course of this inquiry, debates have surfaced on both the form and the substance of sheltering the homeless.

In Boston, there are a variety of organizations that shelter the homeless. Two of these, chosen for their dissimilarity, are examined here: Pine Street Inn and Rosie's Place. Because these two organizations occupy positions on virtually opposite poles of the political spectrum of sheltering the homeless, their comparison provides a good framework for analyzing the debate over maintaining the homeless or reintegrating them into society.

Interviews conducted with key people in the Boston shelter community form the basis for analysis of the role of individuals in the system. Individual backgrounds, motivation, and ideologies are examined in order to highlight the current debate over the method and intention of sheltering and to provide a window on the homelessness system as it currently exists in Boston, Massachusetts.

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Donald A. Schön

Title: Ford Professor of Urban Affairs

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I have had the opportunity to have a special view of the State system while the State has been taking action on homelessness under the leadership of Governor Michael Dukakis. I owe this opportunity to Langley Keyes, who has been a valued teacher at the Department of Urban Studies and Planning, and who has been very candid about his own view of the process--which he has been coordinating for the State.

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Most of all, I would like to express my gratitude to Donald Schön, with whom I have been privileged to study at M.I.T. and whose insight and approach to systems analysis has made the discovery of the homelessness system--and learning--a pleasure.

* * * * *

A special mention must be made of my uncle, Edmund Flynn, who through his most generous and most unusual method of innkeeping in Bedford, Pennsylvania where I spent my childhood, set an example for me early in life that sheltering the homeless--even in a hotel, and even when they had no ability to pay--was an honorable and a reasonable thing to do.

the eye regards the
heart, a Western view
the heart regards the
eye, as the Chinese
say
and the great world
between
known both by caliper
and transfus-
ion

rigor and gift
I had rather, if I
must, choose among
methods.

but I cannot

- Daniel Berrigan, S.J.

(published in Absurd Convictions, Modest Hopes; Random
House, New York, 1972)

INTRODUCTION

Homelessness has recently become a household word, particularly in Massachusetts, where Governor Michael Dukakis has launched an initiative to ameliorate the problem. The growth of the idea of eliminating homelessness -- long as unpopular as were its victims -- as an idea in good currency is a recent and nationwide phenomenon. And, although concurrent media attention to the issue might lead one to believe that homelessness is something new, that is not the case.

History -- ancient and modern -- is filled with tales of homelessness. Though homelessness has been called by other names, the disruption, misery, and alienation it has caused has remained constant. From the beginning, homelessness has been inextricably linked to oppression. It has also, from the beginning, been relieved by the initiative and compassion of concerned individuals (and their organizations) who have chosen to heed the moral imperative to serve the poor by sheltering the homeless. For them, the age-old message offers not only the call to action, but also the promise of reward:

...Loose the bands of wickedness, undo the bundles that oppress, let them that are broken go free, and break asunder every burden. Deal thy bread to the hungry, and bring the needy and harborless into thy house. When thou shalt see one naked, cover him, and despise not thy own flesh. Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy health shall speedily arise, and thy justice shall go before thy face, and the glory of the Lord shall gather thee up...

When thou shalt pour out thy soul to the hungry, and shalt satisfy the afflicted soul, then shall thy light rise up in darkness, and thy darkness shall be as the noonday. And the Lord will give thee rest continually, and will fill thy soul with brightness, and deliver thy bones, and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a fountain of water whose waters shall not fail.

Isaiah 58: 6-8, 10, 11

It is a fact, confirmed and re-confirmed during two or three thousand years of religious history, that the ultimate Reality is not clearly and immediately apprehended, except by those who have made themselves loving, pure in heart and poor in spirit.

Aldous Huxley,
in The Perennial Philosophy

Homelessness has grown in complexity and magnitude in recent years, provoking unprecedented media and public attention on a national as well as local level. In December 1982, a Congressional Hearing on Homelessness in America was convened by the Housing and Community Development Subcommittee of the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs. Chairman Henry Gonzales opened the hearing by pointing to several historical reminders which are basic to the Judeo-Christian tradition of caring for the poor and oppressed, from which the notion of sheltering the homeless comes.

We all know the story of Moses, who was born in Egypt at a time when Pharoah feared and despised the Hebrew people. Because Pharoah so feared the Hebrews, he eventually ordered that all their male children be put to death. So it was that Moses became a homeless person. He was set adrift in a basket and rescued, then adopted by no less than Pharoah's daughter.

We all know the rest of the story. And we all know the story of Mary and Joseph, who found themselves in a strange town with no place to stay -- people who were temporarily without a home. They were taken in by a kindly innkeeper, who allowed them the use of his stable -- what we might today call an emergency shelter. We also know the rest of that story.

Homelessness is not a new problem. It is important to understand, as these Biblical stories show, that the homeless are not only the chronic dependents, the skid-row destitutes, the cast-offs of mental institutions.

Moses was the classic victim of oppression; Mary and Joseph victims of a temporary shortage of housing. Just so, a great many of today's homeless are people who have come to strange places, looking for a decent opportunity, looking for a life free of oppression, people looking for hope. 1

If the measure of a just society is how it cares for its poor, then homelessness is a glaring indicator of the shortfall of justice in American society. This shortfall has become ever more apparent as the homeless population has grown exponentially in both numbers and types of people affected.

Despite the fact that homelessness has always been with us, we have not yet successfully come to grips with understanding the problem or with designing and implementing effective solutions to it. In fact, the December 1982 Congressional hearings marked the first effort by that body to examine the phenomenon of homelessness since hearings were held on migrant workers during the Great Depression. Reflecting the larger society, the Congressional record on this issue, by and large, has been dismal.

When Governor Michael Dukakis began his second term of office in 1983, he chose to make the elimination of homelessness the "top priority" of his new administration. By so doing, he focused the first governmental attention in Massachusetts on homelessness in at least a decade. The complexity of the problem and its massive growth necessitated an inquiry into the homelessness system: that institutional environment in which homeless people find themselves.

The very inquiry initiated by the Dukakis administration has given rise to numerous definitional debates that have encompassed the population, the problem, and possible solutions to homelessness. Central to the issue of solutions to the problem is the highly politicized question of whether homeless people ought to be maintained in their homelessness, or reintegrated into a more fully participatory position in society. The position taken in this debate over appropriate remedies has major implications for policy and for program cost and effectiveness.

To effectively address the difficult definitional questions, it is necessary to examine the shelter community and the individuals who have made it a reality. Traditionally, the burden of responsibility for caring for the homeless -- America's pariah -- has fallen primarily upon a neighborhood-based, nonprofit shelter community that has grown out of grassroots initiative.

Key to the development and sustenance of such a shelter community have been individuals who, for a variety of reasons, have responded to the moral imperative to care for the poor in the face of institutional abandonment and neglect.

Such a community of shelters and individuals exists in Boston. While all are engaged in service to the poor and to the homeless, the difference between method and intent among them spans the political spectrum. A shelter organization's position on the spectrum is dictated by a number of factors, not the least of which is the proportion of its funding that comes from government sources. A given shelter organization's position on the spectrum is a function of the way it perceives its role and behaves in the homelessness system.

Modern organizations such as shelters for the homeless, serve broad social and political interests. As structures of practical communicative action, organizations not only produce instrumental results, but also reproduce social relations.² For instance, shelters that are dependent upon the system for their continued survival are more likely to reflect, and less likely to challenge that system.

Much can be learned about the homelessness system and about the way we care for our poor by examining the history and current status of shelter organizations occupying different positions on the political spectrum.

Boston is the home of two shelters -- the Pine Street Inn and Rosie's Place -- which share a common neighborhood and which have survived through the institutional shifts that have had the most notable impact upon the city's poor and

There, however, the similarity stops: Pine Street Inn and Rosie's Place occupy decidedly different positions on the political spectrum of sheltering the homeless. This paper will explore the development of the shelters, their approach to sheltering, their relation to the homelessness system, and their role in current efforts to reduce homelessness in Massachusetts.

Because institutions such as Rosie's Place and Pine Street Inn cannot exist without the leadership of concerned individuals who have struggled to chart new solutions to a timeless problem, this paper is also a story of those individuals who have made a difference, for the homeless and for us all.

The experiences and the vision of those who have been on the cutting edge of the battle against homelessness can provide us with the window through which we can begin to see and to understand the homelessness system and our role in it. Only through such understanding can the elimination of homelessness become a reasonable goal.

THE HOMELESSNESS SYSTEM

As we have become more concerned with the adequacy of our social services--particularly those affecting the poor, the disabled, and the neglected--we have begun to learn not only how difficult it is to change inadequate service systems but also how difficult it can be to understand them in the first place.³

If one is to make sense of homelessness, one must first understand the nature of the institutional relationships and phenomena impacting upon the homeless and upon the socioeconomic and historical context within which the homeless exist. While the homelessness system might be more aptly called a nonsystem, it is, however loosely woven, a system.³

There is no central institution or agency having responsibility for the care of the homeless. There are, however, public and private sector entities which directly or indirectly serve the homeless.

One view is that homelessness is the ultimate result of a series of falls by an individual through the "cracks" in the system, escaping the shelter of the so-called "safety net." It is possible, based on available data, to attribute the root causes of homelessness to the structural interrelationships among institutions forming the safety net.

When one realizes that we are bereft of housing policy on both local and national levels; that local institutions providing education and housing for Boston are under court control; and that mental health service delivery in Massachusetts is--at best--insufficient, one begins to get an understanding of the environment in which homelessness occurs. It is not only that the safety net has holes, but that the dynamic interaction of the interorganizational field creates spewed-out consequences.

A more cynical--and very popular--view is that the safety net is designed to exclude those whom by right it ought to protect. Carol Johnson, of the Massachusetts Coalition for the Homeless, shares this view:

In the past few years, I've realized that people don't fall through the cracks of the delivery system, but in fact are pushed out of their access to resources in a very forceful way...homelessness is the final outcome of the way we're organized on earth...it's really awful that people can be pushed out of every social relationship they have....

It's the passivity that allows it to happen. It's like the standing around while the rape was going on in New Bedford...this is all of us, standing around, saying, "Shelters are okay for people who don't have anything; let them wander around...."

It's the failure to recognize that we generate people who are helpless and hopeless...and that therefore, we're helpless and hopeless, because we're locked in a system that keeps generating them. 5

One of the ways we generate homeless people in our communities is through public and private sector encouragement of real estate speculation. What is generally considered to be the free flow of normal market activity (and, as such, sacrosanct) is also growth for the economically advantaged at the expense of the disadvantaged.

You come up against this notion that the market forces should decide where people should live. That's like saying that the doctors' private market economy should decide who gets health care. That's fundamentally wrong...if a third of Boston is low-income, then a third of Boston should be low-income housing...there should be a housing formula for that. That's what we're talking about.

We're coming up against the cotton people in the slavery movement. The real estate people realize that their interests are threatened if tenants' rights are favored. All the City Councilors receive money from real estate interests...and the Mayor obviously gets a ton.

It's not 'the evil rich guy' against the 'good poor person.' It's not that way. It's that the way the system is set up produces more of the same kind of activity. It's like the difference between institutional racism and racism. Both of them are evil, but some kid who's raised in the South, where there were separate fountain facilities...it becomes part of his life; it's very hard to undo.

It's not a good or bad mayor or governor. It's all of us and our way of viewing the world--our fundamental assumptions...given a shrinking resource, we're going to have to decide whether we're going to leave it to the stronger vs. the weaker, or whether we're going to intervene for what's just and fair.

We have to be able to say that the purpose of government is...human beings...and the sacredness of life...and you have to organize around that principle, and not say, 'well, that comes next, after you have a strong economy.'

It's very hard. We may not ever be able to make it happen. We may just die off, or have millions of people live in abject deprivation, like all the homeless people. 6

- Carol Johnson

To some great extent, institutions serve technology and each other more than they serve human needs. In such a world, an individual who can be perceived as non-productive by virtue of physical or mental handicap or generally deviant behavior--such as homelessness--may easily be deemed expendable. Part of the tragedy of homelessness in Boston or elsewhere is that homeless people often adopt this same societal attitude about themselves, thereby accelerating their downward spiral.

During the winter of 1983, a homeless man in Chicago who had conceived of himself as an ally of refuse finally became refuse when the trash compactor in which he had been sleeping for weeks compacted him.7

It is possible, even in a nation founded on the struggle against oppression and economic injustice, to have people think of themselves as garbage. The notion of the presumed worthlessness of a portion of our population evolves from the view of "the deserving poor." This, too, derives from institutional interrelationships among the population, the social service environment, and the delivery system, all of which exist in the political environment and on the historical continuum.

I don't think that people are entitled to services. I don't believe that there is any entitlement, any basic right to legal services or any other kind of services...I don't accept that equality is a moral principle. 8

David Stockman, Director;
United States Office of
Management and Budget, 1981

The development of shelters for the homeless and mental institutions came out of a system that originated with the European tradition of punishing victims of social problems and health problems as deviants. Consequently, the trend toward institutionalizing the poor and the mentally ill eventually resulted in warehousing. Later, the pendulum of institutional change would swing in the opposite direction, and deinstitutionalization of mental health patients in Massachusetts would release thousands of hopeless, helpless people onto city streets, with no place to go.

On local, state, and national levels, there has been an orchestration that has worked to punish the poor in general and the homeless in particular. Inflation, unemployment, the shortage of decent, affordable housing, Welfare eligibility requirements, the failure of deinstitutionalization, Reaganomics, and Proposition 2 1/2 have all played a role in assembling the pool of people known as "the homeless."

Institutional shifts, however, are only part of the story. Recent changes in traditional social structures and individual relationships and their responsibilities have spewed out consequences affecting the way we address social problems. The breakdown of traditional social values has instigated a breakdown of the safety net of community. In moving through the "me generation," nurtured in a culture of narcissism, we rarely consider the fate of those who are outside our own spheres of influence.

I grew up in a very tight-knit community (Charlestown, a predominantly Irish neighborhood of Boston), where everyone knew everyone. I was startled when I got to the South End at the amount of anonymity....

When I was a kid, if I was on the other side of town, people would say, 'What are you doing here? Get home!' People knew the boundaries. The cop on the beat was a friend of my father's.

So you had the Church; you had police; you had other families maintaining that sense of community, of watching out for one another... 'Bums' in my community had homes. The only time they were out in the street was when they didn't make it home... they were someone's husband--someone's brother--someone's father. The community would maintain them. Some communities still do that.

Constant drunkenness was not a bottom line for disposing of someone. There was enough alcoholism in the community that the basic bottom line was that it was a way someone would have no income, but people supported one another...

Even mental illness was never named as such; it was never called "craziness." Sort of "weird," or "unusual," or whatever...except for something really bizarre, it would be maintained in the community. There was not a view of looking outward for whatever it was...9

- Eileen Brigandi

Key to the dissolution of community support systems has been the change in central city land use. Increased demand for center city land for "higher" (more profitable) uses has drastically altered the urban economy, thereby reducing availability of jobs and housing for low-income, elderly, and minority urban residents. Just as buildings that once provided affordable housing (as rooming houses) for low-income people are now being converted to condominiums for the rich, entire neighborhoods are being converted for use by the upper income groups, leaving the poor with few available alternatives. More and more, people are slipping out of poverty--and into homelessness.

The flood of homeless people upon an inadequate public system has had implications for the shelter community as well. The struggle to provide the basics for survival has often precluded opportunities for organizations to learn about the changing population and problem of homelessness.

THE HOMELESS POPULATION

Envision, if you will, an infinitely long line of people, stretching -- five, ten, twenty abreast -- as far as the eye can see. There are literally millions of them -- men, women, and children. Slowly, painfully, some walking, others shuffling, limping, crawling, they pass before you. These are our nation's untouchables. America's pariah: invisible, disposable, surplus. They are the destitute homeless.

Some are old, all rags and bags, long hair and bushy beards stained yellow with dirt. The pockets of their tattered overcoats and their shopping bags stuffed and bulging with all the little rubbish they live on. Filthy and suffering. Bent and twisted by the downward curve of hunger, desperation, and want.

Some are senile. Others alcoholic. There are the autistic, and there are those who talk to God -- and to themselves. There are many who cannot even tie their shoelaces without assistance. There are the amputees and the double amputees. There are the lame, the halt, and the blind. Bodies broken, spirits equally disfigured.

There are the displaced, the disenfranchised, the dispossessed. Madonnas with no child, for whom there is no rest and no inn.

Some are children, living alone in a cruel, hard, violent, and selfish world, destined themselves to become cruel, hard, violent, and selfish.

Many are young. Most are black or brown or Latino. Strong. Willing. Able. Unemployed. Unabsorbed. Overexposed. Scarred, inside and out, with the jagged wounds of our dirty little war, and our dirty little world. Like fuses, they burn, slowly and surely, fueled by hate, bitterness, and fury.

This is the vast army of America's homeless: the progeny of our ignorance, our indifference, our insulation, and our pathological demand for conformity and productivity. They are a reflection of our unwillingness to confront difficult problems.10

Because of their prerequisite lack of connectedness to systems, the homeless as a population remain somewhat of a mystery (which is not to say that their presence is not felt.) A recent Boston Globe editorial pointed out that the exact number of homeless people is perhaps not so important as is the process by which we begin to understand who they are and why they are homeless. ¹¹ While estimates have been widely disparate, a range of 4,000 - 6,000 homeless persons in the Commonwealth is the most oft-quoted figure.

Just in isolation, for the Globe to call me every other day, as they did in the fall, and say, 'How many homeless are there?' Who cares? There's enough to fill the 1,000 shelter beds in Boston...we already know that. They're all turning people away. That's enough to say we have a problem.

What I want them to say is, 'What is the nature of interventions that have been done so far?' and "what do you have in mind that should be done?' and then do stories about the dynamics of homelessness and what's changed about it...just like we get this dynamic weather report every morning, we ought to be getting a report each day on how we're all surviving in this city, or not surviving...what's the rental market like?

...But I think it's important to notice the dimensions in order to be able to plan. I think the reason no one noticed was that it was in nobody's best interest before to do that. Now that the State is going to be forced into paying General Relief to people who are homeless, they're going to find out how many are there, because they're going to want to know...12

Recent attention to the homelessness issue has prompted interest in counting the homeless, in order to determine the extent of the problem and to begin to estimate what it will cost to remedy it. As a result of a census conducted by United Community Planning Corporation (UCPC) and the Massachusetts Association for Mental Health (MAMH) on the night of February 25, 1983, some specific information is available about the homeless who were in shelters that evening in Boston and Cambridge. Census takers found 1032 individuals in 14 shelters and 44 families in 9 family shelters.

No count was made of homeless individuals who--though not in shelters--were in cars, abandoned buildings, doorways, alleys, and subways.

"Where do you sleep when you don't go to a shelter?"

"...Mainly, I just tries to get out of the wind...up against a building is good; then you're less likely to get robbed or beaten."

- (author's) conversation with a homeless man, Boston, winter of 1983

Principal findings of the UCPC/MAMH study include males outnumbering females by four to one. Of the 44 families interviewed, however, 36 were single parent families. Half of the children in the family shelters were under five years of age; ten were infants. The largest shelter population age group was between 25 and 44.

Estimates made by shelter staff were that 42% of the guests exhibited signs of chronic alcoholism and 31% had "psychological problems."

With regard to duration of homelessness, the census found 41% of shelter guests had been homeless for more than a year and 27% had been homeless for less than six months.

At the same time, more than half of the guests were considered "regulars" at the respective shelters -- guests who stay at those shelters as consistently as shelter regulations permit. Some shelters, because of the problem of demand for beds far outstripping supply, set limits on number of consecutive nights of stay permitted. People will "rotate" from one shelter to another.

"...Each day you stay in the emergency shelter system, you're more debilitated."12

- Carol Johnson

And, we say, this is no time to soften
the human heart. Isn't it? Whenever
it is the hardest, that is the best
time to get at it. When is the time?

- Clarence Darrow, published in
Attorney for the Damned,
Simon and Schuster, 1957

The UCPC/MAMH study concluded that there were four main causes of homelessness: inadequate income, behavioral problems, domestic turmoil, and housing problems such as fire, eviction and condominium conversion.

For people of color, there is also the burden of history. Suicide is the leading cause of death among young black men who grow weary of trying to beat the odds against their success. Homelessness is becoming another familiar route for young black people--some of whom fought the VietNam war; some who are women with the responsibility of rearing children alone in a hostile environment; and some--perhaps the most endangered group of all--who are slipping into homelessness at a very early age. No clearer or more devastating statement could be made to minority youth than that society doesn't care whether there is, literally, a place for them to be.

'What up with this City?!'

- Andres Borden, 17, Boston, when asked about how he felt about being homeless as a result of his family's condominium conversion eviction from their apartment in the rapidly gentrifying area near Copley Place.

Over time, the population has changed quite a lot. The old stereotypes of shuffling, street-corner alcoholic --someone who should have "known better," and the female counterpart of "bag lady" -- a disoriented has-been with delusions of

grandeur and concocted memories of better times past....no longer represent the definitive image of the homeless person.

Although there have been massive changes in the makeup of the homeless population and the factors which influence individuals' fall into the homeless state, the shelter organizations which attend to their needs have not necessarily changed their approaches to sheltering. Some shelters still offer a program that provides a homeless person with basic maintenance and little else.

Other shelters recognize that the needs of the homeless are growing and changing, and that organizations serving them must be involved in a constant process of reassessment and redirection.

THE SHELTER ORGANIZATIONS

But Jesus said to them: They have no need to go.
Give you them to eat.

They answered him: We have not here but five
loaves and two fishes.

He said to them: Bring them hither to me.

And, when he had commanded the multitudes to sit
down upon the grass, he took the five loaves and
the two fishes; and looking up to heaven, he
blessed and brake and gave the loaves to his
disciples, and the disciples to the multitudes.

And this they all did eat and were filled. . .

Matthew 14:16-20

THE PINE STREET INN

Dorothy Day, late publisher of The Catholic Worker newspaper and leader of the Catholic Worker movement which made feeding and sheltering the poor its mission, once said, "A cup of coffee never tasted so good as when coming in from a cold room." One has the feeling, when visiting the Pine Street Inn, that Dorothy Day would have felt very comfortable there. Pine Street Inn carries a decidedly Catholic Worker influence. The Inn holds in its organizational history many of the influences that have shaped human services as we know them.

Pine Street Inn opened in 1916 as the Rufus Dawes Hotel for Men at 8 Pine Street, Boston. Charles Dawes erected the hotel to provide low-cost housing for homeless men as a tribute to his son, Rufus, who died in a drowning accident, having spent his life serving the poor. The Dawes family were descendants of William Dawes, who accompanied Paul Revere on his ride in 1775, and were prominent citizens. Charles Dawes eventually won the Nobel Peace Prize and served as Vice President under Calvin Coolidge.

From its origins of noblesse oblige, Pine Street Inn was transferred to the Union Rescue Mission during the

Progressive Era for a dollar. Under the Mission, shelter was provided with an added religious influence. The intent of the Dawes family to have guests "considered not as a class or species apart, but as American citizens," has been held throughout the history of the shelter.

The Pine Street Inn Philosophy

The Pine Street Inn offers temporary shelter to the homeless men and women of the city. We believe that everyone has the right to a roof over their head, food in their stomach, and safety from bodily harm. Such simple goals are presumed but forgotten by most. Very few of us have ever been without any of these basics for more than the few moments it takes to acquire them. But for 5,000 to 8,000 homeless men and women of Boston such basic human needs are beyond their grasp.

The Inn is not a treadmill of the world's offcasts. Here men and women know they are welcomed by staff and volunteers. We offer all homeless people the basic human needs: food, shelter, safety, and most of all, respect for their sacredness as a human being. Each person is treated with all the respect that is due them as individuals. 13

In 1969, the Inn became caught in the competing interests for inner city land and was slated for demolition as part of the South Cove Urban Renewal Project. The Union Rescue Mission did not resist and asked for early acquisition of the parcel.

Realizing that such action would leave the homeless men (at that time, Pine Street did not provide shelter for women) of

Boston without shelter, the Boston Urban Priests developed a plan to acquire the Inn and continue its operation until it could become self-sufficient. The shelter operated informally as Pine Street Inn for some time; it was incorporated as such in 1973.

Also in the early 1970's, large numbers of deinstitutionalized mental health patients were being released to the streets of Boston, and many of them made their way to the Pine Street Inn. The influx of deinstitutionalized, disoriented people created more complicated problems that required more than a cup of coffee and a sandwich for resolution, with the resulting change creating frustration for the shelter staff.

Almost immediately after the transfer of ownership, the search began for a new building. It was clear that the population was outgrowing the existing facility. There was also a need perceived for more professionalism among the staff. The decision was made that the then Director and Assistant Director would put all of their time into a search for a new building.

The process of moving to the new Bristol Street facility was extremely taxing for Director Paul Sullivan, who worked as much as 100 hours weekly and continued to perform his administrative duties while doing the negotiating and lobbying necessary to ensure the

cooperation of all the parties that would be involved in the acquisition of the new facility. Eventually, Sullivan would take a leave of absence from the Inn due to exhaustion from the overload.

How do you look at these things? Obviously, it's dedication, commitment, and all that...I guess we throw in a little bit of our own personal needs along the way, and that's how these things work out. Paul put a lot in, and that needed to be done. I guess he wasn't doing anything else at the time, and for someone who was a recovering alcoholic, you go to A.A. meetings, or you get a hobby, or you work hard...there was really a need for the work to be done, and he rose to the occasion and did it. Paul worked 80, 90, 100 hours a week, from day one up until recently, and that gets you after a while.

Our nurses' clinic got started as a result of Paul spending a lot of time talking with friends on the Accident Floor at (Boston) City Hospital...he mixed his work and his personal life...he'd bop over there and bring ice cream or fresh coffee--that was great at 1:00 in the morning. He'd talk about his guests...I think people started having a way of understanding our guests as more than dirty, troublesome guys. Nurses got together and said, 'what can we do?'...volunteer nurses came to Pine Street, and we could back up our van into the ambulance bay, and supplies got loaded onto it every time we needed them. At some point, it got formalized...but Paul did that. It was good for him, and it was good for the place.

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Patrick Murphy, Assistant Director

The decision to obtain a new building prompted a full-scale upgrading of services, including improved management

techniques, increased staff professionalism, a food and clothing program, a clinic, counselors who made referrals, and transportation. These internal adjustments arose from the changes in Pine Street's homeless clientele. In the new building, shelter would be provided for 50 women in addition to 300 men.

The deinstitutionalized mental patients required more service and supervision, and some of the patients lacked the ability to handle the most basic life problems. Staff had to concern themselves with the reality that many guests did not have the mental capacity to determine whether to wear coats in the wintertime, and therefore were in danger of freezing.

There's a lot of blood--on a lot of hands. 15

- Patrick Murphy,
on deinstitutionalization

Security was also a major issue. The old Pine Street Inn was described by staff as being "like the Wild West." The Skid Row population was capable of being very disorderly and often violent, and the addition of deinstitutionalized patients compounded the problem. One scuffle resulted in a shooting that eventually led to a death. After that, a twenty-four hour police detail was added, which improved everyone's sense of security.

Deinstitutionalization also created problems for the shelter in obtaining a new building. The issue of placing a facility like a shelter in residential neighborhoods has been a particularly difficult one. In some center city neighborhoods, like the South End, the issue is particularly volatile because these areas tend to get more than their share of such facilities. The fact that Pine Street Inn's search for a new facility coincided with the changes in the homeless population was not insignificant. Formerly thought of in the neighborhood as "those drunks from Pine Street," shelter residents quickly became categorized as "those crazy people from Pine Street."

The numbers have changed; the types of people have changed. The issue has changed, in that there's more public awareness of it, so that there's more public support. It's more complex, because of the economy, and of deinstitutionalization. There's even this whole element of politics we're wrapped up with now in public policy, in a major way. It's changed from taking care of drunks, mission-style, to a major issue.¹⁶

- Patrick Murphy

In addition to the 300 male and 50 female guests, Pine Street Inn houses a live-in staff of 40 men and 10 women who run the housing operation in return for room and

board and minimum wages. Many of the live-in staff were formerly guests at Pine Street. There are administrative and supervisory staff as well.

When defining the characteristics of the population at Pine Street, one can only say that it is ever changing. (In 1978) it was thought to be approximately 80% alcoholic and 20% mentally disturbed and elderly. At present it appears in the Men's Unit approximately 50% are alcoholic and 50% are mentally disturbed, elderly or young social misfits. In the Women's Unit, it appears to be 90% mentally disturbed, 10% alcoholic, young social misfits, elderly and battered. Guests range in age from 18 to 90, and one finds Indian, Black, Hispanic, Oriental, and Caucasian. The men and women at Pine Street Inn all share one commonality: they are homeless.17

Despite the large numbers of deinstitutionalized patients, the only support Pine Street Inn receives from the Department of Mental Health is in the form of salary for a psychiatric nurse for the clinic. The shelter's public support comes from the Department of Public Welfare, which pays Pine Street a total of \$1.9 million for the shelter of people who sleep there, both in beds and on the floor. This funding is in lieu of payment of General Relief benefits to the clients themselves--a subject of some controversy these days.

Pine Street Inn receives more public money than any other shelter in Boston. The contract Pine Street Inn

has with the Department of Public welfare provides for the purchase of services from Pine Street to homeless people. The Inn is paid, from General Relief monies, for persons sleeping either in beds or on the floor of the shelter.

Pine Street Inn, although not a member of the Massachusetts Coalition of the Homeless, has opposed that group's efforts to obtain General Relief benefits for homeless people that would be paid directly to the individual, and not to the shelter. Pine Street's Assistant Director, Patrick Murphy, offers an explanation:

We have not used General Relief too much because, in most cases, the people we end up working with have other sources of income, and there's certainly more to be had when you find a Veteran and link him up with those benefits. A lot of times, it's sorting out benefits that have been cut off for some reason...a guy disappears on a drunk; the checks go back; he gets cut off, and we have to start him up again....

The whole move afoot now, this thing of making shelters a permanent address to get General Relief...we had that one time; it's a nightmare, a real mess. I think it should be done for places like Rosie's--places that are not State-funded. For State-funded places, it's a whole different situation. There's the real legitimate issue of the double-dipping, and how do you deal with that?

I don't think that we want to get between a guest and his money in any way, because it's a no-win situation. They don't understand it...for a person to receive General Relief here, and for us to have to take a certain amount from his check to cover the expense that GR would take from from our regular contract, it's complicated. We have to do that, as opposed to them doing that... 18

- Patrick Murphy (interview)

Other members of the shelter community in Boston have a different view of Pine Street's reluctance to either join the Coalition for the Homeless or to advocate for General Relief payments to homeless individuals.

There's a certain mentality in the shelter world that these people do have to be protected; that they can't handle General Relief benefits. We tried to get Pine Street Inn to back us on getting General Relief benefits for people. I don't know if they could face the fact that they [Pine Street Inn] all knew that their [Pine Street Inn's] income depended upon their [Pine Street Inn's guests] not getting General Relief. The General Relief now goes to Pine Street Inn.

They also have this idea, this secondary idea that comes from the economic organization, that it's not good for people to have money. They're all going to get mugged...which is true. But that's because of, after years of not getting their money, they are so disabled that they can't handle things.

It's like the back wards. You create what you can't handle...

When I was a student nurse, I was at a hospital called the Toledo State Hospital/Asylum for the Insane. One of my jobs was to hose people down who were chained to their chairs...this was in 1963...this concrete floor with a hole in the center, where all the waste went...we went around and

fed people porridge out of pots, while they were chained to their chairs. Then we were told, 'Watch out for violence.'

Well, suppose you went in there and tried to be Sally Nurse and do group psychotherapy. It isn't going to work; people don't even know how to talk to each other any more. They've learned things they had to do to survive. To be withdrawn, to ignore stimulation, or whatever, just to hold themselves together.

So they were created on the backward...then you would say, 'Well, this is impossible...they aren't regular people.' But you've added all this baggage to their lives.

I have no quarrel with saying that some people are organized psychologically in a way that they don't function well, and they never will. Fine...but in the meantime, somebody doesn't have to be humiliated, and not be able to wear pants, and not be able to...make decisions within the limited scope that they're able to make decisions. It's outrageous. If you have money, you're not treated like that.

...[Pine Street] is always saying, 'Well, our people are drunks..our people are bums...they can't handle money....'

Well, that's true. And Pine Street has participated in making them that way. Not on purpose---they've done their best as they've seen it, but we are now beyond the days of primitive shelter. Primitive shelter now is not helpful. The Shattuck and Long Island (opened temporarily in winter, 1983) are already better than Pine Street in that sense. They aren't the best, but they are somewhat transitional in nature, in that they adopt people who are there and work with them on their problems. They are capable of being able to expand to do a full

advocacy component.

I am so angry [at Pine Street Inn] for not developing more of a consciousness. I get angry at them, but I shouldn't, really, because it's an institution. It was an old solution for the alcoholic guy, and it ballooned into meeting modern day needs by getting bigger and bigger and bigger. It can't help itself.

...As we look at Pine Street and its population, we begin to hold Pine a little more accountable. They've been getting a lot of money. They get money even for people who have to sleep on the floor. That's why they don't complain about people sleeping on the floor. That's the danger of the shelter industry.

It's like the state hospital industry. The mental health workers want patients, and so do the psychiatrists. They're not trying to deinstitutionalize the state hospitals...

The State needs to be assisting Pine Street in dismantling the pieces that don't work so well. What they should be doing is sitting down with the Board of Directors and saying, "Look. How can we, piece by piece, bring some coherency and programmatic response to homelessness here? But the State isn't going to do that; they're saying, 'Hmm...Pine Street Inn...350 beds...'

Pine Street is responsible for the way it is. It does good things; it has always done good things, but it needs to be much more brought into the contemporary world and be a need-meeting structure, and not part of the problem.¹⁹

- Carol Johnson

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The public funding received by Pine Street is a substantial portion of its support--on paper. Much of the support received by Pine Street and other such organizations is not quantified and comes in the form of donations of time, services, and articles from individuals and from church groups/social organizations. A major portion of this donated support makes up the Pine Street Inn food program, which feeds as many as 600 people nightly (over 200,000 people annually.) Pat Murphy speaks with great enthusiasm about the volunteer efforts that maintain a massive feeding program and generally keep Pine Street Inn going.

The volunteer support is enormous. If we were to go across the street and open a shelter to provide this much service without volunteers, it would cost us \$4-5 million. Right now, it's costing the Department of Public Welfare under \$2 million, and we're looking at the next year, inflation and all that...half of everything we're doing is because people are donating. It comes in the form of cash, and it comes in the form of food and services and goods...

The food program is enormous. The number of people involved--I really haven't counted, but you figure 1,200 sandwiches a night made by a community group, and the community group is each family making two loaves of sandwiches. A pound of bologna, two loaves of bread...make the sandwiches, put them back in the bag. There's someone going around, picking up from all the community groups. The person who goes to the supermarket picks up the stale pastries or the day-olds. Someone else who made a casserole--someone who hustled up some white socks...some oranges...and ten or fifteen people who bring it here...

We have this whole network out there to make these 1,200 sandwiches. It's an enormous number of people. When you figure out how much it would cost to feed 550 or 600 people every night of the year...what's it cost to go to McDonald's? A couple of bucks. You're not going to get out of there with a full stomach for under \$2.50 or something like that.

And there's a fish company in Everett..every Wednesday, we go over and pick up an enormous amount of fish...And we've got the Stop and Shop Companies and all these bread companies...and two or three vans that are constantly moving, picking up bread. We use an enormous amount of bread here...Green Freedman Bakery has a bag of bagels; we'll pick it up. It goes on and on and on...canned goods drives from the schools...that's what it's all about.

And the blankets, and the sheets, and all the clothing...and the nurses, and the people who come in from the schools who volunteer for a semester and will walk people through the whole mess that is Social Security. Go apply for Social Security some

time! If you're on the street and homeless and a bit off-center because of that, it's a pretty tough thing. So we have volunteers who actually have to spoon-feed someone through the whole thing. It's an enormous amount of volunteer support that really makes this thing go. 20

Patrick Murphy (interview)

Pine Street Inn appears to be a highly charitable organization, from the sandwiches catered by community groups to the cheery staff in the corridors. The Catholic Church, though not formally tied to the Inn, has played a role in its continued success, primarily through individuals associated with the Church, rather than through the Archdiocese per se.

The Boston Urban Priests, an organization of liberal priests which saved Pine Street Inn from demolition, were able to leverage other Church support for Pine Street. Catholic Charities provides funds for lunches...St. Vincent de Paul Societies send contributions.

Both Cardinals Cushing and Medeiros have visited Pine Street and, by so doing, garnered support for the shelter's operation. The late Richard Cardinal Cushing was a particular favorite of Pine Street staff.

Cardinal Cushing used to come here in the old days, which was a very big thing. He was a very, very influential person in the community, and when he arrived at Pine Street on Thanksgiving, everyone else arrived, too. That was an opportunity to come and do the good work, whether they were there the other 364 days of the year or not...

The television cameras would arrive--which was a conflict and a dilemma--but it was public support, and the Cardinal would say, 'This is a good place...' and people would support us. That would mean blankets and bedspreads and canned goods and food groups, and on and on. Paul Sullivan would be there...and Paul would get this drawn look on his face, and people would think, 'Give this man money.' When Paul went out and talked to people, he looked the way some of the guys did...

The whole thing is that we got that kind of support, and we've gotten it from Cardinal Medeiros as well, who is consistently here every day before Christmas to serve lunch, and it's wonderful. You know--I'm not much of a spiritual person, but when that person comes in--that holy man--and says, 'thank you,' it's important. It carries you for a little while longer, and that's nice.

So that public support and all those parishes and all those priests and all those nuns and all those kids in parochial schools...all those Vincent de Paul Societies and Knights of Columbus...all those canned goods and clothing drives...and all that awareness...it all builds through the years.

One time, we told people we needed razors. We have this unbelievable problem with razors...people around here have a lot of beards to shave. Usually we're shaving three-day or four-day beards, and you need about four disposable razors to do the job on each face. So, we said, 'Folks -- special need: we need razors.' It was phenomenal! They could have come in trucks. It was fabulous. We've asked for more complicated things that haven't been as easy to deliver. We've asked for johnnies for people to wear to bed. We have special ones that you have to sew, because we don't want a hole in the back...whenever we've said we need things, people are there. It's great. So the Church has supported us in that way, and we have some very solid, active people on our board from the Church.21

- Patrick Murphy (interview)

Pine Street has succeeded in accomplishing its own goals, such as the move to the new facility on Bristol Street, by developing strong working relationships with elected officials and key personnel in public and private sector organizations. The Bristol Street move was made possible by the concerted efforts of many individuals and institutions, and the late Richard Cardinal Cushing was a facilitator for Pine Street when necessary. Pine Street Inn has learned the art of developing the political ties that can make the difference between survival and demise for a shelter organization.

For example, Pine Street personnel have been very active in the process which has been initiated by Michael Dukakis to combat homelessness. Pine Street's Executive Director, Richard Ring, was appointed to the Advisory Committee established by the Governor, which split into three Task Forces, on which the Executive and Assistant Directors of Pine Street have served.

Assistant Director Patrick Murphy has had primary responsibility for Pine Street's role in the State process. In that capacity, Murphy has indicated that he has spent some thirty hours weekly since February in various Task Force and Subcommittee meetings associated with the State campaign.

Murphy asserts that the Task Forces are scheduled to continue meeting for at least the next four years, and suggests that staff for the committees be added to expedite research functions and to ease the burden of responsibility on (already overtaxed) shelter operators. Murphy's prognosis for the success of the Governor's program is mixed. It is also indicative of the Pine Street management philosophy.

Well, my name's Murphy, and I guess I have a bit of the pessimist in me, and I guess a bit of the optimist, and I guess I'm an idealistic pragmatist and a pragmatic idealist. I know how to work hard, and I know how to hustle, and I put those skills to work for our guests, because that's what's important to me. I'll take anything I can get. I'll go to great lengths to hustle up a case of white socks or to get a food group to come in or to get a couple of cans of peas.

If [Dukakis] wants to throw his hat in the ring on this, and work on this issue, I'll be right in there with him, and so will the rest of us. We'll go right to the wall and do what we have to do. Politics is politics, and Reagan, and belt-tightening, and everything else...if we don't come out of it with the whole ball of wax, that's life. We do what we can to get as much as we can out of it; it's as simple as that.

I don't know what he can deliver. I think he's an honest, committed, honorable individual. He walks in circles where it's a funny game they play up there, politics. I think his heart's in the right place, and his head's in the right place, and he'll do what he can for us. And we'll back him up to do whatever we have to do. We'll roll the snowballs if he wants to throw them. That's what it's all about. 22

- Patrick Murphy (interview)

Pine Street has not spent all of its planning time involved in the State process. Pine Street Inn has been involved in its own internal long-range planning efforts. The process of reflection on what Pine Street has done thus far has been a fruitful one. The workgroup has been looking at the needs of the homeless person--in totality, beyond the basics which Pine Street attempts to provide--in order to produce a model that will assist in long-range planning.

Pine Street has also begun to consider the possibility of a training program that would enable it to formalize the educative role it has played with others who wish to either start shelters or to learn more about working in shelters.

Despite the ever larger and ever more problematic population of homeless people that fills Pine Street Inn to overflowing every night, Pat Murphy feels much progress is being made:

We're winning every day, I guess...600 people under the roof every night in February...that's better than 600 on the streets. It sure is...600 fed. And lots going on...and boy, things are hopeful. DMH--well, that's another battle to be won, but things are hopeful.

Our goals are simple: keep people alive for one more day. And we reach that goal every single day of the world. If it was a more complicated goal, we'd have a tough time, but it's that simple, and it's that attainable, and we're successful. 23

- Patrick Murphy (interview)

ROSIE'S PLACE

The face of poverty is growing ever more vivid; that face is the face of a woman.

- Kip Tiernan, Foundress and current President, Rosie's Place

Rosie's Place grew out of a dream and a prayer and a lot of volunteer energy, starting in a storefront that was leased from the Boston Redevelopment Authority for a dollar a year, on Columbus Avenue in the South End Urban Renewal Project Area.

It is generally believed that Rosie's Place originated as a Catholic worker-type soup kitchen, social club and shelter for homeless women in Boston. Actually, Kip Tiernan had something else in mind when she started Rosie's.

When I opened Rosie's Place, I was not thinking, really, of charity. I was thinking that, simply, it made sense to have a place that women could come to without question. They didn't have to be anything. They simply were there. It was a place for them to come to and be who they wanted to be. It was simple; it is still simple.

In the late 'Fifties, I went to Paris...I was working for Houghton Mifflin at the time. I was looking for an author they had given a

retainer to and never heard from again. When I was in Paris, I poked around the city, and I got kind of involved...the whole Abbe Pierre worker priest thing was starting then.

I ran around for a while with a group called the Little Brothers. Fascinating. They were all men...no one could be over thirty-five...they set up grandson relationships with the abandoned elderly of Paris. They used to get terrific food...make all the plates hot, and hand-deliver it.

I was intrigued with the way they did it, because it was very chic. They would go into these absolute hovels, with these hot, napkin-wrapped plates, and present them with a great deal of style to these poor people. They would do things like take them the first strawberries of the season...or they would find out that it was their anniversary, and they'd bring them a bottle of champagne.

I thought--Jesus Christ, this is an extraordinary way of being with poor people and making them feel good about themselves. I suppose those are the kinds of things you put on the back burner...then, when the time comes that you say you want to do something like this, you have that kind of history.

That's what I wanted Rosie's Place to be. I wanted it to be elegant. I wanted it to be terrific, with the best food, and the best everything, and flowers...so it was choreographed, before it ever opened.

I started out calling it a Catholic Worker thing, because I knew people would understand that--and not what I had to say. Little by little, I got it across to people that we were not into stale bread, that we were not a soup kitchen, that we were not into having people sitting around praying about how lucky we were.

I did not like the imposed austerity that the Catholic Worker style has. As a result, I took a lot of heat from people. I was accused of "pampering" the women. 23

Rosie's Place has matured in the eight years since its inception. It now provides ten emergency beds to women

(and sometimes children), along with serving nutritious, ample, and delicious meals that support groups cater for at least fifty women each day for lunch and up to one hundred twenty for dinner each evening.

Last night, we had salad, beef stew, and bread. And apple pie. Some people bring turkey, potatoes, vegetables, and some bring lasagna. Sometimes there are mixed casseroles, which the ladies don't like, because everyone gets something different... 'I want a chicken!' 'She got hot dogs!'²⁴

- Eileen Brigandi (interview)

Rosie's Place focuses on quality of service, rather than quantity of women served. Meals are a special occasion, because that is a time for the women to get together; meals are social events as well as nutritional necessities. That is not to say that there is an air of frivolity at Rosie's Place. There is an effort, however, to serve tasty, appealing food, and to make dinnertime as much of a community event as possible. Because Rosie's Place is so small (only ten beds are available for overnight guests), a large part of its program is the food component.

Women come from all over the city--some are homeless; some are simply poor; some come to see their friends. Food is served family-style, and there is no waiting in line (for dinner, or for anything else). Whenever

possible, celebrations are held.

Rosie's operates on the premise that the women who come there need something to celebrate. At Rosie's, life is celebrated.

One of the most striking and significant aspects of the continued survival of Rosie's Place is that it has never accepted or sought any government funding, the theory being that with government funding, comes government regulation. Another important reason for the principle of not seeking government funds is that Rosie's wants to maintain its freedom to enter political arenas and to advocate for the needs of poor and homeless women. It has seen other shelter organizations refrain from taking positions on important issues, for fear of losing or jeopardizing their funding.

Some of the ideas that Rosie's started with and that make it such a unique place have not changed. The philosophy that says that poor people need to live, and not just subsist on everyone else's leftovers and castoffs, stands firm at the center of the operation of Rosie's Place.

I think one of the main things is the attitude of acceptance--that what's really important, for things to change, is to identify where they're at right now, and that where they're at right now is okay. Fine. Whatever their lifestyle.

We don't say, 'if you come here, you need to get better.' We say, 'if you come here, we'll take you as you are.' And I think once people get a good sense of self-acceptance, they can really change. Change is a fringe benefit of acceptance...

We can say, 'hi, how are you?' If we had government funding, I think we'd have to say other things: 'Where have you been? Why haven't you eaten? Where have you looked for food?' At the Salvation Army, if someone isn't actively willing to change, they won't shelter that person. There is a real demand for rehabilitation. At Pine Street, you don't have to do anything. You just keep coming...I think that the number of individual people may be higher at the Salvation Army, because I think they will try and find options to get people back into the system. 'Let's try this job.' They try to get people to work, to assist them back into the system. So that frees up beds...it's a flow, rather than the same old people. 25

- Eileen Brigandi, Director,
Rosie's Place (interview)

While women are not pressured into performance with regard to seeking jobs or housing or treatment, advocacy is a major part of the routine at Rosie's Place. Staff assist guests in obtaining medical benefits, income assistance, permanent housing, jobs -- whatever is necessary for a woman's well-being. Staff have also accompanied women to court, to medical appointments, and the like.

The organizational structure of Rosie's Place is consistent with its principles of operation. The volunteers at Rosie's determine policy. They are the

decisionmaking body; "celebrities" on the Board of Directors are those people who have devoted a great deal of time and energy to the success of Rosie's Place. The shelter is feminist in principle and in practice, but it is not exclusionary: there are male volunteers, and there are many men who are friends of Rosie's Place and assist in its operation however they can.

Administration of the shelter is committed to maintaining the atmosphere that retains Rosie's special quality, no matter how sophisticated the organization becomes. This includes the provision of good food, clean sheets, fresh flowers, parties, fun, friendship, and love for the women who come to Rosie's. The principle behind this commitment, which may even sound lavish in the shelter world, is that the women are seen as being shortchanged in just about every avenue of life they travel; at Rosie's, they will not be shortchanged.

I think there are some people who have been behind the door when all the goodies were being given out. I think that society has contributed to that feeling of no value that people have. I think politics is how one may be forced to live. (I think this is true of theology as well)...

Unless we are willing to do more than just criticize and gripe, some of us get just what we deserve. If we do not stand up for poor women today, we're going to be on our knees down the line. 26

- Kip Tiernan (interview)

Rosie's Place, probably more than anything else, is a place for women to be...safe, warm, welcome, cared for, and home, and not to be...questioned, categorized, "rehabilitated," "improved," or "upgraded." One of the most important things Rosie's Place strives to provide is a sense of community for the women--this applies to the meal guests as well as to the overnight guests.

The kinds of women who come to Rosie's have shifted somewhat over the years, as the problem of homelessness has changed. Now, many of the women are recently released from mental institutions that may recognize their need for services but have abdicated responsibility for serving that group of deinstitutionalized people who are referred to as the "chronically mentally ill" --those who are not seen as readily "curable."

Because of the limited number of beds and the unlimited number of women wanting them, Rosie's has instituted a policy that women can only stay for six consecutive nights, when they must go elsewhere, but may return later. There is recognition of the six-day limit as creating a hardship for the women. The principle behind the limited stay is that there are far more homeless women in the city than Rosie's can serve at one time. With the limit, turnover of women enables the staff at Rosie's to assist more women.

The traditional institutions on whom the burden has been historically placed: churches, Salvation Army, Catholic Workers...can't handle the new, grisly mathematics....

Those of us on the hunger/shelter/access to justice scene in the city are actually involved in triaging hunger, homelessness, medical services, legal services, and access.

The task at hand is overwhelming. When everything is a priority, then what the hell is a priority? 27

- Kip Tiernan (interview)

Responding to the call to do something other than apply band-aids to a failed system, Rosie's has begun to address the problem of providing permanent housing for women. Many of the women who are the disaster victims of Boston's housing crisis have ended up on the doorstep of Rosie's because no one wants to take responsibility for them.

By providing permanent, supervised housing for some of its guests, Rosie's hopes not only to help relieve the housing crisis facing poor women in Boston, but also to move some women out of the vicious cycle of chronic homelessness.

The impression often maintained of homeless people in urban areas, when the problem has not been thoroughly examined, is of people who, were they to "get themselves together" or "pull themselves up by their bootstraps," could do better. The reality for the women of Rosie's

Place is something different. Many of the women have been overlooked by the Great Society, the American dream, and the Welfare/social service networks. They didn't fit into any of the master plans, and so they continued to slip through the cracks in the system. Many of them have been doing just that all their lives, and they have never really acquired the skills and resources necessary for successful functioning in day-to-day, independent urban living.

Most of the women of Rosie's Place are poor. Many are handicapped or sick, and quite a few are old. Some are alcoholics. Many can't get on Welfare. By and large, the system has failed them. Some have spent so much time in institutions, that when the institutions "liberate" them for one reason or another, they are indeed more lost than liberated.

People say to me, 'do the women ever want to clean up? Do they ever want to take showers?' My answer to that is, that's usually the first thing they want to do. Shampoo, soap, and towels are--other than food--the most in-demand items. Women come in and want to brush their teeth before they eat, so we give them toothbrushes and toothpaste. And, as you say, it's a lack of conveniences.

It's always the sort of middle class folks who ask the question, and I say, "where would you take a shower if you didn't have your home and your Y membership? How would your body get clean?"

The other aspect of it is that women will smell offensive as a protection, feeling like, if you smell bad enough, you'll be repulsive,

and you'll be less victimized. The chances of rape will be less. If you think about it, if you look dirty enough and smelly enough, you hope to God the men won't hassle you. So it's a survival mechanism. If you're going to be on the streets, you'd better not look too pretty.

It doesn't even matter...rape is not a function of sex. But that is their hope. 28

- Eileen Brigandi (interview)

With the deinstitutionalization of mental health in Massachusetts, women who have been given basic maintenance by institutions--rather than any kind of rehabilitation, treatment, or even acknowledgement of their particular needs, have been dumped back into their catchment areas. Often the only advocacy for their permanent housing needs comes from a hospital staff person who suggests that they "try Rosie's Place." Obviously, offering a woman a lead to an emergency shelter where she could, if there were room, stay for six nights, does not free her in any real way or provide her with a range of options from which to reshape a life.

Kip Tiernan has often characterized the movement of women from the institutions to the streets of Boston as "taking them from the back wards, and putting them on the back alleys."

There is nothing humane about this kind of situation.

It solves no problem, except for the institutions that are part of the problem. It creates problems for women that they can't handle, along with a situation that cities are not prepared to manage. On a neighborhood level, it creates a situation in which everyone ends up blaming the victim, because no one wants "those people" in their alleys, sleeping in their doorways, cluttering up their notions of what city life is all about.

Rosie's Place has been bearing substantial burdens of responsibility for the women it has served. With limited staff and resources, and the organizational belief in strong advocacy to assist women in bettering their life situations, there has been a great deal of work done by a small handful of people.

The workload and the general preference of avoiding dealings with government as much as possible (theory being that government involvement, is more trouble than it is worth had combined to put Rosie's in a somewhat isolationist mode. (This isolationism is not uncommon in the shelter world. Pine Street Inn has also had periods of isolationism.)

Given the workload and the isolationism and the tendency to avoid government entanglements, one might not have expected Rosie's Place to become involved in the Dukakis

campaign against homelessness. It did become involved--not to as great an extent as did Pine Street Inn--but it participated:

I think one of the reasons we got in was that we were feeling that because we had been in the business for nine years--if you can call it a business--and we had some understanding about homelessness. We feel the State and its policies have created a lot of the problem.

If you are, on a daily basis, listening to women, and you believe it's State policy that's creating a lot of it, or at least preventing them from having services...then I think when the State says, 'I now have a listening ear for you; come and tell me, instead of whistling in the wind...' we responded to what appeared to be a real welcome and sufficient opening to changing participation in State government. 29

- Eileen Brigandi (interview)

The political separation between Rosie's Place and the more traditional shelter organizations was highlighted during the State inquiry into the homelessness system. Rosie's and its personnel, not being dependent upon the State for funding, were willing to push issues, such as the General Relief medical benefits issue, further than were some of their associates.

I think the people at Pine Street have a different view than we do, and a different philosophy than Rosie's does. We are about enabling people to return to a lifestyle--whatever people choose. Pine Street's not. They really like to manage people's monies themselves. They feel that they (Pine Street) should be given the money, and they can provide food, clothing, and shelter better than the folks who come to Pine Street. They feel people would only 'drink it up' if they got General Relief funds...

I prefer small shelters, because I think they work better...when you're looking at 300 homeless people, I don't know how you begin sorting out deciding who you're going to assist first, other than those few who are demanding services. I think that in a smaller shelter, people can develop more trust, that they can stay there until they get the resources to move on.

They develop trust in the staff and a mechanism of going to the bureaucrat who can get their Welfare benefits or whatever. It can't happen that way with numbers. I would just as soon see a hundred small shelters across the state and take twenty people at a time...and have a few successes. 30

- Eileen Brigandi (interview)

Kip Tiernan is involved in the process in two roles: as foundress of Rosie's Place, and as a member (and leader) of the Massachusetts Coalition for the Homeless; she is a member of the Advisory Board on Homelessness.

The Advisory Board...is made up of various and sundry people, some of whom have intimate agendas and some of whom have out-front agendas, like the Coalition and myself. We're interested in housing, as well as in shelter. We're interested in taking the problem of homelessness from a total gestalt, which would mean considering Welfare -- Emergency Assistance, General Relief, Medicaid, Aid to Families with Dependent Children...

I'm concerned about the creation of a shelter system which will be very self-serving. And a cot in a gym is not the answer. It's the old thing of putting a band-aid on cancer. It's a little too late for that...

After the second meeting we had with Dukakis, it occurred to me that there was no major medical subcommittee. And the medical problems that confront (the homeless) are a major scene. So I recommended at an open meeting, that Dukakis attended, that we get a

group for that. So we did. I think that the medical thing had only been touched on by a number of groups that had agendas, but only as part of the parcel. And it's major--we pay more⁰ for medical care than any state in the country.

...We suggested at the meeting a couple of weeks ago, when (Dukakis) asked for questions...my question was to ask him to clarify his position on the support of Senate Bill 1886. (Sponsored by Sen. Chet Atkins; both Atkins and Dukakis had introduced bills; Atkins' bill, the Coalition felt, was more comprehensive.)

I felt it would be important, somewhere down the line, to have his support of it, because somewhere down the line, he would have to decide whether to raise taxes, or cut services. I felt the legislation would at least protect the constituency during his administration.

...Well. No one thought, when we discussed it after the meeting, that we had raised a big deal. But Carol Johnson (Mass. Coalition) and I were called by the chairs of the task forces to a meeting. They felt we had embarrassed the Governor.

(They were worried about) dissension among the ranks...maybe we should consider leaving the Advisory Board...

...We had a strategy...the Coalition had a strategy for that particular event...there was no question about it. There was no other time to do it...

With a lot of homeless people, the cost (of medical care) becomes excessive. When we don't take care of outpatient problems, they become inpatient problems, which are ten times the cost. I have a fiscal reality. It may not be sophisticated, but I do know the cost of things. To me, it makes sense to throw in medical...particularly ng3\$ when you have people laid off who have no coverage.

...they look on it as a hand-out. They don't think of the other hand-outs...of the state contracts...of the highways that don't work...of the pieces of paper on your car that fall off...of the attache Welfare.

They don't think in terms of the attache Welfare...of the Senators who get \$300,000 a year for not growing cotton. Of Lee Iacocca of Chrysler. They don't think of that as Welfare. They think of some poor son-of-a-bitch cleaning toilets, and she's on AFDC, so therefore, she's fraudulent.

The percentage of fraud among recipients is something like two per cent. But the vendors--the doctors from Wellesley who get paid for operations they never performed...the dentists...the taxicabs...the department stores...That's when I get enraged, and I come off looking like a "crazy."

I'm perfectly willing to discuss Welfare, providing we can take it from the total gestalt. Don't just tell me about the lady from Blue Hill Avenue, who's cleaning toilets and who--very unlikely--has \$42,000.

You see, I have faith that much of this Governor's Advisory Board will work, in spite of itself. I'm not so sure that Dukakis realized that there would be as many of us working on the Board. It's interesting that they would single us out...but they're stuck with us. We're not going to move, and they're stuck with us. 31

- Kip Tiernan (interview)

A TINY RIPPLE OF HOPE

Some believe there is nothing
one man or woman can do
against the enormous array of the world's ills.
Yet many of the world's great movements,
of thought and action,
have flowed from the work of a single person.
A young monk began the Protestant reformation,
a young general extended an empire
from Macedonia to the borders of the earth,
and a young woman reclaimed the territory of France.
It was a young Italian who discovered the New World,
and the thirty-two-year-old Thomas Jefferson
who proclaimed that all men are created equal.

These people have moved the world, and so can we all.
Few will have the greatness
to bend history itself,
but each can work to change
a small portion of events,
and in the total of all those acts
will be written the history of this generation.
It is from the numberless diverse acts of courage and
belief
that human history is shaped.
Each time a man stands up for an ideal,
or acts to improve the lot of others,
or strikes out against injustice,
he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope,
and crossing each other from a million different centers
of energy and daring,
those ripples build a current
that can sweep down
the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance.

- Robert F. Kennedy

I am done with big things and small things,
great institutions and big success, and I am
for those tiny invisible molecular forces that
work from individual to individual, creeping
through the crannies of the world like so many
rootlets, or like the capillary oozing of
water, yet which, if you give them time, will
rend the hardest monuments of men's pride.

- William James

The most important acts, for the one who
accomplishes them and for his fellow
creatures, are those that have remote
consequences.

- Tolstoy

If you have put castles in the air,
your work need not be lost.
That is where they should be;
now put foundations under them.

- Thoreau

INDIVIDUALS WHO SHELTER

One of the most striking features about the way we shelter our homeless is the group of people who have taken up the societal burden of caring for the poor and the homeless. Coming from different life experiences, with varying motivations and disparate philosophies, individuals have come to the same place -- providing shelter for those who have none -- by different routes. Just as shelter organizations have evolved along different paths through the same series of institutional shifts, so too have individuals found their niches in the homelessness system.

For most people involved in service to the poor, the notion of "doing the right thing" is central to their involvement, although that notion of "right"ness means different things to different people. Very often, the inspiration comes in nonspectacular, but important, childhood impressions. Examples set by significant others become guiding principles:

I've never verbalized why I do this, or why it's important to me, but I came upon it one day, trying to answer this question. What it was was that Skip (Russo - parish priest) taught us--taught me--what was right. It was as simple as that: this was the right thing to do. It was just that simple. I just got that sense from knowing him and working with him on very small things--canned goods drives for Pine Street Inn, for instance--and I always knew that it was important to take care of people...

There are other things...something I keep coming back to: when I was very, very young, my family was driving through Boston on Easter Sunday, and we were going to Commonwealth Avenue for the Easter parade...going up Tremont Street, there was an old man going through a trash barrel, and I had no way to understand that, as a young kid. No way--I had a happy family and all, and it was just there. It was sort of punctuated in a way by my mother saying to my father, "Slow down the car--stop!" There were some old cigarettes under the seat that she had seen, and there was this old guy looking through the trash barrel for something to eat. My mother took the cigarettes and just flung them at him, without looking. She didn't have any way to deal with it, either. 32

- Patrick Murphy

For some, the contact with the downtrodden was more personal, and the impression retained was that feeding the hungry and caring for the poor was not something that could be left to institutions.

I'm a child of the Depression, and my grandmother always fed people. Our kitchen was filled with homeless men when I was a child. I remember, as a child of five or six, seeing all of these men coming to our kitchen door, and my grandmother just in the kitchen--for years, it seemed. Just feeding men.

I often wondered, as a kid, how they found our house...many years later, I read a book about the "Great" Depression--I never knew what was so great about it...Guys would come to town, and when they found a house they could go into and be fed, when they would leave, they would put a chalk mark on the sidewalk...33

- Kip Tiernan

The sense of the way things work, how society is

ordered, and the way the economic "pie" is divided crystallizes for some at a very early age and gives rise to later questions.

As a kid growing up, I think that romantic tales of the ultimate good happening (like the loaves and fishes story) are very important, for a sense of justice...that people are born into a station in life...that it isn't anything preconceived, or full of negative connotations; it doesn't mean they don't want any better. I think I really understood economics as a kid--the economic structure of society. I knew there were rich people; I knew they didn't work any harder--probably less hard than poor people--but they were rewarded for what they were born into.³⁴

- Eileen Brigandi

I think that part of my coming into homelessness had to do with being a fairly well-educated person who came across this difference between reading about psychological problems with people, then experiencing back wards (as a psychiatric nurse), and saying, "Something must be wrong here."

It's the same model for homelessness, where massive groups of people are oppressed in a way that has nothing to do with their original problem.

All these people are homeless because they don't have money, or the housing (which is the same thing), or because there isn't any housing (which is the same thing), and then they're asked to go through all this other humiliation of unpredictability...not knowing where they're going to sleep...skin diseases...exposure...no bathrooms...no shower facilities...having to wear clothes that don't fit...being looked down upon by everyone they come into contact with. The further they get down the hole, the more society wants to distance themselves...it's just not right. ³⁵

- Carol Johnson

People who shelter the homeless have different reasons for doing it. While most share the common desire to do the "right thing," individuals can vary beyond that point from wanting an alternative career to carrying out an urban ministry.

The difference in motivation and intent of people involved in sheltering filters out through the system and becomes in a programmatic sense the difference between maintaining the homeless as homeless people and enabling them to participate more fully in society. Kip Tiernan distills the argument into the difference between charity (maintaining the homeless as a charitable act) and justice (advocating for change in the system while attending to the needs of the homeless in a way that is enabling). Part of Tiernan's thesis is that the problem of homelessness has outgrown charitable solutions.

I think we have gone beyond the whole notion of charity. I think that, traditionally, the whole notion of charity has been part and parcel of the Christian ethic. I'm not so sure that is what Christ had in mind. I think He was really talking about justice. I think it is more a question of justice now than charity.

But we have that mentality: charity, charity, charity...charity makes you feel good about yourself. Justice makes you feel good about everybody feeling good about something. Therein lies the difference.

I am not interested in charity. I am interested in justice. People have, I think, a fundamental right to someplace to live, a job to go to, food to put in their mouths. I don't think that's a question of charity.

Charity always has a mean little price tag on it. You're going to have to pray to eat. You're going to have to clean up your act to get a bed. You're going to have to get a job if you're going to expect us to continue to like you.

But we've accepted that notion, and we keep it in the realm of charity, rather than justice, because charity is easier to deal with. Justice involves risks, and it involves sharing. Charity involves the scraps from the table. What I'm talking about is being invited to the table. That's justice.

So you cross over from being a do-gooder to being a good-doer. That's when people dislike what you have to say, because it then involves a participation on their part that they are not willing to take, because of their own insecurities. I don't know how you get people beyond that. 36

- Kip Tiernan

The impact of institutions in creating the environment within which the homelessness system exists cannot be overemphasized. The role of the Church has been powerful in influencing society's acceptance/rejection of the moral imperative to serve the poor.

In Boston, which is a heavily Catholic city, a striking proportion of the people who shelter the homeless and feed the hungry are Catholic. As with any other

Institution, the Church means more to some than to others. If there is a unifying thread tying shelter operators together around the issue of Catholicism, it is probably that of Catholic/Christian attitudes, rather than practices.

I think that what the Church left me was a sense of ethics--of right and wrong, that people are entitled to live, and not because of capitalism or government or laws. Because people are entitled to live...well, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness...that's supposed to be what the nation was built on.³⁷

The Church has had varying influences on individuals. One person might be motivated by the remembered example of a favorite parish priest. Others have memories that are more angry--perhaps of, as a girl, cleaning the altar as a way of gaining (otherwise forbidden) access to it. Others have challenged the Church's positions of action and inaction and have called it to task on a range of issues.

I don't feel that the Church in Boston is particularly just. Invariably, within the Archdiocese, convents have been sold for condominiums. Rectories, churches, church land...you can't, on the one side of your mouth, say 'shelter the homeless,' and on the other side of your mouth, do that.

The ghetto churches that were sold to the Boston Redevelopment Authority...money never went back to the communities.

I think that, for myself, that I am beside, rather than within, the Church. And I think that is true for a lot of Catholics I know. That we are willing to coexist, but we are not willing to be a part of anything that is capitalistic, that is feudalistic, that is paternalistic, colonialistic...I'm simply not willing to be a part of that...

When people ask me who I am, I say, 'I'm a survivor.' I think that is an accomplishment. I have spent a lot of time--many years--trying to have covenantal relationships with other churches. I believe in a universal church. I don't know as I believe in any one particular one.

A lot of people within the Catholic Church have a lot of questions about it. What's happening with the bishops is the beginning of the acknowledgement of the need for a North American theology of liberation. What may come of that may be the salvation of Catholicism.

At the moment, I feel that, like the State and the City, the Church is part of the problem.

For so long, the Church has tried to provide a leadership role, and it is morally bankrupt. I think that the only way we can act as Christians within an evolutionary concept of Christianity, is to work with, rather than for, people. I don't think we have the right to impose our policies, our theology, our politics...we end up perpetuating systems that don't work. We end up being part of the problem. 37

The model that immediately comes to mind when thinking about Catholics and feeding the hungry, sheltering the homeless, is that of Dorothy Day and her Catholic Worker Houses of Hospitality. The Catholic Worker was a utopian experiment, a political and social movement, and

a force for change within American Catholicism. Individual commitment within collective effort is probably what translates most from the Catholic Worker to the Boston experience. Few would advocate establishing shelters as barren and deliberately impoverished as were the Houses of Hospitality.

More recent history offers examples of individuals living a more immediately relevant social gospel. Much of the political energy behind the shelter movement in Boston comes more directly from the Catholic Left, activities of the 1960s. Catholic radicals--clerical and lay--have challenged not only the basic assumptions of an unjust society, but also the Church's role in the creation of the status quo.

I was in business for myself, living on Long Wharf, in public relations, sales promotion, freelance writing. I was very successful at it...I was very much involved in the Congress on Racial Equality. I got out of that because there were too many white people in it; I felt it would continue to be run by white people as long as there were white people running it. I left, hoping to create an exodus, and I walked into the sunset by myself...

Then some friends of mine asked me if I would do some press work for the old St. Philip's parish. The Cardinal had sold it to the Redevelopment Authority. That's where I met people like Jack White, Dan Berrigan...really interesting people...kind of Catholic renegades...and the Black Panthers.

(Dan Berrigan) was one of the speakers at this thing. They were going to have a "last night" there. They asked me to call press for it,

and so I did. I had all the media there. I was impressed by what I saw.

It was the first time I had seen what I call Christianity in action. Up until that time, I had been a bit of a renegade myself..from then on in, I remember saying that night...when we had the television stations, the Panthers, everyone...that this was where the Church should be.

I remember saying to myself, "I have just passed through a door; there is no going back."37

Michael Dukakis very wisely made key individuals in the shelter community a part of his inquiry into the homelessness system. The process was hampered recently by a dispute over whether or not the Massachusetts Coalition for the Homeless were exhibiting disunity by suggesting that the legislative package on homelessness include provisions for medical assistance.

Individuals who have started and continued their work in the absence or in the shadow of institutional involvement with the homeless have taken on responsibility we as a society have cast off. We have a tendency to think such individuals are larger than life...saints...supermen/women who have added powers of some sort that we do not possess.

In fact, what they have is commitment, and determination, and, very often, a sense of humor that will carry them through the difficult times, of which there will be many. They have learned how to take gratification in the doing of the work.

I've been called the voice of doom--by my own people--after a while, you'd think I'd pack it in or hang it up. But I'm either the world's biggest fool or the most obtuse creature ever to run my mouth at a public hearing, and I'm still doing it, because I still believe we can make it. I have hope that if you believe in something and someone hard enough, you can't fail. And even things are worse than ever, I still believe it, because I see it happening every day. Like the song says, "rainbows I'm inclined to pursue."

I've worked side by side with poor women for over fifteen years, and they are tough mamas. They give me the strength I need to make it through the night. Beyond that tough group of women are men and women who believe what I believe, and they give me that kind of support...

We now have a Homeless Coalition--part of a national movement that's demanding shelters for the homeless. In spite of ourselves, people are still banding together...forming and reforming coalitions, and they are the lifeblood of the nation.

They're still saying, "hell, no; we won't go," and we owe them a debt of gratitude for that--that in the face of impossible odds, they maintain their impossible, improbable dreams. Maybe that's the stuff that keeps this nation innocent, and hopeful, and tough. We've come a long way, and we've seen terrible and terrifying things happen to ourselves and the people around us, but somehow we managed to rise above it...

Frequently at State House hearings, committee people who have listened somewhat distractedly to perhaps to my fury and testimony of rage, have also heard me say, "and I'm going to keep coming back until you get it right." Well, that's pretty much how I feel about what's happening today in this sad, sinful little town: I ain't gonna go away; I'm going to keep coming back until they get it right."37

- Kip Tiernan

CONCLUSION

The Homelessness System and the individuals who have given life to the shelter movement in Boston provide rich material for use in developing appropriate solutions to the problem of homelessness. Certainly, there are disparities of every description among these individuals, and yet there is a unity of purpose among them. Whatever their reasons, they are committed to the goal of caring for the poor and the dispossessed--the homeless.

Whether one chooses to view their actions as a religious response to a moral imperative; an act of charity; a political statement; a bureaucratic activity, or some synthesis of any of the foregoing...is not so important as the fact that they are doing it in the first place.

In the face of institutional abandonment and, to some large extent, the absence of informed elected leadership, some individuals hear the "Call" that the larger society also hears and chooses to ignore. By so doing, individuals who shelter the homeless and feed the hungry are picking up our societal debris. We congratulate them for doing what they feel they must do, because we understand, beneath the layers of denial, apathy, and even hostility, that they are doing our work, too.

To some great extent, individuals who shelter our homeless perform the function of keeping our unruly and unkempt masses under control. When homeless people have traveled far enough on the downward spiral with which they move through our city streets that we would prefer they not clutter up our notions of city life, individuals who shelter the homeless remove them from our midst--if only temporarily--and for this we owe them a debt of gratitude.

Confronting homelessness and homeless people is one of the most difficult tasks we face. We have a choice: we can continue to hide from the homeless--for it is we who hide from them--they put themselves in our midst constantly.

Another option we have is to continue to do what we have been doing. To do what Kip Tiernan refers to as putting band-aids on cancer. A few cots, a few gyms, a few thousand bologna sandwiches. The formula works--as long as our goal is to simply keep the homeless alive from empty day to fearful night.

Doing more than that is going to require sacrifice that we may not be willing to make, as has been evidenced by the recent controversy over whether we are willing to provide Medicaid for General Relief Recipients (or put another way, to provide basic medical coverage and access to care for people who have no resources with which to deal with the many

afflictions and illnesses that accompany their lack of connectedness to the support systems that keep us healthy.

There has never been a question, with regard to the General Relief/Medicaid controversy, as to whether or not homeless people need medical care. The question has always been whether we as a society are willing to pay for it. All indications are that we are not willing.

Our protestations to the contrary, not that much has changed in the way that we deal with our role in the homelessness problem. Our Governor has taken an active leadership role. He has been far more ready to deal with the homeless and their concerns than have we. In fact, if Michael Dukakis could rest assured that his constituency was such that Massachusetts residents/voters would not balk at the funding of Medicaid for General Relies recipients, then the homeless would have Medicaid.

The debate over whether the homeless ought to be maintained in their homeless state, or whether more effort should be put into enabling them to re-enter the mainstream and expand their opportunities is really our question, or problem. Our elected leadership represents us.

Government, unlike its constituents, does not have a conscience. At best, it may have a policy. [Camus]

The rest really is in our hands.

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FOOTNOTES

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2John Forrester, "Know Your Organizations: the Production of Goods and Services and the Reproduction of Social and Political Relations," paper presented at the National Conference of the American Planning Association, (Cincinnati, Ohio, October 1980.)

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9Eileen Brigandi, Executive Director, Rosie's Place (a shelter for the homeless), interview, Boston, Massachusetts, 5 April 1983.

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12Carol Johnson, interview.

13"Pine Street Inn: An Overview." Pine Street Inn, Boston.

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- 15 Patrick Murphy, interview.
- 16 Patrick Murphy, interview.
- 17 "Pine Street Inn: An Overview."
- 18 Patrick Murphy, interview.
- 19 Carol Johnson, interview.
- 20 Patrick Murphy, interview.
- 21 Patrick Murphy, interview.
- 22 Patrick Murphy, interview.
- 23 Kip Tiernan, interview.
- 24 Eileen Brigandi, interview.
- 25 Eileen Brigandi, interview.
- 26 Kip Tiernan, interview.
- 27 Kip Tiernan, interview.
- 28 Eileen Brigandi, interview.
- 29 Eileen Brigandi, interview.
- 30 Eileen Brigandi, interview.
- 31 Kip Tiernan, interview.
- 32 Patrick Murphy, interview.
- 33 Kip Tiernan, interview.
- 34 Eileen Brigandi, interview.
- 35 Carol Johnson, interview.
- 36 Kip Tiernan, interview.

WHY I BECAME A SOCIAL SCIENTIST

(published in Chelsea Review #24/25)

because I saw Hitler
floating in the steady Mediterranean
of his mother's womb

because I loved the morning
-dawn hours
when surprise attacks
are made when
cavalries charge
a few mortar rounds
slam into the barracks
the bomb explodes 2,000 feet
over Hiroshima

because the priest said
something
to the man in the electric chair

because nothing
became simple because my skin changed color
because even in me cities burned up
I starved and my bones gleamed like searchlights

because I couldn't
help it because
I needed quietness
because I saw this jar
where nations lay still
like malformed embryos

And I looked at it from the
outside
and from the inside
and I began to tremble like a child scalded
on the back of the neck by snow that

someone
had dropped from high up
and designed to burn

- Lou Lipsitz