Children

& Their

Neighbors

Children in Two Richmond Neighborhoods

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I am Jack and I am 9 years old. I live on one
floor of a house, there with my mother and one
of my brothers. I have another brother and
sister, but they are in foster homes. My dad
has been sleeping in a car in front of our house
for a month now. He got drunk one night and
beat up my mother. The police came and he is
not allowed inside. Her face is still black and
blue. I saw them talking to each other through
the kitchen window today. I don't know what
will happen; my mother is going to court later
this month.

My aunt and uncle are living with us right now.
My brother and I are sleeping on the living room
floor with blankets so that they can have our
bed. It is cold and I wish they would leave.
My dad does not know how long they will be here.
They came up from North Carolina and have no-
where else to go. Their baby cries alot.

This morning my mother made breakfast on a hot
plate. We do not have gas for the stove because
there was a mix-up over our bill.

It is Saturday and I do not have to go to school.
I got in trouble last week and my teacher beat
me. I am black and blue. My mother says she is
going to complain about it.

The checks came in the mail. We went to buy some
clothes. My mother got some for my uncle's baby
and some shirts for me and my dad. She is very
proud of how tall I am, and always tells people
that at nine I am bigger than my father.

Not all our clothes are second hand. This year
my mother borrowed money from her mother and
bought my brother and me new coats from Sears.
She said when she pays off the charge account she
will buy some more clothes. At school when the
kids tease me about second-hand clothes, I tell
them I got a new coat and it is none of their
business where I buy my clothes.

My mother had an operation recently, so I go to
the store with her to carry the bags. The kids
in my neighborhood tease me about helping her.
My mother says to ignore them, that they are
"Trash" we have to put up with.

I know most of our neighbors. A lot of people
have moved from here recently. They are tearing
down houses all over the neighborhood.

Friends tease me if I play with the black kids
too much. We do not go to the playground since
the blacks "took it over." My mom wants me to
play near our house. I do not always listen and
sometimes we have fights with other kids.

If you ask my mother her hopes for me, she would
say "a decent life," and start to cry. She wants
us to finish high school even though a lot of
kids don't. I don't know what I will be when I
get older.

Living here, there is not much to do. I went
swimming twice last summer with the Salvation
Army. I ride my bike around after school.
Mostly, I am bored.*

* This vignette and those found later in the report are faithfully
  presented, although the names of those in the vignettes have been
  changed.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report is a study of Bainbridge and Blackwell, the needs of certain of their citizens, and the characteristics of life in these neighborhoods that have consequences for service deliverers and program developers at local, State, and Federal levels of government.

It is based on several months of fieldwork in these neighborhoods, and on careful analysis of official statistics about the areas.

Our observations do not purport to describe all residents of these areas, but rather those who seem to be in need of services. If the report seems to describe needs more than positive qualities of the neighborhoods, this is because it is an assessment of needs, and not a cataloging of what is good, or of those who are doing well on their own.

Above all, this study focuses on children, with whom the project staff had extensive contact in the course of the project.

The first chapter of the report, "Bainbridge and Blackwell: Images of Difference", describes the neighborhoods of Bainbridge and Blackwell in general. It shows that Bainbridge and parts of Blackwell are poor neighborhoods, in which people feel powerless to change their circumstances, and tend to feel that responsibility for their problems and their neighborhood lies with people more powerful than they - including service deliverers.

The second chapter, "Children and Their World", describes the most common problems confronting Bainbridge and portions of Blackwell. Among these are high unemployment, high welfare rolls, high illegitimate birth rates, crowded housing, and crime. Many service providers and citizens offered their explanations for these problems. Most often, these revolved around the family and its weaknesses, and around youths' tendency to be unrealistic about what can be done. In the last section of this chapter, called "The Individual: Turning the Picture on its Head", we look at how those who are experiencing the problems of unemployment, welfare, and poor family life think of the world, and the implications this has for service delivery. Do they see their problems in the same way? What things are important to them, and how do these relate to services?

Among the themes or attitudes we found in this analysis were: a sense of powerlessness; an emphasis on the physical, the concrete, rather than on the abstract; a tendency to live a life with minimal structure (for children, for example, no set meal times or bed times); and an emphasis on the here-and-now rather than on the past or the future. All of these have significant implications for services, as Chapter Three discusses.

Chapter Three, "Program Possibilities", studies the effect of these themes on youth service delivery and suggests program possibilities in this regard. It suggests that programs be based above all on citizen participation and involvement, that citizens themselves work to provide services to one-another. It suggests that programs emphasize physical activities such as sports, and contain a great deal of one-to-one contact between children and trained adults. It does not call for additional programs, but for the refine-ment of some existing progarms, and the encouragement of others, public and private.

This report should be read with the Official Facts and Figures on Bainbridge and Blackwell (November, 1979) in mind. In addition, Chapter Three of the report is supplemented by the appendix, which lists all service deliv-erers in Bainbridge and Blackwell, and what they provide.

From August through December, 1979, we conducted extensive fieldwork in the
Bainbridge and Blackwell areas of Richmond.* Our purpose was to discover what
it is like to grow up in Bainbridge and Blackwell in order to help officials
better plan to meet youth needs. To do this, we relied on a variety of infor-
mation sources as well as a variety of methods of data collection, including
participant observation, and structured, open, and informant interviewing.

We approached this task in a very straightforward and commonsensical manner.
We toured the neighborhoods and spoke with people at random. We interviewed
service providers, city employees, merchants, and civic group representatives;
we attended and sponsored local meetings, and we conversed at length with
school officials.

We spent many hours on the playgrounds there, and visited some homes a number
of times. Throughout this period, we talked to many and came to know well
some of the children of Bainbridge and Blackwell.

In short, we contacted and observed the groups in which children and youth
live their lives. These were the "peers, families, and schools" we discussed
in earlier reports (Highland Park: Its Youth and Their Needs, 1979).

These gave us great insight into what children did and thought as well as an
abundance of in-depth information about childhood in Bainbridge and Blackwell.

This document attempts to organize and synthesize that information into a co-
herent picture of the lives of children in Bainbridge and Blackwell. This
picture includes a plausible explanation of that which was seen, described,
and heard in the area. It offers a framework for looking at and understanding
the actions of many in Bainbridge and Blackwell.

While we feel that the framework presents ideas that are characteristic of
many of those who need services in Bainbridge and Blackwell, they are not
characteristic of all. While we could test statistically to determine exactly
what proportions of the population exhibit these ideas, this would be quite
costly and time consuming. Rather, the real test of our work is not whether
these ideas are characteristic of all or some portion of the residents of
Bainbridge and Blackwell (since practically speaking that may be impossible to
judge) but whether these ideas prove to be useful to service providers in
planning programs for youth (for further discussion, see Culbertson and Hill,
Highland Park: Its Youth and Their Needs, 1979).

*We defined Bainbridge and Blackwell as two adjoining neighborhoods in South-
 side Richmond bounded by Semmes, Cowardin, Maury, and Commerce Road .

Many people contributed their time and ideas to this study. We have tried to present their views and the information they provided in the most useful and accurate forms possible.

Special thanks must go to Ms. Mary Ellis for her skill and thoughtfulness in conducting fieldwork. Mary came to know many of the children and families in Bainbridge, and it was her experiences and insight that helped us make sense of the problems of the area. Mr. Bristol Peeples contributed his interviewing time to provide information on the services available in Bainbridge and Blackwell. Mr. William Smith and Ms. Gail Bingham helped us to organize our activities and to complete our fieldwork. The Division of Justice and Crime Prevention provided space, staff time, and other invaluable assistance to the project.

People in Bainbridge and Blackwell and at City Hall willingly gave us their time and information. Their contributions are the basis of the study. Without their contributions, nothing could have been written. We are indebted to them all, and hope that their efforts and ours will make some of their hopes and goals for Bainbridge and Blackwell come true.

This document is designed for use in conjunction with the Official Facts and Figures on Bainbridge and Blackwell document of November, 1979. Although these may be used independently of one another if desired, together they supplement and enrich each other.

We invite the reader to actively review the material presented. We welcome those with ideas about this material to work with us to find the answers for the children in Bainbridge and Blackwell.

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Introduction

In the next pages, we will look first at Bainbridge/Blackwell as places, as neighborhoods, and then at certain themes that pattern the experiences and attitudes of the children there. These two elements -the neighborhood in which the children live, and the ideas and concepts they encounter, are the basic building blocks of their experience. They make them what they are.

In chapter one, "Images of Difference", we will examine Bainbridge and Blackwell as neighborhoods - studying their characteristics and divisions. In chapter two, "Children and Their World", we will look at Bainbridge and Blackwell from the perspective of youth problems. Here we will study what problems exist in Bainbridge and Blackwell, what service providers and citizens think about them, and then, how the children themselves behave, and what makes them act as they do. Chapter Three, "Program Possibilities", looks into how the observations in chapters one and two can be turned into program actions.

We must remind the reader that our remarks do not apply to all residents of Bainbridge and Blackwell, but to that group of people who consistently manifest a need for services or who are unhappy with their lack of success in life. The observations made here are efforts to understand these people, who must try to live in a hostile and disheartening world, to better address their needs as they see them.

Bainbridge and Blackwell: Images of Difference

We know the official view of Bainbridge/Blackwell. It is contained in the report, Official Facts and Figures on Bainbridge and Blackwell. But we do not know yet how it looks and feels. Nor do we know how the community, and its residents' view of it and themselves, create a way of life from which there is little chance of escape.

"Bainbridge/Blackwell:" A Community of Poor People

As we cross the Manchester Bridge and enter the community frequently called Bainbridge/Blackwell, we see quite quickly those things associated with poverty. Old houses now dilapidated, in need of paint and repair, line once attractive streets. Empty lots dot the landscape. Major thoroughfares only a block away carry commuters quickly past this "blighted area" to the pleasant suburbs. Service agencies - health centers, special schools, church facilities - stand in testament to efforts to "help the poor." We see the clutter of trash, used home appliances, car parts, and other junk items that we often associate with rural poverty. We find houses converted to small apartments, and many public housing facilities. We do encounter streets and sites of some beauty. There are houses kept in good repair, and well cared-for gardens. But the worn cars, stray dogs, idle people (whose main activity day after day is porch-sitting), and general "run-down" quality of the area leave us with the overall conclusion that this is an area reserved for the poor.

From this, our initial visit and our first set of impressions, we might be tempted to say we know what the community is like, and what it needs. It is a "poor community." "Bring in the Federal antipoverty programs," we might say, "we will be doing all we can for the area."

Yet, if we look more closely at the neighborhood we have entered - if we talk to people who live there, who provide services to residents, or who have other contacts with the community, we find that things are more complex than this. In fact, a number of programs designed to meet the needs of the poor have operated in Bainbridge/Blackwell for a number of years, but they have had little lasting effect on the poverty of those who live there.

Let us look into the way our "poor community" picture of Bainbridge/Blackwell grows more complex when we examine it more closely. Although it is the most visible, poverty is but one of the forces that create and sustain the neighborhood we see and influences the lives of the children who live there.

Two Neighborhoods

The first thing we find upon talking to people who live in or know about Bainbridge/Blackwell is that it is not one, but two neighborhoods. These are, on the face of it, quite different.

Bainbridge - Change and Powerlessness

Bainbridge has undergone significant physical and population changes in the last fifteen years, although the size of its population has remained fairly constant. Private urban renewal efforts by a local businessman have resulted in approximately eight vacant city blocks in the neighborhood. Places where homes (albeit run-down in some cases) once stood now serve as play areas for children by day. By night, because no one lives there, they are considered unsafe; they separate one group of houses from another with a no man's land barrier. Neither city officials nor residents know what is planned for this land. Residents living near these vacant areas assume that their houses will be bought, and the neighborhood changed in ways that force them out. But they do not know when this will happen.

It is the psychological effect of not knowing the plan for this land that is indicative of the overall quality of life in Bainbridge. In this as in other areas, there is the sense in Bainbridge that one's fate is in the hands of others about whom one has little knowledge and over whom one has no control.

The citizens' unsuccessful experiences with city government, and their poverty and dependence on government assistance, also contribute to this sense of change and existence beyond the individual's control.

Many call Bainbridge a community of transients. This is true, but it masks an important aspect of this transience. While people are moving in and out of the community, many are moving about only within the community, and in fact have strong kinship ties there. They move around the neighborhood for a number of reasons.

Perhaps they can no longer pay the rent and are forced to move. Their houses and apartments, being in poor repair and poorly maintained, burn. Most often, their personal circumstances, their liaisons, change and they move in with someone new. But they retain their contacts and their relatives, despite these moves. This has implications for service deliverers, for many people in the area have been and will be in the area for a long time. They have relatives and friends who can provide help and support. These factors can be brought to bear in self-help programs and other neighborhood-based activities.

Population Changes

Bainbridge was white some years ago, but has grown in black population since the 1960's. While there are few signs of overt racial hostility, blacks and whites do not mingle socially, even when they live in the same apartment building or house with rooms for rent. When we do see surface integration, as in houses with black and white residents, this seems to be more of an economic necessity than a matter of choice. Children do play together on occasion, and speak to one another on the street, but their close friends are of their own race.

Bainbridge and the City

Citizens consistently expressed the view that the city has abandoned them. While the city has conducted a number of studies and special meetings, and has produced plans, there has been no discernible change in the area, except that which is unguided or the result of private activities. In fact, the city has classified Bainbridge as a "declined" area, and is waiting for private firms to make changes there to see how several blocks now in private hands may be developed in the future.

Summary and Comment

Lack of control or influence over the activities of private enterprise in the area, and over the city, when coupled with the lack of funds and education of these residents, creates a population that sees itself as the powerless recipient of the actions of others. (For more on residents, see Official Facts and Figures).

Poverty leaves the residents of Bainbridge with few resources, mental or physical, to make changes in their lives. They are not particularly employable. Their education and experience tie them to jobs with little security, responsiblity, or control. They receive orders, just as they receive the actions of landowners and the city. Those unemployed depend on government aid which provides subsistence living while it limits incentive or opportunity for improvement by making them dependent on services. (Official Facts and Figures).

It also makes the individual a recipient. Looking beyond Bainbridge, we can say that, because people and organizations with power exhibit that power largely through the expenditure of money, those who do not have money see themselves as powerless. They look to those with money, who seem to control their lives (by offering or not offering them jobs, by building in their area, by providing aid) to give them what they need. Consequently, the citizens wait for the city or for someone to solve their problems. These units have the power the poor do not see themselves as having. But when the poor wait for services, they give up control and responsibility over their problems and lives, and put their fates in the hands of others (Lloyd, 1979; pp. 55-57).

This leads us to conclude that, in all, Bainbridge is a neighborhood of poor whites and blacks living lives that are fluid, unstable, and in which they come to receive rather than initiate action, be it to their benefit to do so or not. They do, however, have kinship ties in the area which play a large role in their efforts to cope with their environment.

Blackwell - Stability and Power

Blackwell is a black community, and has been for some time. Although public housing has brought new population to the area, much of Blackwell is still occupied by long-term homeowners. Their streets are the attractive and well-kept streets of the Bainbridge/Blackwell area.

Unlike Bainbridge residents, many residents of Blackwell are politically active and largely satisfied with city services. These residents rely on their Council representative to handle neighborhood problems. Housing project residents are organized, and at least some are politically involved.

Population Changes

Blackwell, too, has undergone significant physical and population changes in recent years. Some years ago, many homes in Blackwell were torn down and a public housing project built. This brought high density subsidized housing to the area. It also brought a new population element, mainly female-headed households that were larger in size and low in income. The traditional and stable core of older residents found themselves confronted by a larger concentration of youths living in a small area.

While there had been poor people in the community before, the arrival of an officially defined poor population - a recipient group, in fact, one receiving aid (public housing tenants), has made for divisions in the neighborhood.

The dependence on external assistance that is assumed of people in public housing makes tenants subject to the contempt of long-time established residents. While these residents are by no means wealthy, they do have a certain amount of control over their lives as evidenced by home ownership. In this community, then, poverty encourages factionalism as well as those elements of recipient behavior noted in Bainbridge.

Blackwell and the City

Political activity has helped Blackwell to surmount the resignation that poverty encourages. Residents of Blackwell were uniformly satisfied with their representative to City Council and with the services the city provides. If dissatisfaction with the city occurs, it is usually directed toward the Council as a whole. Recent eligibility for and participation in neighborhood improvements sponsored by the city have supported this positive attitude.

Summary

Blackwell in a sense is a neighborhood of contradictions. Homeowners make up a good portion of the neighborhood and constitute the stable and upwardly mobile portion of the population. They seem to make efforts to differentiate themselves from those below them who can be found in their own neighborhood. The other portion of the neighborhood, the public housing tenants, differs from the homeowners. They, in fact, seem to be more like the residents of Bainbridge we have just described.

Bainbridge and Blackwell: At Odds With One Another

How do the residents of these neighborhoods describe each other? Residents describe themselves as being from Bainbridge or Blackwell, and describe the neighborhood they are not from as lower in rank (income, upright behavior, decency) than their own. They are critical of its physical charteristics, its people, and its history.

Bainbridge residents claim that Blackwell is a "rough" area, one to which they do not send their children to play. They cite the fact that Blackwell children come to Bainbridge to play as proof that Bainbridge is a better place to be.

Blackwell residents, on the other hand, refer to Bainbridge as old Ku Klux Klan territory. They note that Bainbridge residents do not care about their neighborhood, but only about themselves and their government assistance. Both neighborhoods blame crimes of violence, unsafe streets, and other local problems on those from the other neighborhood.

Thus, we find that services located in one neighborhood are not patronized by citizens from the other, and that political candidates and representatives are hard pressed to represent both areas at the same time.*

*We might inject a word of caution here. It is quite true that some residents of Bainbridge and Blackwell do not feel as we described above. The above is a generalization based on conversation with citizens and service providers alike. It allows us to describe a general condition of Bainbridge and Blackwell, but we would not expect to find all citizens in one hundred (100) percent agreement with all that was said above.

"Bainbridge and Blackwell:" At Odds Within One Another

We know then, that the citizens of Bainbridge and Blackwell generally see one another as different, and tend to locate responsibility for problems and undesirable behavior in the "other" neighborhood. But what happens when a Bainbridge resident or a Blackwell resident talks about his own neighborhood without comparing it to the other? Within each neighborhood, residents differentiate themselves from those of another race, from those who rent, or those who own; from those who have been in the area, or those who are new. Neighbors complain about one another, and parents take up their children's battles. In short, the neighborhoods divide internally along many lines, and tend to ascribe any problems to another group. This is not a phenomenon unique to these neighborhoods; it is quite common in poor and affluent areas alike. It poses more of a problem to poor communities, however, because they need participation and unity to effect City action. Their strength is in numbers, rather than in dollars or influence (Suttles, 1974, Lofland, 1973).

More importantly, however, whenever it is found, the tendency to split and to attribute undesirable characteristics and problems to the other group is a serious hindrance to solving problems, because no one will admit to being responsible for them. In Bainbridge, for example, women noted that "other" women did not raise their children properly and needed help. Others noted that they could not control their own children, and looked to the school to do it for them; it was the school's job. If the playground was dirty, it was because the City did not clean it up, or because the children from other streets, or the whites, or the blacks, threw trash about. The concomitant of not claiming responsibility for something is not claiming responsibility for fixing it. I do not need to pick up the trash or discipline my child, because I did not throw the trash or cause him to misbehave in the first place. This sort of conception of problems and how they can be solved is a source of irritation to City officials, and a genuine limitation to what can actually be done.

Implications for Service Deliverers

Both the tendency to split along a variety of lines and the unwillingness to locate responsibility at one's own doorstep (or the willingness to locate it on someone else's) impact on service delivery in the following negative ways:

- People in one neighborhood or block will not wish to use services frequented by another. Blackwell residents tend not to use services located in Bainbridge, and vice-versa.

- It is difficult to organize citizens for a length of time without compelling issues.

- Clients may see services as something they can expect, because others are responsible for their problems and their cure.

- Programs designed to address problems must cope with the fact that clients tend not to define problems as their own, or tend not to take concerted action to improve them. For example, a women's group complained that there is "nothing to do" in Bainbridge - no affordable entertainment. This was because the City did not provide it, and because they did not have the money to go elsewhere to be entertained. The notion that they might create their own entertainment was a novel, though not unacceptable alternative, and one they had to be encouraged to perceive.

Thus far, we have examined some of the service-relevant characteristics of the neighborhoods of Bainbridge and Blackwell. We have described in general terms the neighborhoods in which children live, and the implications of certain of the features of these neighborhoods for service deliverers. More facts about the neighbnorhoods can be learned form the Official Facts and Figures report. We are now ready to move to Chapter Two, where we will discuss children and youth and their problems in Bainbridge and Blackwell.

CHAPTER TWO

CHILDREN AND THEIR WORLD

In this chapter, we will look at the children of Bainbridge and Blackwell and their problems from different perspectives. First, we will study what statistics tell us about problems in Bainbridge and Blackwell in general. Then, we will look at what service providers and citizens say about the problems of children, and what they see to be the cause of most problems: the weak family unit.

Lastly, we will consider what we feel is the crux of these children's needs and the key to understanding them --the behavior and thoughts of the children themselves, in the home, at school, and at play, wherever they are, and whenever they act.

In effect, in this last part we will be standing our picture of Bainbridge and Blackwell on its head, placing the individual at the center, instead of putting the neighborhoods or their problems there. We believe that we cannot solve problems until we talk about the people who have them.

Statistics

The Official Facts and Figures report shows children's problems in Bainbridge and Blackwell to be many. There is high unemployment; in 1978, this was calculated to be 8.8%, or nearly twice the city's average. If national trends hold here, the youth unemployment rate may be as high as 40%. Youths in the area are not well represented in the City's youth employment programs, and many of those who start the programs drop out.

In 1978, over three-fourths of the homes in Bainbridge and Blackwell (Census tracts 601 and 603) were single-parent or relatives' homes. Nearly 80% of those in Bainbridge and Blackwell rented their homes in 1975. This is indicative of some transience, and perhaps of lower income.

Among the most startling statistics about Bainbridge and Blackwell are those about young motherhood and illegitimacy. In 1975, 70% of the mothers in Bainbridge and Blackwell were younger than 24, and nearly 40% were under 19. In the last eight years, 52% of the births in Bainbridge and Blackwell were illegitimate.

Nearly one-fourth of all households in Bainbridge and Blackwell were welfare households in 1975, compared with a city-wide average of 11%. This has important consequences for children.

Bainbridge and Blackwell have a significant juvenile crime problem as well; in the first seven months of 1979, 123 juveniles were arrested in the area, although some of these came from other parts of town.

What Service Workers and Citizens Say

Discussions with service providers and our own observations bore out these statistical findings, and also provided some explanations for them. These revolved about the home, and its impact on school success, and about youths' attitudes and expectations.

Service providers know first-hand the frustrations and difficulties that face the child in Bainbridge and Blackwell, and have a good idea of what perpetuates the high incidence of illegitimate births, unemployment, welfare cases, and the like. Parents, and other residents too, have ideas about why things are as they are.

The Home Service workers frequently implicated the home in the problems of children in Bainbridge and Blackwell, and sometimes residents did as well. A mother in Bainbridge said that many women were unhappy there, and that their children bear the brunt of that unhappiness.

Service providers remarked that parents do not modify their lives for their children. It is frequently up to the child to make his own way in a complex and shifting world of adults. Homes were described by one professional as places of "wall-to-wall confusion", where nothing has a place, and where a steady diet of television game shows, porch sitting, and drinking is the lot of many. Home was described by another professional as a place to "get your beans and sleep" -a place of little emotional support or warmth.

Children may determine their own bedtimes, and we saw some and heard of others who get their own meals. They grow accustomed to physical punishments by parents and harsh words (called "telling it like it is").

> One little boy said that his sister
> was lucky. When asked why, he said
> that since she had "yellow" skin and
> bruises show on her, she is left alone
> by their father.

> A fifteen year-old mother is frequent-
> ly seen running around with her play
> group followed by her 2 year old son.
> They alternately hug him, yell at him
> and tease him. He does what they do,
> despite the fact that he is much
> younger than they and may have other
> needs.

From these reports, it seems that child-rearing is not an activity of note for some parents in Bainbridge and Blackwell. These parents do not set rules or establish limits, and sometimes do not watch over the decisions of their children. At times, it seems to many professionals that parents do not know what to expect of their children, do not see them as growing and developing, and so treat them merely as weaker adults.

But it is not only the home's disorganization that causes problems, say service providers. Other skills needed, not only to survive but to succeed, are not conveyed from parent to child. Service providers reported that parents do not read, to themselves or to their children. Many do not use their time productively. They sit on porches or watch television. Their children, therefore, do not learn to use their own time productively. Although parents will say they want their children to receive a good education or graduate from high school, it was reported by school counselors that parents will support their children's frequent absences from school with notes of excuse.

It is also the things parents do and say, as well as what they do not, that are destructive to their children's growth and development.

A mother talking about her hopes for her son
was interrupted by him reading out loud
nearby. She turned to him abruptly and said
loudly, "don't bother with that! You can't
read."

Laura was telling how the kids in her family
play school. Each child takes a room up-
stairs and pretends to be the teacher. Laura
read aloud so many books that her sister said
her class would be sick of hearing them.
Lamont yelled, ranted and raved at his class
so much that his brothers and sisters said
"the kids are going to hurt him." Laura said
he yelled like he's outside. She didn't
think Thomas was a good teacher because he
just read books to himnself.

Their mother said, "you kids make me sick.
You're at school all day and then you want to
come home and play at it too."

Parents in Bainbridge and Blackwell blamed other parents in the area for letting their children get out of hand and ruining the neighborhood. Mothers in Bainbridge complained that some parents buy alcohol for their children, support their early childbearing, and lock their children out of the home while the parents go on "dates". They also complained that fathers run around with other women, beat their wives, and can only be found when the "check" comes in. Generally, they felt that family life was not as good as it was when they were children.

Schooling

Some school principals responsible for Bainbridge and Blackwell children said that parents and home life in Bainbridge and Blackwell do not offer good preparation for school.

With the transience of their parents and the instability in the relationships they tend to form (p. 3), children do not experience a consistent home organization - with people responsible for their discipline and their care. Instead, they are part of a fluid environment in which they have to find their way or be swept along.

> The house Jimmy's family was renting burned to
> the ground. He is now living with his father's
> girl friend. If his mother cannot find a new
> place to live, he will have to go live with his
> "mean aunt."

School is an organized environment. Children who do not experience organization at home have difficulty accepting it or comprehending it at school.

Once they are in school, principals noted that lack of order and organization at home makes it difficult for children to complete their homework.

> A school principal told of talking with a parent
> about her son. The parent requested that her
> son be allowed to do his homework at school.
> She said it was impossible for him to do it at
> home with his father drinking and shouting.

It is also often noted that youths' goals and their actions in school do not match - that they set their sights high but do not strive or are not able to reach them.

> A young male patient in the 9th grade was asked
> what he wanted "to be" when he was older. After
> a long pause the boy replied, "an engineer."
> The doctor asked him what his grades were and he
> replied, "D's and F's."

The problems which school poses for Bainbridge and Blackwell students and the consequences of not thinking ahead catch up to these same children later in their youth. Service providers remarked on the unemployability of youth. Some youths insist on an interesting job, paying "good" money, while offering the potential employer little to work with in the way of skills.

> One boy who was having difficulty finding work
> said, "I can do the job if they don't give me
> instructions to read."

Peers

Problems at home and at school lead children, service workers say and we observed, to seek success in more immediate and obtainable places, generally among those living in the neighborhood. With their peers, children often try to compete and win in ways they cannot at school, and in ways that reflect the qualities of home life.

Many youths are physically competitive and abusive with their peers. We heard from school principals that Bainbridge and Blackwell children tend to be aggressive and are coached by their parents to "fight back." In fact, parents take up their children's arguments with their peers by fighting with other parents, and thereby teach and reinforce the notion that the family is alone in a sea of strangers, or even of enemies.

We observed youth on playgrounds challenging each other's prowess, and fighting to be on top.

> Floyd, ten years old, is considered "a hoodlum."
> He is physically aggressive and very violent.
> The other boys and some girls were teasing him
> about "making love" to ten year-old Alice out
> behind her mother's house. Floyd grabbed at
> fourteen year-old Laura, who yelled, "go get
> Alice. Get some off Alice if you want it.
> Don't come to me to get it. I'll whip you."

When they weren't physically fighting, they were verbally aggressive and disparaging of each other, as their parents are of them. They "tell it like it is," just as their parents do.

For males and females, childbearing is also a sign of success. It came as somewhat of a surprise to us to learn that early motherhood and illegitimate births were desirable things, things which increased knowledge about birth control might not change. We saw young girls looking to bear children and thus become "grown up" at thirteen and fourteen, and we saw parents supportive of their goal.

> One mother of a large family had two unmarried
> daughters who became pregnant around the same
> time. One was 13, the other 18 years old.
> Their mother happily commented to her neighbors,
> "I'm going to be a grandmother two times."
>
> A service provider working in the area said, "If
> you have a girl, you can bet she is going to
> have a baby before she is twenty."

Other service providers supported this view as well (albeit perhaps inadvertently). One school guidance counselor, talking about a fifteen year old mother who was about to quit school, said she realized she couldn't give advice to the student since after all "she is now a woman."

When these girls have children, we can imagine that the cycle of childrearing we have discussed will begin again. This account of a young girl's pregnancy hints at the situation her baby will find and grow up in:

The baby's father is 13. The girl's mother knows about the pregnancy. The boy's mother doesn't know and "wouldn't believe it no how." They broke up. The girl started "going with" a 16 year old boy. He says he wants to support her and her baby.

Last night both boys were over at her house at different times. The 13 year old left angry. He said he's not going to be its father. She doesn't know what to do, or which one to go with. Meanwhile she's still going to school.

Summary

We find that statistics help us to locate problems in Bainbridge and
Blackwell. We see that many of the service workers' and citizens' concerns
about Bainbridge and Blackwell youths revolve around the family and the con-
sequences of home life for children's success. They point to the family,
childrearing, and their concomitants as the center of children's problems.
This is in many ways a useful approach. It gives us a concrete focus for our
concerns about unemployment, housing problems, illegitimacy, and the like. We
can say that the family, if only it worked properly, would produce children
who were successful in school, well mannered on the playground, career-
oriented adults, and good parents in their own time. This answer to the
problems of Bainbridge and Blackwell, however, comes too close to a panacea,
and in fact, masks the true roots of many of the problems the family faces.
The "family" is only another group, like the school and peer groups, which
affects the individual, and through which he learns about the world and him-
self.

To really understand problems in all their complexities (and we must if we are
to address them effectively), we must look at the individual, for he is the
one constant we have; he can be found in employment, welfare, crime, and all
other problems; at home, at work or school, and at play.

Children in Bainbridge and Blackwell experience defeat every day; in competi-
tion with peers, in school, in observation of parents, and in their homes.
Choices seem to be limited and so they are. Even when desire is present, to
change or to be different, the means, skills, and perspective are not there
to translate that desire into achievement. More importantly, however, no one
expects them to be any different or to do any better, and they therefore
aren't, and don't. The pattern of limited options set, it continues to exist
from generation to generation and thus imposes itself on those who live in
Bainbridge and Blackwell.

The Individual: Turning the Picture on its Head

Joan

Joan is the unmarried mother of a four-year old. She is in her early twenties, pretty and articulate. She quit high school to have her baby but recently received her GED. She is enrolled in a training program to learn clerical skills. Joan wants to be a legal secretary before she is thirty years old. She is planning to drop out of the training program and is looking for work. She has a poor attendance record at school despite her realization that it is her only means to achieve her goal.

Talking about it, she said that she gets very tired, that school is not the only thing in her life. If she attends classes thirty hours a week, she has no time for her baby or visiting her family and male companions. The program pays her $1 an hour for her class attendance, and that is not enough to make it worth her while to go there on the bus. One week Joan felt too exhausted and did not go to class. Her cousin called the school for her and they said she was always sick. Joan said, "If they do not like how I am, then why don't they fail me from the program?"

Looking for work has been a problem. Joan said, "I want a good job so I can help my family. It can't be too hard, though." Timid about testing her clerical skills, she is looking for a different type of work.

Joan has many of the "statistical" problems we have discussed. She is not employable at the level she would like; she dropped out of school; she is unmarried and with a small child. But all of these tie together in a unique picture, in which Joan herself is at the center. Seeing the problems from this perspective, we are tempted to ask: "why did Joan have a child when she was young and unmarried? Why doesn't she seem anxious to go to school? Why does she not trust her skills?" These and other questions have relevance to service providers because they lead us to some of the reasons why programs that are well-funded and well-thought out nevertheless meet with seemingly uncooperative clients, and in the long run, do not seem to alleviate the larger problems of unemployment, welfare, and the like. These reasons include the simple fact that programs most often address a "problem", such as "unemployment" or "crime", rather than the individuals who might have these problems and a host of other experiences as well.

John

A researcher supplied the following story:

I was in the community for several weeks before
I ever noticed John, even though he plays with
the group I am most familiar with. He was being
yelled at and criticized, and he took the abuse
so placidly, so expectantly, that I became in-
dignant for him. John is gentle and affection-
ate, and low man on the totem pole. His expec-
tations are low and he meets disappointment
easily.

Nine years old, very short and with thick
glasses, John is an only child. He lives
occasionally at his father's apartment, but
often stays with his grandmother who lives two
blocks away. His best friends live on the same
block as his father, and are his most frequent
companions.

John rarely knows where his mother is and his
father is usually drunk. John is very timid around
him. When he comes home from school, he stays out
on the streets until he is told where he will be
spending the night. The door to his father's
apartment is locked and he is not supposed to be
inside at his grandmother's.

Late, one day when the weather was near freezing
and there was no one else outside at all, I saw
John wandering up and down the sidewalks carrying
his school books. With no hat and no gloves,
wearing an unlined corduroy jacket and shirt, he
was cold. He was happy to get in the car where it
was warm. He good naturedly explained that he was
waiting for his mother to come home so he could go
inside. He had no idea where she was. Though it
was dinner time, he had not eaten since lunch, and
did not know when he would. We went to McDonald's
for hot chocolate and a cheeseburger.

Driving back to his father's, we saw some other
kids who ran over to the car. Generously, John
shared his cheeseburger with them. Still unable to
find his mother, who seemed to be the key to his
warmth, we went to the library and read some books.
When I dropped him off two hours later, (about 7:00
in the evening) he went to his grandmother's, still
not knowing if his mother was back.

John wants brothers and sisters. Frequently
left alone at night he said, 'when I be all
alone at night, I hugs my Teddy bear and curls
up tight under the blanket. I could hug my
brother.'

Protection, affection and companionship come
from his friends. When there are too many
wanting to play, however, John is the first one
cut out. Occasionally, he is also beat up on
for no reason.

When one child commented on how his father's
place smelled like the inside of an old shoe,
John got mad. He jumped up and yelled, 'you
jump in a lake.' The group response was a round
of giggles.

John is quick to respond to praise and attention
and is appreciative of the smallest things.
Warm, affectionate and generous, he is also a
victim and is learning helplessness. I often
wonder what will happen to John.

This description of John's days and nights brings to life the effect of family
life and order on a child. His life follows no apparent schedule. John's
comings and goings depend on his mother, and her schedule varies. Sometimes
he goes to his grandmother's to sleep, but he must wait till the last moment
to hear that he will do so. His father drinks and John is afraid of him.
John's meals are catch as catch can. Affectionate, John has no one constant
and present source of affection he can depend on. His peers use John when he
is needed to make up a team and avoid him when there are too many. But John
seems to be used to these up's and down's and accepts them as normal.

John, unlike Joan, falls between services. His family receives financial aide
from welfare, but so far, he is too young and has done nothing yet to become
part of the statistics described. If John follows the pattern, however, it is
likely that he will not succeed in school, will become one of the unemploy-
able, and may well follow in his father's footsteps.

When we spent time in Bainbridge and Blackwell, we saw and heard many things.
We heard about young people being late for school or work, or objecting to
having to be at work or school at set times. We heard youths describe their
future dreams while they did nothing to prepare for that future in the
present.

These were all seemingly more picayune and inconsequential things than unem-
ployment, illegitimacy, or even the strength or weakness of the family.

But were they really? We saw around us real flesh and blood people whose ac-
tions, or failures to act, in fact produced the statistics about illegitimacy,
unemployment, and the like, though they themselves did not talk about these
things. It became clear that we had to know more about how the people who
produced the statistics and lived in families thought about the world and
acted in it, because it was this, not "the family" or "unemployment" per se
that was at the crux of the problems. The problems were, in the end, the con-
sequences of people doing things because they thought they were the best or
the only things to do (for more on this view of behavior see Kapferer, 1975).

We began to look at the behaviors of people around us then, and to listen to
their remarks, in order to ascertain what might be their construction of their
world and their ways of acting in it. If service providers could have this
information, we concluded, they would be on the way to meeting needs, for they
would better understand why people had certain needs, and how they in turn saw
these needs and their lives in general. We drew conclusions from what we saw
about certain behaviors, about certain themes that run through the lives of
those who need services. The following pages discuss five themes we found
important to understanding what it was like to be a child or youth in
Bainbridge and Blackwell who might benefit from services, and the behavior we
observed that led us to describe these themes. We do not say that these are
all inclusive themes that affect everyone, but they do help us to make plausi-
ble interpretations of observed behaviors. We could, if necessary, test these
observations in the field through more rigorous methods.

Responsibility and Recipient Behavior - Pushing Over Responsibility

>Smelly Billy smells so bad that no one wants to
>sit near him in class. He smells bad because
>his house has no water - the water was cut off,
>and no one has made efforts to remedy the situa-
>tion. In fact, according to other children, no
>one at Billy's house works, except Billy. The
>rest just "sit around."

>Some mothers criticized others for dating and
>pushing their children out of the house late at
>night.

>Speaking of childrearing duties, one service
>deliverer noted that "it is assumed that child-
>ren get here without fathers." In other words,
>fathers may not take responsibility for their
>parenthood.

>When youths were questioned about why they broke
>merchants' windows on Hull Street in a disturb-
>ance, many remarked that the merchants were at
>fault because they took from the neighborhood,
>and left rocks in their parking lots.

These accounts identify a set of conditions that cause great consternation for service deliverers and for residents. We have touched on the elements of this theme before, in our earlier descriptions of Bainbridge and Blackwell. These elements are the tendency for people to locate responsibility for problems outside themselves, and to expect other people to improve things for them. We noted that this theme has as its basis the characteristics of a life of poverty and powerlessness, which show a person to be powerless, and remove as well his opinion that he can do anything for himself or by himself.

Responsibility for everything from litter to babies, and for disturbances as well, cannot be laid at the feet of those who actually litter, have babies, or throw rocks, because these individuals are considered to be and apparently see themselves to be, so powerless that they cannot be responsible. The fact that indeed they are, and that they too make decisions and act on them, is often not accepted or perceived by those who want to solve the problems, residents and service deliverers alike.

Many service delivery systems also accept and expect the image of the individual as powerless, and therefore supply him with what he apparently cannot get by usual means on his own--money, job training, counseling, and the like.

But what does this do? This has the consequence of making the individual dependent on, and in fact demanding of, services that stretch far beyond the reasonable, not because he is bad or greedy but because he has been taught that he needs things and must go to others, particularly service deliverers, to get them. It is understood that service deliverers are there for those who "cannot help themselves."

This supports the individual's sense of powerlessness and makes him a recipient, one who can blame "the system" for his problems, and who sees that he has a right to look to others for assistance.

In fairness and in contrast, there are those who, although needing help, refuse it because they will not accept the role of the recipient. They do not accept welfare, for example. Yet, "pushing over responsibility" and the attitude of a recipient of service are often found among adults and children in Bainbridge and Blackwell who could benefit more from services differently constructed.

Emphasis on the Physical: A World of Conflict

One of the first things we noticed on the playgrounds of Bainbridge and Blackwell was the incessant pushing, shoving, punching, and fighting among children of all ages. Brothers came to the aid of brothers. Girls fought girls, and boys as well. When actual blows were not being exchanged, threats often were. While this sort of activity goes on on many playgrounds, the behavior here was more violent and more constant, and it had a real-life, not a "play" quality to it. The case of Floyd, who was engaged in a teasing match with Laura which soon involved grabbing, illustrates this rough and tumble quality of playground life (p. 12).

When people were asked to describe problems in Bainbridge and Blackwell, they named things that were potentially easily remedied; glass in the playground pool, a dangerous hill, the need for more swings or basketball courts, or play areas for small children. These were things with very physical dimensions.

Parents often used physical means of punishment. Spanking, whipping, and yelling were reported by children and observed as well.

There were reports and evidence of spouse abuse, and wives resorted to locking children out of the house to protect them from their fathers, or to locking the father out. Jack's story in the beginning of this report is a good example of this.

Prowess, success, and other positive attributes were often expressed in very physical ways -- through dashing clothes, boastful remarks, "showing off", triumph in a fight, and sports. Again, these things are characteristic of many teenagers, but here were that much more important.

At the same time, verbal battles that were not shouting matches but arguments were less common than fights. They tended to become physical fights when they occurred. One service deliverer described many opposite sex relations as using sex as a substitute for intimacy, which by nature would involve intense verbal and other interaction. The physical, in short, was a substitute for notions of love and affection.

Reading, schoolwork, and other less physical activities brought children little reward on the playground or at home.

Above all, people in Bainbridge and Blackwell spent time with other people, usually in groups. They did not necessarily talk with one another, but stayed together -- resting, playing, or whatever. They often moved into and out of groups with only one purpose, to visit. We could contrast this unstructured behavior with what we saw in the suburbs and in our own lives, where people's visits are based on a given activity (let's have dinner), and where people generally contact others for a purpose, at least on the surface. In these contexts, doing something is acknowledged as more important than, or at least the legitimate reason for, contacts between people.

Why is there so much evidence of the importance of very visible and even violent physical acts, rather than verbal skills and nonphysical activities? Why did they seem to reappear from the playground to the bedroom?

This emphasis on the physical is evidence of a conception of the world as composed of concrete, visible things that have to literally be pushed and shoved to be moved at all. Convincing people of something using words, written or oral, is a time-consuming task. It assumes, moreover, that problems can be expressed in words. But the things most visible to one in a world of children, fights, and the like are the physical, concrete things around one -- the people who are pushing me, the parents who are hitting me or one another, the people who laugh at my hand-me-down clothers. My response to them will most likely be an in-kind response, for in hitting me, for example, they expect me to hit back, and in fact leave me little choice.

In this context, we can see why people take on tremendous importance in the lives of children -- they are the most present and visible things. One does what he can to impress and control them, and does this not through extensive verbal discussions, but through his actions. Mothers find that their young children are in their physical control, and use this control as the main means of getting the children to do their bidding. Things like reading books, filling out forms, studying, or addressing bureaucrats as functionaries who are supposed to solve certain problems probably do not make a great deal of sense to one who has learned that people, not ideas or governments, are what must be moved and controlled to have effect.

In short, children in Bainbridge and Blackwell families learn that things get done through the application of physical force, and that reasoning, arguing, and reading, which take longer to accomplish and assume a degree of communication between actors on a level other than the physical, take too long to be effective. This means that a capacity for abstract thinking simply is not developed. We see instead what appears to be a conflict-filled einvironment because conflicts are expressed overtly and physically. Yet the amount of conflict may be no higher than it is in more quiet neighborhoods, although the visibility of this conflict makes it more evident.

The problem children here grow up to be fighters, uninterested in the more quiet sides of schooling, and intent on making their mark in areas that allow physical expression, such as sports and entertainment. While they do talk of wanting to be doctors, lawyers, and other office-bound types, they do not develop the verbal and other fundamental skills, or deemphasize the physical as these careers require.

Organization

> As we saw earlier (p. 11), after his rented house burned, Jimmy went to live with his father's girlfriend until his mother could find a place to live, or until he went to his aunt's place. He has not been going to school much lately. He does not have very many clothes, and his new location is not convenient to his old bus stop.

We noted many times that, as we described briefly in the foregoing section, few things in childeren's lives in certain parts of Bainbridge and Blackwell provided them with any structure or order. Structure and order - rules, time tables, set activities (such as eating) at set times in set places and the like - are characteristic of school and working life. Things must be completed according to schedules, and people are expected to do things in a certain sequence at certain times of day (classes and recess in school, work and breaks at work).

In Bainbridge, we found that many families did not have set mealtimes. Everyone ate whenever he or she was hungry. Parents did not scold children for being late for school. Some children were left with no place to go and nothing to do from the time they finished school until the time a parent came home, and they were not sure when that would be. The case of John (p. 15) is relevant here.

This disorganization seeps into other areas of children's lives. School hours and rules seem to conflict with what is learned at home, and organized games on the playground are not often initiated by the children themselves. In fact, parents even support this lack of organization and rules by not limiting or structuring their children's behavior, and by making little effort to see that children learn about organization or do things that will ultimately be to their benefit. ·

The key to much organization is having goals, something to work toward. Activities can then be laid out in the order necessary to reach the desired end.

This brings us to the theme we will discuss next -- time -- for to order activities to achieve a desired end requires anticipating and shaping the future. We also can see in this problem of organization the consequences of an emphasis on the physical and on people, for organizing is an abstract activity.

A Different View of Time

> In Bainbridge and Blackwell, we saw people act
> in ways that would limit their future chances,
> even in such simple ways as gathering fruit by
> cutting the limbs off the trees. Young girls
> looking to bear children and thus become
> "adults" were supported in their actions by
> their parents.

> We saw people praise their children one moment
> and attack them the next with harsh words or
> commands.

> Parents spoke of hoping that their children
> would have "a better life", and then belittled
> their children's attempts to do well in school.
> Again, the story of Laura and her siblings
> illustrates this point.

Many youths seemed to conceive of the future as
a fantasy, not as something that will inevitably
become the present and can be shaped by the
actions of the individual. Though she was quit-
ting school because the time requirements were
strict and she was not being paid enough, Joan
still thought she would be a legal secretary
someday.

The past also seemed to take on a fantasy quality or to be discounted or ig-
nored in the present by parents and children alike. A young boy who had
fathered a child decided that he didn't "want to be the father" anymore.
Children's good behavior a short time ago was not counted when they did some-
thing "bad" in the present, and in fact the parents' evaluation of them as
people changed to reflect their most recent act. If Tom did something bad in
the present, he himself was a bad person, and not simply a person who had done
something bad. All of the other things Tom did and was were forgotten in the
heat of the present. Parents and others referred to the fantasy world of
older times when the family was strong and life was good, but did not think
that those qualities could be brought back in the present.

What counts then in the life of a youth, and eventually of the adult he be-
comes? The present counts, because it is on present behavior that one is
judged, and because one directly experiences the present all the time.
Perhaps we might note that the "display" behavior -- the wearing of stylish
clothes and the performing that youths find important -- is a way of making
one's mark here and now, in the present. The pressure on a youth to do so is
great, for he must continually prove himself to be whatever he sees himself to
be.

This means that, in the long run, youths may have difficulty planning for
their futures, because they are more aware of the importance and the conse-
quences of the present.

Using certain means to achieve specified ends is a concept that may appear
foreign to them. Birth control for use on some undetermined occasion in the
future, to prevent childbearing and rearing even farther in the future, may
well be something that has little relevance to young girls who must make their
mark and establish their womanhood now.

A traditional explanation of these actions would have it that those in
Bainbridge and Blackwell who think this way do not anticipate the consequences
of a present action for the future, that in fact there is no planned future
that they are logically working towards, and they are not willing to defer
today for possible rewards tomorrow.

But we can see that the reality is deeper than this, for it is the very con-
cept of time itself that these youths see differently than we do. For a
number of reasons, some of which we have touched on, and some of which include
the exigencies of poverty, time does not move in the same way. Each has no
past, no future, only today.

Every day is the same -- every day is the present, and the lessons of the past and the hope of the future cannot be experienced because time does not start in the past and move toward the future.

People start out poor and they stay poor. They must manage from day to day. It is always today, and there is very little one can do in a day about any future day, or even about today.

Contradiction

Out of this concept of time comes the theme of contradiction. Contradiction is one of the overall moving forces in the lives of those who are not successful (according to conventional measures) in Bainbridge and Blackwell. We mean that much of what people say and do in Bainbridge and Blackwell is contradictory to something else they do or say. We saw how this was the case in our discussion of time and immediate gratification, and of children berated by their parents for their efforts to succeed.

If the school tells me reading is good, and my parents tell me it is bad, then I am caught up, not with reading, but with wondering if reading is good or bad and trying to please both groups of people who are important to me.

In some ways, contradictory behavior is perhaps a kind of shield, and is to a degree useful. Things do not look hopeful for the children as they do not look bright for their parents, and so the parents limit their children's efforts to achieve perhaps to protect their children from the pain of trying and failing. This process of building up, or dreaming for the child on the one hand, and dashing his hopes on the other may well have deep historical roots and some validity. Yet, it is also self-defeating, for anyone faced with contradictory messages must suffer the limits to growth born of coping with contradictions.

CHAPTER THREE

PROGRAM POSSIBILITIES

In the course of conducting this needs assessment, a number of needs were identified and program ideas offered by community residents and service deliverers, as we hoped they would be. Much was learned from talking to professionals, concerned citizens, and residents however, that cautions against taking these needs and ideas and translating them into the "typical" service response. That route calls for more comprehensive and expensive programs for a neighborhood without necessarily considering what those who live there think, want, or would accept.

Before we fall into the trap of designing more services for those in Bainbridge and Blackwell, then, let us consider the implications of our findings for services and their structure and content.

Consequences for Service Design: Who and For How Long?

Neighborhood Divisions

The divisions in Bainbridge and Blackwell that were identified in our study are more than interesting observations. They have definite effects on services. As with other things there, a service can become the property or domain of some segments of the neighborhood, but not of all. For example, youth who attended a neighborhood meeting on Hull Street came from Blackwell but not from Bainbridge, although both were invited. Even within these neighborhoods, there are activities whose participants are drawn exclusively from one group or another.

These divisions which result in restricted participation in activities imply that services must be small in scope and must work with only portions of a neighborhood at a time, at least in the beginning. Indications are that programs do better when they do not try to reach the whole population of that neighborhood. Rather than trying to appeal to all, programs might more profitably work with different groups within the neighborhood, respecting their existence and working from issues they find important. Such programs could address service problems in a truly neighborhood-based way.

What Age Group Should be Worked With?

In addition to targeting services to specific areas of these neighborhoods, our findings also indicate that young children and their parents would benefit most from services. Young children are not yet hardened to the ways of the world, and accept guidance and change more readily than do older children. This does not mean that the older children should be forgotten, but rather that, in the long run, younger children might be more effectively aided.

In either case, parents, peers, and teachers must be included in the design and implementation of programs for their children.

Whose Programs Should They Be?

Often, service policy makers design programs to help others without consulting them about their requirements. Those who plan programs decide what should be addressed, in what order, and how the problems should be defined. It is always possible that those who have the problems do not see them in the same ways as the makers of programs. When that happens, the commitment to and interest in the service on the part of the citizens may be low, and the problems may continue.

To avoid imposing services on residents, and to make service efforts relevant and meaningful to the lives of those receiving support, it is necessary to involve them in defining needs and devising solutions. Most often, services provided must be their answer, or at least an answer they feel comfortable with, and not something foreign to them, if they are to be effective. Not only is this a cost-effective strategy, because it limits the offering of services that are not wanted, but it helps to begin to solve problems in a community by its very application. People take responsibility for their problems when they define them in ways that make sense to them, and when they think their actions will improve things. Involving citizens whom we perceive to be in need of services in the articulation of their own requests and their own plans for improvement and services could give them the sense of responsibility and competence we found to be lacking among many at present. When people are told about the problems and asked to help devise solutions, they become part of the solutions, and less a part of the problems.

In effect, City agencies may find that even requiring citizens to work with the City on resolving their problems and needs would help to build self-esteem, and respect for the City as well.

Long Term or Short Term Strategies?

Our field work experience offered at least three reasons to choose a long term approach to service delivery in Bainbridge and Blackwell. The first and most simple of these relates to the present absence of long term approaches in programming. Many programs for those in Bainbridge and Blackwell use short term strategies. They handle the immediate, "presenting" problems with very practical answers, such as welfare does with financial aid for residents to pay the rent and buy food. There is no reason to suspect that more programs of this type would significantly alter the tenor of things in Bainbridge and Blackwell.

Secondly, it is the very difference in these approaches which makes long term strategies so attractive. Although addressing immediate and presenting problems is necessary, short term strategies sustain a crisis climate by waiting until problems are severe enough to warrant intervention. In essence, they do not prevent or remove problems. We would look for long term strategies to do the prevention work which short term efforts can only do indirectly, if at all.

Who should receive prevention services brings us to our third observation. To be useful, preventive work must focus on individuals at a very early age and over a long period of time. Rather than wait until the eighteen-year old is

unemployable and frustrated, efforts should be directed at the six-year old who is trying to learn how to succeed in school. This will require an expansion in the scope and depth of programming, and a willingness to wait some years to test program results fully.

In taking a preventive approach, we must be prepared for very subtle and slow signs of change. We must also be prepared to focus on systemic and basic factors to have any long term effect. This means that programs must not be limited to the problem individual. The family and school must be involved in a new partnership of prevention as well.

Consequences for Service Content: What and How?

The themes we discussed in Chapter Two have direct relevance to service delivery. They do not in all cases dictate new programs (in fact they do very little of this), but they suggest changes in existing program approaches. Let us look at some of these.

Responsibility and Powerlessness

In the early part of the report, and in Chapter Two, we talked of the sense of irresponsibility and powerlessness we found in the communities. We noted that services which define what a client needs, and then supply it to him, in many ways reinforced the individual's notion that he was powerless to change himself (because he needed outside help), and that he was not responsible for his actions (because the service deliverers accept responsibility). This tells us that programs should do all they can not to provide services in the traditional sense, but to make individuals part of the definition and solution of their own problems. In fact, programs should be designed to provide only motivation and information for people, and the rest left to them.

Children, for example, could be made aware of the natural consequences of their actions, and requested to choose alternatives, rather than being "served", even when they should not be. This could be and is simply done on playgrounds where children can be informed that stealing playground property or breaking it would make the property unavailable, and where stolen or broken things could simply not be replaced or repaired, or only repaired with the assistance of the children and youths who like to use the facilities. Children could learn that they have the power to choose to be destructive or not, and this in a very real sense could tell them about themselves. Studies have shown that children whose parents demand high standards of performance and behavior and exert rational and consistent discipline develop strong self images and self confidence. They become "active, expressive individuals who tend to be successful both academically and socially. They are eager to express their opinions, are highly interested in public affairs, and showed little destructiveness in early childhood (Covey, 80)".

Not only parents, but other significant individuals in children's lives can have such an effect on them, and programs can be geared to develop such qualities. These programs need only show children that they have the power to choose, and that they, and no one else, are responsible for their actions.

We concluded that children might develop notions of responsibility and competence if, instead of their being provided for in various ways, they were called on to help. Programs that have involved youth in important tasks, such as caring for older or sick citizens, doing repair work, and the like have successfully given youths confidence in themselves and their ability to act responsibly. So often, these children and youths experience loneliness and rejection because no one seems to need them, and many seem to think they need to be whipped into shape or controlled.

The schools are working hard to provide the discipline and expectations that children need. But all other realms of children's lives must address the issue as well, or children will face conflicting values and demands and find themselves in a world of contradiction and confusion. Their response to such contradiction and confusion is withdrawal, the development of their own peer groups, and the internalization of the less subtle and more visible rules of their lives. This leads us to consider the theme of the importance of the physical.

The Physical

We have noted that the physical, and violence, play a great role in the lives of Bainbridge and Blackwell children. We cannot expect these things not to be present or important, though we may try to mitigate them by emphasizing the importance of other things.

Physical prowess and pressure turned to useful pursuits or those which teach the values of respect for others and self-respect and confidence would meet children and youths on their own ground, in something relevant or familiar to them, and teach them in that context. We could be talking about organized team sports here, dramatic productions, or building programs like weatherization or home repair. Workers willing to teach youths that some physical expression need not be violent, but can be tender or illustrative of many feelings, would be an asset to playgrounds and family "parenting" groups. Efforts to introduce non-physical things such as reading on the playground, allowing children to read in an environment they know, would also be a way to introduce them to other ways of expression without facing them with conflict.

There are many federally-sponsored programs that encourage reading through such means, and in fact provide service deliverers with the materials to do so.

Programs to help parents devise ways to handle children, to learn to work around the fact that children are not small adults and perhaps cannot be expected to know or do certain things, no matter how much they are told to do so, would help to reduce the use of negative physical messages in the home. This could be done through "parenting" training, or through "Home Start" programs that involve parents in their children's growth at home, and provide information to the parents that they might not have otherwise found. The greatest resource and help on this kind of program is the mothers of children, who have concern about their children, but often seem to be at a loss about what to do for them.

We also noted that people in the flesh make the greatest impact on children in Bainbridge and Blackwell. For this reason, we suggest that, above all, programs devote their efforts to simply having people available to interact with children -- to take them on short trips, work with them, and just talk with them in an informal fashion that approximates the informal nature of friendships and family ties.

One of our researchers spent several weeks at one playground in Bainbridge. She found that after only a few days of her presence, in which she talked with children, took them to the library, worked at a center with them, and the like, some children worked harder to read, accepted responsibility for a number of tasks, and otherwise exhibited positive behavior. This was because they had someone who expected it of them, was there, and rewarded them consistently. Her function was simply to be there, and to present the children with ideas and opportunities they could not otherwise have had.

A program of this kind, based on the recreation "Roving Leader" concept, could add a great deal to children's lives without costing a great deal in the form of physical facilities or equipment, or in the way of program development. Ideally, in fact, local citizens should be recruited to provide such companionship. A training program and some pay could serve to attract a number of women and some men to this effort, and would ensure that the residents' wishes and ideas would be central to the program. Again, this could only serve to boost the spirits and confidence of the citizens by making them part of the solution to their children's needs.

Organization

We noted that organization is central to getting things done and improving oneself, and that the structure of life in many homes in Bainbridge and Blackwell did not provide such organization. Lack of organization was characteristic of playground behavior, and of the attitudes of individual youths as well.

What can be done about organization? Above, we spoke of a somewhat unstructured relationship between what we might call a "companion" adult and a group of children. Yet, though unstructured, the "companion" could set up goals for children individually -- reading a book by a set date, or learning to do something new.

Moreover, parents, through parenting programs, could be encouraged to provide minimal structure, like bedtimes. In fact, a neighborhood campaign to do something small like this might have good results, if citizens generated and designed the program and decided if and why they thought it might be a good idea.

Schools provide organization. The Commission might wish to examine how the school system teaches organization and provides order, to see how those methods might be adapted to the playground and the home.

Time and Contradiction

This theme is perhaps the most difficult to cope with through services. What service deliverers can do, however, is to recognize the prevalence of this theme, and plan accordingly. For example, this theme suggests that teaching about family planning through a once-a-week course that emphasizes the future and planning might not have the positive effect intended, because the goals of the program and its structure do not make sense to those who apparently "need" the program. Rather, one-to-one counseling informally, or methods of teaching that say, "we know why you want to have a baby, but don't forget that every day you'll have to ..." might be useful. Local service providers are aware of this problem and do what they can to help. But policy makers, who set the rules and most often are far from the street, sometimes are not aware of what is happening, and how something must be presented to be effective. Here again, the citizens can be the best guide. Confronted with the problem, and aware of its consequences, citizens can quite possibly come up with solutions that work for them that service planners like us never would have thought of.

We thought that perhaps the youths' strong emphasis on the present had something to do with the unavailability of role models, of people "I can be like in the future". The availability of such models, and their visits to schools or the community, could be useful. If men and women of all levels of government, and industry as well, took the time to go to Bainbridge and Blackwell, or to schools, to visit with youths and tell about their own childhoods and youths, they would appear less foreign to children, and more like real people that one could actually be like. We have only to note the powerful appeal that sports figures have, and the efforts youths put into sports to see how critical this contact can be.

Lastly, it is critical that service providers work to be part of the neighborhood, to show that families, children, and interested other parties can have influence over services and guide them. Services in the community can serve as brokers between the neighborhoods and the success that many dream of but feel it useless to try for. They can eliminate the contradictions and conflicts between what schools and parents teach, and between what can be hoped for and what can be worked for. They can help to foster independent, strong individuals who can identify their own problems and meet their own needs. They can provide the tools to succeed, rather than compensations for failure.

Using These Observations

The above remarks are only a few of the many and sometimes complex ideas we have developed over the past months. They do not address the full gamut of service delivery; nor do they stress sufficiently the dedication and effort that service deliverers put into their jobs at present. Many of them are aware of the points we have raised. We do not intend that these observations should in any way serve as program guides in their present state. Rather, we submit them as ideas to start planners, other service providers, and citizens thinking about problems in this way. We wish to work with all involved, at the local, State, and Federal levels, to share these ideas and test them, and to see whether they lead to more fruitful service efforts or not. We must move into the communities now with meetings, program suggestions, and ideas. We must be prepared to go door-to-door, and to meet with skepticism from citizens. We must regard this paper and the consequences for service delivery it

addresses as a beginning of dialogue between the communities, services, and the Commission. To get things moving, we would suggest the following activities:

- Meetings with service providers, both administrators and actual caseworkers or street workers

- Meetings with existing citizens' groups, with sets of specific problems to address. Just going before citizens and saying "what do you want" does not leave them with much to say, and may prompt them to bring up surface issues.

- Examination of existing federal funding possibilities, and federal training materials. These materials are low-cost and very useful.

CONCLUSIONS

In this report, we have tried to present a picture of those who need services in Bainbridge and Blackwell. We have presented statistical and qualitative information about the community. We have isolated several problem areas, including poverty, unemployment, high illegitimate birth rates, and crowded housing conditions. We discussed how citizens and service deliverers usually explained these problems, and then discussed the themes, or the attitudes of young individuals, that might underlie many of these problems. These included: a sense of powerlessness and the notion that others are responsible for problems; an emphasis on the pyhsical things in life, e.g., solving interpersonal problems through violence; a tendency not to organize activities to reach specific goals, and hence to spend time in unstructured and unguided ways; and lastly, a view of time that emphasizes the importance of the present over the past or the future, and hence makes planning and working for a future reward seem like a strange idea.

These themes, and the problems they produce, should be of serious concern to service providers, who are mandated to solve or mitigate problems. Knowing these themes can help to guide programs, to make them more applicable to citizens' needs. Among other things, we concluded that the themes suggested the following program ideas:

-- Programs must above all use and rely on citizen support, and employ citizens as well, where possible. This can serve several functions at once: it can ensure that the services are tailored to citizens' beliefs and needs; it can limit the conflicts and contradictions between services and other activities of citizens; it can give citizens the sense of control and responsibility in their own lives that they have lost, and by rights should have.

-- Programs should address a small geographical area that has a certain identity. Within this area, word of the program can be spread by citizens themselves - citizens can be the services' own outreach workers.

-- Programs should address long-term as well as short term needs, and particularly the needs of younger children, who are more easily worked with for long term results.

-- Programs should accept the importance of the physical and of people, and the characteristic lack of structured activities in the neighborhood, and work from that basis. They can do so with programs that accept and rely on physical activities such as sports, and that place youths and children in contact with trained workers (who can be from the neighborhood) on an unstructured basis.

-- Above all, programs must recognize that it is individuals who make the difference in one-anothers' lives, that programs must provide the contacts and relationships that give people a sense of strength and responsibility, rather than of helplessness.

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APPENDIX

SERVICE RESPONSE

BAINBRIDGE AND BLACKWELL

Prepared for the Virginia Division of Justice and
Crime Prevention and the Richmond Youth Services Commission

DECEMBER, 1979

INTRODUCTION

The Official Facts and Figures on Bainbridge and Blackwell (submitted November 8, 1979) sketched out the parameters of the problems of adults and children in those communities and grouped them into commonly used categories. These facts and figures were uniformly high, as might have been expected.

As might also be anticipated, many of these indicators have evoked a service response by public and private agencies. Some of those services are in Bainbridge or Blackwell, while others require travel to different areas of the city.

The following document catalogues the majority of services available to residents, particularly youth, of Bainbridge and Blackwell. Of course, citizens could go nearly anywhere in the city for services, but a listing of all services in the Richmond Metropolitan area would go beyond our scope.

The services we have included are grouped into categories which for the most part coincide with the categories in the Official Facts and Figures document.

It is important to note that this resource may be used as a guide and reference to the range of services available to Bainbridge and Blackwell residents. It is not intended, nor may it be used legitimately, as an evaluation of any single agency.

However, it may be said that despite the broad range of services apparently available to residents of Bainbridge and Blackwell (as the following pages show), problems in the area as indicated in the Official Facts and Figures persist. Perhaps this is not an indictment of service delivery per se as much as it is another indicator of the need to take a fresh look at the "problems" of people and our methods of problem solving.

AGENCIES

Listed below are public, private, and non-profit community service agencies, medical centers, schools and churches located in Bainbridge and Blackwell as well as other agencies that are located outside of the area, yet still provide services to its citizens. A contact person for each agency is listed. A mark beside each service indicates its affiliation and location as follows:

CITY SERVICES:

* Those located in Bainbridge or Blackwell

** Those located outside of Bainbridge or Blackwell

OTHER SERVICES:

● Those located in Bainbridge or Blackwell

- Those located outside Bainbridge or Blackwell

Community Services

● Bainbridge Community Ministries
1008 Porter Street
Richmond, Virginia   23224
(804) 232-3091

Contact Person: Mr. Patrick Hickey, Director

Founded in 1968, the Bainbridge Community Ministries is an ecumenical effort of several churches in the Richmond area to provide an activities center in the Bainbridge community for youths and adults. Activities of the Bainbridge Community Ministries include a Mothers' Club, a Hot Lunch Program for the Elderly (spon- sored by the Capital Area Council on Aging), Arts and Crafts, guest speakers, games for small children, special reading activities for youth, field trips, holiday parties for children, a Saturday Morning Education Program, and a Christmas Basket Program.

● Bainbridge Hospitality House
1425 Perry Street
Richmond, Virginia   23224
(804) 231-3726

Contact Person: Sister Legori

An ecumenical effort of several churches in the Richmond area

to provide used furniture and clothing at affordable prices to low income families.

●* Richmond Community Action Program (R-CAP)
South Richmond Center
1321 Hull Street
Richmond, Virginia 23224
(804) 788-0252)

Contact Person: Mrs. Jean Dyer

Founded in 1965, R-CAP serves as a non-profit anti-poverty agency. One of its centers is located on Hull Street in the Bainbridge and Blackwell area. Activities in the Southside center include: Urban Day Camps for Disadvantaged Youths, Arts and Crafts, Emergency Energy Assistance Programs and Home Repair.

● Porter Homes
1503 and 1505 Porter Street
Richmond, Virginia 23224

Contact Person: Ms. Dorothy Davis

The Porter Homes is an adult residential center for those released from psychiatric hospitals who have no other place to live. Activities of the Porter Homes include religious counseling, games, field trips and group sessions.

● Southside Senior Citizens Center
1500 Hull Street
Richmond, Virginia 23224
(804) 231-9306

Contact Person: Mrs. Gloria Thorpe

The Southside Senior Citizens Center is an activities center for the elderly. Center services include religious counseling, exercise programs, field trips, and a meal program sponsored by the Virginia Area Council on Aging.

Churches

● First Baptist Church of South Richmond
1501 Decatur Street
Richmond, Virginia 23224
(804) 233-7679

Contact Person: Reverend Dwight Jones

Youth programs of the First Baptist Church of South Richmond include a Religious Education Department and a Missionary Organization. The First Baptist Church of South Richmond also

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sponsors the South Richmond Senior Citizens Center and co-sponsors a local television show called "Profiles on Black Religious Life".

● Bainbridge Southampton Baptist Church
1101 Bainbridge Street
Richmond, Virginia 23224
(804) 232-7241

Contact Person: Dr. Aubrey J. Rosser
Dr. Anne R. Rosser

The Bainbridge Southampton Baptist Church has a Sunday School Department for youths and adults and co-sponsors the Bainbridge Community Ministries and the South Richmond Baptist Center.

● Sacred Heart Church/Southside Bainbridge
1409 Perry Street
Richmond, Virginia 23224
(804) 232-8964

Contact Person: Reverend Ronald A. Ruth

The Sacred Heart Church/South Richmond provides religious counseling and training for youths and adults. It also sponsors the Sacred Heart School, the Bainbridge Hospitality House, and the Bainbridge Community Ministries, all located in Bainbridge.

NOTE: The churches located in Bainbridge and Blackwell listed above have the largest congregations of the churches in that area. There are a number of other "storefront" churches not listed in this section.

Crime

* Richmond Police Department
2nd Precinct Division
11th and Hull Street
Richmond, Virginia 23224
(804) 780-4431

The 2nd Precinct of the Richmond Police Department provides police protection to the residents of South Richmond.

* Richmond Police Department
Police Community Services Division
2nd Precinct Office
1306 Hull Street
Richmond, Virginia 23224
(804) 780-4632

Contact Person: Lt. Robert M. Hayden

The Police Community Services Division of the Richmond Police

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Department serves as a liaison between the citizens of South Richmond and the Bureau of Police. It receives advice, comments, and criticisms from the residents concerning the problems of the community.

Education

** Richmond Public School System
900 East Broad Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219
(804) 780-5300

Contact Person: Dr. Richard C. Hunter

The Richmond Public School System provides educational instruction for those children of Bainbridge and Blackwell who attend the following schools:

** Westover Hills Elementary School
1211 Jahnke Road
Richmond, Virginia 23225
(804) 231-7338

Contact Person: Thomas W. Nance, Jr., Principal

* Blackwell Elementary School
1600 Everett Street
Richmond, Virginia 23224
(804) 780-4343

Contact Person: Mr. Ronald L. Carey, Principal

* Blackwell Annex
238 East 14th Street
Richmond, Virginia 23224
(804) 780-4343

Contact Person: Mr. Ronald L. Carey, Principal

** Fred D. Thompson Middle School
7825 Forest Hill Avenue
Richmond, Virginia 23225
(804) 272-7554

Contact Person: Mr. Willie L. Carr, Principal

** Mosby Middle School
1000 Mosby Street
Richmond, Virginia 23223
(804) 780-8041

Contact Person: Mr. Joe L. Simmons, Principal

**   George Wythe High School
       4314 Crutchfield Street
       Richmond, Virginia   23225
       (804) 231-4432

       Contact Person: Mr. David O. Williams, Principal

**   John F. Kennedy High School
       2300 Cool Lane
       Richmond, Virginia   23223
       (804) 780-5424

       Contact Person: Mr. Herman L. Carter, Principal

*   REACT Program
       111 West 15th Street
       Richmond, Virginia   23220
       (804) 780-5084

       Contact Person: Mr. Hugh Thompson, Director

       REACT is a rehabilitation program for those who have been
expelled from school. They provide vocational as well as
educational training for those students.

NOTE: Some youths of the Bainbridge and Blackwell area are known
        to attend church affiliated schools from kindergarden through
        the eighth grade. Some of the activities of these church
        affiliated schools include: educational and religious training,
        sports and games, and field trips for children. These
        institutions are listed below:

-      Ephesus Junior Academy (Seventh Day Adventist)
       37th and Midlothian Turnpike
       Richmond, Virginia   23224
       (804) 233-4582

       Contact Person: Mrs. Yvonne Humphrey

●   Sacred Heart School (Roman Catholic Church)
       14th and Perry Street
       Richmond, Virginia   23224
       (804) 231-9308

       Contact Person: Mrs. Danythe Hoyle, Principal

Employment

**   Richmond Bureau of Manpower
       505 North 9th Street
       Richmond, Virginia   23219

       Contact Person: Mr. Ralph Leach, Administrative Director

The Richmond Bureau of Manpower is the administrative agency for the City's youth employment programs. Youths from Bainbridge and Blackwell participate in these programs, which include: Youth Employment Training Program, Student Work Experience and Summer Youth Employment Program.

Health

** Richmond Health Department
Safety, Health, and Welfare Building
500 North 10th Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219
(804) 780-4298

Contact Person: Dr. Gotay, Director

The Richmond Health Department provides medical services to city residents through its 10 clinics and field nurse teams. Services covered by the Health Department in different clinics include: maternity care, pediatrics, family planning, dental, immunizations, general medical, venereal disease, work permit, PAP Tests, lead screening, podiatry and allergy.

* Bainbridge Public Health Center
1312 Bainbridge Street
Richmond, Virginia 23224
(804) 780-4221

Contact Person: Ms. Rose Keelen, RN

The Bainbridge Public Health Center provides professional medical services to parents and their children. Services of the center include counseling and assistance in family planning, dental care, a children's food program, maternal and infant care, immunization, mother and baby care, and toilet training.

● Family Medical Clinic
1208 Hull Street
Richmond, Virginia 23224
(804) 233-0337

The Family Medical Clinic provides medical services to its patients including: Electrocardiograms, X-rays, and other general medical procedures.

NOTE: There are several private physicians who practice in the Bainbridge and Blackwell area not listed above.

Housing

**   Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority
301 East Franklin Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219
(804) 644-9881

        Contact Person: Mr. J. L. Forman, Chief of Management of Public
                                  Housing Sites for Richmond

        The Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority is the operating agency for several housing projects in Richmond. One of these sites, located in the Blackwell area, is:

*   The Southside Scattered Sites
214 East 13th Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219
(804) 233-5338

        Contact Person: Mr. Jessie Hill, Manager

        The Southside Scattered Sites is a public housing project most of which is in Blackwell. It contains 440 units.

Mental Health

*   South Richmond Mental Health Clinic
3052 Hull Street
Richmond, Virginia 23224

        Contact Person: Mr. Leon Battle, Director

        The South Richmond Mental Health Clinic provides a range of community mental health services to the citizens of South Richmond.

●   Richmond Aftercare Program
1109 Bainbridge Street
Richmond, Virginia 23224
(804) 231-5592

        Contact Person: L. G. Cayton, Acting Director

        The Richmond Aftercare Program is a residential center for alcoholics that provides rehabilitation and counseling. Activities include group sessions, Alcoholics Anonymous, etc.

Recreation

**   Richmond Department of Welfare
505 North 9th Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219
(804) 780-4316

        Contact Person: Mrs. Roberta Telfair

The Richmond Department of Welfare offers a variety of services to city residents. Some of which include: financial and family services and assistance. The Department also has purchase of service agreements with several of the day care centers known to be used by Bainbridge and Blackwell families:

- American Pre-School Nursery
  2603 Semmes Avenue
  Richmond, Virginia 23225
  (804) 231-6125

  Contact Person: Mrs. Lynn Griffin, Director

  The American Pre-School Nursery is a privately owned nursery. Activities of the nursery include education, games, field trips, and recreation.

- Clarkes Nursery
  308 West 27th Street
  Richmond, Virginia 23233
  (804) 231-0425

  Contact Person: Mr. Melton Clarke, Director

  The Clarkes Nursery is a privately owned agency. Activities of the nursery include education, games, recreation, and a breakfast and lunch program.

- Ephesus Day Care Center
  37th Street and Midlothian Turnpike
  Richmond, Virginia 23224
  (804) 233-5273

  Contact Person: Mrs. Althea Henderson, Director

  The Ephesus Day Care Center is funded by the Seventh Day Adventist Church. Activities of the center include education, recreation, field trips, and religious studies.

END