AN EVALUATION OF THE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROCESS IN THE BROMLEY-HEATH HOUSING PROJECT

by

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(1969)

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF CITY PLANNING at the MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
June, 1971

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ABSTRACT

An Evaluation of the Community Organization Process In the Bromley-Heath Housing Project
Cheryl Marlene Miller
Submitted to the Department of City Planning on May 11, 1971 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of City Planning.

The community organization approach to affecting a redistribution of resources and power expresses a belief in the accessibility of the political system such that organized groups can extract from it what is not automatically forthcoming to individuals. This thesis is a study of the efforts of a public housing project, through organizing, to improve and control the conditions and services influencing tenant lives.

Bromley-Heath is one of the most problem-ridden and inadequate housing projects in Boston. In a five year period (1965-1969) several organizations were created in the project which have as their purpose creating a better living environment. Much of the impetus for the formation of these organizations came from the Great Society's "war on poverty".

The examination of the community organization process in Bromley-Heath focuses on three of the project's most significant organizations; the Jamaica Plain Area Planning Action Council, the Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee, and the Bromley-Heath Tenant Management Corporation. Because this is an evaluative study and not a research question, much of the information contained herein came from interviews with members and staff of the three organizations.

Bromley-Heath tenant organizations are about purposes other than community organizing, such as:
1. service provision because the project is so deprived
2. providing jobs for tenants
3. creating prestige and opportunity for leaders.

The nature of the community organization process in Bromley-Heath is such that a small number of leaders control the three organizations and lack strategies of mobilizing tenant support and participation.

Poor participation rates of project residents in their community affairs is the biggest obstacle facing groups interested in changing the conditions governing Bromley-Heath existence.

After studying the three organizations it becomes clear that they have not been the mobilizers of community change that one would expect to see from the level of funding and services they provide. Factors contributing to their ineffectiveness are:
1. conflicting obligations of the organizations towards clients and sponsors,
2. the absence of coordination and an ordering of project-wide priorities of the organizations, and
3. underutilization of the project's most plentiful and important resource, its numbers.

These organizations have in relative terms increased tenant participation in project affairs, created a new sense of awareness about power relationships, and given tenants a degree of control of their programs.

Thesis Supervisor: Bernard Frieden
Title: Professor of Urban Studies and Planning
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to give my thanks and appreciation to my advisor Bernard Frieden and to Lisa Peattie for their comments and suggestions. I am also indebted to the many staff and board members of Bromley-Heath organizations without whose cooperation this thesis would not have been possible. A special word of thanks goes to Milt, Tom, and Anna Mae.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Public Housing System and Tenant Organization

The decade of the sixties, which saw the March on Washington, the demand for Black Power, the creation of a National Welfare Rights Organization, and an Office of Economic Opportunity sponsored War on Poverty, has been a decade of social change. The participation and organization of those people with the least power in our political system has emerged as the means of focusing attention on their ills and securing their goals.

There are several theories upon which community organizations are based. One theory views community organizations as tools to be used by the powerless and the poor, where "community organizing is advocated...as a response to the problems of groups which have been characterized as non-participants in American politics. It is seen as a way to increase individual mobility, foster self-respect, and acquire the resources of power."¹ This approach to affecting a redistribution of resources and power expresses a belief in the vulnerability of the system such that organized groups can extract from it what is not forthcoming to individuals. Organization becomes a political resource by evening the odds toward a more equitable position for the poor.

Organizations viewed in the above manner can have a psychic value when there is no real distribution of power being affected. They give people the illusion of possessing power when many times, all that is

occurring is that citizen discontent is being allowed expression. In her typology of eight levels of citizen participation, Sherry Arnstein categorizes participation as an empty ritual where control over outcomes and a redistribution of power are not affected by the process.²

Frances Piven states that the new concern with resident participation initiated by the Poverty Program is due to "a characterization of the low-income urban community as disorganized and politically ineffective." Piven further asserts that "low income people tend not to belong to organizations, and they do not participate in community affairs ... (and) are relatively uninfluential in the formation of policies and practices of major institutions which affect the course of their lives."³ One area in which Frances Piven's observation is indeed true is that of the participation public housing tenants in their community organizations. Because they are one of the most powerless groups in American society, they have been one of the last to form the habit of organizing. They are not convinced that rewards can be derived from the process of organizing. They are also more likely, because of their understandable lack of faith, to be discouraged when success is not immediate.

The public housing program, despite some of the lofty goals of the program as found in the legislation, is one of the most inadequate of those programs operating to provide homes for a segment of America's


low-income population. In its three decades of operation it has become evident that although the public housing program has succeeded in housing 900,000 poor families, it is one of the least desirable strategies for housing the low income. The public housing system, for the most part, provides for the shelter needs of its clientele but with gapping deficiencies in meeting social and emotional needs.

One of the characteristics of the public housing program which has made its operation rigid and insensitive is that it is a complicated meshing of three spheres of government. It is a network of responsibilities and duties whereby the federal, state and local governments have obligations; some are clearly defined, others are not. This jurisdictional entanglement has led to public housing tenants bearing the brunt of the resultant inadequacies. Because of the failures of the public housing program, tenants are demanding better structures, more adequate services, and competent and sensitive management.

Originally, public housing aimed to improve the lives of its tenants by creating an environment that foster hope and a sense of achievement. In its early days, it was thought that destroying the slums and replacing them with new, decent, and clean structures, at a price the poor could afford to pay, would lead to improved living habits and self-worth of the people thus housed. It has become increasingly apparent that public housing may well have attempted impossible results by subsidizing the buildings and not the people.

Several criticisms have been levelled at the structures we know today as projects. They bear little continuity with the structures
which were destroyed for their creation. The concept of neighborhood and the sense of community have been sacrificed for economies of scale and political feasibility. While housing projects have led to decreased rents for many poor families, they have also caused vast concentrations of the deprived, and pathological despair. They are accused of breeding the very same slum pathology which they were supposed to destroy; juvenile delinquency, moral laxity, and anti-social behavior.

A few of the indictments of public housing may be exaggerated, but there is no doubt that some public housing projects are vivid examples of the social environment producing anomie. The absence of community heterogeneity and social services, the institutional nature of its operation, and the concentration of multi-problem families have brought into being structures which are as ghettoized, in spirit and form, as those structures they replaced.

Given the persistence of the above-mentioned conditions, it was only a matter of time before the public housing system; tenants, management, and federal sponsors, responded to the rapidly deteriorating conditions. Although public housing residents have in the past been characterized by a resignation which precludes insurgency, the dehumanizing conditions which typify most projects have kindled a discontent which is both vocal and angry. Tenants are rejecting the public housing lifestyle.  

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5 One measure of this rejection is the high vacancy rates of the so-called "bad" projects in most American cities.
One of the few advantages the public housing operation has over the private housing mechanism for tenants is that the enemy, i.e. management and downtown, can more easily be identified and attacked. In the mood of the sixties, when citizen participation has been re-emphasized as a virtue, public housing tenants have begun to express themselves in terms of complaints and demands against their oh so visible, but yet so unresponsive landlord. In the current political context, their demands for better structures, more adequate services, and competent and sensitive management, can no longer go unrecognized.

The management apparatus, i.e. the local housing authorities, of the public housing system has had several responses to tenant dissatisfaction. A number of local housing authorities now include tenants as Board members. Another response has been that management now encourages, with HUD's blessing of course, tenant organizations more than it ever has in the life of the public housing program.

In the federal sphere, the various "turnkey" programs are currently in vogue. The "turnkey" programs structure new relationships in the development of, management of, or occupation of public housing. Turnkey I puts development of public housing units into the hands of private firms, with the local housing authority only managing the units; Turnkey II turns over the management of units to private

6 An example is the mass rent strike organized by St. Louis public housing tenants.

7 Boston, Mass. and Cambridge, Mass. are among the cities which do have tenant Board members.

8 HUD's blessing came in the form of a Circular entitled "Social Goals for Public Housing", 3-22-68.
groups, and Turnkey III provides for the sale of public housing units to tenants. The turnkey programs endeavor to affect some much needed changes in the institutional arrangements and operation of the public housing system. These innovations address themselves to a transfer of authority from the public spheres in the expectation that the public housing system will perform more efficiently and more responsibly.
Nature of Study and Statement of Methodology

Research conducted for a M.C.P. thesis in 1964 found that Boston’s 55,000 public housing tenants are subject to all the grievances of public housing tenants across the country. They complained of insensitive management, inadequate social services, and a poor maintenance effort. Also, only six of Boston’s 35 projects had tenant organizations. Tenant organization, within Boston’s projects and on a city-wide level has been sparse, sporadic and short-lived.

In 1963, in response to conditions at Columbia Point, Boston’s largest and probably worse project, a city-wide public housing tenants organization was founded. The Tenant Association Council (TAC), which was dependent upon social service agencies for its funding and staffing, remained active and alive for about a year. It is now inactive, unstaffed, and possesses little tenant interest or support. The failure of this initial effort at forming a city-wide public housing tenants organization does not rule out the possibility of such an organization again arising in Boston to articulate grievances and press for demands of public housing tenants. However, for the time being we see this type of response being unlikely.

In 1964, in an attempt to deal with tenant alienation from management, the Boston Housing Authority (BHA) formed a Department of Tenant

May Hipshman, Public Housing At The Crossroads: The Boston Housing Authority, (Metropolitan Boston Association, United Church of Christ, Boston, 1967).
and Community Relations. Its purpose was "to provide for the physical and social well-being of public housing tenants". Actually, its primary role was to relieve racial tensions in Boston public housing. Full-time management aides were assigned to four of the largest and most problem-ridden projects in the city. These aides were to encourage community organizations and tenant group activities.

Predictably enough, the Department of Tenant and Community Relations was short-lived (4½ years). Although the management aide positions have been maintained in most of the city's projects, the goals of the defunct department are not being pursued by any substitute arm of the Boston Housing Authority. The housing authority does aid tenant organizations and social service agencies in its projects by providing space to these groups.10

In 1968 two tenants of Boston public housing were appointed members of the authority's five-man Board. The two tenants, combined with a reformist Board chairman, have changed the complexion of what used to be a patronage appointed, conservative Board.11 However, both tenants are currently under suspicion by the Mayor's Office as to alleged misuse of funds. Under such attack, it is not clear how secure these tenant positions are.

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10 The recipient groups include day care centers, health centers, playgrounds, Headstart, and tenant groups.

11 This Board is currently in the throes of its most heated political battles with the Mayor over the Board's firing of the BHA Administrator.
The above brief description of public housing in Boston is intended to clarify why we feel it is unlikely that any innovative approaches and solutions to the problems of its public housing tenants will come from "downtown". It has barely been feasible for the Boston Housing Authority to house its population of the poor and powerless. The public housing operation simply does not allow the housing authority to have the energies or resources to solve the many problems of its clientele. As we have seen, even the now defunct Tenants Association Council was unable to muster the support and enthusiasm it needed to survive. Boston public housing residents interested in improving their lives must take the initiative. However, this initiative may be more effective when it is focussed around development rather than city-wide project goals; mainly because cohesion may be easier to maintain.

We would advocate as one solution to public housing tenant dissatisfaction that of resident participation and organization to influence the decision-making processes that determine their lives. Tenant organizations, or more appropriately, community organizations of project tenants, are an alternative way of changing the public housing system and affecting changes in its delivery of services.

In our attempt to study a public housing community's organizing successes and failures, we will trace the development of three tenant organizations in the Bromley-Heath Project (Roxbury-Jamaica Plain). Bromley-Heath is probably the most problem ridden and inadequate housing project in Boston. It exemplifies not only a culture of poverty and sense of despair, but also all the other symptoms of the
social pathology of ghetto existence (rising drug addiction, illegitimacy and AFDC rates, extreme anti-social behavior by youth, etc.).

On the other hand, Bromley-Heath is also characterized by a growing attempt to do something about its problems. This is the trait of the project which led us to single it out for study, rather than a project with fewer problems or more successful and advanced in its organizing abilities. We are convinced that organization can lead to bargaining power, and that bargaining power can in turn lead to changes desired by tenants. Tenant organization, where some degree of resident control of services and program results, certainly cannot succeed in making the condition faced by tenants any worse. We therefore focussed our study on three of the project's most active and significant organizations; the Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee, the Tenant Management Corporation (TMC), and the Jamaica Plain Area Planning Action Council (APAC) to see how they are contributing to the community organization process in the project.
Methodology

In this study, we seek to observe and evaluate the community organization process in a particular public housing community. For this purpose we have surveyed the literature on community organization, the poverty program, and the public housing institution. Data has also been gathered through interviewing various community agencies, leaders, and knowledgeable outsiders as to conditions in Bromley-Heath.

After securing a list of the ten organizations active in the project from the Jamaica Plain Area Planning Action Council, we determined through phone interviews with each organization head, which organizations were the largest in scope, membership, and influence. We came up with the three organizations, which have provided the focus of this study.

There were several questions we wanted to know about the nature of the community organization process in Bromley-Heath, and for what purposes did tenants use their organizations. Most important was the question of what types and how much tenant participation actually existed in these organizations. If tenant organization is to restructure power relationships and produce desired tenant changes, residents must participate in them. Our first area of concern was therefore membership and leadership patterns of the three organizations. Other important questions we looked to answer in this study are:

1. To what set of issues are these organizations responses, and from where did the stimulus for formation come?
2. What level of visibility to tenants do these organizations have in Bromley-Heath?

3. What has been the effectiveness of the organizations in mobilizing resources and instituting changes in Bromley-Heath existence?

There are four ways in which we pursued answers to these questions:

1. By observation of the general and board meetings of the APAC and Tenant Management Corporation from January throughout March.

2. In reviewing Quarterly and annual reports of the Jamaica Plain APAC, documents and reports of the Boston Housing Authority on the Modernization Program and several published reports and staff progress reports on the Tenant Management Corporation.

3. In reviewing minutes of board meetings of previous months.

4. In-depth interviews with key staff and board members of the three organizations, thirteen in all, which proved to be most helpful.
CHAPTER II

THE BROMLEY-HEATH COMMUNITY

A Physical and Social Description of the Project

The Bromley-Heath public housing project is located in the Jamaica Plain section of Boston, adjacent to Roxbury, the black ghetto of Boston. The project is located on the fringe of Jamaica Plain and its relationship to Jamaica Plain in other ways is just as marginal. Because it is a project and has a social definition as well as a physical distinctiveness, it is easily delineated as an undesirable section of Jamaica Plain. As it will become clear when we examine the history and functions of the Area Planning Action Council, the susceptibility of Bromley-Heath to be singled out as a community of poor blacks is why residents of other parts of Jamaica Plain did not care to be identified with or participate in the program.

Not all public housing residents define their community in terms of the development in which they live, but, we suspect, if a poll were taken of Bromley-Heath tenants, they would thus so define their community. This self-identification would be a matter of necessity rather than choice since there are no other options from which Bromley-Heath residents can choose.

The physical description of Bromley-Heath applies to countless other projects in innumerable American cities. It is ten acres of monotonous three and seven story brick buildings, 38 to be exact. Reportedly, it is one of the two worst projects in Boston, if not the worst. It is composed of two contiguous projects; Heath Street, built in 1942, and Bromley Park, built in 1954.
Table 1 is an occupancy breakdown of the two projects. Bromley-Heath is Boston's second largest project. While it is not nearly as dense as project structures in other American cities, its lifestyle has all the social problems such density usually causes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table - 1</th>
<th>Occupancy Data</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bromley</td>
<td>Heath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Number of people</td>
<td>1,923</td>
<td>1,128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Total number of units</td>
<td>723</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Number of units occupied</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160 elderly</td>
<td>46 elderly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>447 families</td>
<td>268 families</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Breakdown of apt. sizes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 bedroom</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 bedroom</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 bedroom</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 bedroom</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 bedroom</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most striking thing one observes from a look at the occupancy data is the tremendously high vacancy rate; it approaches 20% or 232 unoccupied units out of 1153. The high vacancy rate persists despite a housing authority waiting list of 4,000 families. 13

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12 Tables 1 through 3 are based on data found in the 1970 Tenants Status Review of the Boston Housing Authority. The Review is only of the 715 families living in Bromley-Heath, exclusive of the elderly population. For further data, see the tables on Socio-Economic Data in the Appendix.

Rejection of Bromley-Heath by prospective tenants is illustrative of the low esteem in which the project is held.

Most of the apartments made vacant are uninhabitable and the efforts of the maintenance crews to remedy the situation are inadequate. Destruction of the vacant units occurs for two reasons: a generally poor maintenance effort, and rampant vandalism by tenants and others of empty apartments. The maintenance problem is not just peculiar to Bromley-Heath, but common also to several other Boston projects.

Even if management and maintenance were more effective in readying these apartments, evidence is not conclusive that any sizeable percentage of them could be rented. One embittered tenant we interviewed called Bromley-Heath the "dumping ground of the BHA", i.e. a place where only the most undesirable tenants were assigned.

A new policy was launched in 1969 under a directive from HUD in which all applicants are given three choices of assignment, those projects with the highest number of available apartments. By effectively eliminating the choice factor it was thought that a more even racial mixture would occur. The program not only failed to encourage racial integration, but also failed to eliminate the choice factor. One statistic on its lack of success is that over two thirds of the applicants rejected all three choices, even while knowing they would automatically go to the bottom of the waiting list.\textsuperscript{14}

In light of the above discussion, it is difficult to imagine that the 20% vacancy rate will substantially improve through the tools

\textsuperscript{14}Lisa Peattie, "Public Housing As An Institution", p.22.
presently employed by the Boston Housing Authority.

Table - 2 depicts the family characteristics of the Bromley-Heath population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table - 2</th>
<th>Family Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bromley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Length of time in public housing of family head</td>
<td>5.3 yrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Total number of children</td>
<td>1,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Women-headed households</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Average family size</td>
<td>4.305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Average children per unit</td>
<td>2.975</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Approximately two-thirds of the population are children. Well over half of the households are run by women (543 out of 715 family households). The significance of a social structure dominated by women and children cannot be underestimated in its effects upon the organizational patterns of participation in the project.

The types of social interaction which occur in Bromley-Heath are an outgrowth of the large number of children in the project. Also, their large numbers strain the physical upkeep of the buildings and grounds. Many of the project's problems: vandalism, drug addiction, and tenant insecurity are caused by the preponderance of youth.

Given that over 50% of the households at Bromley-Heath are woman-headed, it is not surprising that a high proportion of families receive public assistance.

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15 Children is defined as those residents under the age of seventeen.
Table - 3  - Income Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Families w/o working members</th>
<th>Bromley</th>
<th>Heath</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. Average annual family income</th>
<th>$3,884.00</th>
<th>$3,791.00</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. % Families receiving public assistance (exclusive of elderly population)</th>
<th>75%</th>
<th>74%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Well over half of the public assistance aid to residents is in the form of Aid For Dependent Children (AFDC). Many of the elderly, who occupy 206 units out of 921, also receive public assistance.

Bromley-Heath portrays a day-to-day struggle for survival, based on the source and amount of income alone. In the next section we shall examine the social and physical struggles peculiar to Bromley-Heath. Let it suffice to point out here that life for the residents is indeed an economic struggle.

Rent arrearage by tenants is estimated to be close to $98,000.16 Late and non payment of rent are becoming habits in Bromley-Heath.17 Rent default is not formally organized as was the mass rent strike of St. Louis public housing tenants, and is not even an intentional protest action, but it is almost as widespread as was that rent strike. Understandably, Bromley-Heath's operating statement for the fiscal year ending June 1969 showed a deficit of $104,780, one of the highest deficits in the entire Boston public housing system.

16 Trans-Urban East Inc., op cit. p.12
17 Ibid.
Relationship of Socio-Economic Characteristics to Participation Rates

During her stay with the Boston Housing Authority, Lisa Peattie made a very important observation about the social constraints on participation and organization in a world such as Bromley-Heath:

"efforts to organize the tenants to take action with respect to their common problems have continually struggled against the tendencies for distrust and mutual recrimination and pervasive sense of its no-use which are generated by a social situation that does not work. The difficulties of life do not generate a sense of common cause among the tenants; rather they generate mutual suspicion and a tendency to blame the unpleasantness of the project environment on other tenants." 18

Lee Rainwater characterizes the apathy of lower-class people as being caused by:

1. a lack of interest - for very valid reasons
2. organizations not being viewed as solving tenant problems
3. daily existence is a struggle and the foremost problem 19

It is not surprising that both Peattie and Rainwater emphasize

18 Peattie, op. cit. P.17
the socio-economic characteristics of being lower-class and poor as accounting for the lack of a habit of participating. The importance of issues does not determine the immediacy of participation in Bromley-Heath, possibly because of the many problems tenants face in their day to day existence. Tenants can see the significance of better housing or police protection as issues, but simply have other things on their minds.

Preoccupation with the daily tests of endurance accounts for the lack of participation of most of the women in Bromley-Heath. Reasons for the lack of participation in male residents is less complex. For one thing, as Table 2 shows, men account for less than a third of project residents. There is of course a greater number residing there when the non-legal residents are counted. Even if they had the desire to do so, they cannot risk "surfacing" in community organizations. Of the men who are legally in the project, many of them probably work two jobs to support their families. They do not have or can not afford the time to participate; other men might ask themselves the very legitimate question "participate for what?"
Three Major Issue Areas

Bromley-Heath tenants have a fear of what they perceive to be a very hostile world. Some researchers into the problem would characterize this perception as caused by the mental isolation of public housing. For women in a world where they have little bargaining power or control over any of the external forces determining their lives: the welfare department, management, health care, etc., hostility from outside forces is a reality. 20

Bromley-Heath is unquestionably a ghetto, differing only in scale from other more notorious ghettos such as Harlem and Watts. As does any mentally isolated and physically contained low-income population, it displays quite a bit of aggression turned inwards and outwards.21

The management aide at Bromley-Heath described it as a cold and unfriendly community where everything is "agency geared, rather than people geared". Possibly the aide's insights are colored by the role the position ascribes in interacting with tenants. However, the project does have its share of agencies, including its own community health center. But, what the management aide overlooks is that Bromley-Heath would probably be a cold place, even without its "agencies".

20 For treatment of this theme, see, Frederick Todd, Ladies and Social Change at Bromley, unpublished course paper, 5-19-68.

21 The Police Department in which Bromley-Heath is contained reported 99 investigations and 478 minor disturbances. The Fire Department reported 108 false alarms and 154 rubbish fires.
The socialization of a tenant to Bromley-Heath has been compared to "going to a camp, an internment camp, absolutely, the kind of attitude that develops. After you are in a while there is no motivation to try to come out and do anything about it. We have a lack of involvement, a defeatism which sets into an area such as this".\(^22\)

In the past, there have been very few issues around which Bromley-Heath residents have organized to protect their interests. It is very important in making policies that affect the residents to have an understanding of why they are so turned off the participatory and organizational way of influencing decision-making processes. If people perceive themselves as having no vested interests to protect or as having little power to influence policy and program outcomes impinging on their lives, then non-participation becomes the mode. Non-participation is the mode in Bromley-Heath.

There are three major issues area in Bromley-Heath which have been the focus and provided the impetus for constructive tenant activity. In an environment where there are many problems, these have surfaced as the ones tenants consider to be most important. They are the maintenance-management effort, teen-age drug addiction, and the lack of security and police protection.

**Maintenance**

To an outsider there appears to be many issues in Bromley-Heath which are salient enough to warrant and even necessitate wide-spread

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\(^{22}\)Spoken by a tenant at Hearings held by Boston City Council in Bromley-Heath, 10-9-69.
tenant activity. However, only a few have had this result. One such issue is the disrepair in which tenant apartments, buildings and grounds are kept. On walking through the stairwells of many of the buildings, one is convinced that the primary purpose they perform is to serve as trash dumps. In no buildings do mailboxes have names or locks. Glass litters the entire site, where 200 children play daily. Despite the physical dangers and degradation, tenants present few grievances against management over this situation.

Tenants state that their requests for repairs go unanswered for months and years, and what's the good of complaining? It is unlikely that a private landlord can get away with such a lack of responsiveness, but the BHA does. The Bromley-Heath Tenant Management Corporation addresses itself to these kinds of problems by divorcing management and maintenance from an unresponsive landlord and placing it in the hands of tenants. If the tenants have no other attributes they at least possess good faith. A small active group of tenants, with the support of other tenants fought for and won this demonstration program.

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23 The TMC is presently involved in remedying this situation.

24 The BHA of course has its side of the story, i.e. inadequate staff, men afraid to enter the buildings, etc.

25 A group of tenants collected 500 signatures on a petition.
Teen-Age Drug Addiction

Another issue with which all tenants must deal, directly or indirectly, is its youth's addiction to drugs. Most families either have an addicted child or face the actions of a neighbor's addicted child. There are no available statistics of how many junkies reside in the project.

The Martha Eliot Health Center, located in the Bromley-Heath project is a Maternal and Infant Care/Children and Youth Project facility which is free to Jamaica Plain residents. In an effort to respond to the needs of the community, the Center started a Drug Rehabilitation Unit in 1969. The drug unit is inadequate at best. It is mostly utilized by Jamaica Plain youth not residing in the project. Those project youth who do undergo treatment prefer other rehabilitation centers in Boston.

A parents' group in the project has been formed to work with the drug unit. The chairman of this group has commented on the difficulty of getting parents involved in the discussion and action group. Tenants feel that participation in the unit will brand their children as "junkies". This fear exists despite the fact that after a while everyone in the project learns who the addicts are.

Security

The third problem area around which community organization seems not only desirable, but imminent is police protection for the project. Bromley-Heath is unsafe for both tenants and visitors alike. After dusk
A resident must give it serious perusal before he decides to negotiate the dark outside. For four years residents have been demanding more and better police protection than the two men who are routinely assigned to the project.

Although there has been some discussion among tenants of developing a tenant-organized security force, the action finally initiated by the tenants was to bring a suit (2/2/71) against the Boston Housing Authority. The suit finds its legitimacy in Chapter 630 of the Massachusetts General Laws stating:

A housing authority shall furnish adequate security for the protection of its tenants of the person and property of its tenants by contract for police protection with the local police department in which the Authority is located.

Fear and lack of safety may be the most commonly shared problem of Bromley-Heath residents. It would be an appropriate issue around which to organize and sustain participation. Yet, little such organization took place around this issue area. As is typical in Bromley-Heath project affairs, the effort was led by a small group, the Modernization Committee, which in the interests of expediency had only 38 plaintiffs sign the grievance. For such an action to be led by a

26 Very few of the lights, where they exist on the grounds, work.

27 Chapter 630 was added to the Massachusetts General Laws on 8-6-69.
small group of organizers is appropriate. However, at some point, for optimum effectiveness and in the interest of community unity, broader tenant support should have been elicited.

The Bromley-Heath action is the first such action ever taken against a local housing authority. Although the residents' choice of a protest method is one very much within the system, it is a milestone in that tenants, who have always been in a vulnerable position, are testing the vulnerability of a local housing authority to reprisals. It might be that this test case is a type of tenant activism/is more strategic and sophisticated than what usually goes under the name of tenant organization in the project.

The instances described above are not spectacular cases of community mobilization neither have they led to anything so unattainable as complete tenant control of services and programs, but they are a first step by which a group of tenants are forming the habit of finding their own solutions to their problems. These instances also give the context in which we will study the nature of the community organization process in Bromley-Heath. Bromley-Heath is indeed a problem-ridden community which certainly has legitimate grievances upon which to rest community organization.
CHAPTER III

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE JAMAICA PLAIN APAC, MODERNIZATION COMMITTEE, AND THE TENANT MANAGEMENT CORPORATION

In any organizing endeavor, the stated goals of the organization are not necessarily its actual or only goals. Goals are often pursued by group members and leaders which are never articulated and which may actually subvert the stated goals. One of our earliest findings in Bromley-Heath was that community organizations seem to be concerned with goals and functions other than organizing, such as providing jobs, organization maintenance, and prestige for leaders. These other goals and functions we shall discuss in Chapters IV and V. Chapter III will deal with the programs and services these organizations offer to tenants and their utilization by tenants.

Programs of the APAC - Social Services For Bromley-Heath

Before the Jamaica Plain APAC, there was no community organization of any type in Bromley-Heath. It had a paucity of political resources which is now unimaginable at its present stage of growth. This is not to say that the project is now a well organized community or skillful in the bargaining process, but that in relative terms, the APAC and its other organizations have resulted in a number of valuable changes in the project. The only existing organizations previous to the APAC were a well-baby clinic and a settlement-house type neighborhood center. Because the APAC was the very first program to enter the
project, the first to kindle hopes, and the first mechanism through which better and more services could be attained, it had more of a chance for success than all subsequent programs. However, what was once greeted by optimism in the community is now a lifeless service-type program, the performance of which leaves much to be desired.

The Jamaica Plain APAC, which includes upper Jamaica Plain as well as Bromley-Heath in its territorial boundaries originated as the Jamaica Plain neighborhood arm of Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD), Boston's anti-poverty agency. The APAC's were created "to decentralize downtown power." The primary purpose of the APAC's in the beginning, as was then consistent with the "war on poverty" ideology, was to foster community organization skills and techniques. By 1967 the APAC's were performing mainly as providers of social services and as referral agencies.

The funding, staffing and programs of the Jamaica Plain APAC have grown tremendously in the agency's five years of operation. Its staff has increased from an initial six to seventy, exclusive of summer workers. Funding increases, a redirection of money, and a relaxation of administrative control by ABCD over certain programs, has been responsible for its increased number of programs.

The first budget of the Jamaica Plain APAC, which had a staff of six, was $30,000. The primary concerns of the agency were community organization and involvement of the target population, as well as proposal writing. Although its staff, number of programs and funding
have grown in the last five years, there has been only a limited amount of effectiveness in its accomplishment of the goals it stated for itself.

From its very beginning the APAC has tried to be sensitive to and meet the needs of young people. Youth has been the focus of many of the agency's services and programs. The orientation to young people began with the initial staff. The executive and assistant directors both had education backgrounds. One former executive director says that attempts were made to reach youth based on the fact that black and white teen youth in the community were more receptive to change than any other segment of the community. He saw youth as the hope of Jamaica Plain.\textsuperscript{28}

The emphasis on youth persists, possibly because the Chairman of the APAC, who has served since its beginning, has the same kind of faith in youth. One of the biggest projects in which the APAC is involved is in renovating the basement of its center in the project to be used as a teen center. The Cave, as it is called, will be a place where teens can "hang-out" but with constructive activities available. So far $2,000 has been raised for the project.

In 1969 the APAC Board voted to lower the voting age of the APAC Corporation members to 16 years. The two thousand votes counted in that year's APAC Board elections, was the highest turnout of any election.\textsuperscript{29} Part of the turnout was attributed to heavy youth voting.

\textsuperscript{28}Interview with Ralph Pred, former Executive Director of the Jamaica Plain APAC, 2-26-71

\textsuperscript{29}In a target population which consists of 40,000 - 45,000 residents.
The Jamaica Plain APAC received national coverage as the only community action program to lower its voting age to such an extent.

That same year, younger members ran and won positions on the APAC Board. Over the next six months, many of them dropped out in the similar pattern followed by board members of most tenant organizations in Bromley-Heath. Nevertheless, APAC Board membership is now a mixture of both the young and the older of the community.

The APAC operates through four committees: Personnel, Youth, Education, and Executive. An Election Committee is also formed to supervise Board elections. After Board elections, committees are formed of the members with at least one APAC staff member sitting on each committee. The staff members are there to keep Board members abreast of daily activities. Because the APAC Board Chairman has been so strong, the successive APAC Directors have come to reply on his guidance in their administration of the agency. When the Chairman steps down in May, one can only guess at what direction the Board or the agency will take without his influence to mold the shape of each.

The present Executive Director came on in September 1970. He is running the APAC with the help of the Board Chairman. Since the chairman has trained no one to replace his able leadership in keeping

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30 So many members have dropped out of the present APAC Board that Board training, proposed for March by ABCD, has been postponed until after the May elections when new members come on.

31 No Board member is under 21. Most of the young members are between 21 and 25.
the two factions of the Board together\textsuperscript{32} and in giving the staff leadership, the agency may face an administrative crisis. The present Executive Director sees the agency's greatest deficiencies as being a lack of program planners to plan the programs for which the APAC is funded. He cites this deficiency as being responsible for the agency's not reaching its target population.\textsuperscript{33}

The types of programs the APAC operates can be classified into four types: education, summer, consumer development, and manpower. Also sporadic efforts in other areas such as food surplus and individual social services, have also been attempted. A review of the 1968 programs as found in the 1968 Jamaica Plain APAC Quarterly Report gives a profile of the range of interests and the foci of the agency.\textsuperscript{34}

The Summer Work Program (SWP) employed over 80 youth.

Headstart served 32 full-day children, and 30 in half-day classes.

Tutorials after school served 128 students.

Continuing programs in consumer development; the Co-Mart Co-Operative and the Jampac Federal Credit Union.

Community organization involvement; various issues in the

\textsuperscript{32}The two factions are those representatives from the projects, and the white representatives from the rest of Jamaica Plain.

\textsuperscript{33}Interview with Roland Atkins, 1-18-71.

\textsuperscript{34}1968 was the only year the APAC filed 4 Quarterly Reports with ABCD. ABCD considers the Jamaica Plain APAC to be quite remiss in its reporting procedures.
neighborhood schools, dispute over the community centers.

Technical assistance to Modernization Committee, to Youth for Summerthing,

Referrals to other agencies in securing social, education, and health services.

The Neighborhood Employment Center - referrals and placements

The issues of the project for that year were listed as: inadequate security, the community centers, the tenant management grant, and tenant complaints. At least two of these issues were dealt with that year; the community assumed control of the Centers and Bromley-Heath won the tenant management demonstration grant.

The years 1969 through the present largely have seen the continuation of the same kinds of programs. A Spanish Center was operated for a year and a Legal Assistance Program was picked up in 1969 which only lasted the year because of funding changes. For the most part, programs have been on-going and stable. Two of the APAC's most notable failures have been the Jampac Federal Credit Union and the Co-Mart Cooperative. These ventures into consumer development have not fared well.

The Jampac Federal Credit Union was the idea of the highly respected chairman of the APAC Board. After two years of operation with $14,000 in assets and 88 loans outstanding, the credit union's funds were frozen early in 1970. Delinquencies have still not been rectified. The peak in membership of the credit union was 450 accounts
in 1969. Among the reasons that APAC gives for the failures of the credit union are the:

"lack of money for people to save,

lack of experience of APAC Board members in credit union activities, and

lack of help from ABCD, the Credit Bureau, and the Boston Federal Credit Union." 35

APAC's Co-Mart Co-Operative is its other failure in consumer development. It was founded in October 1967 to specialize in the sale of furniture and eggs. By the third quarter of 1968, the Co-Mart had declined rapidly in its sales. A lack of technical expertise and a dependence upon the welfare are listed by the APAC as the reasons for failure. The Welfare Department which was the sole purchaser of furniture from the Co-Mart, was continually late in paying its bills. Thus, the Co-Mart experienced difficulty in paying its suppliers. Egg buying and egg sales of the Co-Mart continues, but with the failure in furniture sales, there is little chance of the Co-Mart achieving true co-operative status.

The biggest programs of the Jamaica Plain APAC are the Summer Work Program, Headstart, and the Neighborhood Employment Center (NEC). The Summer Work Program hires approximately 90 youth every year. It serves the dual purpose of providing youth with constructive activity and a source of much needed income. It is coordinated with the

Department of Parks and Recreation and other municipal agencies.

Although ABCD pays the salaries of Headstart workers, APAC does the hiring and runs the program. Headstart provides pre-school education to over 60 project children a year. It also gives training and income for project mothers who are employed in the program.

Action for Boston Community Development has subcontracted the Neighborhood Employment Center to the APAC. The Neighborhood Employment Center was begun in 1966 under the sponsorship of OEO. It is to serve low-income and minorities in securing jobs. It serves mostly blacks and Spanish in the Jamaica Plain population. Part of the NEC staff is on loan from the State employment office. The main problems the NEC has encountered is a frequent turnover in staff which has cut down the number of people who could be served, and a lack of part-time employment opportunities in the job market. Since many of the NEC's clientele are mothers, locating part-time jobs is crucial to the Center's effectiveness.

NEC placements are usually in Manpower Development Training Centers (under MDTA), training programs, Job Corps, and New Careers. Table 4 is a breakdown of the Neighborhood Employment Center's success in placing applicants in jobs. It includes the net flow of applicants from its initiation until February 1971 when these figures were culled. The table shows that 6,863 of the 15,103 applicants, about 45%, were given referrals. The 3,334 placement in the 4 1/2 year period are roughly
Table 4 - Neighborhood Employment Center

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Applicants (November)</th>
<th>New</th>
<th>Old</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Referrals</th>
<th>Placements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>1808</td>
<td>2601</td>
<td>4409</td>
<td>1798</td>
<td>896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>1373</td>
<td>2064</td>
<td>3437</td>
<td>1502</td>
<td>767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>1177</td>
<td>1769</td>
<td>2946</td>
<td>1602</td>
<td>721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>1255</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>3239</td>
<td>1537</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(to 2/26/71)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>15,103</strong></td>
<td><strong>6,863</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,334</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The Jamaica Plain Neighborhood Employment Center

NEC Weekly Statistics
21% of those who applied.

The above figures measure the effectiveness in placements of the Neighborhood Employment Center of those persons who are without marketable skills in many cases. Some follow-up would have to be conducted before one could say what level of satisfaction, financial, and otherwise, those placed found in their jobs. Also, one can only guess as to the number of potential clients who were not aware of the services of the NEC. This under-utilization figure may be quite significant.
The Focus of the Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee

The Modernization Program was ushered in by a Department of Housing and Urban Development circular entitled, "Program for Upgrading Low-Rent Housing Projects" in 1968. The program calls for the physical and social upgrading of projects through the involvement of tenants in the plans and process of modernization. All of the federally sponsored projects in Boston are participating in the Modernization Program.

One of the secondary goals of the Modernization Program was to foster tenant activism and organization. The Modernization Program was seen as a way of getting tenants more bargaining power by providing mechanisms, the modernization committees, through which tenants could channel their grievances and have a political clout. These mechanisms could be used not only about modernization matters, but about all Boston public housing affairs. The vehicle established to deal with the housing authority in this secondary function was the Tenants Policy Council (TPC). The TPC is composed of two members of each of the thirteen modernization committees. It is now incorporated and staffed. The Tenants Policy Council works so closely with the housing authority that the goal of tenants attaining a vehicle for political clout through the Modernization Program has never materialized.

The Boston Housing Authority controls the money, purchasing, bids and has the final say in all matters. All the Modernization task forces (the Modernization committees of all of Boston's projects) do is determine their own priorities for spending the money. Tenants have no
power to hire, fire or choose. Even the modernization elections are coordinated on a city-wide level. The Boston Modernization Program certainly has not resulted in a more equal power relationship between tenants and the authority.

Although the Modernization Program offers very tangible rewards to tenants; these rewards are taking an extraordinary long time to be realized. Because the program is situated within the bureaucratic BHA structure, tenants are alienated from any real decision-making power. Procedures of determining modernization priorities, getting bids, contracting work, etc., do not allow immediate visible results.

In the delivery of its goals, the Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee suffers from the effects of a dependence upon bureaucracies, HUD and the Boston Housing Authority, which are not characterized by speed, flexibility, or sensitivity. The results of the committee sessions held in Bromley-Heath to determine modernization priorities were very specific in the suggestions proposed. The tenants were concerned with only the most concrete indices of redistribution; new locks, mailboxes, and renovation of apartments.

It becomes obvious after a look at tenant concerns expressed in the physical upgrading sessions in particular, as well as those expressed in the three other committee sessions, that tenants wanted modernization to improve problems of their daily existence in Bromley-Heath. Tables 7 and 8 are the modernization budgets for the year 1969-1970 for Bromley-Heath. The amount of money alloted to each priority is an indicator of
38.

its importance to tenants.

Table 7 - Modernization Budget - Heath Street

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Install buzzer released security locks</td>
<td>$ 61,070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Survey to determine recreational needs</td>
<td>1,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Management office - remodel interior, install heavy mesh screening</td>
<td>4,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Survey of electrical plant and of tenant needs</td>
<td>5,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Modernize dwelling units, kitchen and bath</td>
<td>344,015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Repair damaged boiler sections</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Paint exterior trim, hallways, boiler room</td>
<td>54,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Establishment of two model units</td>
<td>1,348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Replace mailboxes with new vandalproof boxes</td>
<td>3,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Aid to obtain OEO grant</td>
<td>2,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>$481,961</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because Heath Street is the older of the two projects (1942), it is not surprising that tenants wanted new and modern kitchens and bathrooms in their units. These renovations will account for over two-thirds of its budget. Although bids have been awarded, Heath Street tenants are still waiting for their fixtures.

36 Source is Boston City Council
Table 8 - Modernization Budget - Bromley Park

A. Install buzzer released security door locks on all apartment doors $102,235
B. Survey of electrical load capacity and any necessary expansion 8,000
C. Replace tile floors where needed 202,730
D. Modernize and vandal-proof elevators 46,200
E. Install vandal-proof security lights on buildings and in hallways 26,345
F. Playgrounds - lighting, new accesses from buildings to playgrounds; provide covered area, benches basketball court and equipment 14,520
G. Site modernization - landscaping, gardens, benches, tables, lighting for creation of mall through center of development 165,000
H. Landscaping and restoration of grounds outside mall 82,500
I. Paint stairwells, replace tiles, renovate basements 187,000
J. Replace mailboxes with new vandalproof type 6,150
K. Professional services in obtaining OEO grant for operation of Demonstration Program in Tenant Management 2,350

TOTAL $843,030

37 Ibid.
The modernization which is to occur in Bromley Park is not nearly as concentrated in one area as it is in Heath Street. Its $843,030 is to be spent in more of a general overhaul of all of the buildings, including a large amount of landscaping.
The Bromley-Heath Tenant Management Corporation
A Demonstration of Feasibility

The idea and creation of a tenant Management Corporation is by far the most aggressive and significant illustration of the community organization process to happen in Bromley-Heath. The residents fought for the program, won it, and are moving full speed ahead as a demonstration project to see if management in the hands of the tenants can work.

Tenant Management Corporations find their legitimacy under HUD's Turnkey II program. The Turnkey II program is concerned with affecting the relationship of tenants to those situations governing their lives. This program has the opportunity to give tenants of public housing input and/or control of the daily processes of project existence. Under Turnkey II a local housing authority can contract out management services to private management firms or tenant organizations. Under this arrangement both HUD and the local housing authority sign a contract with the real estate firm or tenant management corporation.

Tenant management corporations purport to let tenants control their immediate environment. Federal monies are currently being used to test the effectiveness and feasibility in selected cities of this kind of program. When the Office of Economic Opportunity first told the Boston Housing Authority that it had money for a tenant management demonstration grant, the housing authority at first earmarked the grant for Columbia Point. Columbia Point is the largest and possibly worse project in the city. In a totally unpredicted reaction to their selection, Columbia Point tenants rejected the idea of taking over what the BHA itself could
could not manage. This rejection was based partly on an analysis of what tenant management would mean for them, and partly out of distrust of the housing authority.

The Boston Housing Authority, stunned by the Columbia Point rejection, then decided that those projects interested in securing the grant could apply. Bromley-Heath was the only project of the six which applied to present a petition of 500 tenant signatures in support of their receiving the grant. This display of tenant enthusiasm persuaded the housing authority to give the grant to Bromley-Heath.

Bromley-Heath is one of the most problem-ridden projects in Boston. It can be said that the tenant management demonstration program came into being at a time when it was desperately needed to correct the living situation at Bromley-Heath. After receiving the grant, a Tenant Management Interim Committee was formed to begin the work of bringing tenant management to Bromley-Heath. In its proposal to OEO on creating a Tenant Management Corporation in Bromley-Heath, the Tenant Management Interim Committee gave as its reasons for wanting the TMC, the belief that a tenant management corporation could create "a more desirable and effective community" by"

1. controlling management services and influence over other services in the project which affect their lives
2. creating jobs, and
3. reversing the deterioration of buildings and grounds caused by indifferent maintenance.\(^3\)

\(^3\) Proposal To Create A Tenant Management Corporation, The Tenant Management Interim Committee, p.1
The three phases of the tenant management program were to be:

- informing and organizing the tenants around the concept of tenant-management
- the training of staff and tenants in maintenance and management positions
- the actual takeover of the project by the Tenant Management Corporation

Phase I is well advanced, Phase II is just beginning, and Phase III is at least one year off.

The primary function of the Tenant Management Corporation, like the APAC and Modernization Committee is the provision of services. However, the services it aims to provide are of a completely different nature. Bringing tenant management to Bromley-Heath consists of establishing an apparatus that at some point will be able to administer the management of the project. Establishing a viable operation is the most immediate function of the Tenant Management Corporation. Its Pilot Program was approved in November 1969 by the Boston Housing Authority and began operation in June 1970. It presently consists of five buildings (140 units) with an additional seven buildings now being refurbished for inclusion.

Buildings chosen for the Pilot Program are those which were organized into building committees first. Only seven of the thirty-eight buildings have not yet formed these structures. Six of the fifteen TMC staff workers devote themselves exclusively to organizing.
Five of the six organizers are tenants. A door-to-door technique is used whereby tenants questions about the TMC are answered and the concept of tenant management is explained. No pressure tactics are used in organizing the building committees. Organizers are uptight about finding new ways to make tenants respond. They are contending with a hard core of only about eight people active in each building committee.

Every building committee has a chairman, vice chairman, and an organizer. The chairman and vice chairman of each building interact in an Officers Committee. The Officers Committee is a forum for the discussion of the overall situation at Bromley-Heath. Through this type of interaction, they become more aware and concerned about each others actions, and how individual actions affect everyone living at Bromley-Heath. The officers in turn pass on this new knowledge to their respective building committees. A sense of interrelatedness among tenants was an ingredient missing before the Tenant Management Corporation came to Bromley-Heath. Tenants now have a sense of an obligation not to "blow" by doing things that will make it look as if the TMC has not changed things and cannot work. An illustration of this new awareness is the lack of window breakage in the TMC buildings.

The five TMC buildings now have glass windows for the plastic in their corridors that the BHA had installed. Most of Bromley-Heath

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39 Interview with Thelma Cole, TMC Staff, Head of Organizing, March 10, 1971
buildings have these plastic windows in corridors because of the
inability of the housing authority, financially or manpower-wise to
keep up with the number of windows broken in the project. The TMC
has had only one window broken in the three months these corridor
windows have been replaced. The one window was broken accidently by
a visitor who paid for its replacement.

The phenomenon of unbroken windows is truly something at which
to marvel since the very same destructive children who used to break
these windows are still living in these buildings. One has to draw
the conclusion that the deterrent must in some way come from the fact
that the TMC is now managing these buildings. Residents may have a
sense that it is their own thing they are destroying and instill this
knowledge in their children. Each window that is broken just detracts
from money which could be spent on other improvements for their buildings.
At this point there is unfortunately no guarantee that improvements such
as this in destructive behavior and wear and tear will continue when
the Pilot Program is extended to include more buildings.

One of the primary means of sustaining interest in the TMC and
to muster new support is to be visible to the tenants. Thus, the
TMC tries to find ways of both fulfilling its long-range goal of
management of all of Bromley-Heath, and of performing to meet the more
immediate needs of the tenants. Through the building committees, the
TMC attempts to meet the community's needs as it becomes aware of
them. Besides working on the details of the Pilot Program (tenant
training, training contracts, funding), the TMC is also involved in creating a TMC office building, and in turning the basements of the pilot program buildings into play areas for children. Eventually, the TMC hopes that its building and activities will be a focal point of the community.
Summary

APAC, the Modernization Committee, and the Tenant Management Corporation exist, as has been detailed, to attain those goals they have set for themselves via their structures and programs. APAC was to provide needed social services for a community of the unemployed, welfare recipients, and the powerless that would help them solve these kinds of problems. As we have seen, the agency serves only a small proportion of those for whom it was intended. Modernization funds are to do something about the decay which has set in the physical structures of the environment. The organizational emphasis of Modernization Program has been deferred to the details of relating to an administrative staff downtown. Therefore, three years after the promulgation of the program, Heath Street residents are still awaiting their kitchen and bathroom fixtures. The Tenant Management Corporation is to create a new approach to housing such that once the repairs are made, ways will be found to ensure a responsive and responsible upkeep. Unfortunately, the three organizations have not and are not presenting a coordinated and concerted attack on the project's problems. They suffer because of structure and resource inadequacies and goal tensions. Before we go on to examine these inadequacies, we shall first examine the organizational network in Bromley-Heath of which these organizations are a part.
CHAPTER IV

THE NATURE OF THE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROCESS

The Organization Network

Organizing in Bromley-Heath is aided neither by a strong and interested Alinsky-type outsider, nor by a strong and respected local leadership. Couple this fact with the fact that the project has access to the most limited of resources, and it becomes easy to see why the organizing that has occurred in the project is of the most rudimentary form. The organizations studied are three of no less than seven externally funded programs now in existence which have varying degrees of resident participation and control. All attempt to provide services to the Bromley-Heath population.40 These are the:

1. Jamaica Plain Day Care Center
2. Martha Eliot Health Center and Drug Rehabilitation Unit
3. Headstart
4. Community Centers (2)
5. Modernization Program
6. Tenant Management Corporation Pilot Program
7. Jamaica Plain APAC

It would seem that one of the results of having so many service-oriented programs operating in the project would be to foster a type

40 Although, in the case of the Health Center, APAC, and Day Care Center, project residents are not the only recipients of the service.
of community development. But because the community development process has several other concomitants (self-help, technical expertise, etc.), no totally service-oriented programs can be successful in inducing this change.

Federal funds are playing a huge role in Bromley-Heath community organizations. For the most part, the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Housing and Urban Development are supplying the resources for these organizations. The concentration of government spending in programs for Bromley-Heath has been invaluable in that it has aided the project's attempt at resident control of programs. However, it has not contributed significantly to the development of the community's resources or operated to change any of the power relationships of Bromley-Heath to the larger society.

Bromley-Heath tenant organizations have tenant participation on the usual organizational structures, boards and committees. An even more significant number of tenants participate by means of the jobs created by these organizations. Table 5 is a chart of the eight most active tenant organizations showing their length of existence and Bromley-Heath membership numbers.\(^1\) Even before allowance for overlapping membership is made, it becomes clear that less than 3% of the

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\(^1\)A word of explanation is needed in interpreting Table 5. Membership numbers are accurate as shown; but these figures do not take into account the participation of tenants on the APAC committee structures and TMC building committees which were discussed in Chapter III.
residents (approximately 3,000 tenants) participate in any visible way in these organizations.

Table 5 -- Bromley-Heath Tenant Organizations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date Initiated</th>
<th>Total Membership Nos.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mothers-For-Action</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica Plain APAC Board</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>9 out of 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Headstart Parents Advisory Committee</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bromley-Heath Community Centers Bd.</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modernization Committee</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martha Eliot Health Center Advisory Corporation</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent's Committee of the M.E.H.C. Drug Rehabilitation Unit</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenant Management Corporation Bd.</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mothers-For-Action is the only organization which is also a friendship grouping. The other groups have the traditional board and committee structures. Some tenants do not participate in these structures because they can see no benefits to such participation. They assume that they will receive a part of any of the goods won by groups such as the Modernization Committee and the Tenant Management Corporation, without going the committee and board route.
Possibly more tenants do not participate as board or committee members because they have tried it before and are turned off by their inefficiency and ineffectiveness. Very rarely does a board or committee meeting at Bromley-Heath have a quorum.\textsuperscript{42} Indeed many of the tenants have been the organizational route before and reject it as a method of delivery social changes. Other tenants who may be interested in traveling this route, or at least giving it a chance, fear leaving home to attend the evening meetings.

Candidacy and voter turn-out is another arena of participation. Here also, rates of participation are no better than they are in committee and board membership. While positions are not heavily contested, enough candidates usually come forth to make an election legitimate. But voter turnout has progressively worsened in past years. An indication of tenant apathy to the goals and methods of these organizations is voter turnout for the Modernization Committee elections for 1970. Only 32 residents of the project voted for the eight representatives who would determine how Bromley-Heath's share of Modernization money would be spent. Table 6 shows the number of votes cast for representatives for the APAC Board and the Modernization Committee. Eligible voters for the APAC number 40,000; for the Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee, approximately 1,500.

\textsuperscript{42} Only two of the seven APAC Board meetings I attended over a three month period had a quorum. The TMC Board meetings were a little better, 3 out of 6 had a quorum.
Table 6 - Election Turnout - The Jamaica Plain APAC and Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1968</th>
<th>1969</th>
<th>1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica Plain APAC</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee</td>
<td>1,717</td>
<td>2,024</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Quarterly Reports, Jamaica Plain APAC, N.A. stands for not available.
Leadership Patterns of the Jamaica Plain APAC, Modernization Committee and Tenant Management Corporation

Organizations in Bromley-Heath face several problems common to community organizations of groups unused to influencing political processes. One of the most crucial problems is that of the poor participation of residents in the organizations. Despite the similar status of all Bromley-Heath tenants, there is a distrust and hostility of many tenants for those they perceive to be leaders. The three organization heads, in speaking of this distrust, called it unfair and based on gossip.

Robert Dahl has an observation on the distribution of influence in local governments which is applicable to the structural deficiency of Bromley-Heath tenant organizations. He says "as to the distribution of influence, there is indeed rule by the minorities, but the minorities triumph over massive indifference rather than outright opposition". This observation may be more correct than the tenant view that the leaders are in cahoots. To be sure, there are no intense power play or jockeying for position in Bromley-Heath. The residents for the most part are uninterested in such. The leadership cadre, which has surfaced in the project, has taken advantage of the "slack" in the community's political system to attain their positions. Tenant suspicion, derived from the fact that a few of the project's activists have gotten higher status jobs

\[\text{Robert Dahl, "The Analysis of Influence In Local Communities" in Social Science and Community Action, East Lansing, Michigan, Michigan State University, 1960.}\]
as a result of or subsequent to their active involvement. 45

There is little diversity in the project's leadership. All three groups combined do not represent the diversity of interests which is present in the project. The leaders of the organizations are those in the project who are employed and non-welfare recipients. They are not the down and out residents. We discovered in our study of the three organizations that in each case, the community head of each organization was also active in one or both of the other organizations. The present Tenant Management Board Chairman is also a member of the Modernization Committee. She also serves as chairman of Mothers-For-Action and is on the board of the Community Centers. The APAC Board Chairman is also a Tenant Management Corporation Board member. He is also a board member of Action for Boston Community Development. Likewise, the Chairman of the Modernization Committee is on the APAC staff and is also a Tenant Management Corporation Board member. She is, in fact, head of the Pilot Program Committee of the TMC Board. There are three other names which appear on at least two of the three organizations studied.

While this overlap in membership of leaders does not defy

45 This view is supported by the elevation in job status of at least three of the projects most articulate leaders. One former modernization member is now a management aide for the BHA at the Orchard Park Development. A modernization and TMC Board member, who was previously a housewife is now an APAC staff member. The APAC Board chairman, a former factory worker, is a public relations officer for one of Boston's largest hospitals.
explanation, it certainly does not further one of the most appropriate goals of community organizations: the mobilization of support and participation. One view of the community development process notes that in this process, smaller nuclei of power can lead to even larger nuclei of more power.\textsuperscript{46} Contrasted with this view of the snow-balling effect of strong community organization is the opposite condition. This would be when a vast number of organizations working in a community, have little visibility to people; and therefore elicit little participation. In the latter case, the snow-balling effect does not become operative because of the absence of a core nucleus. The latter case may be applicable to Bromley-Heath. Although the project does not have a vast number of organizations, the number existing (refer back to Table 5) have not succeeded in eliciting a significant degree of participation or activity. When we asked the leaders of the three organizations the reasons for the poor rates of participation, the responses were:

1. People realize that they do not have to participate; they will nevertheless receive part of any goods or services won by the active organizations.

2. The struggle for survival in Bromley-Heath is such that tenants simply do not have the time and/or inclination to participate. (the view of two leaders) They did not seem bothered that the numbers of their constituents are so small.

\textsuperscript{46}Wm. Biddle and Loureide Biddle, \textit{The Community Development Process}, (N.Y., Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc. 1965)
The overlap of membership is limited to the leaders of the three organizations. Only three other names appear more than once when the three membership lists are compared. The significance of the fact that three people control the organizations became clearer to us after we had attended a few of the Board meetings. Meeting after meeting we saw the same faces. Rarely was there a quorum, and rarely did the faces change. There were several heated debates in the APAC Board meetings which did not climax in outright hostility due only to the political skills of the Chairman. Likewise, the TMC Board meetings were characterized by a reliance upon the opinion of the same two or three persons.

Bromley-Heath has a core of tenant activists who have been able to form a nucleus of leadership. Unfortunately, they have not been able to build a following. One of the reasons for this failure is that the project is so problem-ridden that groups working for change must create visible substantial changes in a short time if they hope to mobilize support. Despite the efforts of these activists in the APAC, the Modernization Committee, and the Tenant Management Corporation, conditions in Bromley-Heath are still deplorable. These conditions are the realities which tenants see, not the changes that any one of these groups may be attempting to affect. However, by withholding participation, tenants deprive these organizations of their most important resource to use in bringing about desired changes.

These organizations lack resources: money, power, access to the news media, and organizational experience. The only resource the
A project has in abundant supply is people; and that is its most under-utilized resource. Until this resource is developed and mobilized, demands for change directed at the various systems and bureaucracies, while legitimate, will lack the impetus needed. The possible range of interests in the project is too great to be represented by any small group of leaders who are not seeking tenant-wide input.

Bromley-Heath possesses the important and salient issues to mobilize its population, despite the inadequate resources. However, the leadership cadre has not effectively used these issues to stimulate indignation. Tenants must know that although their financial and power resources may be meager, they have one asset in supply, their numbers, which can help them achieve other resources. The three groups, and particularly their leaders, either fail to realize the importance of this resource or simply have been incapable of performing this task.

It seems that personal jealousies of members for leaders is one of the most important reasons why participation has not been sustained in the three organizations. One former administrator of the APAC is of the opinion that tenant hostility to leaders, as well as apathy, is responsible for the situation which presently exists in the project. 47

47 Interview with Ralph Pred, 2/26/71
He characterizes Bromley-Heath as a "non-stop rumor flow" where resentments and jealousies are continually buttressed. A stigma adheres to the leaders as to their motives. Many tenants resent the advancements of the leaders/are of the opinion that these leaders are using the organizations for their own personal gain.
The Role of The Federal Government In Bromley-Heath Community Organizations

In his study of the rent strikes in New York City, Micheal Lipsky details the importance of access to institutional resources in securing civic and other reforms. These resources provide needed media access, technical expertise, and the legitimacy needed to create changes. By their nature, protest groups must sacrifice access to institutional resources. They rely instead on raising the saliency of issues and influencing the reference publics of their targets.\textsuperscript{48} Lipsky considers it to be a disadvantage of the rent strikers that they did not have admittance to these resources. In our study of Bromley-Heath community organizations, we consider the fact that the organizations rely so heavily on institutional resources to be a restraint to developing the project's own resources.

The Great Society's War on Poverty put forth a succession of programs aimed at rebuilding deteriorating urban communities and emphasizing resident participation in all such programs as a virtue. Bromley-Heath has been a target area for such programs. In our discussion of the organizational network in the project, we referred to the huge role of federal funds in its community organization process. Based on a study of the Jamaica Plain APAC, the Modernization Committee, and the Tenant Management Corporation, the prime agent of the redistribution of services and powers in the project is the federal government.

In each case a federal agency, OEO or HUD, based on its own analysis of the problems of public housing residents and the power of the poor, stepped forth with its solutions. In each case, of course, it used an intermediary, the Boston Housing Authority or Action for Boston Community Development.

In 1964 when Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD) decided to decentralize into neighborhood action centers, the Jamaica Plain Community Council, a white, middle-class group, was approached for the Jamaica Plain area. The Bromley-Heath project was neither approached nor informed about the formation of a Jamaica Plain APAC.

An interested outsider, who was also a staff member of ABCD, contacted the only group in existence at that time in the project, a United Voters League. The League, and other tenants they organized, crashed the next meeting of the Jamaica Plain Community Council and demanded a right to participate in the proceedings. 49

The Jamaica Plain Community Council became disillusioned with the idea and the creation of an APAC when it saw that the project had to be included in the proposal. Although the Council fought to assume control of the APAC, Bromley-Heath succeeded in electing one of the two representatives to the ABCD Board, and in getting one of its residents elected interim chairman of the Jamaica Plain APAC.

49 This account is taken from an interview with Milt Cole, Chairman of the APAC Board, and at the time of this dispute, a member of the United Voters League.
A few short months later another project resident was elected to serve as the chairman of the Jamaica Plain APAC Board. He is still serving as chairman; the by-laws of the APAC were changed to permit him to do so. Because of the Green Amendment\textsuperscript{50} he will be retiring from the APAC Board with this spring's elections.

This activism on the part of those few tenants of Bromley-Heath not only insured that the project contributed in the development of the New APAC, but also gave them the control of the Jamaica Plain APAC which they have had ever since. With the election of the first chairman of the Jamaica Plain APAC Board, Bromley-Heath became the seat of power of the APAC. However, this power has not been utilized for community organization purposes.

Based on the size of its population (41,000) the APAC was given the authority to operate three neighborhood centers. It has from the beginning only operated two, one in the projects, and one in the white community. Efforts to keep the two centers together has met with only minimal success. The strategy used has been to place the executive director of the APAC in the projects, and assign the assistant director and community organizer in the other center.

According to OEO regulations and ABCD stipulations, the Jamaica Plain APAC Board must be composed of at least two-thirds low-income people, and 50 percent of the Board must be from Bromley-Heath. In its

\textsuperscript{50} The Green Amendment to the Equal Opportunity Act states that no Board member in a community action agency can serve more than three consecutive years.
original 32 member Board, the composition was, 12-project, 12-open, 8-agency seats. The APAC still officially carries a 32 member board, but by the middle of each year membership drops to 18-25 members. Members' resignations usually account for the decline. Presently, with elections to occur in May, Bromley-Heath has nine seats out of a twenty-seven member Board.

The Jamaica Plain APAC operates with guidance and supervision from both OEO and ABCD with little initiative being left to the agency. This is one of the characteristics of the community action program despite the lofty goals of "maximum feasible participation". We shall come back to these tensions in Chapter Five.

The four goals of HUD in its nation-wide Modernization Program are found in its 11-14-67 circular entitled "Program for Upgrading Low-Rent Housing Projects". They are:

(1) The rehabilitation of buildings and grounds of deteriorating public housing structures
(2) The improvement of management policies
(3) An expansion of community services
(4) The increased employment of tenants by the local authorities

The program is to serve as an impetus for tenant participation in processes and procedures which will improve their lives. With the initiation and funding of this program, HUD recognized that, because of poor physical upkeep and inadequate maintenance, most public housing projects need revitalizing, both physically and emotionally. Boston
was one of the cities selected to participate in the program.

The Boston Housing Authority saw in the Modernization Program "implications of the program for other than physical change". The initial meetings in Boston public housing developments to discuss the meaning of the Modernization Program and to elicit tenant participation were promulgated via the management aides and project managers. The housing authority attempted to "enlist the participation of the entire population by going directly to the residents rather than attempting to work through existing organizations whose memberships might be limited." Based on this theory each manager sent a letter of invitation to every family.

During the last week of February, the projects held their meetings. Despite the soundness of the approach taken by the Boston Housing Authority these meetings were limited in attendance. Bromley-Heath had a total of 125 persons in attendance, only 4 of whom were men. The highest attendance in any project was in the neighborhood of 400 tenants.

The planning process for the Modernization proposals was to take place in a six-week period since the BHA had an April 1 deadline for

51 Summary: History and Description of the Modernization Process in Boston, BHA, May 1968.
52 Ibid. p.4
53 Frederick Todd, "Ladies and Lords: Social Change At Bromley" 5/19/68
the submission of an application to HUD. Since tenants had not participated in the formation of the BHA timetable, and because they thought time too short, they proposed a new schedule. This protest was one of many instances in the beginning of the Modernization Program, where the Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee distinguished itself. It called a meeting of all the other Modernization Committees to joint together to pressure the housing authority to give them more time to develop their proposals. The housing authority had no choice but to meet their demand.

The second meeting of Boston's thirteen federal developments was in four committee sessions. These committees corresponded to those four components of the Modernization Program HUD articulated. The four committees in each project-management, rental and occupancy, community services, and physical upgrading - elected two representatives to form an eight-member Modernization Committee for each development. The four committee sessions at Bromley-Heath drew only 43 people, three of whom were men. Partly responsible for the poor turnout was the fact that the Saturday on which the committee meetings were held was a welfare check day. Another reason was that tenants initially did not believe that anything substantial would come out of these sessions. Several times before, management had held grip sessions for residents which resulted in nothing. Residents had no reason to believe that it would be different this time.

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54 Ibid.
The Department of Housing and Urban Development is funding the Modernization Program. The actual mechanisms of the program are decided upon by the Boston Housing Authority and Tenants Policy Council. The only initiative the Modernization Program has required of tenants is that each project establish its priorities for spending its share of Modernization funds. Now that Bromley-Heath has determined these priorities, its modernization committee seems to be an organization without a purpose. If it is providing a service to the project, tenants seem to be unaware of it. The fact that only 32 people bothered to vote out of a population of 1,500 adults in the most recent Modernization election, says a good deal about how tenants feel about the status and effectiveness of the program in improving their lives.

The idea of a tenant-management corporation had been bandied about in Boston for at least two years before Bromley-Heath became the demonstration project. The Urban Field Service of the Harvard Graduate School of Design referred to the concept in its recommendations to the Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee. The Urban Field Service had been asked by the APAC to provide professional and technical assistance to the committee in preparing its application to HUD. While the Urban Field Service was involved in the project, they saw the need for a tenant management apparatus. Their reasoning was that if modernization were successful, ways to ensure responsive and responsible upkeep had to be found.
Another group in the Boston area interested in tenant management was the Organization for Social and Technical Innovation (OSTI). OSTI had been contracted in 1967 by the Office of Economic Opportunity to study the feasibility of tenant management by public housing tenants.

In its final report on the feasibility of management by tenant organizations, in which it studied two cities, Baltimore, Maryland and Cleveland, Ohio, OSTI listed what it thought the goals of a tenant management corporation to be. A viable tenant management corporation should aim to:

1. generate income for tenants
2. provide jobs
3. improve the social and physical environment
4. provide home ownership of units, where possible
5. increase tenant participation in project affairs.

OSTI saw the degree of tenant control as being the most important variable to be considered in establishing tenant management corporations. Using this variable, they devised five possible models of tenant management (see Table 7). The choice of a model is a factor of what kinds of goals tenants desire from tenant management.

It has already been detailed how members of the Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee raised 500 signatures after the Boston Housing Authority put the tenant management demonstration grant up for grabs. A group of active tenants pursued the grant with an initiative and

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55 Final Report On The Feasibility of Creating Organizations For The Management And/Or Ownership of Public Housing, OSTI, 2/19/69
single-mindedness that has characterized little other activity in the project.

The Bromley-Heath Tenant Management Interim Committee contracted a New York housing specialist firm, Trans-Urban East to investigate the feasibility of tenant management in Bromley-Heath. It found that despite the meaningful involvement tenant management can give residents in project affairs, it cannot and should not be attempted in all projects. An extreme example of this point is the case where tenants took over the Management of the colossal failure in public housing, Pruitt-Igoe.56

Trans-Urban East unequivocally recommended the formation of a Bromley-Heath Tenant Management Corporation which could address itself to the problems of inadequate maintenance, a deficiency in social services, and insufficient security in the project. Their strongest words of caution in pursuing this goal were:

... to make haste slowly. We noted very often that there were pressures on the leadership to move more quickly than was realistic. Immediate response to such pressures could most certainly lead to failure

56 Micheal Lipsky says of this sad state of affairs, "no one can say with certainty if the tenants were wise in accepting responsibility for buildings and assuming the inheritance of neglect presented by public housing in St. Louis. We can, however, point out that victory for community organizations may prove hollow when symbolic or substantive victories are not accomplished by sufficient resources to permit realization of success over time" Lipsky and Levi, op. cit. p.19
Table 7 - Models of Tenant Management

strongest form - - - - - 
control by tenants

Delegate Agency

standards set by both LMA and TMC; can employ tenants or subcontract work out

Fixed Price Contractor

weakest form, tenants in an advisory role

Tenant Council

control by local housing authority

Source: OSTI
of the program. We therefore urge you and theInterim Committee to take care in your delibera-
tion and judgement.\textsuperscript{57}

The firm also cautioned that tenant management not be "a vehicle
for dumping results of poor performance of the owner onto the
tenants" but rather that it be a restructuring of the BHA-Bromley-
Heath relationship where both parties are accountable.\textsuperscript{58}

It is difficult to say at the present time whether tenant manage-
ment will be the vehicle that brings substantial improvements in housing
and social conditions at Bromley-Heath. Without a doubt, many improve-
ments in these areas are needed. With only five buildings in its pilot
program, a smooth and cooperative relationship with the Boston Housing
Authority, and funding sources for the next year of operation worked
out, prospects do look bright. However, when any one of these condi-
tions change, as they all probably will, the real tests of viability
and endurance will begin. We will then be looking to see the success
of a tenant management corporation, not that of a demonstration program.

The significance of the level of federal funding in Bromley-Heath
to the project's identification and initiation of action on its problems
cannot be overestimated. In an absolute sense, improvements in living

\textsuperscript{57} Trans-Urban East, \textit{op. cit.} pp. ii-iii

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid. p.30
conditions, no matter what their sources, are good. But the basis of these improvements and how they are instigated determines just how total these solutions can be in building new and more equal power relationships - the purpose of the redistribution process. Bromley-Heath (during the five year period: 1965-1969) acted as a recipient of bartered programs with no particular goal or scheme of developing its resources. Consequently, the influx of these programs did not have the desired impact. Its organizations are not part of a cooperative network for overall community growth. They have been put form as solutions to external interpretations of Bromley-Heath needs. They are service geared and suffering from structural inadequacies and tensions in the performance of their functions.
PROBLEMS IN THE BROMLEY-HEATH COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROCESS

The Dilemma of Client Versus Sponsor Obligations

It is consistent with the pluralistic nature of this society that there are different types of organizations for different needs. They have different strategies and take different structural forms, depending upon the circumstances and environment of formation. The amount of independence and the range of issues is a function of the community environment. Poor neighborhoods in particular face the dilemma of how an organization can be responsive to the needs of the community and its sponsor at the same time.

Based on a structural analysis of the Jamaica Plain APAC, the Modernization Committee, and the Tenant Management Corporation, one can see that in each case, the type of approach of the organization was dictated by the way in which the organization was formed. There are critical differences between the functions of policy-making boards, the TMC, and to a lesser extent, APAC, and an advisory committee such as the Modernization Committee. The Modernization Committee largely serves as an advisor to the Tenants Policy Council. That the APAC and Modernization Committee work within already clearly defined systems dictates that they have some amount of responsibility to the systems of which they are a part. APAC belongs to the OEO-ABCD network; Modernization belongs to the HUD-SHA-TFC network.

The Tenant Management Corporation is the only organization which attempts to establish a competing structure, rather than to try to challenge
from within. The TMC tries a new form which allows a more equally defined power relationship. In the APAC and Modernization Committee, intact system boundaries have been extended to embrace the groups. But the TMC, by changing power relationships is not as constrained in its approach to problem solving as are the APAC and Modernization Committee.

ABCD, Boston's community action agency, has been found in the various evaluations conducted of the anti-poverty program to be among the least effective because of the political nature of the city.\(^{59}\) Boston is one of several cities where the name community action program is a misnomer. It is in reality a mechanism for containing the resentments of the poor by impacting social services. The provision of services has been emphasized rather than strategies of community organization.

OEO defines the mission of the community action agency to be "to make the entire community more responsive to the needs and interests of the poor by mobilizing resources and bringing about greater institutional sensitivity".\(^{60}\) If one counts people as a community resource, many of the community action agencies have failed miserably in their "mission".

The Jamaica Plain APAC, like other CAA's has found it difficult for one agency to carry on social action and social services at the same time. Both goals cannot simultaneously be priorities. Therefore,


\(^{60}\)OEO Instruction #6320-1, Issued Nov. 16, 1970.
the attainment of one or the other must suffer. The dilemma which the APAC faces is that its target population sorely needs and demands services from the agency such that all of its energies are easily used in this one area. Little effort can be spent in developing strategies of social action. Because services are the most immediate needs of the poor, the Jamaica Plain APAC uses this as an approach to community organization. With such an approach, little in the way of favorable institutional changes for its clients is likely to take place. Just as the APAC has grown tremendously in its number of programs since the APAC's inception, its social action component has deteriorated to the point where it is now almost non-existent.

The APAC is currently being administered by its fifth executive director in as many years. The primary complaint of APAC administrators has been that they have had to fight with OEO and ABCD for funding increases. These diverted energies could be used in program development and implementation, two of the APAC's greatest deficiencies. In reply to the question on an ABCD Fact Sheet on the Jamaica Plain APAC of "what problems have occurred that significantly affected the launching and operation of the APAC programs," the two replies given were: uncertainty about level and nature of funding, and divided obligations to community and APAC, and to ABCD of the Neighborhood Employment Center and Headstart Programs.61

Recently, the Jamaica Plain APAC learned that because ABCD is short of funds, the APAC's summer cultural enrichment program, for the first time,

will have to be dropped for the summer of '71. Its annual July 4th picnic which is both APAC-wide and project wide, will also be cancelled. The annual July 4th picnic is an event all of the community eagerly awaits every year. Because it is one of the "visible" activities of the APAC, its cancellation has a significance which would probably not adher to the same thing happening in another community. It is very difficult to explain to children and tenants, who do not want to hear the money problems of the APAC, and are only interested in what the APAC is or is not doing for them, the reasons for the cutback.

Because the Jamaica Plain APAC is just one of eleven such identities with which ABCD must deal, it has very little bargaining power. Its needs, complaints, and priorities must be weighed against those of other APACS competing for the same funds and resources. The dilemma about obligations is a real one in an operation where directives come from a central office. In an attempt to manage all of the little parts of the whole, central office often must be insensitive to the particular needs of any one of the parts. A case in point is the ABCD decision of December 1970 that all APACS, exclusive of one, hold their board elections in May. The memo to the APACS read:

"the problems of coordinating resources and manpower will be complex and require the concerted efforts of all persons involved ... we must begin the planning of our elections now, not in March or April.

Upon receipt of this memo, APAC chairmen are requested to ask their Boards to appoint an election committee and the APAC directors are asked to appoint an election coordinator." 62
The priorities the Jamaica Plain APAC, or any other APAC may have set for itself had to be preempted in light of this directive. This is just one illustration of many possible ways that suggestions to a tenant organization from one of more of its sponsoring agencies can cut down on its effectiveness in dealing with those concerns it has set for itself.

The Modernization Committee is characterized by a similar type of relationship as the APAC to its sponsors. Like the APAC, it comes out of a central office. The Boston Housing Authority must administer thirteen modernization committees in its Modernization Program. Each of these thirteen committees have different budgets and priorities. It is no wonder that the housing authority found it easier to help create and work with a Tenants Policy Council.

The Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee has at times been so militant as to give the Boston Housing Authority and Tenants Policy Council some headaches. It articulated grievances and lead struggles against those aspects of the Modernization which were untrue to the principle of tenant involvement and participation.63 One disillusioned Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee member even went so far as to send HUD a telegram demanding that the Modernization Program in Boston be stopped because of his dissatisfaction with its lack of accomplishments in Bromley-Heath. This action led the Tenants Policy Council to chastise the Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee for their "violation of the

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62 ABCD Memorandum, 1/15/71, To: APAC Staff Directors, Re: 1971 Annual APAC Elections.

63 Boston Housing Authority, op. cit, p.5.
agreement made in the TPC that no letters or telegrams would be sent to any HUD official without the permission of the Policy Council. "64 The present Modernization Committee is not characterized by the enthusiasm of the earlier committees and thus have maintained peace with the TPC.

On the whole the Boston Housing Authority and the Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee maintain a cooperative and smooth relationship. There has been only one instance of BHA disregard for the committee's and the community's interests. In order to have changes that were visible to tenants and outsiders, the housing authority, ear-marked and spent $56,000 on painting doors and windows, even though the Modernization Committee was opposed to this use of the money.

In the three years that it has been formed, the Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee still has not achieved the solutions to the tenant-determined priorities for the physical upgrading of the project. It is unlikely that it can address itself to the more complex problems confronting the project which cannot be solved by physical repairs and improvements. When it completes these physical things, there will still be a gap to which the Modernization program does not address its attention. Boston City Councilor Tom Atkins commenting on the progress of modernization, pinpoints this deficiency:

You have an organization that now has responsibility to modernize. You cannot modernize the outside, when the building is being torn up on the inside."65

64 Letter to Reverent Farrar, Bromley-Heath Modernization Chairman by Eugene O'Neil, TPC Chairman, dated 2/13/69

65 Information From Tenants of Public Housing Program, Jamaica Plain, Beford Committee on Public Housing of Boston City Council, pp. 85-86, 10/9/69
Modernization cannot address itself to the psychology or morale of a public housing existence because it is not structured to do so. Its approach is limited. At most, the Modernization Committee can be a forum for identifying community problems. The other three area components of the Modernization Program, community services, tenant-management relationships, and jobs for tenants have so far produced few substantive changes.66

The failure of the Modernization Committee to effectively and speedily provide those goals it set for itself must be evaluated with its particular circumstances considered. It is not simply a failure to deliver goods and services or to affect a redistribution of power. It has a built-in mechanism that while it does not necessarily cause failure, at least puts limitations on the kinds of things that can develop from the Modernization Program. Its operation is controlled by the Boston Housing Authority. Because it is an in-house arrangement of the BHA, the Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee may have to be judged effective in the small accomplishments it has made.

The Bromley-Heath Tenant Management Corporation is the newest organization to arise in the project. It has had to establish and perpetuate a working relationship with not only the other tenant groups, but also with other external agencies whose cooperation is needed if the TMC is to succeed. Most vital to the success of the tenant management program is the rapport the TMC has with the Boston Housing Authority.

66 The Boston Housing Authority has devised a new more flexible lease with the help of tenants, and Modernization has produced jobs for tenants.
It has had and will have to work with BHA staff at every step along the way for the eventual transfer of functions and responsibilities from the BHA to the TMC.

Tenants who live in the TMC managed buildings are recruited by the BHA as are all tenants at Bromley-Heath. Yet, the Tenant Management Corporation can request that any tenant it deems is not living up to the spirit of tenant management be transferred to another building in the project. These types of arrangements can lead to severe jurisdictional confusion if an open and flexible relationship between the TMC and BHA is not maintained at all times.

The TMC must maintain distinct relationships with the Office of Economic Opportunity and ABCD as well as with the housing authority. In its first year of operation, OEO funding of $168,000 proceeded to the Tenant Management Interim Committee via the BHA. Recently OEO promised an additional grant for a second year of operation. The OEO contribution pays for staff salaries and administration. The other costs are presently absorbed by the BHA and ABCD.

The cost of the work to prepare the first five buildings for the pilot program was absorbed by the housing authority through the account of $60,000 of Bromley-Heath's that it holds. The BHA will probably also absorb the cost of refurbishing the next seven buildings due to join the pilot program this spring. Also paid by the BHA are the plumber, plasters, glacier, electrician, carpenter, and painters for the five TMC managed

67 Although the TMC received the commitment for refunding during talks with OEO in Washington, D.C. on 1/27/71, the details as to amount are still being ironed out.
buildings. They are BHA employees on loan to the TMC.

ABCD's New Careers Program will contribute $29,000 and the BHA $45,000 to train managerial positions for the eventual takeover of the project management by the TMC. The contract approved February 3, 1971 for the training of tenants in management positions includes:

2 assistant managers
2 assistant maintenance superintendents
1 maintenance clerk
1 management aide
1 clerk

These employees will receive 90% of the first step level of BHA union members during training. After the housing authority is unable and/or unwilling to pay the tenant management staff, the TMC will have to find its own funds and contend with the BHA union. As arrangements presently stand, the manager for the buildings in the Pilot Program is the previous assistant manager to Bromley-Heath. None of the management trainees will take over the positions of the BHA staff until the Pilot Program Committee of the TMC and BHA staff agree that they are ready.

The Tenant Management Corporation, unlike the APAC and the Modernization Committee seems to have been successful in attaining a degree of flexibility and freedom from sponsor control. If it is not successful in what it is attempting to do, blame cannot be placed on these relationships. The TMC has maintained this flexibility possibly by tapping three sources of support rather than relying exclusively on the support of one sponsor. Another distinction the TMC has is that it has a TMC staff working for the goals of the TMC, and not for any other interest.
APAC and Modernization appear to be crippled by a reliance on central office-Modernization to the BHA, and obligation to central office-APAC to ABCD. The TMC has had a cooperative relationship with the BHA and ABCD whereby it has to fulfill responsibilities which it has defined for itself.

**Lack of Coordination: Interrelationships of the Three Organizations**

Just as personal rivalries characterize the interaction of tenants in the project, the various tenant organizations suffer from similar hostilities. The organizations are competing for limited resources (funds, leadership talent, etc.) and for visibility in the project. Despite the fact that they are characterized by little diversity in leadership, they do not work together.

The APAC is fraught with problems in its interaction with other groups. It is accused of being conservative because of its lack of a stand on issues. One instance of its indecisiveness was its lack of a role in the attainment of the tenant management program. The APAC Board Chairman and the Executive Director at that time both report that they did not support the group which petitioned for the tenant management grant because they did not think it was an appropriate function of the agency. Two former Modernization Committee members who secured most of the five hundred signatures are of the opinion that the APAC did not get involved in the attempt because, even then, the agency saw that a tenant management corporation would be something it could not control.

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68 Interviews with Milt Cole and Ralph Pred

69 Interviews with Arthur Eskew and Lena Penn, 1/13/71
Whatever the reason, the APAC joined the TMC bandwagon after the grant had been awarded to Bromley-Heath.

We have already examined some of the reasons why the APAC has never been a strong community organization. The most radical thing the agency has achieved, and its main accomplishment in the area of community organization, was to lead and coordinate the battle that led to Bromley-Heaty grasping control of the project's recreation program. 70

The case of the community centers is an interesting one because it is one of the few instances when a large number of tenants were successfully organized to attain a goal. The story of the community centers traces the development from a traditional red-feather settlement-house-type of operation to a community-run and determined recreation program. Bromley-Heath tenants organized and rejected the existing apparatus as undesirable.

The expulsion of the director and board of two community centers was initiated by Mothers-For-Action (MFA). Mothers-For-Action is a group of concerned mothers who formed shortly after the creation of the APAC. As one would suspect from the name, their primary concern is in youth. Mothers-For-Action recognized that the way in which recreation is provided is important in a community which has a high congestion of youth. Because of the congestion, youth are more susceptible to peer group influences. Drugs, sex, etc. are introduced at an earlier age. Therefore, MFA was very interested in making the centers' programs more sensitive to their children's needs in the hope that they would then be utilized by them.

70 Other instances of community organization success have been the achievement of control over the APAC, winning the TMC grant, and initiating the security suit against the BHA.
As the Bromley-Heath project changed from 90% white to 90% black, the clientele, the board membership, and the artsy-craftsy programs of the center remained the same. Allegedly, many of the board members had served for over 15 years and no longer resided in the community. In response to these kinds of issues, Mothers-For-Action first attempted in 1966 to affect changes in the centers' programs, operations, and staffing.

When MFA saw that the director of the centers was uninterested in changing the centers' operation, they became more aggressive. With the technical assistance of the APAC they documented supportive evidence that the centers were not meeting the needs of or geared to project youth. MFA demanded that the centers be taken over by the project. They presented their case to the Boston Housing Authority, which provided space for the centers and to United Community Services, which funded the centers.

As a result of their not-negotiable demand to assume control of the centers, and obvious community support they had mustered, the housing authority broke the lease with the centers and United Community Services agreed to fund, with an increased budget, a community-run recreation program. The APAC became the receiving agency of the community centers money and a project board and director were elected. The Bromley-Heath Community Centers became a reality.

There are very few examples of community action on issues which

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71 Account given by Anna Cole who was then a member of MFA. She became the first tenant member of the Community Centers Board in 1965 just prior to the initiation of the struggle to change the centers.

72 This same man had been a member of the Jamaica Plain Community Council, the group which had originally attempted to form the Jamaica Plain APAC.
have resulted in such a notable victory for the community. Perhaps if there were more instances of community unity, Bromley-Heath would possess more of a habit of organizing, or have won enough victories to see that substantial rewards can be gained from the process. APAC's Quarterly Reports for 1967 are devoted to tracing the agency's involvement in the dispute over the centers. The reports even state that the reason why the APAC has so little in the area of aid to community organization to report is because of its total involvement in this affair. This was the first and last example of such a total expenditure of energies and resources of the agency in a community organization effort.73 For the most part, APAC has existed to give technical assistance and to act as receivership for new groups as they start out until they become more sophisticated. It has not functioned to aid the community organization process in Bromley-Heath.

The interaction of tenant groups in the project, while certainly not one of out-and-out conflict, is just not one of mutual helpfulness. A more accurate description of the type of interaction is that the groups are vying for attention, power, and prestige. Prior to 1969, the APAC was the only spokesman for the Bromley-Heath population. Now it must share this position with the Tenant Management Corporation which is now also incorporated and fiscally autonomous. The APAC is no longer the only organization which can act in receivership of monies for other community groups.

One of the reasons it may be so difficult for the APAC, Modernization

73 Occasionally mentioned in the APAC Quarterly Reports has been minor involvement in school and education issues.
Committee, and Tenant Management Corporation to work cooperatively is that both the APAC and the Modernization Committees are undergoing identity crises whereby APAC is struggling for existence and Modernization is struggling for legitimacy. The APAC must worry on two counts. The talk of federal cutbacks and the implications of revenue-sharing are frightening. Also, even if the community action program is in to stay, the Jamaica Plain APAC must revive itself from its stupor. Utilization of its services are low and APAC Board and community interest are waning.

The Modernization Program is in answer to a particular set of circumstances - that many projects because of age and wear and tear are due for minor and major rehabilitation. Because of the limits of the Modernization budget in Boston, no major rehabilitation can take place if all of the federally sponsored projects are to participate. Modernization is concerned with only the most minor indices of redistribution; improved services, renovated kitchens, more jobs (the most menial), etc. This kind of redistribution is of those things most easily attained and least significant in terms of lasting effects. The kinds of things modernization funds will bring in Bromley-Heaty hardly necessitate that an on-going Modernization Committee is maintained unless it has other foci of interest. The fact that only 32 tenants voted for the present 8 members gives a hint at just how illegitimate the structure may be in tenant minds.

The Tenant Management Corporation, on the other hand has the organizing potential that the Modernization Committee never realized and that the APAC lost. The Modernization Committee and APAC may in fact feel threatened because of the potential of the TMC. The APAC engendered
feelings of hostility from the Modernization Committee in 1969 by violating what modernization thought to be its turf. Because it raised the 500 signatures that helped get Bromley-Heath the tenant management grant, and because tenant management was to be a tenants' program dealing with housing, certain members of the Modernization Committee felt that the tenant management program came under its jurisdiction. However, because tenant management was an OEO program, it had to go through OEO channels. Thus APAC, in its usual role of conduit, became the delegate agency to receive TMC money. One member of the Modernization Committee states that he and other members sorely resented the fact that they did all the work and APAC got to handle the money. To keep the peace and in the interest of involving the entire project in the program, a compromise was affected whereby all Bromley-Heath tenant organizations would elect representatives to the Tenant Management Interim Committee. Thus, the Tenant Management Corporation became an entity distinct and separate from both the APAC and the Modernization Committee.

Both the TMC and Modernization Committee are concerned with improving the tenant-management relationship and housing conditions. The director of the TMC early recognized that there was an overlap of goals between the TMC and the Modernization Committee. He reports that he approached the Modernization Committee about phasing out in Bromley-Heath and joining the work of the TMC. He reports how he made it a point to do the suggesting himself and not have the modernization chairman, who

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74 Interview with Arthur Eskew

75 Interview with Thomas Weeks, 2/4/71
was also an Interim Committee member and in favor of the idea, broach the subject. The Modernization Committee rejected his proposal. The reason given for the lack of interest in the idea was that it views the TMC as an experimental program, the success of which, by no means, is assured. It is understandable that with such a view, the Modernization Committee would not merge its identity with the Tenant Management Corporation.

However, coordination of activities and resources would have advantages for both the TMC and the Management Corporation. Trans-Urban East, in its study of the feasibility of a Bromley-Heath TMC recommended:

"that the present Modernization budget ($900,000) be reviewed in the light of the TMC purposes and goals. This review should take into consideration the use of local Bromley-Heath manpower for making improvements, thus providing a recruiting pool for TMC staff. In addition it is recommended that the Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee and the Interim Tenants Committee 

jointly undertake such a review. A severe weakness in the present modernization program is the unavailability of staff personnel, independent of the BHA, to assist the Modernization Committee. Since the Interim Tenants Committee presently has staff, it should provide administrative support to the efforts of the joint Interim and Modernization Committee.

The initial task of this joint committee should be to determine accurately the present status of the Bromley-Heath modernization, including latest budget appropriations, the nature of any contracts presently out for bid."
Secondly, the Committee must determine if any areas of present activity within the Modernization program conflict with TMC goals....

In general, the joint committee must be concerned with relieving the following problems at Bromley-Heath: poor security, inoperative boiler sections, excessive vacancies, unkept grounds, exterior and interior public areas in need of decorating and reconditioning, faulty elevators, and deferred maintenance."76

The recommendation is a sound one. It is unfortunate that the Modernization Committee could not be persuaded to coordinate its activities. It seems that in this case, the goal of existing as a separate entity was paramount over the goal of furthering the kinds of things Modernization is supposed to be about.

Although the Tenants Policy Council actively supported Bromley-Heath's receiving the tenant management grant, they rapidly became disillusioned with the group when regular progress reports and such were not forthcoming.77 Because of its open support, the Tenants Policy Council had envisioned that the TMC would feel some amount of responsibility to establish and keep ties with the TPC. The TMC feels no such needs and operates completely independently of Modernization and TPC influences.

The APAC, Modernization Committee, and Tenant Management Corporation

76Trans Urban East, op.cit., pp.69-70

77Letter to Reverend Farrar, Charman Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee, from Eugene O'Neil, Chairman Tenants Policy Council, 2/13/69.
have neither reciprocal obligations nor any project-wide priorities upon which all three organizations are working. Modernization and the TMC accept those services which the APAC offers, in the form of loan of staff and proposal writing. In return, the APAC has so far been able to maintain knowledge of what the other tenant groups are doing. The one possibility at the moment for more cooperation and coordination among the three organizations is that if the TMC is able to attain any foothold of power, the weaker organizations will be less likely to resist cooperative efforts. If it is successful, one of the eventual goals of the TMC is to establish a Bromley-Heath Tenants Organization. This organization would serve as an umbrella organization for all the groups in Bromley-Heath.

Many of those persons interviewed in the course of this study were most optimistic about the future of the Tenant Management Corporation. They credit it with having the potential to pull together the many fledgling attempts at community organization. Their hope is that it will become an umbrella agency capable of administering and supervising the activities of all the groups. This optimism may be unrealistic in the face of the past tendencies and performances of the APAC, and the Modernization Committee. The other groups in the project have lesser degrees of strength and would not pose any serious problem in being embraced by an umbrella.

**Summary**

The terms and type of relationship of the tenant organizations with their sponsors play a very important role in determining the effectiveness and sophistication of the organization. How smooth and beneficial these relationships are determine the amount of time and quality
of time these groups can devote to organizational pursuits. Organizations
often must make undesirable compromises because of the nature and/or
level of funding. Both instances have existed in Bromley-Heath. The
Modernization budget for Boston which has been divided among all thirteen
of the federal projects is utterly incapable of accomplishing any major
rehabilitation for the Bromley-Heath project. The TMC budget, with which
both the Executive Director and Board President report they are satisfied,
presents no problem now, but will when new sources of funds must be found.

We have seen how the dilemma of sponsor versus client obligations
has resulted in the organizations not functioning to maximize their
organizing potential. Independence and flexibility suffer when there is
a reliance upon institutional resources. The APAC must devote itself
to the mere act of existing, the Modernization Committee has no political
clout because of its relationship to the Boston Housing Authority-Tenants
Policy Council network, and the Tenant Management Corporation, even while it
is trying to maximize tenant involvement, must prove to HUD, the BHA, and
ABCD that tenant management can work.

The second major reason why these organizations have had a limited
effect on solving the project's problems is due to internal rather than
external factors. Just as there are poor rates of participation of tenants
in these organizations, the APAC, Modernization Committee, and Tenant
Management Corporation have poor rates of participation in concerted project
wide efforts. Each organization seems preoccupied with maintaining its iden-
tity. The Modernization Committee and APAC are so preoccupied because they
are both weak and are aware of their weakness. The TMC is a new entity and
as such must prove itself, based on its own merits. Because it is attempt-
ing to elicit tenant interest and support, the TMC cannot risk becoming
identified or categorized with the APAC and the Modernization Committee.
CHAPTER VI

EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

Bromley-Heath community organizations have tended to provide jobs (APAC and Modernization Committee) and services (APAC, TMC). However, they have neither provided a flow of leadership nor restructured the Bromley-Heath power relationships with the outside world. These organizations lack strategies of organizing the project community and have not contributed as effectively as they could have to the community organization process.

In looking to see what the Jamaica Plain APAC, Modernization Committee and Tenement Management Corporation have done for Bromley-Heath, the most fair measure of effectiveness is to see if any changes in Bromley-Heath are attributable to the existence of these organizations. There are two effectiveness criteria we shall apply to draw our final conclusions about the three organizations. First, we shall look at what service(s) the organization has provided for tenants and the utilization of these services. Secondly, we shall evaluate the contribution of these organizations to the community organization process in Bromley-Heath.

Accomplishments of the Organizations

Because of bad reporting procedures of the Jamaica Plain APAC, records and data simply do not exist for most of its five years of operation as to how many people the agency has served in its various programs. New OEO guidelines for service reporting procedures of community action agencies have necessitated that service reporting procedures be improved. In the year
that these guidelines have been in effect, ABCD says that the Jamaica Plain APAC sets unrealistic goals in its service statements and that its service reports are unsupported with the appropriate and required documentation.\textsuperscript{78}

Table 8 is the 1970 Service Data Report of the Jamaica Plain APAC to ABCD. Column 1 is the agency's approximation of the number of people to be served for funding requests. Column 2 is the number of clients served as documented on ABCD individual reporting forms which each APAC client is supposed to fill out. As is evident, the discrepancy between the columns is huge. Even if one allows for the fact that not all clients were documented on forms, it is apparent that the Jamaica Plain APAC fell far short of its service goals for 1970. The documented figure of 795 clients is only 2\% of the projected figure of 37,648 clients.

If one were to measure the effectiveness and efficiency of the APAC in terms of its performance in reaching its target population, the agency would seem to be a dismal failure. But if one takes into account that it was the first attempt of Bromley-Heath tenants, who early captured control of the agency, to run their own community organization, a venture for which they possessed little administrative skill or expertise, its failures do not seem as great. A small group of activists tried to build a new sense of awareness and a concern about attaining and administering needed services in Bromley-Heath, but the agency has not succeeded in adequately serving its target population.

\textsuperscript{78} Conversation with John Purdue, Management Information Systems Division, Action for Boston Community Development, March 19, 1971.
Table 8: Service Data Received From Jamaica Plain APAC 1/1/70-12/31/70

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Activity</th>
<th>To Be Reported on Individual Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proposed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighborhood Service</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multi-Service</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Age Education</td>
<td>4,540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School-age education</td>
<td>2,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Advocacy</td>
<td>900</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cultural Enrichment</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer Tutorial</td>
<td>240</td>
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<tr>
<td>Emergency Food-Medical Service</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Surplus Food</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>Special Summer Programs</td>
<td>14,298</td>
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<td>Camperships</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Excursions</td>
<td>6,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Summer Enrichment</td>
<td>6,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Summer Work</td>
<td>90</td>
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<tr>
<td>Technical Assistance</td>
<td>600</td>
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<td>Teen Center</td>
<td>1,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trainers</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Development</td>
<td>8,750</td>
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<td>Development Department</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land-Use Adv.</td>
<td>2,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>Technical Assistance</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenant Management</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer Development</td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Headstart</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>37,648</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We see the Jamaica Plain APAC as being in a state of sluggishness. It performs well neither as a service organization nor as a spokesman for the project. It has weakened under the strain of divided and conflicting obligations, as has many other community action programs. Despite the general suitability of the APAC programs to the needs of its client population, usage is based on other factors besides need. Tenants must be educated as to the availability of the services, the services must be easily attainable, and an amiable relationship must be established between the agency dispensing the services and the recipients of the services. The Jamaica Plain APAC's failures are more along these lines than in a failure in the actual content of its provisions.

The Bromley-Heath Tenant Management Corporation is learning that sincerity and dedication to the goals of tenant management are not enough to foster a viable tenant management operation. Suitable funding, expertise and political bargaining are also part of the package that will make tenant management work in Bromley-Heath. So far, the TMC has been successful in securing adequate financial backing for the undertaking. Based on what it has achieved to date, the TMC staff seems to be capable. The Pilot Program is operating, a smooth relationship with the Boston Housing Authority has been maintained, and refunding for a second year has been promised by OEO. The TMC must now address itself to the more difficult problems of phasing out TMC staff into an administrative staff as it expects to do in a year or two, and finding new ways to foster more tenant involvement in the TMC.

The work of the TMC Board and staff has not and will not be easy. It is very difficult for tenants to organize around the concept of tenant
management because, despite their dissatisfaction with the upkeep and management of the project, they do not perceive a crisis situation requiring a drastic remedy. Most tenants are not sophisticated enough to hold such a view. Although the TMC is a response to the inadequacies of the present management apparatus, the vast majority of tenants still must be reeducated to this new way of thinking. Presently, only a small number of tenants perceive tenant management as being their own and best alternative to the BHA operation.

The TMC has been completely a tenant effort; in the negotiations, hiring and administration. The staff and board members have worked together effectively, if not always amiable. The TMC Board operates as a unite. Unlike the APAC Board, there is no reliance on the chairman's leadership to keep the Board together. Increased tenant participation in the TMC is necessary, if the goal of successful tenant control and operation of the management functions of Bromley-Heath are to be realized. Even though the actions of a small minority of tenants have brought the TMC to its present state, the future success of the TMC depends on a widened base of tenant participation. The building committees are a workable unit for securing this participation, but they must elicit more that the 10% participation of residents they currently attract.

When the Modernization Program was promulgated by the Boston Housing Authority, there was talk of it leading to a restructuring of the BHA

\[79\] In July 1970, the Executive Director and his entire staff resigned when the Board did not support his firing of his assistant director. The Board eventually supported his position and the entire staff was reinstated.
tenant relationship. No such lofty goal has been the result of the Modernization Program. The Modernization Program provided a mechanism whereby tenants of Boston public housing could determine and receive their priorities in housing improvements. The most fair measure of effectiveness of the program is if it achieved these improvements, and if so, with what speed and ease. It would be unfair to measure its successes and failures in terms of its organizing potential or facilitation of tenant control. The Modernization Program in Boston simply was not set up to address itself to these kinds of things.

The Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee has been successful in its duties of determining priorities and in negotiation with the housing authority. It is no insufficiency on the part of any of the three modernization committees elected in the last three years, that these priorities have not yet been realized. It is due to the nature of the Modernization Program. As a city-wide program, run from a central bureaucratic office, the cards were indeed stacked against the Modernization Committee's becoming vocal and strong community interest groups.

Stage of the Community Organization Process

Based on type and number of services provided, these organizations have had a limited effectiveness in changing Bromley-Heath conditions. Our second way of evaluating the effectiveness of the Jamaica Plain APAC, the Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee and the Tenant Management Corporation is to see if and how these organizations have contributed to the community organization process in Bromley-Heath. Murray Ross defines the community organization process "as that by which the capacity of the community to function as in integrated unit grows as it deals with one or
more community problems". We would paraphrase his definition as that process by which a community learns to identify and solve its problems as a unit. Mr. Ross also states that the process occurs despite the ignorance of the residents and groups as to the steps in the process for which they are using certain methods. If Mr. Murray is correct, perhaps we can be optimistic about what we see happening in Bromley-Heath, despite the fact that the organizations do not operate as a unit.

Although we unequivocally label that which is occurring in Bromley-Heath as community organization in process, it is organization of the most rudimentary nature. The APAC, Modernization Committee, and Tenant Management Corporation have very real deficiencies which help to retard the process of community organization. They have not elicited widespread tenant participation or found suitable strategies of mobilizing support. All three organizations have a similar approach to solving the projects problems. They attempt to bring new resources (goods and services) to the project. None of the three has suitably developed the resource in most abundance in the project, its numbers (community support, flow of leadership).

We see a sad state of affairs existing in Bromley-Heath. We see a community with few leaders and almost as few followers. A reliance upon small, cliquish-type groups to lead and win battles for Bromley-Heath, seems to be the norm. Despite the number of programs serving tenants, the number of people who utilize or benefit from these services is only a small proportion of project residents. The biggest deficiency caused by this prolif-

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eration of groups is that there is no coordination among them. Competing organizations do not allow any one organization to attain enough power to influence or coordinate the work for all. This inadequacy would not be so bad if it did not lead to an inefficiency in developing a leadership cadre which has a broader outlook on satisfying Bromley-Heath's needs.

The absence of a flow of leadership is probably one of the greatest failures of the community organization process in Bromley-Heath. The leadership of the project has been with a small corps of activists since the initiation of the APAC. There has been little success, if the effort has been made at all, to develop indigenous leadership capable of joining the ranks or taking over struggles, as the need arises. This paucity of a leadership resource is beginning to be felt by the organizations.

APAC is faced with finding a replacement for the board chairman who has run APAC from the very start. The present chairman is a man who knows every by-law of the APAC corporation, every OEO guideline on the administration of community action programs, and who has had five years of practice in keeping a factionalized board together. His replacement cannot come from among those APAC Board members who will be elected in May. These new members must first become oriented to the functions of APAC Board membership. The participation of the present members has been so poor over the last six months that there was a quorum less than half of the time. This phenomenon persists despite repayment for car fare and babysitter fees. These attendance rates would indicate an increasing disinterest in serving the organization. Very few of the present board members appear interested or capable of serving as board chairman.
Even in its infancy, the Bromley-Heath Tenant Management Corporation is facing a similar dilemma. The Tenant Management Interim Committee President, a young, Harvard graduate student had to resign upon incorporation because he had recently married and moved from the project. The newly elected TMC Board President, by her own admission, feels unequipped to handle such a position. She maintains that she will serve only until someone else, preferable a man, can be groomed for the position. No search has yet been conducted for a person, and no mention has been made of who will conduct the grooming when such a person is found. Until board membership is completed and someone steps forward to relieve her of the position, she will have to carry on the best she can.

Bromley-Heath is delineated as a community of interests in its spatial boundaries, its lack of identification with the larger society, and in its environmental and socio-economic distinctiveness. These organizations have added to a sense of "communityness" by increasing tenant participation in project affairs, creating a new sense of awareness about power relationships, and giving tenants a degree of control of their program. Because of these accomplishments, these groups have contributed to the on-going community organization process in Bromley-Heath despite the fact that they have not been the mobilizing agents they were capable of being. Ways must now be found to increase tenant involvement if these organizations are to have legitimacy.

81 Statement was made at the TMC Board meeting in which she was elected, 1/28/71
A Proposal for Bromley-Heath

Community organizations attempting to affect any type of redistribution of goods and services need either mass participation of residents or strong and cohesive smaller groupings of residents. Bromley-Heath's experience with small groupings leaves much to be desired. The organizations have tended to be cliquish, narrow in scope, and unsuccessful in meeting tenant needs. Yet, given the particular socio-economic characteristics of the Bromley-Heath population, mass participation in community affairs is unlikely. It is unrealistic expectation for those persons interested in inducing change in Bromley-Heath to hold. There are too many daily struggles of existence which claim tenants' attentions. Therefore, we propose for Bromley-Heath an organization that will be a mixture of both types.

The protagonists of the APAC and TMC formations were dedicated and articulate groups which were unskilled in the political bargaining arena. The political skills and community support they lacked were not necessary because of the environmental conditions surrounding the formation of these organizations. However, when federal programs and monies are no longer for barter or when rebuilding urban neighborhoods no longer interests the federal government, these two ingredients may be necessary to affect changes to the project's advantage. For this reason we suggest the formation of a Bromley-Heath's Tenants Organization (BHTO).

We make this recommendation because we are not optimistic about the future of the Tenant Management Corporation. We feel that successful
management of deteriorated and crowded public housing projects under present federal subsidy arrangements is an unmanageable operation. These types of projects, especially when they are high in social problems, are unmanageable by both the local housing authorities and tenant and real estate groups who enter Turnkey II agreements.

However, if the Bromley-Heath TMC does succeed in taking over the entire management functions of the project, the TMC envisions establishing a Bromley-Heath Tenants' Organization that will act as an umbrella organization for the project. We feel, however, that such an organization will not address itself to two very important components of the community organization process; developing the leadership resource and increasing tenant participation. Also, we believe that the goal of a BHTO demands more of a priority than what the TMC gives it. We therefore propose an alternative way of structuring a BHTO, the formation of which we feel is crucial to the re-building of the Bromley-Heath community.

We suggest a project-wide tenants organization for Bromley-Heath. By advocating the organization of tenants in one project, we are advocating organizing around residential rather than social or income status lines, simply because it is a more visible point of commonality. Membership will be by right to every project resident. Representatives for a "congress" shall be elected annually; three from each seven-story building and one from each three-story building. (49 representatives) Only those tenants over the age of sixteen in each building shall be able to vote for and be nominated for the congress. No representative shall serve more than two years in a row. After a year's lapse, he can once again serve.
The Congress will establish a system of "task forces", one for each issue or problem area in the project. These task forces will not be static but will change as does the issues. The congress shall meet bi-monthly. Periodically, perhaps once a month, the entire Bromley-Heath Tenants' Organization will meet. When the community becomes more adept at solving its problems, the BHTO would not have to meet as often. The current taks forces will make progress reports at the BHTO meetings.

The present tenant organizations or any new ones arising would not have to be subsumed in a BHTO. They can continue to operate as independent entities. However, one of the first jobs of the congress shall be to work out an agreement whereby once a month, each organization will send a representative to a congress meeting who would report on the organization's recent activities and goals.

The above proposal addresses itself to solving three of the biggest problems in the community organization process in Bromley-Heath revealed by this study. The kind of tenant organization proposed will:

1) increase participation of tenants in project affairs,
2) provide for a coordination of activities in regards to existing Bromely-Heath tenant organizations, and
3) develop the people resource in the project, thereby, decreasing the dependency on outside resources by giving the project more bargaining power, and providing for a flow of leadership.

The BHTO would of course have to be formed by some committed organization or group of tenants having some legitimacy. We see the Tenant Management as being most equipped to perform this function. Its degree
of credibility and sincerity in the project, as well as its experience with the building committees, qualifies it for this role. We feel the formation of the BHTO should become an immediate focus of the TMC and not be contingent upon whether or not tenant management succeeds. Hopefully, once the TMC initiates the BHTO formation enough concerned and committed tenants will surface so that TMC Board and staff energies will not be diverted for long from the business of tenant management. Perhaps additional funds will have to be secured and a number of professional organizers hired for the purpose of educating the community. The success of the BHTO depends on the reeducation of tenants.

Although it is not desirable to bring outsiders into the process of formation of the BHTO, committed and skilled people must be found to begin what will have to be a thorough and intensive education process to make tenants aware of the advantages of forming such an organization. The hit or miss door-to-door technique employed by the TMC will not be sufficient for the purpose of propagandizing tenants about the need for unity, involvement, and coordination.
Interviews

In depth interviews were held with the following persons:


Anna Mae Cole, Chairman of Mothers For Action, and President of Tenant Management Corporation Board. January 19, 1971.


Arthur Eskew, former Community Centers Executive Director, January 13, 1971.


Mildred Hailey, Chairman, Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee, Area Planning Action Council Staff Worker, Chairman of Tenants Management Corporation Pilot Program Committee. February 2, 1971.


Lena Penn, Chairman of Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee 1969, Member of Tenant Management Interim Committee. January 13, 1971.


APPENDIX

(Socio-Economic Tables-Bromley-Heath)
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NUMBER OF ELDERLY UNITS 160 46

*TENANTS STATUS REVIEW (1970) ONLY TAKEN ON FAMILIES IN THE PROJECT, 206 ELDERLY UNITS NOT INCLUDED IN REVIEW.
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### AGE DISTRIBUTION - HEATH STREET

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**PER CAPITA INCOME**

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