The Hill District Community Collaborative: An Oral History

by the students of the History and Policy Project Course Carnegie Mellon University Fall 2001

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The History and Policy Project Course in the fall of 2001 developed an oral history of the Hill District Community Collaborative, a community-based agency that serves women whose lives have been affected by drugs and their families. Students developed background reports, interviewed agency staff, clients, fundors, staff from other agencies, and community leaders, and transcribed interviews, and wrote chapters of the final report, <u>The Hill District Community Collaborative: An Oral History</u>. They also developed a slide presentation and delivered an oral program with slides, entitled <u>Trial by Fire: The Hill District Community Collaborative and Community Rebuilding</u>, at the Hill House Association's Irene Kaufmann Auditorium on December 12, 2001. In addition, they developed a timeline database to capture the chronology of events in the history of the Collaborative.

DAVID ANDERSON wrote about the nature of community; interviewed staff; contributed to chapters on Collaborative staff and the founding of the Collaborative.

ESTHER BRADLEY interviewed participants; interviewed Police Commander William Valenta; transcribed interviews; contributed to chapters on Collaborative participants and community leaders.

LUIS CARVAJAL wrote about drug markets and their relationship to patterns of drug use; interviewed fundors; transcribed interviews; wrote a chapter on evaluation of the Collaborative by a University of Pittsburgh researcher.

MICHAEL FONTAINE wrote about the architectural history of the Hill District; interviewed participants and staff; contributed to chapters about staff and community leaders.

RASHAD GRAY wrote about the African American family; interviewed participants, and staff; contributed to chapter on staff.

CHAD HARPER wrote about the history of the Hill House Association; interviewed fundors; transcribed interviews; wrote a chapter about fundors.

POLINA KATS wrote about African American women and drug use; interviewed participants and community leaders; contributed to chapters on participants and community leaders.

ELIZABETH MAJEWSKI wrote about patterns of drug use in America, especially patterns among women; interviewed participants and staff; contributed to chapters on the founding of the Collaborative, and participants.

CAROLINE JEAN ACKER and SHERA MOXLEY were the course instructors.

We are deeply grateful to the Collaborative participants and staff, and to all who contributed to making this project possible.

The Hill District Community Collaborative: An Oral History

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Chapter 1

Urban Renewal, Deindustrialization, and their Effects on the Hill District

by

Michael Fontaine

The Hill District has a long, centuries old history that ranges from vibrant to distressed. Existing almost as long as the city itself, the Hill has undergone many transformations that have made it the place it is today. While enduring such movements as industrialization, urban renewal, and deindustrialization, the number and composition of the residents have changed, but the neighborhood itself has survived. From early European immigrants to today's African-American population, the people have changed, but the physical nature of the Hill District has evolved to become a piece of history itself. It has recorded the social, political, and economic changes of time by way of its physical appearance today.

As Pittsburgh started growing in the early years of the nineteenth century, its citizens began looking for places to move to, away from the dirty and congested Downtown area. One of the first locations to be settled outside of Downtown was what is now the Hill District. Located on a plateau between the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers just east of Downtown, it had cleaner air, above the elevation of the pollution from the riverside industries. The earliest recorded Euro-American presence in the Hill is shown on a 1796 map where a road and a stone quarry are located along where Webster Avenue is today in the Lower Hill.[1] Before that, the Hill was shown in 1784 as the "Reed Plan," an empty 274-acre tract. By 1852, the Hill District's population had reached 1,289, along with six churches and two schools.[2] The population consisted of many Irish, Scots-Irish, Blacks, and Germans. Also by the 1850s, a horse-drawn omnibus line ran east along Wylie Avenue from Downtown to Herron Hill, then called Minersville. A coal seam that ran under much of the area attracted many early people to the Hill, as they mined out large portions underneath the area.

There was also a large African-American presence in the Hill District from the time it was first settled. In 1830, the Lower Hill housed 110 black families, mostly centered in what was called Arthursville.[3] Later called Little

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[1] Carlisle, Ronald C., Barbara J. Gundy, and Arthur B. Fox. *Phase I Archaeological Reconnaissance in the Crawford-Roberts Redevelopment Area, Lower Hill District, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1991), 2.2.
[2] Carlisle, 2.3.
[3] Carlisle, 2.9.

Hayti, Arthursville was an area centered where Roberts Street is today that consisted of mainly African-American families in the mid-nineteenth century. A station on the Underground Railroad runaway slave network is said to have been located where the Mellon Arena is now.

After the end of the Civil War in the mid-1860s, a larger percentage of Jewish immigrants soon started moving into the area from Lithuania and other eastern European countries. In response, older, established families of the Hill began to relocate to newer and less dense neighborhoods after 1870. By 1875, "Litvak" Jews from Lithuania, Latvia, and Belarus began replacing the older families, reaching a population of 6,353.[4]   In the1880s, Hungarian, Russian, Romanian, Galician (Austrian Polish), and Polish Jews flooded the Lower Hill. Prior to 1880, 3% of the Hill's Jewish population was foreign born, after 1880, 97% were born in Europe.[5]

This large influx of Jews in the late nineteenth century created a vibrant atmosphere in the Lower Hill. The business of stogie production was a major industry of the Jewish population. In 1890, there were upwards of 200 cigar sweatshops in the Lower Hill. The pay was around $4.00 a week, much better than the $3.00 a month some would earn back in Russia.[6] This industry was effectively shut down in 1913 after a strike by new labor unions halted production. The stogie businesses were mainly small ventures, though a few

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[4] Carlisle, 2.30.
[5] Carlisle, 2.30.
[6] Carlisle, 2.31.

larger factories and breweries were located around the Hill employing people in much greater numbers.

The rapid industrialization of Pittsburgh also caused many people to move to the city. They were lured by the prospects of employment in higher paying jobs than where they had come from. Mills and plants were opening up all around Pittsburgh, though mainly concentrated along the riverfronts due to the flat terrain and ease of access to other locations by boat and rail. The Hill District became a residential area for the employees of those industries, with the residents descending down steps and inclines to reach their jobs along the riverbanks. This pattern remained the same through the time of World War II, as the population of Pittsburgh continued to surge with the presence of the steel production and its related industries. With the ever-changing technology, people began to rely more upon motorized transportation to get around the city. Many of the old routes were blocked by new development. Access to the Strip District was made more difficult in the 1920s for the people of the Hill District as the opening of Bigelow Boulevard cut off many of the old inclines and steps descending down from the top of the Hill towards the Strip.
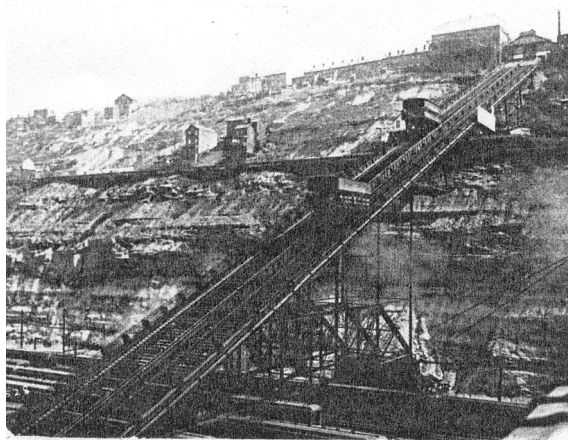
Seventeenth Street incline rising up to the Hill. (Photo from Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.)

The Lower Hill also featured many synagogues, numbering eleven in 1910 and fifteen by 1943.[7] The Jewish population also began slowly moving out of the Hill when other groups moved in. As an influx of Italians, Greeks, Syrians, and southern blacks poured in to the Hill, the older Jewish population relocated east towards the Upper, or Herron Hill, Oakland, and Squirrel Hill after 1900.

The Hill District enjoyed sanitary conditions compared to the high-density settlements located along the rivers. The early residents of the Hill appreciated the separation and privacy it offered from other areas of the city.[8] During the mid-nineteenth century, the only areas of the city that had been heavily settled were along the rivers. Neighborhoods such as Hazelwood and Homestead were the upper class, elite areas to live in, being the first suburbs

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[7] Carlisle, 2.31.

[8] Couvers, Francis G. *The remaking of Pittsburgh: Class and Culture in an Industrializing City, 1877-1919.* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 82.

available for people to move to outside of Downtown. Interior areas such as Squirrel Hill did not develop until the beginning of the twentieth century due to lack of transportation in reaching those places. The use of the streetcar opened up these new, sparsely populated areas for settlement. By this time, there was a sufficient need for new housing, with the overflowing population of the Hill and other older neighborhoods causing many to seek the same amenities that the Hill had once been able to offer before it became densely populated. Now areas such as Squirrel Hill offered attractions such as low noise and congestion, more green space, wider lots for building and recreation, and less crime.

The early years of Pittsburgh were well defined by its relationship to its rivers. The Hill was unique in this aspect in that it was an interior area that was settled early, before the use of trains that opened up much of the other areas of the city to settlement. Thus, the Hill District owes its long history to its key central location within the city. It seems unbelievable to newcomers to the city today that the street grid of the Hill once extended to Grant Street and to the county courthouse. An area map from 1855 shows that the current street pattern of the Hill District was fully established by that time.[9] Street names were changed frequently after the grid was in place, but the layout has remained essentially unaltered, except for the large-scale projects that were to come in the twentieth century.

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[9] Carlisle, 2.25.

The immigrant population boom briefly caused a sharp decline in the African-American population of the Lower Hill. In 1900, the older black population had moved to eastern areas such as East Liberty and Homewood, leaving only 200 blacks in the Lower Hill. By 1910, migration from the South caused the black population to surge back up to 10,754.[10] This was during the time of the Great Migration, when millions of blacks were travelling from their former homes in the South to move to the large, urban industrial areas of the North. In fact, in 1900, there were 254 working black males in Pittsburgh who were Northern born, while there were 1,157 who were Southern born.[11]

African-Americans hoped to find more numerous and higher quality jobs, as well as being treated with more respect than in the South. They moved to the Hill District, considering this area the most appropriate place for them to live. The Hill had a sense of community that was similar to their former Southern homesteads. No other neighborhood of Pittsburgh offered such an environment for blacks to have a community of their own. This effort was further hampered by the fact that the blacks were generally not well received by the rest of the population. This reaction is not unlike how the Eastern European immigrants were treated as they first moved to this region as well. The migrant blacks, along with Italians and Poles, only found

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[10] Carlisle, 2.33.
[11] Bodnar, John, Roger Simon, and Michael P. Weber. *Lives of Their Own: Blacks, Italians, and Poles in Pittsburgh, 1900-1960.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982.), 121.

residence in areas with the highest density or the most formidable terrain.[12] Stereotypical views spread among the earlier inhabitants of the city, making them biased against people from these new ethnicities moving in.

These people moved to the Hill for many of the same reasons that people first moved there a hundred years prior. It still had a central location within the layout of the city, which was key because workers did not want to live more than a few minutes walk away from their place of employment. With its topographical isolation formed by the cliffs surrounding it, people could live in this area out of sight from people in other neighborhoods. By the start of the twentieth century, the Hill District had become a welcome new home for the large influx of blacks to Pittsburgh. Loyalties among the neighbors, education, and church united the people. The church was the only all-black refuge for African-Americans at this time. The Hill still housed thousands of European immigrants, so the primary way for black community to thrive was through church-related functions.

The first half of the twentieth century is when the Hill District reached its peak in many respects. By this time, the Hill was now a largely African-American neighborhood, which soon had a life and culture all its own. In 1910, the Hill was 25% black, and in 1930 that percentage grew to 53%.[13] The major streets of the Hill, such as Centre, Wylie, and Webster now housed

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[12] Bodnar, 70.

[13] Trotter Jr., Joe William, and Eric Ledell Smith. *African Americans in Pennsylvania: Shifting Historical Perspectives.* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997.), 416.

the leading examples of the black culture of Pittsburgh. Churches, schools, and community centers were numerous, evidence of a thriving neighborhood that was now famous around the country. This stretch of land was now on par with Harlem as one of the cultural centers of Black America. A leading poet from Harlem, Claude McKay, labeled the intersection of Wylie and Fullerton Avenues as the "Crossroads of the World."[14] The popularization of jazz music provided another major boost in the social growth of the neighborhood. The Crawford Grill became the center for the city's jazz culture, and was a mecca for all residents of Pittsburgh for visiting the Hill and taking in the music. The Hill District also hosted a baseball team in the Negro Major Leagues. The Pittsburgh Crawfords were a perennial championship team that played at Greenlee Field and offered some of the highest quality baseball in the country. The team featured some of the best players ever to play professional baseball, including five players who are now in the professional baseball Hall of Fame, such as catcher Josh Gibson, considered one of the top players of all time.[15]

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[14] Lubove, Roy. *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh Volume 2: The Post-Steel Era.* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996.), 154.
[15] Ruck,Rob. *Sandlot Seasons: Sport in Black Pittsburgh.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987.), 156.

The old Crawford Grill. (Photo from Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.)

The immense population of people on such a small area of land soon began to experience problems such as overcrowding and poor living conditions. The Hill District is geographically constrained, precluding any expansion from occurring in any direction. The black population of Pittsburgh grew from 37,725 in 1920 to 100,692 in 1960, with the Hill accounting for most of this surge.[16] Many people were squeezed in to small living quarters. The quality of housing was also declining at this time. The neighborhood was now over a hundred years old, and many of the buildings were falling into disrepair. As culturally alive as the area was, it was still poor and segregated, not receiving the level of maintenance as in other areas of Pittsburgh. This soon became a major problem as the old buildings were crumbling and few modern improvements were being made. The Hill was described as an area that contained 7.5% of Pittsburgh's population in 1940, yet had 34% of the

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[16] Bodnar, 187.

city's tuberculosis cases, 13.4% of its crime, 24.4% of all juvenile delinquency, and 38.5% of all murders.[17]

The rest of the city was now looking down upon the Hill District as an area that was in such poor condition that even indoor plumbing had not yet been installed in all its residences.[18] Kingsley House published photographs as early as 1903 showing poor housing conditions and cow stables located right next to residences on Webster Avenue.[19] People there did not have the money to make improvements, and many did not own their homes, so they could not make the necessary improvements.[20] In 1930, only one percent of the residents of the Lower Hill were homeowners.[21] The streets of the Hill were all still cobblestone, while the rest of the city was getting more modern pavements. For these reasons, this area was now viewed by outsiders as the slums of the city, and was seen as detrimental to the rest of the city. According to a city report, "On the eastern fringe of the triangle, a creeping slum…was infesting the city. The 95-acre Lower Hill tract had been slowly declining since the 1920s."[22] The declining conditions of the Hill contributed to the idea that would soon take hold in the city: urban renewal.

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[17] Lubove, Roy. *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh: Government, Business, and Environmental Change.* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1969.), 85.
[18] Kleinberg, S.J. *The Shadow of the Mills: Working-Class Families in Pittsburgh, 1870-1907.* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989.), 92.
[19] Lubove, Roy. *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh: Government, Business, and Environmental Change.* 30.
[20] Kleinberg, 75.
[21] Trotter, 416.
[22] Pittsburgh Bicentennial Committee. *The Pittsburgh Bicentennial: Gateway Festival Edition.* (Pittsburgh: City of Pittsburgh, 1958.), -.

Beginning in the 1920s, the concept of urban renewal was sweeping across the country, dealing with how to improve blighted areas of a city. With new modern technologies becoming more common every day, such as indoor plumbing, electricity and paved streets, cities were modernizing at an astounding rate. This was not affecting the whole city though, as poorer neighborhoods were left behind. Now that citywide ordinances such as smoke laws and a filtered water system had gone into effect, it was time to bring the physical appearance of the blighted neighborhoods up to par with the rest of the city. The major players involved in starting this process were politicians and influential wealthy businessmen. Having already made their fortunes, men with names such as Mellon and Kauffman now looked to make their city a cultural center. They had visions that would benefit the city's civic "welfare" as well as securing their own investments within the city.[23] The elite men of Pittsburgh organized into the Allegheny Conference, an association meant for improving the nature of the city.

In order to bring all sections of a city up to new modern standards, the popular views were to completely demolish those old sections. After that, the area would be replaced by new, gleaming examples of modern architecture and planning. This trend of planning had become a commonplace in Europe, promoted by such leading architectural authorities as Le Corbusier and the architects of The Bauhaus in Germany. As the populations in American cities

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[23] Domosh, Mona. *Invented Cities: The Creation of Landscape in Nineteenth Century New York & Boston.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.), 104.

swelled to unprecedented numbers in the first half of the twentieth century,

urban renewal was seen as a method to swiftly and completely clean up those

declining areas. Little thought was given to the people who were being forced

out by this process. When the residents were considered, it was the opinion of

the planners and politicians that this would be a positive event for the

displaced, that they were being moved out of the deplorable conditions. While

improvements were badly needed in those areas, complete demolition of the

neighborhoods was not a satisfactory solution for the people who had called

these places home. Federal involvement in urban renewal began in earnest

after the passage of the National Housing Act of 1949. The law was passed

with the intentions of providing "the goal of a decent home and a suitable

living environment for every American."[24] This was meant to initially reward

the returning veterans with new housing, but it soon became linked to low-

income areas.

When these old and decaying areas were replaced, the new structures

had no contextual relationship to what had previously been there. The

planners at this time were so insistent on using the modern architecture that

they ignored what had been the previous history of the city. Most of the areas

around the country that were being torn down were in primarily minority

neighborhoods. As a result of their poor economic condition, people of

minority groups were generally living in areas that had started to decay. This

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[24] Logan, John R. and Harvey L. Molotch. *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.), 167.

was a combination of little opportunity to relocate to better-maintained areas and inability to afford to keep their own homes in good condition. The people being relocating were also hampered in that they were the residents of the city who had the least say in the future direction of the city. By 1963, 600,000 people had been displaced by urban renewal nationwide, eighty percent of them black.[25]

The characteristics of those areas being torn down were living histories of how those areas had developed over the centuries. The housing may have been substandard compared to the level of quality of construction of the time, but it represented the direction from which the city had come. In its place, most of the new structures had no connection to where they were or what they looked like; they had been selected on a map by the people in charge in the most popular style of the time. This new architecture needed no contextual basis; it was based purely on what its designers wanted to do. The postmodern style focused on the interior a building, leaving the exterior as a secondary concern. By not subjecting the interior or exterior of a building to a single, specific style, the functions going on inside the building would not be limited to the designed space around it. The planners saw the local context as less important than the interior functionality of the structure.

This style was not well received by its new neighbors, it was only acceptable to the people in the city who thought they were adding a higher

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[25] Jakle, John A. and David Wilson. *Derelict Landscapes: The Wasting of America's Built Environment.* (Savage, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1992), 132.

cultural level to the city. The residents wished to keep the look of their neighborhood that they had become familiar with by living, working, or just passing through the area for many years. The politicians, businessmen, and planners saw that viewpoint as old-fashioned, and thought that in order to conceive something new, a total break from the past was necessary. They wanted Pittsburgh to be one of the leading cultural destinations of the country. Preserving a run-down blighted neighborhood adjacent to the new Golden Triangle did not mesh with their plans.

This misunderstanding of mid-twentieth century urban renewal was evident in many of the completed projects of the era. Louis Kahn created many extraordinary pieces of architecture over the years, but his attempt at urban planning was a miserable failure. He created an entirely new capital city for a province in Bangladesh that is situated in the desert.[26] The buildings and layout completed there looked as if they could have been located anywhere else in the world. The style of building chosen had nothing in common with the traditional culture or climate of the region. As a result, the city is now looked at as a blunder, and nothing is being used as Kahn intended it to. Instead of living inside many of the residential buildings in the city, the people tend to spend their time outside in the areas in front of the buildings, the structures being too hot and uncomfortable to live in. The good intentions but bad planning of this project are typical to what resulted from many of the

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[26] Trachtenberg, Marvin, and Isabelle Hyman. *Architecture: From Prehistory to Post-Modernism.* (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1986), 561.

urban renewal projects of the mid-twentieth century. Its effects on Pittsburgh were much the same, as sections of the Hill were soon to find out. They were not meant to receive any of the benefits of these renewal projects, so the best they could hope for would be contextual continuity. Unfortunately, the program set forth by the people in charge could not match what the character of the Lower Hill had been.

The Hill District was targeted from the start by the leaders of the city as the prime location in the city where these urban renewal programs could take place. By the 1920s, plans were drawn identifying improvement zones in the Lower Hill. The citizens there were mainly poor and uninfluential, so they were easier to displace than people in other sections of the city were. In the 1910s, civic centers had been proposed in the Downtown and Highland Park neighborhoods of the city before the Hill District was identified as the prime target for displacement.

The first major changes to occur in the Hill District were the construction of the large housing projects meant to meet the housing needs of a low-income population. By 1944, the new Housing Authority of Pittsburgh had constructed Bedford Dwellings and Terrace Village. These were constructed in long rows, with buildings in size and shape similar to military barracks. There was no prior context to this type of building in the Hill District. Most of the buildings in this area were and still are small, individual homes. With some longer rows of townhouses mixed in, the new immigrants to the

area built the small two to three story homes one by one. There were no large housing projects located in the area. The introduction of these large, fortress-like housing structures was a total shock to the traditional aesthetics of the neighborhood. City officials looked at the creation and construction of these housing projects as the first wave of the new architecture that would soon dominate the aesthetics of new construction in the city and country.
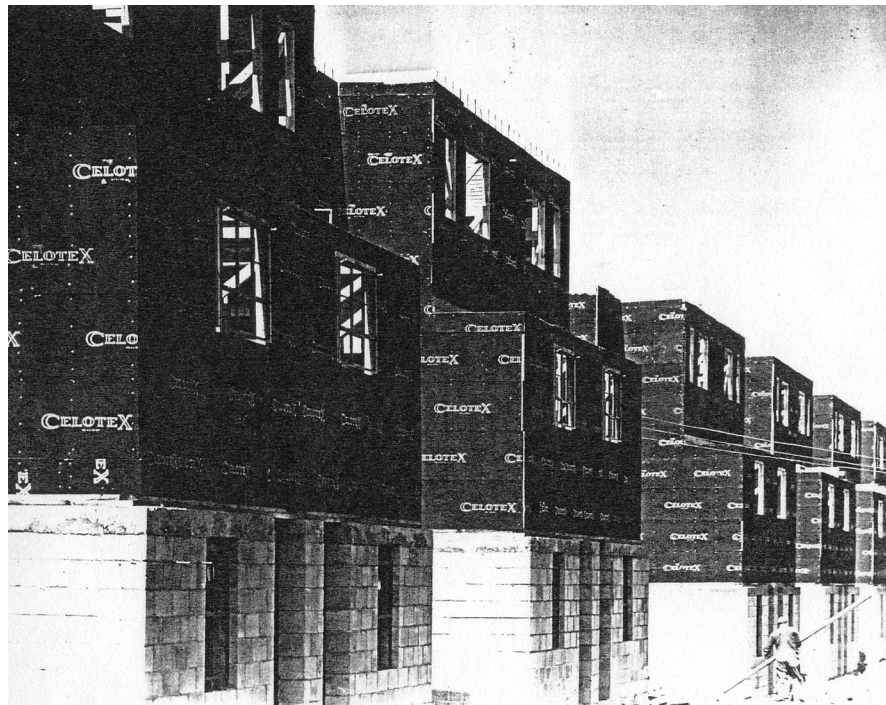
Construction of Bedford Dwellings Addition in 1952. (Photo from Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.)

The leaders in charge saw this method of urban renewal as the most efficient and honorable solution in dealing with overcrowded, unsatisfactory housing conditions. They would be removing the residents from their long-time homes, but they would be providing them with low-cost, modern housing in the same neighborhood. Occurring during the time of World War II in the

early 1940s, these units initially housed some war workers, but when the war ended, this soon became exclusively an African-American development. This result ended the rich, cultural variety of this area, and increased the segregation of the residents here. To describe their honorable intentions, the city stated, "As the project develops in stages, land values will go up. The main business district will have a gentler backdrop, and the crowded masses, gentler living."[27] In this way, a very high density of people could be housed, and they could stay in their old neighborhood. When completed in 1944, these and six other similar units in Pittsburgh housed 12.3% of the blacks in Pittsburgh, yet only 1.6% of whites, most of whom were war workers.[28] These projects were so heralded at the time that President Franklin Delano Roosevelt attended the groundbreaking ceremony.

The most extensive urban renewal project affecting the Hill District was the demolition of the Lower Hill in the late 1950s to make way for the Civic Arena and proposed cultural center of the "New Pittsburgh." This would be the centerpiece of what became known as the city's Renaissance. Demolishing of the blighted areas and replacing them with cultural institutions was looked at as the major and necessary next step in Pittsburgh's evolution. In the late 1940s, the leaders of the city thought that a new cultural center was what was needed to go with the reconstruction of the Golden Triangle already underway. The city had recognized the need to clean up its image in its most

[27] Pittsburgh Bicentennial Committee, -.
[28] Lubove, Roy. *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh: Government, Business, and Environmental Change.* 86.

visible spot, Downtown. Buildings there were razed to make way for Point State Park, and many other older structures were demolished throughout Downtown to make way for such projects as Gateway Center and Mellon Park. Soon, the city began to look at other sections in the area that needed improvement in its eyes that would raise the quality of life in Pittsburgh. The next obvious choice was the area of the Lower Hill, which bordered Downtown in the area of Grant Street. The streets in this area were very different than how they are laid out today, with Wylie, Webster, and Bedford Streets all extending to the Grant Street area of today's Downtown. The composition of this section was primarily residential buildings, many of which were in disrepair. It was unacceptable in the city's eyes to have this much squalor located that close to its gleaming new Downtown. With "undesirables" living that close to Downtown, and the need for space for a new civic center, the Lower Hill was now the prime target for demolition.
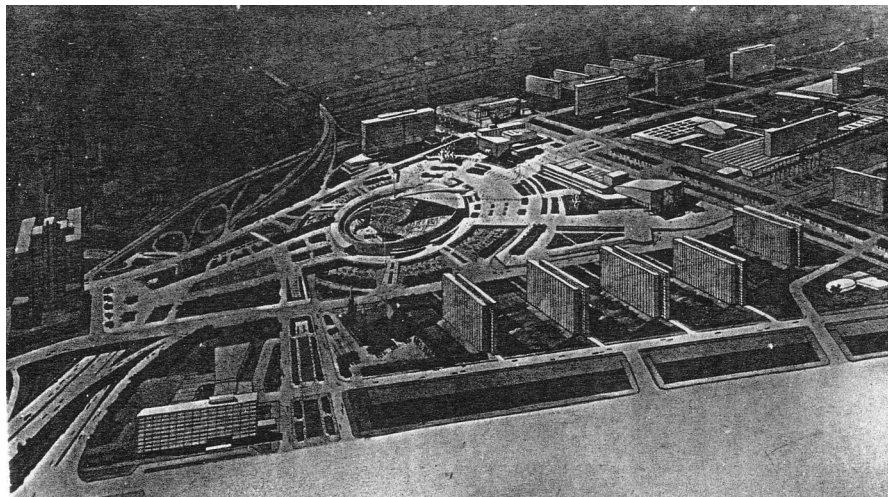

Proposal for the Lower Hill dating from 1950. (Photo from Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.)

Soon after planners conceived of this possibility, they dreamed of vast ideas of how to turn this area into the shining spot for Pittsburgh. It was almost as if they were treating the Lower Hill as a blank palette with which they could do anything, regardless of what was already there. There were now plans underway for museums, stadiums, parks, and many other amenities that could be built on this "new" space now available for construction. The first plans were put forward in 1947 and 1951 by the Regional Planning Association and the Urban Redevelopment Agency. The Edgar J. Kaufmann Charitable Trust contributed $1 million toward the construction here, and by 1955 the city council approved the redevelopment of the Lower Hill.[29] This would now be a new urban center that all Pittsburghers could use, unlike the situation there at the time when it was home to eight thousand people. The Lower Hill was doomed and it was soon condemned, and in April 1951 those eight thousand people had to make a sad exodus out of the neighborhood. The $14 million arena construction was underway in 1956; as the city stated the former residents were moving into "pleasanter homes."[30] Unfortunately for the residents, those pleasanter homes were in locations scattered throughout the city, away from their familiar

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[29] Lubove, Roy. *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh: Government, Business, and Environmental Change* 130.
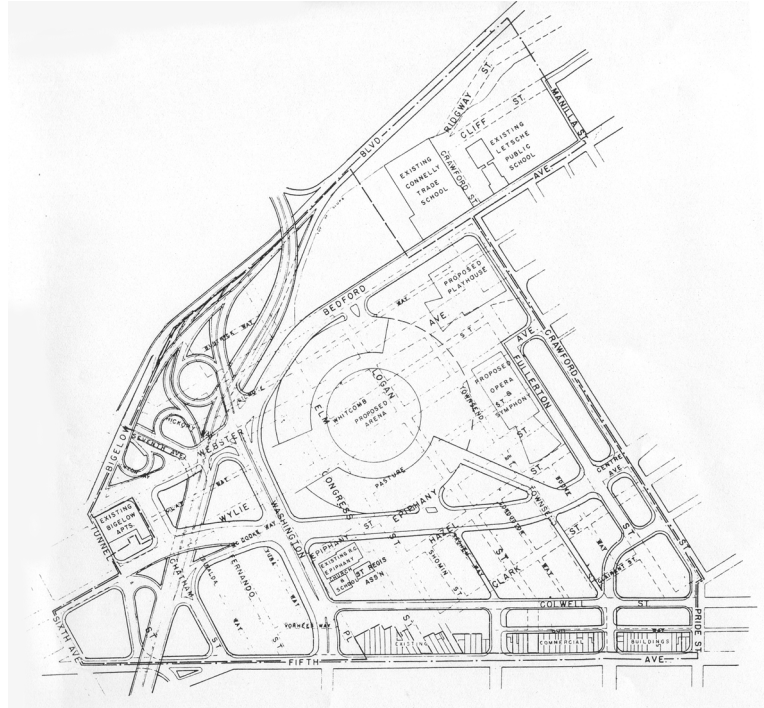[30] Harper, Frank C. *Pittsburgh: Forge of the Universe.* (New York: Comet Press Books, 1957.), 292.

neighborhood. By the end of 1956, it was estimated by the World Almanac that Pittsburgh had already spent two billion dollars on its Renaissance.[31]
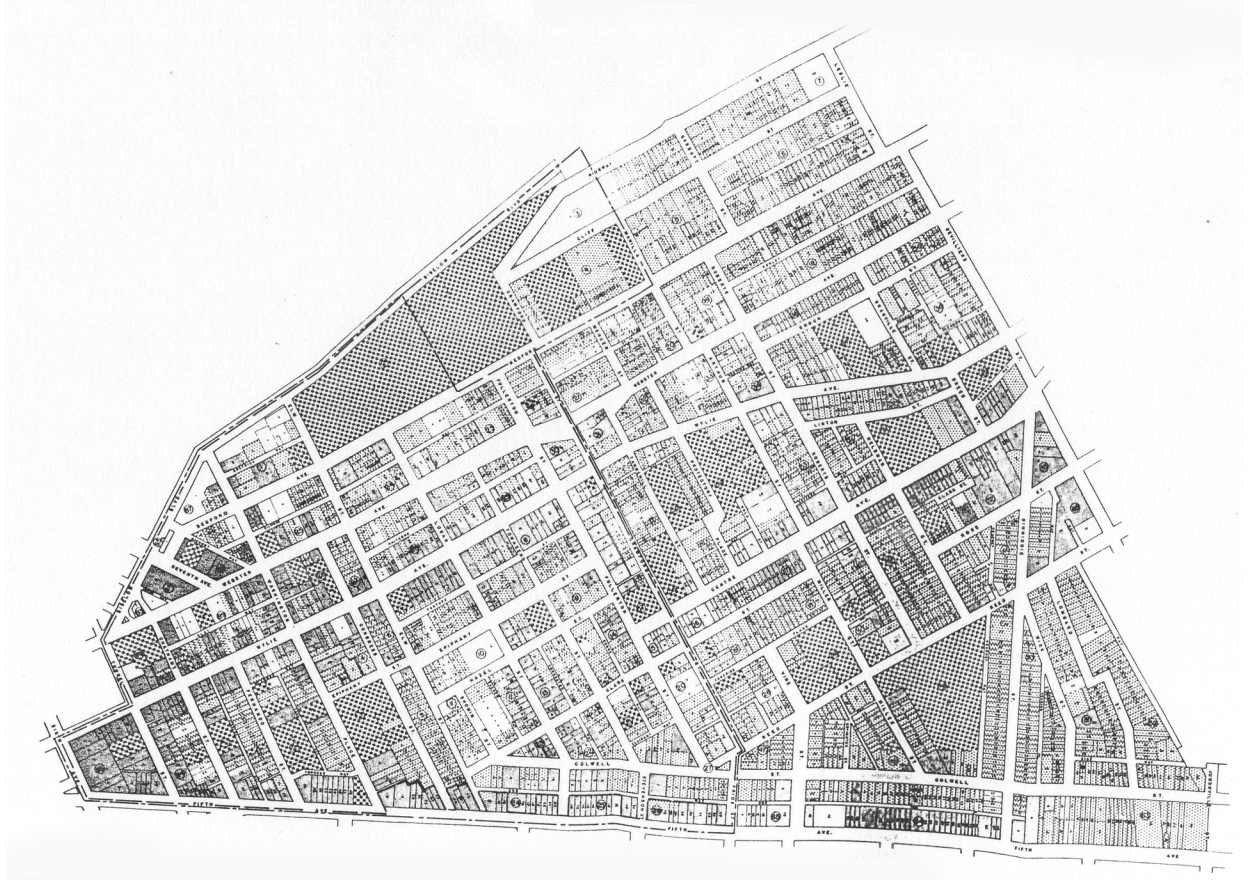
Project area with old streets shown on a 1954 map. (Photo from Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.)

[31] Harper, 293.

Project area with new layout shown on a 1953 map. (Photo from Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.)

This decision was not received well by the residents of the Hill District. Any community would be deeply scarred if one-third of the neighborhood would suddenly be marked for demolition and its residents evicted. There was not much resistance that the residents could put up, as all of the major powerbrokers of Pittsburgh were for this project. The residents had no option other than to leave when the time came. The majority of the residents being displaced were black, and all of the people making the decisions were white men. From the residents' perspective, this was seen as a blatant move that was steered by racial reasons, ridding this part of the city of any signs of black people and black culture. As a result of the demolition, the former residents had to scatter throughout the city. Many moved to other sections of

the Hill that remained untouched, the Upper Hill and Uptown. Others moved

to areas such as the North Side, Belzhoover, and Homewood-Brushton. No

new housing was immediately provided for those displaced residents. In fact,

this was a nationwide trend as less than twenty percent of all the urban

renewal land went for housing. The remaining eighty percent went to

commercial, industrial, and public infrastructures.[32] These radical changes

were painful to the Hill, as the former close-knit community was now

scattered, refugees strewn across Pittsburgh. Even with what was left, their

sense of community was further broken. The area is now divided between two

wards, the third and fifth, so there are two separate jurisdictions for many of

the utilities there.

New proposed street layout for Lower Hill in early 1950s. (Photo from Carnegie Library of

Pittsburgh.)

The Hill is now divided among five census tracts, it is not just listed as

the Hill District for government information. With divisions called Crawford-

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[32] Logan, 168.

Roberts, Bedford Dwellings, Middle Hill, Upper Hill, and Terrace Village, residents see this as another way in which the city lessens the impact of the Hill District in the city. Population and census data is analyzed by census tract, and the Hill loses the little clout that it has, when its people are further divided into five groups. This lessens the apparent importance of the neighborhood, when people see data that is divided into five small groups instead of one large district.

Another setback for the residents of the Hill District was the utter failure of the city's development in the area. As previously mentioned, very few of the modern architecture urban renewal projects from this time met with much success. Kahn's city, as well as projects in the South Side of Chicago and East St. Louis, Illinois, were also failed redevelopment projects that are currently being abandoned or torn down. Pittsburgh's case was no different, as few of the proposals made ever came to fruition. The cornerstone of the project, the Civic Arena was opened in 1961, but rarely used for its original purposes. Acoustical problems limited its use as a music arena.[33] It was built with a state-of-the-art retractable roof that rarely opened, turning the arena into a full-time enclosed stadium. The original concept that it be used mainly as an opera and arts venue is long forgotten. It still hosts sports events and concerts throughout the year, but adds little cultural flavor to the city, and most importantly to the neighborhood. No one attending Penguin hockey

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[33] Lubove, Roy. *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh: Government, Business, and Environmental Change* 132.

games stays around in the Hill District after the games. The activities of the arena are fully separate from the rest of the Hill. The original portrait of the arena being surrounded by parkland and new public institutions is a never-realized dream. Instead, the Mellon Arena now is situated in the middle of a parking lot wasteland, with no pedestrian-friendly access. None of the other aspects of the original plans were built, and now there are just a few scattered office towers on the entire site of the razed Lower Hill besides the arena.

The city did build some new housing there, but it was in the form of 594 new high-rent units, not meant for the displaced people from the Lower Hill.[34] One reason why more parts of the proposed cultural center were not built is that the major contributors to the funding of the project withheld any more money for the project. They did not want their cultural center to be built next to slums on the Lower Hill. They wanted complete redevelopment of the Hill to ensure a safe district for their cultural center.[35] That area most adjacent to Downtown is now long forgotten by most, except for Hill residents, as a former part of the Hill District. Now the Crosstown Boulevard and expressway, completed in 1964, is a nearly impenetrable barrier. Beyond that, there are new office buildings that continue the Downtown street grid, over which residential homes used to be located.

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[34] Lubove, Roy. *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh: Government, Business, and Environmental Change* 130.
[35] Lubove, Roy. *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh: Government, Business, and Environmental Change* 132.

The city was not easily deterred from continuing to plan for more ambitious projects that would be located throughout the Hill District. A main reason why the riots of April 1968 broke out in the Hill was that the residents did not want this destruction to go any further. The city had published plans in 1962 on redeveloping the Upper Hill, and the areas of the Lower Hill adjacent to the arena.[36] The residents drew the line at what is now Freedom Corner at the corner of Centre and Crawford. The people did not want any more renewal to take place east of that line, and wanted to have a voice in all future developments. The failure and dislike of the Civic Arena project showed that conventional urban renewal could not work on the Hill. There would be no further development past that line at that time as Mayor Pete Flaherty shifted the city's attention from improving the central core zone to the smaller, individual neighborhoods in the early 1970s, though later on there was more development on the eastern side of Crawford Street.[37] The failure of the policies were evident in a study that showed only 2,000 out of 14,000 acres in the city needing renewal were actually redeveloped.[38] 35,000 acres were ultimately renewable, and in 1971 it was estimated that it would take 120 years to implement the city's original plans.

This trend away from urban renewal was now a nationwide reality because of the many failed projects like those in Pittsburgh and Illinois. In

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[36] Department of City Planning. *1961 Annual Report: A City Rebuilds.* (Pittsburgh: City of Pittsburgh, 1962), 25.
[37] Lubove, Roy. *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh Volume 2: The Post-Steel Era.* 70.
[38] Jakle, 134.

1966, the Historic Preservation Act was passed into law.[39] There was now such a large amount of backlash against these radical changes that this was put into federal law. As the United States entered a more confrontational stage in the 1960s, many Americans felt that their heritage was being destroyed. Only after these citizens had gained a level of affluence did they decide to get involved with the preservation of their city centers.

After the destruction of the Lower Hill in the 1950s, the population of the Hill District steadily declined. The population of the Upper Hill fell from 5,880 in 1950 to 2,590 in 1990; Middle Hill fell from 14,900 to 2,800 with a minority population of 98.9%.[40] Lower Hill dropped from 17,330 to 2,450, and it is now called Crawford-Roberts in the census tracts. The community never recovered from the low point of the demolition of the Lower Hill.

There are a number of reasons for the massive population drop, but one that is of note here is deindustrialization. The decline in demand for domestic steel and higher pollution controls made it very hard for the old steel companies to continue operation at their old plants along the Pittsburgh rivers. During the 1970s and 1980s, the local economy crashed, with as many as 100,000 people losing their jobs in the Pittsburgh area. The Hill District was not directly hit as hard as other communities because it did not have a steel mill as the anchor of its employment base. But many of the residents of the

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[39] Rothman, Hal K. *The Greening of a Nation? Environmentalism in the United States Since 1945.* (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1998.), 52.
[40] Lubove, Roy. *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh Volume 2: The Post-Steel Era.* 154.

community did have mill jobs. The jobs at the mill were highly paid compared to other jobs at a similar skill level. Because there is no industry located within the boundaries of the Hill District, people had to go elsewhere such as the mills, to get these jobs. Now without the steel mills, the unemployment levels rose sharply in the neighborhood. This was a citywide problem, but without any local sources of employment, the workers in the Hill now had an increasingly tough time finding any decent employment anywhere.

The depopulation of the Hill District also led to a decline in the number of structures in the neighborhood as well. As people leave the area, and property is abandoned, the buildings fall into disrepair and the only eventual option is demolition. This results in the large number of empty lots that are now strewn across the Hill. The blocks which have large amounts of these lots were once thriving, dense centers of population. Now, the character has totally changed as a good number of lots on every street are now covered only with weeds and possibly some building remnants. When a few of the lots empty out, the value of the remaining lots on the block decreases, and there is a greater likelihood that more people will soon leave those neighboring units. This progression is what caused many of the areas of the Hill not affected by urban renewal to empty out as well. The loss of much of their community decreased the physical and social value of the remaining sections of the area.

The Hill District has recently attracted attention as an area of the city that has potential for current and future development. Beginning in the late 1980s, this became an attractive neighborhood to attempt to improve the stagnant living conditions there. Today's urban renewal projects are no longer is the type of developments that require the destruction of the neighborhood in order to make in progress. Now there is once again a focus on the opinion and history of the community itself, and how the new developments would alter its current state. In identifying problem areas of the city, statistics such as vacant lots and unemployment give some insight into the physical and social condition of the area. Consultation with the residents is also key in any new plans that are to be done. With input from the affected people, issues such as smaller housing units and personal outdoor private spaces are deemed necessary to address. Urban renewal of the past did not work, so this is a way to increase the chances of success with new plans. This smaller scale rehabilitation does not have as grand goals as prior attempts fifty years ago, but by working more closely on the personal level, there is more likelihood of a greater number of people accepting the changes. Organizations such as the Hill District Community Development Corporation, the Hill House Association, and the Hill District Civic Association now help with community involvement. But there is still a lot of work to be done. The University Center for Social and Urban Research reported in 1994 that Pittsburgh had the fourth highest poverty rate and the fourth largest difference

between black and white poverty rates among the fifty largest cities in the nation.[41]

A recent development in the Hill District is the Crawford Square project along Centre Avenue adjacent to Freedom Square. This project mixes low, medium, and high-end housing in small row houses and detached dwelling. The sale of tax credits allows for half of the development to be reserved for lower-income households, while other units have gone on sale for over $127,500. [42] Launched in 1991, Crawford Square is meant to be the catalyst for further development in the Hill. This layout follows more closely the traditional style of architecture in the Hill District, abandoned in the making of the housing projects. All the units are located in small clusters, and there is a reintroduction of a street grid system in the development. This revisiting of older and time-proven ideas is now recognized as imperative in development. The Department of City Planning states, "Crawford Square has been designed to be a part of a traditional neighborhood, while still reflecting the current aspirations of the community in serves."[43] This project has been as successful as any other project in the Hill during the past fifty years. The mix

[41] Lubove, Roy. *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh Volume 2: The Post-Steel Era.* 258.
[42] Lubove, Roy. *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh Volume 2: The Post-Steel Era.* 156.
[43] City of Pittsburgh Department of City Planning. *Comprehensive Plan: A guide for Public Policy in Support of a Shared Vision of Pittsburgh.* (Pittsburgh: City of Pittsburgh, 1993), 18.

of housing types also allows for a wider range of occupants in the area. People from all races and income levels live in this development. There is currently a waiting list of people wishing to move to this area of the Lower Hill. While much of the rest of the neighborhood remains plagued by empty lots, this section shows the first phase of what much of the rest of the area could become. It is still too early to tell if Crawford Square will sustain this level of demand or if will slide to one opposing end of the income scale, but so far the development has been a success in recent urban planning.

New homes of Crawford Square behind St. Benedict the Moor Church.

(Photo from Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.)

The history of the Hill District has been filled with many ups and downs throughout its nearly two hundred-year existence. The misinformed ideas of outsiders have done the most damage, while a progression of different

cultures and eras has naturally produced an eclectic combination of buildings and layouts that is there now. To understand the current physical state of the Hill, one needs to understand the different phases that the neighborhood has gone through over the years, and see how the Hill District has responded to those challenges.

Chapter 2

The African American Family

By

Rashad M. Gray

Family is an important part of our daily lives. It provides a support structure in an otherwise hectic world. Family is also where we learn about our history and our personal identity. Within our family structures, we learn to trust one another and are also taught the skills to interact with the rest of the world. Family is the basis for social order. Without family, it would be hard to exist in a civilized society. We learn right and wrong from our family. Our social mores are taught to us from an early age into adulthood by our family, whether spoken or learned through example. Within American culture, family is a symbol of strength and stability. It is the home of interpersonal relationships that define our lifestyle here in the U.S. The United States culture has adopted traditional views of a family, the "nuclear family," where there is a father, mother, and children. The father is considered the breadwinner and the head of the household, while the mother is the child bearer and the manager of the household. Though times have changed and these social niches have shifted, the ideological American view of the family is still the same.

Historians have adopted this model as the standard for judging the functionality of a family unit. And some historians have deemed these family models to be inferior. But as the world is becoming more multicultural, we are learning that there are similarities and difference in other cultures when it comes to defining families. In the African American culture, family has a little different meaning from the ideological reference of family in America. Within the African American culture, this framework extends to more than immediate family members. Cousin, aunts, uncles, grandparents, and even neighbors are considered important part of the immediate African American family life. Children who are cousins have more of a relationship of siblings and aunts, uncles, and grandparents act as surrogate parents. There is a larger support base in the traditional African American family. " It takes a village to raise children." And the community at this time firmly believed in this practice. Historians argue a lot of these ideas stem from the composition of families during slavery. Slaves on the plantation were often sold, breaking up "traditional" biological families. The slave culture, in order to soften the blow of separation of loved ones, expanded their familial support system, expanding their family niche to include those who would be considered secondary relatives in the traditional American view. Other historians argue that through the generations, while dealing with segregation and discrimination, this family structure is an adaptive measure to protect the continuity of "family." The family is a precious part of the African American community. No matter how a person lives his or her life, the bonds of family are always there and held in high regard. The definition of the African American family is not that of the nuclear family, but a more extensive web of relationships that transcends the American familial scope.

The Sociology of the Black Family

Life in the South was filled with both social inequity and economic disparity for the African American family. But this is where the commonality

amongst the black families ended. Just as in other cultures, there were economic and moral differences between the different social classes of the South within the African American community. In a study of the <u>Sociology of the Black Community</u>, W.E.B. Du Bois (1910) examines the social conditions of five black families from different economic backgrounds. What he discovered is that economics have a significant affect on family structures; there is a disparity in the numbers of national statistics and that of the African American community; and within the African American community there is a strong emphasis on religion and the "idea" of family. He assumed these traits of the black family stemmed from the African tradition. The design of an African American's family structure and composition may be derived from the slave model of the family. Du Bois believed that the practice of easy separation of family member for the slaves to adapt broader familial structures.

The health conditions of the African-American family were poor compared to the rest of the country. There also existed high rate of infant mortality within the community. Tuberculosis was a major heath concern for the African American community. It ravaged entire families, creating an epidemic. It was such a problem that many musicians wrote song about the problem. Infant mortality rates in the African American community were high, even high than the national average. In the first half of the first wave migration, the infant mortality rate in the African American community was about 147.9 per thousand births compared to 95.7 for every thousand nationally. The gap is due to social and medical reasons. For the African American family, medical service was not accessible as it is now. Blacks were not permitted in with hospitals in the south. And there was usually one doctor for a community (or county). Also many African American families couldn't afford medical care. Midwives attended many births for the community. In the north there was more access to medical facilities, but many could not afford the care.

Though family is an important entity of the black community, marriage was an arrangement that was a different institution in itself. An individual in the African American community was more likely to be single or in multiple marriages in a lifetime (Du Bois). Most sociologists argue that this trend is caused by economic and social reasons.

The fact that a majority of black Americans are not married and living in traditional nuclear family units does not necessarily imply a devaluation of marriage qua institution; it is often a function of limited opportunities to find acceptable individuals in an increasingly restricted and small pool of potential partners who can fulfill normally prescribed familial roles.
 (Staples and Johnson, 1993)

The fact that marriage rates in the African American community might cause one to speculate that is a cultural issue. But from surveys conducted from an economically depressed area that the main reason for lack of marriage is joblessness (Stack 1973, 1974). Finding a suitable mate, as in any culture, may be more difficult in the African American community due to the economic and social constraints.

Everyone in the African American family had a role in preserving the familial structure. The members of a family take an active role in the raising of children. When one individual cannot watch the children, another would take their place. When a child was hungry, someone would feed her. Even discipline of children was a community practice. This created a greater sense of community in African American neighborhoods. The neighbors and family members truly supported one another. The African American family viewed themselves as a part of a greater whole, in that everyone had a responsibility to help their neighbors. They treated each child of the neighborhood as their own. Family events were also community events, in a sense. When a family

would celebrate a cause, the entire neighborhood was involved. A family reunion would have all of the local neighbors of the community and members of other families attending. These traditions still exist today and are derived from the southern lifestyle. When the migration occurred, a lot of the immigrants brought this same lifestyle with them to the northern cities, instilling it into the future generations. Some sociologists argue that the community is an extension of the family, a common belief of African culture.

The Great Migration: The Émigré Family

The Great Migration is a significant point in African-American history. It shows the sacrifices of African-American families when they moved from the Deep South, over hundreds of miles, in order to live a better life. Many families sacrificed land, property, and jobs to live life without the subversive culture of the Jim Crow south. These immigrants moved for various reasons. Some believed that they would improve their economic status by moving north, or were infatuated with the fast pace of northern life; others wanted to live a better life and have rights. So they left family and friends behind to pursue this American dream. By wagon, car, and train they came to the urban cities for work. Upon arrival, they stayed with family, friends, and new houses to get established and settled into their new surroundings. Each wave of newcomers carried a distinct characteristic about their travel. Each new wave had a different experience in the urban north. These southern immigrants can be separated into different groups: The First Wave (1900's-1930's), The Second Wave (1940's-1960's), and the Third Wave (1960's-1980's). From examining the composition of the immigrants heading north, a large majority consisted of young men looking for work in industrial cities such as Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and in Pittsburgh. There was employment in the

manufacturing industry and mills, where they could make larger earnings. The first wave of immigrants began traveling north at the turn of the century. They began to move toward the northern cites from the Deep South (around 1900 and ending in 1930's) to escape the economic conditions. Most of the immigrants were farmers who worked the land as sharecroppers. Others saw the migration as an opportunity to leave the south due to its emerging Jim Crow laws which were established in most southern states beginning around 1889. This was also a time where there was a high level of racial attacks on African Americans in the southern states. Early in the 1900's, blacks were used in union disputes as strikebreakers. In Pittsburgh there was a high rate of this practice, especially with the union riots of 1909. They were hired only for a few days or weeks and eventually fired when the strike had ended. Some were able to take jobs in the mills, working in places where no else wanted to work, places once held by Slavs and Poles. Blacks had taken other jobs in the cities such as domestic service and other menial jobs. It was quite common that a person would have two or more jobs at one time to make ends meet. Other blacks who had already lived in the cities were not enthusiastic about the newcomers. They viewed a lot of the immigrants as being simple, plain, illiterate country bumpkins who would now compete for jobs. And this was true because a majority of those who were coming from the south had a trade or a skill, and it was easier for employers to hire them because they would not have to train them. Some black communities welcomed the newcomers because they believed it would spark business since a lot of locals were merchants and landlords. From the early migration, black urban populations jumped 200-300%.

The Great Depression marked a significant time for the African American family. It actually increased the number of migrant families to northern cities. In the south, where the economy was already in horrible shape, the jobs that were once held by the black community were now given to poor whites who had lost their jobs. Busboys, bellhops, domestics,

farmhands, and other lower forms of employment were given to poor whites, leaving a majority of the black community jobless. To save money, the wealthier white families fired their help, leaving a lot of black women without work Without work, families turned to their relatives in the north and began to migrate themselves to the cities. With the help of the New Deal programs and other federal assistance, a lot of these families were able to survive and find employment within the northern cities.

The second wave of immigrants came to the north in the shadows of World War II, in the wake of a great economic boom. Economically, the African American culture was still on the bottom rung within the southern economy. And the opening of jobs at the northern mills prompted more families to move. Within the wartime economy, the African American family improved economically with better jobs and more pay. This became a time for prosperity for the African American community, where money circulated in the shops and stores of the neighborhood. Family compositions were still the same. Although single parent families were on the rise in poorer communities, the paternally led household was the norm of this time period. The mother usually had another job to add extra income to the family's purse.

The second wave family brought the same traditions of the south with them to the north, but the transition to northern lives style was facilitated by there being so many families who had immigrated before them. They didn't have to create a community out of nothing because it was already established there. There was a higher level in comfort because they lived near relative sand friends from the south. The second wave adapted easily to the community, joining local churches, societies, and organizations. WWII had both positive and negative effects on the African American family. For the first time, the community felt that they were a part of something, a part of the national community. They became very proactive is supporting the war effort. The war had opened a lot of opportunities for the community. Blacks, who were at one time not able to work in certain positions, were now able to

assume new roles within the workplace. Community drives were quite common, as neighborhoods came together to support the war effort. Having a victory garden was quite common, and second nature for the African American community. Many of those former farmers who immigrated north had gardens anyway. Though the war had brought some good to the community, many of its men were drafted into service, adding stress to the family life. Sons and husbands were sent off to war, leaving some families in an economic predicament. War creates widows, and for a family that might not be economically sound, this could be a disaster. Other family members would pitch in for support.

History of the Family in a Changing Society

The children of the Great Migration are the first generation born out of the south. Their period in history is marked by great social change in American culture. This is the baby-boom generation. Their experience is unique, in that they have a duality with old world culture and new world ideas. This conflict adds to the external social dilemma of the world around them. This was the first complete generation who received a high school education. They seek to discover who they are and their place in the changing world. The first generation does not accept the social roles of their parents, and seek to affirm their own position in American society. Within the African American family, the first generation abandoned a lot of the beliefs of their parents, but held onto the familial structures and support system learned.

The period of the first generation was highlighted by three wars: WWII (not as much, as they were very young), Korea, and Vietnam. There was also a war at home with the social landscape of the Civil Rights Movement and Women's Liberation Movement. Social unrest was quite common, but mostly

in the homes, where parents and children constantly conflicted on the issues at hand. Many of the young men in this generation were drafted for war. In foreign lands, they fought for a country where their own rights are subjugated. They come home disillusioned about their role in society and their relationships in their own homes. Women are dealing with the fact that they cannot advance themselves and are tied to archaic rules of the female role and gender norms. Secondary education was rare after graduation from high school. And the only jobs available for women were those as typist, nurses, and teachers. Women were not supported to become anything more. Within the African American community, unemployment was high due to the failure of many companies and the changing economy. The rate of growth had leveled off, particularly in the manufacturing industry, leaving large segments of the population jobless. Most young men and women could not afford college, and after graduation, began to immediately look for work. Through all of this tension, the first generation sought to carve its place in American society.

The conflict between old world and new world created tension within the African American family. Old world values prescribed a certain way of handling situations. They address problems, especially social problems, in the manner they would have in the south. Things were the way they were, and little will change; even if they hoped for the better. The first generation refused to accept this rationale because they saw their world changing before their eyes and believed they could affect the outcome. They never lived under the harsh life of the south, and sought to understand why conditions were that bad. Parents tried to impress the southern values on their children, but were surprised to find them rejected. The youth also saw the unjustness of their own neighborhoods, and the poor conditions where they lived. They saw how hard their parent worked and wanted better. The impetuousness of youth and the patience of age created a void between The Great Migration and the First Generation.

The Civil Rights movement, Vietnam, and Women's Liberation were the key social issues of this era. They touched every home of the African American family. The Civil Rights movement was the forefront of the African American community. Its issues dealt with the north as well as the south. The south was marked by the signs of Jim Crow laws which an entire population. A majority of African American families in the North still had relatives who still resided in the southern states and suffered through those conditions. The topic created tension within the home because the elder generation could not understand the methods of the protestors. Their children watched and supported the movement, as many volunteered against the wishes of their parent to help voting drives and marches. The parents and the children had hope as their point of commonality. Both parents and children supported the movement in their own way. Vietnam was also a common point in the African American community. Every family had at least one member of their family drafted for the war. The men who were drafted were the boys from the neighborhood, someone's brother, a relative, or a friend. Vietnam broke the innocence of the youth of the African American community. Although the African American community represents a small percentage of the U.S. population, and large number of black men were sent to the front lines. This left a disturbing effect for those just graduating from high school and their families who feel shadowed by war.

A Cultural Revolution and Redefinition with the Family

Due to the social conflicts of the first generation, a re-definition of family and culture occurred within the African American community. The first generation began to put more emphasis on their ancestry in Africa and took on an Afro-centric viewpoint. They discarded the belief system of traditional

America and their parents to find answers in their past. They wanted to show pride in their heritage and their community. People took on afro-centric names and named their children likewise. They began to try to redefine or rediscover black culture that was lost to the community from the times of slavery. Alienation from society facilitated this movement (Warren, 1975), as the social conscience community looked to their ancestry for inspiration. Family developed a sense of consciousness of its relation to the world. Families were optimistic and had hopes for a future for their children.

Women in the African American Family

Women in the black community have always taken a role in earning money for the family. Women have worked outside of the home for generations. Their role, however, was limited to menial labor such as cooks, nannies, etc. With improved education and the removal of social restrictions, more women became active in the workforce. This provided more income for the family. Women have always been an integral part of the family. But over time, their role changed within the household hierarchy. There have always been female-headed households in society, but the percentage had been relatively smaller in comparison to two parent families. In time, whether due to ended relationships, wars, or divorce, female-headed households became more common in the cultural landscape. This trend was definitely on the rise within the African American community. The rates of African American single mothers had always been higher than the national average (See W.E.B. Dubois: On Sociology and the Black Community). The Women's Liberation movement broke a lot of stereotypes within the African American household. Although women for a long time within the African American community have had an important role, it has always been secondary to the male head of the

family. Women now began to assert themselves by taking a stronger role within the family. In periods where there may be unemployment, women are usually the sole breadwinners and carry more economic clout. They also have stepped out of the more domestic role and pursued employment. Young women are now opening themselves to more option for careers, education, and family.

> For the Black community… most of the Black gains (in the past 20 years) in the areas of education, occupations, income, health, and literature were achieved by women.
> (Staples and Johnson, 1993)

There are also a lot more single headed households than before. More women are working and raising families by themselves. A lot of women would not be able to do this if it was not for the familial structure. Other family members would step in to help the single mothers as they worked to support their family. As more and more single motherhood surfaced, the definition of family began to change in the African American community. No longer was a father the symbol of strength in the household. The mother took on the role of provider, comforter, and disciplinarian. With the new wave of single motherhood comes the greater possibility of more families living in poverty. So a lot of these single families had to struggle even with the familial support system. The benefit of the familial network allowed the single mothers to earn a living. We learn, however, that elements with in the community slowly dissolved some of these family networks, and created greater hardships for the family.

The Effects of Unemployment, Urban Renewal, and Drugs on the Black Family

Unemployment continued to rise, hitting the African American community hard. Companies which once employed the urban center had left the communities for mergers or foreign soil. This left thousands of workers unemployed in the cities, forcing many families to move. This trend did not apply for black families, which were restricted to their neighborhoods by social barriers. As the unemployment increased, many sought other sources of income. Some individuals began to be involved with crime. The first generation saw the introduction and rampant growth of drugs and gangs in to the African American community. Many young men developed drug habits while serving overseas. A large number of youths became disenfranchised with their families and poverty, eventually turning to neighborhood gangs for support. Gangs operated as surrogate family for the disenfranchised youth.

As drugs became more prevalent in the national community, so did it in the scope of the African American family.   Drugs in the African American community were used to sterilize the harsh conditions that existed there. However, it wore at the already fragile foundation of the community. Drugs affect every community across the country. But the effects of drugs on the black family proved much more damaging than the national trends. During the 1970's, under depressed economic conditions and joblessness, drug use in the black community increased dramatically. Resources that were supposed to be allocated to sustain the family were now going to the local drug dealer, making the running of a household much more difficult. Dependency also affected the relationships within the family. Those close-knit bonds that supported the family were being worn away by drug use. This was especially

evident in the relationship between parent and child. As one would expect, the drug use would create a barrier between parent and child, affecting their overall relationship.

Urban renewal may have been one of the greatest setbacks for the African American community and hindrance for the family. Urban renewal destroyed neighborhoods, which had rich histories and safe environments for children. It also removed property from African American families where some actually owned homes and shops. Whole neighborhoods were wiped out and families were relocated to various housing projects and low income living across the cities. It destroyed the support structure between neighbors and killed economies for the neighborhoods. It created a system of isolation and segregation whose effects are still felt today. The African American family, who at one time were living in the same neighborhood as other relatives, were now systematically spread across town, surrounded by strangers. It broke down a lot of the security of familial structures and relationships in place before urban renewal.

History of Revival

It can be said that the following generation of African American community was the first generation expected to succeed. It was the first generation to face fewer barriers than their parents and grandparents had. They attended high schools that were not segregated by race. Some have taken advantage of educational opportunities, with more of their generation attending colleges than previous generations. They also were born in an age when drugs and gangs were prevalent in their community. They sought to understand themselves in a multicultural world as they learn about their ancestry and the importance of family. This is a generation where there is truly an established middle class for the African American family. The hard work of their parents has brought a higher level of economic security for some in this generation. The others in the community are still beneath the poverty

level, trying desperately to succeed. This is also the first generation to show a great economic gap between the economically sound and depressed. However, economics does not determine family.

It is the individuals that make up the family. Models can represent the structure of a family, but it is the relationships that create cohesiveness. The history of the African American community is the history of families who supported one another.

Chapter 3

Communities

by

David Anderson

Communities are not just buildings, nor just people. They are an integrated mixture of elements that interact creatively to produce good neighborhoods and bad neighborhoods. The Hill District of Pittsburgh is an instructive example of how the built environment and the social structures that emerge from the built environment influence a neighborhood and its future. This analysis will be conducted from a new urbanist perspective.

New Urbanism is a school of thought concerning architecture and urban planning. It has emerged over the past fifteen years in response to raze and raise policies of urban renewal mega-projects that had been the staple of urban renewal intentions since the end of the First World War. Mega projects were usually conceived by the elites of a region with the intentions of producing unspecified cultural benefits, improved transportation routes, or grandiose economic improvements. The projects often required the

demolition of previously existing neighborhoods if they occurred within a central city, or the extension of transportation axes into previously productive agricultural lands.[44]

One of the central design philosophies of the older style of urban planning and renewal was the idea that transportation requires routes and access, and is not particularly focused on the destinations. This has led to a large degree of dependence upon the automobile and its attendant infrastructure, such as roadways, wide streets, parking facilities and traffic regulation devices.[45] Cities are fragmented and divided by cross town expressways that lead to almost nowhere and economic vitality is lost as the most prosperous citizens of center cities leave on newly constructed and subsidized highways to apparently cheaper, but still subsidized, new lands and suburban subdivisions that grow like ringworm infections around any industrial city.[46] The automobile drains the life of the central city.

Pittsburgh has had several waves of urban renewal during the twentieth century. The first wave of urban renewal was an elitist inspired attempt to create sanitary conditions through the creation of the Allegheny County Sanitation Commission, a sewage treatment authority, and also through the creation of the four major parks in the city of Pittsburgh. The renewal was primarily on the outskirts of the then expanding city. The Hill

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[44] Listokin, David. "Living Cities" Priority Press Publications; New York, 1985, Chapter 1

[45] ibid, pp. 33-43

[46] Eugene S. Uyeki *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 69, No. 5. (Mar., 1964), pp. 491-498.

District was not dramatically affected by it except for the minor construction that was required for the installation of new sewer lines.

The second major wave of urban renewal took place immediately after the Second World War. It was called the Pittsburgh Renaissance and it was entirely different in its character. David L. Lawrence, then the mayor of Pittsburgh, in conjunction with the elite-dominated Allegheny Conference, conceived of a plan to rebuild the Point area of the downtown, create new cultural spaces, erect a cutting edge arena, build a large international airport, and construct several major highways.[47] All of these projects were worthwhile in and of themselves, but they were implemented in a heavy handed manner. The primary philosophy behind the construction of these projects was that urban renewal was "to rehabilitate areas on the downgrade which can still be saved and to clear areas that are far gone."[48]

The Renaissance led to the construction of the Point State Park, the clearing of the rail yards in the Golden Triangle district of the Downtown, construction of the first international airport in southwestern Pennsylvania, construction of the state funded Lincoln Expressway(now I-376) and the erection of the Civic Arena in the Lower Hill District. Besides these

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[47] The Point: Mayor Lawrence on Urban Design, speech at Harvard University, May, 1956
http://www.clpgh.org/exhibit/neighborhoods/point/point_n102.html accessed on December 7, 2001

[48] Richard L. Steiner *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 31, No. 1, Corporate Citizenship; Concepts, Experiences, Education. (Sep., 1957), pp. 12-15

construction projects, the city greatly reduced air and water pollution through new regulations and treatment facilities.[49]

The Lower Hill was an area of the Hill District that comprised approximately eighty blocks and one hundred and five acres. In 1955, there were approximately 8,000 people living within this area, which produces a population density of approximately of slightly under fifty thousand people per square mile.[50] The area was extremely dense and crowded. The population was racially mixed, with approximately one third of the residents white, and the great majority of the remainder African American. Poverty was common in the area, as approximately three quarters of the population were eligible for at least government assistance for housing if not completely subsidized housing.[51]

The building stock of the Hill District was varied in its states of repair and its designs. The majority of the commercial buildings that bordered Centre and Wylie Avenues were low slung buildings with fairly deep interiors. These buildings were often subdivided into a number of smaller shops and offices. The vast majority of the buildings had two or three stories, and it was

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[49] The Point: Mayor Lawrence on Urban Design, speech at Harvard University, May, 1956
http://www.clpgh.org/exhibit/neighborhoods/point/point_n102.html accessed on December 7, 2001
[50] Sawyer, Roland. "A Home to Go to" Pittsburgh Quote, June 1955
http://www.clpgh.org/exhibit/neighborhoods/hill/hill_n42.html accessed on December 13, 2001
[51] Ibid

quite common for the upper floors to contain a mixture of residential apartments, temporary rooms and small offices. The residential housing stock of the Hill District during the 1950s was characterized by the elites as consisting of slums. However, this characterization is only partially true. The housing was extremely dense and crowded, with a proliferation of attached multi-family frame and balloon houses that served as tenements. Additionally, in the older areas of the Hill District, there were plenty of small, owner built and occupied detached single family homes that occupied extremely small plots of land. Few residential buildings had porches but most buildings had stoops and projecting stairs that people would often congregate around. The common theme was that the entire area was densely built and heavily occupied.

In 1955, the Hill District was a vital community with several main avenues that supported a variety of commercial enterprises. These enterprises included a wide variety of groceries and haberdasheries, barber shops, bars, jazz and nightclubs, and small, proprietor owned professional offices for doctors, lawyers and accountants. These avenues, including Wylie and Centre and Fifth Avenue, connected the Hill District to the rest of the East End of Pittsburgh. The Hill was critical if people wanted to move from the downtown area into the East End neighborhoods of Shadyside, Oakland, Squirrel Hill and East Liberty. The Hill served as a transportation nexus, with

easy access to the industrial South Side, the commercial Golden Triangle, the merchant Strip District and the residential East End neighborhoods. [52]

The Hill had a very dense transportation infrastructure during the 1950s. There were four main arterial roads that ran roughly from the west, southwest to the east, northeast. These four streets were wide enough for one car to pass in each direction while the streets were double parked.[53] These streets were frequently crosshatched by side streets that went generally north to south. These streets were significantly smaller and narrower than the arterial streets. Additionally, these streets were primarily residential. The street grid of the Hill District, Lower, Middle and Upper, was a series of fairly regular polygons that tilted on a southwest to northeast axis.

These small blocks, combined with the Hill's high density, produced a great deal of vitality from their frequent intersections and odd angles. The Hill District possessed a self-contained service economy before the Renaissance construction took place. The vast majority of the industrial jobs were located outside of the neighborhood in either the rail yards of the Strip District, or in the steel mills lining both banks of the Monongahela River. The integrated service economy, the high population density of the entire Hill District, the small blocks and short streets led to many people seeing walking as their

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[52] WQED Pittsburgh History Teachers Series
http://www.wqed.org/erc/pghist/units/WPAhist/img/oldpghmaps/1937_pgh_map.pdf accessed on December 13, 2001
[53] ibid
http://www.wqed.org/erc/pghist/units/WPAhist/img/oldpghmaps/1937_pgh_map.pdf accessed on December 13, 2001

most efficient intra-neighborhood transportation option.   Most goods and services could be obtained within a third of a mile walk of any location.

Walking produced communities of random interactions that occurred frequently. It was not uncommon for a person to interact with a dozen people during a walk to a corner grocery store for a loaf of bread. These interactions were unplanned and often quasi-anonymous. A person may have known who someone else was by reputation or by mutual friendships, but he or she also knew the person as the one who always walked past a street corner at a certain time.[54] A sense of community and ownership of the environment was shared by the residents of the Hill District because there were very few true strangers. This is one of the goals of the New Urbanist movement, to recreate environments where people can easily walk to the majority of their daily lives, and run into other people.

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[54] Listokin, David. "Living Cities" Priority Press Publications; New York, 1985

Chapter 4
The Hill House:

Past and Present

by

Chad Harper

Introduction

In order to understand the structure and programs of the Hill House, one must first go to its roots. The Hill District, having a colorful and extensive history, is a culmination of all of the different races and religions that have graced its streets and called the Hill home. One of the best known community buildings, past or present, is the Irene Kaufmann Settlement. Having been a landmark of community organization from the early 1900's into its demolition in the 1960's, the Irene Kaufmann Settlement represents all of the ideals and hopes that the Hill House now pursues. The Irene Kaufman House witnessed great change as one wave of people replaced another, and is a good example of how a community house should adjust to the environment around it.

In much the same light, the Hill District is now witnessing an insurgence of middle and upper/middle class inhabitants who are moving into new housing in the area. These new housing projects are a keystone to replacing the tattered remains of old buildings and the reputation of a run down and in many ways neglected community. The Hill House will have to

recognize the needs of this community and balance that with the needs of families who have called the Hill their home for many years, sometimes generations. Although the two buildings existed in different time periods, their motives and drive to improve the Hill District are the same. These similarities will link the two buildings in a common battle to raise the standard of living in the Hill District.

Origins of the Irene Kaufmann Settlement

In 1889, the Hill district was the home of many Russian immigrants, the majority of whom were Jewish. As a religious and community leader in the community, Rabbi Lippman Mayer sponsored lectures on American life for the Russian immigrants who were arriving in Pittsburgh. Through these meetings, Rabbi Mayer observed that these immigrants lacked some of basic skills that would be essential for everyday life in America. From these beginnings, he founded the Russian school, and with the help of three medical students, he taught reading and writing classes in the basement of Rodef Shalom. Many more of the Russian men had a need to learn these skills, and it was necessary to move the venue of the Russian School from Rodef Shalom to another building on Fifth Avenue. Although the Russian School taught the basic skills of reading and writing to men, it did not acknowledge the needs of women in the Hill.

Recognizing this void, a group of women from Rodef Shalom, led by Pauline Rosenberg, started the Columbian Council. Although the general premise of the Columbian Council was based upon other Hebrew women's societies in the United States, the door-to-door community approach to facilitating the needs of women was a new concept. The Columbian Council wanted to raise the lifestyle and social status of the poorer women in the community. They did this by going door to door promoting their literacy and social improvement classes. Along with providing reading and writing courses for women, there were religious and social programs that taught " Bible stories, morals, politeness and social graces." These classes were attended by poorer women in the Hill and were held on the third floor of a Logan Street Building. A small core of young affluent women volunteered as teachers for these courses. As at the Russian school, there was a great

demand for the classes offered by the Columbian Council, and soon enrollment exceeded 120 students.

Inspired by other women's organizations, Mrs. A. Leo Weil led the push for a Kaufmann Settlement in the Hill District. This house would allow all of the social programs and the schools hosted by the Columbian Counsel to be housed under one roof. To this end, the Council rented an entire house at 32 Townsend Street, and furnished it with donated couches and desks. The building, called the Columbian Council Kaufmann Settlement, worked as a community center to bring all of the needs of the Hill District's women into one building.[55]

Although both of these organizations have their roots in Rodef Shalom, their causes were not formally united until 1887. Rabbi Mayer, seeing the common thread between the two organizations, requested that the two be merged under the Columbian Council Kaufmann Settlement. Following the merger, evening classes were held for all immigrant citizens of the Hill, and Settlement membership reached new heights.

Role in the Community

The purpose of these programs, while providing educational services, was to improve the self worth of their clients. By teaching the immigrants skills and literacy, the organizations sought to place their students in a position to work and compete with other Pittsburgh inhabitants for jobs. The Columbian Council also took an active part in enriching the lives of not just women, but their families. In many ways, the Columbian Council pushed the assimilation process along as quickly as it could.

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[55] Feldman, Jacob, The Jewish Experience in Western Pennsylvania, The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania, 1986.

These programs in the 1890's really set the blueprint of community organization in the Hill District. It is important to realize that these kinds of programs for working immigrants, whether it was reading or sewing, were not readily available outside of the hospices of the Kaufmann Settlement until 1906. Even today the Hill House provides services that probably would not be accessible otherwise, in order to enrich the community and its inhabitants.

Social Undertones

It is not surprising that these programs found such a large number of participants for it. The Russian Socialists were a well-represented sect, and a program that enhanced the lives of the impoverished and hard working people of the Hill would fit right into the socialist movement. A program that sought to raise the social status of these immigrants would definitely play into the interests and motivations of this sect.

The Irene Kaufmann Settlement

Due to the growing popularity and therefore increase in participants for the Columbian Council Kaufmann Settlement, the necessity for more space took the Kaufmann Settlement to a new building. The new larger building, located at 1835 Centre Avenue, was converted into the new Columbian Council Kaufmann Settlement in 1900. The volunteer teaching staff of the Kaufmann Settlement now reached fifty-eight and there were a great number of courses offered by the new and improved Kaufmann Settlement. A large donation from Alexander Peacock for an annex that would house an "assembly hall, and a bathhouse with ten showers, three bathtubs, a swimming pool, and a baby pool" made the Kaufmann Settlement even more involved in the everyday lives of the Russian Jewry in the Hill District.

Unfortunately, the Columbian Council Kaufmann Settlement was becoming run down with use, and the organizers were having trouble keeping up with repairs. Due to the low cost of membership coupled with the cost of providing such a broad variety of programs, the settlement could not afford to overhaul the building. Instead, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Kaufman, of the Kaufman's department store, made a donation for a new building to be built in their late daughter's name.

So in 1911, with much fanfare and suspense, the Irene Kaufman Settlement was completed on the site of the previous Kaufmann Settlement at 1835 Centre Avenue. However, many of the original women from the Columbian Council did not like the new direction of the Settlement, and probably did not like the name change of the Kaufmann Settlement either. The new building contained four stories of space, and the Peacock annex was enlarged and still was a part of the Kaufmann Settlement.

Role in the Community

The Irene Kaufmann Settlement (IKS) breathed new life into the community, and heightened the ability of the now 150 volunteers to reach a larger part of the community. The increase in room and volunteers also allowed the IKS to administer more courses that taught a specific trade or skill. The IKS also acted as a haven for artistic expression and frequently held plays and musicals in its large auditorium.

The Irene Kaufmann Settlement was much more than just a place where courses were offered, it was a true community center. Even though the origins of the Settlement were from just two organizations, now the Kaufmann Settlement had meeting rooms for several local organizations that had religious, social, and political motivations. This is much like the Hill House that hosts many community meetings while still housing several organizations under one roof.

Community Organizations

Although many organizations of the time had community enrichment in mind, none took a greater part in community interests as did the Association for the Improvement of the Social Conditions of the Hill District. This organization mainly wanted to improve the social interests of the Hill. As concerned citizens, the members hoped to make the Hill a safer and wholesome place. There were many things on their agenda such as censoring picture shows, and even "securing justice for the Negroes."

The fact that one of their motives was to secure justice for African Americans is very surprising. Although the Hill was beginning to see more and more African Americans move to the area, I am surprised to see that this non-black organization would even put such beliefs in writing. However, this

type of community protection and unity beyond racial lines is one of the great things about this community throughout the early and mid twentieth century.

Religious Undertones

It is surprising how well the Irene Kaufman Organization, the controlling group of the Kaufmann Settlement, maintained good relationships with almost all of the Jewish religious sects. While not catering or leaning to one particular group of Russian Jewry, the Irene Kaufmann Settlement had to be aware of the many beliefs and sects within the community. Many Orthodox Jews were uncomfortable with the assimilation process that the

Settlement promoted. However, the IKS held many classes that were strictly in Yiddish and taught courses in Russian History as well as American. Apparently, this was enough to keep the Orthodox sect satisfied. The Reform Jews on the other hand never really took much issue with the teachings and programs of the IKS.

IKS (1930-1950): Black Insurgence

Despite the nice atmosphere that the IKS provided the community, many middle class families moved out of the Hill District, due to the deteriorating houses and lifestyle that was now prevalent throughout the community. African Americans, needing shelter and having a necessity to live near many jobs, found these vacancies and area to be ideal. The Hill District, finding itself saturated with African American families, was now a hustling and bustling haven for black interests and social needs. For this reason, the Irene

Kaufman house was finding that it had to provide for the needs of African Americans as well as its Jewish clients.

Role in the Community

As I mentioned in the Introduction, the IKS is a shining example of how a community center should adjust to changes in the community. Despite the fact that many of its Jewish clients had moved out of the Hill District, the IKS still functioned as a community center and provided the same services to African Americans as it had the Russian Jewry of the not to long before these changes occurred. The mission statement of the Irene Kaufmann Settlement shows the exact stance that the Kaufmann Settlement took in the mid-twentieth century:

> The Irene Kaufmann Settlement offers the membership these opportunities: first, make friends, wholesome fun and pleasure in settlement activities; second, to learn mutual understanding and cooperation through play; third, to learn to exercise leadership in our community which will bring about better understanding, relationships, and attitudes between people of different religions, cultures and races; fourth, to work for human values and democratic ideals through a democratic instrumentality.[56]

It is obvious to see that the leaders of the Kaufmann Settlement had no intention of turning their backs on the Hill District community. If anything, the IKS hoped to secure unity throughout the different races of the community.

However, this mission statement apparently was hard to implement. There are many documents that show the conflict of linking the faculty with the African American members of the IKS. After conducting a self-study of its programs, the IKS made a concerted effort to educate the faculty in order to help them be more sensitive to the needs of the African American members.

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[56] "Irene Kaufman Kaufmann Settlement Brochure 1949," University of Pittsburgh Archive Center; 63:1 Box 7 Folder 46.

There was concern on the part of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropists that the Kaufmann Settlement, which the Federation helped fund, was not administering their recreational and educational services to the Jewish community. By now the Jewish community in the Hill was almost non-existent and less then a fourth of the IKS members were Jewish. In order to satisfy the concerns of the Federation, the IKS opened two Irene Kaufman centers, the Squirrel Hill center and the East End center.

Role of Community Organizations

The Hill District Community Council did extensive work in the Hill District in the 1930's and early 1940's. The HDCC was broken up into several sub-committees, so that their members could go to the branch that best suited their skills and desires. There were several branches such as the Clean Up Committee that dealt with keeping the streets of the Hill clean. However, the most important committee was the Youth committee, which focused its efforts on giving the youths activities and facilities in order to keep them off of the street. The Youth committee worked with schools and parks in order to set up after-school programs, as well as, playgrounds that would keep the kids out of trouble.

This concept of getting kids off of the streets was also on the agenda of the IKS, which went door to door trying to recruit youths into joining the Kaufmann Settlement. It was believed that the young children of the Hill District just needed to be informed about the programs at the Kaufmann Settlement, and they would join. Even though this program of going door to door was successful in raising the number of adult memberships, the Kaufmann Settlement saw very little increase in youth involvement.

The End of the Irene Kaufmann Settlement House

Although the Harlem Renaissance was in full swing in the Hill District, many Pittsburgh politicians viewed the Hill as a haven for slums and low lifes. Due to this belief, the city pursued a program of relocating occupants in the lower Hill area into public housing. Under the U.S. Housing Act, the politicians setup several public housing projects in the Hill including Terrace Village 1 and 2, and the Bedford Dwellings. Unfortunately, many of the inhabitants in the lower Hill decided to move out of the Hill altogether, which weakened the strength of the community considerably. Although some of the black families in the lower Hill were among those that moved out of the area, a majority of the families that moved out of the Hill were foreign born. Many of the foreign born families looked down on and in many ways feared the idea of public housing, which fueled their motivations to move elsewhere in the city.

With the influx of African Americans into the area during the great migration from the South, combined with an exodus of immigrants from the Hill District, the Irene Kaufmann Settlement House leaders found it difficult to adapt to the changes in the people and the neighborhood around it. The racial makeup of the staff of the Kaufmann Settlement did not reflect the changing demographics of the Hill during the 1940's through the 1960's. In many ways, the differences between the staff and the clientele led to the eventual change in leadership of the Kaufmann Settlement, as it eventually became the more Afro-Centric Anna B. Heldman Settlement.

The Creation of the Hill House Association

Several community organizations provided social services during the period between the end of the Kaufmann Settlement and the beginning of the Hill House. The Soho Community Center, the Hill City Youth Municipality, and the Anna Bea Helman Settlement were the primary local community organizations that provided social services to the Hill area following the end of the Kaufmann Settlement. The one aspect of these three community centers

that set them apart from the Kaufmann Settlement is that their programs were primarily afro-centric. However, these local agencies were providing similar programs and services, and there was an issue of efficiency.

Realizing that their social service efforts might become stronger if they joined forces, these three organizations joined in 1964 to become the Hill House Association. Like the concept of the Collaborative, the joining of these organizations was probably strongly motivated by fundors. As opposed to funding several different programs in the area, the fundors could now exclusively fund one. Then in 1974 the current Hill House was built, and the community truly had a one-stop place for all of their social service needs.

Hill House (1974 – 1990's)

Since the joining of these agencies, the Hill House has served a dual purpose. On one hand the Hill House acts as an office building and houses many different organizations. On the other hand, the Hill House plans many of its own programs which include after school programs, summer camp program, a program for young mothers, a program for young fathers, and a number of similar programs are managed by the Hill House. One of these programs under the umbrella of the Hill House is the Hill District Community Collaborative.

The Hill House has an integral role in the day to day happenings of the Hill. Almost all of the community organizations are linked to the Hill House association in one way or another. The Hill House Association is influential in community issues, implementation of social services in the area, and in the role of the Hill District as a contributing role in the city of Pittsburgh.

The Hill House today still exemplifies the beliefs and motivations of the Columbian Council Kaufmann Settlement.   The people who live in the

neighborhood are given an outlet to voice their opinions on what is going on around them. Several of the organizations are trying to correct the downward spiral that the Hill District is following. They are reversing the downward process by setting up programs and projects that are assisting in redefining the reputation and even the face of the Hill. Like the IKS, the Hill House gives these organizations a common meeting place within the community, which improves community participation.

The Community Collaborative program links all of these services and programs in the Hill House with the people of the community. Due to the unfortunate circumstances that many of the people in the Hill live in, it is important to have a program that brings many services right into their neighborhood. The Collaborative, while it is only one of the many organizations in the Hill, is very vital to the everyday lives of the people within the Hill, directly or indirectly.

Conclusion

It is easy to see how the Hill House is carrying on the traditions of the IKS. Both are community centers that seek to bring the community closer together while bringing social and educational programs to those who would otherwise lack access to them. Although, the research of this paper is incomplete, I hope that this has been able to show the link between the past and present community organizations in the hopes that maybe we can use some of the old philosophies and place them into current applications.

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Chapter 5

Illegal Drugs: Markets, Crime and Chronological Use Patterns

by

Luis Carvajal

Illegal Drugs: Markets, Crime and Chronological Use Patterns

Despite the turmoil and controversy surrounding illegal drugs like cocaine, crack, or heroin, in the end they are simply goods that are bought and sold through a market. These goods generate a great amount of revenue, being literally worth their weight in gold.[i] These lucrative markets are characterized by "small, short-lived, vertically un-integrated and technologically unsophisticated sole proprietorships which generate great violence and disorder."[ii] One can identify patterns of use by examining the fluctuation in prices of illicit drugs. These patterns can then be fit to trends in drug availability, or in the waxing and waning of drug enforcement policy. Illicit drugs will be examined here by considering three aspects: the establishment and propagation of drug markets; crimes stemming from these markets through the changing role of dealers; and their impact on changing the nature of distributors and in drug markets.

The Cocaine Market and the Introduction of Crack

Drug dealing is in essence a business. Manufacturers create and directly distribute or sell new goods to dealers, who then sell the goods to consumers either by employing others or selling directly. The government causes a price increase by prohibition, and the prices further vary with consumer trends and location. The main reason drug markets flourish is the possibility for a great amount of revenue with little overhead and training, providing an easy and profitable economic out.

Before crack cocaine entered the drug market in the 1980s and changed its very nature, powder cocaine was one of the dominant drugs in the illegal drug market.

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Cocaine entered the drug scene in the as a glamour drug in the 1970s. It was expensive and so reserved to those who could afford. As such, it seemed to carry an aura of being a drug used by the celebrity, the rock star. This relegated the use of cocaine to middle and upper income users, although the flow may have come from poorer areas. But although cocaine may have entered ghettos, the flow of goods carried it out and did not concentrate it there. And with time, cocaine became used more and more by a middle class market whose cohort size was extraordinarily large: the Baby Boomers.

And the Colombian cocaine production machine worked hard to meet the demands of this American market that seemed to constantly clamor for more. By 1974, 5.4 million Americans reported having tried powder cocaine at least once; this figure would grow to almost four times that much in the next ten years, with the early 1980s showing that 1 in 11 Americans had tried cocaine.[iii] The cartels responded to this huge demand by increasing their production from about 25 tons to *125* tons in from 1970to 1980; prices reflected this increase by dropping price from $60,000/kilo to about $15-20,000/kilo.[iv]

But this would quickly change by the mid '80s. Many of these users soon began to realize that cocaine was anything but a benign drug. Cocaine hotlines had managed to make it well known that cocaine was highly addictive. Two well publicized examples showing the destructive potential of cocaine were the deaths of sport stars Len Bias and Don Rogers in 1986. This resulted in a sharp decline in reported usage of cocaine. Those aged 18-25 who reported having used declined from 9.3% to 4.5 from 1979 to 1988.[v]

The sudden drop off of the middle class consumers did not put an end to the successful sale of cocaine, however. With the decline of this consumer base, drug cartels

instead focused their energies on marketing something new. It had been discovered that one could use baking soda and ether to "cook" powder cocaine to make a new form of cocaine that could be smoked. Several publications such as *High Times* began to sell kits to smoke this new form of rock cocaine, pitching it as just another drug to be smoked like cigarettes or marijuana. [vi] Jonnes summarizes that "snorting cocaine was limiting because the drug is a potent vasoconstrictor that slowed down the absorption in the nose even as it is being ingested. Maximum blood levels of the active ingredients thus reach a peak after 20 minutes to one hour following snorting or swallowing. When smoked, cocaine reaches maximum blood levels in two to five minutes."

Crack cocaine (named because of the crackling sound made while it is smoked) seemed to be a super drug. But by changing the form of ingestion from snorting or swallowing to smoking, addicts became hooked in several weeks and months instead of the two to five years associated with powder cocaine. Crack cocaine also drove up the total consumption of cocaine per sitting. A powder user might use two grams in a week; a crack smoker could smoke that in *one sitting* and be ready for more.[vii] And a crack high only keeps a user up for roughly 20 minutes, requiring the purchase of several rocks per day. Customers were now beginning to spend several hundred dollars a *day* instead of a week or two.

But crack was initially confined to upper and middle income users of powder cocaine or members of the drug culture and was beginning to receive some bad publicity; most Americans were first exposed to freebasing cocaine when comedian Richard Pryor suffered his burns in 1980 as a result of his free basing kit exploding.[viii] Another problem was that with demand for crack cocaine beginning to skyrocket, dealers faced the

problem of having to cook up crack cocaine in small batches for customers while they waited. A solution was needed to allow for large quantities of powder cocaine to be free based and packaged keeping contact with consumers to a minimum.

The solution seems to have presented itself in the Bahamas, where crack first noticeably surfaced. This resulted from an excess of powder cocaine in 1980 in the Bahamian drug market, resulting in an eighty percent price drop.[ix] Dealers needed something to save them from bankruptcy, and so did what any business would do when faced with a dying product line that is essentially a raw material: they created a new, novel product using a large batch process from the raw material to attract new customers and keep old customers.

After realizing that crack addicts continuously returned for more, these Bahamian drug dealers decided that the best way to ensure that the crack market flourished was to sell only crack.[x] Visitors from the Bahamas brought this new knowledge back from the Bahamas to Miami and Los Angeles and it spread quickly.[xi]

The New Drug of Choice

Initially, the crack use scene was not confined to poor, urban youth. Jill Jonnes writes that when police first made arrests in a crack house they were confused because "they didn't look like junkies. These were people with jobs- white, black, upper class, lower class, young girls." But soon crack spread through traditional drug markets of poor black neighborhoods, where local youths learned from immigrants how to cook up crack and began distribution.[xii] Suddenly, the poor found that they could now afford a new variant of what had previously been a glamorous drug reserved for the upper class.

This was fortunate for drug cartels since the middle class consumers that had driven the market were beginning to stop use. It was the introduction of crack into the ghetto that succeeded in keeping the cartels in business. Suddenly, the poor found that they could now afford a new variant of what had previously been a glamorous drug reserved for the upper class. As a brilliant new marketing innovation, crack managed to bring in a new batch of consumers to revitalize the flagging cocaine industry. The selling points were simple and attractive. $100 per gram of powder cocaine is expensive, but once converted into a crack rock it appeared very affordable at $5-10 a rock, quickly becoming an instant hit within the streets of the ghetto.[xiii]   Urban youth were especially vulnerable at this point, having suffered an alienation from mainstream society and becoming a highly segregated, largely minority American underclass that suffered from such issues as a disappearance of unskilled jobs paying a living wage.[xiv]

It is here that selling drugs as a living comes into place. It is important to understand that drugs are worth an amazing amount/unit. While gold costs roughly $300/ounce, cocaine can sell for $100/*gram*, while heroin is ten times more valuable.[xv] This results in an ounce of cocaine returning nearly $3000, much more than its equivalent weight in gold. Crack is highly addictive and returns a large profit. The potential for large amounts of revenue creates a very attractive incentive to sell drugs, especially when one is young, uneducated and underrepresented.

Cooking crack requires little effort and overhead. Powder cocaine can be turned into crack cocaine through a relatively simple process. All that is required is baking soda (at most one dollar) and a container (garbage cans have been used). This conversion from powder cocaine to rock cocaine accounts for about 1-3% of the crack's retail

value.[xvi] The crack rocks are then packaged in either vials or plastic bags, which typically account for approximately 1% of the retail price.[xvii]

The most expensive factor comes from labor for packaging. That drugs are illegal prevents the distribution system from working efficiently and keeps the price higher than necessary.[xviii] Automation would greatly facilitate drug distribution, but the risk of law enforcement makes it risky and unwise to have a fixed location of manufacture and packaging. As such, labor accounts for anywhere form 3-13% of retail price. Other costs for items such as scales for weighing and guns are trivial since they can be amortized. Only 7-17% of a drug sale is not returned to a dealer as profit.

We can further refine total profit by type of seller. Entrepreneurs own their drugs and keep roughly 50% of sales revenues, independent consignment dealers retain about 25%; consignment dealers who sell from "spots" (fixed locations) generally keep around 10%; and dealers paid hourly to sell from spots generally only keep 3%.[xix] There is a decreasing amount of revenue as one moves down the dealer scale, and might wonder why every dealer would not be an entrepreneur.   The decreasing sales revenues are offset by reduced risk of arrest. Spot dealers are less likely to have large quantities of drugs on them. Spots are often run by several people with each one carrying out a specific task (dealer, runner, look out). They are also less prominent and notorious in the drug community, helping to keep them out of law enforcement's net.[xx] It is clear to see that drug distribution is a very lucrative trade, with about 80% of sales returning as profit.

The New Drug Dealer

The advent of crack also shifted the profile of the drug dealer. The old drug sale paradigm consisted of organized American Mafias having a monopoly on drug trade and handpicking distributors, allowing for a structured and hierarchical system. This became obsolete with the advent of crack sale.[xxi] In this wide open market, there was room for anyone who was willing to take the risk. Cooking crack up was easy and there was an ample supply of customers demanding it. Jonnes argues that new dealer arose from the alienated male youth of America's underclass at a time when the pathology of the underclass had been established for at least two decades.[xxii] This makes sense since one would expect that drug dealing to be dominated by people who are less averse to the risks of drug dealing (arrest, death) than those who are risk averse. And arrestees for cocaine and heroin are predominantly young, poorly educated, violence prone males.[xxiii]

There have been three major changes in the nature of crime with the advent of the new dealer since 1985. Homicide rates by youth 18 and under have more than doubled while there has been no growth in homicide rates by adults 24 and older; the number of homicides juveniles commit with guns has more than doubled while there has been no change in non-gun homicides; the arrest rate of non-white juveniles on drug charges has more than doubled, while there has been no growth in the rate for white juveniles.[xxiv]

Blumstein argues that these changes may be a result of the nature of the drug market. The drug market attracts youths who will work cheaply and who, as juveniles, are subject to lesser penalties under the law. These youth then arm themselves with guns to protect their drugs and working cash, for protection of a selling spot, or for general conflict resolution. They are increasingly arming themselves with machine guns, bullet

proof vests, and communication equipment. As a result other non-drug dealing youths

may then arm themselves for protection making guns more and more commonplace in a

community. The increasing amount of firepower present then increases the incentive for

an individual to arm himself.

The New Drug User

The drug use and crime history of the typical crack user in a Miami study by

James Inciardi showed that crack users began using drugs at early ages, had used fewer

different drugs, and were much less likely to have been in a rehabilitation program than

heroin users. These 254 children (85% boys, 15% girls, 44 %white, 40% black, and 16%

Hispanic) were usually not yet fifteen years old and had committed either ten serious

crimes or one hundred lesser crimes in the previous year, for a total of 223,439. Inciardi

reports that these children began drug-using careers at age 7 with alcohol and marijuana

experimentation. They then moved on to regular use of alcohol at 9 years of age.

Regular drug use began at age 11 with all of them using marijuana regularly. The

children then moved on to cocaine by about age 12. The experimental use of crack began

at age 13, with regular use following after a few months. These children each consumed

eight thousand dollars worth of crack annually.[xxv]

Jill Jonnes argues that an important factor to consider with the new crack user is

the idea of the hipster ethos. She argues that the hipster's disgust at the idea of being a

"family man" and respecting authority, his freedom to seduce many women, get high as

often as possible, make money through illegal means instead of job, and desire to be cool

and garner street respect has turned many would be inner-city fathers and husbands into

hipster-hustler-drug addicts.[xxvi] Low income males' abandonment of parental and

spousal duties was further compounded by extensive use of AFDC, Medicaid, and

welfare; doing well in academics would earn jeers of "being white" and any steady,

legitimate work that could be found was subject to contempt.[xxvii]

When crack cocaine met up with these new inner city youth living in despairing

poverty, it proved disastrous to already struggling communities. Cheap in price (ranging

anywhere from $5-$20 depending on rock size), a variant of the upper class feel good

drug cocaine, and seen as being safer than intravenous injection of heroin in the advent of

the plague that is AIDS, crack successfully entered the drug culture and created its own

profitable niche.[xxviii]

It was soon apparent to "crackheads," however, that crack was anything but a

harmless new way to get high. By 1986 crack had spread to seventeen major American

cities and twenty-five states, with addicts binging and spending in excess of

$1,000/month in New York.[xxix] And crack brought a new dimension that had previously

not been an issue: massive numbers of women abusers. Roughly 19% of heroin users had

been women; by the late eighties women made up about one-third of people addicted to

cocaine.[xxx]

Crack whores became more and more commonplace. James Inciardi recalls

witnessing what appeared to be the gang-rape of a young girl who appeared to be roughly

fourteen years old. He was later told that she was a "house girl," providing sex to crack

house customers in return for food, lodging, and all of the crack she wanted. Such

depravity served to focus on another group that now became affected: children.

In the decades before the mid 1980s only about 5% of mothers at New York's Harlem Hospital routinely tested positive for heroin; by 1985 and 1986 about 15% of mothers were testing positive for cocaine, with three hundred newborns being referred to social services (4 times the pre-1985 level) because of crack.[xxxi]

Conclusion

The illegal drug market provided an economic opportunity to a population that has few other choices. With respect to the crack market, it allowed users to make profit with little necessary overhead cost or manufacture skill required. Crack was a blessing to dealers and producers searching for some way to revitalize their market after middle class users dropped off. The innovative marketing of crack provided a new, cheap, accessible form of a glamour drug to a consumer that had been living in desperately poor conditions. Crack altered the nature of drug dealing and dealers, transforming the market into the young predator's haven, allowing for even children to become entangled in both dealing and using. It served to cripple the family structure of inner city families. It created a large number of female and newborn addicts, a newer and frightening trend. Think about this: in 1900, only 1 in 300 Americans had been an addict; by 1992, 1 in 100 Americans was an addict.[xxxii] And crack and powder cocaine can be seen as the culprits for the spike in the decade between 1980 and 1990.

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[iii] Jones, Jill. "Hep-Cats, Narcs, and Pipe Dreams." Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996.:374

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[v] Ibid., 374

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[vii] Ibid., 370

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[x] Ibid., 372

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[xiii] Jones, Jill. "Hep-Cats, Narcs, and Pipe Dreams." Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996.:376

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[xviii] Jonathan P. Caulkins; Peter Reuter (Mar 1998) "What Price Data Tell Us About Drug Markets" CR: http://www.heinz.cmu.edu/cgi/new/wpaper/wpfetch?category=%5CbCR%5Cb (September 18, 2001): 5

[xix] Jonathan P. Caulkins; Bruce Johnson; Angela Taylor; Lowell Taylor (Jul 1998) "What Drug Dealers Tell Us About Their Costs of Doing Business" :18

[xx] One might argue that the large amount of retail sales would make crack more visible to the police. This is granted. But my thought is that although crack as a whole might be more visible, the small time dealers may be overlooked since they are so prevalent. Small time drug dealers aren't worth the time needed in paperwork after arresting them.

[xxi] Jones, Jill. "Hep-Cats, Narcs, and Pipe Dreams." Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996.:379

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Chapter 6

Drug Users In America 1970-2001:
An Overview

by

Beth Majewski

Although drug use is not a phenomenon new to the twentieth century, the second half of the century witnessed a period of developments that have led to what politicians have called a "drug epidemic." During the 1970s and 1980s, two drugs, first heroin and then crack cocaine, became increasingly used in America, producing devastating effects for their users and creating new challenges for policy makers attempting to address these effects. Drug policy, in order to be effective, must take into account the reasons why people choose to use drugs and the significance drugs take on in the lives of users. Although men still constitute a larger percentage of those who abuse drugs, the number of women addicted to drugs has grown

increasingly larger, especially the number of African-American women who use drugs. Women begin using drugs for a variety of reasons (as do all drug users), and these drugs have a debilitating effect upon their lives and the lives of their families as their lives become more and consumed by drugs.

Initial Experiences with Drugs

Drug use among adolescents has increased dramatically since the 1960s, although the Monitoring the Future Study has shown a stabilizing or decreasing in some cases of illicit drug use among eighth, tenth, and twelfth graders for the past four years. Youth drug use continues to be an alarming trend in this nation, however: 52% of the nation's 8th graders report having tried alcohol (25% claim to have been drunk at least once), 20% have experimented with marijuana, and 16% -- one in every six – of all eighth graders in 2000 have tried some illicit drug other than marijuana. (MTF 30) By their senior year in high school, nearly six in every 10 Americans have tried an illicit drug. (MTF 33) Though these rates are not as high as they were in peak years of the drug epidemic in the late 1970s, they still put America among the most drug-involved nations in the world.

So why are youths continuing to use drugs? Why do young people start to use drugs? Andrew Weil, a Harvard Medical College graduate, suggests that people of all cultures are born with the desire to alter their consciousness, as seen in the toddler who whirls himself into a stupor from vertigo. (Inciardi 5) As children grow, they learn that this altered consciousness can be achieved by using certain chemicals, stimulants, or illicit drugs. Sociologist Howard S. Becker outlines a three-stage process through which individuals obtain a conception of the drug as an object of pleasure: 1) learning a technique which supplies sufficient dosage for the drug's effects to appear; 2) experiencing and recognizing the effects of the drug; and 3) learning to enjoy the effects. The user is helped by and depends upon the guidance of others at each step of the process. (Inciardi 29)

Peer influence contributes greatly to the initial use of drugs. Adolescents with neutral or even negative orientations towards drugs (about 52.5% of twelfth graders in 2000 disapproved of people who try marijuana once or twice; 76.9% of tenth graders in 2000 perceived risk of harm in taking crack occasionally)(High school and youth trends, 2) often find themselves confronted with an opportunity to try the drug, usually in the presence of peers. The situations can be as relaxed as a small gathering of friends where the drug is introduced unexpectedly, with the willingness of some to try the drug in turn persuading others. Research has indicated that some youths try drugs at parties so as to maintain their status within the group, while others try drugs as part of a "what the hell" party attitude. Michael Hirsch, Randall W. Conforti, and Alexander Pearsall sum up the importance of peer influence in their article "A Comparative Study of Marijuana and Psychedelic Mushroom Users": "the role that peer pressure played in convincing individuals to experiment with illicit drugs also seems to be identical to the role that peer pressure plays in such things as the wearing of specific styles of clothing or the piercing of one's ear....Decisions to [use illicit drugs] are guided by the actions and opinions of others whom individuals look up to and respect." (Venturelli 85)

Still other drug users become willing to experiment with drugs as a result of encounters with persons they respect, who either spoke about their personal use of drugs or used drugs in their presence. These individuals typically are family members or good friends (Venturelli 79) who show the novice how to use the drug, often providing tips on the best method of intake. Family can have a significant impact on the tendency of a youth to turn to drugs. A 1993 Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) report found that adolescents who reside in households with fewer than two biological parents have a relatively high prevalence of cigarette, alcohol, and illicit drug use.

Personality factors also play a role in adolescent drug use, most particularly problems in psychological adjustments and psychological competency. Youths who use drugs often show signs of lower self-esteem, depression, anxiety, restlessness, rebellion, impulsivity, less conformity to established institutions like school and religion, and involvement in delinquent activities such as lying, stealing, and vandalism. These adolescents are more likely to weigh the positive aspects of drug use more heavily than the negative aspects. (Venturelli 47)   Research has shown that students who receive higher GPAs in high school are less inclined to use drugs than their peers because they tend to be more religiously involved, spend more fewer evenings socializing, and are less likely to skip classes; in short, they value traditional institutions. (Schulenberg 56) Personality traits such as sensation seeking, impulsiveness, and exhibitionism also tend to be higher in youths who are more involved with substances than their peers, and add to a lifestyle characterized by little concern for society's expectations. (Venturelli 68)

People often consume alcohol and use other drugs to regulate internal emotional states, for example, relieving stress or enhancing pleasure. Emotionally uplifting reasons for use are prevalent among youths' initial experimentation with drugs, and an important dimension of this tendency to enhance positive emotional experiences includes a need for new and complex sensations and experiences combined with a willingness to take physical and social risks for the sake of such experiences. Disinhibition needs are related to the tendency to use psychoactive drugs by encouraging nonconformity and pleasure seeking.   Pleasure seeking is accomplished through extroverted behaviors such as drug taking, sexual activity, and partying.

Who Uses Drugs

While there are a variety of theories on why people start to use drugs, many historians and sociologists agree that there are four basic types of drug

users. The first group is made up of experimenters, who are by far the largest group of drug users. They often try a couple of drugs in a social setting, but the drug does not assume a significant role in their life. They experiment with drugs because their social group tells them that the drug is enjoyable; they do not seek out the drug but might use it when someone presents it to them. They do not use drugs as frequently as social-recreational users, who also use drugs with more continuity. Drugs still do not play an important role in the lives of these users.

Drugs assume a significant role to involved and dysfunctional users. Involved users seek out their drug of choice, which becomes important in their lives. They are still able to function at school, work, or as a spouse or parent, but their personal and social functioning suffers as they spend more and more time using drugs. They still maintain control over their behavior, but the drug does something for these users and prompts more frequent use. Dysfunctional users are as personally and socially dysfunctional as their name suggests. They spend all of their time pursuing or taking drugs or in some other related activity. Dysfunctional users cannot control their drug use. (Inciardi 3) It is this category of drug user that is discussed next.

The Lifestyle of a Drug User

Although drug users come from a wide variety of backgrounds, some features remain common to almost all addicts, men and women, white and black alike. Using heroin as the drug of choice for illustrative purposes, the lifestyle of an addict can be reconstructed.

The addict's day often begins with withdrawal sickness consisting of flu-like symptoms, vomiting, and diarrhea. The addict knows she must take more heroin in order to alleviate these symptoms, which become more intense over time. The addict leaves the house to buy more heroin in order to feel better (unless the addict was particularly resourceful and saved some of the previous days' stash); if the addict does not have enough money to

purchase more drugs, she must first go out and hustle up enough money to buy another fix. A bag of heroin runs for about $20, with the typical addict using from one to three bags per fix, depending on the quality of the heroin. An addict might "fix" from three to five times per day, costing the addict $60 to $150 per day – an expensive habit that usually exceeds the addict's salary, forcing the addict to turn to other means of procuring money, such as theft or prostitution.

The lifestyle of an addict revolves around the drug, with days centering on the times when she "scores" with the "connection" or when she takes the drug. The difficulty of these "connections" varies with the economic background of the user (poorer addicts have more irregular connections due to lack of funds and the challenge of finding a dealer). The addict must always be on the lookout for the police and must be able to move at any moment, travel light, and get rid of any incriminating evidence at a second's notice. A large portion of the drug user's life is spent finding new ways to raise money for the drug, maintaining connections to the drug, and evading detection. (Rosenbaum 14) The user is often taught how to find a connection, how to get money to buy drugs, and how to use drugs inconspicuously by an experienced user.

After the addict has purchased heroin or taken it out of her stash, the time-consuming process of taking the drug through injection or snorting it begins. If the addict's withdrawal symptoms are severe, she must take the drug immediately upon purchase, even if this is not at home. Sometimes she must pay the person from whom they buy the drugs to use his or her house. (Rosenbaum 15) The user experiences a "rush" after injecting the drug, which is the point when the heroin enters the brain and produces an initial jolting sensation, followed by a taste in the back of the mouth and the relaxing of the entire body. The user feels a euphoric high that lasts about four hours. The addict then replays the scenario: she feels uncomfortable and then sick, then she must go obtain more of the drug (usually after hustling for more money).

The addict exists almost literally from fix to fix, with her life focused around either acquiring the drug or using it. (Rosenbaum 15)

Women and Drugs

Drugs, particularly heroin and crack cocaine, have especially impacted the lives of women. Men are more likely than women to use most illicit drugs, especially in higher frequencies. Daily marijuana use among adults in 2000 was reported by 5.3% of adult males aged 19 to 32 years, compared to only 2.6% of females in the 2000 Monitoring the Future Report. (MTF 22) The prevalence of women using "harder" drugs is higher, however; in 1985, when crack cocaine hit the streets, about 10% of heroin addicts were women and about a third of crack addicts were women. (Jonnes 382-383) Additionally, the number of women using drugs is increasing, while the number of men remains level. Total drug-related hospital emergency room visits increased for females by 9% between 1999 and 2000 but were unchanged for males. (Hospital visits 2)

These figures hint at the profound impact drugs like crack have had on women and their families. A huge increase in female addiction after crack hit the streets in 1985 also marked an increase in the number of drug-exposed babies. In 1991 the Center for the Future of Children estimated that about 2 to 3 percent of American babies were exposed to cocaine in utero – 75,000 to 100,000 babies annually. (Jonnes 385) The most recent national data available, the 1992-1993 National Pregnancy and Health survey, notes that of the 4 million women surveyed, 221,000 (about 5%) used illegal drugs during their pregnancies during that year, with marijuana (about 3%) and cocaine (about 1%) being the most prevalent. (Preg Trends 1) Crack-exposed babies often suffer from hyperactivity, sudden mood swings, or language or speech impediment; in severe cases, these "crack babies" are often afflicted with seizures, cerebral palsy, or mental retardation. (Jonnes 384)

Women's drug use impacts families after child birth as well. The day of an addict centers around either using or obtaining the drug, leaving little time for child care. Children often are exposed to these drugs; one researcher reports seeing at a Miami crack house a woman "purchasing crack, with an infant tucked under her arm – so neglected that she had maggots crawling out of her diaper." (Men also are guilty of exposing their families to their drug lives: the same researcher also saw a man "'skin-popping' his toddler with a small dose of heroin, so the child would remain quietly sedated and not interrupt a crack-smoking session.")(Jonnes 382) Female addicts often spend a good portion of the families' income on drugs. Nicholas Lemann relays the story of Juanita, a welfare mother in Chicago, in his book The Promised Land. Juanita, a crack addict, "got to the point where she turned her public-aid identification card over to the dope man. When her check came, she would meet him at local 'currency exchange'...and turn all the money over to him in payment for her drug debts." Juanita, a mother with two small children and pregnant with a third, sold her food stamps at seventy cents on the dollar, stopped paying her electric bills, and began shoplifting regularly at down town department stores. Juanita's story is similar to that of thousands of other drug-addicted mothers on welfare – so much welfare money went towards drugs that drug dealers used to refer to days when welfare checks arrived as Mother's Day. The explosion in welfare numbers in the 1980s and the welfare rights movement, which viewed supervision as an invasion of privacy, meant that social workers no longer visited families or knew what was going on. (Jonnes 383-384).

Often women who use drugs are part of a cyclical pattern of familial drug abuse and child abuse. Addicted parents do not necessarily abuse their children, but many substance-abusing parents have impaired parenting skills because of their lifestyles. Substance abuse is frequently present in many cases of child abuse and neglect, and these children learn the abusive parenting techniques from their parents that they in turn practice.

Additionally, patterns of abusive parenting seen in substance-using families are passed from one generation to another, resulting in a cycle of abuse and neglect. (Bayer 297)

Many women drug abusers come from relatively poor homes or homes that lack strong positive parental role modeling. These women addicts, largely comprised of African-Americans or Hispanics, were often subject to their parents' frustrations over too little money or too much work at jobs they disliked. Survival was the main task in life in the homes of these future addicts; alcohol and drug use was common in these households. A representative study of 45 addicted women in New York City in 1992, the Bushwick women, found that 38% of these female addicts came from homes in which they were subjected to physical abuse, and only 25% were raised in households with both parents present. (Maher 356) Many female addicts had to drop out of school in order to support herself and the family, thus limiting her options for future job opportunities. (84% of the Bushwick women had not completed high school, and 55% had no formal-sector work experience.) (Maher 356) Additionally, many of these women became pregnant at an early age – the number of mother-only households in the past few decades has risen dramatically, particularly among inner-city and African-American women – which, combined with a lack of education, significantly narrowed the social and occupational worlds of these women. These women often have bleak economic prospects, as researchers note: "expanding technologies, shrinking frontiers, and cultural changes in industrialized nations have reduced the number of unskilled jobs while increasing the number of girls seeking employment. Never have so many young women had so much incentive to abandon traditional roles and so comparatively few opportunities within the system to find others." (Rosenbaum 25)

With impoverished backgrounds, a lack of education, and children to care for, many women turn to drugs. For some, initial experimentation with drugs may seem to provide new life options. To a relatively poor young

woman, the life of drugs may seem exciting and attractive, a life that seems more attractive, rewarding, and accessible than any other option before her. (Rosenbaum 32) Women associated with dealers (a large portion of female addicts begin to use drugs after being introduced to them by a male, often a dealer) had access to more money than they would otherwise, an enticement to a poor mother struggling to make ends meet. Women living with addicts or dealers are likely to be involved in cutting and bagging the drug, and the availability of the drug makes it tempting to use. Women living with drug users often find life to be lonely, and many begin to use drugs in an attempt to understand the high the addict feels and to enjoy a shared experience. Drugs also provide excitement in an otherwise mundane existence; one addict noted that drug use is "very time consuming....you don't have a chance to get into other things....It's very busy. That's why I think a lot of people get drawn into it and stay into it, because it does occupy your time. You don't have time for anything else; it saves you from being bored." (Rosenbaum 43)

To other women, substance use seems to be the only way to really obtain pleasure. Some feminists theorize that, given the social and individual constraints placed upon women, their sexuality and their bodies within a patriarchal society, real pleasure for a woman is impossible to obtain. Women who use drugs make an assertive choice towards pleasure, becoming active consumers and challenging traditional forms of power as they move towards pleasure. (Etorre 147) Substance use also is a form of escapism, a way for women to come to terms with their feelings as well as their bodies. With substance use comes an immediate sense of well-being and a feeling that problems will be lessened or solved. One addict described her drug experience as "a golden thread" running "up your spine and out through the top of your head. A happy smack puppet, warm, comfortable, your body dangles around this taut, buzzing cord." (Etorre 155) Many women who use drugs do so because drugs are seen to present opportunities to

them: opportunities of a better life, of taking control of their bodies, of escaping from the problems of life.

The drug world also seemingly offers economic opportunity to many women, particularly those in inner cities who lack education. Drug researchers have attributed the increasing presence of women in the drug economies of the late 1980s and early 1990s to the existence of new opportunities in street-level drug markets for women, especially with increased rates of incarceration of men. (Maher 353) The dramatic increase in the size of the drug markets after crack hit the streets – it has been estimated that in New York City in the early 1990s as many as 150,000 people were involved in selling or helping to sell crack cocaine on any given day (Maher 357) – provided "new ways for women to escape their limited roles, statuses, and incomes." (Maher 355) The jobs usually given to women within the drug market, however, are lower-level jobs, usually as an informal "steerer" who recommends a particular type of drug to newcomers in the neighborhood in exchange for "change" of a dollar or so. (Maher 357) Many female drug users also supplement their income by "copping" drugs for others, usually white men. This low-status job minimizes the chances of a dealer's arrest, and allows for outsiders to a neighborhood to approach a woman to buy drugs under the guise of sex. (Maher 362)

The expansion of the drug economy has not been particularly rewarding for women. New opportunities in drug sales and distribution have been primarily realized by men, with women confined to the lower levels of drug sales. The expanding crack market actually hurt the conditions of street-level sex work, a historically stable source of income for female drug users. (Maher 366) Women who have been able to become involved in drug selling are often subject to harassment, causing many women to adopt the defense strategy of projecting a "bad ass" or "gangsta bitch" attitude. One female drug seller noted "ac' petite, dey treat you petite....Now put a dainty one and put me [on a street corner], she looks soft. Dey look at me like 'don't fuck wid dat

bitch, she looks hard.'" (Maher 361) Despite this defense mechanism, women are still seen (by men and women alike) as less able to use violence effectively and are relegated to low-level positions in the male-dominated drug economy.

Once a woman has become a habitual drug user, the drug begins to dominate her life, and life turns into a balancing act for the female addict. Life becomes a pursuit of the drug, and the day to day responsibilities that many addicts face are cast aside. According to one addict, "everything you are supposed to do today, you put off and you keep putting it off – hell with the phone bill, hell with the garbage bill...hell with everything." (Rosenbaum 58) The routine tasks of motherhood are cast aside as the addict spends most of her time in some drug-related activity, and the addict abides by an unstructured routine on a day to day basis.

Chapter 7

African American Women, Narcotics, and the Legal System: United States and the Hill District

by

Polina Kats

The issue of drug use in American society has been a prevalent theme since the 1850's. The prosecution of drug users, smugglers, and dealing is also that old. What is new in the past twenty years however is the emphasis being put on drug use among women. Although historically women in the United States have been using drugs for the same period of time as men and in fact at some points were heavier and more frequent users than men, the issue of women's drug use was not addressed in literature until the 1970's .[1]

According to the Lindesmith Center, "Drug policy does not affect all populations in the same way. In several key ways, women have been uniquely targeted and differently affected by current policies and trends.

Women of color in particular have been targeted for punishment and public humiliation."[2]

Women have been the real victims of the "war on drugs" that has been going on for the past two decades. There is evidence of this in every aspect of the legal system. There are now more women prosecuted and more women in prisons than ever before; most of them are serving sentences for drug related charges. Women are losing their children, and the government is again dictating what a woman can and cannot due with her own body during pregnancy. Although women in general have been victims of the system, the women who have suffered the most have been women of color.

The "war on drugs" really took off when crack cocaine was introduced on the streets of America. Crack cocaine is an inner city drug, low-income African American women are drawn to it because it is cheaper than powder cocaine. Crack cocaine is the reason that we are now seeing more African American women incarcerated for drug charges. Because crack cocaine is a poor, inner-city drug, it carries a stigma. Based largely on that stigma the United States government made the policies, and minimum sentencing for crack cocaine is much harsher than it is for any other narcotic substance.

Issues of drug abuse, prostitution, imprisonment and the loss of ones children are not limited to any particular part of the United States. These problems and can be found in any town or city in the United States including Pittsburgh. All of the large cities have Social Service organizations that address these issues. What is unusual in Pittsburgh is that an organization exists that deals exclusively with the needs of African American women affected by drugs and with the needs of their families. The Hill District Community Collaborative has for the past nine years worked with women in the Hill District, one of the most economically deprived neighborhoods in Pittsburgh. The Collaborative works with African America women to help overcome their substance abuse issues, and deal with legal and social problems that these women face in their lives.

The drug that affected the African American female population in the most destructive way was crack cocaine. Crack cocaine has an interesting history and actually was first used by white middle class Americans and did not arrive in the cities between 1981 and 1983.[3] Although cocaine had been around for several decades, people did not start using it regularly until the early 1970's. As people's addiction grew, chronic users realized that snorting it was not the most effective way and began experiments in trying to change cocaine from a salt form to a base form. The process that they followed was fairly easy: powdered cocaine, which is made from coca paste, is treated with a liquid base such as ammonia to remove the hydrochloric acid. The free cocaine is then dissolved in a solvent, usually ether, from which purified cocaine is then crystallized.[4] Each gram of powder cocaine produces approximately .89 grams of crack cocaine.[5] This form of base cocaine got the name crack in the mid 1980's because of a crackling sound it made when it was burning. The drug quickly developed popularity because of three reasons listed here in order of significance: 1, rock cocaine is much cheaper than powder cocaine (a gram of powder cocaine costs $ 60, whereas the price of rock cocaine is anywhere between $2 - $20 per rock); 2, it could be smoked instead of snorted; 3, rock cocaine can be easily hidden and transplanted. According to surveys, crack cocaine never caught on extremely well in the general population but greatly appealed to those living in inner cities .[6] Crack cocaine, because it was smoked, was more appealing to women than drugs that had to snorted or injected. Because this factor was more important for women than for men, it resulted in higher rates of dependence among females. Crack cocaine became a serious concern for the legal system in 1986. Throughout the late 1980's and the 1990's laws were developed for crack cocaine in which the punishment for possession was much harsher for crack cocaine than for powder cocaine.

The history of heroin is somewhat different. Heroin is an opiate, a semi-synthetic derivative of opium, which has been around for use, especially

in the Orient, for thousands of years. America first came into contact with nonmedical use of opiates in the 1850's in forms of opium houses. These opium houses evolved into country roadhouses and eventually to what are known today as rock houses, base houses, crack houses, and shooting galleries. The laws dealing with possession and especially intent to sell heroin are much more severe than those for either powder or rock cocaine. It is, however, interesting to note that the use of heroin and other narcotics did not become illegal in the United States until 1914.[7] The Controlled Substances Act of 1970 set a clear distinction between manufacturing and distributing a drug and simple possession of the drug. Regardless of the type of the drug, the maximum penalty for simple possession of a substance for first time offenders had always been one year. When crack cocaine first appeared on the streets in the 1980's the way that it was portrayed was that it is highly addictive, violence inducing and as a "plague of the inner cities."[8] It was highlighted largely by the death of basketball start Len Bias. Ironically it was later shown, by an autopsy done on his body, that on the night of his death he was actually using powder and not crack cocaine. Because of the media attention two federal laws concerning crack cocaine were passed in 1986 and 1988. The laws created a hundred to one ratio between rock and powder cocaine needed to trigger minimum mandatory sentences for drug trafficking as well as for simple possession of crack cocaine.[9] To understand the unjust difference in sentencing between crack cocaine and powder cocaine there are certain things that need to be known. The most important thing is that the psychological effects of all types of cocaine are the same. During the "Racial Bias in Cocaine Laws" Symposium, Dr. George Schwartz stated that the only difference between the two types is the method of ingestion,[10] due to the fact that one form can be easily made into the other. As a result of the laws, crack users and dealers receive much harsher penalties than those arrested on the same charges with powder cocaine. The laws were based on the belief that crack cocaine is fifty times more addictive than

powder cocaine. To get the ratio that is currently in use, Congress doubled that figure.   It has however been proven that crack cocaine is not more addictive than powder cocaine.

In 1988, Congress passed an amendment to the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986. The amendment made a distinction when it came to sentencing with respect to base cocaine simply know as crack.[11] The amendment set a five-year minimum for possession for a first time offender. For powder cocaine, the same offense carries a one-year maximum sentence. Crack cocaine is also the only drug to carry a mandatory prison sentence for first simple possession offence. There are 14 states in the US that differentiate between rock and powder cocaine; no state, however, has a ratio as large as the 100:1 ratio of the federal law.[12] In 1995, the U.S Sentencing Commission, which understood that powder and crack cocaine were nothing more than two forms of the same narcotic, recommended to Congress that the quantity ratio that triggered the mandatory sentence needed to be equalized for powder and base forms of cocaine. Congress rejected this recommendation, making it the first one to be rejected since the formation of the Sentencing Committee. President Clinton signed the rejection into law.[13]

When the Hill District Community Collaborative first opened in 1992 the women who used its services had primarily crack cocaine and alcohol abuse issues. Although crack cocaine first appeared on the streets of Pittsburgh in the late 1980's, it really exploded in 1992.   The Hill District Community Collaborative did not open to deal only with issues of crack cocaine.   The reason that the initial clients had crack as their drug of choice was because at that time, it was cheap and readily available in the Hill. The crack cocaine problem in Pittsburgh has, however, greatly diminished in the past three or four years. The problem drug in the Hill District is currently heroin.[14] Because drugs are illegal, not only the prosecution of drug offenders, but the situation of those imprisoned for drugs also needs to be examined.

Statistics from around the United States show that the mandatory sentences for crack cocaine have discriminatory aspects. Those tried for crimes involving crack cocaine with its strict sentences have been mostly African American, while those prosecuted for powder cocaine have been predominantly Caucasian. In 1992, of all those sentenced federally for various crack offences, 91.3% were black and 3% were white. According to the same data Caucasians are a much larger proportion of crack cocaine users: 2.4 million (64.4%) Caucasians, 990,000 (26.6%) African Americans, and 348,000 (9.2%) Hispanics.[15] The data from 1994 shows a similar trend; of those convicted that year for possession, 84.5% were black, 10.3% were white, and 5.2% were Hispanic. Of those arrested for trafficking, 4.1% were white, 88.3% were black, and 7.1% were Hispanic. Powder cocaine offenders, however, were more racially mixed. For simple possession, 58% were white, 26.7% were black, and 15% were Hispanic. The powder trafficking offenders were 32% white, 27.4% black, and 39.3% Hispanic. The study showed that as a result black men and women ended up serving longer prison terms than their white counterparts.[16]

The situation of women, especially African American women in prison, is one that needs to be addressed. The United States chapter of Amnesty International compiled a fact sheet on the situation of women in prisons. Currently there are approximately 148,000 women in US jails and prisons. About 40% of the total female inmate population has been sentenced for drug offences, 25% for violent crimes. The ratio of black women to white women in prisons is approximately 8:1. The ratio of Hispanic women to white women in prisons in approximately 4:1. Eighty thousand of these women are parents, many are single parents, and around 200,000 of children under the age of 18 have a mother in the prison system.[17] As stated above, the number of female inmates in prisons is on a rise. Since 1980, the number of woman incarcerated has increased at close to double the rate of male inmates. There are seven times more women in prisons now than there were in 1980.

In fact from 1980 to 1997 the number of women in prisons has increased 573% and the national female population in prisons has increased from 4.1% in 1980 to 6.4% in 1997.[18] Female inmates are much more likely to come from low-income neighborhoods and have low levels of education and high rates of substance abuse. In a survey done of the female inmates in the federal prison system in 1997, 74% of the women admitted to having used drugs on a regular basis.[19]

The reason for the rise in the female prison population over the past two decades can be attributed to "the war on drugs." In a 1999 article for *On the Issues Magazine*, Szalavitz called this war on drugs a war on women.[20] There are several factors that make this statement true: today many women are serving sentences for having involvement in the drug activities of their significant others; often these women were nothing more than drivers and did not participate in the actual exchanges of drugs for money. These women are often convicted and sentenced to decades in prisons, whereas the men that they were doing this for get nothing more than parole. It has been shown that this war on drugs, started in the 1980's with Nancy Reagan's just say no, has had a disproportionate effect on women.

The new increase in the proportion of women in prisons is highlighted further by the fact that historically women had always made up a very small percentage of the population. This is largely due to the fact that prior to the 1980's the majority of the people in prisons were there for violent offences. Even today, women make up only a small percentage of violent offenders. A disproportionate number of women currently in prisons are there for non-violent offenses, usually drug possession and trafficking.

Women with drug problems get arrested not only for issues dealing directly with drugs, e.g., possession or trafficking, but also for prostitution. A disproportionate number of women arrested for prostitution are women of color, although women of color make up the minority of prostitutes. Between 85% and 90% of those arrested for prostitution are black women. In reality,

they make up only 20% of all prostitutes.[21]   Many women prostitute to support their drug habit, others to support their drug habit and their families. It is estimated that among street prostitutes 50% have substance abuse problems.[22] Prostitution does not always involve the exchange of money for sexual services. It can also mean the exchange sexual services for drugs. Women who have drug habits but cannot always afford to buy the drugs necessary to maintain that habit often will perform sexual services in exchange for sometimes as little as one hit of crack cocaine.

In Pittsburgh and especially in the neighborhoods of Downtown, Lawrenceville, and Hill District, prostitution is a problem. In Pittsburgh, and therefore in the Hill, like in other cities women prostitute themselves for both drugs and money.[23] None of the participants in the Collaborative when interviewed admitted to ever selling themselves to support any aspect of their lives or about any other conflicts that they might have had with the law or law enforcing agencies.

An extremely important problem and aspect of the lives of women affected by drugs is their children. For women living with drug problems, the law and the state are in their lives from the time that they give birth to children affected with drugs, sometimes even from before they actually give birth.

Women who deliver cocaine addicted babies are currently playing an interesting role in the current legal and judicial systems. This crisis and the prosecution of these women came about in the end of the 1980's. Cocaine mothers in the late 1980's became a symbol for everything that is wrong with America.[24] In a country where Roe v. Wade still receives so much attention, the prosecution of cocaine using pregnant women became another aspect of a fight for the rights of a fetus.

When a pregnant woman uses cocaine it deprives the fetus of oxygen to the brain. Babies are then sometimes born addicted to cocaine. They have tremors, trouble concentrating, and other problems. Although women of all races use cocaine, those targeted by the media tend to be African

American women. They are also the ones who are targeted by the legal system for cocaine use during pregnancy. In some states there are laws that require medical establishment to report use or suspected use of narcotic substances as well as alcohol by pregnant women to Children's Services. In 1996 the racial breakdown of cocaine use during pregnancy was as follows: 4.5% African American, 0.4% white, and 0.7% Hispanic. In Florida a study showed that 7.5% of black women and 1.8% of white women used some form of cocaine during pregnancy. This study was later shown to be biased because black women were much more likely to get randomly tested for drug use during pregnancy than white women.[25]

Prosecutors in several US cities jumped on the moral bandwagon and attempted to prosecute these women. In trying this type of case the prosecutors would be setting a precedent. A fetus is not in legal terms a person and therefore does not have the same rights. Although a state can choose to protect fetal life, the laws only extend to hurting someone else's fetus. Because no state has actual laws that apply to cocaine-exposed infants, the prosecutors had to use other laws already on the books to prosecute these mothers. The laws that were chosen by most as tools of prosecution were manslaughter, drug trafficking, and child abuse laws.[26] Approximately 200 women in thirty different states have been prosecuted for drug use during pregnancy. The majority of these women are poor, uneducated women of color.[27] Several cases captured the attention of the public. The first cocaine mother in the country to be charged with manslaughter was Melanie Green, a poor black woman. Her baby was born with brain damage and underweight and died soon after birth. She also tested positive for cocaine. The prosecutor based his case on the fact that the only reason that the baby had problems and died as a result was because of cocaine use by her mother.[28] The case was based on a precedent set in Illinois where a drunk driver collided with a car carrying a pregnant woman. She delivered the baby but it died soon after birth. Because the child was

born alive the drunk driver was prosecuted for manslaughter. The prosecutor in the Green case believed this to be enough precedent to try the case. The grand jury, however, did not indict.

Other interesting cases are the cases of prosecuting pregnant women for delivery of drugs to a minor. These cases were built on a legal loophole. Because a fetus is not a human being, the mothers can only be prosecuted for giving the cocaine to the child after birth. District Attorneys in many counties based their cases on the fact that immediately after the baby is born but is still connected to the mother with the umbilical cord there is delivery of drugs to that infant through the umbilical cord. Although several grand juries indicted based on this, some cases were tried and some women were even convicted on the local level, appellate courts threw the convictions out.

The most extreme case of prosecution of women for use of cocaine occurred in 1989 in Charleston, South Carolina. The city formed a collaborative between the police department, prosecutor's office, and the Medical University of South Carolina (MUSC).[29] In this collaboration, the hospital provided the prosecutor's office with information on pregnant women who were found to have been using cocaine. The prosecutor's office kept files on these women and they were arrested by the police department after giving birth. Some women were arrested and jailed while still pregnant. The jails did not have prenatal or drug treatment facilities. When these women went into labor, they were take to the hospital and delivered their babies while handcuffed.[30] The program was later found to be in violation of federal guidelines to protect human subjects of research.

Many women who were found to have been using cocaine when they were pregnant lost their parental rights temporarily or sometimes permanently. They did not only lose custody of the child that was exposed to cocaine as a fetus but also the parental rights to all of their other children. As a result, beginning in the late 1980's there has been a significant increase in

the number of children removed from parents custody and put into the system.[31]

Women in Pennsylvania were never prosecuted for delivering narcotics addicted children. According to Commander Valenta, Pennsylvania is a conservative state and when the issue can be perceived as a violation of someone's civil rights it tends to err on the side of caution. Although the participants in the Collaborative never admitted delivering drug addicted babies one did admit to discovering that she was pregnant while using drugs.[32] It should however be noted that after she discovered that she was pregnant she entered a rehabilitation program.

The Collaborative works closely with women and their families. One of their goals is to keep the families together. Often, when a woman goes into services, the Collaborative arranges for someone to watch her children so that children are not put into the system and the woman's parental rights are not taken away. The Collaborative also works with women who have lost their parental rights. In situations like that, the staff of the Collaborative does all they can to help the woman regain the custody of her children. In order to do this, the staffs often goes to court with the women to be present at, and sometimes speak at child custody hearings.

It can therefore be seen that women, especially drug addicted African American women, are fighting an uphill battle with the legal system for their basic rights. In the past two decades women have become victims of a new "social consciousness" dealing with drugs. As a result, more women, especially African American women, than ever before are in prison for drug related offenses. The system, however, tries to go beyond punishing women when they commit drug related offences. It has in fact gone as far as to tell women what they can and cannot do to their own bodies and then to prosecute those women when the decision that they chose to make was not one that the system agreed with. As a result, women have been nothing

more than victims of the same "war on drugs" that was supposed to improve American quality of life.

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Chapter 8

Founding the Collaborative

by

David Anderson

and

Beth Majewski

The Hill District Community Collaborative began with the intent to pull together the various agencies serving the Hill District and to coordinate the delivery of existing services while identifying and filling gaps in service. One of the Collaborative's principal missions has been to foster greater cooperation and communication among the agencies serving families in the Hill District, a mission that was written into the 1992 proposal for the Collaborative and has remained central to the organization ever since.

The United Way of Allegheny County's Portfolio Process spawned the idea for a collaboration of various agencies within the Hill District by identifying "Addicted Women and Their Children" and "School Failure" as focuses for development. Initially, the agencies who were brought together were those which had submitted letters of intent to the United Way to provide services in these areas of focus (including the Salvation Army, the House of the Crossroads, Mercy Hospital, Western Psychiatric Institute and Clinic, and the Hill House); as it became apparent that more community-based participation was necessary, other agencies and individuals providing services in the Hill District joined the process, including the Addison Terrace Learning Center, the Housing Authority of the City of Pittsburgh, Womanspace East, the Hill District Ministries, and the Hill P.A.C. A Liaison Committee was formed, headed by Sam Thompson, Director of the Pittsburgh Coalition Against Substance Abuse, and comprised of Stephanie Griswold-Ezekoye of the Addison Terrace Learning Center, Aurelia Brooks of the House of the Crossroads, and James Henry of the Hill House (these three organizations later became referred to as "The Big Three" by the Collaborative).

When the Collaborative came into existence, there were thirty-five member agencies, including the Big Three, the Hill Branch of the Carnegie Library, Women's Faith Inc., the Center Avenue Y, and Lower Hill Outreach. The Collaborative represented the first time the member agencies had ever really come together, a feat that was accomplished by the hard work of Collaborative director Terri Baltimore. Miss Edna Council, a community leader in the Hill District, credits Terri's "winning personality" as the factor responsible for promoting collaboration among the various agencies. Achieving the collaboration among the agencies was not easy, as some of the agencies did not want to build a relationship with the Collaborative, viewing it as a threat, or, as case manager Allison Wiles explained, they figured "the Collaborative was coming in just to take over." Other agencies simply did not

want to be a part as they did not share the Collaborative's vision. Terri and Allison had to work to bring these agencies together, sending out information to agencies and making phone calls even to agencies that thought the Collaborative was coming in and taking over.

A key motivating factor in bringing some of the agencies together was a desire to share in the pool of money allocated to the Collaborative by the United Way. The Collaborative did not get put into the United Way general allocations mix until 1997, which meant that they were not competing for funds with other agencies. Other agencies were willing to work with the Collaborative initially because not only were they not competing with the Collaborative for funding, but the possibility existed of also sharing in some of the money the Collaborative was receiving. Once the Collaborative was put into the United Way general pool, however, the issue of competition was raised. Terri recognized the importance funding has had on the Collaborative's relationships with other agencies: "All the years that we didn't have to compete, one of the things that kept people coming to the table, while they might not have liked the fact that the Collaborative had what amounted to a set-side from the foundations, they were also really clear that what we got didn't affect what they got." After the Collaborative entered the same funding pool, it had to deal with agencies not being as willing to cooperate because they were competing for money (the Collaborative was even competing with its host agency, the Hill House, for the same money).

Maintaining these relationships has also involved a lot of work. Some of the agencies have lost interest over time; others have continued to work closely with the Collaborative, but only as a result of much work. The Collaborative depends on these relationships, and so much time has been invested in keeping up these relationships. Each agency has a staff member designated as a representative who attends monthly Collaborative meetings and reports back to her respective agency. The Collaborative staff itself, particularly Terri, spends a lot of time working on maintaining positive

relationships with the other agencies. One of Terri's strategies in developing relationships has been to support people by showing up to their events and activities because she knows that if she shows up for them, at some point she's going to need them to do that for her, and they'll be more likely to if she has shown them support. The effort the Collaborative staff has put into building and developing relationships has allowed other agencies to see themselves as members of the Collaborative, even though every few years they have to revisit what being a member of the Collaborative means.

Currently the Collaborative is working with ninety six different agencies. Some agencies are seldom contacted to provide services, while other agencies the Collaborative works with every day. The relationships that have evolved will reflect this situation. Each agency that the Collaborative works with has a different portfolio of capabilities and also a different vision. These differing visions will and have led to conflicts and opportunities for advancement.

One group that the Collaborative has been successful in working with has been the Pittsburgh Action Against Rape(PAAR) project. When the Collaborative was started, there was no expectation that the Collaborative would have had to deal with their clients' past histories of sexual assault, abuse and rape. In late 1994, several clients raised the issue that they were using or had used drugs in order to numb the pain that resulted from sexual exploitation. The Collaborative had enough operation and budgetary flexibility to address this roadblock to recovery. The Collaborative contacted several other Hill area agencies to see if there were any existing programs that could address this problem. At the time, no programs were available. From this point, the Collaborative contacted PAAR and asked for assistance. PAAR responded and created a series of trainings that taught case managers and other social workers how to deal with the disclosure of a sexual assault, and

how to be better active listeners and supporters.[57] Additionally, PAAR trained several local leaders to be active group facilitators. During this training interval, PAAR supported the creation of a support group for women who had survived sexual exploitation. After an initial start-up phase, PAAR backed away as the support group evolved to meet the unique needs of the Hill District women and Collaborative clients.

Several lessons can be learned from the transactional relationship with PAAR. The Collaborative exhibited its normal procedures once it was aware that a need was not being met. It contacted other local agencies to see if there was an existing program that could serve its clients. After finding out that there was no way to meet the immediate need, the Collaborative expanded its search to agencies that it had previously not worked with and found PAAR. PAAR was given a good deal of freedom to design a basic program. However, the Collaborative and its local partners wanted to be taught how to sustain the program and this was accomplished through the staff trainings. Finally, the program that was developed was then adapted to the local situation. Now, the sexual assault and rape support groups still meets weekly to give support to women who have been sexually abused. From this case, we have seen how the Collaborative has been able to identify and provide for a need by creating unique programs for its clients.

Not all relationships are purely transactional, nor are they always this good. For instance, the Collaborative has had significant philosophical differences with other agencies concerning the drug usage status of clients at the point of intake. The Collaborative has a philosophy of harm reduction; it is willing to work with women who are using drugs at the moment of intake and who also relapse once a relationship has been established. Other agencies believe that they can only deliver services effectively once the person seeking services is abstinent from drugs entirely. This has led to several conflicts as

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[57] Denise Bey Interview, November 15, 2001.

the Collaborative has been accused of being an enabler to its clients by abstinence-seeking agencies, while the Collaborative has believed that seeking strict abstinence excludes the women who need the most help.[58]

For instance, the Collaborative has shared office space with Community Connections, an abstinence-based social services agency, in 2001. There had been conflicts over the role of the Collaborative in its participants' lives. One participant whom two agencies shared had an experience that highlighted the differences in the two philosophies. This participant has been in recovery and is currently clean. She has been getting her life together. However, at the time, she did not have a driver's license. She had asked her case manager for money to be able to afford a jitney in order to go grocery shopping and to be able to run errands.

The Collaborative gave her the money because they saw that this was a sign of progress. The participant had enough confidence to ask for help and was willing to take responsibility to take care of her basic needs. However, Community Connections believed that the woman should have her own driver's license and her own transportation in order to be completely independent. They believed that the Collaborative was holding the woman back from her full potential by enabling her to take a jitney and thus removing an incentive to get a license. The attitude expressed by this agency was more absolutist and black and white. The two agencies have been feuding and unable to effectively work together because each sees the other as not being willing to do what it takes to help the women of the Hill District out in the most effective manner.

As an example of a successful relationship between the Collaborative and an abstinence based organization, Catholic Charities requires that all of its clients be sober and clean if they are to receive services from Catholic Charities. The Collaborative does not have this requirement. There is not a

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[58] Interview with Terri Baltimore Thursday November 30, 2001.

large volume of client sharing between the two agencies. In this area, it appears that a compromise has been achieved in which Catholic Charities has been willing to turn a partially blind eye towards that fact that some people who have been using the bereavement group may still be actively using drugs. However, this blind eye does not appear to be universal. People who request life skills and homemaking services and classes are required to be clean and sober. These classes and skills could prove to be useful to the Collaborative's clients, but are not available to all of the people who need them because they may still be using.

The Collaborative has dealt with this philosophical issue by compromise. It believes in harm reduction while others believe in abstinence. The available evidence seems to indicate that whenever possible, the Collaborative will seek to utilize services from providers who are also in the harm mitigation mode. However, when a service is provided by an abstinence only program, the Collaborative is willing to use these services even as it seeks to modify the rules and the understandings that exist between the Collaborative, the program, and the client. It seeks to provide its clients the services that they need, in whatever manner that is available or possible.

Finally, the Collaborative has worked with several agencies much more frequently than they work with everyone else. In these cases, the Collaborative has produced fairly tight relationships for a variety of reasons. The most cynical reason is that initially, the Collaborative was a source of new money that was not available to anyone else unless they worked with the Collaborative. The financial situation of the Collaborative has changed so that it is now competing equally with all of its partners for private and public grants. However, in the early days, the money was a strong incentive to show up at Collaborative functions. Additionally, the Collaborative has invested large amounts of time and effort to show the advantages of working with the Collaborative to other agencies. It has provided forums for people and

agencies to meet, and to reduce workloads while providing for a more efficient blend and delivery of services to clients. It has also been willing to log-roll support for different proposals by other agencies in order that it would gain support in the future for non-related projects.[59]

The Collaborative has strong ties with the Hill House Association. The Collaborative staff is employed by Hill House. Additionally, the Collaborative shares space and facilities with a variety of other agencies that are members of the Hill House Association. This close physical proximity has allowed for a wide variety of random interactions and exchanges that has illustrated the advantages of working with the Collaborative. Finally, the Collaborative has been successful in conveying the fact that it is not trying to take other agencies and people's jobs over. This has required a large amount of communication that the Collaborative has been willing to undertake. It has also required that the Collaborative be willing to listen. Both of these requirements are at the core of the Collaborative's vision of building relationships, and the Collaborative has been successful in achieving this part of the vision.

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[59] Ibid.

Chapter 9

The Collaborative's Meaning
for Participants

by

Beth Majewski
Polina Kats
Esther Bradley

Throughout the last ten years, the Hill District Community Collaborative has grown in the number of participants that it handles—averaging at approximately 130 cases, with about 20 new cases per year. The participants who come to the Collaborative come with a variety of problems. While many share a commonality of substance abuse, many participants often experience

other difficulties that may affect their recovery. The Collaborative offers a variety of services—services not only for women but for their families as well. The Collaborative staff realizes that many of the issues that the women face come out of concern for their children. Due to the delicate and personal nature the of the work done by the Collaborative, the case managers try to build relationships with the participants based on trust and honesty as well as providing a supportive and stable environment for the usually chaotic lives of their clients

The Collaborative receives most of its clients through referrals. One participant, Maria, mentioned being referred by her divorce lawyer; another revealed that she had been pregnant and had been sent to a rehabilitation program when she was at the Neighborhood Center in Elmore Square. The Collaborative receives so many referrals (each case manager reported having between twenty to twenty-five current cases, with the exception of the housing services case manager, who is currently handling over ninety cases) through its extensive relationships with other agencies. These agencies often choose to refer women to the Collaborative in particular as a way to get help for both the women and their children. Another participant, Laura, noted this in an interview: "I was in a day program…from there, there was networking and they connected me to [the Collaborative to get] help for my support and my children….there were some agencies and they all came down and I signed up to get the necessary help that would help guide me and my children through our process of recovery and since then I've been here."

The women who were being referred to the Collaborative had a variety of problems, but all of them had drug and/or alcohol abuse issues. The Collaborative staff notes that each case is different, that every woman comes to the organization with a unique situation. Domestic violence as well as abuse factor largely into the lives of the participants. Denise Bey, a case manager, observes that domestic violence is one of the problems that can come along with addiction. "Domestic violence, sexual abuse, victimization,

abandonment – it is, like addiction, so multi-faceted. It is not just a drug. There are so many things that go along with it. The drug is just 10%.   There are always different components with each individual case." The participants in the Collaborative come to the organization with a variety of problems that go along with addiction, and they need support and resources to help pull them through their problems and get their self-esteem back up, even though many women, as Laura explained, have a hard time asking for help.

The Collaborative provides a number of services to make sure that each participant's needs are met. The participants we interviewed all referred to the opportunities the Collaborative has provided for their children. Maria was concerned about what her kids would do after school while she was involved in rehabilitation, and for her, the Collaborative provided activities that not only gave her children something to do, but also provided activities that proved to be both meaningful and beneficial to the children. Her daughter enjoyed a dance program the Collaborative put together, in which a dance company came from Boston and held hip-hop dance classes, which Maria viewed as a way for her children to get exposure to broader issues and points of view. Maria's son was able to utilize his abilities and interests in computers at the Collaborative. The Collaborative offered a mask-making program in November 2001 for participants and their children. The Collaborative also makes referrals to other services; if the staff sees that a child has a behavioral problem, they'll have the mother have the child evaluated. The case managers also become involved directly with the children from time to time, sometimes visiting schools with a mother if a child is having difficulties in school in order to make sure that child functions better in school. Children's groups are also in place, with psychologists from Duquesne University who work therapeutically with the children. They play with the children and do different activities to help the children see their behaviors from different angles and points of view. All of these programs seemed to be aimed at

providing opportunities for children and raising their self-esteem so they do not, as one participant implied, follow in the footsteps of their mothers.

The Collaborative has also focused largely on providing childcare for mothers who are in treatment.   Using networking, the Collaborative has been able to either find or to provide childcare in order to keep families together. Terri Baltimore cited one case in which a woman with six children relapsed and while she was receiving care, the Collaborative, networking with other agencies and the community at large, found a woman – Miss Gracie – to watch her children for a month.

The "average" Collaborative participant is a single mother with several children. Recovery is very difficult for women who also have multiple children to look after. Additionally, many of the women in treatment are very selective about who they allow to watch their children, so the Collaborative has had to work with these women in adjusting to letting someone else care for their children. The Collaborative recognizes the importance of providing services to both the woman in recovery as well as her family, and it has made an attempt to handle each woman on a case-by-case basis to make sure that both her needs as a mother and woman are met, including child care and services for her children.

The attention towards each family has been highly personal, a critical factor for many participants. Maria, a participant, seemed appreciative of the care her family received from Terri in particular. Her son, an introvert, doesn't usually open up to other people, but Terri drew him out right away with her outgoing personality, and several years after Maria became a participant at the Collaborative, her son still asks about Terri. Some of the case managers have attended court personally in cases involving mothers with children either to help the mother retain custody of her child or to be there for a mother who's child has been charged. The Collaborative looks at each case individually and looks at what each particular family needs, sometimes simply providing

support for a mother who is in recovery and sometimes stepping in and taking a larger role in order to do what is best for each family.

The notion of being there for families is very important to many of the participants. For many of the families, there hasn't been a lot of stability in their lives – they've had family members, agencies, etc., in and out of their lives. The Collaborative staff learned about the need for a stable force in many of these families' lives through their experience with family dinner programs. The family dinners, cited by several of the participants as events that they particularly enjoyed, started in 1994 as a way to for families to get together and meet other families. Family dinners happened at first on a monthly basis; as the staff's energy and desire to have these dinners waned, the dinners slipped to a bi-monthly basis, and eventually the Collaborative decided to cancel the dinners. Terri recalls the reaction of many of the participants upon hearing that the dinners were canceled: "I got cussed out, and rightfully so. Because I promised these people that we would be there whatever....and what I found out was people were expecting us to do it even if nobody came. It wasn't what was served for the meal; it wasn't how decorated the room was. It was the fact that the door was going to be open, period."

The most critical aspect of the participants' relationship with the Collaborative has been this feeling of continuity and support. Many of the participants have come to the Collaborative after working with various agencies, in some of which their interaction with the staff was limited to large amounts of paperwork. The Collaborative has stressed building a relationship with the women they work with – a relationship that depends on trust and honesty. The case managers expect the women to be honest and to be serious about recovery, and in return they offer support and reliability. Case manager Elisa Frasier explains that she tells her clients right away that she is a very down-to-earth person whom they can talk to about anything, but that she does not tolerate lying and that she will help someone as long as they are

willing to help themselves, too. The participants have recognized this honesty (what case manager Allison Wiles calls the Collaborative's "genuine" nature), and knowing that the case managers are there for them no matter what has been important to the participants in pulling them through difficult times.

These relationships often begin with establishing trust and making sure the women are committed to working towards getting clean. Allison Wiles begins working with each client by sitting down and talking to her to see if she is ready for treatment. "Once I see they are truly ready, and I feel that they are truly ready and that they feel that they are truly ready, I refer them to a treatment facility." Being "truly ready" is often a difficult step for the participants, and a strong relationship with a case manager is one crucial step to getting clean. The relationship essentially is built by letting a client know that they are there to help as long as the woman is serious about it. One participant, Debbie, admits the struggle getting clean was for her and recognizes the importance of her case manager in supporting her through rehabilitation: "It was a challenge, you know, because even though I was ready to be clean, they just kept working with me, you know, never let me go. They showed me like really tough love and I guess I respect them to this day because of that...Even though I didn't want to do it you know, they stuck by me through thick and thin."

The Collaborative therefore offers to its participants something that many of them had never previously had: support and stability. The atmosphere that the Collaborative provides for these women gives them the ability to be part of a social service agency but still maintain the control of their own lives and the ability to make their own decisions. According to the participants, they keep on coming to the Collaborative not only for the types of services that it offers them but also for the staff who keep their self esteem up and their hopes alive.

Chapter 10

The Collaborative's Meaning
for Fundors

by

Chad Harper

The role of fundors in the development of the Hill District Community Collaborative program has been a very important one. As the primary funding entity and creator of the concept of collaboration among non-profit organizations, the United Way had an integral role in the program's creation and design. The United Way recognized several problems within the funding of non-profit social services. This realization would lead to the eventual creation of the Collaboration program, whereby the Collaboratives would bring multiple non-profit organizations together in order to make the services more efficient and to create funding incentive for collaborating.

Competition for funds was one of the reasons why non-profit organizations rarely collaborated. With a finite amount of funds available for these organizations, some programs fell to the wayside. This is one of the problems that the Collaborative program sought to fix. With many organizations sharing the funds of one entity, competition was subtly reduced. It also made it easier to streamline the funds from the fundors.

Another problem that the collaborative concept was designed to fix is the fact that funding entities go through fads, just as the fashion and music industries do. Many funding organizations direct their funds to programs that are the current fad or are particularly politically more popular then other causes at the time. As a result of the funding of fads in combination with the competition aspect of the non-profit industry, many organizations adapt to the changes in fads in order to have a greater access to funds. Many times however, these organizations are not necessarily doing what is best for their clientele and often some services are no longer provided altogether. The United Way recognized the pitfalls of this system and sought to rectify the problem. The was an attempt to unify services.

Prior to the Collaborative program's inception, community and service organizations applied for funding from the United Way through three categories. These three categories were elderly care, youth issues, and substance abuse. The United Way created two portfolio teams in the categories of substance abuse and youth in order to design a program where there would be more cohesion among the applicants. These portfolio teams were also designed to streamline the funding process. After a 6 month process, these portfolio teams of 50 people each came up with the Collaborative concept.

This program created three Collaboratives within the Pittsburgh area: The Homewood Brushton Collaborative, the McKeesport Collaborative, and the Hill District Community Collaborative. These Collaboratives did not have to compete for funds with other organizations as each had its own funding

pool from within the United Way. Instead the Collaboratives would work together with several non-profit organizations in order to create more a comprehensive approach to service provision. In return, the organizations that fit the needs of the Collaborative program gain access to the funds as chosen by the Collaborative. The Hill District Community Collaborative, as the hub of many member organizations, focuses on the cohesion and facilitation of multiple services to its participants, women involved with drug addiction and their children. This program of collaboration has solved many of the problems that faced non-profits in the late 1980's.

Today, as opposed to having to fund 20 different non-profit organizations, the fundors are now looking at funding 20 collaborations. In essence the concept of collaboration has created a higher tier of organizing social services. So there may be a Collaborative that deals with substance abuse, or one that deals with foster children. But the greatest part of this change, that is also one of the main goals of this program, is that this more efficient system will improve the quality of services provided to the participants. In order to see how the Hill District Community Collaborative has been able to successfully implement this concept of collaboration, one must explore its history.

In 1991, the United Way brought the Collaborative concept to the attention of the Hill House Association. The United Way had created the concept of collaboration with the Hill District in mind, and so after discussions with the Hill District organization, a proposal was submitted. Carl Redwood, who was the director of many of the programs within the Hill House, and representatives of the Western Psychiatric Institute and Clinic, the Pittsburgh Coalition Against Substance Abuse, and Addison Terrace Learning Center primarily drew up the proposal to the United Way. The primary contact from within the United Way was John McCormick, who had headed the portfolio teams that came up with the collaborative program. Following the approval of the proposal by the United Way, the

Hill House Association was chosen as the lead agency for the Hill District Community Collaborative.

There were several phases that the Collaborative went through before it stabilized into the organization that we see today. During the first 6 months of the Collaborative, the organizing phase, the United Way took an active role in the coordination of the Hill Collaborative. Unfortunately, since there wasn't a true functional role of the Collaborative early on, the program only served as a way for local service agencies to exploit the funding process. Under the leadership of Carl Redwood and the four-member Executive Committee, the hiring of a Collaborative coordinator occurred. Even in the early stages, however, the role of the United Way in the functionality of the Collaborative was clear. In 1992, the hiring of Terri Baltimore marked the end of the early phase, and the Collaborative began its functionality phase.

Although she worked for the Hill House Association, and answered to Carl Redwood, Terri Baltimore became the organizing and directional leader of the Collaborative. The United Way continued its role as an observer and advisor, allowing Terri Baltimore to choose the agencies and staff that would be involved with the Collaborative. The ability of Terri Baltimore to have almost complete control over the Hill District Community Collaborative was essential in the successes that the program would have for years to come.

Underlining the entire structure of funding for the Hill Collaborative is the concept of trust. There are two parts to the Hill Collaborative's budget from the United Way. One part is essential services, which is the money that is necessary for the everyday functioning of the collaborative. The other part of the funding budget is money for discretionary funds for goods and services. This portion of the budget gives the Collaborative free control over what this portion of the budget is used for. Obviously this part

of the budget shows the amount of trust and confidence that, through the leadership of Terri Baltimore, the funds will be used for positive needs and services of the participants of the Collaborative.

Because Terri Baltimore has held the leadership role of this organization since its inception, the Collaborative has been able to create relationships with member agencies and fundors that would have otherwise been non-existent. Terri Baltimore has made great strides in securing long lasting partnerships and has been able to streamline the Collaborative itself. Because the Collaborative has limitations on its funds, there was a process of picking and choosing the programs that would best provide services to its clientele. Hence, Terri Baltimore's role in the collaborative has taken this two-to-three year trial period into a permanent entity within the Hill House infrastructure and the Hill District community.

Currently, through the United Way's liaison to the collaborative, Rachel Freund, the Hill District Community Collaborative renews its funding from the United Way every three years. This allows the Collaborative to have a greater sense of security than if it had to renew its funding yearly. Another point that instills stability within the program is that the amount that is funded rarely changes, so that the budget of the Collaborative fits the needs of the Collaborative well.

In closing, Terri Baltimore's role in the Collaborative has proven that the collaborative concept, as defined by the United Way, can be implemented successfully in the Hill District. Without her foresight, personality, and tenure at the Hill Collaborative, funding for the program would probably be smaller or possibly not even be available. By adding incentive to Collaboration, the funding structure of this program is the glue that binds all of the member organizations to the Collaborative.

Chapter 11

The Collaborative's Meaning
for Community Leaders

I:
Esther Bradley
and
Polina Kats

The Hill District police station, known as Zone 2, deals with a variety of issues that face almost any economically deprived community. Through examination of such issues, a better understanding may develop of the difficulties facing not only community residents and Zone 2 but also the Hill District Community Collaborative as a leading community organization and the ways in which such situations are handled. The police officers of Zone 2 have always had a heavy uniform presence within the Hill through impact work and have also performed undercover work in the community. The concerns that the District and Zone 2 has dealt with include drug use, prostitution, and community residential and business development issues. As a result, the officers and staff of Zone 2 have built a relationship with community leaders and organizations in order to help rebuild the community for success.

Heroin, crack cocaine, and marijuana use are the most common drugs within the District's population. In the past 3 or 4 years most arrests occurred over heroin possession as well as the intent to sell the drug. Prior to this,

however, the drug that was causing the biggest problem in the Hill District and the neighboring neighborhoods was crack cocaine. Crack cocaine came to the attention of the Pittsburgh police in 1992. When the Hill District Community Collaborative first opened most of its clients were women addicted to crack cocaine.

While many illicit drug users come from neighboring areas to purchase such substances—approximately 60% of the arrests for drug possession in the Hill do not live in the Hill District—crack houses and shooting galleries are still found throughout the community. New users occasionally snort heroin but primarily the trend in the Hill is to inject it. Three years ago it may have been crack, says Commander William Valenta, but heroin is on the rise again. The mean age at which most heroin addicts start using is 25 or 26 years old. The mean age for chronic crack cocaine users however falls between 20 and 22.

The hottest drug corner in the Hill is Center and Kirkpatrick followed closely by Wylie and Erin. The drug traffic in that area is highly structured. Heroin comes packaged in stamp bags which are brought from Philadelphia, Detroit, and New York. It also comes in raw form, and is then placed in colored balloons depending on the drug dealer. Lawrenceville has stamped bags but most of the heroin sold in the Hill District is packaged in balloons.

Prostitution, as well, is found within the Zone 2 boundaries. Currently, an average of 15 arrests are made per week in connection with prostitution—not only in the Hill District but also Uptown, Downtown, and Lawrenceville. The Hill District does not see much prostitution in the traditional sense of an exchange of money for sexual favors. Rather, Zone 2 deals with a "convoluted form of prostitution" (CDR Valenta) where sexual favors are exchanged for drugs. Unlike many cities in the United States, Pittsburgh and in particular the area covered by Zone 2 do not have a "child" prostitute problem. Pittsburgh women usually enter prostitution at around 18 or 19. The mean age for Pittsburgh prostitutes is 23, and the oldest women on the streets are between 35 and 40 years old.

The Hill District faces many community development issues. How to build the community for future development has been a hot topic among the community population, community organizations, and community leaders. Commander Valenta spoke about the increasing interest from both a development stand point and from a community stand point, of what do we want it [Hill District] to be? While business and housing development seems as though it would be beneficial to the Hill, however discussion about the topic is often met with resistance from residents over discourse about eminent domain.

HOPE 6 is a program that can be though of as an extension of Crawford Square--expanding from Bedford Avenue down to Wylie, bounded by Dinwiddie and Soho--brought up by the URA to redevelop houses. This development initiative has brought up quite a bit of discomfort among community residents. It is thought of as a land grab by the URA and the city and further growth of the project would take away the homes of many Hill District residents.

One of the main areas that Zone 2 has been involved with the community and the Hill House Collaborative has been through the "Store Front" initiative. The "Store Front" is a program that has been initiated by a community elder and several community organizations. The "Store Front" is to be developed near the intersection of Center and Kirkpatrick as a center for people to be directed for community resources concerning drug treatment programs. Since that particular intersection is known for heavy drug traffic, by putting the "Store Front" in the middle of it, the goal is to subside the trade in that area an allow individuals seeking treatment an accessible route to possible success. Instead of having to go through the intersection to reach the main drug treatment center in the Hill District, House of the Crossroads, the community population will have it right there, hopefully making it an easier transition to treatment.

Developing the "Store Front" is a tricky issue. Community organizations would like create such a place; however, the issue arises of how to develop it so as not to impinge upon the look of the community—how to have it there without looking as though it is a drug treatment facility as not to make potential business developments uncomfortable with the feeling of establishing themselves next to a treatment facility.

Commander Valenta sees the relationship between the Hill District Community Collaborative and Zone Two as an opportunity to collaborate even more and work together and try to limit district arrests. The Collaborative is well known and part of other community groups and therefore carries a fairly high weight in the community. He sees the Collaborative as a leading force to educate the community and pursue development and other initiatives as a positive change for the community. With an organization—such as the Collaborative—that depends so heavily upon the establishment of relationships there is great possibility for the District's success as long as the community organizations and leaders work together. The Collaborative has the opportunity to be that connector, which they work towards, and bring people and ideas together.

II:

Michael Fontaine

As a community leader and authority figure, City of Pittsburgh Police Zone 2 Commander William Valenta believes the Collaborative fulfills a major purpose in the Hill. Valenta has worked in the Hill District since 1994 and watched as it has gone through a number of waves of crime and also various levels of community involvement in important issues. He feels that the Collaborative has filled in the missing piece of education and assistance for the community.

Based on his background in law enforcement, Valenta sees the Collaborative as an opportunity to better educate the segment of society that needs it the most. The women who begin as participants are often very troubled, and the Collaborative provides a stable foundation for getting their lives back in order. Valenta mentions the lack of a male presence in these families as well as a lack of younger people in their 20s and 30s in the area. The children of the women who are participants are at risk for becoming involved in criminal activity because of the lack of authority and adult presence at home. The programs that the Collaborative offers for children fill in this gaping hole in many families. In a community that is fractured, there needs to be this stabilizing agency, especially one that can do as many things as the Collaborative does. The presence of many of the community leaders working with the Collaborative, such as Miss Edna Council, gives the Collaborative high respect for the mission it is undertaking.

Valenta believes that the Collaborative's strength comes from its successful implementation of the programs it runs. The issue of expanding their program to include men worried him, because he wanted to make sure this would not take away from the effort of concentrating on women and

children. This sector of the community is where the Collaborative provides its best service, and this should not be compromised at all.

The Storefront project is one that could potential have a major positive effect on the community. With its location in the heart of the drug trade at Centre and Kirkpatrick, this could put a stop to the crime in that area which is so crucial to the success of the community. By offering this additional service to the community, the Collaborative is taking on the responsibility of cleaning up all aspects affecting these women's lives as they try to turn their lives around.

In Commander Valenta's opinion, the Collaborative is combating a key piece of the drug problem in the Hill District. They are cleaning up these women who continue to fall victim to the lure of drugs and other crimes. The Collaborative also has an effect on these women's children, who would normally be the most at risk for following in the footsteps of drugs. This care gets them off the street into a caring environment. It is this combination of services that allows the Collaborative to have such a strong positive effect on the community.

III:

Rashad Gray

Community elders are a vital part of Pittsburgh Hill Collaborative and the Hill District Community. They represent the view and opinions of the people, while donating their wealth of knowledge and time to support the community. They also carry a unique perspective of the neighborhood and the history of the community.

Miss Edna Council has been a part of the Hill District neighborhood for over seventy years. She has been an integral part of the collaborative since its inception and has provided her insight for the benefit of the collaborative. She is a dedicated stalwart who vigilantly participates in the daily activates of the Collaborative.

Miss Josephine Roberts was the former neighborhood coordinator for the Hill District. Currently, she is retired and volunteers her free time while working in the hill house. Her wisdom is also much appreciated around the Collaborative.

Chapter 12

The Collaborative's Meaning
for Staff

by

David Anderson
Rashad Gray
Michael Fontaine

In any machine, the right parts are needed for it to function and operate properly. The same can be easily said for any organization that seeks to optimize its productivity. A company that produces a product can measure success on how many units it can sell. However, in an organization that deals with people, success is measured in a different way. Success is measured in the lives of the individuals involved in the treatment. A lot of this success is due to the active participation of the staff in the organization and their

responsiveness to the needs of the client. A social service agency can only be successful with a good, dedicated staff. The staff must be able to interact with clients. A good staff must also be able to communicate with the other staff workers around them to create a cohesive work environment. Each staff member must be able to carry his/her own caseload for client to receive the optimal treatment. They also must be objective with every case, prescribing treatment for every individual. Staff members must also set up boundaries with the client to keep the relationship professional as possible. If staff becomes too emotionally attached to a client she could lose their objectivity and becomes unable to perform at their best. The realm of social work has both is successes and failures. The staff must be able to deal with failure accordingly to find a solution for that particular situation. Staff members may have high expectations for a client, but may find themselves disappointed if the client fails in treatment. There are other stressors that affect the staff of a social organization, which in turn can affect the productivity of an individual.

The work is stressful for staff at both work and home, placing large amounts of strain on their daily life. Those who work in social work experience health problems and other stress related symptoms. Some also may take the stressors of work home, thus disrupting the continuity of family life and affecting relationships within their own families. Burnout and fatigue are the common reason for a high turnover rate within the field. The average tenure for those who work in social work is two years. It takes great dedication to work in this field for long periods of time. By balancing work and family life by creating a separation of the environments, a staff member is able to operate in an efficient manner. These are all common traits amongst successful social organizations. The Pittsburgh Hill District Collaborative staff adopted these same ideals to create an efficient organization.

The Collaborative staff has developed over time into an efficient organization that understands its role in treatment of the clientele and the community of the Hill District. The staff consists of three caseworks and one

manager. Each carries a caseload of clients. The responsibilities of the caseworkers include roles such as court advocates, supportive service, client intervention, case management, and support. Through trial and error they have developed policy that allows them to handle the issues that arise in social work, whether it may be with treatment of clients or in organizational task. There is cohesion and communication amongst the staff, allowing for efficiency in the work place. There are also support structures in place for staff who may need to recover from work related stressors. There are also internal policies that allow them to take time off. The staff members find a balance between work and home life. A majority of the workers have families. In all, each individual plays her part in the functioning of the Collaborative.

Terri Baltimore

Terri Baltimore first came to the Collaborative in August of 1992 to serve as the coordinator for the operations of the Hill District Community Collaborative. She has a background as a community organizer, and she saw this role as an exciting new opportunity to shape a brand new organization that had such great goals in mind. Terri has had a role in everything the Collaborative has done over the last nine years. From writing grant proposals to acting as a temporary case manager, she has had influence on all aspects of this operation.

Terri obviously has a close and personal connection with the Collaborative, having run it all these years. She has become so connected to the Collaborative that she will never be able to separate from it. Originally when she joined, the Collaborative was a go-between for different agencies. They did not deal with participants directly, and only heard stories from outside case managers about the participants. This frustrated her deeply during this first year, and made her feel that they were not making a difference. When Denise Bey was added as a case manager, the Collaborative soon began getting its own caseload and the work suddenly became much more meaningful. In these early days, Terri credits the fact that they could make up the rules for this process as a positive factor. In creating their operation, they had no prior guidelines to follow. There were many consultants and evaluators, plus Terri mentions consulting with the other Collaboratives in Homewood and McKeesport. These early events were crucial in setting the table for what she would oversee in the coming years.

A turning point in Terri's views of the Collaborative's work came when one of the monthly family dinners that the staff held was cancelled. Members of the staff were tired of holding the dinners every month to sparse attendance, and decided to cancel one month. The response that they received was brutal. The participants had understood that the Collaborative's door was always open, and the cancellation was a shock to them. This made

Terri and the staff realize the special role that they played in the community. It didn't matter what they were having for dinner; it was the fact that their doors were open to talk at any time.

Terri stresses that the most important aspect of the job is dealing with families. The Collaborative had not always dealt with families as a whole; at one time, two case managers worked with the mothers, and two case managers focused on the children. This resulted in dividing the family issues in two, and not having good communication during the recovery process. They now treat families as wholes, are respectful, and model for them what it means to be part of a community. Terri points out programs such as Farmstand as opening up community assets to the participants. This gets the people involved in some of the policy issues around the Hill, and sets an example for the participants to become more involved in community issues.

Being part of a community also takes help from outside members of the community not involved with the Collaborative. Terri is grateful for the work done by Ms. Edna Council and others in revamping the way the Collaborative functioned. Ms. Edna has been around the Hill for decades, and is now a respected elder in the community. Receiving advice from those such as Ms. Edna proves that this is a two way street, and the work the Collaborative does should be important all members of the community, not just those receiving assistance from the Collaborative.

Wanting the Collaborative to function the best way it possibly can, Terri creates a good atmosphere for the staff members to work in. Team chemistry is very important, with such a small number of people spending so much time together and working on the same things. Personality conflicts would arise and hinder the progress of the workload of the Collaborative. To ensure the success of the organization, Terri hired a consultant to come in and work with the staff. Ray Logan began working in 1996 to make the staff members understand each other and learn to appreciate the different points of view put forth by each person. This was to lessen the damage from personality

conflicts that had arisen. The successful impact made by the consultant shows the responsibility that Terri took on to make sure the group functions well as a whole.

A key factor for Terri and the rest of the staff is that they are free to act as they wish as long as they have respect for the job that they do. A prior staff member did not respect those values, and constantly did not show up until towards the end of the day. Terri's response was to put in a time clock. This garnered a very negative response from the staff, but this mandate did not last very long as all involved soon understood what was expected of each of them.

Being part of the Collaborative is meant to be a long-term relationship. Once a participant has stopped using drugs and is in recovery, she requires a lot of the Collaborative's services. Terri stresses that after participants complete that initial process, they are always welcome and invited to participate in all Collaborative events. The participants may not even need a service or go to an event, but the important point is that they know the Collaborative is always there. The Collaborative makes calls to the participants every four months to make sure they are alright. Terri believes that it takes this kind of service to make the participants want to stay connected with the Collaborative after they no longer need the help or move to another part if the city.

Terri feels that it is important that the participants are involved in the creation of operational guidelines for the Collaborative. There were situations at family dinners when families came in high, and that deeply disturbed the other participants there. This led to the creation of ground rules by the staff and the participants concerning the conduct that must be followed. This level of involvement makes the participants a part of the decision making of the program, not just receiving assistance. This gives them a sense of importance that they otherwise would not have. They may get second thoughts about

relapsing when they think about how important they are to the process and how they are now a critical part of the functionality of the Collaborative.

Terri Baltimore has been the most critical piece of the Collaborative during its lifetime. She understands the major role it plays in the lives of those involved. The Collaborative is an integral piece of Terri's life, as she realizes that this process could be the key in shaping the future of the participants' lives.

Elisa Frasier

Elisa Frasier is the Homeless Services Case Manager at the Collaborative. She started work at the Collaborative in August 1998. She handles a caseload of over ninety participants, a caseload larger than the other case managers have. Her normal days consist of calling many of her clients, who must stay in touch with her twice a month. Lisa handles all duties that have to deal with issues concerning housing that come into the Collaborative. Duties such as calling furniture outlets are part of her daily work. With her contacts, it is much easier for her to find what participants needs than for each of them to look individually for what they need. Lisa also must write reports to such agencies as Housing and Urban Development, and monthly reports of her caseload for the Collaborative.

Her role has grown over the past three years, as her client load is three times greater than the other case managers. Lisa has had many challenging cases over the years, and has suffered through the same agonies in dealing with difficult cases that all the case managers do. In the end, like all of the current employees of the Collaborative, she has great love for the job and has a great deal of satisfaction for the work she is doing.

As a resident of the Hill District, as well as once being homeless herself, Lisa brings a lot to the table in terms of personal experience and compassion for those with whom she is dealing. Not having any prior experience in the social service field, she was not quite sure what to expect when she started this job. As she began to spend a lot of time with the Collaborative, it was apparent to her that this job had a great meaning to many in the community. This can easily be seen by how many of the clients view Lisa a crucial piece in their lives. Lisa cannot walk across the Hill without being approached by a participant talking about their current problems. This new role of importance that Lisa holds in the community demonstrates how effective the Collaborative has become. The creation of boundaries between Lisa and the participants is another important step in the process. By setting

up the guidelines of how and when to meet, this helps the participant become more self-sufficient. The Collaborative would not be fulfilling its goals if these points were not understood by the participants of the programs.

The participants all have children, and satisfying their needs is a major goal of the job. Lisa once again can feel compassion for these people, because she also has children of her own to care for. All of the Collaborative employees, including Lisa, mention that the family is a very important point that they stress there. This is a major part of evolution through the Collaborative's history that she mentions is the most important. The children of the participants can utilize the many services that the Collaborative offers, which can help them when that aspect of a child's life cannot be offered at home.

Being a member of the Collaborative team means a lot of work, but this is what is expected when it comes to dealing with many of the people that Lisa sees on a daily basis. She knows that sometimes going to court on behalf of a participant is what it takes to act in their best interest. This is sometimes a frustrating process, watching a participant not even be mentally stable enough to make a phone call, but if you want to help a person, these minor issues need to be taken care of as well. The Collaborative can be thought of as a full-service organization, helping out with a great variety of needs of a participant. Lisa believes that this is what makes the Collaborative's job so crucial. While the other case managers deal with a lot of drug and alcohol issues, if there is a housing problem, Lisa is the expert in that field that the Collaborative employs.

Lisa also believes the Collaborative functions so well because of the excellent chemistry among the staff members. Relying as much as they do on each other, the staff must work well together, and although there were problems before Lisa joined, they work great as a unit now. Lisa credits the on-the-job training that she received as an important start to her work there. To perform well there, everyone should be in the best shape possible, this

ensures all the employees will do a good job with their work. Thus, with the flexibility and independence that is offered here, the work environment is something that is seen as a positive by Lisa.

Lisa is the newest member of the Collaborative staff, but has become just as integral as the rest of the staff. She believes in the idea to try to meet every need that a participant has. Helping people find a kitchen appliance may seem trivial compared to their other needs, but it reaffirms the deep commitment that the Collaborative has to put people on the right path. This will give the Collaborative the trust of a participant and allow their agency to give the help that is needed.

Denise Bey

Denise Bey began work at the Hill house Collaborative in July of 1993. Ms. Bey has been an employee of the Hill House Collaborative for the past 8 years. She is a case manager, a title that implies she has a direct responsibility with the individual cases of the participants. She gained experience in social work from her previous employment by working at a recovery center in the Homewood district of Pittsburgh. The recovery center and the Homewood Collaborative employed her for two years before she joined the Hill District Community Collaborative. In all, she has over a decade of experience in working in social work and drug/alcohol rehabilitation. Currently she has 20 clients in her caseload.

Ms. Bey's job responsibilities require her to stay in contact with those in treatment. Every day she inquires about their well being by making telephone calls to check on their situation and to be an avenue for support. She acts as a supportive liaison for the participants to other agencies such as Children, Youth and Families and Housing and Urban Development, while also making court appearances as an advocate to show that an individual is receiving treatment. She has to coordinate the care of the participants with other agencies so that treatment of an individual could be effective in fulfilling the needs of the individual. Most of these women are single parents. And in a lot of cases brought before Ms. Bey, the children in these families have been removed from the home. So the recovering parent or parents must follow a Family Service Plan issued by the courts to get their children back in the household. Ms. Bey acts as an advocate in this process. And some participants, as Ms. Bey pointed out, may have more needs than others. So time is always an issue with the casework. With the constant checkups and support classes for participants, the job can be quite demanding. Ms. Bey, however, takes the responsibility all in stride. She describes her role as "wearing a lot of different hats." She must file reports every month on the clients. In 1997, she established a database that made work easier for the

staff so they could catalog information and respond to a participant's needs in a timelier fashion.

The case manager-client relationship is some times tense, but Ms. Bey seems to handle it well. She has a unique understanding of their situation because she has been on the other side of the table. Not only is Ms. Bey a case manager for people in recovery, but she has also been in recovery herself for thirteen years. And this recovery experience may be the difference between Ms. Bey and the rest of the staff. In the interviews, Ms. Bey indicated that she hasn't suffered work related burnout, a common symptom of social work. Ms. Bey stated that she enjoys the work so much that it is not a strain on her life. It is a chance for her to give back to the community, they same community where she was in recovery herself. In 1994, Ms. Bey was the only case manager. She was overwhelmed when the caseload became larger, because initially, as she stated, she tried to do all of the work. When this occurred, another staff member was hired to alleviate the situation. Ms. Bey's work requires that she must personally be involved with every part of the client's treatment process. This relationship between client and caseworker is sensitive and must reflect the nature of the trust between the individuals. This trust creates a bond, but there has to be in place a level of personal respect. Boundaries are necessary to t keep the relationship professional. Ms. Bey describes that since the caseworkers are a resource, sometimes a participant will try get close to receive more benefits. Ms. Bey stresses that this distance between caseworker and participants is necessary for treatment to be functional. The rest of the co-workers carry a similar approach to the relationship issue.

Ms. Bey integrates well in the offices organization. She meshes well with the rest of the staff and understands her role as a caseworker. Her caseload consists of twenty clients, so she is able to meet the needs of the participants. Ms. Bey is quite organized, noted especially from the observation. Her desk is neat and file and papers are in their proper place.

She is quite proficient in her use of the computer, even setting up a database of clients in previous years. She likes her job and especially those around her. Ms. Bey and her coworkers have a unique chemistry that allows the group to operate so well. She also has a good relationship with her manager Terri. In all, Ms. Bey complements the rest of the group.

Allison Wiles

Allison Wiles has been employed by the Hill District Community Collaborative since 1993. Before she came to the Collaborative, she had worked with Project 90, a social services project that worked with teenagers in order to prepare them for college. Once she arrived at the Collaborative, her initial job was to be the program assistant. This entailed a multitude of responsibilities. She was responsible for a little bit of everything: meeting with other agencies, scheduling and arranging provider lunches, filing paperwork, tracking down requests, assisting Terri Baltimore with responses to United Way queries, and a variety of other tasks.

Initially, Ms. Wiles and Terri Baltimore were the only people working at the Collaborative because it was a behind the scenes agency. However, in 1994, the Collaborative took over active case management and new people were hired to handle this function. During this time period, Ms. Wiles remained the program assistant. Her duties expanded to include helping plan Collaborative activities such as the family dinners and also aiding the staff in their work. This arrangement led to a high degree of interaction between Ms. Wiles and the Collaborative's participants either through formal structures such as the family dinners or art classes, or through the informal meetings of people who were sharing and using the same space.

In September of 1999, a case manager left the Collaborative and an opening for that position occurred. Ms. Wiles had wanted to become a case manager and she talked to Terri Baltimore about the position. Ms. Baltimore stated that she did not know anyone more qualified for the position than Ms. Wiles because Ms. Wiles was extremely familiar with the Collaborative and had already established relationships with the participants that she would be working with. She received the job and has been a case manager for over two years now.

Currently Ms. Wiles has twenty five clients. The clients vary in their needs, their levels of independence, and their personalities. Each one is a

unique individual whom Ms. Wiles respects and gives personal and personalized attention to. However, there are several common themes that Ms. Wiles utilizes when working with participants. The first one is that Ms. Wiles believes that for her work to be effective, a participant must be truly ready to take action and receive help. Ms. Wiles judges a participant to be truly ready by a combination of experience and intuition.

Once a participant is ready to help herself, Ms. Wiles establishes a close but professional relationship. The relationship is based upon the fact that both people want recovery to be successful. It is an extremely open and honest relationship in which needs and requirements are discussed, while the participant retains final decision making authority. This relationship has its boundaries for Ms. Wiles; it is solely professional, not social. This boundary has allowed Ms. Wiles to intensely help participants without being burned out by emotional stress. Ms. Wiles maintains a firm separation between her personal and professional life. She does not bring work home with her, for it would interfere with the relationship that she has with her daughter, nor does she bring her personal life into the office for it would disrupt the work process.

Ms. Wiles has been with the Collaborative for over eight years now. There are a variety of reasons that she has remained with the Collaborative and has not sought a job elsewhere. One reason is that she greatly enjoys her job and receives a great deal of personal satisfaction. She said that "I love helping people. I can see that I am making a difference in someone's life, when you guide them in a certain direction and they say 'that makes sense.'" Additionally, she enjoys working with the people that she works with. She described the intra-office dynamic as extremely loose and relaxed. People laugh and joke throughout the day. Her fellow case managers are willing to listen and offer suggestions on her difficult cases to help her out. She does the same for them. However, the greatest reason why she has stayed for eight years is a deep personal loyalty to Terri Baltimore. She stated that Ms. Baltimore is a "terrific boss" who cares greatly

for everyone that she is in contact with. She has stated that Ms. Baltimore never threatens the staff with losing their jobs, instead, she makes sure that everyone knows that their job is secure and safe. Ms. Baltimore looks out for the staff and backs them up unconditionally. For Ms. Wiles, the Collaborative is a vision of hope and love, as it seeks to make gradual, incremental improvements in individual lives in order to improve the world.

Conclusion

The staff of the Collaborative is its greatest strength. The staff has been fairly stable over the entire history of the Collaborative, as there have been three people who have been working at the Collaborative since its initial years, and a fourth position that had been fairly unstable until Lisa Frasier was hired two and a half years ago. Since then, the staff has remained constant. This stability has been crucial for the Collaborative, and this stability has not been mere happenstance; it has taken effort.

Staff stability is crucial to the success of the Collaborative because it has allowed participants to trust and rely upon the Collaborative. Participants have had experiences with social service agencies in which they are told to complete a program and then find out that the person that they are supposed to work with no longer is employed in that program or that the program itself no longer exists. With the Collaborative, participants have had a long and stable history with it, so that they have a reasonable expectation that when the Collaborative or their case manager says that something will be done or be made available, that this will actually occur.

This trust between participants and their case managers can only exist in strong relationships. Again, stability has allowed for both sides to be able to identify and empathize with each others' capabilities and limitations. These relationships have on the whole been extremely productive and professional. The staff has done a very good job in maintaining boundary conditions that are reasonable and productive for everyone involved. For their own peace of mind, the staff has been required to be fully professional although caring. They can and have socialized with participants in formal settings such as the family dinners, but not in informal situations. This is because participants would not receive fair treatment and the services that they deserve if friendships were involved between participants and case managers.

The stability of the staff has been brought about by several distinct threads and policies. The most important is that the three case managers all

find the work that they do challenging, interesting, worthwhile and rewarding. These four traits compensate them for the stress and hard work that the job entails. Additionally, they are treated with respect. Participants respect them. Their supervisor, Terri Baltimore, respects them as professionals. They are treated as responsible people who know what they are supposed to be doing and are expected to do it. They are not baby-sat through tasks. Autonomy and independence are granted and expected.

The intra-office group dynamic is light, collaborative and relaxed. Everyone within the office knows that if they have a problem they can turn to anyone else in order to verbalize, verify, discuss and brainstorm for possible solutions. Each person wants to help everyone else out. This reduces stress, and also creates a lot of laughter and levity within the office.

Finally, the staff greatly respects their supervisor, Terri Baltimore. Terri has been described as an ideal boss, for she acknowledges that each staff member has a life outside of work. For instance, the three case managers all have children, and when a child has been sick, there has never been a problem about receiving time off. Another example of Terri's presence and actions that contribute to high morale occurred when one staff member was approaching the point of burnout because of an extremely difficult case. Terri told her to take a couple of days off to collect herself and relax. Actions such as these generate an atmosphere of trust, loyalty and dedication. These traits distinguish the staff of the Collaborative and makes the staff the most valuable active asset that the Collaborative possesses.

Chapter 13

Analysis of the Hill District Community Collaborative: Evaluation by Dr. Hide Yamatani

by

Luis Carvajal

Purpose of the Evaluations

Dr. Hide Yamatani made several interim evaluations of the effectiveness of the Hill District Community Collaborative's programs in an effort to address program accountability, service improvements, decision making patterns for use in the future of the Collaborative program, and to address specific concerns of the United Way of Allegheny County. [i] Specifically, the United Way proposed the following evaluation questions:

- Has the collaboration program improved the human care system and overall decision making of public, private, and voluntary organizations and in what ways?

- Does collaboration produce more efficient service delivery and operation?

- What elements strengthen or weaken the operation of the collaborative?

- Have women, children, and families benefited from services provided through the collaborative?

- Have the collaborative plans remained on schedule?

- Has the target number of families been served each year?

- Is a system in place to assess the changing needs of at risk families?

- Is this a cost effective way to spend scarce resources?

- Do collaboratives utilize culturally specific strategies and techniques in serving their clients?

Dr. Yamatani gathered information through meetings and discussions with key committees and members of the Collaborative program, as well as client interviews. Initial evaluations and updates consisted of summaries of various meetings as well as initial client ratings of the collaboratives.

Evaluation Findings

The following are selected findings from Dr. Yamatani's Community Collaborative Evaluation Report from March of 1998.[ii] Dr. Yamatani found that the target population of female substance abusers and their children were underserved in Allegheny County. With the establishment of the three Collaboratives in the Hill District, Homewood/Brushton, and McKeesport mothers and their children were aided in recovery and supported through

case management and the availability to pool several existing services through one contact point. This helped to eliminate duplication and foster a sense of cultural sensitivity.   Dr. Yamatani further gathered profiles of addictions. This allowed insight into demographic patterns as well as deep-rooted causes such as prior drug or sexual abuse.

Dr. Yamatani found that relapse rates for women in Collaborative programs were significantly lower than national rates reported by a NIDA study. Findings showed that clients and their families saw a decrease in both unemployment[iii] and DPW[iv] assistance.
Nearly half of the mothers who lost custody of their children were able to regain custody. The reports showed that certain major components of treatment such as service coordination and self empowerment of clients played a major role in the successful relapse rates.   Children also benefited from Collaborative services, with many mothers reported improved rates of attendance, grades, and reduced problems with suspension and safety.

The Collaborative approach has received high approval ratings from mothers in such areas as clients being treated with respect and understanding the specific issues of women. The Collaborative approach was also found to have improved the human care system, integrated into the community, and has proven to be cost efficient.

Summary

Dr. Yamatani's findings and report show a high and ever improving rate of approval for Collaborative programs and treatment style.   The Collaboratives have also proven to be cost efficient and have managed to improve the aid system for the underrepresented groups of drug addicted women and their children, with improved academic performance in children and lower than national relapse rates and decreased DPW assistance and unemployment in women.[v]

Such positive findings have served to assist the Collaborative in its fundraising and its search to incorporate new agencies. Both fundors and associates of the Collaborative cited that the findings in Dr. Yamatani's evaluation reports helped justify their funding decisions and their continued collaboration with the Collaborative, respectively.

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[i] It is important to note that Dr. Yamatani provided evaluations on all three Collaboratives, as well as inter-Collaborative analyses. However, the scope of examining all three Collaboratives is beyond the scope of our project group, due to both time and manpower constraints.

[ii] For a more complete report of findings, see the Community Collaborative Evaluation Report and the Interim Evaluation Reports

[iii] from 82.5% to 59.8%

[iv] 83.9% in 1995-96 to 77.8% in 1997

[v] An interesting note concerns Dr. Yamatani's statements in the Collaborative Program Evaluation Proposal of October 6, 1992. On page 18, Dr. Yamatani states that he will be conducting the statistical analysis with controls for intrusive factors, and thus would be omitting them from the actual evaluation study. That is to say, that he will be making calculations that account for intrusive factors and so will not be addressing them directly.