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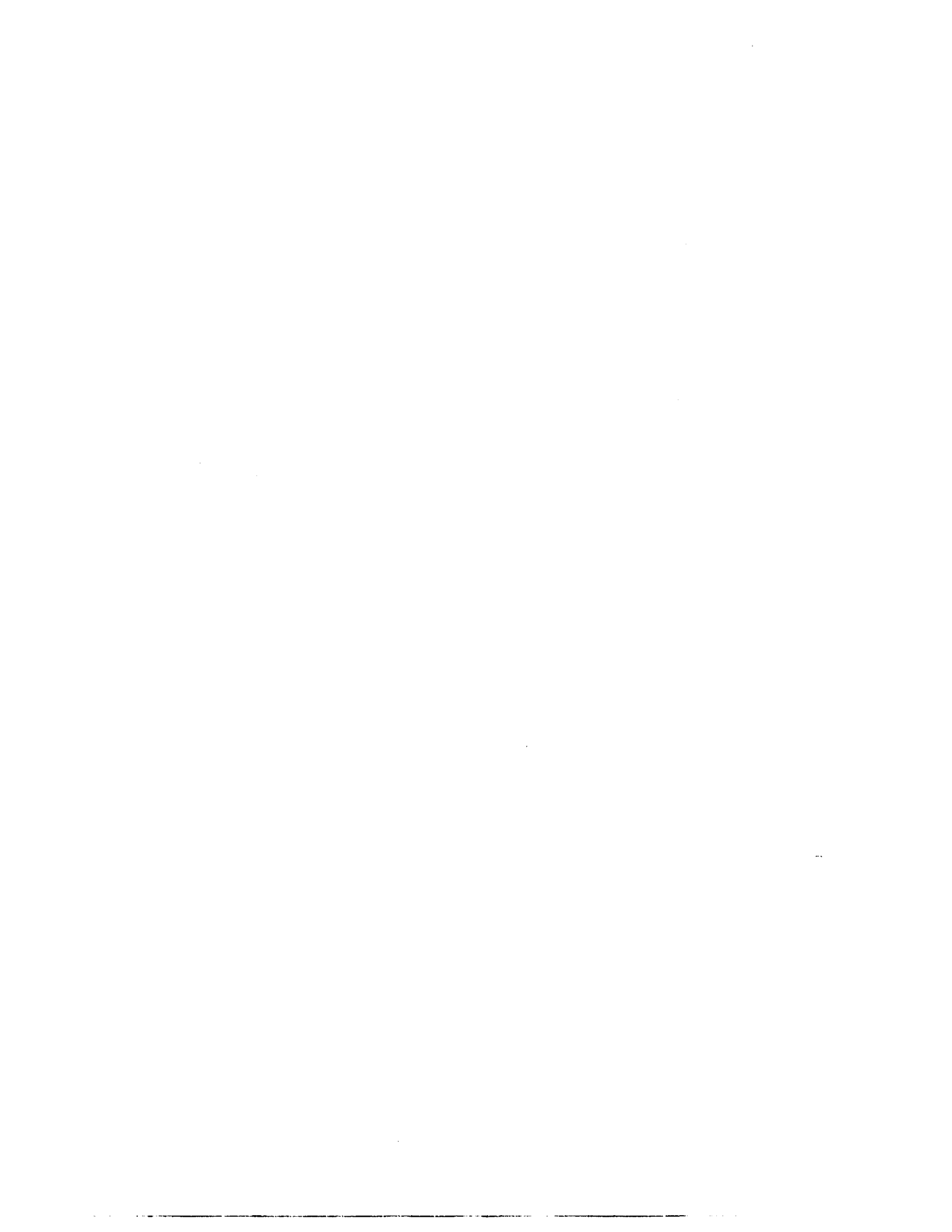
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**At the point of need: A model for church-based social services
for the ghetto poor**

Tolliver, Willie F., D.S.W.

City University of New York, 1993

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A

AT THE POINT OF NEED: A MODEL FOR CHURCH BASED
SOCIAL SERVICES FOR THE GHETTO POOR

by

WILLIE F. TOLLIVER

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Social Welfare in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Social
Welfare, The City University of New York

1993

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Social Welfare in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Social Welfare.

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In this secular, not to say cynical, age few tasks present greater difficulty than that of compelling the well educated to take religious matters seriously (Genovese, 1976).

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: THE BLACK CHURCH, AND RELIGION AND SOCIAL WORK

INTRODUCTION

There are communities the world over where people live with real instances of death, horror and untold violence, very often a reality as commonplace as night and day. In New York City, children are killed while at play. Parents prepare their children to deal with armed warfare on neighborhood streets and on the playground. The schoolroom is no longer a protected space--crazed gunmen indiscriminately kill and students bring weapons to class so much so that modern day school boards wrestle with decisions on whether to spend dwindling tax dollars for metal detectors over needed education innovations.

The violence is absurd. Senseless is one way of describing acts such as throwing a woman from the roof of a building or leaving her to die on a lone path in the park after she has been brutally sexually assaulted. Human beings lie about the City streets, a new kind of urban litter which is stepped over like the other debris so carelessly discarded.

Poor people in the urban centers of this country shoulder

a disproportionate share of the burden of urban decay. African-Americans, because of their over representation among the poor, are much closer to this violence and are scarred in psychological ways that we have yet to understand and comprehend.

Violence does not only involve killing, robbery and assault for inner city blacks. People of color experience stressors in routine every day life events such as finding affordable, decent housing, and hailing a cab. Is there a place to restore scarred, injured human beings?

Five years ago, I met Pastor Ezra Robinson, a man who grew up in Harlem and had his share of close calls with fate at a young age. The pastor was not destroyed by the crime and drugs in his neighborhood. He finished school, went off to the army and returned to Harlem to raise a family. Today he is pastor to a church with over eight hundred congregants, steward over a sizeable budget and involved in developing programs to help his community.

He lives daily with images that he has chosen not to escape nor ignore. He sees violence, death, drugs, and many lost, wasted lives. He sees vacant lots in a City where real estate is a coveted commodity. He visits buildings that should be condemned. He sees the horror of the ongoing drug war which claims lives, real people whose lives are lost in a maelstrom of violence fueled by unfocused greed.

His notions of death, genocide and destruction are

anchored by real instances of senseless death, absurd violence and societal neglect. Imagine a child, awakened at midnight to go out on the street to purchase crack for the parent. Then see that child in school the next morning with the expectation that she perform at a level consistent with that of a child whose life is untouched by social ills.

The church is the vehicle chosen by Robinson to combat this modern day Goliath. While we may not embrace his vehicle, his choice to stand and fight is important for the survival of the people who live where so many fear to tread. Robinson sees his Church as a hedge to stand against the social problems that threaten to destroy his community, our nation. His is a story of how African-Americans have taken an apocalyptic like reality and made of it a call to action.

THE BLACK CHURCH

As an organization, the black church is founded on the collective experiences of a people whose shared themes of the black condition in America enable them to connect over class boundaries that might otherwise prove to be divisive. This organization has as its mission making sense of the black experience in America (Cone, 1986). In order to be relevant, it must address the social condition of blacks in America. As a result, the black church is involved in activities to ensure the social well being of people. This involvement has evolved with the people, shifting focus as the needs of the people

changed.

Douglas Glasgow (1980) addresses the necessity for black Americans to improve the entire context of living for blacks, particularly those in the underclass. He finds a role for black institutions:

To reverse the condition of underclass decay and suffering in the inner cities, greater attention must be given to the development of a permanent network of organizations, owned and operated by blacks, which serve with greater efficacy the needs of black citizens of the community (Glasgow, 1980).

The black church is an organization owned and operated by blacks. At a time when the black community is beset by social problems and the national agenda does not include an approach to ameliorate these problems, institutions already involved in promoting change in the black community must be looked to for direction. These institutions might offer opportunities for professional helpers to learn something about serving a growing population of people who are increasingly viewed as throwaways.

PURPOSE OF STUDY

The purpose of this study is to identify and describe the organizational mechanisms that are involved in the successful planning, development, and implementation of social programs to enhance the lives of black people by a single urban black church. The study will also describe the social programs developed through this process. The particular social

programs of interest in this study are those that include social services to the community as well as members of the congregation.

The church selected as the site for this case study is a self-described "end time" ministry, with a focus on serving black Americans, many of whom fall within the urban underclass - a permanently entrapped population of poor persons, unused and unwanted (Glasgow, 1980). Through a variety of efforts-- which include Saturday morning outreach in the park across the street from the church--addicts, prostitutes and the homeless are given the message that their lives have meaning. The church's social ministry also includes attempts to help persons in prison and inner city youth.

These potential converts are shepherded through a spiritual and social process geared toward a transformation of the self from an unused, unwanted person to a whole, viable, empowered, functioning member of society. The social service aspects of this "conversion" process are the central issues guiding this research project. It will focus on the array of social programs developed by the church and the organizational structure that maintain these programs within the church.

THE BLACK CHURCH IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

INTRODUCTION

Since its inception, when it was the "invisible

institution" of the slaves, to now, when it is visible but its relevancy is being questioned, the black church has struggled to strike a balance between responding to the needs of its constituents and operating within the larger society without being perceived as a threat by that society.

The black church is also a preserver of the "African-American heritage" for the black community (Billingsley, 1992). African-American music, theater and dance reflect the soul-stirring, emotionalism so typical of black church. Kathleen Battle, Jesse Norman, Patti LeBelle, Paul Robeson, all have in common the black church as the birthplace of their interest in the arts.

In addition to its role as a buffer for blacks and preserver of African-American heritage, the black church is one of the oldest and most powerful social institutions in the black community. One source of its power lies in the fact that it does attract large numbers of the masses of blacks (Clark, 1965). Another source of the black church's power is it is the only truly powerful national organization, including blacks on all socio-economic levels, that has been developed and controlled primarily or solely by blacks themselves (Thompson, 1974).

Black religious thought in North America achieved its distinctive theological identity in the context of the European enslavement of the African people (Cone, 1986). This particular condition not only influenced the rituals of

worship for the black church [i.e., the oratory style of the black preacher] but also established the context in which the institution evolved. Because black theology begins with the black condition as the fundamental datum of human experience, the social condition of blacks in this country cannot be overlooked by religious groups focused on reaching the masses. In this respect, black theology resembles existentialism with its conviction that "existence precedes essence" (Cone, 1987). This conviction, along with the shared experience of enslavement or threat of enslavement and the need to worship in a manner that met their own spiritual needs, brought black Americans together and the result of their efforts is embodied in the black church.

A TRADITION OF MUTUAL AID AND PHILANTHROPY

EARLY EXPRESSIONS OF MUTUAL-AID

Self-help programs in black churches are not a new phenomenon. Mutual-aid and self-help activities have long been an integral part of the black church's dispensations to its congregation and its community. Among the first organized efforts of blacks to express their spirituality, benevolent societies offered self-help services as early as the 1780's to help freedmen make the adjustment from slavery to freedom (Jones and Mathews, 1971). In his study of the Negro church, E. Franklin Frazier (1974), making reference to the Free African Society founded by Absalom Jones and Richard Allen,

remarked:

The society became a "curious sort of ethical and beneficial brotherhood" under the direction of Jones and Allen [,] who exercised a "parental discipline" over its members. The avowed purpose of this organization was to "support one another in sickness, and for the benefit of their widows and fatherless children."
(Frazier, 1974)

This early organization focused its helping efforts on persons dislodged by societal upheaval.

Another early expression of the black church's interest in the social condition of blacks is evident in documents of the black charity societies of the 1800's. Throughout America, blacks organized to meet the needs of people who were refused services by the charitable organizations of the larger society. The intent/purpose of one black charity society was reflected in its bylaws:

The author and Finisher of our salvation has forcibly impressed on our minds the duty we owe one to another, by his excellent lessons in charity. Therefore, any assistance whose aim is to promote good to our fellow-creatures, and to raise up the bowed down, and assist the needy, is just as pleasing in the sight of the Great Architect of heaven, as it is beneficial to those who associate themselves for this noble purpose (Schomburg Clipping Files, 1925-1974).

The freedman as well as the slave found in the Bible more than an opiate to lull the convert into a complacent, docile beast of burden. The Bible's teachings, filtered through lived experiences, taught the black American that Christian

conversion aligned the believer with an all powerful deity and that a requisite condition for this relationship was to improve the human condition. Scriptural principles, values and ethics asserted the existence of an authority higher than the master, who promised a better life if Christians would organize for the purpose of actualizing the values so carefully laid out in scripture. This promise was one that appealed to many blacks. If one died in this noble work, the reward was Heaven and success would result in a better life on earth.

From the black church freedmen and slaves launched a social movement on the behalf of the bowed-down and the needy. Benevolent societies and fraternal orders were established in many sections of the country. In a study of fraternal organizations in the Northeast, Walker (1985) found "...these efforts were designed 1) to cope with the growing exclusionary practices of mainstream organizations and institutions, and 2) to promote the welfare and interests of black communities." The second purpose denotes an interest in fostering a sense of competence and mastery over one's situation, thereby ensuring the survival of black Americans and black organizations. Competent, functioning black people would ensure the survival of the organizations and the organizations would ensure the survival of the people.

CONTEMPORARY EXPRESSIONS OF TRADITION

The Black community has a long and rich tradition of philanthropy and mutual-aid activities (Byrd, 1990). The roots of the philanthropic tradition within the black community can be traced to the communal nature of the African societies which stressed shared property and resources, extended family relationships and mutual responsibility for members of the tribal society (Byrd, 1990).

This tradition is ensconced in the black church. Byrd reports findings of a 1986 Gallup Poll which found that:

- 1) blacks believe that next to the federal government, the church has the greatest responsibility to help the poor;
- 2) 75 percent of philanthropic dollars in the black community are funneled through religious institutions;
- 3) most volunteer activities of blacks center around the church; and
- 4) when making charitable contributions, black women are most likely to make financial donations through the church (1990).

Despite its rich history of philanthropy and mutual-aid, the black church in America has been widely criticized by civil rights leaders and black nationalists for its lack of involvement in the advancement of the social equality and civil rights of black Americans.

THE BLACK CHURCH: PRESERVER OF THE STATUS QUO/AGENT OF CHANGE PRESERVER OF STATUS QUO

As the African-American church developed an increasing vested interest in the status quo and passed up opportunities to lead in the protest movements of its black members, some

astute observers began to see it as a ponderous, spiritually gutted structure, standing in the way of the realization of black goals (Nelson, 1971). For, as so often happens with an established church, it ceases to belong truly to the people it serves and becomes instead an instrument of social control.

No where was the foregoing criticism more apt than in the South where the black church followed most black leaders of the late nineteenth century and preached a compromise ideology of the kind put forth by Booker T. Washington (Frazier, 1974). In the late 1800's, black ministers were content to let an all powerful God mete out justice against the mighty and the weak in that final day of judgement.

The black church became "a refuge in a hostile white world", a "nation within a nation" (Frazier, 1974). While blacks were being subjected to mob violence involving lynchings and burnings which were justified even by white Christian churches, black congregations were counseled to remember Job who in the face of adversity was advised to curse God and die (Frazier, 1974)).

DuBois observed that with the abolition movement and the gradual growth of a class of free blacks came a change in black religion (DuBois, 1969). The black American's religion became darker and more intense, and into the ethics crept a note of revenge, into the songs a day of reckoning close at hand. The "Coming of the Lord" swept this side of death and came to be a thing to be hoped for in this day because of what

it represented, revenge for the horrible atrocities visited upon black people by whites in America (DuBois, 1969).

AGENT OF CHANGE

With the urbanization of America, both Frazier and DuBois noted a change in the role of the black church. Frazier (1974) labeled this change the "secularization of the Negro churches", that is the black churches lost their predominantly other-worldly outlook and began to focus attention upon the Negro's condition in this world. The early black church focused on a spiritual agenda and social services. The shift in the social agenda that Frazier makes reference to is an emphasis on social action. A manifestation of this interest in the condition of black's is evidenced by the Northern black church's interest in the community, what Lincoln and Mamiya (1990) call "partial differentiation"--where the spheres of the polity and the economy are only partly separated from religion.

In addition to this change of focus for the black church, Frazier (1974) noted that the Northern church congregations were much larger than their counterparts in the South. But in spite of the wealth and power of these churches, Frazier (1974) reported that these churches repelled the black masses who looked for a type of religious association that was warm and intimate and provided them with satisfactory status.

DuBois posits a framework for conceptualizing these two

groups of blacks and their very different churches. The Northern black church tended toward political activism while the southern church embodied hypocritical compromise. DuBois stated:

In the North [the Negro] finds himself in a land where he can scarcely earn a decent living amid the harsh competition and color discrimination. At the same time, through schools and periodicals, discussions and lectures, he is intellectually quickened and awakened. The soul, long pent up and dwarfed, suddenly expands in new-found freedom. The criminal and the sensualist leave the church for gambling hell and the brothels and fill the slums of Chicago and Baltimore: the better classes segregate themselves from the group life of both white and black and form an aristocracy, cultural but pessimistic." (DuBois, 1969).

Like Frazier, DuBois was concerned about the masses of black Americans, North and South, who were outside this social conflict within their race. DuBois predicted that "someday the awakening will come, when the pent up vigor of 10 million souls shall sweep irresistibly toward the goal--where all that make life worth living- liberty, justice and right- is marked 'For white people only' (DuBois, 1969). That day of "awakening" came in the 1960's.

According to C. Eric Lincoln (1974), the "Negro Church" that Frazier wrote about no longer exists. Its demise came during the "savage sixties" when Martin Luther King Jr. caught the imagination of black people and Americans everywhere by standing up for the civil rights of blacks in America.

Lincoln and Mamiya's (1992) dialectical model of black churches provides a framework for understanding the complexity of black churches as social institutions, including their role and function in black communities. The dialectic holds polar opposites in tension, constantly shifting in historical time between polarities for which there is no synthesis or resolution of the dialectic (Lincoln and Mamiya, 1992).

The dialectic that provides a framework for understanding the role of the black church as a preserver of the status quo and as an agent for change is 'resistance versus accommodation'. In their accommodative role, black churches have been one of the major cultural brokers of the norms, values and expectations of white society (Lincoln and Mamiya, 1992). Resistance meant affirming and preserving one's own cultural heritage.

Although the social agenda of the black church has evolved to meet the needs of a contemporary and very complex black community, there has remained the concern for the needy and the bowed-down.

THE TRANSFORMATIONAL ROLE OF THE BLACK CHURCH

James Forbes (1990), Senior Minister of The Riverside Church, identifies the Black church as a potential ally in the struggle to restore health to America's alienated masses. In a review of The Black Church In the African American Experience, he asserts:

At a time when America seeks ways to restore its national identity, to rehabilitate the spirit of alienated masses, to open doors of opportunity for millions who feel locked out, Black Churches stand out as institutions with a proven record in such transformation. (Forbes, 1990)

The transformational role of the black church is one that is being repeatedly looked to as a self-help response to the hopelessness evidenced in urban communities across the country (Billingsley 1992, West 1993, Solomon 1976). Despair and hopelessness are not new conditions for blacks in America. Black foreparents developed institutions such as the black church as buffers against the absurdity of life met by Africans in America (West, 1993). These cultural institutions served to protect black Americans from nihilism--the lived experience of coping with a life of horrifying meaningless, hopelessness, and (most important) lovelessness (West, 1993).

Despite some erosion in religious commitment in younger generations of blacks as compared with middle-aged and older blacks, the fact remains that the church is the most stable, far reaching and resourceful organization in the black community (Solomon, 1976). Billingsley (1992) identifies black churches across the country involved in efforts to thwart the nihilistic threat. A recent New York Times (1988) editorial speaks directly to the need to study examples of self-help programs developed by black churches because they may be applicable elsewhere.

The time has come to acknowledge in a serious way the strong tradition of black self-help and the contemporary

expressions of the tradition. Professional helpers must join, support, nurture and learn from the work of black churches because, as Solomon (1976) observed, there is evidence to support the notion that a substantial number of blacks are situated in nontraditional religious groups [black churches] and that some of these groups have access to low-income and black persons to an extent no outsider could achieve.

THE BLACK PENTECOSTAL/FUNDAMENTALIST CHURCH

The church selected for the study is Pentecostal. Poloma (1982) observed that Pentecostal churches, once viewed as "fringe religions," are among the fastest growing denominations in the United States, at a time when most established Protestant churches are experiencing declines in membership. Pentecostalism is no longer viewed as a lower class phenomenon. "Born again Christian", a descriptor used by pentecostals, resonated in the Reagan White House and enjoys a favorable place among the rich and powerful of this country.

Despite the fact that the contemporary Pentecostal movement in America grew out of the Azusa Street Revival in Los Angeles, that was led by a black man, today there exists in America two separate Pentecostal movements: one black and one white (Poloma, 1982). Poloma (1982) notes, "White Pentecostals have very different ideological and social concerns."

The black pentecostal church is heir to E. Franklin Frazier's (1974) conceptualization of the black church as a merger of the "invisible institution" - the Church of the slaves and the institutional church formed by freedmen in the North during the eighteenth century. This early church, as much socially motivated as spiritually, afforded like-minded people a place to worship and work on an agenda for attaining a better life for enslaved black Americans. So strong is the tradition of a dual focus in the black church, a spiritual agenda and a social agenda, that even a church preparing for the apocalyptic end of human history and the second coming of Jesus Christ, devotes itself to a social mission on earth.

"End time" theology is advanced by fundamentalists the world over. What sets this Central Harlem Church apart from other pentecostal sects is the melding of the apocalyptic ideology with a spirit of benevolence and self-help. The site's pastor describes the church as an "end time" church with "end time" men and women using "end time" tools to reap an "end time" harvest.

The theologian James Cone (1986) offers some guidance for explaining this co-existence of seemingly contradictory beliefs. According to Cone, a major purpose of the black church is making sense of the black experience. No theology can appeal to the black American without dealing with the unique condition of blacks in America. In this respect there is no disjunction between the black church and the black

community (Frazier, 1974).

To call for church-focused social services might appear to be a regressive leap to the past ascendancy of superstition over logic, of mythology over science (Solomon, 1976). Surely, a call for professional helpers to join forces with fundamentalist faiths may seem even more retrogressive--especially since the term, fundamentalism, has been so widely used to connote bigotry and fanaticism (Midgley and Sanzenbach, 1989). However, it is important to remember that fundamentalism predates the concept of a Moral Majority and The Right to Life movement. In the United States the term is most frequently applied to evangelical Protestant groups associated with leading television evangelists, but it is also used to characterize individuals within the established denominations who subscribe to traditionalist, orthodox views (Midgely and Sanzenbach, 1989).

I contend that researchers have yet to analyze the black religious groups to which the term fundamentalist is applicable. To suggest that black faiths with fundamentalist beliefs are of the same ilk as the Moral Majority is to deny a long history of black appropriation of belief systems and making those systems uniquely their own. Religion may refer to what is beyond this world, but religion itself begins as an effort to meet human needs as they are experienced on earth; therefore human experience is the genesis of religion (Jones, 1971).

SOCIAL WORK AND RELIGION

INTRODUCTION

Secular social service is a recently arisen profession: until late in the nineteenth-century most social welfare was connected with a religious impulse or auspice (Marty, 1980). Catholic, Jewish and Protestant faiths have developed over the years substantial service organizations for their members and for others in their communities (Solomon, 1976). Despite this beginning very little social work research directly examines religious issues and concerns relative to social work practices. To date, research in this topic area has been done in disciplines other than social work, most notably psychiatry, psychology and sociology (Vicentia, 1988). The absence of a social work presence in the literature on religious issues is ironic given the origin of the field of social work and the fact that religion moved dramatically to the forefront of America's cultural concerns in the decade of the eighties (Larson, 1986).

In his research, Larson (1986) postulated that professional discomfort with religious subject matter may find its origin in a generally atheistic mental health service arena. He notes that the general public appears to view and value religion as a major factor in their lives; whereas, in general, mental health professionals do not (Larson, 1986).

Today, religion and spirituality are receiving more attention in the social work literature (Canada, 1988,

Holland, 1989, Siporin, 1986, Garland and Bailey, 1990, Cornett, 1992). Much of this literature seeks to document the impact of religious values on social work and to demonstrate the need for social work practice to consider the spiritual needs of clients. Only a small segment of the literature focuses on the organizational culture of churches in an effort to help social workers enter churches for the purposes of nurturing, supporting and learning about the development of church based social services.

There is no discussion of churches as possible access points for client populations beyond the reach of traditional social welfare providers. The client populations are discussed in terms of the hopelessness, despair and nihilism present in the urban communities across the country devastated by crack, AIDS, and violence. Absent is a discussion in the social work literature of an organizational response to what Cornel West (1993) calls "diseases of the soul." Neither is there an analysis of the black church as an organization involved in the development and implementation of services to combat the sense of despair, hopelessness, and lovelessness occasioned by social, economic and political change during the decade of the eighties.

This review begins with professional helpers' perceptions of churches as social services providers and continues with a discussion of professional views held toward natural support networks. A final section reviews Billingsley's (1990)

research on the Black church as a social service provider.

PROFESSIONAL HELPERS PERCEPTIONS OF CHURCHES AS SOCIAL SERVICE PROVIDERS

Social workers begin their work with an assessment of the client and community environment. Religious organizations are almost always a part of the social environment of a community. In fact, in many of the decaying communities of the inner cities, the only buildings in good repair are churches. These organizations often play significant roles in the social support network of clients providing child care, free clothing, emergency assistance, food pantries and soup kitchens. Researchers have also found that black churches serve a therapeutic function for participants, in addition to meeting basic life sustaining needs of people (Griffith, English and Mayfield, 1980, Gilkes, 1980).

Researchers have documented the importance of church involvement for older black Americans (Heisel and Faulkner, 1982, Haben, 1984, Chatters, 1986). There is professional acknowledgement of the church as a major component of the social support network for this client population. Gilkes (1980) suggests that the social process of certain forms of black religious practice act as a deterrent to specific psychiatric symptoms within the black community and a depressant on rates of mental illness.

What would happen if social workers formed relationships with churches the way they do with other formal social systems

such as schools, hospitals and courts? According to Garland and Bailey (1990), the worker would locate and utilize resources available from the organization; the social worker would nurture the social system so as to increase resources available for the future; and, finally the social worker would interact with the religious organization and other social systems in ways that strengthen the fabric of the entire community. Such nurture requires an understanding of the requisite inputs, processes, guiding purposes and feedback loops of each social system (Garland and Bailey, 1990).

The focus of this research is not the traditional denominations involved in the provision of social services: Catholic, Jewish and Protestant faiths. Social workers are employed in social service agencies that are under the auspices of these religious organizations. Absent these organizations, a substantial portion of the social services compliment in this country would disappear. This study is concerned with the non-traditional, community black church which may or may not be affiliated with the more established denominations.

NATURAL SUPPORT NETWORKS

Natural support network researchers vary in their perception of the usefulness of natural helping systems to professional intervention. This research is beneficial in identifying distinguishing features of social support networks

and underscoring the need for professional caregivers to explore linkages with natural helping systems.

Gottlieb (1985) identifies characteristics of social support programs as flexible, enduring in character, established on a mutual help ethic and possessed of a mutual sensitivity. In an editorial in Social Work, Meyer (1985) identifies a role for social work: "...in view of the importance of mutual support networks, social workers can do no less than explore the linkages between them and professional intervention."

The fact that such linkages are indicated is further demonstrated by Ayers (1989) who found that people undergoing serious life crises commonly do not seek out or utilize the mental health professional whose function it is to assist them. Where do they go for help? Natural support networks.

THE BLACK CHURCH AS A SOCIAL SERVICE PROVIDER

The work of The Black Church Family Project at the University of Maryland on outreach programs in black churches is extremely relevant to the study of the urban black church. To date, this work is the most extensive and systematic study of black church family-oriented community outreach programs ever undertaken (Billingsley, Caldwell, Hill and Rouse, 1991). The purpose of the study was to identify and describe family-oriented community outreach programs sponsored by black churches that are designed to enhance and support the

functioning of African-American families and community life.

The pilot study surveyed 71 black churches across the country and yielded data on 275 outreach programs at 71 black churches (Billingsley and Rouse, 1990). The researchers concluded:

ten factors are identified in this pilot study as major sources of the initiation and maintenance of family-oriented and community-oriented programs sponsored by black churches: (1) progressive ministerial leadership; (2) strong internal church organization; (3) active and dedicated volunteers; (4) paid staff, when appropriate; (5) prominent role of women; (6) adequate funding base, mostly from the churches themselves; (7) careful and systematic program planning and development; (8) strong community support; (9) supportive national political climate and public policies, and (10) the socio-economic status of church members (Billingsley and Rouse, 1990).

Based on these findings the researchers proposed that the large-scale study of black church programs place greater emphasis on the leadership role of ministers; the relationship of seminary training to the development of outreach programs; and the role of women in developing and implementing church outreach programs in urban and rural churches of different denominations, different sizes and in different regions of the country (Billingsley and Rouse, 1990).

The large-scale study sample included 315 Northeastern black churches, with 216 churches operating 900 outreach programs representing a complete range of programs covering the entire life cycle (Billingsley, Caldwell, Hill and Rouse,

1991). Of particular importance to my study are the researchers findings regarding the black church as a social service institution and the black church as a community organization.

My research on an urban black church in Central Harlem will be guided by Billingsley's research. First, the ten factors identified in the pilot study constitute a theory of black church development and implementation of family-oriented and community-oriented outreach programs. This theory will be useful in framing the study and analysis of the Central Harlem church. However, the Billingsley study does not report findings on how black churches develop and fund outreach programs. One is left to speculate about why black churches develop outreach programs. Another key explanatory note missing on the black church as social service provider is how a church congregation comes to embrace the social services mission for a church. Finally, a necessary concern for research in the black church, is how does the researcher enter this arena to engage in study. The absence of this critical information in the research literature on black churches as social service providers represent the guiding questions of this dissertation.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have presented an introduction to the

study and a review of the literature on the black church in America and on social work and religion. The review of the literature on the black church focused on the tradition of self-help and philanthropy documented in the historical development of the black church in America. There is also a discussion of the literature on the transformational role of the black church and the church's accommodation and resistance role in the larger society. The review also concentrated on Pentecostalism and fundamentalism relative to the black church's commitment to a social gospel.

The literature reviewed on social work and religion focused on the professional helpers' view of church-based social services, natural support networks, and research on the black church as a social service provider.

This review provides a framework for my research on a black church in Central Harlem. As presented here, the literature points to the need to know how and why churches develop social services programs, what is involved in getting a congregation to embrace a social mission for the black church, a detailed description of the social services programs developed by churches, including planning and implementation phases, and finally, how a researcher gains entry to the black church to conduct a study.

Chapter Two presents the methodology for study of the Harlem Church. The chapter discusses the usefulness of case study design for the research project and the process by which

the research was initiated at the study site. Chapter Three focuses on documenting the events and attributes that played a role in the development of the social services programs of the church. The Pastor's story is also presented in Chapter Three because of its centrality to the development of a social purpose and agenda at the Harlem Church.

Chapter Four details the development of organizational capacity to successfully plan, design and implement social service programs at the Church. Chapter Five presents descriptions and internal analysis of four programs comprising a continuum of services at the Harlem Church. The final chapter focuses on the organizational components involved in the development of the Church's social services programs and the implications of this research for social work.

CHAPTER TWO
STUDY METHODOLOGY
INTRODUCTION

In July 1987, I started visiting black churches in the New York City area in search of a congregation that preached an end-time ministry. I was working as a research associate on a study of the continuum of views held by Americans on the threat of a nuclear holocaust. The study hypothesized that four purposive groups were representative of the continuum of views held by Americans: peace activist and fundamentalist Christians at opposite ends of the continuum, and, civic leaders and the black poor at points in between the two extremes. My task was to find a black end-time congregation for the study.

In making inquiries through a network of black fundamentalists, I was directed to the Harlem Church. On the first visit to the church for Sunday services, the sermon was filled with rich imagery of destruction orchestrated by man and occasioned by the weapons of mass destruction. I

continued visiting the church and Sunday after Sunday the imagery of an end of human history was constantly invoked, interspersed with exhortations to the congregation to prepare for the end by seeking their own salvation through religious conversion and, to "reap the end-time harvest."

The first part of the message was not different from what the other members of the research team were hearing in other congregations around New York City, regardless of the ethnic origin of the parish. However, the second part of the message, "reaping the end-time harvest", was implemented differently by the Harlem Church. A mid-town, predominantly white congregation implemented this exhortation through a program focused on busing children from welfare hotels to church for Sunday school at the mid-town church. This was essentially the extent of that church's involvement with the community.

The Harlem Church presented as a very different environment with regard to "reaping the end-time harvest". Through the Sunday visits I became aware of a church sponsored social service delivery system focused on reaching persons outside the congregation, going far beyond a sole interest in religious conversion. In church bulletins and other documents available for public consumption, it was evident that this congregation was engaged in delivering social services to prisoners and their families, children and youth, the homeless and substance abusers. The fact that a church preaching an

end-time theology was involved in radically different applications of this doctrine as it related to the community-at-large, and particularly black Americans in need, intrigued me and led to the development of this research project.

The study is similar in design to Andrew Billingsley's (1990) research on "outreach programs developed by black churches." Billingsley used a case study methodology to survey black churches of varying sizes and denominations, to assess the nature and scope of outreach programs currently operated by churches in selected sites around the country. The Harlem research uses case study to essentially answer the questions how and why the church developed social service, "outreach" programs, and what organizational mechanisms of the church are involved in the successful planning, development and implementation of the programs?

Generalizations about all black churches cannot be made from a study of one church's efforts to provide social services to its community, but we can identify the components of organizational structure involved in successful program development and provide a detailed description of the model to allow for replication. With a descriptive case study of the process by which the church established this structure, the would-be helper will have a model for organizational development, as well as a description of the experiential learning including the hopes, fears, and dreams that this

process produced for the Harlem church leaders.

The black church is an institution controlled and developed by African-American people. Its potential as a laboratory for the development and implementation of self-help social services for reach hard-to-reach clients is important. It is possible that practice methods will be uncovered in such a setting that are radically different from those developed in the professional laboratory. However, given the tremendous influence of organized religion on the development of social work practice in this country, it is also possible that we will encounter, in the church, a great deal of overlap with social work in terms of principles of practice and interventions to assist people in need.

Both sets of findings could have important implications for social work. The first would add to the available intervention strategies for work with inner-city populations. The social work profession might learn how to work with certain client populations from the black church. And the latter findings would suggest the ways in which the urban, black church is potentially a strong ally for the social work profession in that the church and the social work profession share a similar value base with regard to the helping process.

QUALITATIVE CASE STUDY METHODOLOGY

CASE STUDY

Case studies are the preferred strategy when "how" or

"why" questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context (Yin, 1989). As a methodology, case study design enables an inquiry of the church programs with minimal imposition of artificial, research induced conditions on the study site. In addition, qualitative research is often the most "adequate" and "efficient" way to obtain the type of information required and to contend with the difficulties of an empirical situation (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

How and why this congregation developed interventions to assist the community cannot be studied in its entirety using survey or experimental methods. The research site is one where the investigator cannot control the situation as one would in laboratory research. The investigator wishes to take a close-up look at a contemporary phenomenon that evolved from historical events that can be recalled by actors currently involved in the drama. In such a setting the researcher must contend with a great deal of uncertainty. One cannot know before hand what these historical events are, nor can one know the content of the unfolding situation. Therefore, a survey instrument with specific questions could not elicit this data.

The focus of the Harlem study is organizational behavior, and the processes of program design, development, and implementation. Case study allows the investigation of these processes while retaining the holistic and meaningful

characteristics of the real life events which gave rise to the desire to help the community and the subsequent development of the church programs. Case study methodology permits the researcher to understand how this phenomenon occurred, making use of the same techniques as a history, but adding two data sources not usually available to the historical repertoire: direct observation and systematic interviewing (Yin, 1989).

Yet another reason for the use of qualitative methods for this study is fieldwork. Strauss observes two general characteristics of fieldwork which are relevant to this research project (McCall and Simmons, 1969). First, the propositions dealt with are rarely of the "A causes B" type, the causal inter-relationships between two or more variables dealt with in experimental research (McCall and Simmons, 1969). The second general characteristic of fieldwork is its temporally developing character. The fieldworker usually doesn't enter the field with specific hypotheses and a predetermined research design (McCall and Simmons, 1969). However, this is not to suggest that the researcher does not have a purpose or a frame to guide the inquiry. Yin cautions that every exploration...should still have some purpose (1989). The task for the researcher is to remain flexible and constantly adjust the approach to the work based upon what is learned at each step of the research.

The distinctive need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomenon (Yin, 1990).

One observes that an organization is involved in providing social services. How does an interested party begin the process of understanding how what is observed was produced? To answer this question requires a method of inquiry geared to uncovering, step by step, the process engaged in to produce the observed service programs. If the organization is a formal public or private system organized to deliver social services, the study of program design and implementation could be guided by a descriptive theoretical model of how organizations develop programs. For informal service delivery arrangements, where little is known about the knowledge base of the providers, an effort to understand "how" and "why" the group produced the service programs must proceed cautiously with an emphasis on permitting the actors to tell their story without the imposition of theoretical constructs.

Notwithstanding the concern regarding imposition of theoretical constructs, every inquiry is informed by a frame of reference. Toward this end it was necessary to develop a theoretical framework for the study.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

INTRODUCTION

Establishing a theoretical framework for studying the self-help programs of a black church posed a problem. There is no body of social work research literature analyzing church organizations from any theoretical perspective. There are,

however, social work studies applying theoretical frameworks to the study of organizations. It was in this literature that a structure for the study of resource development by community organizations was found in Weissman's research, an analysis of the Du Pont Council (a community organization) using the social exchange model (1970).

Social support and social exchange theories were selected to guide the study at the outset. Upon entering the field and after the data collection process had begun, it was noted that the research project would afford an opportunity to assess the extent to which the study site has present those factors identified by Billingsley as contributing to the initiation and maintenance of family oriented and community programs by black churches.

SOCIAL SUPPORT THEORY

The usefulness of social support theory to the study is its clear definition of the properties of social support. Social support is defined as an exchange of resources between at least two individuals perceived by the provider or the recipient to be intended to enhance the well being of the recipient (Shumaker and Brownwell, 1985). From this definition it is apparent that there is an exchange involved in social support transactions. Shumaker and Brownell posit that there are potential costs and benefits associated with the exchange for both participants. They further suggest that research from the areas of reciprocity and prosocial

behavior offer clues as to how the participants might evaluate these costs and benefits.

Involvement in a church does have costs and benefits. Costs for church involvement include money, time, and association with people that one might not otherwise be in contact. These costs are balanced against the benefits derived from involvement with the organization.

In a church, people receive many tangible and intangible benefits for which they feel gratitude. The members give back to an institution from which they have received so much. This giving makes it possible for the church to support its missions, which might include social service programs. In doing so, the church reaches other people who are disconnected and forgotten. These people are touched, express an interest in bettering their lives and find in the church a network of helpers willing to assist in the process. Once the newly helped begin feeling like viable, functioning members of society, they are happy to serve others and they find emotional fulfillment in doing so.

There is also prosocial behavior on the part of the provider, a series of incremental decisions involved in the decision to offer help. The church is full of rich anecdotal material on the decision to help and how this process, once started, resulted in the development of a continuum of services. Once it was learned that people were hungry and that need was met, the need for clothing surfaced and was met;

next, the need for shelter, and so on. The exchange occurs between at least two individuals, a provider and a recipient. As such there are at least two perspectives of the exchange and a developing relationship between the two actors, potentially influencing the support. Shumaker and Brownell (1985) found that most of the social support research focused on the recipients perception of the help.

Finally the definition establishes that support is offered to achieve an outcome. That is to say, support has intended functions and these functions are achieved through a matching of resources to problems. The research project will elicit information from church planners on how this match was achieved in program planning and implementation.

SOCIAL EXCHANGE THEORY

Social exchange theory frames the study of the resource acquisition process engaged in by the church to enable it to develop, implement and maintain programs. This theory provides the researcher with the conceptual tools to identify resources that the church needs and that it must get from individuals or other organizations in exchange for the rewards it produces. According to Weissman (1970), two critical elements of the exchange process are resources an organization may need: an individual's time, access to money, credit, esteem or social standing, the possession of charisma, popularity, legitimacy, legality; and, the rewards at an

organization's disposal that individuals and other organizations seek.

The exchange process model requires an assessment of how the organization produces rewards. Organizations produce rewards in one or more of the following ways: (1) by achieving specific goals, (2) through the procedures by which these goals are achieved, or (3) through structural devices, such as formal or informal cliques (Weissman, 1970.)

Finally, the exchange model provides a framework for assessing how an organization generates and distributes rewards. This function in organizations is critical to organizational life. Weissman (1970) notes that organizational survival may be related to its ability to develop mechanisms for the storing and distribution of rewards that may be used during periods of project stalemate and failure. One way of accomplishing this end is for an organization to carry out its projects so that commitment to itself as an organization and solidarity among its members are developed (Weissman, 1970.)

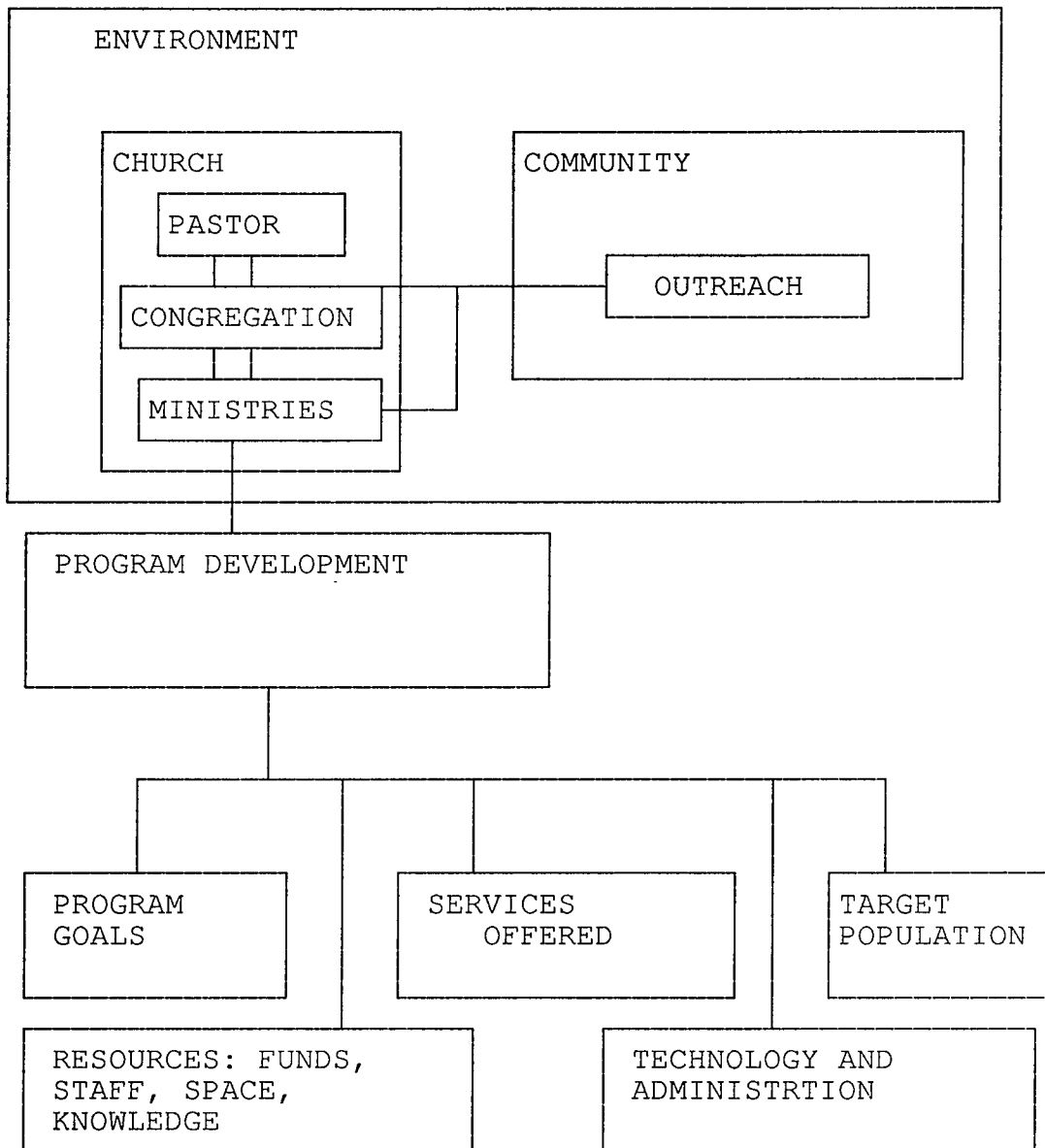
As an organization, a church has membership that is loyal and committed to the church organization because of a higher calling. This base of support enables the church a certain latitude with regard to program failures that might not be tolerated by the membership of other organizations. In addition, the world view of the church as determined by scriptural principles, provides a ready explanation for the

unintended outcomes of programs as well as program success: "God's will."

As a framework for the study of social programs of the black church, the theories provide the researcher with direction as to what the properties of social support are, how resources are produced and a way to explain how programs are maintained.

The conceptual framework for the study places the phenomenon under study in two interactive systems: the community and the church. The community in that it is the setting which triggered the church's development of outreach programs. The church's leaders, members, the outreach efforts and the process that ensued for the development of the social service programs is the focus of the study. Figure one is the conceptual model that guided the research project.

FIGURE ONE: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK



The importance of the framework is that it forces the researcher to be selective--to decide which dimensions are more important, which relationships are likely to be most

meaningful, and, as a consequence, what information should be collected and analyzed (Miles and Huberman, 1984).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The central questions for this research project are how and why the Harlem Church developed the social service programs and what are the organizational mechanisms of the church involved in the successful planning, development and implementation of the programs.

Some of the specific questions that the study attempted to answer are:

1. How are programs chosen for development?
2. What is the design process for the programs?
3. What are the resources needed for the programs?
4. What are the rewards used to recruit needed resources?
5. How are service recipients selected?
6. What kinds of problems are addressed by the programs?
7. What is the technology used to help clients?
8. How are programs staffed?
9. How is leadership obtained for the programs?
10. How are programs funded?
11. What does the church hope to achieve through its programs?

With information on what these programs are intended to do, how they came into existence, and the institution in which

the programs are housed, social work practitioners will be provided with knowledge that is not presently available in the social work literature.

GAINING ENTRY TO THE SYSTEM

The holistic and meaningful characteristics of the real life events which gave rise to the programs at the Harlem church could not be studied without first gaining entry to the system. The church is pentecostal, a denomination traditionally identified as fundamentalist and conservative in theology. As such, the pentecostal church is not popularly identified as a strong proponent of secular education.

In addition, the church is solidly black in its identification which could result in the leadership being suspect of researchers, particularly those affiliated with majority institutions. Blacks have reason to be suspicious of researchers. Hill (1980) found that in social work research:

The research issues still tend to fall into a few predictable categories: a focus on negative attributes of minorities or their most disadvantaged groups, a greater concern with the internal constraints of minorities than with the external or institutional impediments they face, and an emphasis on how attributes of minorities deviate from those of whites... This presumption of deficits among low-income and minority client groups is the fundamental obstacle to effective social service delivery to these groups and, correspondingly, to effective social services research on them.

Taken together, the church's suspiciousness of outsiders' interest, its perception of secular knowledge and the caution

with which it responds to research inquiries, created an environment where very careful planning and study was necessary to achieve entry into the church system.

From reading, from conversations with others who were somewhat acquainted with the type of organization, and from judicious preliminary scouting, I was able to gain a rough idea of the sorts of relationships that existed among subjects. This assessment represented the ground work for the Harlem study.

EXPLORATION

I spent several months visiting the church, attending Sunday morning services, and collecting church publications. After about four months of visiting the church, I enrolled in a bible study course offered by the church to learn something of the church's belief system and to get to know members in a small group setting. In the bible study class, I was gaining credibility as someone who was sensitive and respectful of the groups beliefs.

I reviewed the literature on the black church to place the phenomenon that I wanted to study in its proper historical and sociological context. The exploration period was also used to conceptualize the study in such a way that it would make sense for social work research. Review of the social work literature failed to produce studies of social service programs developed by black churches. Therefore it was necessary to generate research questions to be answered by the

study without the benefit of findings from prior research. Was the phenomenon to be studied the social programs of the church? Were the end time teachings important to the development of social services programs? What about the church organization needed to be studied? Was there enough in the site to justify the study?

It was also during this time that I conceptualized my research role at the church. I learned through observation that I needed key informants to help me understand the system under study. I could not go into the church to conduct the study as the expert on church based services. In some respects, the less I knew about the system under study the better able I would be to learn from the participants what the system was all about. My role would be to tell the church's story and frame it in social work terms.

I also interviewed the pastor during this time. We talked about the church's mission and the feasibility of my conducting a study at the church.

After a year of exploratory contact with the church, and with some credibility gained from frequent contact through attending church services, bible study classes and interviews with the pastor, an invitation was extended to the Pastor to serve on the Dissertation Committee. He eagerly agreed to serve.

The decision to make the offer reflected a number of concerns for the research. One, it was important to have

someone from the church system involved in the study, thereby facilitating access to the system and establishing credibility for the project. Two, there is no great body of knowledge available on conducting social work research in the black church, consequently, there are not readily accessible researchers with expertise in this area to guide the study. And finally, having someone from the church system involved in the study helped to ensure cultural sensitivity in design, data collection and data analysis.

MY RESEARCH ROLE

Acceptance into the desired research role often hinges upon offering appropriate auspices (Strauss, 1969). Two suggestions appropriate for this site included the claim of...making the organization's honorable story known to the world,...and analyzing local ways so that they may be applied to help similar organizations elsewhere... (McCall and Simmons, 1969). Both claims were found to be relevant for the Harlem study.

THE SAMPLE

UNIT OF ANALYSIS

The units of analysis for the study are the self help programs and the organizational mechanisms at the church which maintain these programs. There are four programs currently offered to the congregation and community. They are: the Crisis Center, a men's shelter, a youth program, and a prison

ministry. Each program was investigated to delineate the planning, design and implementation strategies involved in bringing it into existence.

The Pastor, Associate Pastor and the Director of Missions were interviewed to develop an understanding of the organizational mechanisms at the church which are involved in needs assessment, program design and implementation, program funding and program evaluation. A total of twenty-one interviews were conducted, thirteen (13) with program directors and nine (9) with church leaders.

DATA COLLECTION

Three forms of data collection were employed to accomplish this purpose - interviews, direct observation and document and archival records review.

INTERVIEWS

Early on, I interviewed the pastor focusing on how the church got involved in social program development. I wanted to develop a cognitive and temporal map of the situation in the church as it related to the identification of needs in the community and the development of programs at the church to meet those needs. This data helped to identify who should be interviewed in the church and what parts of the story they could report.

Interviewing in case study is an essential tool for

understanding the social phenomenon under study. A key consideration here is to have the interview guided by a theoretical approach without introducing theoretical constructs into the interview. For example: Could you tell me what you hoped to accomplish with this program instead of what is the goal of your program?

The interview is for the informant to tell a story without the imposition of constructs which inhibit the natural flow of events. Understanding the story requires the development of appropriate questions that will make it possible for the story to unfold. Ethnography provides guidance on how to construct questions that permit an informant to guide the researcher through the phenomenon and teach the researcher how words are used in the context of the story. Ethnographic interviews, directed by a formal interview guide, were used to learn from program leaders their views of the programs at the church. There were at least three, one hour interviews with the director of each program.

Interviews with the pastor helped to determine that the research would need two interview schedules: one, to guide interviews with the church leaders involved in the organizational maintenance of the programs, and, the second to direct interviews with the program directors to ascertain descriptions of programs [See Appendix A]. The first protocol was developed inductively, the interviewees and their story would determine what should be asked in the interview.

The second protocol was broadly guided by Tripodi and Epstein's (1971) conceptualization of the stages of social program development: program initiation, program contact, and program implementation. All interviews were taped and the taped interviews were transcribed prior to the researcher returning to the field to continue the data collection. This was necessary to determine, interview by interview, what data had been collected, and where the gaps were in the data.

FIELD OBSERVATION

Another source of data collection was direct observations. Initially, field observation was used to determine what was important to study. Informants were necessary for this purpose, that is to paint the grand picture as it related to the social services programs at the Church.

Observation was used to develop a sense of the physical context in which the help occurred and the helping strategies used to assist program clientele. I also observed how clients interacted with personnel at the Church, those personnel engaged in the delivery of services and Church personnel in general. Another purpose of field observation in this study was to view actual delivery of services to a client population.

DOCUMENT AND ARCHIVAL RECORDS REVIEW

Documents such as newspaper clippings and organizational publications were reviewed in an effort to address the study questions. Archival records kept by the programs - organizational charts, program descriptions, and other documents were used to assist in establishing a chain of evidence for the programs.

Analysis of Findings

Since the purpose of the study is descriptive and exploratory the general analytic strategy to be used in analyzing the data is to develop a descriptive framework for organizing the case study. All data will be organized along the following framework:

Framework for Description, Coding and Analysis
of a Social Support Network developed by a Black church:

- I The church:
 - history
 - contemporary context
 - leadership
 - congregation
 - community outreach
 - resource development
- II Program development background
- III Program design:
 - planning
 - implementation process
- IV Program structures:
 - goals
 - values
 - leadership
 - staff

- funds
- problems addressed by program
- resources utilized

This framework will result in a narrative description of the development of the church programs and the context in which they developed. Careful attention will be given to details of the process so as to facilitate program replication.

A case study data base will be developed comprised of case notes, interviews, observations, document analyses and transcripts all organized into categories of the descriptive framework of the study. To increase the reliability of information in the study a chain of evidence will be established so that there will exist a traceable link from the research questions, through data collection, the data base and the case study report.

The larger question of validity is not easy to answer. Will the study really describe those factors that influenced the development of the church programs? This case study may be viewed as representing only a moment in a process of the church programs' evolution.

SETTING

The site for the study is a church located in Central Harlem. The neighborhood still contains signs of its once grand stature. The locale, near a park, suggest that this

area was and still is a coveted neighborhood for residence in Harlem. Today the surrounding area is an odd mixture of the urban scene. Within a block of the church, depending upon the direction one takes, there are prostitutes, drug addicts and dealers, decaying and abandoned buildings, vacant lots, and, ironically, beautifully appointed brownstones and apartment buildings. Recently, there has been added to the community a new, modern hospital facility which has the promise of providing needed health care, training for health care practitioners and an additional source of stability for a neighborhood.

The church is housed in what was previously a public school building the congregation purchased in 1983. The building and its grounds occupy an entire city block. The main sanctuary is the old school auditorium that has been renovated to fulfill its modern day purpose. In addition to the main sanctuary the first floor contains church offices, two gymnasiums, a counseling center and a day care center. The upper floors of the building primarily consists of classrooms used for various church ministries. There is a fully operating cafeteria in the basement.

There are approximately eight-hundred people in attendance every Sunday, with a core group of six-hundred or more supporting the various social ministries of the church. The congregation is largely black with Hispanics and people of the Caribbean represented. The pastor estimates that sixty-

percent (60%) of the congregation is comprised of single heads of households, making the church congregation very much like the urban setting in which it is situated.

The study site in question espouses an end-time theology, which is significant because this fact alone could result in the church being viewed as socially marginal. That such a church is involved in efforts to aid the community might help the cynic to see that a groups' theology, no matter how strange it may seem to the unchurched, need not be an indicator of its interest in a social improvement agenda.

In terms of its theology, the Central Harlem Church is christian fundamentalist. Christian fundamentalism is a movement that is both old and new with roots going back to the pre-millennial Bible conferences held in the aftermath of the Civil War. By 1900, fundamentalist doctrine was an intellectual presence in the seminaries, and by 1915 its tenets had been codified for popular consumption.

It is old and orthodox in its insistence upon the fundamentals of the faith: literal resurrection, justification through faith, the divinity of Jesus, the literally virgin birth, and the literal second coming of Christ. The most fundamental thesis of fundamentalism is the inerrancy of scripture.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have presented the methods used in this

case study of how and why the Harlem Church developed the social service programs and the organizational mechanisms of the church involved in the successful planning, development and implementation of the programs. I have described the advantages of case study for both the study of a contemporary phenomenon and the type of knowledge sought to develop with this project.

Next, I presented the theoretical framework used to guide the study of the church social service programs and how the conceptual framework served as an orienting frame for the development of study questions.

I tried to convey some of the issues involved in both conceptualizing the study and gaining entry to the system. After careful exploration of the church system, exposure to the system in an observer role, and, reading the sociology of the black church literature, I was enabled to articulate a purpose for the research and a research role for myself that was plausible for the church leadership.

Finally, I describe the data collection methods used in the study and present a framework for analyzing the data. Chapter Three will focus on documenting the events and attributes that played a role in the development of the social services programs at the Church.

CHAPTER THREE

THE HARLEM CHURCH: FROM DESPAIR TO HOPE

INTRODUCTION

The genesis of the Harlem Church was occasioned in 1916 when a mid-town Manhattan, pentecostal church refused membership to two women of color, who were residents of Harlem. Shortly thereafter a white missionary from the mid-town church suggested that "cottage meetings" be initiated in Harlem to accommodate persons of color interested in the faith. Under the missionary's tutelage, a steady progression of growth was began culminating in the establishment of a Harlem Church in November of 1917.

The story of the church's beginning is reflective of an old tenet of faith often enunciated by black congregations: God will make a way out of no way. In the present Pastor's words:

...out of that rejection, racism and discrimination, God raised us up and I don't want them to ever forget that this is a Black church (Interview, 6/12/91, pp. 26).

What was experienced as a grievous racist practice (the refusal of membership to the women by the mid-town church), resulted in the organization of the Harlem church.

The support of mission work was an early part of the Harlem church's expression of its christian beliefs. This expression took the form of supporting the work of missionaries on assignment in far away places across the globe. According to Pastor Robinson of the Harlem church, the mission's concept operationalized in the black church of his youth:

"...was basically some little, old women, who wore white dresses...Once a month they collected money, which in some churches went to the pastor. In our church [missions] was a ladies' organization. At the end of the year, this little group of women would report their missionary thing: they had sent six boxes to Africa with clothes. They would have a little exhibition on a sunday before they would pack [the boxes] up and pin them [the clothes] up all around the church. We'd give them money so that they could have the money to make the postage. And that was missions." [Interview 5, 26-27]

From this modest origin there evolved a commitment to missions at the Harlem Church and the development of social services programs to stem the tide of urban decay so devastatingly destructive to the poor, black, inner city dweller.

The journey from the "little old women" dressed in white to a social service delivery system was not immediate. The idea of missions expressed in the excerpt above is one that is evidenced in many black churches. What is it that prompts a congregation to embark on planned development of social services to assist the community, using church resources to better the lives of people increasingly viewed as throwaways? Does the fact that the Harlem Church developed a social

services compliment suggest that the potential is there in all black churches or is there something special about the Harlem Church and its commitment to the community?

In this chapter I will document the events and describe the attributes of the church that played a role in the development of the social services programs at the Harlem Church. In doing so, I focus on the series of small, incremental decisions which led to the major organizational decision to provide help. Shumaker and Brownwell (1984) note that these "mini-decisions" include recognizing the need for assistance, interpreting the dilemma as an emergency, and deciding that the provider possesses the necessary skills and resources to act.

I will first discuss the provider, in this instance the Pastor and his values about helping. His early years in Harlem, his development as a leader, and finally his ordination as Pastor of the Harlem Church all shaped his values about helping. Next, I will discuss the church that he came to pastor. The Harlem Church was a closed system shut off from a community that was dying, while it's most powerful social institution, the church, despaired as to whether or not there was a role to be played.

In this context: a new minister, a closed church and a decaying community, contact with the church was initiated by the community's criminal element. The church's response to the contact will be discussed, detailing how the church

organized to fight the criminal element, and in this fight mode happened upon the compassion building incidents that led to the development of a organized church response to help the community.

I. SHAPING THE LEADER

COMMUNITY AND FAMILY

Robinson attributes his commitment to the community of Harlem as being the result of his being born in the community and knowing it during it's "glory days". He knew Harlem:

...when a black man couldn't work on 125 Street. That was our Broadway. You'd see whites coming in from all over, going to the Apollo [Theater]. We had a steak house on 125 Street, near the Apollo called Frank's. One of the nicest restaurants...I mean top shelf stuff. I could go there, sit down and order; I'd be served by white men. A black man couldn't serve food in a restaurant. I mean white men would serve you in a white shirt and bow tie. Right here in the heart of Harlem, 125 Street, you couldn't get a job, not as any salesman. You might work in the stockroom or something (Interview, 5/29/91, pp. 13).

Despite the racism apparent in this description of Harlem, these were, nonetheless, the "glory days" for Harlem. The community was alive with excitement and the promise of a better future.

There was a sense of community and belonging, a sense of family. Young people and their elders existed in a world that had purpose and direction.

There was respect. We were poor. We didn't have toys. We'd make things out of carriages and cardboard boxes. Life was simple but there was a sense of family. There was a sense of unity

(Interview, 5/29/91).

The family's income was meager, the Pastor's father earned thirty dollars a month to support a wife and six children. Money and material possessions were not necessary however for people to live in a safe, comfortable environment.

In the building where the Robinson' lived, people left their apartment doors open. There was no thought of the homes being burglarized. Adults in the building took responsibility for neighbors children.

In that building...I had three mothers. Let anyone of those neighbors catch me in something wrong. I remember when a woman could go into a group out there fighting and say 'alright, y'all stop that and git', and everybody would break (Interview, 5/29/91).

This environment provided the young and the old alike a safe haven in a hostile, racist world. No matter what humiliation black people endured in the larger society and even in their own community, the sense of family and unity they had created for themselves were buffers against an existence that bordered on the absurd.

EDUCATION

Pastor Robinson attended schools in Harlem all within a five block area of his home. He was taught to read using books that demeaned blacks in a school system where teachers and administrators were white. He recalls that his teachers would think it an insult for a student to be in their classes and not learn. This was a time when black students were taught to read. In his opinion, " they [the teachers] could

afford to educate us because when you got out there you weren't going to get a job anyhow" (Interview, 5/29/91, pp. 15). The opportunities were structured to benefit only those who were favored by the larger society. According to Robinson, you'd get the job they wanted you to have, no matter how well educated you were. The ceiling was there and only a few could get pass that ceiling.

Today, Robinson sees evidence of a new dynamic at work with regard to black access to opportunity structures. The opportunity door is thrown wide open, but too often the black, urban student is not prepared to take advantage of the opportunity. In the present system, the black person is simply told we don't want you because you are not qualified. In the Harlem of his youth, even with qualifications, blacks could not get jobs on the main street in their own community (Hamilton, 1991).

THE MILITARY

Like many Americans, Robinson served in the armed services during the fifties. This was an important time for his leadership development. An incident after his basic training alerted the military that young Robinson had leadership potential.

The Army that Robinson served in, was the Country's first attempt at integrated troops and there was a great deal of tension. Whites who had never lived around blacks found themselves in very intimate contact with people of color.

Robinson was instrumental in stopping a race riot in his barrack and was recommended for leadership school instead of being shipped out for Korea.

From leadership school, Robinson acquired skills to train men. He was given responsibility for basic training where the charge was to transform civilians into soldiers.

COMMUNITY DECLINE

Harlem made the transition from a white community to a community of blacks during the time period 1917 through 1950 (Anderson, 1990). By the 1960's the economic decline of the community was becoming apparent. Robinson watched the slow decline and the despair. With the kind of oppression experienced by blacks of his era, educated but unable to move forward, his contemporaries began to ease into drugs and the ready money. One by one, persons who Robinson grew up with began to be swallowed up by the urban morass that was consuming Harlem.

Neighborhoods in Harlem were deserted by citizens in search of safer places to live and better schools for their children. Left behind were entire city blocks abandoned and available for the criminal segment of the community to make use of.

There were some blocks where the police wouldn't go...like 123 Street, between Lenox and Seventh, at one time was blocked off. It was a dope stronghold. I mean they had a system there between telephones, walkie-talkies, steel doors on a lot of those private houses...Cars came from Connecticut,

Jersey, limousines...White, black, purple, blue [people] boldly picking up drugs. People who didn't live in that block wouldn't even think of going up that block except to get dope (Interview, 5-15-91, pp. 12)

Buildings and streets were not all that was abandoned during this period. Pastor Robinson recalls a number of his contemporaries who were lost to jail, drugs, alcoholism, and street violence. There were also those who Robinson categorized as "empty shells": the addicted waiting to die.

DESPAIR

Robinson experienced a kind of paralysis upon leaving the military. He was faced with a community in decline, the cause of which was multi-determined. He had a sense of concern for the community but felt helpless. He saw himself as just another black child from the same streets that had claimed so many people he had known and loved. In this state of despair, the Pastor found that the desire to do anything to work for betterment was subsumed by despair. He found himself becoming comfortable with the situation of hopelessness. Comfortable to the point that he went into a limbo position and took gratitude in the fact that he had escaped the streets and the violence. In such a position, Pastor Robinson focused on his family and tried to ensure that his children would have a better life.

In an insidious way the social ills that had claimed so many of Robinson's friends, rendered him, a would be helper,

helpless. Captive in a desire to help but overwhelmed by the sheer size of the problem and its destructive nature. This was not just drugs from which people bounced back after a period of adolescent experimentation. Adult women and men were caught up in a nightmarish culture without hope for extricating themselves from the euphoric clutches of the drug. The end for far too many of these persons was death.

The helpers had fallen victim to the social morass that was consuming Harlem. Robinson termed the helplessness that he experienced a state of limbo. On another occasion he referred to it as his being in "neutral gear." A state that spared him thought about what was happening on the streets of Harlem, a kind of psychic numbing.

As a young family man, home from the army, Robinson began to settle into the roles of husband, father and breadwinner. He was active in the church as a Sunday school teacher and custodian. The tasks before him were mastery of these roles to ensure a quality life for his family and church community. Little did he know that his church community would call upon him for a greater service.

NEW PASTOR

On February 13, 1966, Ezra Nehemiah Robinson was installed as the new Pastor of the Harlem Church. This Pastor was a life long resident of the Village of Harlem whose only time away from the community was his military tour of duty. He had been involved in the Harlem Church all of his life,

most recently as church custodian and Sunday School Teacher. The Harlem community that he came to Pastor in was very different from that he had known as a child. What had been a community of people, connected, forming extended kinship networks, by 1966, was slowly giving over to an urban scene characterized by crime, lawlessness and Black middle class flight.

II. THE HARLEM CHURCH

CLOSENESS AND "CLOSED-NESS"

In an effort to survive without being significantly encroached upon by the social ills of Harlem, the Harlem Church became a closed system. Robinson categorized the Church as ingrown with a basic mission of caring for its members (Interview, 5/15/91, pp. 1) Contact with the community was limited and usually took the form of some kind of open service in the street where congregants passed out tracts. The Pastor observed that when they gave out tracts they left some folk hungry and they left people needing clothing. There was no compassion for the drug addict, the prostitute and the homeless people found on the streets.

According to Robinson, the Harlem Church was closed. People in the Church were known to each other. It was like one big happy family. Not only were they close to each other but they were closed. This closed-ness presented as a wall for anyone seeking admittance. Even a middle class person seeking

entrance would sense a wall that would have to be traversed before entry could be gained to the inner sanctum. "Twenty years ago we were ingrown, a family church. They were them and we were we" (Interview, 5/22/91. pp. 2)

SOCIETY'S ILLS ENCROACH ON THE CHURCH

Just a block away from the church, drug addicts and prostitutes were congregating. They began to break into the church in search of money, vandalizing coke machines and public telephones. Robinson recalls coming down into the Church one morning and finding a gaping hole in the ceiling. Burglars forced entry from the roof and were attempting to gain access to church office but miscalculated and ended up in the main sanctuary.

The break-ins to the Church angered Pastor Robinson. He remembers thinking they're coming into the church to get us and we can't sit idly by and not do anything. The more bars that the Church put up, the more locks, the burglars persisted. At this point the Pastor was convinced: "We need to go out and get them" (Interview, 5/22/91, pp. 5). It was a declaration of war.

A MILITARY STRATEGY

The Pastor of the Harlem Church organized his congregants into "little armies" to do battle with the criminal element on the streets. Each "little army" was assigned designated

streets to work. The idea was to infiltrate the streets with just the gospel, with church members going out into the streets to pass out tracts.

Over time, the "little armies" noted there were certain people they would see every Saturday and from frequent contact with the street element, church members began to see needs. They would talk to a person and learn the person was hungry. In the Pastor's opinion, they were not at all equipped to deal with what they met in the streets. It became apparent to the members of the church and their leader that the needs met on the street could not be abated with just the gospel.

For example, in their Saturday morning street excursions, one of the church brothers would meet a person on the streets, ask to speak with the person about Christ, only to be told "get out of my face, man, I'm hungry". After the street excursions, the church members would gather and debrief their experiences. More and more they reported incidents similar to the one in the example. At this point, the members decided to find a way to feed the people they met on the streets.

BREAKING DOWN THE WALLS

COMPASSION BUILDING

The experience of going out into the streets, interacting with people and learning of their needs triggered a compassion that was laying dormant in Robinson. At first it didn't dawn on Robinson that as a Pastor, he was in a position to do some

earthly good for the community. His compassion for the people had grown dormant out of despair and helplessly watching things happen and being unable to directly have an effect. An encounter with an alcoholic woman stirred up compassion that was there all the time and Robinson began to experience an overwhelming compassion for his people. According to Robinson:

"...it was born in my spirit that we had to develop field ministries, so that when we went out we could present what I call a whole gospel, a holistic gospel that would meet people at the point of their need" (Interview, 5/15/91, pp. 4).

The Pastor related several vignettes that are demonstrative of how street experiences served as "compassion builders" for himself and the congregation. These compassion building experiences were the precursors for a realignment, a re-education of the congregation to become involved in a social ministry.

FOLKTALE I

The first folktale is that of the 'Hopeless Alcoholic'. Twenty years ago, when the Church was located on Lenox Avenue, two brothers of the Church brought a woman to Pastor's study who they said had attempted suicide. She was in her early twenties, filthy and she had been in and out of institutions in Harlem including hospitals for the mentally ill.

The Pastor prayed for the woman and the only visible result of that prayer was this woman was now coming to the church every single day drunk. There was no change in her

alcohol abuse behavior. On Sundays she would come into the service of this ingrown church and sit there, just about every service for an entire year, disturbing the worship service. The service would be in progress with the minister preaching or some other order of service, and the congregants would hear this voice coming out from the audience. And she always sang the same song, "Pass me Not Oh Gentle Savior."

The Church members began to feed the woman, and provide her with clothing, showing her the love of God and it seemed that God was washing this woman in the face of the 'closed' church. As the church members took an interest in the woman, feeding her and looking after her needs, the break-ins to the church stopped.

Robinson recalls thinking that it became clear to him that if he wanted to Pastor in this area, the alcoholic woman was the kind of person who was in need of help. Pastor Robinson had prayed to be effective in his ministry. He wanted to be used by God but he wasn't thinking in terms of dope fiends, prostitutes and alcoholics. He was thinking that the congregation would explode with 'good' citizens.

Today, the woman who is the subject of this folktale is a contributing member of the church and gainfully employed at a local hospital. She celebrated twenty years of sobriety the year that I collected data for the study.

Robinson calls the experience with the alcoholic his attention getter. The "bowels of compassion" were loosed in

him and he realized that he could not be just another pastor. His church could not be just another congregation coming together, shouting "glory hallelujah", going back and forth from a Sunday morning showcase.

God had entrusted in his hands the ability and the tools to do something about all that he had seen and felt, heard, watched and experienced in the decline of Harlem. He knew that he could not save Harlem, but he could feel a sense of fulfillment in knowing that he was doing something about the decline of the only place he knew. His entire life was centered around Harlem. And when he saw what would perhaps disgust pastors and cause them to order the ushers to put them [the alcoholic, the dope fiend] out, this inspired Robinson.

An animated and expressive Robinson recalled the power of his transformation this way:

...God had given me a compassion for... folk that are down and out, for my people period. And I know it is born out of watching the rise and fall, the decline, the decay, the deterioration of Harlem as I know it (Interview, 5/29/91, pp. 23).

Experiences such as the one related in the folktale were also instrumental in breaking down the walls of the ingrown, closed church that Robinson had come to Pastor. As the congregation went out into the streets of Harlem, they met a sampling of people in the neighborhood and many of the people they met had problems. The ingrown pattern was broken and at the same time the burden to better the community, was intensifying among the parishioners.

DEVELOPMENT OF FIELD MINISTRIES

BAND AID APPROACH

The Pastor and the congregation of the Harlem Church had no prior experience developing services to meet needs that were not of a spiritual nature. Therefore, their initial efforts did some good but were ineffective as long term interventions to deal with the enormity of what the parishioners found in the streets of Harlem.

This was like band aid stuff. Aspirin, temporary relief. This was like a drop in the bucket. But so frustrating was the situation. You sense the sincerity of an individual to embrace the gospel, but you know the gospel that you have just shared with them will not survive in the environment to which they had to go back. And we were helpless. We had nothing in place to meet that (Interview, 6/20/91, pp. 4)

There was a restaurant on 124 Street and Lenox Avenue owned by some Japanese people. The church made an arrangement with the owner that he would feed whomever they would send there for a meal and the Church would settle the account with the owner at the end of the week. The little armies began to use this service and in feeding people they learned that there were other needs to be met. Soon the church members found that people from the street were following them back to the church. They would have alcoholics, dope fiends all needing clothes, a place to stay or some other service.

Pastor Robinson reports that he began to see the need for reaching out to these people with more than just the gospel. He felt that he and his congregants were incomplete in their

street effort. They were in a war against evil and were lacking the ammunition and strategy that was necessary to defeat the enemy.

For housing, church members volunteered their homes until the Church could find a program that would give the person residence. Often the program had a waiting list. The Church attempted to help alcoholics and drug addicts who had no place to go, renting rooms in boarding houses. People came to the church needing food and the Pastor directed parishioners to take those in need to the store and purchase food.

Clothing was collected from the congregation to provide to those in need. Parishioners were asked to bring clothing that they would like for themselves. These articles of clothing were placed on the fence around the Church and given to people free of charge.

All of this effort in the Pastor's opinion was makeshift, band aid type services. When he looked at the enormity of need he realized the futility of the church's response. Sure a few people were helped but they were really not getting the job done.

So it was in this context, going out there with the gospel, meeting folk and finding that the Church was not able to meet them at the point of their need, that Pastor Robinson discerned that the Church needed a social ministry to meet the physical needs of the persons encountered on the streets.

Now the Pastor was faced with a dilemma. He deduced that

the development of a social ministry was the way to be helpful in the Harlem community. Involvements with the people on the street had confirmed the appropriateness of the social ministry as the church's response. As leader, he saw the need to develop a holistic gospel to meet the needs of the people that they were bringing in from the street excursions. But he was without basic resources such as space to house persons in need of homes, rehabilitation for drug addicts, and medical care. At this point, it became clear that the church had to develop a more permanent service delivery system and it would have to be organized. Such an undertaking would require the support of the congregation.

TRANSFERRING THE VISION TO THE CONGREGATION

"BURDEN" FOR THE COMMUNITY

Congregants who used to walk hurriedly past people on the streets of Harlem out of fear, now walked streets for two hours on Saturdays, meeting and talking with people about their lives. This experience gave the congregants compassion. According to Robinson,

...you can't walk up and down those streets giving out tracts and saying good morning and sharing with people and not become aware of their problems and feel compassion and the desire to help them (Interview, 5/22/91).

The targeted area for work was from 120th to 125th Street, from Marcus Garvey Park over to Frederick Douglass Boulevard.

It was not enough for the Pastor to have a vision of

helping people in Harlem. The vision had to be shared by the parishioners and Robinson realized that he could not transfer the vision through lecture and a whole lot of preaching. "It's something you gotta get out there and do".

DEALING WITH THE OPPOSITION

There was an "elite" that did not immediately agree with the direction that the Church was taking. Robinson found that it was difficult to bring about change in the normal flow and format of the Church.

People get in a rut, they get accustom to a thing and don't want to be disturbed. Don't disturb; I'm doing alright the way it is; I like this family church; I like the ingrownness [especially if you're on the inner circle]. (Interview, 5/22/91, pp. 9)

A major task was persuading the parishioners to embrace change, especially a change that constituted a radical departure from the norm, and one that was unpleasant at first.

Robinson was convinced that the social ministry was the way to proceed. And as the church members went out, the break-ins stopped, and many of the people being helped by the church members became protectors or intercessors for the congregation in dealing with other persons in the community. Nonetheless, detractors in the church persisted.

As parishioners began bringing people back to the church from the streets, detractors cautioned that this was how people set places up for burglary. They see where everything is located and then come back and loot the place. There was

a general suspicion.

For Robinson, the real truth was that these detractors did not wish to be associated with the persons from the street. They saw the person from the street as they were, not as they could become with help. Robinson was convinced that parishioners had to be able to see what a person in need could become and be consumed with the belief that the parishioner could contribute to that change.

Robinson reminded the parishioners that these Black men and women were dying. The Harlem Church could not in good conscience just come together, hold services, pray, jump and shout, and sing while people died at their doorstep. Christ died for them too. As this message registered and the parishioners saw people like the 'hopeless alcoholic' change, the individual church member was inspired to do good and the opposition was stilled.

TRAINING FOR THE WORK

Pastor Robinson had attended classes on personal evangelism, and practical training on how to talk to non-believers. He had received this training on retreats in San Diego, California and Atlanta, Georgia. From the retreats he received some basic principles but found that when he got back to his community, he had to put "the Harlem touch on the training to make it fit."

The Pastor found that the training he received was good

but it was developed by whites who lived in suburbia. Community outreach in the suburbs was very different from what Robinson and his congregation developed for their work on the streets of Harlem. In his opinion, the training had to be made over for Harlem. For example, the Harlem Church undertook its street ministry during the time when the Black Power movement was strong in Harlem. They were met by great resistance. People accused them of pandering to a white man's system and preaching a blue eyed, blond haired gospel. To be heard, the church members would have to develop a message that spoke to the black experience.

Not only did Robinson develop training for his members, he hit the streets with them, a kind of on the job training. If they ran up against something they could not handle or someone who challenged them, the Pastor was there to offer assistance. Learning by doing:

...you can't learn that sitting at a desk. Get out there nose to nose. Folk share, they begin to drop on you. A young man who used to be a boxer. He had been fighting with the best of them, sparring. He got messed up on drugs in his despair and disgust over not being able to get the big fight. Now you look at him and say 'look at that nigger, ain't worth nothing.' But what I'm trying to say is you don't know. Talking with people like this regularly, hearing the steps that led to their current state, is heart breaking. It builds a compassion that keeps you wanting to reach out and help (Interview, 5/22/91, pp.21).

This kind of compassion can not be learned in the classroom. Developing a commitment to an urban mission requires getting out there, touching and being touched by people.

Robinson recalls that there were people who were afraid. He gave them personal worker lessons and encouraged them to be polite. He instructed them that they were not out in the streets to preach. Their mission was to touch the people and understand their needs. Pastor Robinson reminded his trainees that in the Bible, "the Lord did not say well done thy good and successful servant. He said well done thy good and faithful servant." Congregants had only to be faithful.

THE SALT METAPHOR

Robinson searched the scriptures for principles to assist in persuading parishioners that they could make a difference in the lives of people. He found help in Matthew, 5:13, "ye are the salt of the earth." Robinson developed this scripture into a metaphor for change:

...I had to convince them that we could bring about change. We are the salt of the earth. You can put two pounds of carrots, three pounds of potatoes and four pounds of meat in a pot. But when it comes to salt, you don't need a whole lot. Salt is put in sparingly. Salt changes the pot. The pot does not change the salt (Interview, 5/22/91, pp. 16)

Salt has many valued uses. It preserves, it heals and it seasons. To preserve, salt has to get on the meat. According to Robinson, too many christians were like salt in the box. To be helpful the black church would have to find a way to be among plain, ordinary people and to transform them.

The parishioners went out and encountered their own tales of success in the street work. Compassion for people and the

burden to help the community resulted. This outcome could not have been realized by lectures extolling "this is Harlem, this is our place and we've got a responsibility." There is something about getting out there. Robinson and his congregation slowly turned the whole direction of the church from ingrown to out going.

"ONE HUNDRED PERCENT BLACK BORN, BLACK BRED"

Black pride is a theme that resonates in the actions and spoken word relating to the social ministry of the Harlem Church.

Initially this theme emerged in interviews with the Pastor. All interviews were taped. In the middle of one interview, the Pastor asked if the tapes were mine or did some one else have access to them. I explained that I would have to keep the tapes and other documents as evidence of the work done. Robinson responded that he was not concerned about who would hear the tapes,

In the writing about [the Church and the social ministry] it is important for you to drink of my spirit and understand the mentality, the mental platform from which I launch (Interview, 6/12/91, pp.23)

Through his interviews and actions, he helped me to see that he launched from a mental platform of black pride and spiritualism turned activist-doer.

SALT IN THE BOX

He explained that one of the reasons he was excited about my research was because he hoped that the story of the Harlem Church would awaken the black church.

The Black church, which is our strongest institution ...unless we move with a decisive effort to turn this thing [the state of black America] around, you can pull the sheet over it. Because the Lord has done all he can and all they're doing is building more jails. That's not the answer (Interview, 6/12/91, pp. 23).

Robinson decried the inability of the black church to make a difference in what is happening in inner cities all over America. Returning to the salt metaphor, he referred to the black church as "salt in the box," potentially powerful with all of its resources but useless in the box. For this potential to be realized the church must get out of the box and build for the community, with what Robinson refers to as a holistic gospel. This is not a gospel that just deals with the spiritual and the word, but one that reaches out and becomes the hands of the Lord extended, feeding, clothing, and educating.

URBAN FEVER

The Pastor spoke of the influx of white Christians visiting his church, "they've got urban fever." A group of fifty from all over the country were to visit on Father's Day, 1991. Robinson took pride in the Church's Father's Day program:

Our men are in a very aggressive mode now and all of our men are going to have on kinte bow ties and white shirts. So when they come in here they will know that we are an African American church. It's a black church. Listen, I'm in Harlem ((Interview, 6/12/91)).

In an effort to help the researcher understand that the Church was not going "off on the deep end" with it's black identity, Robinson shared some of the experiences that helped to shape the Church's identity.

SEARCHING

Robinson and members of the congregation have traveled extensively. He recalled that when he stepped off planes in South Africa, Liberia or Zambia, he is conscious of the fact that he has been robbed of his background and heritage. He has been in parts of Africa where people speak english but they have another tongue, they have a culture and they have roots. Black Americans have been displaced. In Robinson view, we know that Africa is our origin but we don't know which tribe, what part of Africa.

The Pastor made clear his feelings toward America:

God Bless America! I thank God for being born here and at this particular time I feel that we are Joseph sent ahead to preserve life (6/12/91, pp. 25).

His reference to Joseph is the biblical story of how Joseph's brothers sold him into slavery in Egypt. Through a series of events, Joseph won favor with the Egyptians and was given a position of authority to develop a system of food storage to

protect Egypt against a coming period of famine.

Robinson wanted all to know that the work of the Harlem Church was not the result of the Church being the off shoot of a movement in the larger society. "This is one hundred percent black born, black bred." What the Church has accomplished, was done "paddling our own canoe. It was self-help. God helped us."

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have discussed the factors that influenced the development of social services at the Harlem Church. Pastor Robinson was an important influence in the process that led to the Church's decision to pursue a social ministry. Is it the man or is it the times that produced the change in the Harlem Church? In this instance it is both.

Robinson was uniquely suited to see in the times an opportunity for the black church to once again provide for the needs of a group of persons displaced by social change and upheaval. His discernment of this role for the church came as a result of his having developed a love for the community of Harlem and having a knowledge of its significance as an anchor for black identity. This appreciation for Harlem along with the experiences of face to face encounters with people who were in need, stirred in the leader and subsequently the congregation, a compassion for those in need. With compassion

came a desire, a "burden" to help the community.

Drawing upon skills from military and bible school training, and experience on the streets of Harlem, Robinson began the work of transferring a vision of the Harlem Church as "A Citadel of Hope" to his congregation. He found methods to win over opponents to the new direction for the Church and to strengthen those forces in the organization working for change.

The Church's initial decision to help people encountered on the streets resulted in a patchwork of band aid approaches. Over time, it became apparent that an organized effort was necessary to deal with the enormity of the situation.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the evolution of a formalized structure within the church to support the successful planning, development, and implementation of social service programs at the Harlem Church.

CHAPTER FOUR
ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES TO DEVELOP AND MAINTAIN
SOCIAL PROGRAMS AT THE HARLEM CHURCH

INTRODUCTION

Experience taught the leaders and congregants of the Harlem Church that a "band aid" approach to services was woefully inadequate and frustrating to their concern for the plight of black men and women on the streets of Harlem. A consequence of the Church's street work was increased membership, thereby expanding the resources available to the Church to pursue its ministry. The increased resources were an affirmation/confirmation for the Minister and his congregation that pursuit of missions was the work for the Church.

In an effort to find services for people, the Pastor began to associate with organizations to determine if services could be obtained via a network of programs with which the Church would establish formal ties. One method used to develop the network of services was for the Pastor or some other Church member to serve on the board of organizations providing needed services.

With a network in place, the Church could identify persons in need of a service, call a program known to the

Church and arrange for the person in need to be assisted. The referral arrangement was not without flaws. The Pastor recalls a situation that made clear the need for the Church to have its own services.

Folktale II

A young, drug addicted woman expressed an interest in cleaning up her life. She was the daughter of parents who owned their own business but her relationship with the family had been destroyed due to her drug addiction. The Pastor made a call to a network contact to locate a drug treatment program for this young woman and came face to face with a situation that reinforced anew the need for black people to develop their own programs. The only program slot available for the young woman through the network, was a program in Mississippi.

How do you convince a young woman from Harlem to go to Mississippi for help with a drug problem, when all she knows about Mississippi is its racist practices toward blacks? Robinson recalled thinking "Along with all of her problems, she is going to run into culture shock."

This is all a part of the band aid...At the time the Black church hasn't advanced to no more than that bible under our arms. We haven't made any preparation, so I've got to reach out to where ever I can (Interview, 6/20/91, pp. 19).

The young woman was desperate enough however, to accept the bed in Mississippi and the Church paid airfare for the young woman and an escort from the Church to make the trip.

Robinson and the Harlem Church congregation came to understand that ministering in an urban city, where society's ills were full blown, required the development of a holistic gospel at the Church. To be effective, the Church would have to develop programs that would tend to the spiritual, physical and social needs of the people, and the programs needed to be in the community. The service compliment could not be piece meal nor could it be largely dependent on a network of programs outside of the Church.

In this chapter I will describe the organizational structures of the Harlem Church that resulted in the successful design, development and implementation of social programs to meet the social and physical needs of people in Harlem.

ORGANIZING TO DO THE WORK

LEADERSHIP

The Harlem Church has strong, committed leaders with a "burden" [a strong desire] to help the people in the Harlem community. The Pastor grew up in the neighborhood and spent the first twenty years of his life in the area surrounding the Church. The Pastor discerned the vision for the Harlem Church, "A Citadel of Hope", and the vision was "born in his spirit" as a result of his seeing the decline of the only home known to him, Harlem.

The Associate Pastor proffered the following on the importance of a pastor to a church:

A pastor is key to the success of a church...the pastor is the one who gets the direction [the vision] from God. He must be a man, a woman, just like Christ, without exception or temptation. He must be an unselfish person, a people person. He must be able to identify potential leadership. He must be able to have the necessary methodology, training in place, to take an infant or a leader and allow that person to grow. He must be there to encourage, to reinforce...He must recognize when he has made a mistake...and gently, lovingly reschedule the leader some place else (Interview, A.M., 9/16/91, pp. 25-26).

In this statement, the Associate Minister for Christian Education at the Harlem Church identifies key skills necessary for successful leadership: vision; respectability; a people person; the ability to identify leadership potential; a structure to train leaders; and, the ability to supervise subordinates. This Associate Minister is uniquely qualified to speak to organizational structure as a result of years of professional training and years of experience in the management field.

Secure Leader

The Pastor of the Harlem Church is secure enough in self to permit self-directed, gifted individuals to guide and develop programs. Program development at the Church has been made possible because of this leadership quality. The Crisis Center (which will be discussed later) is the result of collaboration between the Harlem Church and a group of people,

professionals, with a dream. The professionals were devoted to helping drug addicts, and, the professionals possessed the knowledge, and requisite skill level to get the job done. The Harlem Church had the facilities, the vision, and the bank of volunteers. For Pastor Robinson, the course of action was obvious:

Rather than say this is mine, my vision...if there is some similarities and some way we can work together, why not come together? I didn't obligate any of those people to join this church (interview, 6/20/91, pp. 22-23).

The result for the community was the development of a center to assist people with basic needs: food, clothing, temporary housing and counseling.

MISSIONS

"Where there is no vision the people perish."

Proverbs 29:18

INTRODUCTION

The officers of the Harlem Church believe that missions is the heart beat of God and any church engaged in mission work will be richly rewarded for its service. Missions requires extensive resource outlay because service entails constant expenditure of funds to help people who are unable to pay for the assistance. Nonetheless this church finds in scripture a mandate for missions work:

For I was hungry, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee hungry, and fed

thee? or thirsty, and gave thee drink? When saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked, and clothed thee? Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee? And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me. Matthew 25: 35-40.

The development of social programs at the Church is focused on meeting the needs delineated in this passage of scripture: programs to feed, clothed, visit the sick, house the homeless, and visit the prisoner.

THE BLACK CHRISTIAN AND MISSIONS

The practice of missions at the Harlem Church has been shaped by the Christian belief system ascribed to by the parishioners filtered through their experiences as black people. The Pastor of the Harlem Church believes that the Christian gospel was offered to the black American for its life changing qualities, "We were taught from the white missionary, accept the Lord, be good to your wife and your family, grow up to be good Christians" (Interview, 6/20/91, pp. 25). But the corresponding mandate of the gospel, to become involved in missions, to carry the gospel into the world was withheld.

Go up in the bush. Go up in the jungle. Go to wherever it is. Go back to your village and tell them about Christ. That wasn't passed on to us. They said we'll do the preaching, you do the hearing. (Interview, 6/20/91, pp. 25)

This failure to share with the black Christian the mandate for missions resulted in the black American viewing missions as

something in far away lands done by others, and, missions at home, in the black church, involved old ladies, dressed in white, who collected clothing and books once a year to send to Africa.

The Associate Minister for Christian Education at the Harlem Church, raises the following question relative to the perception of missions as women's work:

How do you reconcile this perception with missionaries Jesus, Peter and Paul of the New Testament? Jesus Christ, a missionary, a man. Peter. These guys were missionaries. They were men. (Interview, Associate Minister, 9/24/91, pp. 33)

One is left with the impression that the view is held in some black churches that missions work is women's work. And because of the black church's appropriation of the larger society's devaluation of women which has scriptural basis, any work done by women and women alone is not rewarded status nor compensation in a way commensurate with work done by men.

In his travels, the Pastor has experienced reactions to his presence that have confirmed his perception that blacks were purposely excluded from the mission field. In South Africa, Robinson had the opportunity to speak to a group of school children who were thrilled to speak to a black American about Harlem. They had read about Harlem and had heard stories of its significance to Blacks in America. Toward the end of his talk, Robinson noticed a white gentleman observing his interaction with the children. After the talk was over the gentleman asked if he could have a word with the Pastor.

The man indicated that he had become a christian during a Billy Graham crusade and that he brought books to the school for the children. He was curious to know what prompted Robinson to come all the way from Harlem to speak to the children of South Africa. Robinson responded that he was prompted by the same motivation that brought Billy Graham to Africa, "go ye into the world and preach the gospel."

In another example, Robinson went to St. Vincent to visit two churches supported by the Harlem Church. Robinson had just become the Pastor of the Harlem Church and wanted to see all of the places where the Harlem Church supported missions. The local missionary, who served as the Pastor's guide, significantly influenced how Pastor Robinson ultimately came to view the Harlem Church's role in missions work.

When Robinson told the veteran missionary that he, Robinson, was a new pastor, the veteran felt a responsibility to educate the neophyte. The Pastor visited the missionary's home and saw that he had three black domestic workers. In Robinson' view, back in the States, a missionary's salary would not have afforded such a lifestyle. Here in the islands, he had a yard boy, a cook and a governess to care for his children. The missionary was pastor for one church on the Island.

It occurred to Robinson that this was a good life. Beautiful beaches with white sand, beaches with black sand, crystal clear blue, green water and tropical weather. "And you

don't have to do a thing but get up", declared Robinson, "there were three employees to do your bidding". Beautiful house, landscaped with palm trees, coconuts, complete with a million dollar view. With all of this opulence, the missionary's admonition to Robinson as a new Pastor was "don't spoil the natives." Robinson thanked him and took his leave.

When Robinson met the black husband and wife team on the Island who were leading the work in the field, he found that this couple provided leadership for three churches and five Sunday schools. An enlightened Robinson returned to New York determined to support the black couple's work on the Island at a level that would enable them to have the necessary tools to get the job done with a measure of comfort and convenience. If having a vehicle to get around to the churches was spoiling the natives, than this couple would be spoiled.

THE MISSIONS DEPARTMENT AT THE HARLEM CHURCH

There has been a Missions Department at the Harlem Church since its inception. According to the current Missions Director, who has been in the position since 1973, the Department changed focus twenty six years ago when Robinson became Pastor. The Harlem Church takes seriously the concept of missions and believes that missions is the reason for the existence of the Christian church. "The church is the body of Christ, so whatever the mission of Christ is, that should be the mission of the local church." (Interview, Missions

Director, 1/24/92, pp. 1-2)

MISSIONS DEFINED

The Harlem Church operates from a working definition of missions. Missions is defined as an endeavor or a task geared toward reaching beyond the needs of the local congregation (Missions Director, 1/24/92, pp. 2) The purpose for "reaching beyond the local congregation" is two-fold. One, is to heed the "great commission" which is a Christian belief that Christ gave a mandate to the church to go forth into the world preaching the "good news". The second purpose is one that seems specific to the Harlem Church, that is to make the church visible to the people in the community.

Thus, for the Harlem Church, missions begins with proclaiming the "good news" to human kind. The Church takes its understanding of humans from scripture: God has described man to be a three fold being, with spirit, body and soul. According to the Missions Director, "We can not meet the need of man in total unless we address all three levels of need." The "good news" is not enough. Missions must endure, focusing on the physical, the mental, and the social needs of people. "When we do all of this, then we have done missions work." (1/24/92, pp. 4)

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE MISSIONS DEPARTMENT

The Missions Department is provided leadership by the

Director. Policy for the Department is developed by the Missions Board which is comprised of the Pastor, who is chairman of the Board, the missions minister, the Director of Missions, an assistant director of Missions, a treasurer, and secretary.

The entire missions staff encompasses the board and eleven prayer group leaders. This staff is responsible for planning and developing strategies to address problems of concern to the Church.

MISSIONS FUNCTIONS

As operationalized by the Harlem Church, the work of missions is global. Much of the mission activity of the Church is focused on what the Director calls, the "great commission". The Harlem Church finds that its credibility would be compromised if it were to pass over the needs at its "doorstep" to go abroad to proclaim the "good news". Therefore, the Church expends substantial resources in the development of ministries to deal with problems experienced by the residents of the Harlem community.

I. PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

According to the Missions Director, the Missions Department performs a program development function in the Harlem Church. It conducts needs assessments, identifies populations in need of assistance, and informs the

congregation of the emergent need. It is enabled to perform this function in part through its Board, staff and contact with programs operated at the Church. In addition, the Missions office communicates with national church organizations focused on enabling local churches to develop missions programs.

The Missions Department is the component of the Church where strategies are developed to meet identified needs. If the emergent need is something that falls within the purview of an existing Church program, then the Director of that program is involved to bring pertinent, substantive knowledge to the design process. Once this work has been done, the Missions Department routes the newly designed program strategies to the appropriate Church program for implementation.

PROGRAM INNOVATION

There is a mechanism for existing programs within the Church to bring forward program initiatives. For those programs where there is a separate governing board, program directors make the proposal to their governing board. If the governing board approves the proposal, then the program director, coordinating with the Missions Department, presents the proposal to the congregation. At this point the Missions Department becomes involved to recruit persons from the congregation to provide the resources to implement the

program.

PROGRAM EVALUATION

The Missions Department fiscal year is from September to October. Each year, the Board meets to evaluate the various ministries and programs and make determinations as to the level of funding for each of the programs for the coming year. Programs are evaluated on productivity, accomplishment of objectives, viability and a projection of what the programs needs will be for the coming fiscal year. The evaluation process has evolved over the years becoming more indepth as the Missions Board has become more experienced. According to the Missions Director, no program has been discontinued because of program failure.

II. RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

FUNDING MISSIONS

The Harlem Church funds its missions work through pledges from the congregation given through a donor system known as "faith promise giving." Members are asked to commit a sum of money and trust that God will provide them with the funds promised to missions work. Congregants pledge an amount of money to their choice of mission and this amount is contributed weekly, bi-weekly or monthly. [This is not a tithing arrangement.] The contributions are collected by the Missions Department and disbursed to the various missions.

This system of funding for missions raised \$206,000. in 1991.

According to the Missions Director, the funds collected through faith promise giving is the "seed money" for the work done by the Church in missions. In addition to this fund, the Missions Department raises money through appeal for project funding. When a determination is made that a project will be funded, the Missions Department makes the appeal for additional funds.

MISSIONS CONFERENCE

Every year the Harlem Church convenes a mission conference, focusing on different themes, for example "Standing in the Hedge". This theme focused on unmet social needs in the community. The purpose of the conferences is to disseminate information and provide a venue for congregants to be educated on issues. The conference is a time for discussion and development of strategies to ameliorate problems. It is also a time for congregants to renew commitments to missions and a time for the Church to assess where it is headed in its missions work.

The conference is held in the fall of the year, the last Sunday in September through the first Sunday in October. Conference activities include seminars and workshops structured to provide information, stimulate discussion and afford an open forum for interaction. Plenary sessions are held, with speakers presenting thematic addresses focused on

conference themes. Persons involved in the missions work supported by the Church are invited to report on the work that is being done in the various mission fields. Through this communication arrangement, congregants are made aware of the goals and objectives of the various missions and the work done toward the attainment of those goals and objectives.

In May, the Church sponsors a mission conference for youth. The purpose is to provide young people with information and an opportunity to discuss social issues and develop strategies to become involved at a level appropriate for young people. As a result of such exposure, the youth of the Church visit Children's Village, a home for dependent children in New York State, and the youth go to local hospitals to visit with children in a chronic setting. The focus is to expose the youth to acute needs so that they began to get beyond themselves and their own needs to become concerned about the needs of others.

PRAYER GROUPS

A major resource of the Harlem Church is its members. The Missions Department links congregants to missions through the prayer groups. Every member of the Church is assigned to one of eleven prayer groups. People may express a preference for a particular prayer group. The eleven groups are individually named for the Church mission with which it is associated. There are prayer groups for Kenya, South Africa,

Nigeria, India, Harlem, Aruba, St. Vincent, and other regions of the World where the Harlem Church has an interest in supporting missions.

PURPOSE

As implied by the title, the prayer group ostensibly is a group of people meeting to pray. In the course of praying for issues and needs, two things happen. One people are made aware of the issues and needs for which they are praying and two, the constant focus on the issues and needs bring the prayer group member to the realization that "I could be the answer to my own prayer."

The prayer group member begins to look internally to determine if there are skills or other resources that she or he possess that would be useful in dealing with the problem. Members pray about issues and in the words of the Missions Director:

You cannot be talking to God constantly about a need, without it dawning on you that maybe there is something I can do about that need. In the context of praying you may very well learn that you are the answer to that prayer. (Missions Director, 1/24/92, pp. 13)

It has been the experience of the Missions Department that when a person is sensitized to a problem in this context, they are more likely to be committed to the task undertaken.

The prayer is not separated from "hands on" tasks. Instead, the prayer is a spring board enabling the member to see the linkage between prayer and doing. Robinson, remarking on a request from the community for the Harlem Church to

assume responsibility for maintaining a portion of the park in front of the Church, noted that painting park benches required the use of paint brushes not bibles. The linkage between prayer and doing is actualized through giving of resources: time, energy, and funds.

Each week, one of the eleven prayer groups is responsible for outreach in the Harlem Community. Through this interaction, congregants are made aware of other ways that their skills maybe used. For example, congregants who are teachers, met illiterate people and worked with the Church to develop a literacy program. The Church has determined that the people of Harlem "hang out"--spend a great deal of time on the streets, sitting on stoops in front of buildings and on benches in parks. In their street work, prayer group members dispense a small meal to denote a concern for the plight of people beyond spiritual need. Prayer group members also let people know, should they need social rehabilitation, assistance with drug addictions or alcoholism, the Church can help.

The prayer groups are functional, designed to give each member a "bite size grip" or handle on the tremendous task of missions. It is through the prayer groups that individual members of the church are plugged into the mission endeavor.

PRAYER GROUP STRUCTURE

Each prayer group has a leader and assistants. They maintain contact with the Church Mission which the prayer group supports. Leaders meet with persons directing the Church's mission work for their assigned group to keep current regarding the needs of that particular mission. This information is shared with the members of the prayer group.

The Harlem Church has approximately eight hundred members. If all members participated in the eleven prayer groups there would be approximately seventy members per prayer group. The Missions Director finds, like most organizations, there is not maximum participation in the prayer groups. The Director explains the absence of full participation as the result of the way the Church teaches its members about missions and the Christian's responsibility to support missions work. According to the Missions Director:

I need to be sure that there has been maximum teaching, maximum promotion, maximum stimulation. In other words nothing could be improved on anymore before I would say the folks are not interested...We haven't done as much as we could do yet. (Missions Director, 1/24/92, pp. 25)

The Director's statement is credible given the amount of money contributed to missions by the Harlem Congregation, \$206,000 in 1991. Given the amount, one would be hard pressed to conclude that the members of the Harlem Church are not interested in missions.

GETTING STARTEDFINDING A SPACE

BEHOLD I SEND AN ANGEL BEFORE THEE TO KEEP THEE IN THE WAY, AND TO BRING YOU TO THE PLACE WHICH I HAVE PREPARED FOR YOU. Exodus 23:20

Once the Harlem Church had a clear vision for its mission work in Harlem, acquiring a space large enough to accommodate the social programs it wished to develop became a priority. One of the ministers at the Church came across a booklet describing properties to be auctioned off by the City of New York. Listed was a former junior high school, an entire city block, with a minimum asking price of three hundred thousand dollars. The availability of the property was a remarkable development in that this was the junior high school that Pastor Robinson had graduated from. The Pastor knew the building and was aware of its current condition. The building had been vacant for at least eight years and had fallen into a poor state of repair. Nonetheless, the elders of the Church decided to tour the facility.

Robinson and a number of the Church's key officers visited the junior high site. What they found caused some dissonance:

It was the most depressing, discouraging, despairing thing you could look at humanly speaking. I mean a person with about two hundred, two hundred fifty people that he could count on and maybe, \$150,000 in reserve...You don't even look at that. You don't even begin to think...because even if they gave the building to you for \$100,000 and you could pay for the whole thing cash...When you come inside there and look at the darkness and look

at what had been done to the building, you shake your head, walk out and say what a shame what they did to the school (Interview, 6/12/91, pp. 10)

The site was decayed, graffiti marred, garbage arrayed from the ceiling and walls, and every window was broken.

Robinson recalls as he looked at the building there was present in him a strong emotional current, what he termed a "twinkling." He was touring the building with Church members who were plumbers and electricians, people who could assess the viability and feasibility of taking on such a repair operation. The Pastor remembers thinking it absurd to even hope that the possibility existed to make this site work. Yet he felt that this could be the place to develop the dream.

Looking beyond the garbage, Robinson saw the enormous amount of space in the building and the possibility of housing all the spiritual and social programs that the Church wanted to develop under one roof. This excited the Pastor. The Church leaders caucused and decided to present their findings to the congregation with the recommendation that they pursue acquisition of the space for the Harlem Church. They established a ceiling for bidding at \$450,000.

After much prayer, and financial sacrifice the dream of a home for The Harlem Church's programs became a reality on October 27, 1982 when the Church officers successfully acquired the property at auction. This momentous accomplishment came just prior to the Church's sixty fifth year of existence. With the acquisition of a space to pursue

the Church's spiritual and social agenda, the Harlem Church was poised to embark on a mission that would ultimately cause it to be known as the "church that helps people."

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have described the organizational mechanisms at the Harlem Church that result in the successful design, development and implementation of social programs. The process of resource development engaged in by the Church and acquisition of space to house the social services compliment is also described.

The Missions Department at the Church is a central element in the program development, design and implementation process. It is through this structure that the congregants are informed about social and spiritual issues of importance to the Church leadership. The prayer groups are the structure through which members are actively engaged in the missions work of the Church at home and abroad. Activity at home include the prayer group outreach in the Harlem Community. Involvement abroad results from the prayer groups' leaders' interaction with the directors for the various missions efforts of the Church. The prayer group leaders are kept abreast of concerns for the missions and this is communicated to the members on a regular basis.

Resource development is also realized through the Missions Department at the Church. Congregants commit

financial resources, time and skills to programs through the Missions Department. "Faith Promised Giving" is the mechanism used to raise funds for the missions work of the Church and this money is collected by the Missions Department and disbursed according to program funding schedules agreed to by the Church leadership. In addition, when program ideas require knowledge, skills and human resources, the Missions Department is involved in canvassing the congregation to locate needed resources.

Finally, the Missions Department is involved in the review of proposals for new programming and program innovations for existing programs. It is also through the Missions Department that yearly program review for existing programs is realized. This process determines whether programs will continue to operate with funds and support from the Church.

In the next chapter, the programs comprising an array of social services at the Harlem Church will be presented. Four programs will be described with an internal analysis for each program focusing on the purpose, resources, need for the program, technology, and program implementation.

CHAPTER FIVE

AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL SERVICE PROGRAMS AT THE HARLEM CHURCH

INTRODUCTION

The desire to have an organized program along with the gospel was a strong and driving influence in the development of a social services capability at the Harlem Church. The gospel outreach on the streets was getting the attention of the people but there was no "sheep fold", a safe place for people to do the work that would reorder their lives. All the Church had was a "Sunday morning showcase:"

We had pews, and some jump and some shout and some prayers, and the prayers were working, but what the prayers were unearthing, we weren't prepared to deal with. Then I had a dilemma...This gospel is incomplete, at least in this area. It may work in a suburban area with one family homes, stable families that can receive the Lord and go back home to people who will welcome them with open arms. But I'm here in the middle of Harlem with filthy drug addicts, pill-poppers, alcoholics, and prostitutes on the corner. (Interview, 6/20/91, pp. 7)

The "showcase" activities of the Church met its spiritual purpose, but as a multi-purpose organization, the Church was lacking programs to attend to its social agenda. Chapter Three detailed how the Pastor transferred the social purpose vision for the Church to the congregation. In this chapter, the focus is the programs developed by the Church to actualize

its social goals.

In addition to an increased membership for the congregation, notoriety of the serious concern for missions at the Harlem Church attracted people with program ideas. One program director was drawn to the Church by a conversation overheard at a car wash. Another, expressed the view that the Church is "wide open" to program ideas that are consistent with its vision. He likened the opportunity for program development at the Church to gold laying about, waiting to be picked up. He reasoned that the opportunity would continue to exist until shortage of physical space caused a curtailment of program expansion and growth.

Program innovators found a congregation with a vision and the organizational mechanisms in place to enable visions to become realities. When innovator, and need intersected with the vision for the Church, the result was often new programming.

The social environment in which the Church operated, and the fact that this program development involved black people actively engaged in making a difference in their community and the world, served as a powerful magnet for people in search of an organization that both reinforced ethnic pride and met the need for spiritual fulfillment. Respondents delighted in pointing to the majesty of God reflected in an empowered group of black people engaged in work to help their own. In one interview the Pastor reported the sense of exhilaration he

felt when people come to the Church for help. He experienced a tremendous sense of satisfaction in knowing that the Harlem Church was doing something to assist black people in need.

The feelings described in the preceding paragraph are inducements for participation in an effort to do good. The religious self is very involved in influencing the social self to embrace a social agenda that supports church sponsored activities to remedy problems popularly defined as the domain of secular institutions.

The positive feelings derived from doing good for the community also served as rewards for the pro-social behaviors of congregants at the Harlem Church. The Church reverberates with an emotional current that reflects a sense of self-respect resulting from the good that is done for human kind through mission work. This heightened sense of self-respect, coupled with tangible evidence of the fruits of their labor--people whose lives have been changed because of the Church's intervention, urges the congregation on to do even more.

In this chapter I will present program descriptions and a structural analysis of the Crisis Center, Urban Youth Alliance, Soul Release Prison Ministry and The Discipleship Program at the Harlem Church. The descriptions afford the opportunity to analyze the program structure of the organization: the roles people play; the structure in which roles are performed; the degree of centralization or decentralization for decision-making; and, the character of

the organization (Perrow, 1970).

An analysis of the programs will include descriptive information about the social environment, resource development, the technology used in the programs, and organizational goals as reflected in the programs. Program initiation, contact and implementation stages provide a framework for arraying the descriptions of programs at the Church to demonstrate the series of organizational tasks performed to bring the programs into existence (Tripodi, Fellin And Epstein, 1971).

THE FIRST PROGRAM: THE CRISIS CENTER "FISH CLEANERS"

INTRODUCTION

In 1983, a group of young christians, calling themselves HARK, were searching about the Harlem Community for a church to fund a proposal to establish a christian counseling center. One of the HARK members, a born and bred Harlemite, positioned himself behind the scene, giving direction to the "out-front" members on various Harlem churches that might be receptive to a proposal.

The group met several church leaders all to no avail. Not one had a vision which included developing a christian counseling center. At some point in the process of exploring churches, a HARK member insisted that the group visit the Harlem Church, assured that the Church was different from the other established churches in the community and potentially a

proposal for a christian counseling center would receive a favorable hearing.

THE AMAZING THING ABOUT THE HARLEM CHURCH

Multi-Purpose Organization

In the Harlem Church, HARK found receptive listeners who said essentially "we have the same vision and we are willing to commit our resources to the project." The Church found in HARK, christian service providers with whom they shared a vision. The Church leadership could be reasonably assured that the HARK members would implement a program established on christian principles. In addition, the Church would not have to recruit the technical resources for the program, the HARK proposal came complete with a staff compliment of trained professionals.

The Amazing thing about the Harlem Church was they committed themselves to financial support of the Center and gave us the authorization to staff it with our own people. (Crisis Center Director, 8/14/91, pp. 6)

The resource contribution from the Church consisted of the allocation of space in the their new building, which in those days was still under renovation, and they raised the money directly from the congregation to provide financial support to the Crisis Center. [The Harlem Church opened its new facility on April 15, 1984.] For this investment, the Church received a cadre of professionals with the necessary administrative and therapeutic skills to implement a crisis intervention

counseling service.

Etzioni (1964), observed that religious organizations in the contemporary United States could hardly fulfill their spiritual purpose without adding some social goals, because it is the social goals that attract participants. This does seem to be the case for the Harlem Church. As noted earlier, a consequence of the Church's mission work was increased membership. In addition, it was the missions focus of the Harlem Church that attracted the HARK members.

AN IDEA BECOMES A REALITY

Decision-Making Structure

When the HARK members came with their idea to the Church, they first met with Pastor Robinson. The Pastor called together the leadership of the Church to which the HARK members presented their proposal for a christian counseling center. At that meeting, the Church leadership gave an oral commitment to the idea. The leaders brought the idea to the Missions Department indicating that money would need to be raised through the Missions Department to establish the Center.

This example reveals the decision making structure for the Church with regard to program development. The Church has a centralized structure for decision-making. The Pastor and Church leaders met with the HARK members to determine if the idea and the people behind the idea were appropriate for

Church sponsorship. In making this determination the Church leaders were afforded the opportunity to query the presenters to ensure that program participants complied with established norms for organizational participants.

Legitimization

The Congregation was next informed of the leadership's desire to establish a christian counseling center at the Church to "deal directly with the folk on the street that normally you don't want to deal with" (Crisis Center Director, 8/14/91, pp. 9). Hence the name for the HARK group, "fish cleaners." Borrowing from a metaphor in the bible where Jesus recruited men who were formally fishermen, and promised to make them fishermen of men. Extending the metaphor, when fish are caught they smell and must be readied for consumption. This is dirty, smelly work and not all are temperamentally suited to handle such tasks.

In presenting the Crisis Center idea to the congregation, the Church leaders sought legitimacy from its principle supplier of resources. The leaders illustrated that establishing the Program at the Church would fill a service gap. The congregation would be enabled to pursue its mission work without having to assume "hands-on" responsibility for the rehabilitative work with persons from the street.

With the approval and support of the congregation, the Church staff set about the work to transform the idea into

reality. The HARK members were involved in the space design process and periodically they were called in to inspect the progress of the project.

The Environment

Another key factor in the development of the project, is the presence of a black pride theme. The Director spoke movingly of the theme's significance for him:

As a black man, it is the best thing that has ever happened to me, short of Jesus Christ...meeting other black folk who are in the Lord, who are unhindered, unafraid, unrestricted and unbound by the fears of the majority of both blacks and whites. I really love it. (Crisis Center Director, 8/14/91, pp. 12)

The fact that such a development was the achievement of blacks was testimony of the potential realized when people, energized by their beliefs, ideas and a cause, pool their resources to accomplish tasks. In addition, the Harlem Church incorporated a black pride theme into its social agenda which served as an additional inducement to attract participants interested in helping black people. Moreover, Perrow (1970) notes that status in organizations is correlated with discretion in the use of time. Perhaps for this organization, another source of status is freedom from the control of a dominant group in society.

THE CRISIS CENTER

PURPOSE

The Crisis Center was established in 1985 to offer services to the homeless, the ex-offender and the drug abuser encountered by the Church in its outreach mission. There was the recognition that people in need could experience problems at times other than Sunday, when the Church was in full operation. In addition, the Crisis Center would extend a more personal service, offering the people an "oasis" in their troubles.

The program was designed to serve the homeless, the ex-offender, and the drug abuser because these were the problems met on the streets of Harlem. Established institutions were failing to reach these populations in numbers sufficient to make a noticeable difference in their presence on the streets. The Department of Social Services offered public assistance and there were food programs but the problems continued to increase. The Crisis Center would keep "tabs" on these clients. In the words of the Director, "we mind their business."

PROGRAM INITIATION: RESOURCES

BOARD

The Crisis Center is constituted as an independent organization with a 501, (C), 3 status, housed at the Harlem Church. This structure enables the Center to contract for and raise funds for services without obligating the Church or

exposing the Church to financial risks. The Center's policy is developed by a governing board which includes the Pastor and other Church leaders.

STAFF

The Crisis Center is operated by a full time director, a full time assistant director, a volunteer/paid administrative assistant and seven volunteers. Five of the volunteers have been working in the Center for three years. One volunteer is a job developer for the Crisis Center, making contacts with potential employers to find positions for Center clients. The job developer is also involved

FIGURE 2: CRISIS CENTER PERSONNEL

POSITION	DUTIES	FT/PT/VOL
Director	Responsible for all admin. duties- bookkeeping, staff supervision, case assignments, procurement of items food pantry, sees clients.	FT
Asst. Dir.	Responsible for office environment, staff supervision, and case assignments.	FT
Admin. Asst.	Performs secretarial functions, updates information for referral network, assist with shopping for food pantry.	PT/Vol
Volunteers	Receptionist/aides and counselor assistants.	Vol

in assisting clients prepare resumes and ready themselves for job interviews.

STAFF RECRUITMENT

The Director expressed a preference for recruiting staff for the Crisis Center from re-hab centers where there are persons who have had the experience of seeking help and have been successful in dealing with their addictive behaviors. There are re-hab centers, such as Teen Challenge, which are established under the auspices of christian organizations. In addition to bringing those experiences already enumerated, workers coming from these organizations would also have an understanding of God.

Another reason for turning to the re-hab center for potential employees is the jobs at the Crisis Center are not union jobs, therefore staff are underpaid and overworked. To survive in such an environment requires tremendous dedication and the employee must be committed to the work.

The Director's experiences with recruiting from college campuses has been that recent college graduates are often lacking in knowledge of "what's going on in life. They got a bunch of textbook understanding in their head, but not practical experiences utilizing what they think they know" (Crisis Center Director, 8-22-91, pp. 13).

They have not reconciled the "who" that they are with the "what" that they know. So you're dealing with two different people. They're trying to become one person, [integrating] the education and their personality (Crisis Center Director, 8-22-91, pp. 13)

The work at the Crisis Center demands self-aware employees.

RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

The cost of operating the Crisis Center is approximately seventy five thousand dollars per year. This figure does not include costs for rent, phone and utilities, which are in-kind contributions from the Church. The congregation of the Harlem Church contributes four thousand dollars per month toward the operating costs of the Crisis Center. The remainder of the funds for operating the Center is contributed by persons outside of the Church who are interested in supporting the work of the Center.

GRANTS

In 1990, the Center began exploring grant funds to defray the costs of some of its programming. In the study year, 1991, the Center was receiving approximately fifteen thousand dollars in grant funds, used exclusively for the food pantry.

HUMAN RESOURCES

The Director of the Center places great value on people as resources. It was through this conduit that the Center gained access to food for the pantry. A member of the Church put the Director in contact with Harlem supermarkets where food items to be discarded were made available to the Center for the food pantry. These were can goods with dents, and other non-perishable food products that were perfectly good

for consumption but could not be sold. If these items were not procured for the food pantry they would have been destroyed.

PLANNING PROCESS

DETERMINING NEED FOR THE PROGRAM

One factor that influenced the development of the Crisis Center was the observation that traditional social service agencies expected clients to come into the offices with identification, an address, and proof that the address was residence for the perspective client. In addition, the perspective client must meet established eligibility criteria for services.

Many of the persons served by the Crisis Center don't have identification and are homeless. These persons would encounter tremendous bureaucratic barriers in seeking needed services.

Another factor had to do with the planners' perception of professional helpers. Making reference to a particular client with "psychological" problems, the Director opined that the psychologist in the case confused the person needing help with the presenting problems.

They always condescend to the particular problem that he had and worked from that particular point as though the problem was him. Meaning that because he has this problem then he himself becomes the problem (Crisis Center Director, 9/5/91, pp. 21)

People defined as problems, and continually told that they are a problem, may very well learn to behave accordingly.

The Center Director expressed a view of social service agencies that speaks to the very core of social work practice, the therapeutic relationship. The view is that workers in social service agencies, in his experiences, did not build relationships with their clients. The focus was getting the job done and the reporting that must be done to document that a service had been provided. These perceptions and the desire to help a group of people who seemed to be outside of the formal care-giving system in Harlem, was what prompted the planners and the Harlem Church to develop the Crisis Center.

PROBLEM CAUSATION

The Crisis Center Director identifies the causation of the problems encountered by targeted client populations as being directly related to sin, defined as human alienation from God. People are separated from a moral code and take it upon themselves to find their own way. Doing one's own thing inadvertently places an emphasis on doing those things which emphasize pleasure. Out of necessity, a focus on that which is pleasurable to the exclusion of other needs, causes people to deprive others who are not as privileged or who are weaker.

In delineating a role of sin in the destruction of a persons relationship to society, the Director does not absolve the individual of agency. The individual can exercise choice.

He finds that people contribute to their own downfall.

Notwithstanding this recognition, the Director notes:

...even if many of them were to get their lives in order and try to climb up the [social] ladder, you would find that there is not too much room up there in the first place. So they would be knocked down for other reasons. It is convenient to say they are unmotivated or they are lazy, or they're on drugs...If you stripped down that excuse you would find that really the folk, as we counsel them, we find that they have in their lives been attempting to do something with their lives (Crisis Center Director, 9/5/91, pp. 3-4)

In this statement the Director points to the need for both a societal response and a personal/community response to the problems of the Crisis Center clientele. People must take responsibility for cleaning up their lives. The task of cleaning up one's life is best undertaken with people who have had the experience of struggling with addictive behaviors and finding relief. This help must be available to persons in need. Once the person is restored to health, society must have space to accommodate this whole person.

SERVICES

The Crisis Center offers the following services: food pantry, clothing, counseling, job development, and a referral network that includes detox programs and medical care. The planners for the Center envisioned that clients would be involved with the program from three to six months. The reality is that clients are served by the program for a longer period than initially anticipated. The crisis that precipitated the need for the relationship with the Center is

usually over, but the relationship formed between the client and Center staff is what keeps the client engaged.

PROGRAM CONTACT

The Crisis Center used direct contact-outreach, to get the word out that the program was available. On the Saturday outreach, prayer group members informed people on the streets of the availability of the service. Persons helped by the Center also spread the word about the Church program. In addition, Church members, in their movement about the community, made people aware of the Center located at the Church. And clients served by the Crisis Center spread the word to social service agencies.

PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

CHANGE TECHNOLOGY

In designing the Crisis Center, the planners wanted to devise a program that would "keep tabs" on the people who came in for help. The perception is that persons on the streets are disconnected from the part of society that is engaged in routines that are ordered and sanctioned by society. The street person "hangs out" with people who reinforce behaviors that will not help them become accepted members of society. "Keeping tabs" requires that the street person reports in regularly to the Center where they will have contact with persons who will reinforce their humanity.

The Director was on the HARK Committee that designed the

Crisis Center program. His approach to counseling is direct and involves the use of self:

I'm a hip shooter. I don't think you need a technique, you just have to be yourself [and] know where you're coming from (Crisis Center Director, 8/14/91, pp. 12-13).

He has found that this approach is useful in accessing people on the "refuse heap of life. This person is into the filth of their lives. There is a need to wake them up and help them to reconnect with their humanity." The approach requires the counselor to be direct:

Slap them in the face with words. "Are you awake now? Can you hear me? Can you understand me? We want to help you, now what do you want to do?" Communicate with them right from where they are. Don't take them to the doctorate level and start using some Freudian theory and all that stuff (Crisis Center Director, 8/14/91, pp. 20).

The intent is to communicate to the client that change is possible but requires his/her active participation and that there is help to support them from where they are to where they want to go.

The support is at a very basic level. The program offers food, clothing, a bath and referrals to detox for addictive behaviors. If the person is in need of housing, the Center makes use of a referral network to obtain temporary shelter. The emphasis is on changing the outside appearance right away thereby communicating a concern for the person. The clients perception of self will hopefully change through counseling and involvement with the Church, where the client experiences an outpouring of love and acceptance from the congregation.

BUILDING TRUST

The Director's observations regarding fear and how this emotion keeps helpers from interacting with the street person is instructive.

Fear is a very prominent emotion that works in life and our society has perpetrated a horror with respect to the fear you need to have of the homeless and the Black community...Not only has the larger society bought it, but the inside [black] community has bought it. So that the weakest members of our society...have this aura that they are someone that you should be frightened of (Crisis Center Director, 8/14/91, pp. 28).

In work with the client population served by the Center, the Director indicates that clients come in expecting to find a liberal, church person who will succumb to any request. Not so. The Center's staff treats this behavior as a bluff and communicates forthrightly that the behavior will not be tolerated.

Once confronted with directness, the client's facade begins to fall and the intimidating behavior ends. The person is now more available for help and begins to share, which enables the development of trust.

In their work with people, the Crisis Center staff does not pity clients. There is the view that whatever the presenting problems are for the client, the client contributed to the development of those problems. It is important for the client to confront behaviors involved in maintaining problems. If they don't like where they are, however, they are not asked to face nor deal with the problems alone. The Center will be

supportive and the Church will augment that support.

SUMMARY

The development of the Crisis Center at the Harlem Church is demonstrative of the Church's organizational structure for program planning and implementation. The Church has a mission which is informed by a vision of the kind of resource it would like to become for the Harlem Community. Program ideas that are consistent with the Church's mission/vision are likely to be received favorably by the Church leadership.

The leadership for the Church has in place mechanisms for decision making, directly involving the congregation in resource development and allocation through church-wide discussions held during the Sunday morning services. The leadership annually reports to the congregants on program performance toward the attainment of objectives. These activities secure legitimization for Church activities from the principle source of resources for the Church, the congregation.

The Church has organizational mechanisms to review proposals for programs. This process includes the capability to develop resources: funds for program support, human resources to construct physical spaces for programs, and the ability to recruit from among its ranks program staff. Yearly program review enables the Church leadership to make programmatic adjustments to keep pace with client/provider

needs.

Staff recruitment is from the ranks of persons the Program seeks to help whose lives have been changed through interventive strategies which include a combination of spiritual conversion and social services. These individuals are loyal and committed to the organization and they have some legitimacy as role models for the identified clientele. Perrow (1970) observed that an organization that brings in a part of the social environment is making itself more responsible to that environment.

The Church provides a supportive environment for client and service provider. Clients are welcomed to avail themselves of other services offered at the Church and they are encouraged to connect with the congregation potentially forming friendship networks. Service providers are too afforded an understanding environment to undertake difficult and often beguiling service outreach. The Church is there for the provider extending reassuring listeners, a source for ethnic pride and spiritual sustenance as well as easy access to Church leaders for programmatic tinkering.

The next program description will present additional evidence of the program planning and implementation capabilities of the Church with emphasis on organizational survival: managing leadership succession and program innovation to meet ever changing needs of the targeted clientele.

URBAN YOUTH ALLIANCE

The Urban Youth Alliance is a christian youth and community service organization that has been in existence since 1978. Its predecessor, Seekers Christian Fellowship, was established in 1970 by a group of inner city, christian, high school and college students. The students wanted to build a multi-ethnic, campus bible study program with a focus on developing an inter-denominational support group for themselves. In 1978, the Director of Seekers, formed Urban Youth Alliance as a non-profit organization to serve as a program development and fundraising umbrella for the various campus chapters of Seekers Christian Fellowship.

From 1970 until 1987, the main thrust of the ministry was campus evangelism--one person sharing their experience with God with somebody else. In addition, seminars, workshops and study groups were held to inform the young christian of their responsibilities to God, to one another, and to the society-at-large. The focus of the organization changed in 1987 when new leadership was required due to the death of the founding Director. The new Director, a young, dynamic physician from Nigeria, wanted to develop a social welfare component of the organization that would focus on the well being of young people.

PURPOSE

The new Director's initial exposure to Urban Youth Alliance came during his years of undergraduate study in New York City. The organization served as a family for the student providing both emotional and financial support in his time of need. Involvement with other youth in the campus organization resulted in the development of friendships which have endured over time. The Director's personal experience with Urban Youth Alliance is demonstrative of the program's central purpose: providing students a supportive and nurturing group experience with the additional benefits of training and financial support for educational pursuits.

The purpose of the organization was broadened under the new Director's leadership. As a physician, the Director recalls too often seeing young black and Latino men in the emergency room with bullet holes and knife wounds. The tools of his profession enabled him to patch up the wounds and send the youth away, knowing that they would be back. The medical approach attended to the health trauma without a prescription for the community health concern of violence. According to the Director, some of the youth became customers of the emergency room.

Urban Youth Alliance offers young people "a much more potent medication, a strong dose of God and a knowledge of their self-worth," and opportunities for involvement with a positive directed peer group. In addition, the program

attempts to communicate a genuine concern for youth, focusing activities on all aspects of their lives. Today, Urban Youth Alliance continues its evangelistic work on high school and college campuses with an added social welfare focus.

PROGRAM INITIATION: HUMAN RESOURCES

BOARD

The program structure for Urban Youth Alliance is similar to that of the Crisis Center. The Program is a formally constituted non-profit corporation located at the Church. Policy direction for the organization is provided by a Board of Directors which is comprised of Church leaders and persons who were formerly participants in the Program. The officers of the Board function as an executive committee, acting on program matters in the absence of the full Board. The Executive Director of Urban Youth Alliance is an ex-officio member of the executive committee.

STAFF

Urban Youth Alliance is provided day to day leadership by five full time staff: an Executive Director; two assistant directors, one for Seekers Christian Fellowship and the other for community outreach; and, two employees, individually coordinating the college and high school initiatives.

The program is also served by many volunteers, consisting mainly of students. The secretary for the program, a retired executive secretary, is a volunteer from the Church.

The Director's relationship to the program is longstanding. He was involved as a student leader during his undergraduate years and after college he was invited to serve on the Board of Directors. He was Vice-Chair of the Board in 1987 when the Director died. It was during this transitional period for the Program that the Vice-Chair was drafted by the Board to assume responsibility for day to day operation of the ministry.

STAFF RECRUITMENT

The four full time employees were attracted to the ministry because of an experience where they had some contact with Urban Youth Alliance, either through a visit to the Church or contact with a program representative on the various campuses where the organization had a presence. The process by which these employees came to work at Urban Youth Alliance is instructive.

The first employee to come on staff full time was a graduating senior from Brown University. She visited the Harlem Church while still in college and was favorably impressed with what she saw and heard of the Church. Shortly before graduation, she contacted the Director of Urban Youth Alliance and expressed a desire to work with the ministry. The Director thanked her for her interest but was unable to offer employment due to budgetary constraints. The young woman persisted and was successful in getting an interview with the Director. During the interview, the Director learned

from the interviewee a novel approach to fund employee lines.

The Program would establish limits on the salary that the employee could be paid. In addition, the Program would make available a list of the Ministry's supporters to the perspective employee, and the perspective employee would canvass the contributors, raising money to pay the salary. Urban Youth Alliance experimented with the approach and it was successful. The other members of the program staff were employed using the approach described above.

RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT: FUNDRAISING

The founding Director of Urban Youth Alliance was caucasian and well connected to middle America which was a major source of funds for the ministry during her tenure. Her death occasioned the lost of Program support from this constituency. The new Director discovered that one of his first duties was fundraising.

He began to contact churches in the Harlem community looking for support and learned that these churches did not have in place a mechanism to review proposals for funding. When met with a request for support, the churches responded with a process that was cumbersome, redundant and not forthcoming with support.

The Harlem Church, through the Mission Department, kept the ministry functioning during this transitional period. In recalling the period, the Director of Urban Youth Alliance

spoke of the exceptional generosity of the Harlem Church:

Pastor is a remarkable man. He had the confidence in me and told me to let the Church know what I needed. So we tried to make our budget as lean as possible. This Church works like a corporation. The wheels went into motion and we got a grant. And for a good while they [the church] sustained this operation entirely (Director, U.Y.A., 9/6/91, pp. 10)

In time, new contacts for funding were made and confidence began to build in the program and its new leadership. Today the Urban Youth Alliance is sustained by gifts from the Harlem Church and four other churches. The operating budget for the program year prior to the year of the study was one hundred three thousand dollars (\$103,000).

FUNDRAISING

Urban Youth Alliance raises funds through direct mail appeals. The Program maintains lists comprised of people from various churches across the country who know of the program through program newsletters or some other direct Program contact. On a quarterly basis the program disseminates a newsletter on program activities. This information dissemination serves as a stimulus for program giving.

The Harlem Church is the only predominantly black congregation supporting Urban Youth Alliance. The other churches providing financial support to the program are two Hispanic churches in the Bronx and one predominantly white church in Colorado. The two Hispanic congregations providing support to Urban Youth Alliance have pastors who were at one

time students involved with the Program.

PLANNING PROCESS

NEED FOR PROGRAM AND PROGRAM INNOVATIONS

The initial catalyst for the development of Urban Youth Alliance was the felt need of inner city, christian students to organize a support group for themselves. Over time the Program evolved, expanding to keep pace with the needs evidenced by inner city youth.

As far back as 1983, the Director of Urban Youth Alliance, who was then a Board member of the organization, met with the Pastor to discuss the AIDS epidemic. The Director predicted that the Church would eventually be deluged with AIDS cases given the targeted populations served by the Church's social missions: the homeless, drug addicts, prostitutes and other people who sustained themselves on the streets. These groups engaged in risky behaviors that increased their likelihood for contracting the virus that causes AIDS.

Years passed before the opportunity to do something about this concern surfaced. A young man involved in Urban Youth Alliance made known his AIDS condition to the Director. Shortly after disclosing this information, the young man died. His death heralded the need to develop services for persons infected with HIV and their families.

The need for Project Step Up, the GED and literacy service, was identified through a survey of the congregation.

Church members were asked if they knew somebody who did not know how to read. The response was overwhelming. The Director developed a proposal and was referred to the Missions Department at the Church where he was instructed to cost everything out. Through a series of consultations and visits to literacy programs around the City, a budget was prepared and the project was funded.

The foregoing are two examples of how the program responds to needs for services. The major client group for the program has continued to be young people in high school through completion of the first college degree. A number of gaps in services offered by high schools and colleges have led to the development of Urban Youth Alliance program initiatives. One, is the perception that academic advisement at the high school and college level is inadequate.

PROBLEM CAUSATION

The Director of Urban Youth Alliance believes that education is key to advancement for America's blacks. He finds that many of the parents he encounters in his work with youth, dream only of a high school diploma for their children. In his opinion, parents' limited educational aspirations for their children present as a formidable obstacle to youth advancement.

FAMILY

The concern addressed in the preceding paragraph is one that repeatedly surfaced in discussions with the Director

about the work of Urban Youth Alliance. In contact with parents of the young people affiliated with the program, the Director has learned that many of the parents do not place great value on a college degree. The experience of youth known to parents, who have pursued college degrees only to graduate with no prospect of a job better than that offered by the local McDonald', has served as a constant reminder of limited opportunity available to minority youth.

In an effort to protect their children from this fate, parents do not encourage pursuit of college degrees.

They have been betrayed far too long by the establishment and the rug has been pulled out from under them so they're demoralized and they don't see the value of going through the rigors of higher education (Director, U.Y.A., 9/5/91, pp. 9).

The Director firmly believes that parents and family circumstances figure prominently in the development of the presenting problems of youth involved with the Program. He finds that:

A lot of them [parents] need counseling. And that's what happens more and more. We began with solving the child's problem and we end up working on the mother's and child's problem (Director, U.Y.A., 9/5/91, pp. 17).

The allusion to the mother is a reflection of a situational reality for youth served by the program, the absent father. According to the Director, he can only recall one instance where a father was involved in the Program's contact with a youth.

LOST GENERATION

The Director believes that a generation of black and Latino young men have been lost to the social problems of the inner cities. He is pessimistic because, in his opinion, if the decline were brought to a halt now, it would be at least five to ten years before the young men already impacted by societal ills could be rehabilitated to assume productive roles in society.

Look at the time lag and we are not even addressing the babies that are not grown yet. I'm talking about those in their teen age years now. If you bring their decline and their destruction to a full, final stop, now, it would be at least five years before you get them together. Counting all the time they need to spend in detox programs...recidivism...relapses. You're looking at a generation that is lost... I'm really pessimistic...I've learned that we can not save them all (Director, U.Y.A., 9/5/91, pp. 19-21).

In the face of this stark, bleak awareness, the Director is hopeful that a few can be "salvaged" through the work of the Church. And, perhaps others will be moved to involve themselves in the work to save these young people. However, in the parlance of his profession, the Director offered this parting comment on the current condition of young Latino and black males, "...the prognosis does not look good at all." He is much more hopeful about the females, in his experience, the young women respond to help more swiftly.

SERVICES

Leadership Training

Urban Youth Alliance offers a variety of services to participants all focused on enabling young people to develop to their full potential. There is a leadership training program where in addition to learning necessary skills for leadership, trainees are taught how to manage succession. The Director observed that too many organizations fail to prosper because leadership succession is not planned.

ACTS

The Advanced Christian Training School (ACTS) is an eight week training program with a different focus each year. The theme for the year preceding the study was "Dare to Serve", a challenge to young people to learn to give of themselves.

Project Step Up

Project Step Up encompasses the literacy and GED service offered to community residents who wish to improve reading skills and/or earn the high school diploma. This is a part of Urban Youth Alliance's community outreach effort. The AIDS support group is another component of the outreach endeavor, Christian AIDS Response Team (CART). The support group meets weekly for fellowship where members share their hopes and fears. They encourage each other, helping members think through the many issues confronted in their daily lives. The Director staffs the support group,

providing information to members and their families on HIV and AIDS. He is also involved in giving direction to group members on where to seek medical help and treatment.

Academic Advisement

Education, achievement and excellence are high priority concerns for Urban Youth Alliance. The program offers academic skills workshops where students are taught how to write, time management, and study skills. Students are also counseled on career planning. The Program makes scholarships available to students to enable them to further their studies. In the year that the data was collected for this study, there was ten thousand dollars (\$10,000) in the scholarship fund.

Concerts and Special Events

During the year, Urban Youth Alliance sponsors concerts featuring christian performing artists. Symposia are also sponsored by the program on topics such as abortion and racism and the church. The services offered by Urban Youth Alliance are provided via a variety of delivery strategies which includes workshops, seminars, weekend retreats, summer camp and lectures.

PROGRAM CONTACT

Urban Youth Alliance uses christian radio and newspapers to advertise concerts and special events. Campus chapters

make use of fliers and other direct contact methods to inform students of available services. In addition the Program maintains a mailing list of participants and keeps them apprised of services and upcoming events through a newsletter.

PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

CHANGE TECHNOLOGY

The intervention strategies employed by Urban Youth Alliance are focused on educating, training and maintaining a positive support group for young people. There is emphasis placed on developing and nurturing this supportive group in schools so that youth are offered choices to behaviors that prove disruptive to their pursuit of excellence and achievement.

The program is invited into schools to advise students in the development of these support groups. Urban Youth Alliance operates in an advisory capacity, helping students develop a constitution, secure a faculty advisor and obtain club status for their group in the school. A Program staff person visits with the students occasionally to offer support, and to monitor program activities. High school principals have been supportive of the development of clubs because they welcome a student group that is promoting positive behaviors among students.

The Director of Urban Youth Alliance posits that religion is an integral part of the cultures of many black and Latino

youth.

[In] the African American and Latino cultures, religion, their politics, their social awareness are all interwoven. It is part of their cultural development (Director, U.Y.A., 9/6/91, pp. 3).

Involvement in a club that promotes spiritual, educational, and social development is often congruent with family values and goals.

The clubs engage in bible study around themes, focusing on topics like "forgiveness." The study group begins with members discussing what is meant by forgiveness. This is done before consulting the bible. They are then given an opportunity to reflect and discuss how their perceptions of forgiveness measure up to those principles enunciated in the bible. The study session becomes a values teaching and clarification exercise.

TARGETED CLIENT POPULATIONS

Urban Youth Alliance serves young people, from high school through the completion of the first college degree. All students are eligible for the services offered by the organization and in recent years the Director has noticed a growing population of Asian, mostly Korean, youth being attracted to the ministry. Most of the students served are from single parent households where families contend with problems related to inner city life.

The program has a particular interest in working with young men. The Director has observed what he calls a predator

mentality in many of the young men served by the organization. "Out on the street they are fighting to get whatever they get. Life is conflict for them and they carry it with them." (9/5/91, pp. 21)

The development of Urban Youth Alliance at the Harlem Church reflects a commitment to young people that is based in tenets of christian faith. The Pastor described the principle as follows:

...It's a basic principle that I share with our young people. The bible states "and Jesus grew in wisdom and in stature, in favor with God and man. He grew four ways... in wisdom--intellectually; in stature--physically; in favor with God--spiritually; and in favor with man--socially. Our aim is to help our young people grow in all four ways (Director, U.Y.A., 5/29/91, pp. 9-10).

The Program serves the additional purpose of developing and maintaining a resource pool for organizational survival.

SUMMARY

The Harlem Church's organizational ability to manage leadership succession is demonstrated in the recruitment of a new director for Urban Youth Alliance from the ranks of the organization. The new director is an Urban Youth Alliance "product." He was brought along in the process, and upon completion of school, he was involved in the policy making body for the Program, essentially he was groomed for a leadership position. This experience demonstrates the institutions' capacity for developing resources for organizational survival.

This program example also demonstrates the organization's ability to develop resources necessary for program transition from one funding base to another. Rather than oversee the demise of Urban Youth Alliance, the Church funded the program through the transitional period, keeping it solvent while the Director developed a new funding base. The organization recognized the important role played by Urban Youth Alliance, in addition to its stated purpose, that of developing and shaping young recruits for the organization.

Urban Youth Alliance provides an example of the Church's ability to recruit and train well educated and knowledgeable leaders. These recruits are the recipients of training that far surpasses that of the Church's leader who is bible college trained. Nonetheless, the Pastor is perceived by these young leaders as a remarkable man and they are seemingly in awe of the organizational competence revealed in the inner workings of the Church. As the Director intimated, "this Church operates like a corporation". Leaders are required to function as managers, accountable to the Church for substantial resource investments. The larger the resource investment, the greater the need for well trained and experienced managers.

The next program description further illustrates the program planning and implementation capabilities at the Harlem Church. This program description will specifically demonstrate the organization's ability to recruit persons with

the specific substantive knowledge and experiential background needed for program development.

PRISON MINISTRY

INTRODUCTION

The process by which a prison ministry developed at the Harlem Church is an example of what happens in this Church when a program idea meets resources in a crucible, fermenting with desire to do good. Three events led to the development of a prison ministry at the Church.

In the late seventies, three prayer groups, including one comprised of support staff at Columbia University School of Social Work, began to focus on the myriad of social problems confronting people in the inner city. In time, the group members were led by their faith to become involved in work with prison inmates.

The second event, involved a man, Turner, who was later to become the Director of the Prison Ministry at the Harlem Church. In his own words, he was a mean, nasty alcoholic and an ex-con who was loved to salvation by an elderly couple who lived next to the abandoned building where he had sought shelter. Despite his destructive behavior, which often resulted in damage to his neighbor's property, the couple prepared meals for him and attended to his needs to the extent that he would permit them.

After a binge which left him ill from alcohol consumption, Turner consented to attend church services with the couple. He decided to change his life and with the help of his faith in God and the love shown him by the church congregation and the elderly couple, he found purpose for his life. That purpose was to help inmates in prison.

In 1979, Turner was directed to the prayer group leader at Columbia to learn about prison ministry. They met, discovered that they shared an avocation, and through their work together and growing admiration for each other, a romance was engendered. The couple married and began running a prison ministry out of their home. Turner prepared himself for prison work by attending college and studying to become a counselor and minister. He also became a chaplain at Rikers Island. In 1986, while washing his car at a car wash, Turner overheard a conversation that brought he and his wife to the Harlem Church.

At the Harlem Church the Turners discerned a Church dedicated to mission work and actively praying for the development of a prison ministry. The Turners met with the Pastor, presented their credentials and told him about the work they had been doing for years in prison ministry. According to Turner, the Pastor's response was positive:

He told us that we didn't have to work out of our apartment. He said you're doing too great a work and you need a base of support. So he talked to his people and told them to give us an office, fix it up and give us what we wanted. We got the office and space up here [second floor] and we get

support from the Missions Department (Director, P.M., 10/22/91, pp. 20)

In recounting this story, the Director of the Prison Ministry still marveled at the acceptance demonstrated by the Pastor of the Harlem Church. "How do you bring a guy like me, and I've done time in prison, and let me come in and give me free reign."

These three events: the prayer group at Columbia; Turner's conversion and commitment to prison ministry; and the Harlem Church's desire to support prison ministry came together and culminated in the establishment of Soul Release Prison Ministry at the Harlem Church in 1986.

PURPOSE

The Director's prolificacy regarding goals for the prison ministry is entrancing. First, he prefers to locate the biblical mandate for prison ministry in the liberation texts found in scripture. The gospel should liberate the oppressed and in his estimation the prisoner and the homeless are oppressed in America.

Another purpose for doing prison ministry is to bring about a change in the way the inmate thinks about self. The Program seeks to promote and support the constellation of behaviors that stress responsibility to self, to family, to community, and to the Creator. Here the programmatic emphasis is on developing support groups comprised of inmates endeavoring to change their lives. This process in the vernacular of the church is called discipleship.

Finally, the Prison Ministry has as a major focus developing prison awareness in churches. The Director states the case convincingly:

People think guys sit in prison and look at television. Prison is a violent place. A guy almost died in my office last night. People get cut up, they get stabbed; a guy got killed Saturday evening over a telephone on Rikers Island. Twenty years old, his life gone. People set you on fire while you're in bed. They rob you; they rape you. That's jail (Director, P.M., 10/22/91, pp. 25).

If church congregations can get beyond their fear of the incarcerated person, and reject the propensity to dismiss the prisoner as having received his/her just deserts, then perhaps churches will find a role to play in preparing inmates to re-enter society.

According to the Director, prison ministry is risky business because it requires taking chances. Some inmates will relapse and their failure can be disquieting for the helper.

PROGRAM INITIATION: HUMAN RESOURCES

BOARD

The Prison Ministry is also a non-profit corporation housed in the Harlem Church. The Ministry has a Board of Directors incorporating Church leaders, Mrs. Turner and others interested in missions work in prisons.

STAFF

All staff involved in the Prison Ministry are volunteers.

VOLUNTEER RECRUITMENT

The Ministry is greatly involved in developing prison awareness in churches. Presentations to congregations often result in people being attracted to the work. The Director and his training staff work with these recruits, ascertaining their motives for becoming involved in prison work, and instructing them on the criminal justice system and decorum for visiting prisons.

RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT: FUNDS

According to the Director, in the program year prior to the study, the Prison Ministry operated with a budget of less than thirty thousand dollars. The cost for operating the Ministry is enabled to remain at about twenty to thirty thousand per annum because many services are donated to support the work. The Harlem Church funds the Ministry through the Missions Department and donates office space and utilities.

Another church in the Harlem community has donated space to the Prison Ministry for the development of a transition house for people coming out of prison. This space was not ready for occupancy during the study year. The Director estimated that it would cost fifteen thousand dollars to renovate the space to house about eight to ten men.

PLANNING PROCESS

DETERMINING NEED FOR THE PROGRAM

Leaders at the Harlem Church point to the number of incarcerated Latino and black men as a precursor for their involvement in Prison Ministry. Black and Hispanic church congregations neglect their own, often praising the establishment for locking up the criminals who have turned inner city streets into war zones. In the opinion of the Prison Ministry Director, the prisons cannot hold the inmate forever and recidivism is not a viable alternative to rehabilitation. Consigning countless generations of young black and Latino men to prison will not make our streets safe.

The concern expressed in the preceding paragraph embodies a theme that is voiced around the country. The approach to crime control during the decade of the eighties was build more prisons and lock them up. This "get tough" approach is slowly losing ground with the recognition that an overwhelming number of the arrests in the inner cities are drug related. Crime is a symptom of the drug and alcohol addiction problem in this country.

The Director of the Prison Ministry believes that churches can and must play a role in salvaging people from drug and alcohol addiction. He believes that the conditions which lead to alcohol and drug dependency are hopelessness, despair, absurd existence and the absence of purpose in life. The Director is convinced that impacting these conditions is

not the work of social welfare agencies. He defines the problem as a spiritual problem. He does not believe that a salary will motivate employees to develop the level of commitment and loyalty that will enable them to help an addicted inmate attain a healthy and productive life. Counselors assist inmates while they are in prison but once released, the inmate is returned to an existence that is fraught with problematics.

Churches must build credibility with the targeted populations. The Director finds that the inmate "can't trust us [christians] and they can't trust our God" (P.M. Director, 11/12/91, pp. 36) . Churches have focused in on the violence so destructive to the community, often demanding more police protection. Law and order becomes the desired state with no attendant concern for rehabilitating the people who commit the crimes.

According to the Director, the situation is sad when Rikers Island inmates who do not have visitors, find that they are offered animals to pet. Humans need human contact and affirmation.

SERVICES

The Prison Ministry visits inmates at twelve facilities in New York State. They work with the chaplain at the institutions organizing worship services and three day seminars. The Program arranges visits with inmates and

volunteers screened by the Ministry, write letters to inmates and participate in the three day seminars.

Three Day Seminars

The Prison Ministry spends three days at various prisons working with up to 80 inmates in a seminar setting. These seminars are usually held in the prison chapel or some other space large enough to accommodate the participants. Ten to twenty volunteers are needed to staff the seminar. Six to eight inmates are assigned to work in small group with one volunteer. At least one of the volunteers is bi-lingual.

The topics of the seminars vary. Curriculums have been developed along with handouts to structure discussion in small group. I attended a seminar at Woobourne Prison as a participant observer where the session topics were: Breaking the Image Barrier, The Source of Self Worth, and Overcoming Temptation.

Each session was introduced by the seminar leader with an orienting talk. As a volunteer, I was assigned six men to work with for the three days. Each small group spent approximately eight hours together over the three day period. Group discussion was focused by handouts with questions that encouraged the men to share. For example: what does freedom mean to you? Is it important? Why?

The questions were discussed after the entire group had listened to a bible story. The story that preceded the

questions above was about Moses and the burning bush. Moses' fear was one of the central themes for discussion. The small groups went from talking about the fear they thought Moses experienced to discussing their own fears.

Follow-Up Services

Upon release, the chaplain either brings the inmate to the city or a volunteer from the Ministry goes to the prison to provide transportation and support in the initial stage of the release. After meeting with the parole officer, the volunteer takes the former inmate to dinner and home to be reunited with the family. Because one of the needs of former inmates is a support group, the Prison Ministry activates its network of program participants in the area where the former inmate lives so that they can welcome the person home.

If the former inmate needs clothing, the Prison Ministry introduces the person to the Crisis Center at the Church where clothing is made available. If there are no clothing at the Center then the Prison Ministry provides funds to purchase clothes. The Ministry makes use of its network to secure employment for the parolee and maintains contact with the parolee to offer support during the transitional period.

Family Services

The Ministry offers services to the families of inmates based on the belief that when the inmate does time, the family

does time. When the Ministry meets an inmate in prison, a determination is made with the inmate as to whether or not their are family members who should be contacted by the Ministry. With the agreement of the inmate, the Prison Ministry reaches out to the family members by phone and a personal visit to the home. The home visit enables the ministry to make an assessment of family needs. It is the custom of the Ministry to offer to pray with the family and leave a "love gift" (a small monetary gift) with the family as a token of concern. At Thanksgiving, the Ministry gives food baskets to needy families. Families are also invited to participate in the Angel Tree Project.

Angel Tree

Angel Tree is a service offered by the Prison Ministry for the children and families of inmates. Parents are locked up, the children are locked out. One of the most frustrating periods of incarceration for parents is the Christmas season. Fathers and mothers in jail are unable to provide gifts for their children. Enter Angel Tree.

This service collects gifts from the congregation and disseminates the gifts at a huge Christmas party to which the children and families of inmates are invited. The gifts are wrapped, the Church festively decorated for a celebration service followed by a meal for the participants. Angel Tree is a service that permits the congregants to participate in

the Prison Ministry without having to visit prisons. It is a time when the children of the Harlem Church can also share with others.

Transition House

At the time of the study, renovations were underway to transform a space on 118 Street into a transition house for eight to ten men. The house will be staffed by counselors and the residents of the house will participate in activities offered by the Discipleship Program at the Harlem Church.

Prison Awareness

The Prison Ministry engages in a number of activities focused on increasing prison awareness among church congregations. Lectures, and workshops are presented in churches to inform congregants of the work to be done in prisons.

PROGRAM CONTACT

The Prison Ministry works with prison chaplains to gain access to prison populations. In an effort of increase prison awareness among churches, the Ministry does direct mail to churches offering prison awareness services. In addition, the Ministry participates in christian radio and television programs to reach church audiences.

PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

CHANGE TECHNOLOGY

The Prison Ministry visits prisons to demonstrate a concern for the incarcerated person. Inmates are introduced to this concern through a service held in the prison chapel. The message given to the inmate is that your life can change with help and we would like to help you.

In describing the worship service conducted in prisons by the Prison Ministry, the Director cautioned that this is not a church service.

I think the thing that is devastating to so many prison volunteers, is they go in with a church service. You can't take a church service into a jail environment. I think you do damage if you do. You need variety ...something different. You need to understand the inmates...what they go through...what's been happening with them during the week (Director P.M., 11/12/91, pp. 15-16).

The Director sees the worship service as a time to deliver a message of self-worth to the inmate. This is a time to impart those biblical principles that challenge a person to be committed to finding purpose in life and connecting with others engaged in working for a better quality of existence.

Pre-Release

Once the inmate decides to attempt a change in his/her life, the Prison Ministry works with the chaplain to get the maximum benefit out of the time the person has to serve in prison. The inmate is encouraged to take the advantage of classes. At least two of the men in the small group that I

worked with at Woodbourne had completed the Bachelor of Arts degree while in prison.

A member of the team from the Ministry speaks to the inmate about family members ascertaining if the inmate is in contact with the family and seeking permission for the Ministry to speak to the inmates' family. The volunteers from the Prison Ministry write to inmates who are trying to change their lives. They also visit once or twice a month.

The Prison Ministry works with the chaplain, assisting inmates who are trying to make the transition to a productive life. If the case warrants it, the Ministry writes letters to the parole board, indicating that the Program's willingness to provide housing and assistance to the inmate in finding a job.

Prior to the release from prison, if the inmate has drug problems, the Prison Ministry works with the chaplain to get drug treatment for the inmate and a referral to the appropriate addictions' support group. Every effort is made to facilitate the inmates using the time in prison to their benefit.

Inmates who successfully make the transition from jail to the community are recruited by the Ministry to visit the prisons and share their stories. In a program called "once takers now givers", these former inmates work with the Ministry delivering services to people incarcerated. These volunteers model behaviors that are useful for realizing success on the "outside". They also offer words of

reassurance to inmates who are doubtful as to their abilities to make the transition.

Family Work

In addition to the work that is done with the inmate, the Prison Ministry attempts to help the family. This help might include financial assistance, access to the food pantry at the Crisis Center and clothing if needed. Family members are invited to participate in the Angel Tree project and they are encouraged to use the other services offered at the Harlem Church. At Thanksgiving, the Prison Ministry provides food baskets to families in need.

The Director approaches work with the families of inmates with serious consideration for communicating genuine concern. He believes that you put people at ease when you share about yourself demonstrating that it is through our sharing that we affirm each other. It is important for the family member to view the helper as someone who is human and not a "super spiritual" do gooder intent on telling others how to live their lives. The Director affirms his humanity and interest in connecting with others in the following statement:

Everything is not alright in my life. I have been that way [in trouble]. I have slept on the streets and in the gutters. It took some people to help me along and it still takes people to help me along (Director, P.M., 11/12/91, pp. 9).

The size of the problem confronted by the Prison Ministry is tremendous, yet this group of volunteers labor with great

love and commitment to bring hope to forgotten people. According to the Director, twenty-three thousand people are incarcerated in the New York City system and approximately fifty-six thousand in the State system. What is to be done for this segment of society?

The Prison Ministry has a vision of transition homes in each of the five boroughs, offering services and shelter to former inmates. It is their hope that the State of New York will work in partnership with churches to serve this client population. The need is great. When asked, out of a hundred inmates leaving prison, how many could be offered services to, the Director responded that he could probably place five in residences, leaving ninety-five on the streets with minimal assistance.

SUMMARY

The program description of the Prison Ministry at the Harlem Church illustrates the Church's ability to attract, and accommodate within its organizational structure an existing service provider.

The 501, (c), 3 program structure used for Urban Youth Alliance and the Crisis Center is made use of for the Prison Ministry. The Ministry is assured of an independent, non-profit status while the Church is enabled to realize its vision of a conglomerate of services under one roof. Recruiting a program already in operation, staffed by persons

who share the Church's religious beliefs and vision for prison work, greatly enhanced the implementation of the social agenda of the Harlem Church without the Church having to go through the tasks involved in planning, developing and implementing a service.

The Director of the Prison Ministry is from the ranks of the targeted client population, and like the Directors of the Crisis Center and Urban Youth Alliance, he has overcome social problems as a result of spiritual conversion and social service intervention through a church. The output goals of the Prison Ministry are similar to those of the other programs previously discussed: to rehabilitate inmates such that they become productive members of society. People who are helped through this process are expected to become helpers for others similarly situated. This expectation for the program is consistent with the goals of social support programs.

The Prison Ministry also indicates how the Church makes use of power it generates in pursuit of other goals, what Perrow terms, derived goals (1970). At the Harlem Church one use of this power is to attract resources, in this instance, human resources to further the community work of the organization, keeping in mind Etzioni's observation that it is the church's social goals that attract participants. The community that stays together also prays together (Etzioni, 1964).

The final program description in the continuum of

services offered by the Harlem Church is the Discipleship Program. This program description demonstrates the Church's ability to plan, develop and implement a service to meet a need identified through the Church's outreach work. Unlike the other programs described thus far, the Discipleship Program is the brain child of the leaders at the Harlem Church. It was also the newest program addition to the continuum at the time of the study.

DISCIPLESHIP

INTRODUCTION

The Harlem Church's mission work on the streets of the community brought congregants face-to-face with many people who expressed in interest in bettering themselves. The spiritual message of the Church appealed to the people but some were in need of a safe place to live while they did the work to rehabilitate their lives. The Pastor had lived with the knowledge of the need for such a shelter for some time. In the late 80's, the Pastor attended a conference in Atlanta, Georgia where the focus was on the plight of the black male in the United States. The statistical picture of black males presented at the conference was alarming and became for the Pastor, the call to act.

In 1987, a young couple was attracted to the Harlem Church because of the very positive things they heard about

the Church at the bible school they attended. This couple was often asked if they were from the Harlem Church long before they had ever heard of the Church. The couple were street preachers and there was something about their approach to work with people that betrayed a real concern for the social needs of the people they encountered on the streets.

As the couple developed ties with the outreach work at the Harlem Church, it became apparent that they would be naturals for providing leadership to the Church's effort to develop a "shelter" for men rescued from the streets. In fact, when the time came for searching about for leaders for the project, the couple volunteered its services. Fortified with successes in establishing the Crisis Center, the Prison Ministry and reorienting Urban Youth Alliance, the leadership of the Church assumed responsibility for developing a program from ground zero. This would be a Harlem Church project, conceived, planned, developed and implemented by the Church.

The development of a discipleship program was not a unique advancement for church organizations. Other programs were already in existence and the Harlem Church would contact these programs to ascertain how the organizations had put the programs together. What was unique about the Harlem Church program was the co-location of the discipleship program with the other services offered by the Church, all in one building. Participants in the Harlem Church's discipleship program could avail themselves of a variety of services through an in-house

referral arrangement.

PURPOSE

Discipleship is defined by the Director of the Program as the process of disciple making. For the people who were formerly addicts and homeless, spiritual conversion is not enough to change their lives. They need someone with them, someone with flesh on, to be a partner with them as they learn how to reorder their lives. According to the Director,

Everyone of us who has some victory in our lives [over some obstacle] can look back at a person, in the flesh, who walked us through to the point where we could stand and say, 'I think I got it now.' That person disciplined us (Director, Discipleship, 9/29/91, pp.35).

In the secular world, we would refer to this process as mentoring.

The program provides structured activities in a dormitory setting where sixteen to eighteen men live together with counselors who eat, work, and bond with them so that they can learn behaviors which promote their becoming independent functioning individuals. Another part of the work, which is ongoing throughout the process, is for the men to participate in outreach efforts to help others on the streets.

PROGRAM INITIATION

RESOURCES: STAFF

The Discipleship program is administered by a husband and wife team who began attending the Harlem Church in 1987. The

Director of the Ministry is a former heroin addict and pimp who was rescued from the streets of New York through the discipleship process. The Director and his wife, an administrative assistant are salaried.

The Director and his administrative aid are assisted by two full-time counselors/supervisors who are responsible to get the men from point a to point b. There is also a cook for the program. Additional human resources from the Church have been tapped to provide psychological expertise in the development of instruments for intake and assessment of men recommended for admittance to the program.

RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT: FUNDS

The Harlem Church sponsored a Noel Pointer Concert to raise funds to defray the start-up cost for the Discipleship Program. This fundraiser was spearheaded by a congregant with connection to the arts community. The funds for operation of the program are provided solely by the Harlem Church. The Program receives food and clothing donations from the Crisis Center. The Crisis Center also provides counseling services to the men in the Program.

PROGRAM INITIATION: PLANNING PROCESS

DETERMINING NEED FOR THE PROGRAM

The idea of a discipleship program at the Harlem Church was something that had been in the Pastor's thoughts for

years. The impetus for finally establishing the program came at a conference attended by the Pastor, at which a very dismal picture was presented on the plight of black men in the United States. The statistics on black men at risk also influenced the Church leaders to decide in favor of an initial shelter for men over one for women.

The Church leaders were concerned that the shelters for the homeless in New York City did not provide services to help people get their lives back on track. The shelters were perceived by the homeless as dangerous and the Church was further concerned that returning men to City operated shelters would erode the progress made toward their rehabilitation.

PROBLEM CAUSATION

The Director finds that the presenting problem for most of the men coming into the Program is drug related. Many of the men have been on the streets for years and they have battled addictions for as many years as they were on the streets. Some of the men present with problems of mental illness. However, regardless of the outward symptom of the men's ill health, all of the men come to the program with a lack of discipline, that is a socially acceptable established pattern for their day to day existence.

The Director also notes that many of the men have experienced trading sex for drugs and/or some arrangement where they have had homosexual experiences. The Director

considers homosexuality to be a major issue in the men's recovery. Getting the men to discuss these experiences is difficult but necessary work for the Discipleship counselors.

A final area of problems for the men is what the Director termed problems with authority issues. An inability to take directions from others has actually led to some of men leaving the Program. They cannot handle the discipline and resent the imposition of external authority over their behavior.

PROGRAM DESIGN

The initial plans for the Program called for an eighteen month stay for the men in the residence. During this time the resident would spend thirteen to fourteen weeks going through a curriculum developed for the project that combines lessons on principles for living and biblical teachings. I will present a more detailed account of the curriculum in the technology section of this program description.

There is a daily schedule of activities for the men, complete from wake up through lights out. The schedule is rigorous, incorporating planned exercises into just about every hour of the day. Activities include educational preparation, bible classes and skills for living, i.e., personal hygiene, and budgeting.

The Church has two gymnasiums that are available to the men for recreational activities. According to the Director, it is often in the recreational setting that personality flaws

of the men are revealed. For example, through play it is observed that a man is selfish and quick tempered.

The Program is designed to accommodate sixteen to eighteen men in a modern dormitory styled setting located in the basement of the Church. The Church is a former junior high school, and the basement is well ventilated, with windows. The area was specifically designed for its present use. There is a large room, with dividers, that serves as classrooms, chapel and activity room. There is a well equipped kitchen and dining area. The sleeping area resembles that of a college dorm with private bath facilities.

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

The initial period of stay for the men is devoted to classroom learning on life skills [i.e. personal hygiene, budgets, etiquette] workshops on spiritual principles, outreach in the community, counseling and developing discipline. After the men have completed this stage of the Program, they are assisted in preparing themselves for work. This assistance may include preparation for GED or some trade. The Program objective is for the men to graduate the Program with a job, an apartment and a support group which is often provided through church fellowship.

PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

CHANGE TECHNOLOGY

The Program's approach to affecting change with the men consist of individual counseling, group counseling and a peer counseling. Much of the work done with the men is one-on-one counseling through the Crisis Center and the counselors in the Program. The men participate in supervised group activities in classroom settings and in recreation. These sessions are either led by church leaders and/or counselors. The Program teaches the men how to help others who are experiencing problems similar to those that they themselves are working through. The principle involved here is a social support one in that the men work on their own problems as they attempt to help others.

The Program had been in operation for about a year at the time that the interviews for this study were conducted. The experience of applying the technology described above taught the Director that there is a need to have psychological expertise in addition to the biblical emphasis present in the Program. He found that bible counseling was not enough:

Because there are some conditions that come in and sit in this chair [in his office] that there is a clinical definition for and a simple clinical solution. I am persuaded that we need a balance of the two, bible counseling and psychology/psychiatry (Director, 9/29/91, pp. 25).

In this statement the Director acknowledges a role for secular knowledge and skills in the work to help some of the men admitted to the Program.

CURRICULUM

The Program uses a Teen Challenge curriculum that has been adapted for use at the Harlem Church. The Associate Pastor for Christian Education and the Director were responsible for modifying the curriculum. The curriculum is designed for men in the discipleship process. There are fourteen topics covered in the curriculum, and a booklet to guide the work for each topic. The curriculum is delivered in weekly sessions, one topic per week. One of the sessions focuses on temptation. Temptation is addressed at the level of needs. People have needs and there are a variety of ways that needs can be met, some more acceptable than others. The men are exposed to a language to help them label what is going on with their feelings, for example, the need to feel important; wanting to be loved and to love.

The curriculum is designed to help the men explore how they have attempted to meet their needs in the past and discuss alternative approaches for the future. The class settings make use of discussion, role play and modeling of appropriate behaviors. Additional topics include "portrait of growing through family", and "successful christian living."

Summary

The Discipleship Program, demonstrates the Harlem Church's capacity to develop a service, from an idea to a program with purpose, goals, objectives, staff, clients and a

technology to bring about change. In this instance, the Church did not attract a fully functioning program into its social service delivery system. The Missions Department, the Associate Pastor for Christian Education and other interested Church leaders and congregants found themselves in the position of identifying a need, determining a response to meet the need, and then acquiring the resources to bring a program into existence. This work presented a major challenge to the participants, but success was realized with the establishment of the service. However, the work that remains, especially the task of refining the approach used to rehabilitate the men, could prove to be as vexing to the Program leaders and the Church leadership as the initial start-up of the Program.

The design, and implementation of the Discipleship Program is a tremendous accomplishment for the Church. The physical space is a modern, fully equipped facility that reveals, on the part of the provider, a high level of commitment to the work that is to be done there. Program design ensured that the physical needs of people served by the Program would be met in a clean, safe environment where there would be adequate access to food and clothing.

The Director's comments on a "measuring rod" for Program success, speak to the work that remains to enable Discipleship to accomplish its goals.

There is no real measuring rod that you can use other than the things that man [secular measures] has actually set up...yes some of the guys have acquired their GED; some of the guys have gone out

and gotten jobs; and some guys have gotten apartments. All that we can really do is to continue to give all of the resources that we have available to these men's lives and trust God for a change (Director, Discipleship, 10/6/91, pp. 7).

Discipleship presents the Church leadership with an opportunity to develop skill in program refinement. There is the need to constantly monitor the implementation of the Program to make corrections and adjustments to ensure one, that Program goals and objectives are appropriate, and, two, that they are met. This program monitoring function for a program where the Church leaders are the designers and implementors, appears to be a new role for the leadership, and one that will take some time for them to achieve a level of comfort performing the function.

CONCLUSION

In this Chapter I have presented program descriptions of the array of services offered at the Harlem church. Two of the Programs, Urban Youth Alliance and The Prison Ministry were functioning prior to becoming a part of the Church's social service delivery system. These Programs came to the Church with staff compliments, and, program goals and objectives already articulated. The Crisis Center was developed at the Church by service providers who had in place the technical expertise to design and staff a program but were in need of financial resources to acquire space, materials and pay salaries of staff to deliver the service.

The Discipleship Program is the only service that represents the program development capability of the Harlem Church from an idea through to implementation of a program. The Program has been in operation long enough to evidence the need for program design refinement. The degree to which the Church leaders and Program administrators are successful in making adjustments to accommodate the need for change in the Program will strengthen the Church's capacity for program design and development.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the implications of this research for social work. In addition, organizational structure as it pertains the development of social services programs at the Church, will be presented.

CHAPTER SIX

CHURCH ORGANIZATION FOR PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT
AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH FOR SOCIAL WORKINTRODUCTION

Once the vision of building a "Citadel of Hope" in Harlem was discerned by the leadership, the leaders of the Church proceeded in a deliberate pattern, building an organization to develop and implement social services programs. Regardless of its type, an organization has a structure with assigned roles or positions for its members (Yearwood, 1980). According to the Pastor, it was:

the "Lord's pattern...He brought all the spirituality, all the gifts operating in him to bear to meet the physical needs of the people."
(5/29/91, pp. 2)

The act of bringing together the spirituality, the gifts, and establishing an order to meet physical needs is organizing. Program development at the Harlem Church required that people organize themselves, assign roles, articulate goals, adopt technology to achieve change, and set about the necessary tasks to deliver services to identified clientele.

The Harlem Church justified its organizing behaviors with scriptural teachings. They reasoned that God is a God of

order and therefore, anything that was of God would proceed in an orderly manner. Secular knowledge could be used by the parishioners to achieve godly things.

The Church is a system, utilizing inner resources to obtain external and internal systems' goals. The Church also manifest the work of a system engaged in transactions with its environment to obtain needed resources. The Church is active, bristling with energy that is focused and goal-directed toward the accomplishment of goals. The Church is organized and the organization is critical to the successful planning, design and implementation of social service programs at the Church.

In this chapter, I will discuss the organizational strengths of the Church related to social service program development. I will return to the components of the Church involved in program development initially addressed in Chapter Four. This chapter focuses on organizational structure for the purpose of goal attainment. In addition, the implications of this research for social work are presented.

ORGANIZATIONAL ELEMENTS INVOLVED IN SOCIAL SERVICE PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

LEADERSHIP

The leaders of the Harlem Church have developed an organizational structure that serves the needs of the Church system well. First, the leadership of the organization is committed to the missions focus of the Church and has created an organizational climate to promote this focus as a major

goal of the organization.

Chapter Three detailed how the Pastor transferred the vision to the congregation. This was not accomplished through lecture. Members were personally introduced to mission work by the Pastor at home and abroad. Transferring the vision required some on the job training.

Members of the Church are given the opportunity to participate and learn skills which will enhance their performance in Church positions. Leadership training seminars and retreats are offered to Church members. Leaders are rotated out of positions to other assignments and new challenges, making it possible for other people to move in and up. The Church also recognizes members for service and their contributions.

The decision-making process described in Chapter Five relative to the Crisis Center demonstrates that the leadership retains unto itself control of decisions having to do with expressive activities at the Church. Etzioni (1964) notes that there are two main spheres of activity an organization might wish to control: instrumental and expressive. Expressive activities affect interpersonal relations within the organization and the establishment of and adherence to norms by organizational participants. Establishing programs at the Church falls within the realm of expressive activities.

Instrumental activities deal with the input of means into the organization and their distribution within it (Etzioni,

1964). Responsibility for these activities in the development of the Crisis Center were borne by the Missions Department, the Congregation and the HARK members.

STRUCTURE

The leadership of the Church has fostered the development of an organizational structure that assures communications among members, role assignment, resource development, education, and accountability. There is formal delineation of responsibility with corresponding authority to accomplish goals and tasks. The Church has an organizational chart and the Pastor and the associate pastors meet as a board which ensures that the leadership communicate.

There is a Missions Department which oversees the funds for the various ministries of the Church and mission commitments. The Missions Department is also responsible for receiving and evaluating proposals for funding program innovations and the start-up of new ministries.

Each member of the Church is assigned to a prayer group which is responsible for a mission or ministry of the Church. The prayer group leader maintains contact with the mission to ascertain the needs of the ministry and these needs are communicated to the prayer group members.

The structure of the organization is communicated to all members of the Church and each person understands his/her role in the functions of the organization.

COMMUNICATION

Goals of the Church are communicated to the congregation by the leadership at Church meetings. Feedback is given to the congregation on program goal attainment. This reporting function holds the leadership accountable to the parishioner for program disbursements. An accounting of member donated funds for missions is given to each member annually by the Missions Department.

The structure ensures that all members have access to a senior member of the Church, a deacon, who is like a mini-pastor with responsibility to personalize the organization for the member. For example, if the congregant is ill, the deacon visits and offers to pray with the member.

EDUCATION

The Church devotes a portion of its resources to the development of a Christian Education program. The purpose is to offer members the opportunity to become bible literate. This purpose is similar to that of many of America's preeminent institutions of higher education at their inception. The Church offers a tuition free bible school for its members. The missions focus of the Church greatly depends on members understanding that missions is a mandate of their faith and that the mandate is not met simply by giving money.

RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

The Church has in place a mechanism to acquire the resources needed to support the Church and its missions. This function is primarily the work of the Missions Department. The experience of the Harlem Church with regard to resource development affirms a systems principle. As the Church became focused and directed its energy toward missions' goals, new members and new sources of energy became available to the system, synergy. New members and program ideas were attracted to the Church because of the increased activity of the system in interaction with its environment. The Church has also developed activities which involve the congregant in helping others so that the member sees the immediate benefits derived from the gift.

SUMMARY

The work that has been accomplished at the Harlem Church demonstrates how a vision can penetrate apathy or system entropy. First, it was necessary to get the attention of the system, in this instance the Church. This was accomplished by community elements encroaching on the closed Church system. The organization responded with resources focused outward to realize it's internal goal of finding a way to stop the break-ins.

This contact with the community, transaction with the environment, changed the Church as the Church sought to change

the environment. The result of this initial contact were many. The Church's energy increased, thereby making it possible for the church to do more for the community and for itself. The Church organized. The organizational culture changed. This was no longer a Church focused on its own members. The Church became "that Church that helps people."

IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK

Church Research

One of the major findings of this research is that this kind of research can be done. A social work researcher was able to gain access to a pentecostal church and convince church leaders and members to speak openly about their social services work. The task of getting people to speak openly about their work had to be done almost each time I met with someone new in the Church system. In two instances the interviewees shared that they were reluctant to speak with me about their work. One director expressed that he could not see the value of spending time to talk about his program with a stranger. In the end, he expressed how helpful my questions had been to him in that the inquiry gave him a chance to reflect on the work of the program.

The other director who expressed reservations about speaking with me did so during our third meeting. He assured me that he was not speaking with me merely because I had invoked the Pastor's name. His participation in the study was

owing to his belief that some good could come out of the research.

Church Social Work

The Harlem Church does provide needed social services to its members and the community. The Crisis Center, the Prison Ministry, and The Discipleship Program have as a main focus helping clients find purpose in life. The services are designed to reach a population of people who are beyond the reach of the formal helping system. The intervention strategies designed by the Church social service programs combine an emphasis on the social and spiritual needs of clients.

The social work profession must recognize the existence of such services in the community and endeavor to form relationships with the church as social workers do with other social systems. If the profession is to work with the church as it does with other social systems, social work education will need to include the church in its social environment curriculum.

BLACK CHURCH AS A SOCIAL SERVICE PROVIDER

In August, 1993, I met with a representative of the Hyams Foundation in Boston. The Foundation has an interest in funding projects in black churches. One of the concerns expressed by the Foundation representative was that many of

the black churches with access to the ghetto poor do not have organizational structures in place to respond to a request for a proposal (Interview, Hyams Foundation, 7/26/93). The research on the Harlem Church documents the existence of a structure that has worked well for the Church. This material could be useful to churches as well as foundations and other funding sources interested in helping black churches develop the organizational mechanisms to design, implement and sustain social programming.

Compassion Building

In speaking with social workers about this research, I am often asked what is it that sets the Harlem Church apart from churches not involved in similar missions work? The act of going out into the community and meeting people at the point of their need, had a profound impact on the Church members. These experiences caused the congregation to develop compassion for the plight of their neighbors. Despair was replaced by action and the act of doing attracted others to assist in the work.

If there is an altruistic spirit in America, the church is one place where this spirit is present. Often, the expression of altruism takes the form of contributing to a favorite charity. This research demonstrates that a black church changed its perception of the community and the community's perception of the church as a result of

interaction with that community.

Church As A Mutual Support Network

The research documents the existence of a social purpose agenda in the Harlem Church. The Church develops programs consistent with that vision. Given the social condition of the urban poor, the social work profession must develop strategies to strengthen and nurture the church as a mutual support network. The tasks for the profession could take the form of consultation with churches on program design and technology for change.

PRACTICE ISSUES

Social work students have expressed a fear of working in inner city communities because of the violence that is so prevalent there. The concern is expressed in at least two areas and both are practice issues. One, student workers find that they do not have interventions to help their clients deal with senseless acts of violence. And two, many students fear that they will be victims of the random acts of violence on the streets. These are real concerns and perhaps social work can take a lesson from the Harlem Church in how program workers overcame their fear of violence.

The program directors find that a cruel hoax has been played on the American public. The public has been taught to fear the weakest members of the society. The programs at the

Harlem Church do not give credence to this fear and refuse to be intimidated by clients evidencing these behaviors. Social work educators and researchers must document and conceptualize the different kinds of violence in the inner city communities and help practitioners understand the manifestation of each type. With the conceptual tools to comprehend the violence, perhaps intervention strategies can be developed to help clients and workers find a healthy fit with this aspect of the social environment.

CONCLUSION

The study of the Harlem Church and the documentation of the good that is done by the organization is proof that the church can develop services to help inner city inhabitants. The black church in America has fulfilled a similar function since its inception.

The Harlem Church quietly pursues a social improvement agenda focused exclusively on the spiritual and social health of the people. The Church leaders do not see themselves as unique. The work that is done at the Harlem Church is what the Christian church is mandated to do by scripture. In reference to churches not involved in offering social services to the community, the Pastor of the Church judiciously suggests that perhaps one of the failures of the black church is that it has yet to realize its potential as one of the most

powerful institutions in the black community. This research documents the realization of a single black church's potential as a social service provider. Perhaps this information will strike a responsive chord in the church as an American institution, a call-to-action, to assume its transformational role in the urban communities of America.

APPENDIX A

HOW THE PROGRAM DEVELOPED

- 1.0 What is the name of the program?
- How long has the program been in existence (year began)?
- 1.1 How did the program get started? What happened first?
- Why this program? [Social problem of concern]
 Where did the idea for this program come from?
- 1.10 At what point, in the initial stages, did you think about who would be helped?
- How you would do the helping?
 How did you get the word out that you were available to help?
 What about finding staff? Training?
 How long did it take from the idea of a program to program start up?
- 1.2 Who was involved in getting this program started?
 What roles did each person play?
- 1.3 What did you want to accomplish with this program?
 How did you come to decide that this was what the program should accomplish?
- 1.4 How much did it cost to bring this program into existence? [Breakdown costs]
- How Did you raise the money?
- 1.5 If you could do it all over again, what would do differently?

PROGRAM GOALS

- 2.0 When you were developing the program, you wanted to accomplish _____, is that still your focus? [If changed] How has your focus changed?

Why be concerned about this?

Can a church really make a difference dealing with problems where governments have failed?

- 2.1 If you needed to change your focus, how would that happen? Have you had that experience? [If so] Tell me about it?
- 2.3 If you recruited someone new to become involved in this work, how would you let them know what it is that the program is trying to accomplish? Is this written down anywhere?

RESOURCES

3.0 What does it take to put a program like this one together?

Funds

3.1 What is the yearly costs for providing this program?

Can you give me some idea of the costs for:

space-

equipment-

renovations-

personnel-

services to clients-

other-

3.11 Were there costs involved in getting the word out that you're open to help people?

3.12 How do you keep track of what you have to spend in each category and make certain that you are not overspending?

Staff

3.2 How many staff involved in this program?
 _____ paid
 _____ volunteers

Do you think you need more staff? What would they do if you had additional staff?

3.21 How do you teach staff to do the work?

3.22 Is there a particular education and experience background that you look for when looking for staff?

- 3.23 Do different staff do different jobs? Are there job descriptions?

Space and Equipment

- 3.3 What about space and equipment, what is needed for a program like this one?

Resource Acquisition

- 3.4 How do you get all that you need for this program?

SERVICES

- 4.0 What does this program offer clients?

- 4.1 How do you document that you have done something for a client?

- 4.12 Do you refer clients to other programs within the church?
How is this accomplished?

What about to outside organizations? How is this accomplished?

TECHNOLOGY AND PROGRAM ADMINISTRATION

Administration

5.0 What are the days and hours of operation for the program?

5.1 How do you keep up with all that goes on in the program?

Probes: are there staff meetings? supervision?

how is staff organized to do the work? is there an organizational chart?

5.12 What about dealing with things like hiring and firing staff, sick days, vacation time- how are personnel issues dealt with?

Technology

5.20 I'm here for help, how do you help me? Walk me through the program.

5.21 How is staff trained to do what you just described?

- 5.22 When is a person, who you have helped, finished with the program?
- 5.23 Do you check up on people you have helped after they leave the program? How do you do this?
- 5.24 How did you learn this approach to working with people?

APPENDIX B

CONTACT SUMMARY

DATE _____

TIME _____

SITE _____

PROGRAM _____

CONTACT _____

P U R P O S E O F
CONTACT _____

THEME (S) :

SUMMARY :

FOLLOW UP NEEDED :

OBSERVATION FORM

DATE _____

TIME _____

SITE _____

PROGRAM _____

OBSERVER _____

PARTICIPANT(S) : _____

PURPOSE OF OBSERVATION:

WHAT WAS OBSERVED:

FOLLOW UP NEEDED:

DOCUMENT SUMMARY FORM

Program_____

Document_____

Date_____

Site_____

DOCUMENT FORM

Name or description of document:

Event or contact, if any, with which document is associated:

Date_____

Significance or importance of document:

Brief summary of contents:

IF DOCUMENT IS CENTRAL OR CRUCIAL TO A PARTICULAR CONTACT make a copy and include with write-up. Otherwise, put in document file.

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