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A Sociological Study of the Reciprocal Relations between the Clientele and the Program of Services of Marillac House, Chicago 1947-1961

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Loyola University Chicago
A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE RECIPROCAL RELATIONS
BETWEEN THE CLIENTELE AND THE PROGRAM OF
SERVICES OF MARILLAC HOUSE, CHICAGO
1947 - 1961

by
Sister Winifred Kilday, D.C.

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
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LIFE

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO STUDY

This thesis represents an attempt to investigate sociologically a settlement house in Chicago for the purpose of arriving at a knowledge of the major changes that have occurred in the clientele and program of services during the period 1947-1961.

The agency selected for this study was the Marillas Social Center, 2822 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, which operates as a settlement house in the midst of the densely populated mid-west side. From its vantage point in Chicago's inner city, the Center has witnessed the forces that have made the area surrounding it conspicuous for social changes and problems. Selection of this settlement house was made on the basis that the agency's location, its operational time-span, scope of services and clientele, would adequately serve as a representative subject for the thesis problem.

Clearance for the study and access to agency records and personnel for sampling purposes were given by the administration with the generous cooperation of the agency extended to this investigator during the course of the study.

Consistency in conceptualization has been attempted, since it is deemed essential in the proper understanding, explanation, and control of the findings of this study. The settlement house itself was studied in the light of Parsons' concept of a "pattern-maintenance organization," or a broad type of collectivity which has assumed a particularly important place in modern industrial society.
with primarily "cultural," "educational," and "expressive" functions. The concept of the settlement house as an organization admits "functions" and "dimensions" or the variable influences of the elements of relationship between the formal organization and the other component parts of the community area and its all-pervasive patterns, according to the interpretation of sociologist Lowry Nelson and others.2

As used in this study, the concept of "community" refers to the "structuring" of elements and dimensions to solve problems which must be or can be solved within the local area.3 Consequently, it is to be emphasized that variations in area and people are conditions affecting community but are not the community per se; rather, the community is the complex of relations among people within the "local area," or the area within which most of the basic human needs are satisfied daily and proximately. Since the structure of community involves people and their interactions, certain underlying assumptions are herein maintained: a) that human relations are to some extent predictable; b) that one form of predictable behavior, however qualified this may be, is the emergence of informal, implicitly understood patterns, which are called group relations; and c) that the extent of predictability of these relations depends upon the fact that the individuals usually select their roles from a

1 Talcott Parsons, Structure and Process in Modern Societies (Glencoe, 1960), p. 46.


3 Ibid., p. 24.
narrow range of expected behavior patterns, with the interdependence of these roles emerging as the formal organization of the community.

If delineation is to be properly made of the concept of "community" the concept of "values" must also be advanced as representative of an integral part of the community structure, whatever this may be, since such a concept encompasses the definition of the roles, the relationship among the roles, and the sanctions for conformity.

Structure allows that different parts are fitted together to supposedly not contradict each other so that they may act together, producing a new and unpredicted entity. Nelson advances the principle that "the conception of the community as structure means that a change in one element or dimension will bring about changes in other elements and dimensions."4

The social phenomenon herein referred to as "community" evolves out of the necessity of having human needs satisfied by institutions, organizations, and other elements of the social system within a local area, with the manner and extent to which these elements satisfy these needs being influenced by the existing and/or changing ecological, social, cultural, moral patterns. As Stein indicates, "One of the central problems of Park's urban sociology is that of identifying control mechanisms through which a community composed of several quite different subcommunities can arrange its affairs so that each of them maintains its own distinctive way of life without endangering the life of the whole."5 One such need-satisfying organization or control

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4 Ibid., p. 27
mechanism is believed operative in the Marillac Social Center.

Relative to the concept of "change," it should be apparent that to understand change in perspective one must understand lack of change. Usually, a community's institutional relations and value system primarily promote a certain stability through their resistance to change and/or adherence to orthodoxy. The context against which community development must be understood includes not only factors in the social structure which promote change but also factors deterring change; such promotional or deterring factors have been related to this Center's Community Area.

For the purpose of this study, the given Community Area became the "frame of reference," or the device for controlling observations of social conditions in their relation to human behavior. For refinement purposes, the concept of "neighborhood" is advanced as an area concept, with the needs satisfied by the neighborhood structure being fewer than those of the community-at-large. Thus, many generalizations found for neighborhoods, such as those surrounding interaction, identification, and interrelations are candidate for community theory. Therefore, the neighborhood encompassing the selected settlement house is treated here as one unit of analysis.

From a sociological viewpoint, the "changes" within the boundaries of a given Community Area, particularly those of national and racial character, are perhaps the most striking and the most rapid of those with which the settlement house must deal. In grasping the import of "change," the source that is most easily perceived appears to be that of the swift and radical alterations in the very composition of the neighborhood environment. For example, depletion of resources, heavy in-migration, fluctuation in economic opportunities,
redevelopment/resettlement projects, and similarly large tides of influence—all of these may induce rapid change in structure. Hence the questions are generated that immediately concern this study: what is the effect of these changes upon the settlement house? And, reciprocally, what is the effect of these changes upon the clientele?

Within the general framework of Park's conception of the "natural areas of the city" (those regions whose location, character, and functions have been determined by the same forces which have determined the character and functions of the city as a whole), with the specific area owing its existence directly to the factor of dominance and indirectly to competition, Marillac Social Center was investigated as an organizational element of a neighborhood in a given metropolitan Community Area. The focus was in line with the general aspects of the ecological approach, the cultural and subcultural factors at work and in conflict, and the elements and dimensions in the role of the given social institution in the changing Community Area.

A general survey of the literature related to the problem, especially of studies involving other settlement houses, indicates such investigations do not specifically reflect in content or approach the same problem which this study attempts to investigate.

Because the settlement house's function is related to the society of which it is an immediate part, it was assumed that changing social processes affected the social structure of the given Community Area and therefore affected its

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6 Nelson, et al., p. 405.

7 Robert Ezra Park, Human Communities (Glencoe, 1952), pp. 100-151.
organizations. Correlatively, it was believed that these organizations had a reciprocal relation with the given Community Area. In considering the functional role of the small groups operative within the structure of Marillac Social Center, relation was made to the thesis advanced by Homans, that small groups "tend to produce a positive surplus, a margin of safety in the qualities the group needs for survival (morale, leadership, control, extensions of the range of social contacts) and that this surplus may be used not simply to maintain the existing adaptation of the group to its environment but to achieve a new and better adaptation." According to Merton, one of the most important factors influencing variation in structure is the purpose for which the formal organization exists, distinguishable in its deliberate, or manifest function, as well as in latent function. Therefore, this thesis attempted to ascertain the reciprocal changes which have occurred in the clientele and functions of the agency.

The major sources of the data for this study were the records and statistical reports of the settlement house. The research design based the control structure and function in the early period of the institution and thereupon introduced for analysis the more marked sociological stimuli affecting or influencing that established institution. Research was limited to those problems for which adequate records exist. Actual contact by quasi-participation

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9 Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, 1957), Chapter I.
was made, wherever possible, with the phenomena studied, the program of services, the clientele, the socio-economic environmental conditions of the community area, and field work in the homes of the clientele. The sample studied for comparative analytical purposes was that designation of the population group which was actually serviced by the agency in the time-span of 1947-1961 taken from the given Community Area universe. To ascertain better such specific considerations as "the Community image" and "motivation of staff," questionnaires were mailed to individuals through simple random selection taken from a universe established by agency files from its point of origin; exhibits of these questionnaires are given in the appendix. For greater clarification purposes, further delineation of applicable research methods is indicated in proximity to specific aspects of the study problem within the content of each chapter.

Limitations of the Study

Since the aim throughout this study has been to maintain as far as possible a conceptually valid, simple, and unified presentation to assure a clearer understanding of the sociological research endeavor, it is to be recognized that the purpose was not to exhaust all possible sociological phenomena concerning the subject matter but rather to give as thorough an analysis of the thesis problem as was possible in the light of the personal and material resources available.

While the element of subjectivity is admittedly operative in this study, as in most similar endeavors, especially since the investigator is manifestly an adherent of the same core value system as the group operating the agency,
it is to be noted that such a possible obstacle to objectivity was reduced somewhat by the fact that the investigator was not a functional member of the agency. The quasi-participation originally structured to perdure throughout the course of the study was interrupted by a reassignment to another area, creating certain limitations in personal contact with available resources. In the light of such limitations, the present investigation is nevertheless considered deserving of replication and further empirical verification for possible and valid extension of findings.

Since adequate interpretation of a settlement house's function and program of services demands an understanding of the social doctrine or philosophical orientation of the agency, the following chapter endeavors to present the underlying philosophic tenets of Marillas House as well as its operational purposes and objectives.
CHAPTER II
MARILLAC HOUSE ITS PROGRAMS AND SERVICES

The roots of Marillac House are traceable to 1914 when the Catholic Social Center at 308 South Sangamon Street, Chicago, was begun by the Daughters of Charity as a cooperative venture with the clergy and the prominent lay Catholics of Chicago. Applying Julia Lathrop's pioneer descriptive generalization of the settlement house concept to the Catholic Social Center, the adaptive element there inculcated is seen as especially relevant: "... the settlement may be regarded as a humble but sincere effort toward a realization of that ideal of social democracy in whose image this country was founded, but adapted and translated into the life of today."¹

Generally speaking, settlements and neighborhood houses are social welfare agencies which work with people of a subculture (or subcultures) in learning how to live together harmoniously and how to secure good living conditions. The rather popular conception of settlements suggests a society in which the rich help the poor, and the wise the ignorant; a society of benefactors and beneficiaries, where, moved strictly by good will, the strong visit the weak and comfort the sorrowing. While such a view has its beauty, it belongs to pioneer times, having been replaced by the conception of a society where cooperation takes the place of outright benevolence and justice is

rightfully fused with charity.

According to White, "a social settlement presupposes neighbors. It is essentially a neighborhood institution. But it is not concerned primarily as to the particular kind of neighbors who surround it. All it demands as a condition of its work is that living about it shall be people--men and women and children, who need help in working out the social, economic, civil, and moral problems which confront them....If the settlement is to do its work there must be people with whom to work." While reference has been made to "settlement houses," the terms "neighborhood house," "community house," "center," "association," "commons," all suggest a unit of similar activities. Despite these variations, the more generic term "settlement" persists as a rather universal symbol of an agency with a distinctive function and ideology. However, in all settlements, regardless of their activity or social emphasis, the fact of the neighborhood as the base of operations is accepted as constant.

Thus in response to the needs of the neighborhood, the early program offered by Marillac Social Center was ambitious both in its nature and scope and actually set in motion a movement with both sociological and moral implications. A day nursery, kindergarten, a lunch room, were started; sewing lessons, dancing classes, library, club rooms, and other facilities attempted to meet the most conspicuous needs of the neighborhood surrounding the Center. Of this area, one of the early workers at the Center wrote: "It contains every element of the city's greatness and the city's viciousness. Every phase

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of Chicago's myriad facets of life flash within its boundaries. The unemployment problem, the vice problem, the derelict problem—are all rampant within its precincts. As this neighborhood became more and more industrialized, the Center's chief work came to be that of a day nursery, with even this activity threatened when the buildings which housed it were condemned in 1945.

Consequently, the Daughters of Charity purchased the site and building at 2822 West Jackson Boulevard, formerly St. Mary's Episcopal Orphanage; such action was with the approval of His Eminence, Cardinal Stritch, and the cooperation of the Catholic Charities of Chicago. At considerable expense, the new owners remodeled the building for the purpose of a settlement house, incorporating under the title "Marillac Social Center." The agency was named for Saint Louise de Marillac, co-founder with Saint Vincent de Paul of the Community of Daughters of Charity, whose members comprise the religious staff. Sister Bertrande Meyers, D.C. was entrusted by her religious community with the direction of the new foundation and the six Daughters of Charity that formed the original staff. If Louise de Marillac is known to have loved every form of service of the poor, she showed a particular deference for the "Charities," a form of work much like our modern social settlement; therefore, she continues to be regarded as the special patroness of Marillac Social Center.

On June 1, 1947, the Center moved to the new and much larger location with the first department of the Marillac Social Center officially opening on June 13,

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1947 as "Tiny Tot Town," a nursery school for children from two to five years of age.

From its inception, "Marillac House," as the Marillac Social Center is commonly designated, reflected the fact that it was to be in essence and philosophy a Catholic social settlement, having for its purpose the relief of the whole man, believing in the psycho-sociological implications of the Christian gospel, and attempting to give expression to that belief in the exercise of the spiritual and corporal works of mercy. Specifically, the purpose of the agency has remained constant: to conduct a social service center for the promotion of the physical, spiritual, social, and educational welfare of persons of any race, creed, or color.  

Objectives

While Marillac House continues to open its doors to "all Chicago," it concentrates on the immediate neighborhood area as its first concern; that which is of moment to the neighborhood becomes of great moment to the settlement house. Housing problems, inadequate or deficient school and health opportunities, vice spots, absence of play space, racial minority group conflicts, juvenile delinquency—these and other problems affecting the religious, social, civil life of the neighborhood come within the immediate range of the House's interests and endeavors. In sum, Marillac House serves as a general source of self-help to its neighbors.

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Organization and Administration

The agency is administered by a Board of Directors composed of Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul and the Catholic Charities Sub-Committee on Group Work. Functionally, this board is not wholly unlike the boards of similar social agencies in its legislative and judicial role; it constitutes the main channel for the interpretation of needs, the determination of the general service of the agency, and the proper administration of its funds and property. A lay advisory board promotes the objectives of the organization and advises on its general programming. A general organizational schema is shown in Figure 1.

Staff

The staff of Marillac House is placed into two major classifications: the religious and the laity, and sub-classified as professional and non-professional.

In order that the administration of the agency may be effectively stabilized, although not restrictively so, the religious personnel do hold the key positions in the power structure. The religious are all members of the Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul and Saint Louise de Marillac, an international religious community of Catholic women dedicated primarily to the sanctification of each of its members and to the service of the poor—wherever and in whatever condition found. The Daughters of Charity of Marillac House, Chicago, or simply, "the Sisters," are in residence at the settlement.

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5 Elwood Street, Social Agency Administration (New York, 1948), pp. 34-40.
ORIGINATIONAL CHART - MARILLAC HOUSE, CHICAGO

Legend:  
- - - - Direct Authority  
--- ---- Functional Relationship  
------------------- Advisory Relationship
In emergencies they are subject to call on a twenty-four hour basis. Rooted in the philosophy of the agency is the belief that the fullness of the spiritual life of these religious women, derived from the very helps their religious life affords, does reach out as a force of positive influence to the other agency personnel as well as to the clientele. As of September, 1961, six of the eight Sisters on full-time duty at the agency are college graduates, three hold their master's degree, and all have completed numerous advanced workshops in child training and/or related areas.

Since it is an important part of the basic purpose of Marillac House to promote participation of the laity in the actual works of the agency, the religious staff has always been few in number as compared with that of the lay staff. Whether paid or volunteer, the staff is imbued with the idea that as members of the Marillac House personnel they enter into active participation in the apostolate of Christian social action, engaged in a most purposeful work of all-embracing dedication and service of the poor.

Staff is employed on the threefold basis of a) training, b) fitness for the work, c) adaptability to the type of service needed; the paid, professionally trained and oriented worker is ordinarily preferred, especially for those duties requiring special abilities. An indication of staff strength and distribution in 1947 and in 1961 is presented in Table I.

The program objectives are in some way indicative of the general capacities required from qualified staff in this agency as in any other. Their primary responsibilities are the specific activities of the group, the functional operations of the program, and the resulting relationship with the
TABLE I
REGULAR STAFF – MARILLAG HOUSE, CHICAGO, 1947 and 1961

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<td>Executive Superintendent</td>
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<td>Department Director</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
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<tr>
<td>Group Leader</td>
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<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Group Leader</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nutritionist</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athletic Coach</td>
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<td>Art Instructor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Music Instructor</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dancing Teacher</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counseling Director</td>
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<tr>
<td>Director – Activities</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nurse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psychologist</td>
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<tr>
<td>Librarian</td>
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<td>Executive Housekeeper</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>Household – Porters, Maids</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chauffeur</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assistant Engineer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cook</td>
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<td>Maintenance</td>
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<td>Clerical</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Personnel</td>
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individuals. Major emphasis on staff training and in-service education is placed on developing skill in organization, activities, leadership, and a knowledge of group behavior. Delegation of responsibility for the direction of their respective groups has resulted in effective coordination among the staff.

Physical Facilities

At this point a brief description of the physical plant and facilities of the agency will be given. The central plant consists of a four-story (and basement) brick building with a two-story (and basement) brick building attached. The classification of a "comprehensive building," as advanced by Community Research Associates, is believed appropriate and applicable to the agency under study, as the main or central building contains the administrative offices and board room, cloak and check rooms, eight club rooms, library, lounge, assembly hall, dancing room, dining room, and cafeteria. Basement areas afford space for active games, hobby shops, craft rooms, club rooms, etc. The day nursery occupies a three-floor brick building attached as an annex to the main building of Marillas House. A separate kitchen, dining room, and laundry are provided. The basement of this annex has a kindergarten room and a well-equipped wood-working shop. Facilities for this unit are spacious, bright, attractive, and modern in appointments. A gym-auditorium, games and crafts rooms have been added in the ground floor area which was formerly occupied by a two-story flat building with storefront. This added space is

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used by all age groups for social recreation. The spacious roof area and outdoor playground, together with a system of lending balls and equipment, provides youth with safe recreational opportunities in their free time. A small area in the rear of the site serves as a parking lot for the agency's buses and other vehicles. Physical facilities utilized by this agency are not limited to the site area as the summer day-camps and similar programs sponsored by the agency make use of public parks, playgrounds, beaches, forest preserves, and other community-sponsored recreational media deemed proper and suitable to the needs of the agency's clientele and program.

Income and Affiliations

While it is not the purpose of this study to delve into the internal techniques and methods of the agency's administrative policies, inclusion of certain aspects will enable the reader to realize the complex involvement and need for efficiency in the basic organizational structure of this settlement house. Operating income is derived from three principal sources: one-third of the finances are realized from the Catholic Charities Federation, a channel of distribution for the Community Fund of greater Chicago; the fees charged by the agency for certain of its services constitutes the second-third of the income ratio, with the Women's Auxiliary of Marillac House supplementing the remaining portion of financial need through its fund-raising activities, and chiefly, by means of an annual benefit. In addition, a Junior Auxiliary and The Junicrettes, the daughters of the auxiliary members, sponsor "Petit Bazaar" and dances as agency fund-raisers. Contributions from friends and infrequently from philanthropic funds also assist in meeting the annual budget for 1960-1961, this amounted to $235,000. The agency's staff also tries each
year to swell the income for the House by candy sales, etc.

As for income received from the agency's fees, it is to be noted that all fees for day care in the "Tiny Tot Town" and "Kiddieville" departments are regulated on a sliding scale basis, depending upon the income of the family and the number of persons dependent on that income; the fee per day in "Kiddieville" and the "Junior Master and Miss Club" is a nickel; a youth attending "Teen Town" pays a dime each evening; charges for guests and the rental of rooms within the agency is adjusted on a contract basis to the circumstances and purposes, etc., of the reservation.

That Marillac House meets the existing standards of professional licensing and endorsing agencies is assured by the fact that the nursery school and day care section of the agency are subject to a monthly visit with an annual evaluation from representatives of the Chicago Board of Health. It operates under a permit issued annually, following inspection and approval, by the City Fire Department and the Building Department of the City of Chicago; operation without such permit constitutes liability for legal action. Furthermore, the Licensing Division of the Illinois Department of Child Welfare makes a thorough survey annually of the nursery school and day care section pending recommendation of a state license. Marillac Social Center, embracing all its departments and services, is fully endorsed by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Chicago.

Various types of affiliation programs for professional and educational purposes are operative at the agency with local universities and schools of nursing; for example, Loyola University sends its nursing students to this settlement house for a two-week experience with the well child. As an integral part of the University's baccalaureate program of the School of Nursing,
the affiliating students are supervised by the faculty members of Loyola. The Schools of Nursing of St. Anne, St. Bernard, and Presbyterian-St. Luke Hospitals also send their students to this settlement house for a two-week affiliation program. Provision is made for an observation experience of pre-school children to give the student nurse an insight into the characteristics, needs, and individual differences of the young child at each stage of his development, inculcating at the same time skills, methods, and techniques of meeting his needs and guiding his development. The agency makes no charge for such student observation experience.

Development of Original Services

The program of Marillac House has maintained for the most part the same basic structure from the general standpoint of core services throughout the years covered by this study; particular aspects have changed to meet the needs of the neighborhood it serves. (The new areas of service added to meet problems and the examination of activities dropped as no longer useful, will be discussed more fully in the ensuing chapters of this study.) The orientation intended at this point is to the agency’s general operation on a basic five-track program, which includes every age group from two years to one hundred. Within this range are children of kindergarten and grammar school age; teens of high school and early college years; adults ranging in age from twenty through sixty-five; and finally, those aging from sixty-five forward.

As with the more recent services of Marillac House, the original services of the agency were developed in response to a known need. A knowledge of the needs can be ascertained by a general explanation of the "core" program, or the five major departments and groups: "Tiny Tot Town," "Kiddieville," "Teen

Tiny Tot Town

The nursery school program for children from two years of age to five, designated as "Tiny Tot Town," operates on the philosophy that any valid family need which can be met through the admission of a child into the nursery school is reason for enrolling the child. Although most of the parents of the children on register at any given time are "working parents," other needs such as the child's companionship with peers, illness of one of the parents, etc., are reasons parents seek to place their child or children for the day-care service. Fees are gauged by the sliding scale method according to the income, obligations, and the number of children in the family. This department is open five days a week from 7:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M.; however, the child's day is limited, when possible, to nine and one-half hours to prevent longer separation from the parents than is actually necessary. A copy of the daily menu, together with special notes concerning each child, is given to the parent. Parental counseling is provided by the staff, which is composed of qualified teachers, nurses, and assistants. A Sister who is a registered nurse and professionally trained in nursery school educational methods and techniques, heads this department; she also serves as the Assistant Sister Administrator of the agency, assuming the functional and operational role in the absence of the Sister Administrator. The nursery school program includes daily health inspection by a registered nurse, periodic check-ups by a doctor, health training, carefully planned menus, and activities based on the interests and abilities of the young child. Kindergarten classes are provided for the five-year-olds. The program for each day and each group is planned, alternating quiet and active play to meet
the needs of the young child for rest and activities. An affiliation is offered through this department to schools of nursing in the care and training of the well child; such experience is designed to equip the nurses with skills and techniques which they can use in the guidance of young children and the parents.  

**Kiddieville**

The full-day-care facet of the core program, entitled "Kiddieville," operates for children between the ages of five and twelve who need care before and after school and whose parents are dependent on Marillac House for this care. A well-balanced, hot noon-day meal is provided to assure the minimum daily diet requirements for the child. That parents may feel secure about their children's safety and moral welfare during the hours the children are scheduled to be at the settlement house, a careful attendance record is kept. Sub-divisions of this department include an after-school play club and also the rather comprehensive summer day-camp program, both of which offer activities such as arts and crafts, games, hobbies, music, and dancing. The overall program in this department attempts to offer the children enrolled a place to put into practice lessons in citizenship and character formation taught at school and/or at home.

**Teen Town**

Theoretically, the aspect of the basic program referred to as "Teen Town" embraces two divisions: the Senior, which is for youth sixteen years of age and older, and the Junior, for teens under sixteen; actually, the activities

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7Catholic Charities, p. 70.
are basically the same for each group. Games are eliminated from the program of the Senior group unless these teens themselves plan games for parties, etc. The Junior division, according to their level of maturation, enjoy well-planned games as a part of a regular evening's activities. Seasonal sports are held at Marillac House, such as basketball, volleyball, baseball, etc., and these engage participation by both teen groups. The formal Teen Town Council, whose members are elected annually by the members of Teen Town, assist the staff in planning the programs geared for them. Evening recreation is also provided for the adolescents of the area as Marillac House opens its doors every Wednesday and Friday nights from 7:00 to 10:00 and Saturday nights from 7:00 to 10:30 for the thirteen to nineteen year olds; "special" dances may last until midnight. In addition to the above, skating and dancing are particularly enjoyable on the spacious roof during the warmer evenings. The large games room with its billiard tables, ping pong tables, juke box, etc., is the most used room in the agency. Picnics and dances, formal and informal, are popular in season. It is to be noted that certain other groups of teens and young adults who find Teen Town too structured for their specific needs have also been brought into the agency's broad program; discussion of this aspect of service is made in Chapter IV of this study.

Community Organization

Of a more anomalous structure than the other major departments is "Community Organization," or the general program of activities and services for adults under sixty-five. This department has undergone many complex changes since its opening in January of 1948, as "Town Hall." The more usual tone of the department's goal has through the years developed activities of
an educational and recreational nature, with members planning and carrying out
the major—if not full-measure of their own ideas. The marked correlation of
the original purposes of "Town Hall" with the needs of the changing neighbor­
hood generated the major focus for the activities of the adult patrons of the
agency towards aspects of community organization, especially that of the
organized block clubs which have stimulated initiative, leadership, and respon­
sibility among the participants. While social service is an integral aspect
of every department of the agency, major emphasis is placed within the overall
framework of the adult program and community organization endeavors. Family
casework, groupwork, counseling at the Audy Home, Chicago's juvenile detention
home for boys and girls, catechetical work, and the distribution of food and
clothing are included in this area of the program, as is the agency's extension
in the nearby public housing area. Enjoyment on the adult level is realized
from such a variety of pursuits as field trips, theatre parties, social dancing
dramatics, community singing, discussion clubs, lectures, etc. It is apparent
that the "club" atmosphere of this department has a great appeal and the very
variety through the years of the types of adult clubs of Marillac House is in
itself an indication of the function and role of this department to attempt to
meet the specific needs of adults in a changing neighborhood.

Chess and Chatter Club

Senior citizens find their element in Marillac House chiefly in the
"Chess and Chatter Club," which had its beginnings during the course of the
second year of the agency's history. The club draws together its membership
of men and women over sixty-five one afternoon each week. These informal
meetings usually consist of quiet games, square dancing, community singing,
"teas," dramatics, parties, etc.; refreshments are served at every meeting
and a special party is held each month for all the members who have birthdays
occurring that month.

Survey of Program

A general survey of this core program, through which the Marillac House
slogan "something for everyone in the family" justifies itself, reflects in
nature and scope an understanding of the life patterns of the community
Marillac House services, especially in terms of individual needs, experiences,
habits, values, and objectives. The program also focuses attention from the
point of the collective habits, experiences, customs, controls, and values of
the whole group or the community traditions, since it is a well-known fact
that the form, the character, and the purpose of the local agencies reflect
in whole or in part the traditions of the community. The programming of
Marillac House has not been, for the most part, an isolated matter of the
agency's determination. Based upon the belief that if the program is to be
effective and of the people—that is, one in which they completely believe
and which they feel is definitely "their own,"—this program must be rooted
in the needs and experiences of the people themselves. Thus, starting with
the people, their backgrounds, prejudices, habits, attitudes, and all of the
circumstances which embrace their actual living patterns, Marillac House has
attempted to understand them, to ascertain those social conditions requiring
remedial action, and thereby adapt the program to fit the known needs.
Summarily, the Marillac House vision of programming appears to be in keeping

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The most important settlement activity is that of promoting association between individuals and groups. The range and intensity of the personal relations between the neighborhood, the staff, and the board have always been held to be the most important indications of the quality of the work of a settlement... The immediate program of the settlement is determined partly on the basis of knowledge gained in this way (home visiting in the neighborhood), and partly as a result of requests which boys and girls and adults of the neighborhood make upon the staff for help in problems of health, employment, difficulties with other people, and ways of realizing cherished hopes and ideals. The most immediate opportunity open is to listen, to counsel, direct, and refer those who appeal to them to appropriate sources of help.9

From the foregoing, it is evident that the location of a settlement house has a wide bearing on service. Consequently, a rather thorough survey of the neighborhood serviced by Marillas House is deemed essential for the purposes of this study. Such a survey is presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III
THE NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICED BY MARILLAC HOUSE

As commerce and industry pushed out from the center of central city Chicago, an encroachment with definite sociological implications impinged upon older residential neighborhoods within the inner city. One such neighborhood is that which surrounds Marillac House on the densely populated westside.

The immediate neighborhood served by this agency encompasses the area extending from Washington (200 block on the North) to Congress (400 block on the South) and from Damen (2000 block on the East) to Kedzie (3200 block on the West). The physical boundaries of the area of service presently include as the southern divisional barrier an eight-lane thoroughfare, the Congress Street Expressway; the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks, running North and South, divide the service area of Marillac House and its extension or outpost agency, Rendu House.

For the purposes of this study, two Community Areas (Nos. 27 and 28) surrounding Marillac House are considered as the units for the analysis of internal changes. These Community Areas are made up of census tracts with a history of their own as communities, and an exhibited awareness on the part of the inhabitants of some common interests.¹

¹The factual information contained in this section of the study has been taken chiefly from the Chicago Community Inventory, Local Community Fact Book for Chicago, 1950 edition, pages 114-117, and United States Census—General Population Characteristics—Illinois, 1960, issued by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.
While the data shown are based on the twenty per cent sample of persons of the given Community Areas, it is believed that such data adequately reflect similar characteristics for the more restricted sample used in this study, the agency's clientele, which derives chiefly from these same Community Areas.

A map of the Community Areas, indicating the boundaries of the community, the land use pattern, and the census tracts which comprise it, is provided in Figure 2.

Marillac House is located in Community Area 27, or "East Garfield Park." The area, like its neighbor, Community Area 28, or "Near West Side," is quite densely populated. Early development of these Community Areas did not begin until the late 1860's; however, by 1914 the community of East Garfield Park had achieved residential maturity, 95 per cent of its residential structures having been constructed prior to that year. On Jackson, Washington, and Sacramento Boulevards stone-front single and duplex houses were built, with the area east of Kedzie Avenue more solidly built up with small single-family homes, as well as brick two and three-flat buildings. The early residents of this Area (No. 27) were mostly first- and second-generation Irish and Germans, although Russian Jews and Italians entered the community around 1900. By 1920, East Garfield Park has about 56,300 in population; in 1950, 70,091; and in 1960, 66,871 persons within a gross land area of 1.924 square miles.2

Selected characteristics of the population of the immediate neighborhood (census tracts Nos. 362 and 373) in 1950 (shortly after the establishment and regular operation of the agency) and 1960 are indicated in Table II.

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2Chicago Community Inventory, pp. 114-115.
FIGURE 2

LAND USE IN COMMUNITY AREAS (27 AND 28)
SURROUNDING MARILLAC HOUSE, CHICAGO
COMMUNITY AREAS
1960 CENSUS OF HOUSING AND POPULATION
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Census Tract No. 362</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>Census Tract No. 373</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total persons</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,521</td>
<td>3,977</td>
<td></td>
<td>5,386</td>
<td>6,408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Density of persons per block</td>
<td></td>
<td>320.1</td>
<td>361.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>336.2</td>
<td>400.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent nonwhite</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>90</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of persons living in regular households</td>
<td></td>
<td>98</td>
<td>99</td>
<td></td>
<td>95</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons per household in regular households</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>3.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median rent, renter-occupied dwelling units</td>
<td></td>
<td>$40</td>
<td>$72</td>
<td></td>
<td>$37</td>
<td>$77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of dwelling units with no private bath or dilapidated in condition</td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td>44</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of dwelling units with 1.51 or more persons per room*</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of dwelling units with 1.01 or more persons per room**</td>
<td></td>
<td>89</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Used in 1950 Census.
** Used in 1960 Census to reflect overcrowding.
As noted, almost all of the residential structures of these two census tracts in use in 1961 were erected prior to 1914, with virtually no new residential construction since 1930, except public housing. Significantly, these tracts have a relatively low proportion of owner-occupancy and a relatively higher percentage of completely converted larger houses into rooming and multifamily houses.

**Environmental Conditions**

Any community involves an aggregation of people and a geographical area. But what is the element that makes a particular population group "a community" as such? Is it common living conditions, or some other type of psycho-social variable? The necessity for a recognized common denominator among persons living in close proximity is reflected in the very definition of "community"—"a group of human beings, settled in a fairly compact and contiguous geographical area, and having significant elements of common life, as shown by manners, customs, traditions, and modes of speech."\(^3\) That there has consistently existed a recognized common viewpoint on life and living which actually functioned to hold the population of the area together in any common purpose is questionable. Zorbaugh's description of the slum area of Chicago is seen as applicable, with limitation, to the region under discussion, insofar as it is remarkable for "the number and kinds of people huddled and crowded together in physical proximity apparently with very little desire for the intimacies and the mutual understanding and comprehension which ordinarily insure a common

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view and make collective action possible. In the immediate neighborhood under study, informal conversations with the residents indicate that the desire for good housing apparently precedes a concern about good neighbors. This desire for good housing is based more on sheer physical need to end discomfort than on a general quest for an elevated social status.

Selected comparative characteristics of the two census tracts indicate that in 1950, 35 per cent (No. 362) and 44 per cent (No. 373) of the given population lived in dwelling units which had no private bath or else the plumbing and sanitation facilities were such as to be labeled "dilapidated." In 1960 this same category rose to 48 per cent and 72 per cent, respectively. The median family income in 1950 for census tract No. 362 was $2,896 and for No. 373 was $2,801; as of February 2, 1962, figures on the median family income for these census tracts were not available. Density increased from 320.1 persons per block in 1950 to 361.6 persons in 1960 for census tract No. 362 and from 336.2 to 400.5 persons for census tract No. 373.

The dynamics between the geographical setting and the population serve as an important aspect for consideration. Such interaction constitutes what Hobson has described as a certain "frame of reference of the conceptual order within which statistical facts gain a new and more general significance," and what Park advances as "the natural area concept," insofar as this characterizes an area that is typical in regard to conditions in a given region.

4 Harvey Warren Torbaugh, Gold Coast and Slum (Chicago, 1929), pp. vii-viii.
5 Information in a letter to the author from L. W. Hill, Assistant Commissioner, City of Chicago, Department of Urban Renewal, Chicago, February 2, 1962.
The marked changes in the racial composition of the immediate neighborhood could be taken as an isolated factor for analysis; however, comparison of changes in Negro and white family characteristics relative to the environmental conditions is beset with numerous technicalities which make it difficult to offer brief yet valid findings. Isolating the racial characteristic of the given population segment, Figures 3 and 4 indicate the change in the per cent of the Negro population to be found residing in the extended neighborhood serviced by the agency in 1960 as compared with 1950.

Hawley succinctly admits that "familial units are distributed by their abilities to pay rent, giving rise to areas of segregated family types. As with associational units, families of the same type make like demands on the environment which serve as an additional segregating factor." From a study of the statistics, the major impression one gets is apt to be of the persistence of tendencies toward much greater incidence of family disorganization among non-whites than among whites, as indicated by the higher proportions of persons with broken marriages, families headed by females, residents of quasi-households, and unrelated individuals in households. The sociological interpretation of the factors in such an environment is recognized in the recent and rather comprehensive study of The Negro Population of Chicago by the Duncans whose following comment is applicable to the population encompassed in the community area serviced by Harlans House: "An adequate explanation of these phenomena would involve a complex analysis of such factors, among others, as housing congestion and unfavorable living conditions, disruptions attendant

FIGURE 3
EXTENDED NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICED BY MAPILLAC HOUSE,
BY NEGRO POPULATION PERCENTAGE, 1950
FIGURE 4

EXTENDED NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICED BY MARILLAC HOUSE, BY NEGRO POPULATION PERCENTAGE, 1960
upon migration and the difficulties of migrants in adjusting to a new type of 
community, and the social heritage of family instability traceable to the 
Negroes' condition under slavery." 8

**Concept of the Subproletariat**

For lack of a more refined concept, the Furfey-Walsh construct of "the 
subproletariat" seems applicable to a large segment of the clientele from 
the neighborhood serviced by the agency:

"... whereas the proletariat usually denotes the stable, working class, 
the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers who live on their 
wages but have no other means of support, there exists another class 
situated below the proletariat on the socio-economic scale. Its 
members lack regular employment and live in chronic poverty. This 
group we shall call 'the subproletariat.'" 9

If reference group analysis is concerned with the consequences of those 
processes of evaluation and self-appraisal by which the individual selects 
values or norms of groups as a comparative frame of reference, as Komarovsky 
indicates, 10 then recognition must be made of the fluctuating areas upon the 
population of the neighborhood. Within the scope of the time period for this 
study, the neighborhood was for the most part continually involved in varying

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8 Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, *The Negro Population of Chicago - 

9 Paul Hanley Furfey and Mary Elizabeth Walsh, *Social Problems and Social 
Action* (Englewood-Cliffs, 1958), p. 382. This corresponds to the lower-lower 

10 Mirra Komarovsky, *Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences* (Glencoe, 1957), 
p. 394.
stages and degrees of transition; therefore, the character of its populations and the problems present can be seen as a reflection and a consequence in part of the conditions which the period of transition imposes. In this situation people who live side by side are not neighbors, and cannot become such, because of the divergence in their interests and their values. The attitudes, values, and behavioral problems of the subproletariat are peculiar to itself and demand much cautious and sensitive analysis if a valid interpretation of the needs of these people is to be made, as is the objective of the settlement house in structuring its program of services for them.

The problem for the sociological researcher is also acute, because relatively little scientific research has been done in the refinement of this particular class concept, 11 a fact verified for this researcher by Komarovsky, who has specifically noted the "paucity of data in this area [the subproletariat]." 12

The characteristics and traits given in the recent research project on


12 Information in a letter to the author from Mirra Komarovsky, Professor of Sociology and Executive Officer, Department of Sociology, Columbia University, New York, July 25, 1961.
the Aid to Dependent Children of Cook County, Illinois,\textsuperscript{13} which involved a portion of the subproletariat living in the neighborhood seem fairly common to the lower class families with which Marillas House has dealt since its earliest days. That unemployment or irregular employment constitutes a major problem in the area is in perennial evidence. It is a problem that has many serious consequences for both the unemployed and his (her) family. Prolonged unemployment means worried and discouraged men and women, physical and mental deterioration, neglect of health needs, family breakdown, often desertion of the wage earner, exhausted savings (if any), evictions, creditors repossessing household furniture and cars, inadequate diets and clothing. Certainly the problems in the Marillas House neighborhood are complicated by the people who make up the labor force group. For the most part these are unskilled laborers with little education, often with a language handicap/barrier, and limited regular-work experience. Many of the large factories in greater Chicago, such as those making television sets, radios, bicycles, candies, steel products, and farm implements, have periodically in recent years laid off large numbers of employees.

A case in point is the railroad maintenance force described by Fulk.\textsuperscript{14} Many of the so-affected laborers live in the Marillas House neighborhood. When there is a lay-off they are the first to go--much as they are the last to be

\textsuperscript{13}Greenleigh Associations, Inc., \textit{Addenda to Facts, Fallacies and Future - A Study of the Aid to Dependent Children Program of Cook County, Illinois} (New York, 1960, pp. 73-85.

hired; ordinarily, these persons are rarely considered for transfers or promotions. Automation concerns them today; it is a crucial factor in their determination of their tomorrow, psychologically as well as economically. The strained relationships and disrespect that often results on the part of the children at the inability of the fathers (or mothers) to make even what might be considered as the very basic necessities frequently generates a pattern of life that more closely resembles mere "existing" than actual and positive human "civilized living." 15

Under these conditions, the natural and preferred environment for both parents and children all too frequently is manifestly not the home but the street. It is a part of the social world in which life is not lived too intensely yet is still mechanized or structured sufficiently to form the meccas of the society of the subproletariat. Reference to certain of Halbwachs' findings on the impact of the intensified urban environment can be made here:

Instead of hurrying through the streets on their way home.... many of them linger, caught up in every eddy, absorbed by all they see. It is to them an almost completely satisfying form of social life. This may be a result of inadequate family life, or perhaps cause and effect are the other way round. For the life of the streets enters into the home life in working class districts. Everyone is only too ready to look out on to the staircase and the yard and all the bustle and movement of the crowded streets. In fact no distinction can properly be drawn between cause and effect. 16

15 Ibid.

The repercussions of such an impact of urban pressures, dynamic interaction between these people, and their relationship with the agency will be discussed further in Chapters IV and V of this study.

Earlier in this chapter the absence of positive common goals among the persons of the neighborhood was noted; here reference is made to the total population rather than the subproletariat just discussed. Deprivation of social satisfactions normally results if there is an awareness that one's values—in fact, oneself—are rejected by the dominant society. The effect of being cut off from generally accepted behavioral norms of the larger society becomes clear in the apathy and deterioration induced by idleness promoted by long spells of unemployment, which carries severe psychological and moral penalties, apart from the socio-economic ones. From one point of view, "a society consists of people who are reciprocally sanctioning each other's interests and standards." 17 However, as Harding indicates, in consequence of the presence of reciprocal sanctioning by the society, there are limits to the individual deviations that a society will tolerate from its commoner modes of behavior and varieties of outlook. Some it attempts to eradicate or minimize by forms of social pressure, whether persuasion, ridicule or material punishment. Others it insulates as 'abnormal,' so rendering them irrelevant to the social context; it nullifies any effect their example might have upon the values of other members of the group. There are several, often confused and conflicting, criteria by which a group comes to judge a particular range of action and attitude as abnormal; but the social function of the judgment itself, that of minimizing the social relevance of the behavior, is fairly simple and consistent. 18


18 Ibid., pp. 168-169.
The neighborhood serviced by Marillac House, as reflected in these selected geographic, demographic, and socio-economic factors, produces something more than a polyglot culture. It involves a type of culture in which prejudices have become irrelevant in the face of physical crowding together; social distances are reduced to a minimum—although admittedly differentiating criteria are operative as in any group structure. For many, life is lived almost entirely without the middle-class conventional sanctions, values, and outlook of the work-a-day world. For these, practically the only contacts with such conventions evolve through the social agency, the school, and the law. Where the "normal" community tends to meet crisis situations for its members, it often does so through the medium of the "normal" family structure. The family is "solid" or "normal" as long as there are values for which it functions, uniting with other families in the community in sharing acceptable living patterns. In a like situation, Sorbaugh found that "the very physical conditions....make impossible the constellation of attitudes about a home, with its significant ritual, which affords the basis for that emotional interdependence which is the sociologically significant fact of family life. As a result, the person who dwells in such circumstances has to meet his problems alone."  

For the settlement house in the culturally chaotic environmental setting, such a finding is of peculiarly important significance.

If the housing of the disadvantaged group of the population in the neighborhood surrounding Marillac House has been a matter of concern for the

agency since its establishment, it has also constituted a source of anxiety for civil authorities. City officials have set into motion and actual operation public housing programs to relieve the housing shortage and to replace substandard dwellings. "The experience with these programs has revealed that within those segments of the population in the lower income brackets, added burdens of health, social and racial problems further hamper their access to adequate shelter. Moreover, these circumstances carry over to the remedial programs which have been undertaken, leading to controversy and threatening their effectiveness. This fact has particularly belabored the public housing program."20 However belabored the public housing program may be, in certain sections of Chicago, such as the densely populated West Side, public housing projects have mushroomed within the last decade. Such projects, because of their very nature, size, scope, and structure, deserve special consideration insofar as they constitute an impact on a neighborhood. The case of the Marillas House neighborhood is one such area which has experienced the impact of public housing to a marked degree.

Such "public housing projects" are living facilities which have been developed through government assistance on the local, state, and/or federal level. They are intended to meet the disparity between housing costs and family incomes, and to provide decent housing for those of lower incomes. In a program which lumps together similar people with similar problems in similar context on a very large scale basis, the effect on the human personality and the quality of living of the people can be deadly. That such

20 Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council, Housing the Economically and Socially Disadvantaged Groups in the Population (Chicago, 1961), p. 3.
projects are wanting in the humanized elements of plan and design is not to be considered to any great extent in this study; however, such a fact is not to be underestimated in our present considerations.

Public housing projects are generally built to meet the housing needs of families with children and of elderly couples with low income or whose previous housing was considered substandard. Moving into the projects, these persons face an entirely new and impersonal environment, which is often a world of overpowering buildings, most of them high-risers. These tenants frequently lack experience in city living and in addition have serious problems of meager income, poor health, isolation from a normal neighborhood participation or social life, and psychological difficulties. An appropriate résumé of the principal characteristics of the families utilizing public housing facilities was developed by the Chicago 1960 Conference on Housing the Economically and Socially Disadvantaged Groups in the Population. The résumé is quoted in this study because it adequately reflects the principal characteristics of the clientele serviced by Marillac House who utilize nearby public housing facilities.

These families fall into two general income groups. The group with incomes below $3000, the so-called lowest income group, numbers about eight million non-farm families; and includes the most seriously disadvantaged families: the aged, the broken families, and those whose family heads are incapacitated or chronically unemployed or employed in unskilled extremely low paid jobs. These families can do little more than maintain a minimum subsistence level of living, and large numbers of them are in need of relief. This is the group from which public housing tenants are drawn, the median income of the families which were admitted to public housing in 1958 having been $2134.

21 Ibid., p. 12.
The other group, with incomes from $3000 to $6000 a year includes about 15.5 million non-farm families. Although the lower part of the group is living at little more than a subsistence level, the group as a whole can meet a minimum adequate budget for all the necessities of life except decent housing. This group is generally referred to as the lower and middle-middle income groups, and is described as having incomes too high for public housing but too low for private housing. The housing difficulties of these families differ from those of the lower group in degree but not in kind.  

In August, 1950, the Chicago City Council, seeking locations for new public housing, approved a site bounded by Madison, Western, Van Buren, and the Pennsylvania Railroad Tracks, which involves the neighborhood serviced by Marillac House. Such a location appeared a logical site: the fingers of blight had thrust deeply into the neighborhood, buildings were over-occupied, dilapidated, with relatively little open space. Littered back yards, sheds, and alleys gave the neighborhood an air of crowded dilapidation, although here and there a well-kept building was seen. Although the original intention of the Council was to demolish all the buildings in the area and replace them with public housing, strenuous objection was voiced by the property owners and dwellers of the buildings in good condition. Intensive study of the site by the Chicago Housing Authority revealed that total demolition would be wasteful; thus developed the plan of combining new public housing buildings with private housing rehabilitation and conservation. It was in this neighborhood in July 1954 that the Chicago Housing Authority put into motion the plan, a rather unique experiment at that time in urban renewal.  

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23 Information is in a letter from the Chicago Housing Authority, Chicago, Illinois, August 31, 1961.
long-time residents of the area to the coming public housing project was significantly not one of neighborhood or community concern but rather individual interest. Such an interest, directly limited to the individual, personal effect was frequently encountered by the staff of Marillac House during this period in attitudes reflecting the theme "What will this mean to me?" or "Are they going to take any more property?" and "Will it mean I have to get out and move?" The impact of public housing projects in this area was seen in another frame of reference by the agency under study.

When the Chicago Housing Authority determined that approximately seven thousand "new" people would move into the eight high-rise buildings and two smaller public housing buildings within a close ten-square block area, Marillac House, because of its proximity to the project and the nature of its own purposes and objectives, realized that a program would have to be set up by the agency to prepare and condition the established neighborhood for the coming influx of new neighbors. In reality, the impact must be seen in the light of that which it actually was: the external imposition of a large and totally new population upon, in and among an old, already densely populated neighborhood. The adaptations of the agency to this impact are discussed in Chapter V.

Having delved into the neighborhood serviced by Marillac House from selected demographic and socio-economic aspects, the reciprocal influence between such factors and the clientale of the agency requires a comparative analysis by periods of the various departments and groups. Such an analytical focus is given in the next chapter.
CHAPTER IV
ANALYSIS OF CLIENTELE IN RELATION TO PROGRAM

By the very nature of the settlement house, which is to reflect the needs and desires of its neighbors, it would be a most oversimplified endeavor to isolate a single pattern in order to describe all of the influences that changing social and external processes have upon the internal structure of the agency and its program. There are, however, general patterns that can be abstracted from the records and statistical reports of the agency which not only describe the overall activities of this settlement house but also and more especially indicate the patterns of interaction between Marillac House and its clientele. Such interaction is seen as a point of major importance in ascertaining reciprocity of influence.

From its earliest years, Marillac House, as a pattern-maintenance organization, was designated by aims and objectives to serve some socially recognized functions to its clientele. Insofar as it adapted these functions to the changes in its clientele it can be recognized as one source of problem solution in a given Community Area of metropolitan Chicago. It is the purpose of this chapter to investigate the agency with a view to seeing if and how such a response and relationship has existed between the clients and the program of services of Marillac House.

The time-span for this study was from the formal beginnings of Marillac
House in 1947 until the present time. The statement of limitation in the scope
and intensity of the research presented earlier in this thesis is here reiterated.

To understand the nature of settlement house work, it is necessary to
understand that the agency exists to help develop neighborhood potentialities,
to provide or aid on obtaining the type of services its clients need, and to
relate its neighborhood to the wider community.1 To the end that the settle-
ment house provides opportunity for a variety of individual, group, and inter-
group experiences, it crosses lines of race, religion, age, national origin,
and economic status. In order to ascertain this type of interaction, the
researcher marshalled available evidence which could serve as clues for socio-
logical analysis. The statistics used in making a comparative analysis of the
clientele and program, by departments and groups, are presented throughout this
chapter in rather succinct and graphic fashion. Such a presentation was
selected in the interests of clarity for a simplified, systematic treatment of
related data.

Table III gives the departmental enrollment of the agency to show increase
or decrease trends by yearly comparison in the volume of the clientele serviced.
while the writer does not attempt to suggest all of the possible causal factors
for such statistical changes, an interpretation is, however, offered of the
more conspicuous changes. These conspicuous changes in Table III are attribut-
able to internal or external conditions, or both of these. The deviations

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TABLE III

DEPARTMENTAL ENROLLMENT - MARILLAC HOUSE, CHICAGO

Unduplicated Count

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Tiny Tot Town</th>
<th>Kiddieville</th>
<th>Teen Town</th>
<th>Adult Clubs</th>
<th>Senior Adults</th>
<th>Agency Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>883*</td>
<td>957**</td>
<td>- Not yet opened -</td>
<td>2,186</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>1,331</td>
<td>1,369</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>3,517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>1,056</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>2,908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>1,352</td>
<td>1,084</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>3,153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>1,873</td>
<td>1,442</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>4,049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>2,078</td>
<td>1,615</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>3,557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>1,793</td>
<td>1,321</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>3,882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>1,786</td>
<td>1,036</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>3,545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>1,554</td>
<td>1,243</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>3,439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>1,318</td>
<td>1,386</td>
<td>924</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>4,097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>1,197</td>
<td>1,616</td>
<td>1,179</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>4,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>1,196</td>
<td>788</td>
<td>847</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>3,284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>1,432</td>
<td>1,010</td>
<td>1,078</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>3,945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>1,523</td>
<td>845</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>3,522</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Department opened 7/1/47.
** Department opened 9/12/47.
marked most warrant special consideration.

In many respects the development of Marillac House's "Teen Town" is believed a graphic illustration of the hypothesis that residents of a given neighborhood respond to the programming of a settlement house insofar as the program is adapted to the needs of the residents of the neighborhood.

In 1947, a teen program was prepared for an estimated group of less than one hundred adolescents. Such preparation was deemed reasonable after analysis of a rather intensive inventory and comprehensive census-survey taken by the religious staff over a span of several months in late 1946 and early 1947; to substantiate these findings of manifest needs, advice was also received from interested and informed professional consultants on the project. However, the statistics indicate that nearly one thousand teen-agers entered the Marillac House "Teen Town" program of 1947, the first operating year of the agency.

While many factors could be identified as causes for this outstanding initial enrollment, the Sister who served as administrator of the agency at that time (1947), evaluates the large response in terms of the simple fact that the teen program of 1947 was geared to the interests and needs of the Marillac House-neighborhood teens of 1947.²

Adaptation of the teen program has meant introducing changes in such "minor" aspects as the type of dancing instructions to be offered. The ethnic groups, using the agency in its earlier years, for example, enjoyed social dance patterns of the "traditional ballroom" as well as the "modern jitterbug"

²Information from a personal interview by the author with Sister Bertrande Meyers, D.C., President, Marillac College, Normandy, Missouri, October 25, 1961.
variety, while the influx of Puerto Ricans and Mexicans necessitated the change to dance styles of Spanish influence, such as the "Cha-Cha" and "Mambo;" the current dominance of non-whites in the program, however, calls for instructions in those dances especially appealing to the American Negro teen, for instance, the "modified-Pony" or "Horse-hop," a type of dancing which demands constant vigilance and imposition of necessary controls. Relative to supervisory controls exercised in "Teen Town," a Sister who served the teens of Marillac House from 1953 to 1961 recently stated:

In Teen Town the big complaint was, 'Why can't we dance check-to-check? What's wrong with "The Twist," or "The Limbo?" or whatever happened to be the current extreme. These complaints came from a vociferous minority; the majority of the teens - and their parents - appreciated Marillac's standards of decency in dress and dancing, as proved by three points:

1. The teens kept coming — in crowds!
2. In a dance contest, the teens themselves voted 'decency' as one of the standards by which dancers should be judged, placing it second only to rhythm.
3. Some of them told us that many of the "kids" danced questionable dances "the Marillac way" when at other places of amusement — meaning by this the toned-down version of popular dance steps which we permitted and advocated.³

Illustration of the break from the teen program requiring formal registration was the response made by the agency as early as 1957 to the waves of Puerto Ricans coming into the area and stimulating the clashes between the "hard-to-reach" youths of the vicinity of Marillac House. An analysis of the agency records for "Teen Town" gives vivid indication of the effect made on the organization as well as the influence of the organization on its youthful and challenging clientele. The following extracts from the agency reports

³Information in a letter to the author from a Daughter of Charity, Los Angeles, California, October 22, 1961.
graphically show this relationship:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Developmental Aspect of Program for &quot;Hard-to-reach&quot; Youth by Marillac House</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Other groups of teens and young adults who find Teen Town &quot;too tame&quot; have been brought into the agency to form a club of their own gang. These hard-to-reach youth have shown real growth, settling down to enjoy a program of sports and social activities, planning and carrying on their own affairs, and showing that they are capable of both cooperation and initiative. We have a long way to go with clients in this area of service — we are looking for one or two good detached workers. The Blue Angels (sixty-one members) meet each Monday night. The Rebels meet on Thursday.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>We employed a worker to contact these members of the group outside of the agency. It was discovered they followed the traditional gang pattern of frequenting one or two hangouts, avoiding school or work, participating in street fights, car thefts, promiscuity, using dope, and living with little thought of the future. In the fall of 1958, a team approach was developed by the agency. The team focused on the individuals who had identified themselves with the group in order that the specific problems of each could be worked on rather than the re-organization of the gang, which displayed too many negative aspects. It was believed that by supporting the individual the need for the gang would dissolve. In contacting the various members both in the agency and in the community, the team members served as enablers to help individuals get jobs, remain in school, assume the responsibility of the family, and move to more socially acceptable ways of spending their leisure time. This process is still taking place, with stress being placed on younger boys who show a tendency to move into the same patterns of behavior that first brought the gang to the attention of the agency. Work is also being done with a small number of girls who have attached themselves to the gang. The hard core group number 28 boys and 9 girls; the fringe, 21 boys and 10 girls.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Year

1959

A group that had gang-potential was beginning to form in the neighborhood. The core of this group consisted of several girls, who in turn attracted boys with tendencies towards delinquency. The girls were invited into the agency and given opportunity to exert their energies in more constructive activities such as giving dances... This group staffed by a supervisor and volunteer worked with us, and we with them, in planning their club activities... We worked with them on an individual basis as well as through the club.

This process [the team approach begun in 1958] was continued through the month of June, when it was decided:

1. that the individuals who could be helped had been helped;
2. that the hard-core, who were in their early twenties, could not be helped by our team, and therefore, would be taken over by another agency;
3. that stress be placed on younger boys who showed a tendency to move into the same patterns of behavior....
4. that we would begin an intensive program for deepening and strengthening our contacts with the teens who came into the agency.

This latter project was thought through in January of 1959 and experimented with during the first months of the year in the teen town program requiring registration in our agency. In July it was extended to the entire teen contacts made through the agency.  

1960

Early in 1960, worker was sent out of the agency to contact a predetermined group of older teen boys who were not eligible for participation in the regular program because of their conduct.... between 8 and 15 boys were worked with.... emphasis was on staying in school, seeking employment, and revising social habits. The group used the agency two nights a week for about 4 months; at other times the worker met them on the streets and in pool halls, restaurants, clubs, and other hangouts. Work was discontinued with this group at the end of 8 months as the boys began to go their individual ways and formed a more loosely knit unit. The need for this particular group had diminished to the

7 Ibid., p. 3.
point where it was deemed advisable to concentrate staff efforts on younger teens who make up a larger percentage of regular program participants.8

Analysis of Table III reveals a sharp decrease in 1949. Interviews with members of the agency's staff of that period, revealed that the decrease was directly related to the internal condition of positive "overcrowding" at the Marillac House teen-time activities, and not to teen-response per se. Although the agency was still in its incipient stage, it responded to the need by assuming the task of erecting a new building-addition so that the earlier heavy Teen Town enrollment was resumed during 1950 and 1951.

In an attempt to raise local school attendance and reduce the high rate of truancy recorded in the neighborhood, Marillac House entered into a cooperative venture with the district schools called "The Marillac Perfect Attendance Plan." The Plan presented to the children allowed that for five consecutive school days with the entire class in attendance, that class merited an afternoon of fun at Marillac House. The results of this plan was most satisfactory to both the school officials and the children and answered a particular need for a given time. Based on the school year of one hundred eighty days, typical statistics for an eighth grade class of forty three students are:

**TABLE IV**

MARILLAC HOUSE PERFECT ATTENDANCE PLAN, 1949-1951

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Year</th>
<th>School Days Having Perfect Attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949 - 1950</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950 - 1951</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(with "Marillac Plan" in effect)

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To introduce the relationship affected among social forces external to the area, the specific needs of the clients at a given time, and the effect produced in the agency's program, the 1951-1952 enrollment figures for Tiny Tot Town and Kiddieville adequately serve as a point for special reference. These departments show an increase in enrollment for day-care service in 1951 which expanded in 1952. At the same time, decreases were noted in the Adult Clubs, although the figures for the Senior Adults ("Chess and Chatter Club") rose. With the Korean international crisis at its height, armed services called up a definite portion of local, unskilled manpower; job opportunities expanded, and therefore, the need for day-care services for more working mothers likewise expanded proportionately.

An analytical survey of Kiddieville revealed an annual average of about thirty per cent of the registration are children coming from "broken homes", caused by separation, divorce, or death; the related fact that about seventy per cent of the children derived from "unbroken homes" should be interpreted in the light of the fact that unfortunately these "unbroken homes" often included very "unhappy" homes, according to information received by the staff of Kiddieville during interviews with these parents or the children.

Review of the services to the members sixty-five years old and more indicates the needs of the oldsters have called for only minor changes in the basic program. Certain services have been added, however, to broaden the scope of influence and contact possibilities of the group. Volunteers, often "quite active" older persons, facilitate transportation to and from the agency on meeting afternoons for the less agile or yet older seniors by picking them up directly at their homes and bringing them to the agency in personal cars.
FIGURE 5

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CLIENTELE BY COMMUNITY AREAS
MARILLAC HOUSE, CHICAGO
LEGEND:
- 35.7%
- 42.6%
- 5.8%
- 11.3%
- 4.6%

COMMUNITY AREAS
1960 CENSUS OF HOUSING AND POPULATION
AVERAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ENROLLMENT BY COMMUNITY AREAS
MARILLAC HOUSE, CHICAGO: 1947 - 1952
COMMUNITY AREAS
1960 CENSUS OF HOUSING AND POPULATION
AVERAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ENROLLMENT BY COMMUNITY AREAS
MARILLAC HOUSE, CHICAGO: 1952-1956
It is to be noted that the "Chess and Chatter Club" sustains itself as the only predominantly white (99 per cent) unit of the agency. Such selectivity seems to bear more directly on the long-time friendships among the members and the reluctance to welcome newcomers than on pro-segregation sentiments or prejudice towards the non-whites of the neighborhood. The doors of every department of the agency are, and always have been, manifestly open to all persons. This has been the agency policy, without fanfare, ostentatious display, or vocalization and publication. By consistent and sincere recognition and acceptance of the client as an individual person - not one having a particular skin pigment, eye-coloring, or hair shade - relatively little difficulty has been experienced in the area of race relations on an internal level by the agency.9 Most of the members of the Senior Adults were old-time residents of the neighborhood during the early years of Marillac House and were part of the general exodus at the time of the non-whites' coming. As the majority of these persons now live with their married children who reside in the suburbs, they must come into central city Chicago from the outlying areas. It is chiefly from this group that the clientele from the suburbs is taken, as shown in Figure 5; in this same Figure one notes that it was not until after 1952 that even a negligible percentage of the clientele were from suburbia. The senior adults now form the greatest concentration of Catholics in any single department of the agency. The distribution by religious affiliations of the clientele of Marillac House is indicated in Table V.

9Information from a personal interview by the author with Sister Beatrice Brown, D.C., Special Consultant in Guidance and Counseling, Archdiocesan Schools of St. Louis, and Second Administrator of Marillac House, October 22, 1961.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Agency Total</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>Protestant</th>
<th>Baptist</th>
<th>Jew</th>
<th>Orthodox</th>
<th>No Religion</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>2,186</td>
<td>64.8</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>3,517</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>2,908</td>
<td>58.1</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>3,153</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>4,049</td>
<td>60.2</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>3,357</td>
<td>59.8</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
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<td></td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>3,882</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>3,545</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>3,439</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>4,097</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>4,460</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>37.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>3,284</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>36.8</td>
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<td></td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>31.1</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>3,522</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While the response by the Senior Adults maintains its membership with relatively minor fluctuation, as on days when the weather is especially inclement, the other departments must constantly cope with rather dramatic changes. For example, the sharp decline in Kiddieville and Teen Town during 1953 and 1954 are seen as reflective of the changing conditions in the neighborhood of Marillac House. The mounting presence of Negroes among the clientele and the withdrawal of the earlier ethnic groups, as indicated in Table VI, is suggestive, if not conclusive evidence, of the psychosocial response to the pattern of succession which was at play in the neighborhood surrounding the 2800-2900 West Jackson Boulevard site.

In an addendum to the agency's 1956 annual report, the following retrospective evaluation of the impact of the sociological phenomena occurring between 1954 and 1956 is noted:

In 1954 the real transition took place. Teen agers in particular looked at us with suspicion.... white girls were afraid to come in the evening; the colored girls did not recognize that they might.... The nursery continued lessening (city-wide) in enrollment. In 1956 the Spanish-speaking people used our facilities and services and brought a new phase to our settlement work. Community organization, among both Negroes and Puerto Rican families and residents, brought the Adult Groups up in enrollment and attendance.10

With the influx of a large percentage of non-whites into the area in the mid-fifties, the agency faced the reality of a decided decrease in day-care enrollment, although during the course of home visitations and informal contacts with the new neighbors, the Daughters of Charity realized there existed an unprecedented need by many families for this very service. For the most

### TABLE VI

**COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ETHNIC GROUPS OF MARILLAC HOUSE, CHICAGO**

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* = Statistics not available for 1949.

** = Group includes less than 0.5 per cent clients Armenian, Austrian, Belgian, Bohemian, Danish, Dutch, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Norwegian, Scotch, Swedish, "all-American," "unknown," "mixed," not shown.
part, however, these same families were unaware either of their own actual need for the available service or of the positive value to be derived from it.

Consequently, a "reaching-out" to the people of the neighborhood was advanced as an educative type of service, much in line with the agency's role as a pattern-maintenance organization.

In the sense used here, the "reaching-out" of the Marillac House staff constitutes neither a physical act nor a technique, but rather a frame of mind or a psychological readiness and determination to find a way to help the clients whether this be physical, psychological, social, or some combination of these factors. In considering the sociological implications of the reciprocal relations between agency and clientele, this very effort to reach the clientele is, in effect, the catalytic intercommunication and dynamic force which sets into motion the complex psycho-social process of actual service given and taken.

A reaching-out that was, however, of a decidedly tangible nature was attempted in 1954 when another after-school group, "The Christophers," was commenced. This group included about forty children from age six to fifteen, who lived in the Skid Row area of Chicago; their ethnic origin was predominantly Puerto Rican. These children were brought by means of the Agency's bus each afternoon to Marillac House, where they were enabled to share in the fun and ultimately the language and standards of other after-school groups. During the summer, pick-ups were made in the mornings and at noon; Marillac House served these children a hot lunch, then took them to the nearby parks, and returned them to their houses at 5:00 or 5:30 P.M. In 1959 the bus service

for "The Christophers" was discontinued because of an apparently greater need in the immediate area: due to overcrowding in the neighborhood school, children were attending classes on a shift schedule resulting in a half-day of unsupervised activity for many of them. In order to provide supervision and constructive activities for them during the period out of school, a special program which included a 9:00 A.M. and a 1:00 P.M. play group was begun in September, 1959. This adaptation in program constituted an adjustment to a social institutional change that had met one social problem but generated another, which Marillac House recognized and remedied to some extent.

Another graphic illustration of the interaction between the programming of a modern settlement house and the needs of a changing neighborhood is found in a comparative analysis of the Adult Clubs of Marillac House. The original "Town Hall" group gave place in 1953 to the "Seton Social Club," a group of young adults between the ages of twenty and thirty-five whose prime purpose was wholesome social contacts. By 1957 a new generation of young adults necessitated further adaptation and revision of the services for those beyond the teens, whether in age or sophistication. Two groups were begun which focused attention to activities in smaller, more closely knit groups, and much more inclined to "pair off." Young married couples, ineligible for "Teen Town" were the center of attraction for the groups, the "Young Adult Club" and the "Royal Amies," which meet on Tuesday and Thursday nights respectively.

Since 1957 the "Parents' Club" has met for dinner once a month. Children are cared for while their parents discuss and learn about the problems involved in child rearing, after which they enjoy an evening of recreation together.
A positive idea was injected in this club during 1958 when it was made obligatory for the parents of day-care children to attend two meetings a year, in April and in October. Non-attendance requires a personal interview with the parents before the child is re-admitted to the program. This requirement has not proved as difficult as might be imagined for it not only serves as a positive agency control and educative device, but also creates a depth of understanding in the parents as they are led to see the importance to them and to their children of these "must" meetings. Relatedly, the Parents' Club meetings have brought out through group discussion the similarities of family problems; as a result, parents are drawn closer together with practical effects resulting, such as interracial car pools, reciprocal baby-sitting, etc.

The forceful impact of the 1956 statistical increase (27 per cent) in Spanish-speaking people among the clientele of Marillac House heralded to the agency the need for the "Noche Social" (Spanish Social Night) which began in 1957 for Puerto Rican and Mexican families. In an atmosphere where one could find a little bit of "home," these families enjoyed an evening "where no one has to speak English," "where the music is Spanish," and where the games were "just what we played back home."\(^{12}\) As the agency had worked closely with the Catholic Cardinal's Committee for Spanish-speaking people since 1952, families were drawn to the agency for a complex of reasons and purposes—counseling services, guidance in coping with the urban culture, language classes, reception of needed food, clothing, etc. Because these same people did not

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identify with the parish as being "for them" at that particular time, Marillac House became a social center for the Spanish-speaking people of the area. Although the fraternal organization, "Caballeros de San Juan" (Knights of St. John), is structured for parish orientation, Marillac House was requested to allow use of its facilities during the initial formation of units of this group in the area. Successive stages in the development of the organization as it strengthened its integration into the culture of the greater society witnessed the group's move from the agency to a store-front meeting place and finally to the security of the parish where the fraternal units are now functioning well.

Effective as the "Noche Social" was, it dramatically evidences a specific need answered for a specific period of transition. The sociological phenomena exerting influence during 1959, with the westward movement of the Spanish-speaking population and the development of the parish programs to meet the needs of these families, resulted in the agency experiencing a notable decrease in participation of this activity. Consequently the club was discontinued in October of 1959 as the need for it was no longer evident. English-speaking classes are still conducted at Marillac House twice weekly for the Puerto Ricans and foreign-speaking newcomers to Chicago. Studies and evaluations continue to be made to ascertain the need of the Spanish-speaking families still in the neighborhood, with the view in mind to the possibility of reorganization of the specialized program for them in 1962 under a form that would not duplicate or detract from the service offered in the parishes.

As the Spanish-speaking population declined, the Negro population increased, as Table VI indicates. In 1959, the agency attempted to meet the
recreational needs of the new neighbors in the "Marillac Adult Club," which met weekly with a membership ranging in age from eighteen to fifty-nine. Although Negroes predominated, there were also white, Mexican, and Puerto Rican members. The over-all group was smaller and more closely knit than "Teen Town," and tended to have sub-groups form around the more favored activities; for example, a bridge class attracted the more settled adults, while the younger set entered enthusiastically into a class in Latin-American dancing. First aid, home-making, and sewing classes, special activities such as picnics, sports events, parties, and a dinner dance added interest to the program.

During 1960, adult clubs underwent an alteration in structure. The core activity had been dancing in the "Marillac Adult Club;" however, after a study of the program, it was noted that: a) the salary allotment for the dancing teacher was too large in proportion to the numbers and needs served, and b) the members attending were financially able to satisfy the desire for dancing instructions on a commercial basis. The average attendance dropped in the early summer and after a poll was taken in the fall it was decided to discontinue the "Marillac Adult Club."

As one aspect of adult service closed an avenue for filling a different type of need opened. In order to enable more mothers to take advantage of the sewing class, supper was served for fifty cents on meeting evenings. In addition, a baby-sitting service was offered with the idea in view that many of the neighborhood mothers needed the opportunity for adult recreation since they had the full weight of the responsibility of their children. As a result, the registration for the class went from thirty-nine members in 1959
to one hundred thirty-one in 1960. While this may indeed be but a minor way of substantiating the hypothesis relative to reciprocity of influence between agency and clientele, it is nevertheless a valid reflection of it.

Marillac House offers many services for which no statistical count is kept. Of such services analytical review cannot be made on a strictly empirical basis. The major motivational basis on which all the services of the agency are built and to which the religious staff operating the agency rigidly adhere is the dynamic concept and highly value-laden stimulus to action referred to by the Daughters of Charity as "the Service of The Poor," definable in part as an all-embracing dedication, undertaken freely and willingly by a specific religious vow, of activating Christian Charity to those in need of spiritual or corporal assistance, whoever these are and wherever they may be found. Tabulations are available on the contacts made in the counseling and guidance of "delinquents" at the Juvenile Detention Home, or on the help extended to families by way of an enumeration of baskets of food, toys, or articles of clothing distributed, of phone calls, visitations, and referrals made; however, such tabulations neither reflect in whole nor in part the qualitative, dynamic interactions intimately involved between the staff of this agency and the individuals served. Therefore, such statistics have not been attempted for inclusion in the present chapter.

Introduction to and awareness of such dynamic intrapersonal relationships gives some insights into the definite need for the logical coordination of agency services with those to be found available in the greater community milieu. The function and role of such logical coordinating constitutes the central subject for the following chapter.
CHAPTER V

SPECIFIC CONSIDERATION OF FUNCTION AND ROLE OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN RELATION TO MARILLAC HOUSE

The foregoing chapters have treated of the major changes that have occurred in the clientele of the agency under study, the needs of these persons as generated or affected by known sociological conditions or changes, and the resultant effect on the agency's program of services. A clearer perception of the reciprocity of influence between clientele and services necessitates specific consideration of the function and role of community organization in relation to Marillac House. Such a consideration is the purpose of the present chapter.

Sociologists have long recognized the threat to individual psycho-social integrity in the breakdown of ancient primary group supports. While the village structure of the past cannot be recreated, the incessant, ongoing reorganization of the various institutions of the urban community must take account of the means by which individuals may continually "reintegrate" their selves. Presumably, if a given cultural system is to endure, its ultimate goals, specific institutional objectives, and implementations of behavioral patterns must maintain some degree of integration; that is, they must be logically and functionally supportive.

An initial premise regarding this settlement house was that it functioned as a "pattern-maintenance organization," that is, a broad type of collectivity which has assumed a particularly important place in modern industrial society.
with primarily "cultural," "educational," and "expressive" functions.¹ In the practical realm, such a presumption means that the dynamic interaction between the agency and the behavioral patterns of the group (here applied to the clientele of the agency) facilitates or at least makes possible the actual realization of institutional objectives. These specific objectives, in turn, must be so formulated as to render possible the fulfillment of the ultimate goals of the cultural system, greater group, or society. Thomas enlarges this concept relative to pattern-maintenance function insofar as it constitutes a special institutional challenge having sociological implication: "Because the institutions of advanced societies like our own tend to move toward increasing functional differentiation, the maintenance of some degree of integration presents a perennial challenge in large complex societies."²

If it is granted that small, intimate groups of significant others play a vital part in supporting every self in society, it seems as though groups formed solely for the sake of such mutual support will be less durable and successful than those which accomplish this in the process of pursuing ends encompassing those of the cultural system, thereby increasing greater integration. This consideration of the influence between the settlement house within a given social community and other organizations of the same social community elicits our special attention.

Every social welfare agency operates in one or more communities, being

¹Parsons, Structure and Process in Modern Societies, p. 46.
vitaly effected by the community in which it exists. In the case of a settlement house, it is to be remembered that the major impact is largely produced by the community for which it exists. Consequently, the agency must adapt to the needs and conditions of the extended neighborhood and greater community, and it must work with the available resources and leadership of the larger area if positive results are to be effected in the narrower range of the immediate neighborhood. Dunham forcefully advances the proposition that "the general level of social welfare organization and practice in a community cannot rise much higher than the level of the community's understanding of social welfare." The level of the community's understanding of social welfare obviously generates from standards of living, attitudes toward racial, ethnic, and minority groups, toward relief and welfare clients, degree of cooperation with state, national social welfare programs, and so on.

The concept of "community organization" or "community welfare organization" as used here refers to the process of bringing about and maintaining adjustment between social welfare needs and social welfare resources in a geographical area or a special field of service. Such an emphasis on the adjustment of needs and resources is based upon the conviction that if the non-material as well as the more material community resources are taken into account, the adjustment transcends environmental manipulation and becomes a sound and basic approach to community welfare organization. It is to be noted that community organization has, from the beginning, been one of the major characteristics of the agency's

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4 Ibid., p. 23.
program. In addition to the settlement's own clubs, classes, group work, educational and recreational activities, it has a kindred concern with the well-being and development of the local community facilities and resources.

Analysis of Marilla House's internal records, annual reports, and general correspondence indicates the more distinctive aspects of this settlement house's use of the community organization process can be summarized as follows: (1) emphasis upon interaction within the urban neighborhood; district or neighborhood councils; "block" organizations; (2) emphasis upon experimentation, demonstration, and 'willingness' for a changing or evolutionary program if necessary; (3) marked attention to the self-organization of the residents of the neighborhood to bring about the needed changes through direct efforts, mobilization of local resources, and democratic social action.

Now if community organization is itself a rationally directed effort to modify the social organization of a particular locality, as the findings of recent sociological research demonstrates, then it is conceivable as being utilitarian and purposive in nature. This is true also of the agency utilizing that process. The need for community organization by this agency stems from the fact it is a formal organization with dynamic group associations, as has been indicated in preceding chapters. It has a definite role in the urban community insofar as it represents for many persons the link between the minority and the majority elements of the community at large.


Figure 6
SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES OF COMMUNITY AREA 27
The interaction between Marillac House's program and its clientele generates largely from recognition of the impact of urbanism on the individual, for according to Wirth: "Increase in the number of inhabitants of a community beyond a few hundred is bound to limit the possibility of each member of the community knowing all the others personally."\(^7\) The sociological point to be made here is simply that the increase in numbers thus involves a changed character of the social relationship. It is an awareness of the forceful impact of the changes in social relationships that generates an understanding of the need for community organization by Marillac House.

Within the internal structure of Marillac House, community organization has evolved from the general programming of activities and services extended to adults, usually under sixty-five years of age.

From its earliest years Marillac House reflects a history of activity for community betterment; for example, in the agency's first annual report (1947), it is noted: "In its few months of operation gratifying reports have come from the local schools, factories, property-owners, and the juvenile court that a marked improvement has been seen in the neighborhood with regard to general street conduct, property-destruction, and school attendance."\(^8\) In the 1956 annual report, designation of the process was formally made: "The newest of Marillac's departments is Community Organization taking the form of block clubs at the grass roots level; ten such blocks are serviced by Marillac House. At

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the industrial and business level; in the form of a Community Council known as the Midwest Community Council, Marillac House cooperates in various sections and committee work—for the purpose of cleaning up the neighborhood physically and socially." \(^9\)

The following years realized the growth in this area of work:

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Aspect of Community Organization</th>
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<td>1957</td>
<td>Fostering urban renewal at &quot;grass-roots&quot; level—neighbors working together at cleaning, painting, repairing to make their block a better place to live; transforming vacant lots from rubbish-heaps into tot-lots; cooperating in projects for a better West Side with other Community councils; providing Midwest Community Council with office space, facilities for meetings; servicing 14 block clubs.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1958 - Sponsoring of "Annual Yuletide Tea" for Marillac House Unit of 16 block clubs to foster social interaction among participants; pictorial publication, *Voice of the Community*, lists agency achievements for year:

- Leadership Awards Program for outstanding block club members;
- Christmas Out-Door Lighting Contest; neighborhood caroling;
- Spring Festival; Queen of Neighborhood;
- Organization of Urban 4-H Club, with assistance from University of Illinois;
- Junior Good Neighbors – constructive group program;
- Six-team baseball Little League;
- Conversion of vacant lots, sections of parking lots into "tot-lots" or playgrounds;
- Promotion of re-zoning area;
- Street parties for adults, for children; summer outings, picnics;
- Improvements secured by petition: new curbs, gas mains, one hundred trees planted in area by city, new street lights, streets cleaned;

(k) Solicitation of volunteers to campaign for fund drives, serve as chaperones, etc.

Year
1959 - Evolution of program in which residents serve as "welcoming committees" to the new tenants in Rockwell Gardens public housing project and to help interpret the program of the housing authorities to private housing clients; sponsoring of "Family Nights" at Marillac to acquaint new residents with agency and "Neighborhood Nights" to bring new and old neighbors together in a social setting; cooperative efforts to assist organizations of area in a realistic approach to the impact of so many people in so short a time in so small an area - eight square blocks.

1960 - Opening of "Rendu House," the Marillac House extension in the Chicago Housing Authority area of Rockwell Gardens, which serves the 7,000 residents, one Play Club, two groups of pre-school children and their mothers in a co-op set-up; promotion of cleaner streets, alleys, vacant lot campaigns; regular monthly street-sweeping days; petition for new school; inauguration of direct contact in crime reporting system with police; interest, participation in opening new A&P Super Market; encouraging rehabilitation of garages.

As a basic function of settlement work is to develop the potentialities of the area, it is to be recognized that rarely, if ever, does a settlement house attempt to nurture the human potential without obtaining and utilizing a range of public and private services. Through these services, group and inter-group experiences can be secured which aim at bringing about the changes deemed necessary to effect the well-being of the neighborhood. Ordinarily, such a wide range of community services involves programs especially developed by local organizations to encompass local needs including, for example, emphasis
on problems in the fields of health and welfare, human relations, law enforce-
ment, education, neighborhood conservation, and urban renewal.

The actual coordination of community services by Marillac House is
reflected in the exercise of the settlement's functions insofar as it acts with
and within the power structure of which it is a part at both the neighborhood
and city-wide level. Certainly, within the extended neighborhood there are
many groups with at least potential power; through channels of communication
among themselves, and to their prototypes at higher levels, sanction and
support has been given to the goals of the agency for community betterment.
Recognition of the limitations of function of the agency by the administrators
of Marillac House has resulted in the coordination and utilization of available
community services to supplement and complement those of the agency. To illustra-
the complexity of contacts, the wide range and scope of the interrelation-
ships between the agency and larger-scale units of organization, the following
listing—although partial in content indicates the types of resources regularly
utilized over a span of several years by Marillac House. Regularly too, these
agencies have asked cooperation in return:

Resources of City of Chicago, Cook County, Illinois
Board of Education
Board of Health
Bureau of Forestry and Parkways
Bureau of Housing Inspection
Chicago Housing Authority
Chicago Planning Commission
Committee on Local Industries, Streets, and Alleys
Commission on Human Relations
Commissioner of Police
Cock County Department of Public Welfare
Crime Commission of Chicago
Department of Buildings
Department of Public Works
Family Court
Fire Department
Health Department, Rat Extermination Section
Juvenile Detention Home - Audy
Illinois Department of Labor
Institute of Juvenile Research
Mayor's Office of Inquiry and Information
Police Department
Recreation and Park Department

Independent Metropolitan Chicago Resources
Association of Community Councils
Boy Scouts of America
Cana Conference
Catholic Federation of Charities
Catholic Labor Alliance
Catholic Interracial Council
Catholic Youth Organization
Chamber of Commerce and Industry
Community Fund of Greater Chicago
Daily Newspapers
Department of Labor for Puerto Rican Government
Metropolitan Welfare Council
Mid-West Community Council
Visiting Nurses Association
Young Christian Workers
YMCA - Seare Branch

While the above listing gives an indication of the interrelationships between
the agency and local, larger scale action units, the actual coordination of
community services is a result of a gradual social process which evolved from
recognition by the agency of the dearth of leadership in the neighborhood among
the people themselves. As is so often the case in a neighborhood that is under-
going the trauma of transition, the first residents to leave are the families
with the greatest security and/or those possessing the very leadership abili-
ties that are needed to stabilize the changing neighborhood. Such was the case
in the early fifties in the area around Marillac House. Consequently, the
agency realized the "leadership of and by the people" had to be replaced as
soon as possible and as far as it was feasible by the organizations striving to
maintain the community pattern.

In order to develop the vital leadership so needed in the area, Marillac House hired a part-time (now full-time) community organizer in October 1954. The person selected had previous experience in block club work with the Urban League, was a resident of the West Side, and possessed the balance of dedication and self-confidence needed to do the job effectively. By September 1957, ten blocks in the immediate vicinity of the agency had organized in concert with the generally held theory of the block club structure - a structure somewhat adapted to Marillac's neighborhood problems. As local units of neighborhood betterment, "block clubs" illustrate the principle of using existing neighborhood groups, led by existing neighborhood leaders, instead of attempting to impose new organizations from the "outside" or the larger community area. Basically the theory of generating "self-help" under localized leadership is to stimulate and develop the potential of "natural" leaders in order to enable the citizens of the immediate area to face realistically the problems of their neighborhood and systematically endeavor to remedy these through cooperative effort. Fundamental tenets of such a program of action are well-defined in such sociological studies as Clifford Shaw's famous "area projects" in Chicago. The ultimate effectiveness of the Marillac House block clubs, together with the agency's other attempts in the field of community organization, can be measured to some degree by an analysis of the "image" of Marillac House as rendered by the Chicago community. The term "image" is used here to connote the general conception of Marillas House, or the impression that has been created by the agency in its functions by June 25, 1958.

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and activities, and as formulated or held by a rather representative group of persons within the greater community structure. An exhibit of the questionnaire is found in Appendix II to this study.

In an attempt to formulate a basis for ascertaining the general "image" of the agency which has developed through the years of its operation within the Chicago metropolitan area, a rather simple mailed questionnaire was utilized by the researcher in October 1961. The appropriateness of the mailed questionnaire was determined on the basis of: (a) the type of information required or desired, (b) the type of respondent to be reached, (c) the lack of proximity to the study-area by the researcher, and (d) the accessibility of respondents. Frank answers were expected in view of the rather objective nature of the information requested in a questionnaire forwarded to a regular-interval sample of recognized leaders of the Chicago area relative to the "community image" of Marillac House.

The universe for the community image questionnaire comprised 150 civic, social, and religious persons, agencies, or organizations in the Chicago area who were known: (a) to have knowledge of the agency; (b) to have some actual contact with the agency; and (c) to be responsible and accessible for possible response to the given questionnaire. From the list of one hundred and fifty names and/or agencies corresponding to the definition of the universe, a sample of fifty names and/or agencies was drawn at fixed intervals of every third name on the listing. The sample admittedly was taken from a rather selective universe with a possible bias manifesting itself in the known direction of interest in the general subject matter (and not the agency per se). Admittedly, all with the criteria for the universe were not included in the available records and
files. There were 25 responses. That the response rate was relatively high (50 per cent), is believed based upon the appeal, the calibre of the respondents, the symbolic status of the researcher, the given nature of the study, the known purpose of the specific information requested, the open identification and sanction of this research by the agency under study, and the assurance of anonymity in response.

On the "Community Image" questionnaire, nine out of the twelve questions were of the closed-end variety. These questions, as shown in Table VII, give a clear indication of a generally favorable consensus of opinion among the respondents. Replies to the closed-end questions are found in Tables VIII, IX, and X. Categories of response were made on the basis of content analysis, through determination of the likeness in the expressed attitudes of the respondents.

While it is not practical to attempt to sift out all the possible causal factors for the image(s) drawn by the respondents and to analyze these in this thesis, examination of some comments most frequently made by the respondents is relevant to this section of the study.

The respondents' repeated references to the community organization work underway at "Rendu House," the off-site extension of Marillas Social Center, reflect the "Community Image" of Marillas House as it has developed from the past to the present. It also seems to yield an insight into the future "image" for the agency. If any particular aspect of the agency's program in recent years should be selected for analytical consideration, the reciprocity of influence between the clients served and the services extended to those clients should be aptly demonstrated by the dynamic interaction to be found in "Rendu House." Of further importance is the fact of a Catholic agency actually
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Résumé of Question</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. As a West-side settlement house, is Marillac an asset to Chicago?</td>
<td>Yes 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Since 1947, has the agency adjusted its services to the actual needs of its neighborhood?</td>
<td>Yes 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No response 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Is this settlement a &quot;leader&quot; in Chicago's social settlement work?</td>
<td>Yes 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No response 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Does the settlement use all its resources adequately?</td>
<td>Yes 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No response 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Is Marillac actually effective - does it produce positive results?</td>
<td>Yes 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No response 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Does agency make use of Community-wide referrals adequately?</td>
<td>Yes 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No response 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Has the agency expanded its services into community organization projects?</td>
<td>Yes 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Does this agency have a program of services geared towards increasing community betterment, responsibility?</td>
<td>Yes 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Is this agency a stabilizing force within the neighborhood of Marillac?</td>
<td>Yes 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
undertaking a radically new program in order to meet and cope with the needs of its clients. It is, as it were, an exemplification of transforming verbalized, theoretical "Charity" into the practical, activated realm of the modern era of the Christian apostolate. In this connection, the dynamic interactions here suggested are not to be underestimated in nature or in scope.

The summer of 1959 witnessed the evolution of Rendu House into the practical realms of community organization activity, although the roots of the program penetrate back to the early fifties with the problems confronting public housing planning for the densely populated mid-West side of Chicago. Action from the Chicago Housing Authority became mandatory as it became evident that increasingly the families applying for public housing were families with non-urban back-grounds, with marked psycho-social problems, or with a history of dependency that sometimes included members from three successive generations. The immediate response on the part of the Chicago Housing Authority in 1957 was to attempt to cope with the problems imposed by this change in tenancy. An expanded Community and Tenant Program described its definite goal: "to find ways and means of effectively working with and dealing with these families in a manner that will make the housing projects in which they reside a place where residency can be enjoyed and accepted by the community as a whole."11 It was soon found that the project communities had needs far beyond the resources of these same communities. These needs, as indicated to some extent earlier in this study,

## TABLE VIII
### RESUME OF OPEN-END RESPONSES BY 25 CHICAGO SOCIAL WELFARE WORKERS AND/OR AGENCIES, 1961

**Question No. 10:** "What type of activity or what aspect of social service do you usually associate with Marillac House?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity or Aspect of Social Service</th>
<th>Number of Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community Organization</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day-Care Services for Children</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Rendu House&quot;</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group work, guidance and special counseling for Negros and Spanish-speaking people</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighborhood/Community Recreation Center</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Human understanding for need of the individual client.&quot;</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer stated</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program for the Aging</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth program; deterrence of juvenile delinquency in area</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursery school</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Respondents cited more than one activity or aspect of social service in replying to question.*
derive from families who have met almost constant economic defeat, of rural
traditions, often lacking the inner strength and outer bonds necessary to tie
people strongly to their families and to their neighbors. Consequently, the
Chicago Housing Authority began a concerted effort with the Department of Public
Welfare to persuade more public and private agencies to provide the many services
that these large housing projects required if ever they were to become "commu-
nities" in the real sense of the term.

The Marillac House extension in the Chicago Housing Authority area of
Rockwell Gardens formally opened in January 1960; however, the extension began
only after many months of intensive study as to known and anticipated needs, to
professional planning of projected scope and method of operation, skillful
manipulation and utilization of available contacts and resources, and unprece-
dented communication on a thoroughly open basis among the Marillac House staff,
the Chicago Housing Authority, and other authorities on the federal, state and
local levels. Named "Rendu House" in honor of Sister Rosalie Rendu, a Daughter
of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul and servant of the poor of Paris, this
extension's physical quarters consists of a first-floor apartment (No. 104,
2517 West Adams Street) right in the massive high-rise development. Marillac
House underwrites staff salaries. Through a unique arrangement with the housing
officials, the extension office has been leased for the duration of its opera-
tions for one dollar. The office is staffed by a Daughter of Charity in
supervisory capacity, two group workers, and a receptionist. The primary focus
of the Rendu House operation has been to prepare the "old" neighborhood for the
thousands of new residents moving into the area and to orient the incoming
residents to their new community, in order that such a process might bring about
TABLE IX

RESUME OF THE POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION OF MARILLAC HOUSE
BASED ON REPLIES BY 25 CHICAGO SOCIAL WELFARE WORKERS AND/OR AGENCIES, 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive contribution named</th>
<th>Number of Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Developing &quot;leaders&quot; and a real community spirit among clientele</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program for teen-agers; deterrence of juvenile delinquency</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking definite stand on social problems involving neighborhood people - as a &quot;symbol of society's interest in people who need help&quot;</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home visiting and direct service of the poor</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providing and adapting programs for a &quot;changing&quot; community of minority groups</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Organization</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extending, sharing knowledge of agency's experience, understanding of people</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casework; taking care of individual needs</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counseling teen-agers at Juvenile Detention Home</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child care services</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Respondents cited more than one positive contribution.
the integration of the public housing area and its residents into the life of
the total community.

The working philosophy of Rendu House focuses on the concepts of "availability" and "proximity." The theory that proximity and availability are
essential to prompt and consistent service has proved true daily; for example,
people come into Rendu House for any reason - or no reason at all; but for
these people, such a facility is of unusual importance. The individualization
of the people of Rockwell has been purposely attempted by all the staff at
Rendu; the dynamic and intimate quality of the interaction results from the
fact that the staff members know the clients, considers each client "important;"
and the clients confide in the staff. Here is the core of the effectiveness
of the extension program.

The rather primitive culture of the Rockwell residents is to be emphasized
because it is the point whence the necessity of "proximity" evolves. According
to information obtained from the Supervisor of Rendu House by informal inter-
views with the author, the population profile of these persons indicate about
ninety-five per cent to be Negro, with the remaining five per cent Puerto Rican
and a very few white families. As nearly as can be estimated, ninety per cent
are non-Catholic; a very small portion attend the neighboring Christian Church
and the Salvation Army, or some of the store-front churches adjacent to the
area. On the whole there is very little church affiliation among the great
majority of the residents.12 While the description of the Marillac House

12 Information from personal interviews made by the author with Sister
### Table X

**NEGATIVE CONTRIBUTION OF MARIILLAC HOUSE BASED ON 25 REPLIES BY CHICAGO SOCIAL WELFARE WORKERS AND/OR AGENCIES, 1961**

**Question No. 12:** "What do you consider has been the most outstanding negative contribution Marillac House has made to the Chicago community?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative contribution named:</th>
<th>Number of Responses*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Insufficient &quot;sharing&quot; with civic, religious leaders of greater Chicago of the insights, knowledge, understandings gained of the people and their needs.</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too much time and effort on day-care, nursery school activity</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent aware of no &quot;negative&quot; aspect</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too narrowed scope of influence and inadequate inter-agency involvement.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate use of staff's &quot;full potential&quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempt to become involved in major city planning of problems without having sufficient facts</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inability to see neighborhood problems in relation to wider community; tendency to pass critical judgment on partial information</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restriction in program excluding the released juvenile delinquents, paroles.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too charitable and zealous in assisting even the &quot;undeserving&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Respondents gave more than one answer.*
clientele given in the previous sections of this study are applicable to the clientele of Renca House, the behavioral and cultural characteristics of the latter group are seen as especially typical of recent sociological studies of the traits and characteristics common to the lower class Negro of Chicago, especially as outlined in the studies of Duncan. Contact, observation, and social records reveal a dominant family pattern in which desertion, separation, divorce, and illegitimacy are quite common. Premarital and extra-marital sexual relations are frequently entered into and regarded with only slight disapproval; pregnancies arising out of such relationships are fairly frequent and illegitimacy is not regarded as a "serious" stigma on either parent or child. Other salient features of the deviant type pattern of family life reflected by the group is that the family as a child-rearing unit is centered upon the mother and her female blood relatives as the "stable" set of parental figures for the children; often entered as a kind of cooperative venture shared by mothers and their daughters or by sisters, so that the mother-child relationship is commonly upset as mothers seek employment. Consequently, it is all too apparent that because of the instability of male-female relationships, father-child relationships are also unstable as parents separate easily.

The very existence of such a "separate" Negro community (one of many in a city of segregated sections, as in Chicago) within the heart of greater

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15 Ibid., p. 85.
society is believed in itself indicative of the quasi-pathological character
of the community. The persistent waves of both repressed and then expressed
hostilities, of frustration, self-hatred, emptiness, and distrust, experienced
by many of the Rockwell residents result in a daily flow of demands for help —
however this may be defined — from the staff of Rendu House.

The role of Rendu House in the public housing project of Rockwell Gardens
has crystallized into one of secondary leadership as the skills and confidence
of the resident leaders have grown through guided experience on committees,
councils, and special projects. The initial steps to developing leadership
potential began at "floor" level, as the floor is the immediate community for
each of the hundreds of families in each high-riser. Consequently, the Rendu
staff has held that if there is to be a direct involvement of individual
families in the high-rise building organizations, a strong "floor identifi-
cation" is essential. To strengthen floor unity and cooperation demanded
insight and awareness of the basic, human needs that, if not met, served all
too frequently as the cause/effect of greater problems; for example, laundry
room schedules were tactfully suggested, explained and worked out through the
joint efforts of Rendu House workers and the tenants of each floor, thereby
reducing clashes and disputes over the use of the laundry room facilities.
Special events were also held for adults and for children through planning
with the tenants on their floors; the sponsoring of a Christmas Light-up con-
test for the floors of each building, etc. The fact that all of the floors
of the seven high-rise buildings have been organized into "Building Councils,"
much in line with the "earlier concept" of "Block Clubs," is a special facet
to the emerging community-mindedness or "the Rockwell Gardens area spirit," a
hitherto unknown element in this densely populated project. To date, this community spirit evidences itself neither in remarkable nor in ostentatious ways; however, to illustrate that the nucleus of such an attitude is germinating, it was noted in the Summer of 1961 that the rose bushes planted by the Chicago Housing Authority around its Rockwell area office in 1960 were (1) not taken or removed outright; (2) not destroyed or damaged through careless or intentional trespassing; and (3) during the blooming season not a rose was unlawfully picked. Rather, the roses were simply (and significantly) admired by the multiplicity of residents on all age-levels. The fact that the residents remind each other not to walk on the sparsely found grassy areas further illustrates the growing attitude and awareness of common goals for this unusual residential area, as it comprises with private housing "the Rockwell Community."

In addition to the above type of interaction between clients and program of Renu House, flexibility in the interacting process is noteworthy. Through close cooperation with the Cook County Department of Public Aid, a caseload has developed at Renu House from those people not eligible for public assistance or whose problems do not come under the specifications of categorical aid. The basic tool used by the Renu House staff is one of personal relationship with the individuals and family units living in the high-risers; this involves home visits, family and casework services, conferences, and referrals to proper agencies when financial, medical, or legal aid is required. Further coordination of community services inaugurated by the presence of the Sisters from Marillac House at the Rockwell Gardens Park District Center is seen in the Play Club for the children on the split-shifts at nearby public schools and in
the Pre-School Co-op for the two to five-year-olds and their mothers, which operates at the Center also during the marginal time of the Park District program. The settlement house's aim in these projects has been to involve the mothers in a corporate project for the care of their children, hoping that leadership for the program will eventually be assumed by the mothers themselves.

Because of the proximity of the office, as well as the availability of the staff (no set "office hours" are recognized as operative), Rendu House has served as a communication center in time of family or individual crises, doing much through professional knowledge to cut down the barriers of red-tape which often entangle this segment of the population and render them inoperative in times of crises. As with all other aspects of the work of the extension, the effort is made to work with the people rather than for them, putting into practice the fundamental social work principle of "helping people to help themselves."

For the purpose of this thesis, suffice it to say that such a brief exposition of Rendu House, the extension of Marillac House, which evolved as a unique type of program adjustment to meet the neighborhood needs generated by the massive expansion of public housing in the area of the settlement, does not attempt to penetrate thoroughly the depths of the realities of the sociological phenomena to be observed. The towering masonry of the public housing project with its rather rigid income limitations stands seemingly as a modern status symbol to brand the occupants as distinctively "dependent" in relation to the residents of private housing, although the latter might be equally limited or more limited in resources. Research in the sociological factors
involved in public housing projects of such proportion as the Rockwell Gardens
unit would be a response to an earlier appeal made by the Chicago Housing
Authority:

"Suggested Research in Human Factors: In evaluating various alternative
proposals for dealing with this site [Rockwell], the relative human cost,
as well as the physical practicality and dollar cost, should be considered.
Plans which are sound from an engineering or financial standpoint might
be very expensive in terms of hardships and sacrifices imposed upon the
site residents, or vice versa. Therefore, in order to effectively evalu­
ate various proposed solutions, all of these factors should be studied and
their relative merits weighed against each other."

Given specific insight into the function and role of the actual coordina­
tion of agency services with those of the greater Chicago-community, attention
can be directed to an investigation of the current approach and the administra­
tive procedure utilized by the agency to evaluate and to meet the challenge of
the changing needs of the Marillas House area. Within the context of the
following chapter, such a consideration is attempted.

16 Chicago Housing Authority, "Illinois 2-21, Madison and Western Area,
Summary of Research Procedures," Unpublished Inter-office Memorandum of Record
(Chicago Housing Authority, Chicago, 1952), p. 4.
CHAPTER VI

CURRENT APPROACH TO MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF CHANGING NEEDS

Chicago is a dynamic city. Nothing stays fixed and constant. Big projects and little projects constantly change the face of the city. Chicago social welfare agencies are also in a state of flux, scrambling in their efforts to keep up with the roaring pace of the bulldozers and the mobile people with needs. In the leisure-time field both the governmental and voluntary agencies annually add something new, or relocate facilities or services, or are withdrawing services.¹

If the social welfare agencies of Chicago are in a state of relative flux, as the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago currently holds, then Marillas House is no exception to the norm.

The programs of settlement houses and neighborhood centers differ from agency to agency, since they are developed from the needs and interests of the particular neighborhood in which each house is located. In the case of Marillas House, service is planned for the extended neighborhood, in view of the fact that it is the only settlement serving Community Area 27.²

With a history of less than fifteen years, and in comparison with other settlement houses, Marillas House gives, at first glance, almost the impression of an adolescent in the field of settlement work. The conspicuous strides

¹Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, Inventory of Social Services - 1960 (Chicago, 1961), p. 130

the agency has taken during that time to keep pace with the ever changing needs of the area force revision of that estimate. While the problems of adolescence often generate from the obsolescence of parental norms, such is not the case with an agency steeped in the traditions of a value system as modern in its thinking as it is old in its origin. The owners and administrators of Marillac House strive to personify the wisdom and experience embodied in more than three hundred years in the field of organized social welfare service.

To meet the constant challenge of changing needs, a challenge as dynamic as are the needs themselves, this agency recognizes that changes in the programming of a settlement house involve not only content but also the method of planning. The program plans that eventually evolve for the use of this agency are the result and expression of using the combined thinking of the staff, the recommendations of the advisory boards, and these in respect of the range and intensity of the known needs of the clientele.

Through the years, the agency's central source of exchange of information and facts has been the Staff Meeting, which is held at least three times weekly, usually with the Board of Directors in attendance. Functionally, this particular Board of Directors is somewhat like the boards of similar social agencies in its legislative and judicial role within the agency. It constitutes the main channel for the interpretation of the needs, the determination of the general services of the agency, and the proper administration of agency funds and

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3 The religious order operating Marillac House was founded in France in 1633 for the direct service of the poor by Vincent de Paul, "The Apostle of Organized Charity," and Louise de Marillac, "The Universal Patron of Christian Social Workers."
property. The authoritarian-type structure of this agency, although formally based in a bureaucratic schema (as indicated earlier in this study), operates primarily from the fact that the Board of Directors delegates to the Sister-Administrator or Director their indirect responsibilities which become the administrator's direct responsibilities. Consequently, there exists a meaningful and purposeful overlap in structural patterns.

The formal means of communication of the agency are based in the directives, discussions, and general instructions disseminated in, through, during, and by the Administrative Staff Meetings, to which a high value is set by the Sister-Administrator and her supervisory staff. Through informal questioning, the supervisors manifested to the researcher a recognition of the importance of the weekly meetings; they served as the most effective means of communication between the administration and those in the major supervisory capacities. (The supervisors are, for the most part, the religious members of the agency team). As used here, "communication" refers to the process of making common those matters pertaining to professional or organizational matters of operation as these are presented to the group for unit assimilation. After reviewing the minutes of these meetings, observing them through actual attendance, interviewing informally those in attendance, and discussing formally the matter with

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1 Elwood Street, Social Agency Administration (New York, 1948), pp. 34-40.
2 Information from a personal interview by the author with the present Administrator of Marillac House, Sister Rosalie Larson, D.C., Chicago, September 8, 1961.
the Sister-Administrator, the writer can attest that positive rapport exists between the key figures or leaders of idea-origination and the staff on all levels so as to create not only an atmosphere where official communication occurs but also an active learning or training situation for the staff involved.

Admittedly, all in-service training, whether through staff meetings or through group and/or individual supervision, is truly effective only when the planning is closely related to the day-to-day work and when practical problems are attacked and some course of action determined or new skills learned and applied. This is the attempt made at the Staff Meetings of Marillac House in the repeated observations noted by this investigator. Analyzing the contents of the minutes of these meetings, the writer has noted that almost all—regardless of their primary purpose—contain some elements of in-service training.

As regular agency procedure, all meetings attempt to serve as a means of enlisting group participation in planning and executing the agency program, as well as being a means for staff development. Staff members have the responsibility to participate in meetings to assure a profitable learning situation for themselves as well as to discharge their administrative responsibilities. A basic concept underlying these meetings appears to be that the content of a staff development program must be related to the goals and objectives of the agency and based on the specific knowledge and skill needed by each staff member to carry out the purpose of the program.

It would appear that the administration of this agency is of the attitude that certain content traditionally taught in individual conferences can equally well be taught in a group. The following quotation is believed by this
observer to be reflective of the general thinking pattern of the Supervisory Staff of Marillac House:

The use of group method in training has validated the concept of the "two-way process" as a part of administration and supervision. The discussion method in teaching provides a way to help staff integrate knowledge and develop it to thus make it available for day-to-day work. To help workers integrate knowledge and develop skill is an important aspect of both group and individual meetings. The exchange of ideas among administrator and supervisors and caseworkers helps the total staff see the common goal of the agency and the responsibility each person has for the improvement of agency service.  

While the foregoing has focused attention primarily on the agency's Supervisory or Administrative Staff Meetings, the remarks are equally applicable to the General Staff Meetings and House Committee Meetings, which are held annually or "as needed," and to the weekly Departmental Meetings. An exhibit of the agenda for a typical General Staff Meeting, which all the members of the agency-staff attend (both the religious and lay), is provided in the appendix to this study. It is again emphasized that the primary purpose of these meetings is the constant evaluating and determining of the effectiveness of the agency's program and services insofar as these meet the needs of the community.

Because the team approach is essential in a multi-function agency, especially one of the proportion and scope of Marillac House, the staff is ever on the alert for anything that might jeopardize such teamwork. The actual pooling and exchange of information and insights relative to the people

and problems of the area has a relatedly essential quality to that of practical teamwork. The fact that this exchange is constant and places a habitual demand on the staff to share such insights with the administration creates the internal effect of a relative absence of highly-structured formalities in contact and communication between staff and the administrative officers of the agency.

Insofar as administrative activity is concerned, the relationship between the administrator and her supervisors is, for the most part, what sociologists evaluate as the primary group contact. An unusually high degree of cooperation, understanding, and personal interest can be detected in the interrelationships of the Administrator and Supervisors. In addition to the weekly group or staff meetings, a monthly interview is scheduled on an individual basis with the Supervisors by the Administrator wherein any problems of both the professional and personal nature can be candidly discussed, if the parties so desire. This primary group contact, then, is not to be underestimated nor underrated in the successful operation of the organization. The agency's cohesiveness is consequently made notably effective.

Certain indispensable social conditions for genuine discussions at staff meetings are recognized as operative within this agency structure: a) social equality among the participants; b) a considerable area of values in common; c) dissent - based upon clashes of interest and alternative possibilities of action; d) willingness to compromise non-vital interests; and e) trust or good faith between and among the planners or discussants.9

To draw on a more objective point of reference, the agency makes use of the Men's Lay Advisory Board, which meets semi-annually to review the program of the past six months and/or year. These assemblages of prominent Chicago executives, highly successful professional and business men, meet to ask searching questions of the agency's director and assistant, bringing in for discussion any department heads deemed necessary, and to evaluate and make recommendations regarding the budget in relation to clientele, etc.

In addition to the above, evaluation of trends—as these bear upon present and future demands of the agency—as required for such detailed reports as are required by the Catholic Federation and the United Fund of Metropolitan Chicago. While these reports are most comprehensive in detailed coverage and admittedly exhaustive in administrative work, they are nevertheless viewed by the agency as positive learning experiences. Other periodic reports of a similar nature, such as those prepared for the Provincial Council of the Daughters of Charity, the auxiliaries, or welfare planning bodies, are further incentives to taking rather objective cognizance of the manner and means best suited for the agency to meet the challenge of the current needs in the light of the present resources, personnel, and facilities.

Prevention of the danger of "inbreeding" with reference to the preferential usage of certain methods and techniques in operation and programming has been attempted through the years by the active participation of the supervisory staff on committees and conference work involving local, state, and national welfare planning bodies. Dissemination of the agency's experience in the field of settlement work and the abstracting of the findings of others in related areas by the agency's staff, creates the stimulus necessary for a fruitful
exchange of skills, information, and points of view in such professional groups as the Welfare Council's Executive Committee, School Drop-Out, Day Nursery, Budget Review, and Senior Citizens' Committees; the White House Conference Subcommittee; the Chairmanship of both the Settlement House and the Day Nursery Divisions of the Group Work Section of Catholic Charities of Chicago is held by Sister-supervisors of Marillas House. Specific community projects elicit and welcome the consultation of the Sisters of the agency, such as that of the recent "Hard-to-Reach-Youth Project of Chicago;"\textsuperscript{10} reciprocally, the agency derives much benefit from such participation which it views as a highly valuable instructional instrument for in-service training and a most desirable asset for evaluative purposes relative to the agency's own program of services.

It is through just such participation, or the correlation of such participation with the staff meetings, that the various levels of the staff are consistently being made aware of the nature, purpose, needs, and objectives of Marillas House in relation to its clientele, to the immediate neighborhood, and to the community at large. The interpretation of the staff members' own role and responsibility in the function of the agency is indicated specifically in weekly Departmental Meetings and through the daily informal, but nonetheless meaningful, contacts with the supervisors. Because of the nature of the agency, orientation and motivation of the staff to flexibility and adaptability in their assigned roles is necessary in order to insure the proper execution of the services of this settlement house. While direct observation through quasi-participation by the researcher gave ample evidence that the staff manifestly

TABLE XI

IMAGE OF MARILLAC HOUSE BASED ON REPLIES BY 15 MEMBERS OF THE LAY STAFF OF AGENCY, 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resume of Question:</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Do you know the other staff members?</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Have you made any real friends at Marillac House?</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Is YOUR work in some way important?</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Prior to employment, had you used the services of Marillac House?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Do you think the &quot;team-work&quot; of the staff is good?</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Do you think Marillac House adequately uses all its resources?</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Is economic poverty a general characteristic among the agency's clientele?</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Would you refuse to make a needed change of duty at Marillac House?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Should the present program of services of Marillac House remain as it is now?</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Is there a need in your work at Marillac to put forth the very &quot;best&quot; of yourself?</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

adhered to and accepted the goals and objectives of the agency's program and manifestly attempted to cooperate with administrative decisions and executed their responsibilities as an integral member of the agency team, no concrete exposition of certain attitudes was made during observation time which were considered relevant to this study. In lieu of personal interviews, a questionnaire was mailed to fifteen members of the lay staff having a record of five or more years of employment at Marillac House; this group represents 19 per cent of the lay staff. All of the questionnaires were returned. An exhibit of this questionnaire is entered as Appendix IV to this study. A résumé of the response to the ten closed-end questions is given in Table XI.

In view of the information given in the foregoing chapters it is of special interest to mark the staff's rather keen insights into the characteristics and problems of the clientele whom they serve as well as observe, and of the discernment of the vital role each staff member must play on this agency's team. A summary of the staff response to certain of the open-end questions is given in Tables XII, XIII, and XIV. (Where omission has been made of staff response to specific questions on the mailed questionnaire, it is because the results constitute the repetition of information given elsewhere in this study.)

If the motivation of the staff of Marillac House is of primary consideration in ascertaining the agency's current approach to meeting the challenge of changing needs, then the same is true of the volunteers who assist and supplement the staff of the settlement. Even prior to its formal opening as Marillac Social Center per se, volunteers were a vital part of the regular team of the agency. Today, as in 1947 and every year since then, volunteers are used in every possible way.
# TABLE XII

RESUME OF REASONS GIVEN FOR WANTING TO WORK AT MARILLAC HOUSE BASED ON REPLIES BY 15 MEMBERS OF THE LAY STAFF OF AGENCY, 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;Special&quot; Reason</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To share in feeling of doing a charitable work along with the Sisters of Marillas.</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To gain satisfaction from a type of work especially interesting to me personally.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To gain experience in field of settlement house work.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To gain experience in working with and counseling teen-agers.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunity for self-development.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Volunteers are utilized in all departments of Marillac House as well as out of the agency itself. The work of the volunteers involves as wide a range of activities as does the House: they serve in clerical capacities as well as by delivering articles to families on relief; many come as interested parents to accompany teens and school-age children on trips, to help with reading problems, assist the Day Nursery teachers, send clothes for the poor, act as "guards" on stairways and in corridors, work at the soda fountain, etc. The general range of opportunities for volunteer service at Marillac House is summarized in Appendix V. Those volunteers coming to this agency from the Volunteer Bureau of Chicago ordinarily have some training and preparation for work with the pre-school child; however, in all departments volunteers can be found on duty. In view of the nature and intensity of the activity involvement, it is to be specifically noted that the volunteers at Marillac House are required to work closely with a strong staff member and under the supervision of the department head. Once the capabilities and the adaptability, as well as the purpose and desires of the volunteer in performing such service are known, then the administration agrees on a volunteer service that is needed by the agency and one which the particular volunteer is willing and able to perform. In addition to a standing roster of twenty volunteers who come at least once a week and the loyal corps of volunteers who have been with the agency for over five years, about ten high school boys and girls regularly give their time and their talents to entertain the children of the neighborhood on Saturday afternoons and special occasions, such as vacation periods and holidays.

As volunteers constitute a real segment of the staff, their role in relation to the clientele can be considered to be of as much importance as the
**TABLE XIII**

**RESUME OF QUALITY OR CHARACTER TRAIT CONSIDERED AS ESSENTIAL IN WORK AT MARILLAC HOUSE BASED ON REPLIES BY 15 MEMBERS OF THE LAY STAFF OF AGENCY, 1961**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quality or Character Trait</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sensitivity to needs of the poor.</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generosity - willingness to share fully in teamwork.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability to work well with and to respect &quot;all&quot; of the clientele.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Charity&quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flexibility and &quot;common sense&quot;</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Several staff members cited more than one quality or character trait.*
full-time staff members because of the dynamic interpersonal relationships the services of the agency necessarily involve. In this connection, the studies made by Pacey of settlement house activity find that "the most important settlement activity is that of promoting association between individuals and groups. The range and intensity of the personal relations between the neighborhood, the staff, volunteers, and the board have always been held to be the most important indications of the quality of the work of a settlement...."

Marillac House recognizes that social welfare programs should be responsive to needs and initiated, developed, modified, and terminated on the basis of the needs of the recipients or potential recipients of the service, and on the basis of the availability of other comparable services. When the need for a service is past, the program should be modified or terminated; carrying out this principle has been cited earlier in Chapter IV. Just as there is no place for "vested interests" in the field of social welfare, there is no completely objective means of measuring the needs of a community or neighborhood. Value judgments, and therefore related subjective judgments, will necessarily intrude. This is especially true at this particular agency which makes no denial of its adherence to a definite value system, although it is likewise to be noted that at no time in its history has any positive proselytizing been conducted through direct agency auspices. No "ivory tower" dwellers, those involved in social planning at Marillac House are not content merely to wear the label of "a Catholic settlement house," but daily demonstrate through thoughtful, vocal, and

---

### TABLE XIV

**Most "Challenging" Aspect of Working at Marillac House Based on Replies by 15 Members of the Lay Staff of Agency, 1961**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most &quot;Challenging&quot; Aspect</th>
<th>Responses*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creating interest and the desire to participate in group activity.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forgetting &quot;self&quot; to serve the needs of others.</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coping with the &quot;unexpected&quot;</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working with and guiding teens</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciplining the children</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Several staff members cited more than one "challenging" aspect of work.
actual practice their belief in the true meaning and dynamic expression through living and working the concept of Christian Charity.

As Marillac House plans its current approach to meet the challenge of changing needs, however these may come, it does so with a realistic perspective. This settlement realizes it is but one of many social forces at work in a neighborhood. It cannot reach all of the people. It cannot always arrive at its goals, but it can and does have goals. It can develop methods and it can demonstrate procedures which attempt to meet these goals. It can experiment; it can learn from others; and it can dare to fail. In trying to keep its feet on the ground, it attempts to keep its head above the turmoil of central city life. From its base of working with and in the community, without the flourish of fanfare, it hopes to discover and use better ways of making the neighborhood a better place in which to live. Marillac House can do these things proportionately as it uses planning as the key to action and has leadership with vision.
CHAPTER VII
RESUME OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis has been to investigate sociologically the Marillac Social Center, the largest Catholic settlement house in the world, located on Chicago's densely populated mid-West side. The objective of the study was to arrive at a knowledge of the major changes that have occurred in the clientele and the program of services during the period 1947-1961. As the settlement house was studied in the light of Parsons' concept of a pattern-maintenance organization, special attention was focused on the variable influence of the relationship between the agency and the clientele, or the reciprocity of influence.

For the purpose of this study, the given neighborhood serviced by Marillac House became the unit for controlling observations of social conditions in their relation to behavior. Given proper perspective of Marillac House and its placement in the neighborhood, drawn in the presentation of the geographic, demographic, and socio-economic characteristics, with alignment to what can be only an inferential awareness of the values of the inhabitants, it was realized that a rather large segment of the clientele of Marillac House is characteristically depicted by the Purfey-Walsh concept of "the subproletariat" and the Chicago Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council's designation of "the economically and socially disadvantaged." Because of the settlement house's function
being related to the society of which it is an immediate part, it was assumed
that changing social processes affected the social structure of the given area
and therefore affected the area's organizations. Correlatively, it was be-
lieved that the settlement house, as an organization, had a reciprocal relation
with the neighborhood. Based upon these reasons, the following hypotheses were
advanced:

a) that residents of a given neighborhood respond to and require the
programming of a settlement house in that neighborhood insofar as
the program of the settlement house is adapted to the needs of the
residents thereof, and

b) that changing social processes affect the social structure of a
given neighborhood and therefore affect the organizations existing
therein, reflecting reciprocity of influence.

Since Marillac House is a social settlement and, as such, is essentially a
neighborhood institution, its program of services is structured in response to
the needs of the neighborhood. Analysis of the records, reports, and state-
ments of objectives revealed that from its inception, the purpose of the agency
has remained constant: to conduct a social service center for the promotion of
the physical, spiritual, social, and educational welfare of persons of any race,
creed, or color.

For the most part, Marillac House has maintained the same basic structure
or core services; however, research clearly substantiated as fact particular
aspects of the basic program, which includes every age group from two years
forward, has changed through the years to meet the needs of the neighborhood
it serves.
A general survey of the core program reflected in nature and scope an understanding by the agency of the life patterns of the community it services, especially in terms of individual needs, experiences, habits, values, and objectives, as well as focusing attention on the collective habits, customs, controls, and values of the whole group or the community traditions. General patterns were abstracted through this research from the records and statistical reports of the agency, as well as through quasi-participant observation, which not only describe the activities of the settlement but also and more especially indicate the patterns of interaction between Marillac House and its clientele; such interaction is seen as a point of major importance in ascertaining reciprocity of influence and thus substantiating the given hypotheses.

To introduce the rationale for ascertaining the relationship among social forces at play in the given area, the specific needs of the clients of that area, and the effect produced in the agency's program of services, an analytical survey was made and indicated in Chapter IV of this thesis, indicating a valid reflection of the reciprocity of influence. Awareness of the dynamic interpersonal relationships between the agency members and the clientele generates recognition of the definite need for the organized coordination of the agency's services with those to be found available in greater Chicago. The process of community organization has always been one of the major characteristics of the agency's program. The need for community organization by this agency stems from the fact that as it is a formal organization with dynamic group associations it has a definite role in the urban community insofar as it represents to many persons the link between the minority and the majority elements of the community at large. It is from an awareness of the forceful impact of the changes in
social relationships as these are found in a metropolitan area that generates an understanding of the need for community organization by Marillas House. The marked correlation of the purposes of the agency with those of the community organization process evidences itself insofar as stimulation of initiative, leadership, and responsibility among the clients of the agency constitutes an integral aspect of each department attempting to coordinate its services with those of the greater community. The actual coordination of community services is a result of a gradual social process which evolved from recognition by the agency of the dearth of leadership in the neighborhood among the people themselves, which to a large extent was the result of the nearly constant trauma of transition.

In an attempt to formulate a basis for ascertaining the general impression of the agency which has developed through the years of its operation within the Chicago metropolitan area, a mailed questionnaire was forwarded to a regular interval sample of fifty recognized social welfare leaders of Chicago relative to the "Community image" of Marillas House. Conspicuous reference was made by the twenty-five respondents to the questionnaire of the community organization work of the agency, especially that aspect underway at "Rendu House," the off-site extension of Marillas Social Center.

Analytical consideration of "Rendu House" yields apt demonstration of the fact of reciprocity of influence between the clients served and the services extended to those clients, most of whom reside in the Chicago Housing Authority public housing development, which embraces over seven thousand persons living in eight high-rise buildings within a dense ten block area. The working philosophy of Rendu House focuses on the concept of "availability" and "proximity" to
people of a relatively primitive culture, whose population profile characteristically is that of the socially and economically disadvantaged Negroes of central city Chicago. The role of the extension in the public housing project of Rockwell Gardens has crystallized into one of secondary leadership, as the skills and confidence of the resident leaders grow through guided experience. The basic tool used in the interacting process of secondary leadership is that of the personal relationship with the individual and family units living in the high-risers; as with all other aspects of the work of Senus House, effort is to work with the people rather than for them.

To meet the constant challenge of changing needs, Marillac House recognizes that changes in the programming of a settlement house involve planning which makes use of the combined thinking of the staff, the advice of the board, and these in respect of the range and intensity of the known needs of the clientele. Because the team approach is essential in this multi-function agency, especially one of the proportion and scope of Marillac House, staff meetings constitute a major tool in the process of evaluating significant trends and planning the services to meet the needs of the neighborhood. To complement staff meetings, the agency makes use of the advice of the Men's Advisory Board, the assistance of the Women's Auxiliary, and the beneficial opportunities for self (and agency) development that participation on committees of local, state, and national welfare planning bodies affords.

At the present time, an area problem eliciting the special consideration of this agency's planning is the apparent lack of financing for the purchase and improvement of existing homes in Community Area Nos. 27 and 28. The problem does not focus attention on the "changing" character of the extended
neighborhood as the succession pattern appears to have run its course. The problem as it presents itself for the investigation by the settlement house does focus on prevention of future deterioration in the area since modern techniques of economic exploitation intensify and abuse an already disadvantageous situation for the people living there.

Urban renewal, the rebuilding and rehabilitation of neighborhoods, holds the key to maintaining realty values in Chicago....essentially, the city's greatest housing resources lie in established old communities containing structurally sound buildings which can be conserved and upgraded. 1

But if urban renewal is a key, it can only fit a lock that opens itself for home financing opportunities in the near-blighted areas and to urban minority groups. Helping the neighborhood people in their attempts for better living conditions is an integral part of the function of the settlement house and in this connection the problem of home financing demands analytical consideration at this time. The agency approaches the matter as a specific problem for it is the consensus of the staff that despite the great gains achieved for a relatively few during the past decade through programs of public housing and urban renewal, the neighborhood in general has continued to be overcrowded in its living arrangements. At the same time, demoralization of family and community life tends to increase because of the rootlessness arising from rapid shifts of population and the resentments of people who are, in effect, imprisoned in racial or ethnic ghettos even when their income rises to a point that would permit

them to rent or buy better quarters if financing restrictions were less rigidly imposed either on them or the area. At the present time, the research into this and similar problems affecting the clientele of the immediate neighborhood surrounding the agency continues with the hope of eliciting the help of other social welfare planning bodies also interested in developing sound plans to meet the current needs of the people of the area.

In conclusion, it is believed that the hypotheses advanced in this thesis have been adequately substantiated by the presentation of the evidence of the research endeavor relative to the reciprocal relations between the clientele and the program of services of Marillas House, Chicago. While the researcher does not attempt to advance extensive applicability of the generalizations from the findings of this study, she does invite recognition of the need for the findings to be tested further against the practice and experience of other settlement houses for greater empirical verification of fact.
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II. SECONDARY SOURCES

A. BOOKS


Burgess, Ernest W., ed. *The Urban Community.* Chicago, 1926.


-----. *How Can We Help the Whole Man?* Chicago, 1961.


-----. *Institute on Cultural Patterns of Newcomers.* Chicago, 1959.


Young, Pauline V. *Scientific Social Surveys and Research.* Englewood Cliffs, 1959.


B. ARTICLES


C. UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS


APPENDIX I

SCHEMA FOR INTENSIVE MARILLAC HOUSE TEEN PROGRAM

(1959 - 1960)

METHODS

A. Administration:
Planning and structuring; supervision; consultation; interpretation

B. Staff:
Carry on services to teens; purposeful contacts with the teens; make use of referrals; record for communication, continuity of plan.

C. Teens:
Awareness; participation; involvement; meaningful relationship

COMMUNICATION:

A. Biweekly meetings
B. Administrative meetings
C. Consultation with the coordinators
D. Basis for consultations:
   1. Informal
   2. Requested
In connection with my work in Sociology at the Graduate School of Loyola University, Chicago, I am currently making a sociological analysis of Marillac House. My research involves investigation of the clientele and the program of services of this agency from 1947 to the present time.

A section of the research deals with the "Community Image" of Marillac House. Because of your own contact with this agency and your personal knowledge of its works, I would greatly appreciate your help with this study by kindly filling out the enclosed questionnaire and returning it to me as soon as possible.

The enclosed, self-addressed envelope is for your convenience in returning the completed questionnaire to me not later than

Please be assured that all information furnished will be treated as strictly confidential. Your kind cooperation is most sincerely appreciated. Thank you so very much for helping me!

Most gratefully

Sister Winifred, D.C.

Enclosures
PLEASE DO NOT PUT YOUR NAME ON THIS PAPER

1. As a settlement house serving the densely populated West-side, do you consider Marillac House an asset to the greater-Chicago community?  YES ☐ NO ☐

2. Since its beginning in 1917, do you think the agency has adjusted and adapted its services to the actual needs of its immediate neighborhood?  YES ☐ NO ☐

3. Would you consider this settlement house as being a "leader" in the Chicago area insofar as social settlement work is concerned?  YES ☐ NO ☐

4. From your knowledge of the agency, do you think the settlement uses all its resources adequately? - board, staff, program, facilities, etc.?  YES ☐ NO ☐

5. Does Marillac House stand out in your mind as being actually effective in its services? - does it produce positive results?  YES ☐ NO ☐

6. Do you think this agency utilizes Community resources adequately - does it make use of Community-wide referrals?  YES ☐ NO ☐

7. Do you think this agency has manifested efforts to expand its program of services into community organization projects?  YES ☐ NO ☐

8. Does this agency apparently advance a program of services geared towards increasing community-wide responsibility for the betterment of its neighborhood and area and the residents thereof?  YES ☐ NO ☐

9. Do you think this settlement house has served a positive function as a stabilizing agency within the neighborhood during periods of transition?  YES ☐ NO ☐

10. With what type of activity or what aspect of social service do you usually associate with Marillac House?  

11. What do you consider has been the most outstanding positive contribution Marillac House has made to the Chicago community?  

12. What do you consider has been the most outstanding negative contribution Marillac House has made to the Chicago community?  

Any additional information or personal comments you would like to share will be most welcome. Thank you so very much for helping me! God bless you!
APPENDIX III

TYPICAL AGENDA FOR A MARILLAC HOUSE GENERAL STAFF MEETING

AGENDA
May 15, 1960

I. Call to Order - 1:30 p.m., by Sister X, Chairman

II. Reading of the Minutes, Sister W

III. OLD BUSINESS:
A. Safety Committee Report, Sister Y
B. Policies Committee Report, Mr. N
C. Brochure Committee Report, Sister V
D. Special Reports by Sister V
   1. Contracts for renting facilities
   2. Staff participation in current agency projects
   3. Parents-Staff "Must" Meeting
F. Budget -and- Benefits, Sister Z
F. Reminder: Federation Conference, May 21, 1960,
   "The Settlement House - What It Is, What It Does"

IV. NEW BUSINESS:
A. Extension of Marillac House - REIDU HOUSE, Sister X
B. Calendar for Marillac House Staff, Sister X
C. Observations by the Director, Sister Z
D. Business from the Floor, Mrs. N.

V. Talk by Sister Z on GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
   FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH, Washington, D.C.

VI. Roll Call, Sister X

VII. Adjournment for Buffet Supper and Social Hour

Use this portion for notes:

121
APPENDIX IV
MARILLAC HOUSE STAFF QUESTIONNAIRE
PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING CAREFULLY. ANSWER AS YOU THINK BEST. DO NOT PUT YOUR NAME ON THIS PAPER. THANK YOU.

1. You work more closely with some people while at Marillac House than with others. Do you feel you know them? (For example: their names, interests, something about their families, etc.)
   YES    NO

2. Do you feel you have made any real friends at Marillac House?
   YES    NO

3. Do you feel your work is in some way important?
   YES    NO

4. Prior to employment at Marillac House had you ever used the services of the agency?
   YES    NO

5. Do you think the "team-work" of the staff is good?
   YES    NO

6. From your knowledge and experience within the agency, do you think Marillac House adequately uses all its resources - the staff, the advisory board, agency facilities, community-wide services, etc.?
   YES    NO

7. Do you think economic poverty is a general characteristic among the people serviced by this agency?
   YES    NO

8. If the agency needed you in another type of work (other than that in which you are presently engaged), would you refuse to make the change of duty at Marillac House?
   YES    NO

9. Do you think the program of services of Marillac House should remain the same as it is now?
   YES    NO

10. Do you find there is a need in your type of work at Marillac House to put forth the very "best" of yourself - physically, intellectually, etc.? YES    NO

11. At the present time, who are the persons "most important" to Marillac House? Please name three such persons:

12. Which one of the persons named above do you know best?

13. Please list the duty (or duties) you have had since coming to Marillac House:

14. Since coming to Marillac House, have you noticed any major "changes" in the persons the agency serves? (For example - apparently many more children from higher income families than lower income families? - or - many more whites than negroes? - etc.) YES    NO
   Please briefly explain your observations:

15. Is there any "special" reason for your wanting to work at Marillac House? YES    NO
   If you answered "yes," briefly explain your "special" reason for working at Marillac:
16. What do you think determines the type of activities Marillac House offers each year?

________________________________________________________________________________________

17. Is there any aspect of the current program—or any specific department of Marillac House that you think needs to be changed or modified? YES____ NO____

If "yes," please indicate the aspect of the program—or the department: __________________________________________________________________________________________

18. What single quality or character trait do you think is essential for anyone on the staff of Marillac House? Briefly explain your answer, please.

________________________________________________________________________________________

19. What do YOU find most "challenging" in your work at Marillac House?

________________________________________________________________________________________

20. "About" how old were you when you first began working at Marillac House? __________

21. "About" how many years of education have you completed? ______________ 

(If you have had college or advanced education, in what area did you study?) ____________________________________________

22. "About" how many years have you been with Marillac House? ______________

23. What is your present marital status? SINGLE_____ MARRIED_____ DIVORCED_____

24. What religion do you profess?

25. THANK YOU VERY MUCH! God love and bless you!
APPENDIX V

GENERAL RANGE OF OPPORTUNITIES FOR VOLUNTEER SERVICE AT MARILLAC HOUSE

(Most of the following require regular, prompt attendance)

Visit on Saturdays and Sundays at Juvenile Detention Home with two Sisters
Visit the lonely, aging women in the Chess and Chatter Club
Iron clothes for the Poor
Mend clothes for the Poor
Make children's clothes

Help supervise rooms where children play
Help care for and entertain children in Tiny Tot Town
(9:00 am - 5:00 pm, or shorter hours)
Help at lunch time in Kiddieville
Supervise audience-conduct of children at Saturday movies at Marillac
Be room hostesses for evening activities

Work in Canteen, evenings
Play the piano for children singing and dancing, afternoons or evenings
Accompany singing for the aged on Thursday afternoons
Assist on Thursday afternoons when the aging meet at Marillac
Help with Puerto Rican social evenings (noche social) Thursdays

Teach English to foreigners seeking naturalization
Plan Christmas parties for groups of children
Bring groups of friends for tours of the House
Be a receptionist at Marillac House and in different departments
Write friendly letters to lonely people - we'll supply names

Help with office work
Check mailing lists
Help in library
Work on October Tag Day
Help Sisters on Cana Conference, Week-end Retreats, and Recollection Days

Assist with special projects at Marillac House, such as
a. Making surveys
b. Visit neighborhood industries to give information about Marillac House
c. Act as chaperons on children's trips
d. Help build up retreat groups for monthly week-end retreats

Give small "Marillac" teas and parties in your own home - objects to make the House better known.
The thesis submitted by Sister Winifred Kilday, D.C. has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Sociology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

April 17, 1962
Date
Signature of Adviser