

Building Community: Principles for Social Work Practice in Housing Settings

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Urban development projects have shown that it takes more than bricks and mortar to build a community. If they are to survive and flourish, communities need to have more than secure housing, available jobs, and good schools; they must also have a sense of community. This sense of community is critical in preventing housing deterioration and substandard school performance and serves as the foundation for healthy families. Feeling part of a community fosters a sense of ownership (Newman, 1972) and serves as a deterrent to alienation. This sense of belonging acts as a strong defense against environmental and social factors that prey on many residents and social work services, provided in a variety of modalities, can enhance this community-building process.

This chapter reviews the experience of Phipps Houses, a nonprofit housing developer, and its affiliate, Phipps Houses Community Development Corporation, in their attempt to foster a sense of community and family well-being in two fully rehabilitated housing developments it sponsored in a community well known for poverty and unsuccessful attempts at renewal. Three facets of Phipps Houses' identity combine to distinguish it from other projects discussed in the professional literature:

1. Phipps Houses is a private, nonprofit corporation that, with its affiliate, provides both housing and social services for tenants. Although it is not uncommon for municipal housing authorities to directly provide social services to tenants, it is very rare to find a nonprofit developer who does so.
2. Phipps Houses primarily produces permanent housing for the general public, as opposed to transitional housing or housing for a special population.
3. Phipps Houses operates within the social, political, and economic context of the 1990s. Although other programs may deal with one or two of these arenas, Phipps Houses appears to be unique in addressing all three.

With some notable exceptions, such as NASW's (1987) recommendation that the federal government consider housing as a social utility and permanently ensure services to meet the essential physical and social needs of tenants, Powers's (1979) analysis of the housing and social service linkage through history, and Morrison's (1984) study of locality development with tenants in a changing community, there have been few reports in the literature over the past 20 years that link housing and social work services. However, beginning with the

work of British social worker Octavia Hill (1875), the rich literature of past community development activities provides a backdrop and professional legacy of work with programs combining housing and social services.

Social workers have struggled with the interplay of social work and housing since the reformers of the 19th century, the work of early social work theorists, the programs of the New Deal, and the initiatives of the War on Poverty and its successors. Recently, along with the development of groups such as the Association of Community Organization and Social Administration (Mizrahi & Morrison, 1993), there has come renewed dedication to social work with impoverished communities, and the profession is again looking for useful models of service (Coulton, 1995; Weil, 1996).

Phipps Houses Group is a contemporary exemplar of housing development that illustrates practice principles that can be applied in other sites in deteriorated neighborhoods. This voluntary sector model of multiple relationships with residents should become more common as direct federal housing development continues to diminish and increased attention is placed on the need for integrated social work services in housing settings.

Although the authors do not suggest that all people need supportive living services, they believe that tenants in poor and distressed communities need social work services that focus on facilitating family well-being and community development. In most neighborhoods, independent social services agencies and other providers attempt to reach out to residents, but residents are generally left to seek services on their own initiative. Unfortunately, under this system residents most in need of services have the least access to them (Rawls, 1971).

When it comes to housing advocacy and tenant organizing, residents usually become involved with self-help groups or independent social services agencies who view housing owners as targets for intervention. In rare instances these groups and agencies help establish a cooperative relationship between tenants and landlord, but commonly the relationship is adversarial. The Phipps Houses Group strikes a sensitive balance between the interests of tenants and owners, with the overriding belief that family and community well-being support family empowerment and prevent building deterioration.

The data reported in this chapter come from interviews with tenants, full-time staff members, housing managers, members of the community, and a review of workers' records. The chapter describes the community development program and the tenants and delineates six practice principles that can be drawn from the community building effort.

PHIPPS HOUSES GROUP'S PROGRAM AND SERVICES

Founded in 1905, Phipps Houses is one of the nation's oldest and largest not-for-profit developers of moderate- and low-income housing. Recognizing that its tenants in poor neighborhoods needed more than just housing, the company incorporated an affiliate, the Phipps Community Development Corporation (PCDC), to provide on-site assistance to tenants and their families to pursue their aspirations in the social, educational, and employment spheres of their lives. The PCDC mission—to build and sustain enduring communities—focuses

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on three core service areas: (1) family assistance, (2) community organizing, and (3) services to children and youths. Basic social work services include advocacy, community organization, recreation, education, support groups, counseling, information, and crisis intervention. In addition, referrals are made to programs sponsored by PCDC on and off site and to other community service providers.

External funding enables PCDC to extend the core services with a home-based preschool program, a youth recreation center, a teenage outreach program, summer day camps, and home management courses. An immunization and primary health care center operates on site through an affiliation with an area hospital. Staff members provide these services in the belief that families in deteriorated neighborhoods need not only well-maintained, secure housing but also services that support family life, individual growth, and community participation.

Both housing developments discussed in this chapter were previously abandoned buildings in the South Bronx section of New York City that were renovated in the early 1990s with municipal, state, and federal funds. Both are occupied by a mixture of low-income and moderate-income residents. Mapes Court, the smaller (91 units) and older of the two sites, was occupied in 1990, and Crotona Park West Cluster C (196 units) was occupied in 1992.

At Mapes Court, a single community worker provides family services to the individual households and also organizes community activities. At the considerably larger Crotona Park West, the three core areas are divided among a family worker, a community organizer, and youth program staff. Because the PCDC program at Crotona Park West also serves two additional housing clusters comprising a total of 563 apartments, the staff and their responsibilities have been distributed among three offices within a range of approximately one-third mile. The role and geographic differentiation among staff at Crotona Park West brings diversified areas of expertise, but requires more coordination and teamwork than when a single worker is charged with the PCDC mission. The overall supervision at both sites is provided by a director who reports to the social work administrator, who serves as the executive director/chief executive officer of PCDC.

Engagement Strategies

PCDC staff members use several strategies to make the service connection at each site. They first conduct an intake interview with each family, covering family composition, income status and sources, and family needs. During that interview the social services worker discusses the need for building involvement, programs available to tenants, and ways in which the staff might help the family meet their goals. Both sites help tenants in making their adjustment, through the provision of advocacy (for example, changing welfare benefits) and material assistance (for example, furnishings) to ease their transition. Given that the initial interview takes place early in their residence, families often are not ready to follow up with additional social work contacts. However, the interview serves to orient the new family to the unique structure and opportunities in this housing development. The worker gains valuable information for continuing the process of establishing a productive working relationship.

As a second strategy social services staff are provided with rent arrears lists and security reports. These reporting mechanisms, which alert workers to families who are experiencing difficulties, were put in place through the evolving relationship between the housing manager and the PCDC staff. Under this arrangement, the roles of housing manager and PCDC workers are complementary. The housing manager's function is to collect the rent and maintain a stable building. The pressure they bring to bear on the tenants can make the tenants more responsive to social services. PCDC's role is to serve as a support to tenants, with their work always focused on helping the tenant take rather than avoid responsibility in paying rent or maintaining building stability. Thus, rent arrears are explored not merely as a question of money, but in the total context of the families' lives, as shown in this excerpt from PCDC records:

W was laid off from her job, and her husband was laid off from his job and has been on sick leave. W is unemployed and requires food stamps and Medicaid as well as SSI [Supplemental Security Income] because she is disabled because of illness. . . . W stated that she has a serious illness and does not have medical insurance; she is currently separated from her husband; she is receiving \$181 through unemployment insurance every week. By the time she pays rent, telephone, clothes, home accessories, transportation, and money for her son to get to school, there is no money left for her to pay medical bills or food.

As they follow up on rent arrears, workers often find issues that extend beyond the presenting problem. The family's problems frequently trace back to low-paying, unstable jobs that make it impossible for them to set aside resources to meet contingencies. Although PCDC workers cannot change the job market, they can help tenants consider their options and help them obtain supports such as Medicaid, unemployment benefits, and public assistance. This enables families to avoid the downward spiral of increasing debt and eviction. Social services workers help tenants look at how they may gain greater security through education and improved employment opportunities. Thus, it is not surprising to find that although the most common reason for contacts with the social work staff are issues related to rent, the next most common concerns are education, employment, and public assistance.

Also, workers often find that following up on a security report provides a valuable point of entry with tenants. Security and custodial staff provide eyes and ears in the buildings and often refer tenants to PCDC. In turn, PCDC performs a similar function in the interests of the residents and community by working on problems with tenants before they require legal intervention. These contacts may lead to work around the adequate supervision of children and disputes between tenants.

Another strategy involves linking tenants to available services outside PCDC such as continuing education and general equivalency diploma (GED) programs, residential summer camps for children, job training and employment opportunities, and social services. These activities demonstrate to tenants the setting's interest in them and encourage tenants to take difficult steps to seek help with a broad range of family matters.

A final engagement strategy is for social services staff to demonstrate their usefulness to tenants by helping them advocate for apartment repairs and

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adequate services. Staff often mediate tenant-management conflicts, but they only intervene directly when tenants' efforts have been unsuccessful or in an emergency. Staff encourage tenants to advocate for themselves whenever possible and provide them with the tools (through education and counseling) to ensure management responsiveness.

Ironically, an increased sense of tenant ownership leads to a greater number of tenant complaints. As tenant associations and other community groups develop, tenants take an active interest in the quality of their buildings and neighborhoods. Thus, as they are empowered in other spheres of their lives, they also make greater demands on management. Rather than blaming PCDC workers for instigating tenant dissatisfaction, management recognizes that active tenants ultimately increase building security and stability.

Tenant Organizations

At both sites there is an emphasis not only on the engagement of individual families but also on more collective issues. Tenant organizing follows a fairly traditional route of developing a strong tenant association and leadership. An early entry from the worker's records illustrates the PCDC approach:

My objective at this first meeting was to unite all the tenants to come together to establish a tenants' association with an executive committee. . . . The tenants' association had decided that their motto would be "Neighbor Looking out for Neighbor," and that if they united as one then they could overcome everything. The tenants have decided that they wanted to take back their building and have a tighter grasp on their children so that they would not be loitering in the buildings. Throughout the meeting we discussed how we can solve our main problems, what the concerns and suggestions were, and what would be the best days to hold the tenants' meeting.

Reflecting on the tenant meetings, the worker later wrote, "The tenants' meetings have a great impact on our development because there is (1) involvement, (2) support and participation, (3) understanding, (4) an even exchange always. . . . It's as if we make a joint contract, and we stick by our agreement."

Community Involvement

Community involvement beyond the physical buildings is approached somewhat differently at the two settings. At Mapes Court, community involvement is reflected in the community worker's attendance at meetings in which other groups present information on the services they provide. Mapes Court's community involvement is a vehicle for obtaining resources and program initiatives for the tenants rather than an effort to change the larger community. Although community visibility is gained, the PCDC staff plays a relatively small role in stimulating larger community change.

At Crotona Park West, the broader community involvement of PCDC staff is a more planned activity, with membership on community and school boards and the development of an active Crotona Park West Community Advisory Committee (CAC) composed of people involved in education, social services, mental health services, and other community activities. Members of the CAC were interviewed. They all felt that Phipps-sponsored buildings provided stability in a

troubled area by contributing a large group of stable residents who, with the support of PCDC, affected the larger community in positive ways. An example given was how the PCDC community organizer brought together parents from the buildings to address the concern about asbestos at a local school. They noted that PCDC also provided space for school programming while the problem was being corrected and that the actions of the Phipps Houses parents provided hope and inspiration to other families living in the area.

CAC members described how feeling secure allowed tenants to feel better about themselves. This sense of security was, in turn, seen as a stabilizing influence in their environment. They felt that Phipps Houses tenants made changes in their lives as a result of the stability and security the housing provides, along with the supports given by PCDC services.

Other positive factors cited by CAC members were the clarity of vision provided by all levels of PCDC, as well as PCDC staff's willingness to serve as consultants to community agencies in seeking funding and developing proposals. They felt that these staff were invaluable in bringing additional resources into the community. Many went on to indicate that being on the CAC gave their various agencies an opportunity to network and share common concerns, making it possible to provide more efficient services and allocation of resources.

PROFILE OF PHIPPS HOUSES TENANTS

Tenants were interviewed to see how their circumstances had changed during their stay at Phipps Houses as part of a study of how residency had affected them (Phillips & Cohen, 1996). Of particular concern were the issues of employment, income support, education, perception of living situation, and dreams for the future. Data were drawn from interviews conducted with an adult member of 145 randomly selected apartments, representing 47 percent of Mapes Court and 53 percent of Crotona Park West Cluster C families. The tenants interviewed were primarily Latino (53 percent, $n = 77$) and African American (41 percent, $n = 59$). Eighty-two percent of the households were families with children ($n = 119$), of which three-quarters were headed by single women. Of families with children, 14 percent had a child one year old or younger, 38 percent had a child between two and five, and 11 percent had a youngest child who was 16 or older.

Previous Housing Experience

Because these buildings were planned as mixed-income housing, the 145 families came for a variety of reasons, including homelessness or unsafe housing (25 percent), previous housing too small or overcrowded (33 percent), and a desire for better housing or housing in a better area (20 percent). Forty-seven percent described their previous neighborhood as either somewhat or very unsafe, and 57 percent said that their new neighborhood was safer than where they previously lived. Two-thirds of the 145 families had moved at least one other time in the two years before coming to the new buildings, with 9 percent having moved three times or more. In contrast, only 23 percent of the tenants had been at Mapes Court and Crotona Park West less than two years, reflecting relative housing

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stability among the families. Twenty-eight percent received a Section 8 housing subsidy, limiting personal rent payment to 30 percent of their income.

Employment and Income Support

Fifty-seven percent of the 145 families had employment income, 51 percent received public assistance or SSI, and 6 percent were receiving unemployment insurance. Twenty-two percent of the families who received employment income ($n = 18$) also received public assistance. The lack of stability in patterns of income over time was striking. The data on receipt of public assistance and how well the families felt they were doing showed shifts; 12 families who were on public assistance when they came to the buildings no longer received public assistance, and 17 had not previously received public assistance. Thirty-four percent of families felt that their financial situation at the time of the interview was better than it was when they came to their new residences, and 25 percent felt it was worse.

Among the 44 men for whom there were data, 75 percent were currently working (24 percent at a new job). Seventeen percent had not held a job since coming to the buildings; one in five of them had been laid off and could not find employment, and three in 10 were not working because they were sick or disabled.

Seventy-two percent of the 127 women residing in the buildings had worked at some time during their stay, and 41 percent were currently working. Unfortunately, a high degree of job turnover was reflected in the fact that 42 percent of the women had looked for work during their stay. Only 41 percent of the 78 women who were working when they came currently held the same job. Although this could of course reflect upward mobility, the data on the number who were laid off suggest that the primary reason for job changes was job loss. Other than being unable to find a job, the primary reason for not being employed was the expense of child care. Given the low wages paid by the jobs these mothers could obtain, it was difficult to pay the costs of child care.

Education

Among the 127 adult females, 15 percent had less than a high school education, 19 percent had some high school, and 15 percent were high school graduates with no further education. Forty-two percent had some college, and 8 percent had completed college. Two-thirds of those with less than a high school diploma were Latino women. Of the 77 Latino women interviewed, 22 were interviewed in Spanish because they had limited facility with the English language.

Because education is a way of improving job prospects, PCDC works closely with families to increase their educational level. This focus appears to have had an effect; 22 percent of the 127 women were in school at the time of the interview, and an additional 11 percent had taken courses at some point since moving to the buildings. Because slightly more than one-third needed help in getting a GED, PCDC helped tenants enroll in GED courses. Discussion with the tenants who had dropped out of school indicated that they did so because of child care responsibilities or because they found working and schooling too difficult to handle with their family responsibilities. Twenty-three percent of the 52

working mothers, however, were also in school. Among those pursuing further education but not working, most were supported by public assistance, suggesting that public assistance support was a significant adjunct to continuing education for this population. Of the women currently in school, 53 percent had discussed educational matters with PCDC staff.

The major reasons for not attending school were as follows: needed to care for children (29 percent), long hours or other employment-related problems (25 percent), expense (8 percent), and illness or disability (10 percent). It should be noted that a number of mothers whose children were no longer young cited child care as a problem in both employment and education. They indicated that the risks presented by drugs, crime, and gangs were so high that they felt they needed to be home to provide oversight of even teenage children.

Although the adult male tenants had less formal education, fewer pursued their education while at Phipps Houses. The reasons for not pursuing further education were parallel to those cited by the women.

Use of Services

The tenant interviews showed that 84 percent of the 145 families made use of at least one service that PCDC provided or arranged for. The most common areas in which workers provided help were rent or tenant behavior issues, employment and training, education, financial assistance, health and mental health referral, and family relationships. The services provided reflected the range of problems that the families struggled with, including issues related to low income and job loss and the subsequent need to apply for financial assistance, food stamps, emergency food, and Medicaid. Also reflected in the service utilization patterns is the PCDC commitment to supporting tenant interest in employment, training, and further education.

Effects of Residence

Tenants were asked to describe the effect on their family and themselves of living in a Phipps Houses Group-sponsored building. Their responses reflected hope for the future, with 77 percent of the 145 families citing specific ways in which their employment situation was expected to improve within the next five years. Among the improvements mentioned were better pay, a better position, and having a permanent job. Twenty-one percent indicated that they saw improvement in their employment situation as a key to achieving the goals they had for their families.

Their educational aspirations were similarly high, with 22 percent of the 145 respondents indicating that they expected to have a master's or higher degree within five years and 8 percent indicating that they would have specialized training in a field such as nursing or computers. An additional 26 percent expected to have increased their education, and 6 percent indicated they expected to have completed their GED. Twenty-seven percent indicated that the key to their future goals lay in increased education.

Although it is impossible to prove that these changes resulted from living in these buildings, 17 percent of the 145 interviewed said that living there increased

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their motivation to better their lives and be more independent. Nineteen percent indicated that their future plans had changed because of an increased clarity on future goals achieved while in residence, and 12 percent said the services provided through the Phipps Houses Group gave them more hope for the future. Twenty-eight percent said that living in Phipps Houses increased their commitment to continuing their education, and 12 percent said that living in Phipps Houses led to a desire to participate in more programs and activities.

Tenant responses make it clear that the development of a sense of community had been an important aspect of their hope for the future. Fifty-seven percent ($n = 83$) said they felt safer in the current neighborhood, and 28 percent ($n = 41$) indicated that the best thing about Phipps Houses was the good security. Others spoke of good neighbors, the friendly atmosphere, the availability of programs, and the benefits of living in a well-maintained building.

When reviewing the findings with tenants at building meetings to verify our impressions, we found the families to be articulate in indicating that the sense of security they had in the building's community and the services available for their children were important to their being able to leave the site to pursue educational and employment opportunities. One aspect of that security was the availability of guard services at one of the sites, but equally important in the eyes of the tenants was the linkage that had been fostered between the tenants. A sense that they were in the same boat and that they needed to look out for each other prevailed. This was clearly connected to the community organizing activities designed to bring tenants together.

PRINCIPLES FOR COMMUNITY-BUILDING PRACTICE

On the basis of these detailed results and additional unreported findings (Phillips & Cohen, 1996), the authors have developed a series of practice principles. These principles were found to apply at both settings, despite the staffing differences and somewhat different approaches to service delivery with families. The six principles are intended to support innovation and freedom of choice in their application (Lewis, 1982):

1. Housing and social work services should be integrated and provided to tenants in distressed communities.
2. Staff of social work programs in housing settings should understand and subscribe to a collective vision of the program's purpose.
3. Efforts should be made to provide services on site.
4. Social work programs in housing settings should maintain a dual focus on the individual family and the collective.
5. Community development activities should be extended to the surrounding community and not be limited to the building alone.
6. The task of community building is constantly evolving and should be continually evaluated.

Integration of Housing and Social Services

Housing alone in impoverished neighborhoods will not provide the necessary level of stability to sustain either the financial viability of the buildings or the

community within and around them. Developers and owners of rehabilitated urban housing should plan for social work services in a variety of modalities, just as they would plan for building maintenance and security services. This approach not only benefits residents but also serves to protect the owners' investment and assets.

The task is not to create building managers who are more sensitive or social workers who collect rent. Rather, there is a need for managers who are concerned about the welfare of the tenants and social workers who help tenants overcome whatever obstacles are preventing their payment of rent. Social work staff should serve as educators, mediators, and advocates for tenants and should expect management to help them identify tenants in need of their services and to strongly encourage tenants to accept such services if they are to remain in occupancy. Social workers must maintain their professional integrity in this system by clearly articulating their purpose and constraints to tenants and providing the maximum level possible of self-determination and confidentiality.

Just as Morrison (1984) discovered over 10 years ago, community development services are among the most cost-effective routes to housing preservation. There is a need for staff to help residents with employment, entitlements, and other income-related problems. Without such interventions and the availability of outside supports such as public assistance, families could easily slip into debt and be evicted. This pattern could in time undermine the financial base of the setting. In addition, when residents recognize that assistance will be provided to help them manage family crises and help them achieve their goals, they are more likely to engage in tenant associations and other community organizations.

Unity of Vision

Programs need a clear unity of vision. As one PCDC worker expressed, "From custodian to president, we all have a part in making it work." This is not to imply that all staff members of social work programs should do the same things, but they should be able to articulate their own role within the overall mission of building communities and strong families. This sense of collective vision is critical in bringing together a diverse group of workers with varying levels of education and areas of expertise.

Social work values, ethics, and methods should be paramount in the design and implementation of these programs. Such an approach necessitates extensive training of non-social workers, with overall supervision by a social work professional with appropriate experience in planning and administration. Social work hallmarks, such as mutuality and self-determination, must be an integral part of the program, and staff members must see themselves in partnership with tenants. This approach is evidenced in the comment "We're going to do it together" to describe PCDC staff work with tenants. As another staff member aptly put it, the program needs to "develop *with* the community—not *ahead* of it." Social services staff should convey a strong commitment to the achievement of tenants' goals in their work together, demonstrating how a clear sense of purpose can facilitate goal attainment. The clarity of vision in work with tenants also can serve as a model in their work with other staff members and representatives of the broader community.

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On-Site Services

The Phipps Houses experience indicated that the best used services are those provided in the tenants' own buildings or as nearby as possible. For the large number of women with young children at home, such services are essential, but residents who found travel easier also preferred on-site services.

The greatest preferences for on-site services came in the early stages of contact with tenants. As residents became comfortable with their home community and their own abilities, they were able to more effectively connect with off-site services. Furthermore, they felt more secure about the referrals made by the on-site workers because of the relationships they had built together. On-site services also had the effect of bringing together the building community, ensuring frequent review of the facilities and engendering a sense of ownership of the social work program and housing development.

Dual Focus

A dual focus on strengthening families and communities must exist. Community development activities should be directed to enhancing residents' capacities for change and building on their own integrated view of themselves in relation to their community. This principle is related to the concept of equifinality (Germain, 1975), in which many entry points are possible in building a sense of community. For example, as a worker addresses the problems of a resident who has lost his or her job, the worker also needs to look at the broader question of how to create access systems for all tenants to increase their education or training. In the long run, only that larger effort will ameliorate the situation.

Work with an individual tenant who needs help can build a climate of trust through the demonstration of social services staff's value to them and advocating for increased access systems to address community empowerment issues. On the other hand, some tenants may want to enter the community by participating in a large tenant association meeting or a children's party. In addition, smaller groups, such as parenting programs, teen support groups, and tenant leadership committees, can engage families, enhancing the functioning of both tenant families and the community at large. Thus, activities must include community-focused activities, such as buildingwide events and smaller groups, as well as individually directed interventions with families.

Programs have many choices in allocating these functions among social service staff members. As described earlier, PCDC has used two models. In one, a single worker provides family, small group, and community organization services. In the other, functionally and geographically dispersed staffing meets the needs of a larger number of tenants. This experience suggests that the question is not, Does one use one approach or the other? Rather, it is a question of determining what the benefits and deficits of each approach are, ensuring a dual focus in the method chosen, and making ongoing adjustments accordingly.

Extension of Development Activities

The interests of tenants go beyond their building to include issues such as the schools their children attend and the safety of the area in which they reside.

Residents in surrounding buildings share their concerns. Staff can help make the broader community connection with tenants by serving as bridges to the community at large and by helping the tenants define what it is they want to do and how collectively they may work to create the changes they desire.

To effectively serve as a bridge, staff members need to become known to outside agencies through referrals and offers to help them address their concerns. These contacts both strengthen the outside organizations and make them more responsive to the needs of individuals the staff may refer to them for services. Changes in social provisions (such as changes in public assistance and Section 8 funding) can make a big difference in the lives of the tenants in marginal neighborhoods. Therefore, building-based social services efforts must maintain a dual focus on individual support and advocacy for larger community changes. This requires a vision of services that recognizes their integrated nature and the role of staff on both the individual and community change level.

Continuous Reassessment

The old adage of social workers "working themselves out of a job" is hardly applicable in today's troubled neighborhoods. It is clear that supporting families and housing in such communities needs constant redevelopment. There are always new crises, such as drug dealers moving into the area, a problematic family moving in, the discovery of asbestos in the local school, and changes in government funding and provision of services that need to be addressed.

The development of strong communities depends to some extent on the continued involvement of a critical mass of stable community residents. Yet when tenants were asked about where they expected to be living in five years, 10 percent said they expected to have moved from the city, and another 38 percent said they expected to have moved into their own home. Although some of these people may have been hoping to buy within the larger community, the flavor of many of the responses was of a dream of owning a home in the suburbs. These responses raise questions about whether housing such as Mapes Court and Crotona Park West will be transitional and in constant need of rebuilding as community residents move "up and out" and on to their own version of the American dream. Ongoing attention is needed to build a community that provides opportunities for families at many levels of educational and economic achievement.

Inevitably, some tenants will move away, and new tenants will need to be integrated into a community. In addressing each new challenge, social work program staff need to draw on their unity of vision, their past experiences, their relations with clients, and their community alliances in developing a plan to address changing needs. As one PCDC staff member stated, "We've proven we can do it, but we still have to be doing it!"

CONCLUSION

Stable, secure housing is essential but insufficient in building a sense of community. On the other hand, without a sense of community, housing will not remain stable and secure for long. Although numerous scholars have attempted to define this sense of community, it is most poignantly understood when it is lost.

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As Fried (1966) pointed out in "Grieving for a Lost Home," as many as one-third of the people who left their homes and communities because of urban renewal showed signs of clinical depression two years after relocation. A sense of community can be extremely fragile in low-income, urban neighborhoods where residents have experienced steep economic decline and abandonment.

When new housing is created through rehabilitation, the stage for community renewal is set. Social workers can play a vital role in the community building enterprise, but their intervention must be planned and principled and directed toward both individual families and the community of tenants. As was true of the settings discussed in this chapter, each program will need to develop its own particular approach. The six practice principles defined in this chapter provide a foundation for efforts to expand social work programs as a viable housing and neighborhood investment strategy.

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