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Organization Development Technologies in Community Development: A Case Study

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Organization development (OD) consultation technologies have been increasingly used by social workers in a variety of practice settings. Organization development is typically used in formal organizations, and there have been few reported applications in community development. This paper discusses the value of such applications and describes examples in a case study. Similarities between community development and organization development are presented. Technologies used are reviewed, followed by cautions and recommendations for further research.

Over the last several years, organization development (OD) consultation technologies have been increasingly advocated and used by social workers in a variety of practice settings (Gould, Knoepler, and Smith, 1988; Morton, 1981). The purpose of this paper is to lend support to this trend as seen in the literature and in practice by showing applications of OD in a community setting. The following issues are addressed: What OD technologies can be usefully applied in a community context? Under what conditions? If, in fact, these technologies are appropriate and useful, community development (CD) workers who become skillful in their application should be able to offer more expertise and guidance to community clients, leading to improvements in community life. Many community members and groups deal with organizations which may have used such techniques. For example, many cities use OD for their managers and employees (Packard and Reid, 1990), and enhanced organizational skills on the part of community development workers may make them more effective in dealing with such large bureaucracies and policy makers.

The historical background of OD and its relevance to social work is discussed. A conceptual model is presented to demonstrate the parallels of OD and various social work methods.

A case discussion of an application of OD in a community planning and development project is presented, followed by an elaboration of specific OD technologies used. Finally, recommendations for further development of this trend are presented, along with some cautions regarding appropriate uses of this new (to social work) method.

Organization development is a type of consulting traditionally practiced with formal organizations as clients. In its early years OD consultants focused on organizational processes such as interpersonal communications and group dynamics, and current usage typically includes an emphasis on core organizational processes such as planning and organization design. French and Bell (1990, p. 17) define OD as follows:

...organization development is a top-management supported, long-range effort to improve an organization's problem-solving and renewal processes, particularly through a more effective and collaborative diagnosis and management of organization culture—with special emphasis on formal work team, temporary team, and intergroup culture—with the assistance of a consultant-facilitator and the use of the theory and technology of applied behavioral science, including action research.

Essentially, OD involves a consultant helping an organizational client identify and solve problems related to the organizations' effectiveness and quality of working life. The consultant does not typically develop expert recommendations but rather plays the role of a process consultant (Schein, 1988) which allows responsibility for decisions and action to remain with the client.

OD AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The OD profession is rooted in the behavioral sciences, particularly psychology and sociology. One of the profession's conceptual foundations, action research, developed from two independent sources also concerned with community development: Kurt Lewin and his colleagues, who worked in areas of group dynamics including community and minority group relations, and John Collier, commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs from 1933 to 1945, who studied ethnic relations

(French & Bell, 1990, p. 105). In discussing the foundations of OD, French, Bell, and Zawacki (1989, p. 80) acknowledged the "numerous insights about intervening in organizations" provided by social work and other helping professions. While OD quickly began to focus on formal organizations, there have been some community development applications. Herbert Shepard, a founder of OD, practiced community development in China Lake, CA and Middletown, CT (French & Bell, 1990, pp. 37–38). Schindler-Rainman (1975) presented two applications of OD in community settings.

Ramirez (1990) suggested parallels between adult education principles, common in OD, and community development. Benne (1985), discussing planned change at the community level, asserted that collaborative change methods such as OD may assist in the representation of the interests of the poor and other minorities in community change. Brown and Covey (1989) listed some of the particular considerations regarding OD with social change organizations: the need for external as well as internal diagnosis, attention to multiple constituencies and realities, ideological negotiation and strategic analysis. In a related vein, Bryson (1988, p. 8) asserted that strategic planning, a common OD technology, can be a valuable technique in community planning. With rare exceptions, however, OD practice has focused almost entirely on formal organizations, usually for-profit (and occasionally government and not-for-profit) bureaucracies.

Schindler-Rainman (1975) listed several similarities between OD and CD: both use action research and a change agent, both emphasize client participation in decision making, and both are planned change efforts to increase effectiveness. On the other hand, she listed several differences: in a community, processes are always intergroup, loyalties and commitments are more varied, both professionals and volunteers are typically involved, there are multiple agendas, efforts are voluntary (superiors cannot order actions), and a number of different sectors are typically included. In recent years, these differences have become less pronounced. For example, OD intergroup interventions are now quite common; and organization members are understood to have varying loyalties, to boss, work group, family, union,

etc. While volunteers are not common clients in OD, different sectors of employees (departments or divisions) are typically involved.

A Conceptual Model

Change technologies from social work and organizational change perspectives are presented to clarify the relationships between OD and CD. For the purposes here, social work technologies are described according to the traditional (although not currently emphasized) methods of casework, group work, and community organization. Community organization methods will be delineated by Rothman’s (Rothman with Tropman, 1987) typology, which includes locality development, social planning, and social action. Table 1 outlines social work methods and organizational change technologies with reference to key assumptions or foci. For OD and community development, key techniques used by change agents are listed.

Table 1
Parallels in Organizational Change and Social Work Methods and Techniques used in Organization Development and Community Development

Focus or Basic Assumptions	Organizations	Social Work
Individual change	Employee assistance	Casework
Group dynamics	Group problem solving Quality circles	Groupwork
Power tactics	Labor-management negotiations, legislation	Social action
Expert assistance	Audits & Analysis/ recommendations	Social planning
Collaboration	Organization development -action research -process consultation -team building -strategic planning -management by objectives	Locality development -issue identification -leader development -facilitation

Historically, casework has involved work with individuals and families, and group work has focused on nonrelated individuals in a group setting. In community organizing, social action assumes conflicting interests and suggests the use of power strategies to create change; social planning involves experts gathering and analyzing data and making expert recommendations; and locality development focuses on consensus, collaboration, and self-help strategies. Organizational change strategies parallel these social work methods. Employee assistance programs, which focus on problem solving with individual employees, represent a casework approach. Group problem solving activities such as quality circles have many of the characteristics of social group work. Power-oriented strategies such as labor-management negotiations, employee ownership arrangements, and legislation regarding workplace issues share similar values and assumptions to social action. So-called expert consulting such as that associated with McKinsey and Company and the "big eight" accounting firms, where outsiders conduct audits, analyze and recommend, corresponds to social planning. Finally, OD, with its values of client participation and collaboration, shares many principles with community development. These parallels suggest that it need not be difficult for social workers to cross over into these new (for them) consulting fields.

Case Study

Background

The case reported here involved an OD consultant hired on a contract with a city of approximately 120,000 people in a Sunbelt metropolitan area with a population of 2 million. The city had recently completed an assessment of human services needs, done on contract with involvement from local service providers and client advocates. The report suggested funding priorities and recommended that the city form an advisory board, hire a human services coordinator, and revise the Community Development Block Grant funding process.

The city council approved the formation of a Human Services Task Force of eleven members to provide a forum for

information sharing, coordination, needs identification, advocacy, and funding research and development. Public agency representatives were from county social and health services, the high school and elementary school districts, Social Security, and state employment. Private sector representatives came from a local agency directors council, the ecumenical council, a private welfare council, United Way, and senior citizen advocates. The city's human services coordinator, mainly responsible for senior citizen programs, attended meetings as an ex officio liaison with the city.

Rather than create a new staff position, the city council approved the hiring of a consultant to assist the task force in developing its structure and agenda, recruiting a larger support network, and identifying other resources to support its programs. Both the focus of the contract and the consultant's background and values as an OD consultant and community organizer suggested a collaborative, client-oriented approach to achieve the project goals. Both process and task goals would be addressed: the task force needed to be developed as a committed, organized team and a plan needed to be developed and implemented.

Process

At its first meeting in month one, the background and mandate for the group and the consultant's plan were reviewed, amended, and approved. The consultant almost always made recommendations for consideration rather than directing the group, in order for them to develop themselves as leaders and go in the directions they thought appropriate. Later in month one, there were two half-day sessions which were basically team building and strategic planning workshops.

The group developed its ground rules and shared personal values and visions. The strategic planning process was based on the model of Bryson (1988) and included an environmental and stakeholder analysis, identification of strategic issues, and the development of a mission statement and draft goals and objectives. The chair, vice chair, and city representative decided to meet before each full task force meeting to fine tune the agenda and focus issues for discussion. The consultant used this as a mechanism to begin to develop these members as leaders

who could get the group moving and keep it going after the six-month consulting contract ended.

At meetings in month two, the group clarified its relationship to the original plan, refined the objectives, and made decisions regarding the involvement of other community groups. Subcommittees were formed to develop specific objectives and action plans for each goal. These groups met between meetings, with consultant help available but not usually requested.

During month three, the chair and consultant met with the local director's council to brief them on the task force's activities and plans. This group was seen as a key stakeholder, representing virtually all the not-for-profit service providers in the area. The council offered support and expressed interest in receiving periodic updates. At task force meetings during months three and four, drafts of objectives and action plans for all goals were reviewed. Action plans were put on a timeline to note overlaps of activities using a PERT chart format (Lauffer, 1984).

At the task force meeting in month five, timelines for all objectives and action plans were approved. At its next meeting, in month six, the specific action plans and priority issues for action were approved. Members who were on task forces working on particular goals became action teams to implement the plans they had developed.

Major areas for action were in these goal areas: (a) development of profiles of clients seen by local agencies, with particular attention to unmet service needs (major action: semi-annual surveys of clients in all community agencies); (b) coordination and communication among service providers (major actions: develop a community resource directory, hold semi-annual community providers meetings, survey churches regarding their service activities, institute a human service providers newsletter); (c) improved access to services (major action: research service delivery options such as multiservice centers); (d) increased community awareness and support for human services (major actions: publicity to businesses and civic groups and the media); and (e) advocacy for needed funding, services, and resources (major actions: research government and foundation funding possibilities, lobby regarding relevant legislation). At this meeting the group also decided to change its name to

the Human Services Council to reflect their view of the group as permanent rather than temporary (in the city, the title "council" was used for permanent advisory groups).

During month seven, the chair and vice chair traded roles because the chair's work demands became too great for her to fulfill her duties to the council. The group also decided on the issue for its first community-wide providers meeting: the topic of fundraising would be addressed by representatives from governmental and foundation funding sources. The consultant was able to continue to work with the group based on a contract extension because, since the group had not met as frequently as planned, there were still funds available.

The council meeting in month eight was mainly devoted to the planning for the providers meeting to be held the following month. During month nine, client and church surveys were finalized, and the first providers meeting was held. Over 80 agencies were represented; in addition to the funders mentioned above, the mayor and local member of the county board of supervisors spoke. The newly completed agency resource directory was handed out.

Official consultant involvement ended at that time, but council actions continued. A proposal writing workshop was held for agency administrators, the newsletter was published regularly, the providers meetings continued on a regular basis, a cooperative after school latchkey prevention program was implemented, and funding was secured from a foundation for further program development. Twenty months after consultant involvement ended the council continues to meet regularly and has become a key element in the community's human services network.

OD Technologies Used

Several OD technologies were used by the consultant on this project, notably, action research, process consultation, team building, strategic planning, and management by objectives. Action research, considered a sine qua non of effective OD, is a process of systematically gathering data, feeding them back to clients, implementing actions and evaluating the results. The process was employed by the consultant through data collection

regarding key actors and their expectations, the history of the human services planning process, and current needs from the points of view of the city and the service providers. Based on the results of these initial interviews, the consultant shared major themes with the task force to guide their initial planning. Action research also occurred when the group began its strategic planning process with environmental and stakeholder analyses.

Process consultation, another key technology in which the consultant plays a facilitator role with clients, was used by the consultant in full meetings and smaller meetings with the chair, vice chair, and city representative. The focus was on assisting the clients in the identification of issues, considering options and their possible consequences, and making decisions. As in locality development, the consultant did not offer expert advice beyond sharing information about procedures (e.g., strategic planning) that could assist the group in reaching its goals.

Team building, a process of gathering information from a team regarding its problems and functioning and using a workshop setting to assist the group in problem solving and group development, is often used early in an OD intervention. On this project, team building occurred in the context of the original half-day workshops, particularly when members shared their values and visions as a prelude to the strategic planning process. Strategic planning, a process in which a team or organization assesses itself and its environment in order to make fundamental decisions about its directions, is not uniquely an OD technique, but has been used extensively in OD over the past ten years (Pfeiffer, Goodstein, & Nolan, 1985). This was a major intervention on the current project, forming the foundation for all subsequent activities. Management by objectives (MBO) (Raia, 1974), another technique not the exclusive province of OD, was used by the committees as they developed detailed plans, which were detailed on PERT charts (Lauffer, 1984).

Throughout the process, the consultant responded to the needs and goals of the group, but did not hesitate to suggest a specific technique where appropriate. Because of the consultant's background and willingness to use these organizationally-oriented technologies, the council was able to learn new methods for accomplishing their goals.

Benefits of OD in Community Development

OD technologies may be able to enhance traditional community development in several ways.

(a) These activities are structured and proven methods to facilitate goal accomplishment. Use of a technique such as strategic planning can enable a group to address a planning process in a more comprehensive way than may otherwise occur. For example, attention to stakeholders can alert a group early to potential forces of resistance which will need to be addressed. While a community power analysis (Meenaghan, Washington, & Ryan, 1892, Ch. 7) may provide some of the same data, a full strategic planning process provides significant insights into the interactions between the clients and the environment.

(b) Team building often occurs in an informal sense when community groups are being developed. A trained consultant using a specific set of techniques can expedite the process of building a team and help it begin to attain its goals. In a related vein, community organizers using locality development currently employ principles of process consultation. A more conscious and informed use of this skill may enable the group to better respond to the complexity of the community and organizational dynamics they will face (Schein, 1988, p. 192).

(c) Analytical techniques such as MBO and PERT charting may be refinements of planning processes commonly used in community development. To the extent that these techniques are more powerful (and, therefore, more useful) than more informal planning activities, the client may be more efficient in using its energy.

(d) Many successful community development efforts lead to the establishment of a formal community organization. The organizational and management skills available to a qualified OD consultant should be of use to the community organization as it formalizes and develops. Most citizens do not have well-developed skills in areas such as planning, running meetings, organizing tasks, etc.; and OD consultants can train community members in such areas, enhancing their effectiveness when they assume roles in their new formal organization.

(e) On a process level, the use of these techniques with a community group can have two other benefits. First, the group

will develop knowledge and insights as to how larger institutions (including, perhaps, targets of their change effort) sometimes operate. This type of empathy may enable the group to make more thoughtful plans as to dealing with such institutions. It may also give the group members, some of whom may not have professional or managerial training, increased confidence in being able to deal with bureaucracies on their own terms. Second, a community group which has shown that it is organized enough to be using such organizational effectiveness techniques may have added credibility in the eyes of institutional decision makers it may be trying to influence.

Recommendations and Conclusions

Social workers and other community organizers should not enter this arena without carefully considering possible risks and unintended consequences. Akabas and Kurzman (1982, pp. 220–221) have suggested that “consultation can be sufficiently intoxicating to risk cooptation by the organizational leadership, who may look to the social work staff to sanction or legitimate policies solely in the profit (or survival) needs of the organization and its leaders—rather than in the interest of its workforce and the community.” This warning applies in a community as well as organizational context. OD and CD have both at times been accused of ignoring power dynamics and unwittingly supporting the status quo.

In the 1960’s, according to Gilbert and Specht (1987, p. 607), “human relations personnel [“intergroup relations workers, social workers, and psychologists”] were often brought into planning to find ways to ‘sell’ the program to the opposition.” Both fields have become increasingly sophisticated in this regard, but practitioners need to be alert to such factors in order to help ensure that change is meaningful and driven by the needs of clients.

Care and sensitivity must be used in the initial assessment with a given community to be sure that such techniques are appropriate. Some community groups may be resistant to or intimidated by such structured and organizationally-oriented techniques. Most of the council members in the case discussed above were professionals who worked in large or medium-sized

organizations, and readily responded to these methods. Other groups may see it as a form of manipulation or an attempt to get the group to conform to standards and rules of other institutions.

Community development workers wanting to apply OD need to ensure that they are properly trained to use such techniques. Akabas and Kurzman (1982, p. 220) asserted that "social workers must be clear about the nature and boundaries of their expertise." Gould, Knoepler, and Smith (1988) have outlined roles and qualities of competent OD consultants, and any social worker wanting to use OD should receive formal training to give them skills in such areas. University Associates in San Diego and the NTL Institute in Arlington, Virginia offer extensive workshops. Columbia, the University of Michigan, and other universities offer OD programs as well.

In spite of the limitations of uses of this technology in community settings, the potentials for using OD to improve community life and empower community members seem significant and promising. Community development workers currently use techniques similar to those of OD, and the values of the two fields seem essentially compatible. Reports of further applications should offer further refinements, leading to more deliberate and effective use of this method in community development.

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Organization Development and Community Development: True Soulmates or Uneasy Bedfellows?

A Rejoinder to Thomas Packard's
"Organization Development Technologies in Community
Development: A Case Study"

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Our paper is written to express both strong dissent from and partial support of Dr. Packard's article "Organization Development Technologies in Community Development: A Case Study." Beginning with a summation of the article, this paper introduces the main area of contention, provides a vignette to illustrate key points and concludes with affirmation of the need for reconciling the differences between organizational development (OD) and community development (CD) as two systems of planned change.

The Packard article proposes that OD, an effective consultation technology for improving life in organizational settings, be more widely used in communities. Moreover, the author uses the historical origins and current practices of OD to purport that the fundamental values and processes of OD are similar to and compatible with those of CD. Through the use of a case study the article provides a description of how OD has been used to effect change in one community. The article ends with a series of recommendations for social workers attempting to employ OD strategies to effect community change.

In the final section of the article the author alludes to what we see as one of the fundamental differences between OD and CD, an area of departure between these two systems that, unless understood and reconciled, disallows any union of practice. This area is the perception and behavioral stance taken by the change agent towards the power structure. In OD, the power structure

are those at the top of the organization—the leaders who are simultaneously the practitioner's employers and primary clients. This need to constantly attend to the power structure serves to essentially shape the practitioner's role and the strategies employed. This practitioner, therefore, must work mainly from the *upper level of the system*. In CD, whether the practitioner is employing a locality development, social planning, or social action orientation (Rothman with Tropman, 1987) one's stance towards the power structure can be significantly different. As noted by Rothman and Tropman, in locality development and social action strategies the CD practitioner views the community's leadership as collaborators and oppressors, respectively. The clients of the social activist are actually *all the other* community members while those of the locality development practitioner are *all* the citizens in the community. Therefore, while all three CD approaches would agree with OD that leadership support of a process is preferable, in all but one of the generally accepted CD approaches the practitioner does not see the power structure as a primary employer and thus may work from *all levels* or even *of the bottom* of the system.

The implications of this fundamental difference in perception of and stance toward the power structure may not be readily apparent. The following vignette is presented to more clearly highlight this difference.

During the early 1970's, the (Indira) Gandhi leadership in India wanted to develop local support in village India for the country's family planning program. Family planning was a phrase for population control and population control was one of the nation's priorities in an over-populated country.

One of Gandhi's sons was later accused of executing these family planning programs with groups of illiterate Moslem villagers against their informed consent and with the use of OD techniques. Participation in small group sessions was used to teach and eventually use family planning techniques. Such participation led to vasectomies, and the relatively uneducated and illiterate Moslem villagers did not understand what vasectomy meant. Later they were told that they had agreed (they had given uninformed consent) to undergo a vasectomy in small group settings and that they had agreed to do so in the national interest.

Gandhi's son was thus supported by the top (national government), in a CD setting, through OD techniques. He was the government's agent, and not the advocate of the illiterate and uninformed minority group of Moslem villagers.

While this illustration may seem extreme to some change agents, those who have worked outside of the continental U.S.A. will recognize this situation as all too familiar. In the language of French and Raven (1959), the OD practitioner's source of legitimate power comes from the publicly announced, unwavering support of top management. Without this support, others lower in the organization will quickly become aware of the situation and the project soon falls in on itself (Bechhard, 1969; Martin & Martin, 1989). As aptly described by one practitioner, an OD project without top management support is like an airplane without fuel (Weisbord, 1973). This relationship with the power structure suggests several ramifications for the OD change effort that serve as additional areas of differences between OD and CD.

First, the OD value of collaboration undergirds this practitioner-management union such that there is an implicit (and sometimes explicit) contract that all OD activities must be agreed upon by the organization's leadership. This position may have a direct impact on the amount and type of information the practitioner collects as well as the numbers and roles of the people that management sees as important participants in the process from beginning to end. The entire OD effort may be seen as a self-serving move on the part of management to further its vested interests (Chatterjee, 1975). In CD, the information that is collected must be representative of the entire community in order to effect community-wide change.

Second, this publicized union between practitioner and management may limit the staff's degrees of trust and candor in the OD process. Such constraints may, in turn, bias the collected information. In CD, the change agent works for the community and may in fact actually be hired by any of the citizens. Working with all the residents increases willingness to "tell it like it is" thus providing the CD practitioner with a full understanding of the issues.

Third, the personal relationship between change agent and management has led some OD practitioners to view the responsibility for change as residing within individuals rather than within systems, finding the former level as both conceptually and behaviorally more manageable (Sikes, 1989). This perception has serious implications for OD interventions and is in direct opposition to the fundamental goals of both OD and CD.

These areas of difference between the two change processes are not meant to be exhaustive or, more importantly, a condemnation of OD. In fact, some OD practitioners have directly confronted the topic of change agent-management alliance in a way that for them it becomes a non-issue (cf. Golembiewski, 1989). Highlighting these areas underscores the message that the perception and behavioral stance taken by the OD practitioners towards the power structure must be fully appreciated before such strategies can be used to successfully effect change in our communities.

There is a small but growing body of literature that describes necessary shifts in both the OD and CD paradigms to enable a merger of these technologies (Bailey, *in press*; Brown & Covey, 1987; Jones & Griffin, 1989). Interestingly, but not surprisingly, these and other authors are also contributing to the number of studies where OD is practiced in private and public agencies in the nonprofit sector; areas that Packard noted as being nonexistent (or at least unreported) in the past. These case studies and proposed practice models support Packard's concluding statement that potential for using OD strategies in CD arenas is promising.

More work is needed to continue to craft thoughtful refinements in both change practices. It would be easy yet fatal for those trained in CD to import wholesale the OD methodologies. Social work practitioners and academicians alike must appreciate the commonalities between OD and CD yet acknowledge that for most schooled in CD more formal training in OD is critical; training that enables practitioners to accurately assess under what conditions what combination of technologies is needed. The issues facing our communities are guaranteed to become greater in number and complexity. With such a challenge facing

us, there must be corresponding growth in the skills of social work practitioners.

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A Response to the Rejoinder by Darlyne Bailey & Pranab Chatterjee

BY THOMAS PACKARD

I appreciate the thoughtful and important comments made by Darlyne Bailey & Pranab Chatterjee regarding my article on organization development and community development. I find myself agreeing with them almost totally, and will briefly comment on some of their points to help clarify where we are and may not be in agreement.

The relationship between the change agent and the power structure in OD has received increasing attention in recent years, as OD consultants who as a group have historically been influenced by the "truth and love" perspective on change (Bennis, 1969, p. 77) have realized the importance of political and power dynamics (Cobbs & Margulies, 1981). Alinsky's model of social action (Rothman, 1979) clearly supports attention to power issues, and this perspective must be considered in planning a CD intervention, with or without OD technologies. Because locality development characteristics were dominant in the case I discussed, power issues were not paramount, and I chose a collaborative approach. A contingency perspective should always be used in assessment and intervention, using locality development where self help and collaboration are appropriate and social action where power relationships and conflict are salient.

Another aspect of the power issue is the relationship between the practitioner and the power structure. Even though OD consultants say that the whole organization or system is their client, the reality of contracting leads to top management being the key accountability connection. In one sense this is necessary, because, as Boss (1979) and others have emphasized, commitment of power people is necessary for success. Boss also noted that other power groups such as unions must be committed, and I share this philosophy for practical and ideological reasons. Willie Sutton allegedly said he robbed banks because "that's where the money is", and I work with top management not only because they contract with me but because, as many consultants say, that's where most of the problems are. I agree

with Bailey and Chatterjee that the responsibility for change is at the system level, but management warrants more attention usually because management causes most problems or allows them to continue. In the past, in a role as a community activist, I have played a related role, working with the power structure to change it, in a social reform mode (Rothman, 1979), representing client interests and assuming that power is a relevant dynamic. In an oppressive system, OD will not work, with organizations or communities, and other approaches such as union activism or social action should be used.

I still see possible value of OD technologies under power-charged conditions, however. First, OD in some cases partly merges with quality of working life change approaches (French & Bell, 1990) which place heavy emphasis on power sharing between management and labor, and I have done such projects (Packard and Reid, 1990). I have shared power perspectives with both management and labor clients (e.g., Olsen, 1981), so they can explicitly deal with these issues. Second, we can support those in low power positions by providing them with proven OD technologies. Two of my clients have been labor unions, both of whom, I believe, became more effective in assertively representing their members because they had used OD internally.

Trust is a major concern as part of power relationships. I always let clients below top management "pat me down for a wire", checking out my biases, values, and trustworthiness. Any ethical OD consultant would terminate a contract before violating a trust relationship regarding sharing or censoring information.

I differ with one conclusion of Bailey and Chatterjee: OD in nonbusiness settings is not nonexistent but is underreported (Packard & Reid, 1990), and is a growing area.

I agree with their final points regarding adopting OD technologies inappropriately or using them without proper training (I've called this "the sorcerer's apprentice syndrome", remembering Mickey Mouse making a mess of things in Fantasia). Perhaps these points warranted more attention in my article, and I appreciate the emphasis by Bailey and Chatterjee.

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The Sealed Adoption Records
Controversy in Historical Perspective:
The Case of the Children's Home
Society of Washington, 1895–1988*

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**I would like to thank Charlie Langdon and D. Sharon Osborne, past and present Executive Directors of the Children's Home Society of Washington (CHSW), for permission to use the CHSW's case records, and Randy Perin, Supervisor of the CHSW's Adoption Resource Center, whose enthusiasm for this project has been inspirational. I am also grateful to Roger W. Toogood, Executive Director of the Children's Home Society of Minnesota (CHSM), and Marietta E. Spencer, Program Director, Post-Legal Adoption Services, CHSM, for permitting me access to the Society's case records. I would also like to thank Paula Shields, George Behlmer, Ruth Bloch, Clarke A. Chambers, Paula S. Fass, Ray Jonas, William J. Rorabaugh, and Eugene Sheridan for their thoughtful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.*

This paper samples the 21,000 adoption case records of the Children's Home Society of Washington between 1895 and 1988 in order to document and analyze the history of twentieth-century postadoption contact for adult adopted persons and birthparents. It demonstrates that as a result of a variety of factors — primarily social work professionalism, the demographic profile of birthmothers, and the influence of psychoanalytic theory on casework practice — the Society's policy on releasing family information to clients evolved through three phases. In the first and longest phase, roughly from 1895 to the mid-1950s, the Society maintained that adult adopted persons were entitled to identifying and nonidentifying information and that birthparents had a legitimate claim to nonidentifying information. In the second phase, a transitional period spanning the mid-1950s to the late-1960s, the Society's postadoption policy of relative openness became more restrictive. In the final phase, beginning in the early 1970s, the Society established a firm policy of closed records.

The central issue igniting the Adoption Rights Movement in 1971 was the inability of adopted persons to gain access to information about their birth families contained in adoption case records (Sorosky, Baran, & Pannor, 1978, chap. 3). Institutional custodians of adoption records — courts, hospitals, and adoption agencies — citing state statutes, some more than a half century old, refused to divulge any family information to adopted persons or birthparents searching for their biological kin. As early as 1917 Minnesota enacted legislation closing adoption records to public inspection, and other states soon followed. By 1943, spurred on by reformers wanting to protect the child born out of wedlock from the stigma of illegitimacy, 23 states had passed similar legislation sealing adoption records. By the early 1970s, sealed records had become a standard, if not universal, feature of the adoption process, but they had also achieved a seeming immutability that belied the past from which they emerged (Heisterman, 1935, pp. 289–290; Colby, 1942, pp. 70–71).

Not surprisingly, adoption rights activists assume that adoption records have always been sealed and that adoption agency officials have always been uncooperative in providing members of the adoption triad — adoptive parents, birthparents, and adopted persons — with family information (Sorosky, Baran & Pannor, 1978; Child Welfare, 1976; DiGiulio, 1979; Newborg, 1979; Weidell, 1980; Geissinger, 1984; Aumend & Barrett, 1984; Wertkin, 1986; Sachdev, 1988). These assumptions are so deeply rooted, so unquestioned, that adoption rights advocates have not even asked the question, “Have adoption records always been sealed?” because they begin with the ahistorical presumption that what is has always been so, and proceed accordingly. When adoption rights activists attempt to account for this state of affairs they assume, logically though without evidence, that adoption agencies and adoptive parents have conspired to seal the records (Fisher, 1971; Lifton, 1975, p. 12, 31, 105). But in fact, none of these assumptions is historically accurate. This article provides new information about a historical past that is all but unknown to historians, social workers, and proponents of unsealing adoption records. It will demonstrate that the Children’s Home Society of Washington State, the institution used here as a case study, had vast discretionary power over how much and

to whom it divulged family information. The story is complicated, and the Society's response varied enormously, depending on which members of the adoption triad were involved, what kind of information they desired, and when they made their inquiry. Generally, the Society's policy on releasing information to triad members evolved through three phases. In the first and longest phase, roughly from 1895 to the mid-1950s, the Society believed that adult adopted persons, regardless of legal restrictions, were entitled to identifying information (surnames and addresses that would lead to locating birthparents) and non-identifying information (medical history or nationality) as long as it was in their best interests. During this first phase, the Society also responded to birthparents, usually birthmothers, as if they had a legitimate claim to nonidentifying information. Indeed what is most striking about the Society's initial postadoption contact policy was the way it used its discretionary power to divulge family information. In the postwar period, however, the Society's initial postadoption policy of relative openness gave way to a policy of secrecy that was shaped in the Cold War era primarily by social workers' increasing commitment to professional secrecy, the changing demographic profile of birthmothers, and the influence of psychoanalytic theory on casework policy. The second phase of the Society's postadoption policy — roughly from 1955 to 1968 — was one of transition. The Society became increasingly restrictive in giving out identifying information to adult adopted persons and nonidentifying information to birthmothers, believing that those who sought such data were irrational or emotionally disturbed. In the third phase, from the 1970s to the present, the CHSW established a firm postadoption policy of closed records. The Society reversed its policy of voluntarily giving nonidentifying information to adult adopted persons and refused to divulge any identifying family information to triad members without a court order.

Data and Method

This article uses for the first time the confidential adoption case records of a twentieth-century adoption agency: the Children's Home Society of Washington (CHSW or Society). The records run consecutively from 1895 to 1973 when, because of

the shortage of Caucasian infants, the Society all but ceased placing children for adoption. One out of every ten of the CHSW's 21,000 adoption case records has been examined for evidence of its administrative policies toward releasing family information. (Data that the Society has added to the case records on postadoption contact has been examined through 1988.) The study's sample yielded 463 cases, comprising 479 individuals who returned to the Society 599 times in quest of information about themselves, siblings, or birthparents. Thus, almost a quarter of all cases ($N=463$) in this sample included postadoption contact. The case records have been supplemented by the Society's disorganized and incomplete minutes of supervisors' meetings, personnel files, and annual reports, dating mostly from the 1950s and 1960s.

This article is a case study. But corroborative evidence from the Child Welfare League of American (CWLA) — a privately supported national organization of affiliate adoption agencies — and geographically diverse child placement agencies, such as those in Illinois, New York, Minnesota, Ohio, and Florida, lends strong support that the CHSW's policies were not unique. Rather, they were representative of mainstream adoption agencies' attitudes and practices. In evaluating the CHSW's representativeness, it must be kept in mind that most adoption agencies still refuse to allow researchers access to their confidential case records. Scholars are invited to test this article's representativeness by conducting research at their local adoption agencies. Until adoption agency officials permit researchers access to the case records, the data presented here may be the best historians and social workers will ever get.

The Children's Home Society of Washington

In 1896, a Methodist minister, the Rev. Harrison D. Brown, and his wife, Libbie Beach Brown, the former Superintendent of the Nebraska State Orphanage, founded the Washington Children's Home Society.¹ The CHSW was an auxiliary association of the National Children's Home Society (NCHS) established in 1883 by the Rev. Martin Van Buren Van Arsdale, a Presbyterian minister from Illinois. The NCHS, part of a larger child welfare reform movement that swept the United States in the last half

of the nineteenth century, was dedicated to removing children from almshouses and orphanages and placing them in family homes. By the 1890s, Children's Home Societies had sprung up in Iowa, California, Indiana, Missouri, and Michigan; twenty years later, there were 28 Societies placing children in adoptive homes in 32 states (Tiffin, 1982, pp. 104–105).

Although five other child-placing institutions existed in Washington State when the CHSW was founded, the Browns quickly found themselves with a heavy case load. As the demand for child welfare services increased, the Society slowly added staff members, expanded geographically, and began to develop all the services related to adoption. By the 1960s, the CHSW averaged 421 adoptions a year, representing approximately 25% of Washington's adoptions. During the first 94 years of its existence the Society oversaw some 19,500 adoptions. In 1970, just before it permanently stopped placing children in adoptive homes, the Society operated six branches in every part of the state and administered programs which included homes for unmarried mothers, foster care for children prior to adoption, institutional or group care for older children, and, of course, adoption.²

The Society's Clients and their Motivations for Postadoption Contact

Among its many tasks, Society officials provided returning clients with family information. Throughout the twentieth century, birthparents, adult adopted persons, and adoptive parents regularly contacted the Society for information about their birth families. The most frequent seekers of information were adult adopted persons, who constituted 51% of the sample, followed by birthmothers (19%), siblings of adopted persons (13%), adoptive parents (8%), birthfathers (4.5%), and birth relatives of the adopted child such as grandparents or aunts and uncles (4.5%) (Table 1).³

Members of the adoption triad returned to the Society for different purposes. Adopted persons returned to the Society for three main reasons: to obtain copies of their birth certificates, to receive background and genetic information, and to contact members of their biological family. Of those requesting

Table 1

Postadoption Contact By Type Of Client
Children's Home Society of Washington, 1895-1988 (N=463)

Type Of Client	%	(N)
Adopted Persons	51.0	237
Birthmothers	19.0	89
Siblings	13.0	59
Adoptive Parents	8.0	37
Birthfathers	4.5	21
Relatives	4.5	20
Total	100.0%	463

Source: Case records, Children's Home Society Washington, Seattle, WA.

background or genetic information, the median age was twenty-three, and almost two-thirds were women. All birthmothers who contacted the Society wanted to know about their child's welfare: they asked about the baby's health or the character of the adoptive parents or requested the child's photograph. Birthmothers' median age when relinquishing their child was 20 years, and they usually returned to the CHSW within three years of placing the child for adoption. Siblings wanted to know the whereabouts of their brothers or sisters. Birthfathers and relatives, like birthmothers, sought information about the child's welfare. Adoptive parents returned to the Society seeking a birth certificate for their adopted child or information on the child's background and medical history (Table 2).

The Society's Postadoption Policy Toward Adoption Triad Members

Birthparents

When former clients returned to the CHSW for family information, agency officials initiated sincere efforts to accommodate their requests. Society workers used several means to promote relationships between birthparents and the children they relinquished. On rare occasions, officials informed birthparents of

Table 2

*Types Of Requests Initiated By Adult Adopted Persons
Children's Home Society Washington, 1895-1988 (N=237)*

Type of Request	%	(N)
Birth Certificate	21.0	49
Background or Genetic Information	51.0	122
Contact with Birthparents	19.0	44
Contact with Sibling	8.0	19
Other	1.0	3 ^a
Total	100.0%	237

^a Includes two requests for help in securing employment and one request for a letter of recommendation to join the U.S. Army.

Source: Case records, Children's Home Society Washington, Seattle, WA.

the adoptive parents' identity. In August 1910, the Society's Director, the Reverend L. J. Covington, gave birthfather John M. the address of and a letter of introduction to the adoptive parents of John's daughter Mary, who had been placed with them a month earlier. Covington explained to the adoptive parents that because John had demonstrated his ability to provide for the child, he thought it best that Mary be returned to her original parents. Covington regretted that the adoptive parents had become attached to Mary but urged them to "come in at your convenience and I will see what we can do about giving you another girl."⁴

Revealing the identities of adoptive parents to birthparents was exceptional, however, and it is significant that in all cases the Society confided in birthfathers. Even in this era of relative openness, the Society's policy toward birthparents requesting the whereabouts of a child was restrictive. Before the twentieth century it was axiomatic that birthparents should never be told the names of the adoptive parents or the child's location after relinquishing a child. Fears that the birthparents would reclaim the child or blackmail the adoptive parents initially fueled the policy of secrecy ("Whereabouts," 1900, p. 8; Illinois Children's

Home and Aid Society, 1916; Spence Alumnae Society, 1925, pp. 8–11). In general, Society officials refused to divulge the child's location to birthparents.

What must be emphasized, however, is that Society officials actively cooperated with birthparents' requests and demands for facts about their child's welfare. They invariably provided birthparents with optimistic details of the child's development and progress in school, but suggested it would be unfair for them to interfere with adoptive parents, who had invested so much time and energy in raising the child. Nor were these status reports merely routine and outdated summaries of the case record. At times, Society case workers visited the adoptive parents' home, checked on the child's welfare, and even requested the child's photograph for the birthmother.⁵

The most notable aspect of the Society's policy toward birthparents before World War II is the openness with which it responded when they requested the whereabouts of their *grown* children. When dealing with a request about adoptees, Society officials acted as though they had a responsibility to reunite birthparents with their grown children. This was manifested in a number of ways. Sometimes, Society caseworkers facilitated reunions by personally conducting detailed searches for the adult children of birthparents.⁶ More commonly, however, the Society functioned with birthparents as a passive adoption disclosure registry. Case workers would inform birthparents that they would keep their letters of inquiry on file and if their child contacted the Society they would "be very happy to put him in touch with his mother."⁷

Adult Adopted Persons

The Society's policy of providing birthmothers with non-identifying information such as the welfare of their child and acting as a passive adoption disclosure registry did not violate state law until 1943 when the legislature sealed "all records of any [adoption] proceeding" and ordered that they could not be opened except "for good cause shown," a phrase which belies the almost absolute restrictions courts have since imposed (Session Laws of the State of Washington, 1943; Lawrence, 1981; Poulin, 1987–1988). Remarkably, however, even state legislation

had little practical effect on the Society's policy of releasing information to adult adopted persons. Until the mid-1970s, Society adoption case workers simply ignored state law prohibiting the release of nonidentifying family information.⁸

Adult adopted persons were the primary beneficiaries of the CHSW's policy of freely divulging family information. As late as 1969, Society case workers gave *identifying* family information to adoptees upon request. When a young adoptee in 1930 "called at the office to find out about himself," Director Ralls instructed a staff member "to give him any information I could find in the file which I did." The staff member noted in her files that "the boy went away very happy."⁹ Similarly, when the wife of an adopted person wrote the Society in the same year requesting information for her husband, who "would like very much to know about his own people and what his real name is," Ralls sent him his birthmother's name, his birthdate, given name, the date of his relinquishment, and the name and date of his first placement.¹⁰ Additional examples could easily be multiplied.¹¹

Society caseworkers also eagerly assisted reunions of siblings who had been separated when young, though they made a sharp distinction between adult and underage siblings. When adoptees requested information about the location of their adult siblings, Society officials sent it to them immediately.¹² If the Society did not possess the information requested, case workers responded sympathetically. When Doreen K. inquired about her brother Lester in 1924, District Supervisor Charles S. Revelle was unable to inform her of his location, though he did provide her with the name and address of Lester's adoptive parents. Revelle's reply summarized the Society's policy and illustrates the cooperative spirit with which it responded to requests for family information: "We have been hoping that as this boy grew up, he would do as you have done; namely inquire at this office concerning his relatives. Many do this but so far we have not heard from him. . . . You may be sure that if we get any information regarding his present whereabouts, we will immediately communicate with you."¹³ Society officials refused, however, to divulge any information about siblings who were still living with the adoptive parents. In such instances, it played the role of a confidential intermediary, acting as a neutral third-party

between the adoptive parents and the adoptee seeking the sibling. They would do this by contacting the adoptive parents to obtain permission before releasing any information.¹⁴

Yet for all of its willingness to release family information and arrange reunions, the Society's policy toward adoptees was not one of "open records." The term is simply anachronistic before the era of the Adoption Rights Movement. Although social work experts asserted the child's right to family information, they never intended that adoptees should be allowed to read their own files. Nor were they prepared to reveal everything in the record. Even the most progressive social workers such as Grace Abbott, the Children's Bureau chief, counseled her compatriots that in certain circumstances professional social workers were responsible for *withholding* family information (Abbott, 1933, p. 40).

The Society's caseworkers adhered to professional social work principles by devising various strategies to limit the kind of information triad members received. They tried to prevent curious adoptees from discovering "unpleasant" truths about their birth families. Social workers also sought to protect birthparents, especially birthmothers, from being discovered by the children they had placed with the Society. Society case workers sometimes tried to stall or discourage young adoptees — usually those eighteen to twenty years of age — who were searching for their birthparents or siblings because of the potential embarrassment.¹⁵

The most common tactic Society case workers used to prevent some adoptees from finding out "unpleasant" truths and the one recommended by adoption experts, however, was simply not to tell them. Throughout most of its existence, the Society paternalistically omitted telling a small number of adoptees about the circumstances of their birth (i.e., that they were illegitimate), their parents' medical background (i.e., that there was a history of insanity or venereal disease), or their parents' racial background (i.e., African-American or American Indian). A sincere wish to spare the individual from painful emotions or, as they saw it, from social stigmatization motivated these omissions. For example, in 1939, caseworker Mary Lehn did not tell nineteen year-old Gloria D., an adopted woman searching for

her birthparents, that her mother was confined in an institution for incorrigible women, nor that her father was in prison for sodomizing her nine year-old sister. Instead, Lehn told Gloria only "the positive things I knew, leaving out the very negative which are certainly in the record."¹⁶ In emphasizing the strategies of adoption workers for withholding "unpleasant" truths from adoptees, we must not lose sight of the far more historically significant point that before the mid-1960s they gave *identifying* family history to most clients who requested it.

An Explanation of the Society's Postadoption Policy

How does one explain the Society's relatively open and sympathetic postadoption policy toward birthparents and adoptees? The answer lies in the matrix of record keeping, social work professionalism, the crisis of the family in the first quarter of the twentieth century, and the particular pre-World War II demographic make-up of birthmothers and their children. All of these factors worked to counteract the trend toward secrecy that had begun to surround the adoption process.

Record Keeping and Social Work Professionalism

The Society's careful maintenance of records was crucial to the ability of birthparents and adoptees to obtain family information, whether identifying or nonidentifying. These family histories — or case records, as they were called by professional social workers in the early twentieth century — functioned as the data base from which adoption workers could "scientifically" determine their clients' needs, train new social workers, undertake research, and educate the public as to the value and purpose of their profession (Bruno, 1916; Richmond, 1917, p. 43; Lubove, 1965, p. 47; Richmond, 1925).

More importantly, at least for the history of postadoption contact, professional social workers by the early 1920s compiled detailed family histories because they believed that children had a right to that information when they grew up. Social workers believed that it was crucial "to conserve somewhere the information which may be of vital importance to the child" (Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, 1929, p. 6). They repeatedly

deplored any failure to keep accurate records on dependent children. As the Pennsylvania Bureau of Children proclaimed in 1923, "it is better to write a thousand records that are not used than to fail to be able to supply a vital bit of family history when it is needed" (Child Welfare League of America, 1923, p. 3).

Crisis of the Family

Cultural and demographic changes at the turn of the century strengthened the Society's resolve to give family information to birthmothers and adoptees. These changes led many Americans to believe that the traditional family was in a state of crisis. The signs of decay were everywhere: the upsurge in the number of divorces; the drop in the nation's birthrate among native-born, Anglo-Saxon whites; and the dramatic change in traditional sex roles, with young women pursuing a college education, working outside the home, agitating for women's rights, and engaging in premarital sex that resulted in an apparent epidemic of unwed mothers (Mintz and Kellogg, 1988, chap. 6). An alarmed America responded to the perceived crisis of the family by attempting to strengthen it. In the three decades before World War II, physicians, social workers, and adoption specialists, glorifying parenthood and the importance of maintaining "natural" families, counseled unmarried mothers to keep their "illegitimate" children (Romanofsky, 1969, pp. 81–104, 117–139). These injunctions to preserve "natural" families found expression in the Child Welfare League of America's 1932 *Standards For Institutions Caring For Dependent Children*, which stated that "contacts with members of the child's own [i.e., birth] family should be maintained by correspondence and visits, safeguarded when necessary to protect the child and the foster family, and the tie between child and his own family should be fostered and encouraged."¹⁷ Thus, the Society's policies of providing information on relinquished children, facilitating reunions, and acting as a passive adoption disclosure registry conformed to the Child Welfare League of America's injunction to promote ties between birthparents and their children.

Demographics

Most importantly, the demographic profile of the Society's clientele provided a material basis for its relatively open policy

on postadoption contact. Before 1946 — and the end of World War II marks a very clear dividing line — a dramatically high percentage of birthmothers seeking postadoption contact had been married at the time of the child's conception. Before 1946, 65% of children relinquished by these birthmothers were born to married parents compared to *virtually none* afterwards. Most of these prewar birthmothers placed their children for adoption as a result of poverty caused by divorce or desertion. The median age of the children they relinquished was four and one-half years. The advanced age of these children permitted strong bonds to develop between birthmothers and children before relinquishment and gave birthmothers a privileged claim to family information.¹⁸

New Restrictions in the Society's Policies

Birthmothers and Birthparents

Beginning in the 1950s, the Society's attitude and policy toward birthparents and adult adopted persons who requested information slowly became more rigid and less forthcoming. Birthparents were the first to be affected by the CHSW's policy changes. The evolution of the Society's restrictive policy is illustrated by the way it responded, over a period of fourteen years, to three birthmothers who requested photographs of their children. In 1955, a distraught birthmother successfully implored CHSW adoption worker Ruth B. Moscrip for a snapshot of her child. Almost a decade later when another birthmother made the same request, a different caseworker suggested she first discuss the matter with a psychiatrist. Initially, the doctor favored complying with the request, but then changed his mind because he "could see many reasons why it would not be a good idea for [Miss B.] to have a picture of her baby." Finally, in 1969, the Society stopped trying to accommodate birthmothers. When the by now familiar request for a photograph arrived a CHSW caseworker notified a birthmother that "we have a policy of 'no pictures.'" ¹⁹

In another departure from the Society's earlier policy of openness, CHSW officials refused to act as intermediaries between birthparents and adoptive parents. In turning down one

such appeal in 1955, a Society caseworker informed a birthmother that "we do not harass adopting parents in any way."²⁰ Not only did the Society increasingly restrict the amount of information released to birthmothers, but it also began to falsify the data. Society adoption workers occasionally lied to birthmothers about the adopting family's social status or the child's health or the child's placement status. One birthmother was told that her child had been adopted by a college-educated, professional couple rather than, as actually happened, a blue-collar family with high-school educations. Another was assured that her child was in good health when, in reality, the baby was hospitalized with a serious congenital disease. A third birthmother was informed that her child had been placed for adoption when the child was still in the Society's custody.²¹ Society caseworkers believed that such deception was for the good of their clients. As caseworker Landau stated in justifying her lie to a birthmother about her child's status and adoptive parents, "I felt it was important, for the girl's piece of mind, that we tell her the baby was placed, as I feel if she believes it is placed she will be able to come to peace about it, whereas this way [i.e., telling her the truth] it would only continue to trouble her."²² By the late 1960s, not only were birthmothers receiving less information than before about their children from adoption workers, but there was a strong possibility that the information they did receive had been falsified to avoid upsetting them. In 1969, when Society officials revised the adoption manual's section on "Post-Adoption Services and Service on Closed Cases," birthmothers were not even mentioned.

Adult adopted persons

The CHSW also began restricting adult adopted persons' access to family information. Beginning in the 1950s, it is possible to detect among some Society officials and caseworkers a hardening of attitude, a lessening of sympathy, toward those searching for family members. Although the evidence is fragmentary, it reveals Society adoption workers making decisions that had no precedent in past casework. In 1958, adoptee Bill R. returned to the Society to search for his brothers. Adoption

supervisor Emily Brown tersely noted that "he knew about one brother, Robert, but apparently not about the other, Edward, and he was not told about him."²³ When Wanda M. wanted to locate her birthparents and asked for her father's name, adoption worker "X" lied and told her the Society did not know it.²⁴ For the first time, in 1969, Society officials invoked state law to justify their refusal to divulge family information to adult adopted persons.

Explanation for the Society's Restrictive Postadoption Contact Policy

General Climate of Opinion: The Cold War

What accounts for the Society's change in attitude and policy on releasing information to birthmothers and adult adopted persons? The answer lies in the matrix of social workers' increasing commitment to professional secrecy, demography, and psychoanalytic theory. The difficulties that birthmothers and adult adopted persons experienced in obtaining family information were exacerbated by the Cold War and social workers' growing adherence to the principle of client confidentiality and the importance of professional secrecy in general. In the 1930s, as casework dealt increasingly with emotional and psychological problems, social workers began to emphasize their responsibility not to reveal client-entrusted communications to other social agencies or caseworkers. Their views on confidentiality were first recognized in federal legislation with the passage of an amendment to the Social Security Act, mandating that by July 1941 "a State plan for aid to dependent children must . . . provide safeguards which restrict the use or disclosure of information concerning applicants and recipients to purposes directly connected with the administration of aid to dependent children." Professional secrecy was strongly reinforced in the cultural and political climate of the Cold War, as McCarthyism encouraged inquiries into citizens' personal lives. Both the value and precariousness of the principle of confidentiality were made evident to social workers with the passage in 1951 of the

Jenner Amendment to the Social Security Act, which permitted state governments to open their hitherto confidential welfare records to public scrutiny. In Cold War America, social workers invoked the principle of confidentiality to defend the civil liberties of some of their clients. Ironically, adoption workers applied the same principle to prevent unmarried mothers from obtaining information about their children and adult adopted persons from learning about their birth families (Alves, 1984, chap. 4, pp. 87–90, 160–163, 182–183; quotation on p. 79).

Demographic Change

Ironically, it was in this context of increasing concern about client confidentiality that birthmothers were the first to be affected by the Society's restrictive policy. As noted earlier, a majority of pre-World War II birthmothers were married or divorced, worked outside the home, and had relinquished their children because they were unable to support them. The advanced age of the children they relinquished — their median age was four and one-half years — permitted strong bonds to develop between birthmothers and children and gave birthmothers a privileged claim to family information. In the postwar era, the CHSW's birthmothers' demographic profile changed radically: they were younger and predominantly single; moreover, the vast majority of their children were born out of wedlock and relinquished within days of their birth. Postwar birthmothers' youth, their children's illegitimacy, and the quick separation of mother and child eroded their special claim to receive family information. At the Society, the changing demographic profile of birthmothers and their adoptive children was one important factor in the evolution of its increasingly restrictive policy of releasing family information. Looking back two decades later, caseworker Marian Elliot would explain the Society's openness toward birthmothers as a necessity dictated by demographic circumstances: "a child who had been placed well beyond infancy . . . had a memory of his natural mother." Even if the Society had wanted to enforce strict confidentiality, "it could not be handled in the same way since all parties had so much knowledge of the situation."²⁵ In the postwar era, however, few children entering the Society had memories of their mothers.

Psychoanalytic Studies and the Unmarried Mother

Concomitantly, psychoanalytic studies of unmarried mothers, which depicted them as neurotic at best, psychotic at worst, strengthened adoption workers' resolve to deny birthmothers information about their children. In the first quarter of the twentieth century, under the guise of "scientific" casework, social workers reacted sympathetically to the plight of unwed mothers. Their analysis stressed the underlying causes of heredity and environment, including the responsibility of the father and the community for the child. Social workers' treatment emphasized keeping birthmothers and their children together and recommended adoption only as a last resort (Watson, 1918, p. 103; Sheffield, 1919, pp. 77-78; Cleveland Protestant Orphan Asylum, 1922, 9-10; Colby, 1926; p. 3; O'Grady, 1927, pp. 15-16; Spence Alumnae Society, 1929, p. 8). Between 1928 and 1935, social casework methodology shifted, with momentous consequences, from Mary Richmond's environmental perspective to a more psychoanalytic orientation using the work of Sigmund Freud, Otto Rank, and Alfred Adler (Hellenbrand, 1965, chaps. 2-4; Alexander, 1972). Between 1939 and 1958, as psychoanalytic theory came to dominate casework, social workers' interest in environmental factors waned, and they began to take their cues from psychiatric research conducted on unmarried mothers. These studies left little doubt that unwed mothers were psychologically unhealthy. One early investigation of 16 unmarried mothers in 1941, citing the work of the Freudian psychoanalyst Helene Deutsch, concluded that "these pregnancies represent hysterical dissociation states in which the girls act out their incest phantasies as an expression of the Oedipus situation" (Kasanin and Handschin, 1941, p. 83; Roazen, 1985; Webster, 1985). Another study of 54 unwed mothers, conducted by James Cattell, an experimental psychiatrist at the New York State Psychiatric Institute, found the following distribution of diagnoses among its subjects: "character disorder, 30; neurotic reaction, 7 (anxiety, depressive, and conversion); schizophrenia, 17 (pseudoneurotic, 7; other types, 10)" (Cattell, 1954, p. 337). But it was the prolific Florence Clothier, a psychiatrist affiliated with Boston's New England Home for Little Wanderers, who brought the more technical psychiatric research to the attention

of social workers. In a series of articles appearing between 1941 and 1955, Clothier repeatedly stated that unmarried motherhood represented "a distorted and unrealistic way out of inner difficulties — common adolescent phantasies (rape, prostitution, and immaculate conception or parthenogenesis) and is comparable to neurotic symptoms on the one hand and delinquent behavior on the other" (Clothier, 1943a, p. 548; Clothier, 1941a; 1941b; 1955).

*Social Workers and Psychoanalytic
Studies of the Unmarried Mother*

Social workers medicalized the issue of illegitimacy by ignoring the host of hereditary and environmental conditions that may have caused it and instead focusing on the individual psychodynamics of unwed mothers. As early as 1933 social workers began using psychiatric concepts in nontechnical language to suggest that unwed mothers "seized every opportunity to escape from reality" and described them in their professional literature as neurotic, emotionally immature, and irresponsible (Henry, 1933, p. 76; Brisley, 1939, pp. 11–12). By the mid-1940s, social workers confidently asserted that "we know that the unmarried mother is an unhappy and neurotic girl who seeks through the medium of an out-of-wedlock baby to find an answer to her own unconscious conflicts and needs. She is acting out an unconscious, infantile fantasy, the roots of which are unknown to us but the results of which constitute an urgent problem" (Young, 1947, p. 27). And by 1958, the psychiatric view of unmarried mothers was incorporated into the CWLA's influential *Standards for Adoption Service* which stated that unwed mothers "have serious personality disturbances [and] need help with their emotional problems" (Child Welfare League of America, 1958, p. 14).

The logic of this diagnosis carried within it the prescription for treating unmarried mothers. Because the child was portrayed as a symptom of unwed mothers' neurotic drives, social workers believed that, with rare exceptions, unmarried mothers were incapable of providing sustained care and security for their babies (Clothier, 1941, p. 2). This led social workers such as the St. Louis Children's Aid Society's Ruth F. Brenner to question

"whether mothers as emotionally immature as these have any interest in planning a sound future for their babies" (Brenner, 1939, p. 23). Clothier had no doubts of unwed mothers' unfitness for parenthood. She claimed to have "never seen a school age, neurotic, unmarried mother who I thought would gain by keeping her baby, or who would be able to provide well for the baby" (Clothier, 1955, p. 645). The inescapable conclusion social workers drew from the professional social work literature was that the best treatment was to separate the unmarried mother from her child. Caseworkers were advised "to help the unmarried mother to see that she was using the baby as a symbol of neurotic need and that she did not have to keep it on that basis" (Schertz, 1947, pp. 59-60). When considering those unwed mothers who wanted to keep their children or maintain contact with them, social workers echoed Helene Deutsch's observation that "the least mature among unmarried mothers are the very ones who often fight to keep their children" (Deutsch, 1945, 2:376; Schertz, 1947, p. 61; Young, 1947, pp. 27-28, 33).

The Society and Psychoanalytic Studies of the Unmarried Mother

CHSW personnel adopted this psychoanalytic view of unmarried mothers. As late as 1971, the Society's Director of Social Services Ben Eide urged caseworkers to read Sarah Evan's "The Unwed Mother's Indecision About Her Baby as a Defense Mechanism," a 1958 article published with the imprimatur of the Child Welfare League of America. Evan stated as axiomatic two premises of psychoanalytic research concerning unmarried mothers. First, the pregnancy was "a fantasy fulfillment of Oedipal and pre-Oedipal strivings or a neurotic solution to such problems as loss of a loved person, or anxieties about one's sexuality." Second, the best solution for the majority of unwed mothers was to give the baby up. Evan argued that the unmarried mother's resistance to placing the child for adoption should be understood in "terms of the dynamics of defense and symptom formation." Therefore, the caseworker's job was to assist the client to recognize her defenses and help her work through them (Evan, 1958, p. 18). CHSW adoption caseworkers read Evan and followed her recommendations. They helped unmarried women arrive, sometimes reluctantly, sometimes with

ease, at a decision to relinquish their children to the Society. In difficult cases, they sought the advice of outside psychiatric consultants and accepted their diagnosis that unmarried mothers displayed "many characteristics of an adolescent character disorder with many hysterical features."²⁶ In this milieu, it is not surprising that CHSW adoption workers began withholding photographs from unwed birthmothers and restricting their contact with their children and their children's adoptive parents.

Origins of the Society's Restrictive Policy Toward Adult Adopted Persons

Changing Definitions of Social Work Professionalism

A somewhat different set of social circumstances accounts for the Society's change in policy on releasing information to adult adopted persons. One factor may have been changing definitions of professionalism and increasing bureaucratization. As we have seen, social workers during the Progressive era advocated keeping records to conduct scientific casework *and* because the child had a right to know his family history. After the Second World War, the CWLA's *Standards for Adoption Service* continued to recommend these twin objectives to member agencies, though the child's right to family information was clouded by the ambiguous injunction that the agency should preserve family history "which can be made available when needed" (Child Welfare League of America, 1958, p. 47). By 1969, however, Society officials had dropped the emphasis on providing the client with information. Following Gordon Hamilton's authoritative *Principles of Social Case Recording* (1946), they viewed case records only as illustrative of "the process in a particular adoption," and as an "aid to the supervisor in working with the social workers and to administration in reviewing and assessing the services of the agency."²⁷ In practice, this meant the Society emphasized keeping detailed records on the care given to unmarried mothers, the prospective adoptive parents' interview, and the child's placement, as well as specific administrative responsibilities such as raising money, plant construction, hiring

staff, and meeting payrolls. But the institution's duty to preserve family information *for the child* had disappeared from the CHSW's mission.

Freudian Family Romance Theory

Psychoanalytic studies conducted on adopted children and adults also strongly influenced the Society's increasingly restrictive policy toward releasing family information after World War II. Society adoption workers began interpreting adult adopted persons who searched for their birthparents as "very disturbed young people" and "sick youths," a perspective grounded in the psychoanalytic concept of the family romance fantasy. First articulated by Sigmund Freud and then transmitted to psychiatric social workers by Otto Rank in his *Myth of the Birth of the Hero*, this concept received special emphasis in the psychology of adopted children developed by psychotherapists Helene Deutsch and Florence Clothier (Freud, 1959; Rank, 1952; Deutsch, 1930; Clothier 1939, pp. 612-14; 1943b, pp. 228-230). According to Freud, the family romance is a common fantasy of most small children who, when sensing that their affection for their parents is "not being fully reciprocated," imagine they are a "step-child or an adopted child." Wishing to be free of his parents, the child develops a fantasy in which he is the child of "others, who, as a rule, are of higher social standing." The child's fantasy, however, of being adopted occurs only at the first or asexual stage of family romance development. When, during the "second (sexual) stage of the family romance," the child attains knowledge of the mother and father's sexual relationship, the family romance "undergoes a curious curtailment," and the child no longer believes he has two sets of parents. The child now exalts the father, based on his earlier memory of an all-loving parent. As Freud observed, the child "is turning away from the father whom he knows today to the father in whom he believed in the earlier years of his childhood; and his fantasy is no more than the expression of regret that those happy days have gone" (Freud, 1959, pp. 238-241; Freud, 1964, p. 12). In normal child development, the fantasy of being adopted subsides quickly.

*Social Workers Apply Freudian Family
Romance Theory to Adopted Persons*

Clothier wrote a series of articles between 1939 and 1943 that ignored Freud's second stage of the family romance and made the first or asexual stage of family romance fantasy central to the psychodynamics of the adopted child. Relying heavily on Deutsch and Rank, she postulated that the adopted child, who in fact had two sets of parents, did not experience the family romance as a fantasy. The adopted child's inability to use reality to neutralize fantasy, as nonadopted children did, served to strengthen and confirm the family romance (Clothier, 1939, pp. 612–14; 1943b, pp. 228–30). Clothier, for the first time in social welfare research, used the family romance concept to question the therapeutic benefit of providing adopted adults with identifying information. If reality could not dissipate fantasy, then telling an adopted person that "his father was such-and-such person" could not "in any way assuage his need of a real father" (Clothier, 1943b, pp. 578–579). With this logic psychoanalysts began to undermine the rationale for giving identifying information to adult adopted persons.

Although hesitating to draw definite conclusions until more clinical research was conducted, Clothier suggested that therapists consider the hypothesis that adopted children with behavior problems might be living out the family romance fantasy. By the 1950s, Clothier's tentative suggestion had evolved into a proven conclusion. Writing in 1953 and citing Deutsch's and Clothier's early articles, New York psychotherapist Viola W. Bernard asserted that the adopted child's inability to rid himself of the family romance fantasy was part of the "symptomatology of emotionally disturbed adoptive children." She concluded that "the most potent antidote to excessive and persistent pathological recourse to this escapist fantasy is a healthy, secure, satisfying relationship between the child and his adoptive parents"²⁸ (Bernard, 1953, p. 431). Social workers would interpret this tenet of psychoanalytic theory to mean that searching for birthparents was pathological and, by extension, represented the failure of the adoptive process. In 1958, CHSW adoption supervisor Evelyn Tibbals described to her staff several examples of adult adopted persons searching for their

"natural parents" and made clear her belief that "the troubled adult was a pretty unhappy, disturbed person."²⁹

The Society's Postadoption Contact Policy Toward Adult Adopted Persons

A decade later, Society officials incorporated into their 1968 "Adoption Manual" all the contradictory strands of social work theory and practice that had characterized the CHSW's response to adult adopted persons who sought family information or desired to locate their birthparents. Reflecting the period of openness — roughly from its beginnings to the late 1950s — the CHSW's "Adoption Manual" affirmed the adult adopted person's right to family background information. Overlapping with the period of openness was a transitional decade between 1958 and 1968 in which the Society restricted adult adopted person's access to family information. Reflecting this new emphasis on secrecy, the Society's guidelines for postadoption contact exhibited its reliance on psychiatric theory. The fault line became nonidentifying versus identifying information. For those adult adopted persons desiring nonidentifying information, the Society showed its early, more open face. The manual instructed caseworkers that an adult adopted person requesting family information "should be encouraged to come for an interview" and treated "with a sensitive interest in his inquiry."³⁰ The Society expected caseworkers to reveal nonidentifying information even though this was contrary to law. As CHSW Associate Director Joseph T. Chambers frankly admitted to the CWLA's 1978 follow-up survey on the sealed adoption records controversy, the Society's "practice is to give non-identifying [information] in violation of law."³¹ Also reminiscent of the earlier period was the manual's injunction to present "unpleasant" information about birthparents "in a way that will enable a client to use it constructively." The manual specifically instructed caseworkers to handle with care data surrounding the circumstances of the child's relinquishment and to emphasize to the person seeking this information that "his natural parents were unable to provide for him and acted responsibly in this adoptive planning for him."³² The Society's adoption workers repeatedly put the manual's instructions into practice.³³

When discussing requests of adult adopted persons for identifying information, however, the manual's tone and content changed abruptly. It stated bluntly that "for reasons of confidentiality," no identifying information should be released to adult adopted persons. The manual characterized an individual requesting identifying information as usually a person who "has had many unhappy past experiences and . . . is so intent upon finding the natural parent that he is not able to consider his request in a realistic or rational way." It advised the caseworker to discourage the adult adopted person's quest and suggested that "the person may be relieved by being stopped . . . but often he merely feels frustrated."³⁴ Though not stated in the manual, the caseworker's next step was to refer the client to "a treatment agency," which probably meant seeing a psychiatrist. One can only imagine what adoption supervisor Lucille T. Kane thought when she suggested to Susan G., a woman who requested identifying information in 1956, that "she seek psychiatric help for this long standing problem" and Susan replied that "she had already talked to Psychiatrists who told her it would be a good thing if she could see her mother."³⁵ The manual did note, however, that for the Susans of this world "who cannot accept that [they] have problems, referral to a treatment agency may not be appropriate."³⁶

The 1968 manual did not fundamentally change the Society's policy of facilitating sibling reunions or acting as an intermediary between adult adopted persons and adoptive parents. In 1971, however, the Society stopped releasing identifying information to adopted adults searching for their siblings. The Society's decision was prompted by Nancy I.'s request for her adopted brother's whereabouts. At a full-scale staff meeting called specifically to discuss the issue, the question of whether to release that information ignited "considerable discussion." The staff members finally hammered out a consensus that "to divulge information of this type is not allowable by law." They left it to Director of Social Services Ben Eide to inform Nancy that "Washington State Law is quite specific (Revised Code of Washington 26.36.020 and 26.36.030) in stating agencies cannot release information from records without a court order." Eide enclosed a copy of the law and invited Nancy to get a court

order "which would force the agency to release the information you seek."⁵⁰ By 1974, Society caseworkers such as Doris Gillespie routinely turned down requests by adult adopted persons for identifying information about their biological families with what by then had become formulaic language: "adoption records are sealed and our agency had no authority to reveal identifying information."⁵¹

Summary and Conclusions

Throughout the twentieth century — well before the birth of the Adoption Rights Movement — adult adopted persons and birthparents returned to adoption agencies for answers to questions about themselves and their birth families. They did so for the same reasons as individuals do today: to obtain genetic background information, to satisfy their curiosity about the circumstances of their birth, and to search for biological family members. This historical analysis of the Children's Home Society of Washington reveals a past that is unknown to historians, social workers, adoption rights activists, and members of the adoption triad. It is clear that Society officials and caseworkers, often despite laws to the contrary, adhered to cultural values and professional ethics stressing family preservation. These ethics encouraged them to release identifying information to adult clients. Reinforcing their belief in family preservation was the demographic circumstances of the Society's pre-World War II clientele: older, married, impoverished birthmothers who had already bonded with their older children before relinquishment. These biological ties and memories, broken by circumstances beyond the control of family members, gave birthparents and adoptees a special claim to family information. In keeping with their own professional standards, which gave them enormous discretion, however, Society caseworkers would not reveal to birthparents the location of adopted children and refrained from conveying "unpleasant" truths to adult adopted persons, a minority of whom had been born out of wedlock or had a medical history or racial background that was thought to be stigmatizing.

For several reasons, adoption agencies became more restrictive in releasing identifying information after the Second World

War. First, social workers slowly shifted their primary emphasis from providing postadoption clients with family information to concentrating on the adoptive process itself and agency administration. Second, the Cold War and the concomitant growth of professional secrecy, along with changing demographic circumstances, encouraged the Society to accept the findings of psychiatric research, which in turn reinforced the CHSW's restrictive policy. As birthmothers became younger and relinquished infants born out of wedlock, Society adoption workers convinced themselves that birthmothers had not bonded with their children, who in turn did not remember their mothers. Under these dramatically altered conditions, case workers accepted both a body of psychiatric research that medicalized the issue of illegitimacy by identifying unmarried mothers as borderline psychotics and a variant of Freudian family romance fantasy theory that viewed adopted adults' requests for identifying information as evidence of psychological maladjustment. It is somewhat ironic that the Adoption Rights Movement has placed its faith in psychoanalysts, such as Robert Jay Lifton and Arthur D. Sorosky, who claim that the identity problems of adopted persons in late adolescence and young adulthood would be solved by opening the records, when it was a previous body of psychiatric research, emphasizing the behavioral and emotional problems of unmarried mothers and adopted children, that contributed to closing the records in the first place (Lifton, (1976; Sorosky, 1975, 1978). Adoption rights activists, in their quest for their biological families, incorrectly assume that they are demanding the opening of records that have *always* been sealed and fail to understand the multiple factors responsible for sealing adoption records. A longer historical perspective reveals instead a more complicated — but more usable — past.

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Notes

1. The original name of the CHSW was the Washington Children's Home Society. In 1959, the Society's name was changed to the Children's Home Society of Washington to make clear to the public it was *not* a state

run or supported child welfare institution. Except for the description of the Society's founding, the CHSW's current name will be used throughout this article. (Children's Home Society of Washington. (1970). *Children's Home Society of Washington, History, 1970*. Unpublished manuscript in the Children's Home Society of Washington Archives; hereafter cited as CHSWA).

2. CHSW, *Children's Home Society of Washington, History, 1970*. (1970). CHSWA; CHSW, *Plans to '75: Report and Recommendations from the Long-Range Planning Committee*. (March 9, 1967), Appendix, D, CHSWA.
3. The case records are located at the Children's Home Society of Washington, Adoption Resource Center, 3300 N.E. 65th Street, Seattle, WA 98115; hereafter cited as CHSW CR. This article will not discuss the Society's policy toward adoptive parents' request for information. Instead it will focus on the CHSW's policy toward releasing information to adult adopted persons and birthmothers because they are the principal founders of the Adoption Rights Movement. It is these two groups' claim that they have always been denied access to their adoption records that this article is challenging.
4. CHSW CR 1622. All names of CHSW clients used in this article are fictitious.
5. See, for example, CHSW CR 4672.
6. CHSW CR 122.
7. CHSW CR 1282. See also CHSW CR 1162, 6312, 572, 5342, 4272. As late as 1952 the Society was still telling birthmothers that they would keep their names on file to give to their children if the children should ever inquire at the Society for their birthparents. See, for example, CHSW CR 6632 and 4262.
8. CHSW. (January 27, 1978). A survey to determine agency policies and practices related to the release of adoption information. Folder: CHSW Papers: Questionnaire Requests-Reports, 1974-1979, CHSWA.
9. CHSW CR 1832.
10. CHSW CR 1602.
11. See, for example, CHSW CR 614, 132, 1022, 1322, 1692, 1872, 1902, 2242, 2382, 2520, 3022, 3792, 4622. Although four-fifths of the pre-1946 Children's Home Society of Minnesota (CHSM) adoption case records have been destroyed, it is clear from the extant ones that the CHSM had a similar policy of revealing both identifying and nonidentifying information. See, for example, Children's Home Society of Minnesota, Case Record 2643, 2928, Children's Home Society of Minnesota, St. Paul; hereafter cited as CHSM CR.
12. See, for example, CHSW CR 212, 2431, 3352, 8082.
13. CHSW CR 1283. See also CHSW CR 2832, 3552, 6052.
14. CHSW CR 1393, 2154, 2914, 4142, 5432, 6852, 7672, 7942. The Children's Home Society of Minnesota had an identical policy. See, for example, CHSM CR 3660.
15. CHSW CR 2834, 3356, 882, 2630, 6322, 8512, 8662, 9842.

16. CHSW CR 7242. For additional examples of caseworkers withholding family information, see CHSW CR 2232, 2630, 3102, 3782.
17. As late as 1940, adoption workers used the phrase "foster parents" when they clearly meant "adoptive parents." See, for example, Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, 1916, pp. 4, 5; Cleveland Protestant Orphan Asylum, 1925, p. 10; Children's Home Society of Florida, 1926, p. 1; Spence Alumnae Society, 1940, p. 7. The confusing interchangeability of the terms is nicely captured in the title of Rathbun, 1944.
18. These figures are based on a sample of 34 cases. A comparison of the rate of legitimacy between birthmothers who returned for family information and *all* CHSW birthmothers reveals that the sample is representative. The rate of legitimacy among all pre-1946 birthmothers was 58% (N=741). CHSW CR.
19. CHSW CR 11202, 16062, 19582.
20. CHSW CR 11202. See also CHSW CR 9662.
21. CHSW CR 15072, 15212, 12792. See also CHSW CR 14573.
22. CHSW CR 12792.
23. CHSW CR 7942.
24. CHSW CR 7072. See also CHSW CR 5693.
25. CHSW CR 16433.
26. CHSW CR 18993.
27. Children's Home Society of Washington. (1968). *Adoption Manual*. Unpublished manuscript. Part IV: "Recording," pp. 1-2, CHSWA; hereafter cited as "Adoption Manual."
28. Bernard was reprinted in the widely read Smith, 1963.
29. CHSW, "Minutes of General Staff Meeting" November 12, 1958, CHSWA.
30. "Adoption Manual," Part I, Sect. G: "Post-Adoption Services and Service on Closed Cases," p. 11b.
31. "A Survey to Determine Agency Policies and Practices Related to the Release of Adoption Information," January 27, 1978, Folder: CHSW Papers: Questionnaire Requests—Reports, 1974-1979, CHSWA.
32. "Adoption Manual," p. 11b.
33. CHSW CR 3122, 4181, 6921, 7285, 8306, 9032.
34. "Adoption Manual," p. 11b.
35. CHSW CR 7082.
36. "Adoption Manual," p. 11b.
37. CHSW CR 11834. See also CHSW CR 16433.
38. CHSW CR 12812.

The Battle for Benevolence: Scientific Disciplinary Control vs. "Indiscriminate Relief": Lexington Associated Charities and the Salvation Army, 1900 – 1918

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This historical case study explores the conflicts that emerged between the Scientific Charity Organization movement and the evangelical Salvation Army. At issue were two sets of reform styles, each legitimated by distinct sources of authority. The Salvation Army's practice was anchored in a religious understanding. Scientific Charity, battling for hegemonic control, espoused a rising positivistic worldview and championed disciplinary techniques for sorting the poor into binary categories of worthy and unworthy. This study illuminates the changing nature of social relations between charity workers and recipients and the construction of professional welfare methods.

The Progressive Era was a pivotal time for enlarging and professionalizing the field of charity work. Social workers sought to consolidate a professional identity, elevate professional prestige and privilege, and extend diagnostic and discursive fields of expertise. Social work professionals introduced a vast array of surveillance techniques such as investigation, documentation, classification, and assessment. They defined new areas of pathology and widened the net of normative assumptions made about character, adjustment, intimacy, morality, and the wholesome personality.

The work of Michael Foucault (1978, 1979) raises important themes for guiding the interpretation of early social work practice and professionalization. Foucault's approach calls for a close inspection of the techniques of expert power such as the web of observational, assessment, and documentary practices used to classify, arrange, and order people. His work provides

a new way of understanding power in "disciplinary/knowledge regimes." For Foucault, power is "constitutive" rather than "repressive." Professional knowledge, according to Foucault, creates the very problems that it seeks to resolve.

Under the leadership of charity organization societies, social workers implemented new methods for sorting immigrants and native-born poor into categories of worthy and unworthy as part of the rising tide of disciplinary professionalism during the Progressive Era. The construction of social experts who championed these disciplinary practices significantly reshaped the discursive and institutional practices of benevolence as well as the social relations of charity workers, donors, and recipients. Yet, as this historical case study illustrates, the imposition of a professionalized order and practice was not a tidy conquest. Older religious understandings of charity provided a counterpoint to the newly emerging scientific and business-like approaches engineered by social work experts (Kunzel, 1988).

This case study examines the battle for benevolence between the Salvation Army and the Associated Charities of Lexington, Kentucky. In this battle to control the practice of charity, the professionally-identified Associated Charities sought to discredit the evangelically-driven practices of the Salvation Army as sentimental and indiscriminate. At war were two sets of discursive practices and institutional forms, each legitimated by distinct sources of authority. The conflict between the methods and goals of the Salvation Army and those of scientific charity was a battle for hegemony between world views—an older world view in decline, anchored in religious understandings, and a rising positivistic world view legitimized by a new scientific ideology and disciplinary techniques.

Scientific Charity in Lexington, Kentucky

This is the day of organization; the tramps, beggars, and criminals are organized; they have signs, gripes, passwords, and even newspapers. It's time for organized charity (Proceedings, Kentucky State Conference on Charities and Corrections, 1904, p. 3).

The Lexington Associated Charities was established in February, 1900, in response to a call from the mayor to the "Ladies

of Lexington" for help in managing the demands for relief that resulted from severe winter weather that year. Madeline Breckinridge, elected President of the Associated Charities in 1903, was heavily involved in the organization's creation and remained a life-long member. Married to the editor of the *Lexington Herald*, Breckinridge had access to a public forum through which to influence Lexington's civic culture. A strong advocate of women's suffrage, she wrote a weekly women's page that "was not to be given up wholly to discussing fashion...instead anything from cabbages to politics will be treated" (Breckinridge papers, letter to Charities and Commons, February, 1906). As a granddaughter of Henry Clay, she also had at her command the older class prerogatives of the southern gentry. In the area of social reform work, Breckinridge was associated with such charity experts as Florence Kelly, Jane Addams and Sophonisba Breckinridge, her sister-in-law, biographer and a pioneer social work educator at the University of Chicago, each of whom she called upon for speaking visits to Lexington. She won national recognition as an officer in the National Conference on Social Work.

According to the Lexington Associated Charities, charity work was to be redefined as a scientific and business-like practice. It should organize the philanthropic resources of the community efficiently, provide centralized administration, utilize investigative methods to weed out unworthy applicants and avoid weakening the character structure of the poor. To achieve these goals, the Associated Charities hired a full-time secretary, ran a temporary shelter in conjunction with a woodyard for evaluating work habits, conducted a stamp saving program, and utilized four friendly visitors.

From the standpoint of Associated Charities, effective relief was "scientific charity," engineered by unsentimental experts practicing scientific investigations and treatments. The Associated Charities thus sought to purge sentimental practices from charity work and replace them with rationalized actions. As Breckinridge contended, "Scientific Charity is a term bestowed upon the method of relieving the poor that seeks a basis for its actions not in sentimentality but reason" (*Herald*, March 26,

1900). The rhetoric of scientific rationality, replete with engineering metaphors, was embodied in the 1914 Associated Charities Annual Report. Here, "old charity" was described as:

an engine with no destination, no engineer, no rail to run on, no brakes, too much steam. It needs, systemizing, harmonizing, and modernizing. Old relief was based upon the story the person could tell. The new is based on discovered and real need. Because the need of families and individuals who come to us mark out so plainly the lines of march for the armies of construction, we may lay claim to the vanguard.

A new set of techniques, investigation and documentation, constituted the disciplinary tenets of scientific charity (Watson, 1922; Lies, 1914). As Foucault (1979, p. 189) contends,

Disciplinary power imposes on those whom it subjects a principal of compulsory visibility. The examination that places an individual in a field of surveillance also situates them in a network of writing; it engages them in a whole mass of documents that capture and fix them. The procedures of examination are accompanied at the same time by a system of intense registration and of documentary accumulation.

In the case of Lexington Associated Charities, compulsory visibility and surveillance of the poor became the hallmarks of its scientific charity work.

Investigation and documentation constitute what Foucault terms the "gaze," a technique of power/knowledge that creates a new form of controlling visibility. Foucault asserts that this form of power/knowledge is more deeply penetrating than earlier forms of power since it "leaves no zone of shade" (Foucault, 1979, p. 177). This heightened visibility is individualizing; it requires the detailed observation and surveillance of individuals, their habits and histories, and it redefines them as cases, thereby objectifying them. For Foucault the case is mute; "He is seen, but does not see, he is the object of information, never a subject in communication" (1979, p. 201).

In an address to the National Conference on Social Work, Hamilton (1923, p. 336) characterized the observational practices of scientific charity work as a "judgment of the eye." "One glass of beer," he added, "could render a home unsuitable forever."

Later, some versions of professional social work would move closer to a psychological model of practice that utilized what Foucault (1978) has called "the confessional" and the "hermeneutics of the psyche" to penetrate deeply into the subjective interiors of the objects of charity. But here, at an early stage of scientization and professionalization, spokespersons for scientific charities such as Breckinridge extended an objectivistic gaze that fell upon the exterior facade of need.

Case records from the Associated Charities in 1911 illustrate the visual rather than auditory judgments that structured their work and case narratives.

W. P. and his wife reported sick. Called and found home if it can be called such in such a state of extreme want, filth and squalor—fruit boxes used for furniture—swarms of flies—a bed so dirty that you couldn't tell the print of cloth—told them when they cleaned up help would be given. Called two days later and was refused admittance (Breckinridge papers, Library of Congress).

Such case records reflect the penetrating gaze of the trained professional, the expert eye. In them, the beneficiaries of aid were constituted as objects, sights, and appearances subject to professional scrutiny, but not subjects of a dialogical relationship.

The "gaze" was unidirectional and asymmetrical. Breckinridge provided a vivid illustration of this gaze when she brought what she termed "two exhibits" to the Kentucky State Conference on Charities and Corrections. These "exhibits" were two boys who were to be viewed by the audience as impetus for juvenile court reform. As noted in the proceedings of this conference (p. 8), the "appearance of the smaller boy was pitiful in the extreme and the exhibit was a striking argument for some agency that aided the home and attempted to reform him before he has become a criminal."

Investigation and surveillance were thus the gospels of the Associated Charities, essential for managing the indigent as well as for reducing sentimental and spontaneous acts of individual giving. Souplines, breadlines, holiday dinners, and direct hand-outs were interpreted as "small change charity" by Breckinridge

since such efforts did not investigate, the litmus test for worthiness, and, thus, were "indiscriminate" and "promiscuous." As seen by the Lexington Associated Charities, "small change charity" formed the heart of the social works of the Salvation Army. The latter's methods provided the impetus for a battle between the two movements. In this battle, the Salvation Army rejected the rhetoric of scientific rationality as well as the disciplinary practice of investigation that were the hallmarks of scientific charity.

Soup, Sleep, and Salvation—Evangelical Social Works

It [COS] believes in the survival of the fit, the Army believes in the salvation of the unfit (William Booth, quoted in Sandall, 1955, p. 84).

As Chambers (1986) and Magnuson (1977) point out, the rescue work of such groups as the Salvation Army, Volunteers of America, has been neglected since these groups often have been dismissed as irrelevant in the study of religion as well as social welfare history. Madeline Breckinridge's challenge to the Salvation Army thus provides not only an important source of information about the social works of the Salvation Army but also illustrates the contested terrain of early social work professionalization.

In 1890, with the publication of *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, the founder of the Salvation Army, William Booth, implemented a "social scheme" for responding to the miseries of the poor. The Salvationist's duty was to inject a Christian ethic into industrial society and to intervene when the state neglected the poor. For Salvationists, the dichotomy of worthiness and unworthiness that characterized the work of scientific charity was irrelevant since the redemptive powers of God undercut such distinctions. This approach was embodied in the popular Army motto, "Go for the souls and go for the worse" (Magnuson, 1977, p. 7) "God's Power," as manifested in the Salvationist's benevolent activities, was society's hope for a way out of the misery that many poor souls experienced.

To provide a "way out of misery," rescue homes, slum posts, shelters for the destitute and inebriates, and food depots were

established throughout the world. In the United States, Lighthouse, a food and shelter depot for men, was established in New York City in 1891 as was Daybreak, a shelter for women. Holiday dinners, coal and ice distribution, salvage brigades, and fresh air outings were also integral parts of Booth's social and salvation scheme.

Social works were an essential part of the Salvation Army's Christian mission. *The War Cry*, the Salvation Army's weekly magazine, called for concerted actions to further Booth's social scheme in order

to help these poor hungry helpless crowds for both this world and the next. We propose a basin of soup, to find a man a warm and clean sleeping place. In conjunction with this alleviation of temporal miseries of these homeless hungry ones, it is intended by meetings held mornings and evenings by the most earnest personnel to seek their salvation (quoted in Sandall, 1955, p. 68).

Thus, a spiritual basis was defined as the foundation for all social works. Booth declared: "All the social activity of the Army is the outcome of the Spiritual life of its members. All social service must be based on the spiritual, or it will amount to little in the end. The reclamation of men and women can only be carried out by divine cooperation" (in Sandall, 1955, p. xiv).

In contrast to the charity organizations' vocabulary of scientifically assessed worthiness, the Salvation Army's rhetoric carried the seeds of a more radical critique. As Ballington Booth, commander of the American Salvation Army said, "To right the social wrong by charity is like bailing the ocean with a thimble We must readjust our social machinery so that the producers of wealth become owners of wealth" (Magnuson, 1977, pp. 165–166). Such an analysis earned the support of Socialist leader, Eugene Debs (*War Cry*, September 4, 1897).

The Salvation Army employed tactics that might be called "guerrilla theatre" to convey the enthusiasm of conversion to the homeless, the unfed, and drunkards. Salvationists were ready to court ridicule and use sensational ploys to bring the message of God. Catherine Booth, married to William Booth, spoke of her first impulse to cross what had been a gendered line for the ministerial profession. "A strange compulsion seized

me. I must rise and speak. An inner voice taunted me. You will look like a fool. But the devil overreached himself. That is the point. I have never been ready to be a fool for Christ. Now I will be one" (quoted in Collier, 1965, p. 41).

Attention-getting became standard methodology for the Salvation Army's "fools for Christ." Salvationists used a variety of publicity measures, such as handbills recruiting the drunk or sober to attend meetings, and mock railway tickets offering passes on the Hallelujah Railroad, to reach out to the needy. Salvationists were known to lie in the snow and in coffins until an audience gathered before arising to give a stirring address. In New York City the Salvation Army inaugurated an annual Boozer's Day in 1909 that included a parade in which a band of Salvationists bearing a 10 foot whiskey bottle and pulling a wagon of bona fide outcasts rounded up drunks to attend the trial of John Barleycorn and receive a free Thanksgiving dinner. The "Hallelujah Lassies" flaunted gendered spatial restrictions by entering saloons. Additionally, the translation of popular songs into Salvation Army songs, marching bands, and uniforms befitting a fighting unit were used to formulate a distinctive image, inform an approach to conversion, and guide the hunt for those in need of reclamation.

The Salvation Army also established a different quality of relationship with the poor and outcast than did the charity organizations. The former launched a program of slum work in which teams of two "slum sisters" lived in depressed areas year-round. In setting up their slum post in Cincinnati, the "sisters brought no pictures to hang on the walls, no carpets or rugs for their floors, no flowers to grow in their window. Other people in slumdom did not have these things and the newcomers meant to live there as their neighbors across the hall did. . . (Salvation Army National Archives, Slum Sisters file, Undated). As Brigadier Bowen stated, "Our ammunition of war consisted of a broom, a scrubbing brush, a pail, and a Bible" (*The Social News*, July 1911). These workers wrote their own "slum songs" to capture their version of visiting, "singing of the sick, scrubbing floors, washing clothes, all gladly done because of Jesus' love" (Magnuson, 1977, P. 36). Additionally, "ministrations in the saloons" were a major part of the Army's

methods (*Secrets of Success in Slumland*, Undated). These activities went far beyond the "gaze" of visual judgments that governed the practice of friendly visiting by the Associated Charities to include a deeper involvement in the daily struggles of the poor.

As Kunzel (1988) notes in her study of the Florence Crittenton homes, evangelicals differed from professionally identified social workers in their approach to charity recipients. Evangelical workers sought to "reach down and clasp the hand of some sister and help her struggle up" (Kunzel, 1988, p. 24). Social workers, on the other hand, sought to redefine maternity homes as places of treatment, and replace sisterly ties with the professional-care relationship. Evangeline Booth, who assumed command of the American Salvation Army in 1906, attributed the success of the Army to its ability to establish familial relationships with the people that it served. She noted that in "Army homes" they never spoke of "fallen women" but rather of "sisters", never "cases" but always "our girls" or "sisters who have stumbled" (Magnuson, 1977, p. 86).

Thus, evangelical reform workers sought a different relationship and used a different vocabulary to define their reform work. Additionally, the Salvation Army opened its highest office, that of commander, to women, a position held by three different women in the years spanning 1896 through the 1920s. Such official leadership recognition for women was counter to the Associated Charities of Lexington that was continually seeking a male applicant for secretary after being warned in a 1918 review by the American Association for Organizing Charity that its board "had an unduly large proportion of ladies." Thus, the Salvation Army provided a counterpoint in tone, approach, and practices to the Charity Organization societies which provoked not only debate at national conferences but local court battles in cities such as Lexington.

The Lexington Context for Disciplinary Control: Discrediting the Salvation Army

Beginning in 1905, when the Associated Charities and local unit of the Salvation Army failed to find a means of working together, Madeline Breckinridge initiated a twelve year struggle

against the Salvation Army that culminated in a court action in 1917. Her initial target was the Salvation Army's intention to establish a soup kitchen in 1905. In 1909, her concern over these activities resurfaced. In 1914, she initiated a new series of editorials in response to the Salvation Army's solicitations published in the *Lexington Leader*, the *Herald's* competitor.

In her struggle to discredit the Army, Breckinridge reprinted in her editorials many of the criticisms made at the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, such as those of Solenberger (1906) and Rose (1906). Lexington readers were told that charity organizationists such as Solenberger (1906) viewed the Army as "un-American and ill-adapted to carry out progressive and rational measures of social relief" (Proceedings, NCCC, p. 366). Remarks of Reverend H. Rose, Vice President of the Newark Associated Charities, illustrate vividly the fundamental tension between the evangelical project of social redemption and the professional's task of social management, a dominant theme in Breckinridge's writings. Rose (1906, p. 506) asserted:

They do not reach the right people and they do not reach them in such a way as to permanently reform their character. If the Salvation Army were in dead earnest about the salvation of souls and reconstruction of character, would it not follow up even the bums and strive to elevate them and make it harder to gouge the public by using their free beds and living like vampires upon the public.

Throughout her campaign Breckinridge corresponded with Charity Organization societies in many other cities. The director of the Pittsburgh society wrote, "Let me tell you how glad that at least someone has emerged with the courage and the enterprise to oppose the institutional aggrandizement operations of the Salvation Army. But do not underestimate them. Look out for the note of injured innocence which is a clincher with the public" (Breckinridge papers, correspondence, 1917). The Youngstown society secretary promised to reactivate a committee at the National Conference of Social Work to look closely at the work of the Army (Breckinridge, correspondence, 1917).

Breckinridge also reported on battles in other communities such as Ashland, Kentucky, where the city had been prohibited from granting funds to the Army on the grounds that it was

a religious organization. She covered the battle in Los Angeles where the Municipal Charities Commission refused to endorse the Army, stating that the Army did not attain a "reasonable standard of efficiency", and four Army employees were placed under arrest for operating without a permit from the Commission (*War Cry*, October 10, 1914).

In 1917, Breckinridge escalated her battle with the Army by seeking court action against the city of Lexington for its allocation of \$720 to the Salvation Army in order to expand its emergency shelter. Mayor James Rodgers, in discussing the appropriation, had stated that he was "convinced that the Salvation Army dispenses the kind of aid that reaches a class of people not reached by others" (*Lexington Leader*, January 10, 1917).

Sophonisba Breckinridge (1921, p. 176) described this situation: "And in 1917, the great encounter came! It was one of the most heroic encounters ever engaged in. One knows not where to turn to analogy unless it be to the driving of the money changers from the temple." In justifying her efforts to win a court injunction against public funding of the Salvation Army, M. Breckinridge explained that "the present suit was undertaken by the writer largely because of the despairing conviction that this simple proposition would have never gotten into the heads of our salaried officials except by means of a fight and that it is worth trying to see if one fight could accomplish what painful and continued pleading, education, and agitation extending over 17 years could not accomplish" (*Herald*, August 5, 1917). In another editorial, she complained that "Lexington after some generations of promiscuous relief giving with the attendant pauperization is struggling to systematize her outdoor relief. To my mind, this is the important question involved" (M. Breckinridge papers, Box 708, 1917).

Breckinridge thus launched a relentless campaign against the Army. The most predominant theme in her attacks was the lack of investigation and scrutiny of relief cases by the Salvation Army. She noted:

of 34 people who the Salvation Army recorded as receiving some material aid, 24 have comprehensive and conclusive histories at the Associated Charities. Some of their record cards date back to

1908 and show considerable investigation. All were judged not to need material aid as the right treatment. One case in particular that the Salvation Army said was trustworthy, a woman who made and sold aprons, had, in fact, many entries as "adept beggar", "not assisted chronic beggar." There is no doubt that the Army encourages pauperism and absorbs sorely needed money for real aid to the poor who are manfully struggling to keep their heads above water (*Herald*, August 17, 1917).

In response to a solicitation plea in the *Lexington Leader* by the Salvation Army for clothing for a family of nine, Breckinridge continued her theme of documentation failure. She wrote that the mother in question had

the brilliant and very natural idea of availing herself of the overflowing charity of the Salvation Army. She proposes that the children go up and get what they can. Naturally they did not wear their best clothes. This lady has a long and interesting history which may be found at the juvenile court. Both parents are able-bodied and it has taken constant surveillance to prevent these children from begging on the streets. If the community desires to make paupers of these children, it can do so by adopting the methods of the Salvation Army (January 1, 1914, *Herald*).

In another editorial (*Herald*, July 31, 1917) Breckinridge asserted "the importance of ferreting out the causes of want and dependency through investigation" and illustrated the Salvation Army's failure to do so in the case of one Mr. C. "Mr. C. had appealed to the Army and received money for his sick wife. Investigation by the Associated Charities showed in fact he was separated from his wife for over five years, not contributing to her support, and that she was amply being cared for by her people."

Breckinridge critiqued the Salvation Army not only for its unscientific approach to reform but also its inefficiency. "The Salvation Army's careless answers demonstrate that there is no way that they can formulate a plan to lift a family out of poverty. They show no occupation, no record of families and friends who can help, and no answers to the question of have they been helped before" (*Herald*, August 29, 1917).

Another theme Breckinridge employed in her crusade against the Salvation Army was the contention that community

chaos and disorganization would ensue if the Salvation Army were allowed to carry out its "indiscriminate relief-giving" that encouraged "noaccounts" to flock to Lexington. "The Salvation Army's practice of the free soup kitchen is a soft snap for the impostor and for the fraud, and the no accounts who find pauperism easier and more pleasant than working will come in like flies to the honey pot. Wind of it will get around. The hobo is not an ignoramus; he reads the newspapers" (quoted in Breckinridge, 1921, p. 173). In another article, Breckinridge claimed that "industrial conditions are so good—work is so plentiful that homeless and wayfaring men at present usually belong not simply to the class of the unemployed but to the class of unemployable. There is no reason to attract them to Lexington; we have enough of our own and they are as a rule institutional cases who should not be cared for by the causal relief society" (*Herald*, January 11, 1917).

The Salvation Army also represented a threat to the Associated Charities' turf. Thus, Breckinridge sought to paint the Army as "outsiders," writing "Last autumn the officers of the Salvation Army after they had been in the city of Lexington less than two weeks said that they would give Christmas dinners to 500 needy and asked for contributions for that purpose. It seemed absurd that nonresidents should come to Lexington and within so short a time decide how many needy persons there would be on Christmas" (*Herald*, October 16, 1905). The same sentiments were reflected in 1914 (*Herald*, January 1) when Breckinridge wrote: "It constantly sends new officers into the community, who proceed to raise money to give dinner or baskets to 500 poor, 5,000 poor or whatever number is decided on as appropriate, without seeking to gain information of those who long studied the situation, and who stay by it year by year." On January 20, 1917, she wrote: "Lexington could reach salvation faster if she relied upon her own efforts rather than buying small change efforts from outsiders" (*Herald*).

The solicitation methods of the Salvation Army were also the target of Breckinridge's severe criticism. These methods, she asserted, were in violation of local laws, exploited army workers and the giving public, provided no accountability of results, and produced unhealthy competition with the Associated Charities

for limited funds. Especially repugnant to Breckinridge was the Army's practice of sending money to the national headquarters. In one editorial, she stated: "Competition in trade is good but not in charity. We don't need a rival emergency home managed by a foreign corporation" (*Herald*, January 11, 1917). The solicitation efforts of the Army's "tambourine lassies" in local saloons were also targeted for criticism. In a series of articles in the *Herald* (August 1, 3, and 6, 1917), Breckinridge called for the local police to enforce the laws prohibiting women to enter saloons. She illustrated her pleas with stories of army women forced to go into saloons against their will.

Further, the difficulty of obtaining reliable statistics from the Salvation Army was also emphasized: "Not even the recording angel himself, used to as he is to tangled and devious records, could tell with the Salvation Army books exactly what has been done in the way of relief" (*Herald*, June 11, 1917). In the same article, Breckinridge accused the Army of counting people twice and including its own workers to drive up its statistics. The benevolent public, she claimed, was "being duped and hypnotized by the lull of the tambourine . . ." (*Herald*, June 9, 1917).

Contesting the Disciplinary Professional Ethos

Despite Breckinridge's intensive campaign to discredit the Salvation Army at the 1917 court hearing, local resistance to the Associated Charities' rhetoric and practices was evident. Court testimony by the Mayor, Finance Commissioner and Chief of Police reveals not only support for the Salvation Army's social works, but a critique of the practices of Associated Charities, especially investigation. Such testimonies reveal that social work investigation in the Progressive Era was far from hegemonic. In response to the question, "What is the Salvation Army?", Mayor Rodgers replied, "They give prompt relief, they don't stop to investigate and let people suffer. That's what impressed me" (Breckinridge papers, Box 698, p. 9). The Mayor repeated this theme later in his testimony:

When they fail at Associated Charities, we sometimes give them aid. I mean they come here and present what looks like a pitiful

case and we refer them to Associated Charities and they answer, "We have been there and they will do nothing for us" Madeline Breckinridge can help me recall one such incident involving one of her servants, H., was it not? I thought if there was a mistake made, I would rather make it on the side of mercy; give relief and investigate afterwards was my idea (Breckinridge papers, Box 698, pgs. 26-27).

Chief of Police Reagan explained why the police did not refer to Associated Charities as frequently as to the Salvation Army.

I don't know if they are prepared for them and in fact the lodgers seem adverse to going to Associated Charities, they would rather go to the Salvation Army. I have heard persons say that the Associated Charities expected half a day's work for a meal and sometimes they aren't in a condition to work So they don't want to go where they are going to be asked about themselves or make any investigations as to whether they are objects of charity (Breckinridge papers, Box 698, p. 50).

Critiques of investigation and scientific charity were also echoed by local citizens. One citizen, in a letter to the editor signed "Fair Play," critiqued bureaucratic charity by saying, "Many hardened wretches would rather freeze or starve than be investigated and run the risk of getting into public print" (quoted in Hays, 1980, p. 75). Fair Play continued: "The simple announcement that a little local band of soldiers of the tambourine and drums, that after a year of holding themselves up to the ridicule and sneers of right-minded and comfortable philanthropists on the chance that some poor devil might be attracted by the noise long enough to have his conscience touched, should not be the cause of adverse comment" (*Herald*, October 17, 1905).

In contrast to the *Herald*, the *Lexington Leader* tended to be sympathetic to the work of the Salvation Army, not only covering their solicitation appeals but also giving them direct endorsements. As early as January 23, 1905, the *Leader* had supported the Salvation Army and its work in Lexington, calling it a "heroic band" that "easily ranks first in its great work of reaching and rescuing the fallen."

In 1917, the *Leader* continued to support the Army's request for funding. In an article on January 5, 1917, the *Leader* editorialized that "other cities considerably less pretentious than Lexington, have Salvation Army headquarters with accommodations to extend relief to the indigent, and Lexington can do as well to assist the Army with its real work helping people to help themselves." The *Lexington Herald* (August 5, 1917) reported that the editor of the *Leader* personally advocated funding for the Salvation Army and therefore did not cover the trial except for a front page article asserting that because of Breckinridge's suit, appropriations to all charities were blocked, thus creating much hardship (*Leader*, July 1917).

Breckinridge succeeded in blocking the appropriation to the Salvation Army in 1917 by her numerous court appeals (*Herald*, October 22, 1917), but her victory was short-lived and incomplete. The Associated Charities did not succeed in abolishing the relief work of the Salvation Army, in Lexington nor elsewhere. By 1920, neither the vocabulary nor the practices of either organization were hegemonic. Instead, both organizations continued to coexist and vie for discursive control throughout the early 20th century. Just as in Lexington, the Salvation Army continued to receive support for its approach to reform. In the Los Angeles battle that was reported by Breckinridge, the California Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Salvation Army and against the Municipal Charities Commission. In his ruling, Judge Henshaw wrote, "In the city of L.A. itself, its needy children go unfed and unclothed, its dependent womanhood unprotected and uncared for except for organized charities that have a permit. Surely, here, if anywhere, is the Organized Charity scrimped and iced in the name of a cautious, statistical Christ" (Decision of the Supreme Court of California, 1916). The Salvation Army had a strong base of support in the 1940s, as Leiby (1978) observed, and it remains an integral part of the social welfare constellation today.

Nonetheless, the legacy of the Associated Charities in Lexington and elsewhere is to be found in the widespread diffusion of the new techniques of professional power it championed. By the mid-1930s, even the Salvation Army had begun to adopt the practices associated with scientific charity as seen in the army's

training manuals and in courses given by the Salvation Army Training Colleges, under the leadership of Anita Robb, the Salvation Army's first professionally trained and identified social worker. In the 1930s, Robb applauded concurrent meetings of the Salvation Army Southern Territory Council and the National Council of Social Work which she said "helped to demonstrate to our staff officers that the other social workers would not bite and were perfectly harmless" (Salvation Army National Archives, Robb papers, undated).

Scientific Charity has contributed to the conservative rhetoric that continues to dominate social welfare reform efforts and practice today. The steady incursion of bureaucratic discourses and practices, dividing the poor into categories of deserving and undeserving, and the emphasis on documentation and recording can be discerned in current social problems. While "narrow models" of "internal professional advancement" may well have "held the upper hand in social work's development" (Leighninger, 1987, p. 219), Vance's (1914, p. 19) warning to the profession in 1914 remains relevant today: "We must not worship our tools, nor be so tenacious of our system as to make people we try to help its victims."

As in the Progressive Era, many organizations and groups today continue to challenge canonical practices for social education and practice. Attention to both the past and present voices of resistance can facilitate the profession's search for effective strategies for social change, prevent professional myopia, and enhance the art of practice.

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Professional Role Orientation and Social Activism

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This article examines the effects on social action of the client, bureaucratic, and professional role orientations of social workers. A national survey was conducted of 682 social workers who were members of the National Association of Social Workers. Systematic sampling was used and the questionnaire was self-administered. A bureaucratic orientation is not supportive of activism; a client orientation encourages activism; and a professional orientation—taken alone—is neither conservatizing nor reinforcing of activism. However, an orientation to the profession when coupled with a client orientation intensifies the activist effects of a client orientation for practice groups within social work. Possible explanations for these findings are presented.

Three primary and often conflicting role orientations are frequently identified as empirical referents of professionalization. These orientations are to the profession, to the employing organization, or to the consumers of service. The group the worker identifies as the primary reference group is an important indicator of the degree of professionalization. Professionals may commit themselves to the values, norm, expectations, and conceptions of client needs legitimized within their professions by colleagues and professional organizations. Or, professionals may become bureaucrats committed to movement up through the agency hierarchy by strict adherence to organizational rules, regulations, and demands. Or, professionals may give their primary loyalty to clients' requests, even when it violates professional expectations and/or organizational norms. Social workers choose the role orientation that will help them cope best with the demands made by the profession, the agency, and the clients (Abels and Murphy, 1981). This article addresses

how these various career orientations affect social workers' commitment to activism.

Sample

The current study sample came from the 1984 National Association of Social Workers (NASW) list of approximately 90,000 members; a systematic sampling procedure selected every seventieth name until 1,333 names were obtained. These social workers were asked to respond to a self-administered, eight-page questionnaire consisting of 81 items regarding their professionalization, commitment to social action, and demographic and agency characteristics. Questionnaires were mailed to the members in October 1984. The return rate of usable questionnaires was fifty-seven percent ($n=764$). Unemployed, retired and student respondents were not included in the analysis. This reduced the sample to 682 full-time and part-time social workers. Comparisons between respondents and nonrespondents and the entire membership of NASW revealed similarities in agency position, field of practice, gender, age and race. Thus, the sample is representative of NASW membership.

Measures of Role Orientation, Conflict Approval, and Commitment to Activist Goals

The concept of role orientation was examined in a study by Billingsley (1964) of professional social workers in child protective and family counseling agencies. Billingsley developed a social work role orientation index in which the respondent had to choose between the conflicting demands of the social work profession, client, agency or larger community. On the basis of responses to the items, each representing a conflict involving two of the four systems, respondents received a high, medium or low score on professional, client, agency, and community role orientations. These items were included in the questionnaire, and using the formula indicated by Billingsley, serve as the basis of the trichotomous indexes of professional, agency, and client role orientations used here. No community index was considered since there was little variation in respondents' commitment to the community items. Billingsley's index was

selected because it is the only one developed and tested with master's social workers. Scott (1965) explored role orientation in a study of nonprofessional social workers in a public welfare agency, and Wilensky (1964) used it to distinguish professors, lawyers, and engineers.

One aspect of social worker activism is the means social workers will endorse to bring about social change. To measure their commitment to various strategies of social change, respondents were asked to answer questions concerning their approval or disapproval of a range of profession-sponsored social action strategies directed toward public welfare and mental health. The strategies were classified according to whether they were institutionalized or noninstitutionalized and whether they were based on consensus or conflict approaches. An institutionalized strategy involved "the use of a formally organized, publicly-sanctioned structure for processing pressures for social change" whereas "a noninstitutionalized strategy operates outside formal and legitimated structures" (Epstein, 1969, p. 49). Strategies ranged from expert testimony (institutionalized consensus) to actively organizing welfare and mental health recipients to protest (noninstitutionalized conflict).

A public welfare and a mental health index were developed utilizing the four conflict strategy items in each reform area—informing clients of their rights and encouraging them to file complaints through public welfare and mental health agencies, openly campaigning for political candidates who endorse these reforms, offering support to community action groups advocating these reforms, and actively organizing protest actions at public welfare and mental health agencies. These measures indicate respondents' approval of conflict strategies for the profession in each reform area. Public welfare was selected because it is a traditional target of social work reform and mental health because the largest group of the members of NASW worked in mental health settings (Reeser, 1986). Social workers were ranked high on these indexes if they indicated approval of three or more of the strategies in a given institutional context. An analysis of responses to these items indicated that a majority of the social workers accepted consensus strategies, both institutionalized and noninstitutionalized. In comparison, there was a

considerable lack of acceptance among respondents over strategies that involved conflict. Thus, the consensus strategy items were not included in the indexes.

Commitment to activist goals was measured by asking respondents to choose between the goals of individual adaptation versus societal change (Miller, 1981) and indicate whether "social work should devote most of its attention and resources" to the poor or to all social classes equally (Stewart, 1981). An activist goals index was developed which classifies as the least activist those social workers who favor the professional goal of helping individuals of all social classes adjust to the environment. Those respondents committed to societal change on behalf of the poor were assumed to hold the most activist goal orientation.

Role Orientations and Social Activism

The social work literature has traditionally treated professionalization and bureaucratization as conservatizing forces that change the focus of social work from social activism and service to low-income clients to loyalty to the agency and support for goals that will enhance the status of the profession (Bisno, 1956; Wilensky and Lebeaux, 1965; Galper, 1975; Wagner and Cohen, 1978; and Wagner, 1989). For example, Billingsley (1964) categorized as conformist those social workers who had a high commitment to both agency policies and professional standards. He categorized as "bureaucrats" those social workers who were primarily committed to implementing agency policy and standards. His labels imply that professional identification and agency commitment may reduce social workers' responsiveness to the needs of clients. Wagner and Cohen (1978) characterized professionalism as a "conservative political strategy and ideology" that expects professionals to identify with their agency and only support political issues that advance professional goals (e.g., licensure) "rather than issues that affect the oppression of poor, disadvantaged and minority peoples." On the other hand, Billingsley (1964) characterized a client orientation as an activist stance implying a "willingness to violate both agency policies and professional standards," . . . to meet client needs. In Wagner's (1989) study of radical social workers,

he found one group of activists who were client oriented and whose strategies for social change were consciousness raising and empowerment of clients. The foregoing assumptions about bureaucratic, professional, and client orientations suggest these hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1. The greater the agency orientation, the lesser the approval of conflict strategies or activist goals for the profession.

Hypothesis 2. The greater the professional orientation, the lesser the approval of conflict strategies or activist goals for the profession.

Hypothesis 3. The greater the client orientation, the greater the approval of conflict strategies and activist goals for the profession.

Table 1 indicates the percentage of respondents scoring high on the measures of conflict approval and activist goals, by degree of agency orientation.

Table 1

Percentage Scoring High on Activist Goals and Conflict Approval Indexes, By Agency Role Orientation

	Agency Orientation		
	Low	Medium	High
Activist Goals ^a	45	36	35
Public Welfare Conflict Approval ^b	57	54	37
Mental Health Conflict Approval ^c	56	49	37

Note. N=670

^aKendall's tau-c=-.08, $p<.05$

^bKendall's tau-c=-.19, $p<.001$

^cKendall's tau-c=-.18, $p<.001$

The findings presented in Table 1 support Hypothesis 1. The data reveal statistically significant negative correlations between agency orientation and approval of conflict strategies in public welfare and mental health reform and commitment to activist goals. In the area of public welfare reform, 57% of the social

workers scoring low on agency commitment scored high on public welfare conflict approval as compared to only 37% of those scoring high on agency commitment. Fifty-six percent of those scoring low on agency commitment scored high on public welfare conflict approval as compared to only 37% of those scoring high on agency commitment. Although statistical significance was found, the negative correlation between agency orientation and commitment to activist goals was much too weak to indicate a relationship. Social workers with a strong allegiance to the agency may be less inclined to approve conflict strategies that threaten the agency than the abstract goal of societal change in behalf of the poor.

The findings support the notion that bureaucratic perspectives and commitment to agency values and norms are supportive of a conformist rather than an activist stance. Epstein (1970) found the same results in his study of social workers from the New York City Chapter of the NASW. Robert Merton (1969) suggested that workers who strictly follow agency rules and regulations are unable to meet the multiple needs of clients. This rigidity becomes reinforced "as a defense against client demand and leads to the formation of a 'bureaucratic personality.'" The overconcern with obeying regulations "induces timidity, conservatism, and technicism." Wagner (1989) found in his study of radical social workers that those with a "techno-bureaucratic" orientation repudiated "the ideals of social work and social change, . . . and viewed "upward mobility as an end in itself.

Table 2 shows the relationship between professional orientation and approval of conflict strategies and activist goals. Hypothesis 2, which states that a professional orientation is not supportive of social work activism, is not demonstrated by the findings. No significant relationship was found between degree of commitment to the profession and approval of conflict strategies or activist goals. The findings are supported by previous research (Epstein, 1970).

Table 3 shows the relationship between client commitment and approval of conflict strategies and activist goals.

The findings indicate statistically significant positive correlations between client orientation and approval of conflict

Table 2

Percentage Scoring High on Activist Goals and Conflict Approval Indexes, By Professional Role Orientation

Measures of Activism	Professional Orientation	
	Low n=302	High n=367
Activist Goals ^a	38	39
Public Welfare Conflict Approval ^b	45	50
Mental Health Conflict Approval ^c	43	48

Note. N=669

^aKendall's tau-c= .00, not significant

^bKendall's tau-c=.04, not significant

^cKendall's tau-c=.05, not significant

Table 3

Percentage Scoring High on Activist Goals and Conflict Approval Indexes, By Client Role Orientation

Measures of Activism	Client Orientation		
	Low n=182	Medium n=215	High n=272
Activist Goals ^a	28	39	47
Public Welfare Conflict Approval ^b	31	43	63
Mental Health Conflict Approval ^c	32	47	56

Note. N=669

^aKendall's tau-c=.16, $p < .001$

^bKendall's tau-c=.30, $p < .001$

^cKendall's tau-c=.22, $p < .001$

strategies in public welfare and mental health reform and commitment to activist goals. Thus, 31% of those scoring low on client orientation scored high on public welfare conflict approval as compared to 63% of those scoring high on client

orientation. The findings for mental health reform and activist goals follow the same pattern. Epstein (1970) also found that social workers with a strong client orientation were most willing to approve of conflict strategies for social workers in the interest of clients. The findings in both studies lend support to Wilensky's (1964) view that professionals whose primary allegiance is to their clients are likely to regard their professions as movements for social change. Cooper (1977) argued that social work professionals are "change agents" who are "uniquely capable of moving from a case to cause" and, as a result, work to bring about social change in society.

Effects of Professionalization on Agency and Client Orientation

There are two opposing theories in the sociology literature regarding the relationship between professional values and norms and bureaucratic elements of organizations. In one theory, the two orientations are regarded as contradictory (Barber, 1963; Etzioni, 1964; Scott, 1966; Finch, 1976; Abels and Murphy, 1981). Scott (1966) suggested that professionals' resistance to rules, to bureaucratic standards, and to supervision were bases of professional bureaucratic conflict. Wasserman (1971) asserted that social workers who want to advocate for clients would need to buck the organization; whereas, those who adapt to the agency would either become very frustrated or "mindless functionaries."

The opposing view is that bureaucratic and professional orientations are at least partially complementary (Blau and Scott, 1962; Whatcott, 1974; Pruger, 1973; Pawlak, 1976; York and Henley, 1986). Hall (1968) found that some bureaucratic dimensions, such as technical competence as the basis for promotion, were positively associated with measures of professionalization. He suggested that an equilibrium can exist between the two orientations. Engel (1970) found that physicians working in moderately bureaucratized settings were more likely to perceive themselves as autonomous than those in solo or small-group practice. Mintzberg's (1979) categorization of organizations poses a challenge to the notion that work in a

bureaucratic organization is in conflict with attaining autonomy. He labels one organizational type as a "professional bureaucracy" in which the emphasis is on the power of expertise of professionals who draw on standards from outside the organization and control their own work. He regarded social work agencies as an example of professional bureaucracies.

These two conceptions would predict different social action consequences from the interaction of agency and professional orientations. Following those who emphasize the contradictory aspects of bureaucratic and professional norms, one would expect that a strong identification with the profession would neutralize the conservatizing effects of an agency orientation. Following those who emphasize the complementary aspects of bureaucratic and professional norms, one would predict the opposite outcome. This theory would suggest that a strong orientation to the profession and an orientation to the agency would produce even greater conservatism than would a strong orientation to the agency alone. These opposing predictions are tested empirically in Table 4 which indicates the correlations between agency orientation and the measures of social activism under conditions of low and high professional orientation.

Table 4

TAU-C Correlations Between Activism Indexes and Agency Orientation, Under Conditions of Low and High Professional Orientation

Measures of Activism	Professional Orientation	
	Low n=301	High n=365
Activist Goals	-.11 ^a	-.07
Public Welfare Conflict Approval ^b	-.14 ^b	-.14 ^c
Mental Health Conflict Approval ^c	-.14 ^b	-.12 ^b

Note. N=666

^ap<.05

^bp<.01

^cp<.001

High orientation to the profession was found to have no effect on the relationship between agency orientation and the activism of social workers for the total sample and for the practice subgroups of caseworkers, group workers, and clinical social workers. There were too few community organizers to calculate the correlations. It was decided to do the analysis for these groups within the profession since they have distinct identities, values, and interests. Bucher and Strauss (1961) conceptualized a profession as a group of "segments" organized around specialties which often conflict with one another in their idea of mission, work tasks, methods, clientele, interests and associations. The findings support neither theory of the effects of professionalization on agency and professional norms.

The next notion tested is what consequences professionalization has (e.g., reduces or intensifies) on the radicalizing effects of a client orientation. Table 5 indicates the correlations between client orientation and the measures of activism under conditions of low and high professional orientation for the total sample and Table 6 presents the correlations for caseworkers, group workers, and clinical social workers.

High professionalization slightly intensified the activist effects of client orientation for the total sample. For example, the positive correlation between client orientation and mental

Table 5

TAU-C Correlations Between Activism Indexes and Client Orientation, Under Conditions of Low and High Professional Orientation

Measures of Activism	Professional Orientation	
	Low n=300	High n=366
Activist Goals	.16 ^a	.19 ^b
Public Welfare Conflict Approval	.20 ^b	.23 ^b
Mental Health Conflict Approval	.15 ^a	.21 ^b

Note. N=666

^ap<.01

^bp<.001

Table 6

TAU-C Correlations Between Activism Indexes and Client Orientation, Under Conditions of Low and High Professional Orientation Within Professional Segments^a

Measures of Activism	Professional Orientation					
	Low			High		
	CW n=98	GW n=8	THER n=86	CW n=104	GW n=13	THER n=119
Activist Goals	-.04	-.19	.18 ^c	.23 ^c	.36	.17 ^c
Public Welfare						
Conflict Approval	.12	.19	.10	.29 ^d	.57 ^c	.18 ^c
Mental Health						
Conflict Approval	.13	.19	.03	.30 ^d	.31	.13 ^c

Note. N=428^b

^aThere were two few community organizers to calculate TAU-C.

The abbreviations CW, GW, and THER stand for casework, group work, and therapy respectively.

^bThis sample size is smaller than in the other tables because it does not include other methods of social work practice such as planning, administration, etc.

^c $p < .05$

^d $p < .001$

health conflict approval is somewhat stronger when coupled with a high orientation to the profession as a reference group than when coupled with a low professional orientation. However, the effects on activism of a professional orientation coupled with a client orientation were negligible for the profession as a whole.

In contrast, professional orientation intensified the social action effects of client orientation for some practice groups within social work. Thus, for caseworkers and group workers, the negative correlations between client orientation and commitment to activist goals under conditions of low orientation to the profession (TAU-C=-.04 for caseworkers and -.19 for group workers) became a positive correlation under conditions of high orientation to the profession (TAU-C=.23 for caseworkers and .36 for

group workers). There was no effect for clinical social workers. The positive correlations between client orientation and approval of public welfare strategies were stronger under conditions of high professionalization (TAU-C=.29 for caseworkers, .57 for group workers, and .18 for clinical social workers) than under conditions of low professionalization (TAU-C=.12 for caseworkers, .19 for group workers, and .10 for clinical social workers). The same was true for mental health conflict approval (TAU-C=.30 versus .13 for caseworkers, .31 versus .19 for group workers, and .03 versus .13 for clinical social workers).

The findings indicate that a more professional role orientation has no consequences for the social action effects of an agency orientation. However, a strong professional orientation intensifies the radicalizing effects of client orientation for caseworkers, group workers and clinical social workers. The findings seem to be contradictory in that some cases strong professional identification has no effect; and in other cases, it intensifies expressions of activism. One possible explanation for professional orientation having no effect on adherence to bureaucratic norms may be that there is no inherent conflict or complementarity between bureaucratic and professional values and norms. They may be independent of one another. Wilson, Voth and Hudson (1980) in their study of social workers found that bureaucratic and professional orientations are independent dimensions. Social workers were likely to value autonomy and innovation in their work at the same time as they valued bureaucratic elements. York and Henley (1986) found that social workers were satisfied with the level of bureaucracy in their organizations and believed that they had professional autonomy.

There are several possible explanations for the intensification effect of professional role orientation on social workers who strongly identify with their clients. A high professional role orientation may be indicative of a strong degree of integration with one's professional colleagues. Social workers who feel supported by their peers may be more likely to express their political beliefs through professional channels than those who feel less integrated into the professional community. A strong identification with the profession may be an indication of a commitment to social work as a vehicle for expressing one's activism.

The NASW encourages its' membership to engage in social and political action as a "professional responsibility." Thus, those social workers who identify with the profession may be encouraged and reinforced in their activism.

It may be that social workers who are client oriented and oriented to the profession as a reference group, identify with a particular group of social workers who share their political beliefs and who reinforce the expression of these beliefs through professional channels.

Epstein (1970) found that a more professional role orientation intensifies the conservatizing effects of agency orientation and it intensifies the social activism of social workers with a client orientation. He concluded that professional norms and values are so undefined, they can either support or challenge the status quo. It may be that social work professional orientation has become defined enough to be supportive of those with an activist commitment to clients, but not of those who primarily identify with the agency. Professionalization is a process that occurs over time. Two decades of efforts by the NASW and the Council on Social Work Education to increase the professionalization of social work may be paying off.

Summary and Conclusions

This article has examined the effects on social action of the client, bureaucratic and professional role orientations of social workers. The findings indicate that a bureaucratic orientation is not supportive of activism, a client orientation encourages activism, and a professional orientation—taken alone—is neither conservatizing nor reinforcing of activism. However, an orientation to the profession as a reference group when coupled with a client orientation intensifies the activist effects of a client orientation for practice groups within social work. When coupled with an orientation to the agency as a reference group, an orientation to the profession has no effect on the activism of social workers.

Sociologists and social work theorists alike have warned of the conservative effects of professionalization. Critics of the professions have viewed professions as supporting the status quo in their attempt to maintain or acquire power and status (Mills,

1953; Freidson, 1970; Larson, 1977; Bisno, 1956; Galper, 1975; Wilding, 1982). Some sociologists and fewer social workers have regarded professionalization as a positive and progressive force (Durkheim, 1933; Moynihan, 1965; Halmos, 1970; Cooper, 1977; Billups, 1984).

This empirical study as well as a few others (Epstein, 1970; Wagner, 1989) indicate that strong attachment to the social work profession does not imply a detachment from idealism or social change strategies. The findings are contrary to conventional wisdom. Client orientation may be integral to an activist commitment for social workers. It may be that identification with social work intensifies the activist commitment to clients because social work has become a progressive force for social change. NASW supports social workers' involvement in political action and has made protest a more legitimate activity for professionals through its representation at various protest demonstrations (NASW News, October 1983; May 1986).

The differences found in this study among practice groups within social work, and at times the lack of effects found for the profession as a whole, supports the argument made (Epstein and Conrad, 1978; Wagner, 1986) that social work is not a unified professional community, but, is comprised of segments "pursuing different objectives in different manners and more or less delicately held together under a common name at a particular period in history" (Bucher and Strauss, 1964).

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Helen Hall (1892–1982): A Second Generation Settlement Leader

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Helen Hall, settlement leader and second generation social worker, was a prominent social reformer for over fifty years. Her professional life spanned a period of early social work where her activities occurred along side those of first generation social workers, and continued through the depression, the war years, into the 1950s and the settlement movement's increasing attention to juvenile delinquency, and finally into the turbulent 1960s when her activities overlapped the modern generation of social workers. Despite her widespread work in national affairs and neighborhood concerns, her leadership in the National Federation of Settlement, her extensive writings and studies, Hall has not received appropriate attention from those who study the past. This paper explores the significant contributions she made to the field of social welfare.

"My first remembrance of politics goes back to the age of six when I surprised my parents by reciting triumphantly: 'Fried cats and pickled rats are good enough for Democrats.'"

Thus began a radio broadcast by Helen Hall (HH Papers, SWHA Box 34:File 20) on October 30, 1944 in support of President Roosevelt's reelection. This speech, like those before and those yet to come, was folksy, anecdotal, compassionate and spoken with her settlement neighbors in mind. In explaining how she was transformed from a Hoover supporter in 1928 to a Roosevelt supporter in 1932, she retold how she shared her settlement neighbors' stories of hunger and unemployment on Capitol Hill "only to be met with callous indifference from spokesmen for the Hoover Administration."

Helen Hall, who helped define and refine the social work profession during a period in which she was one of social work's most influential members, expressed themes, which remained with her during her long and distinguished career, related to

the importance of community, generalist practice, understanding the political environment, and advocacy for the poor and oppressed. Hall, like some other women of her time, has not received the attention and acknowledgement for her work that one might expect. This paper addresses this lack of attention, explores the significant role Hall played in social work, pinpoints a number of her major themes, and adds to the growing literature which, long overdue, evaluates the contributions of female social workers of the second generation.

Second Generation Social Work Women

Hall, a second generation social worker, was prominent from the 1920s when she was head of University House Settlement in Philadelphia through the 1960s when she retired, after 34 years, as head of Henry Street Settlement in New York City. For the purpose of this article, a second generation career is defined as beginning in 1920 (overlapping with the first generation for most of the 1920s) and ending in 1955 (overlapping with the "modern" generation in the early 1950s), when the profession united in the National Association of Social Workers (NASW). The role of female social workers during this period is only now being fully explored.

Contrary to most American professions, women played a vital role in social work from its earliest beginnings. During its first generation (up to around 1920), women and men together created social work and shared their involvement at all levels. The role of these early social work women has been well-documented (Chambers, 1986). The feminist movement provided a healthy environment for women looking for a career in social work before 1920. However, after 1920, women's political strength declined rapidly as the women's movement's energy evaporated. Without an active feminist movement during second generation social work, women struggled to maintain their leadership position in the profession and by the 1950s saw men in most of the leadership roles. While the second generation saw the beginning erosion of female leadership in social work, even during this period women dominated many areas of social work, particularly Hall's domain, settlement work, where they held most of the head positions at the houses. For example,

in 1930, women were the head workers at 76% of the houses; despite a decrease in the 1940s, women still held the majority (59%) of the head positions in 1946 (Trolander, 1987).

Despite many influential women of the second generation, including Hall, the environment was not conducive to their success. The long-standing attempt to essentially defeminize social work in order to attract men into the profession had an impact on female participation (Kravetz, 1976). Women unwittingly participated in their own demise without understanding (nor being in an environment which would support such an understanding) the way in which discrimination toward women would escalate as men increasingly entered in the profession. Social work, like other professions, was affected by a social environment that encouraged the profession's dominance by men. Yet women held leadership roles in all areas of social work and continued to dominate in some areas throughout the generation (Andrews, 1990).

Helen Hall's Life and Work

Hall's professional life spanned a period of early social work where her activities occurred simultaneously with those of first generation social workers (i.e., Jane Addams, Lillian Wald), and continued through the depression, the war years, into the 1950s and the settlement movement's increasing attention to juvenile delinquency and drugs, into the turbulent 1960s when her activities overlapped the modern generation. Hall grew up in New England in a solid, middle-class family. Her original intention upon entering college was to pursue the arts and she spent a year taking art courses and doing sculpture. She decided to stop and "find out what was done for poor and people in trouble" (Hall, 1971). She spent one year (1915) at the New York School of Philanthropy (now the Columbia University School of Social Work) and found herself "caught beyond all recall in the enthrallment of social work" (Hall, 1971).

Until World War I, she organized a settlement house in Westchester County and worked with the Westchester County Children's Department. During the war, she went overseas with the Red Cross, working in hospitals at first and later organizing a club house for girls in Alsace. At the end of the war, she

went to the Philippines and China with the War Department to direct the Organization of Service Clubs for enlisted men. She was the Head Worker of University Settlement in Philadelphia from 1922–1933 at which time she became the Head Worker (succeeding Lillian Wald) of Henry Street Settlement.

While at Henry Street, Hall published widely in both scholarly journals and lay periodicals. The Helen Hall Settlement Papers (Brown, 1959), in the Social Welfare History Archives, University of Minnesota, covering the period up to 1958, cites sixty-five articles. She testified in Congress on numerous occasions from the 1920s through the 1960s on social legislation at all levels of government; supported consumerism, public housing, birth control, national health insurance and civil rights. Even after her retirement at age 75, she was remarkably active for several years during which time she completed her memoirs, *Unfinished Business in Neighborhood and Nation* when she was almost eighty years old.

Hall played a vital role in two major pieces of welfare legislation of the century. In the early 1930s, she sat on the Advisory Council of the President's Committee on Economic Security (which wrote a report leading to the Social Security Act), and, in the late-1950s, she was a founder of Mobilization For Youth, a forerunner of the War on Poverty. Her nation-wide study of unemployment conducted in 1928 for the National Federation of Settlements had a direct impact on public sentiment and future legislation regarding unemployment. The study, entailing hundreds of interviews throughout the country, dispelled three myths: that unemployment comes only in hard times; that only people who have been too thriftless to save suffer when they are unemployed; and that if a man really wants to find work, he can find it (Calkins, 1930). All the data were gathered before the stock market crash of 1929, and the timing could not have been better. Two books resulted from the study, and Hall contributed a piece to each one (Elderton, 1931; Hall, 1930, 1931). As President of the National Federation of Settlements from 1934–40 she traveled widely advocating for the poor and oppressed. She, along with her future husband Paul Kellogg, were more progressive than other Federation leaders and

were far ahead of them on the issue of the need for unemployment legislation.

According to Hall and others who knew her (Chambers, 1971; Keyserling, 1970), her life dramatically changed upon meeting her future husband in her midlife. Hall and Paul U. Kellogg, editor of *The Survey*, became friends in the late nineteen twenties when they met at a settlement conference. At that time Kellogg was married and the father of two adolescents. He often visited University House in Philadelphia where Hall was Head Worker and there was voluminous correspondence between the two from that time until 1933 when Hall moved to New York City to take the Henry Street position. With Kellogg also in New York, the need to correspond by writing no doubt diminished and there are few personal letters on file after 1933.

Kellogg seems to have been an important mentor for Hall. Letters from 1928 and onward show that he often wrote about her to others. For example, when Hall was planning a trip to Detroit to study that community's unemployment, Kellogg wrote William Norton of the Detroit Community Fund to introduce Hall saying, "You perhaps saw her article—one of the outstanding features of our special unemployment number last April. The settlement folk, under Miss Hall's leadership, have been the pioneer group of social workers in their awareness to the whole problem" (1-7-30, HH Papers, SWHA, box,44: file 14). In 1929, he asked her to consider a job with *The Survey*. Although she turned him down, she said, "You satisfy my sense of rightness for you combine a broad idealism with a fine personal adjustment to life and it doesn't seem to me that that often happens" (letter to Kellogg, 5-14-29, HH Papers, SWHA, Box 18). Later that same year Kellogg asked her to write a book on the unemployment study on which both had worked for the National Federation of Settlements and she again turned him down (HH Papers, SWHA, Box 39: File 1). Kellogg often edited written presentations Hall was preparing or offered feedback from completed presentations. In 1932, she gave a speech in Berlin on unemployment. The speech has several hand-written comments by Kellogg such as, "Europeans—Even settlement workers have it in the backs of their heads that the U.S.A. is rich. Upset that—and you have their interest" (HH Papers, SWHA, Box 34: File 1).

The letters became increasingly personal and by 1931 it was clear that they were in love (HH Papers, SWHA, Box 18). The file of their personal correspondence was sealed until 1987 and contains very personal and intimate correspondence. Kellogg obtained a divorce in 1934 and in February, 1935, Kellogg, age 55, and Hall, age 43, were married.

Helen Hall's Themes

Hall defined herself as a social worker, despite the fact that she only took one year of social work courses and did not earn a degree. She focused on a generalist approach of linking the relationship of broad social problems to individual misery. She did not buy into the individual pathology perspective so popular in social casework during the 1920s and 1930s. For example, after attending a social work conference in 1935, Hall wrote a letter to Lillian Wald (6-19-35), former head of Henry Street, filling her in on all the sessions she attended including one which was critical of training which emphasized the casework approach. She said,

One tendency which amused and disheartened me at the same time, was that with the growing recognition of the importance of what has come to be called 'GROUP WORK', there is an inclination to use big words and social work terminology in the same way that the case workers for ten years obscured from the lay mind their sometimes quite simple processes! (HH Papers, SWHA, Box 14, File LW)

In the 1930s, Hall declared the settlement worker to be "the only general practitioner left in the field of social work" (1938, HH Papers, SWHA, box 34:file 9). When she first moved to Henry Street in 1933, she faced talk about settlements being unnecessary because slum neighborhoods were becoming a thing of the past. She strongly disagreed because, with the specialization occurring in social work, there would be more need than ever for generalists in the neighborhoods who could see the "...so-called 'closed' cases after they are closed—to see the child on his *way* to trouble, the family on its *way* to breaking up, the old people caught on the sixth-floor walk-ups, the defeated, the shy, the defiant" (Hall, 1971). In a speech on why a

city should have a settlement (Canadian Conference on Social Work, 1938, HH Papers, SWHA Box 34:File 9) she emphasized the peculiar nature of a settlement which made it suitable to help those in need: they see the whole family and those who fall through cracks; they are experiment stations where flexibility is their greatest asset; and they are a common meeting ground to which all elements of the community are welcome. She noted a significant change from earlier times, "We face an American-born, American-educated group of people. . . we. . . are living among a group of people brought up in the American tradition of opportunity for all but those who find themselves without opportunity or jobs."

The settlement worker, according to Hall, acted as a liaison between the wealthy and the poor. She was a firm believer in recruiting wealthy and influential patrons for the Henry Street Board of Directors. She often found the main task of the settlement worker to be one of interpretation because she believed that lack of awareness was "behind so much cruelty" (1931, HH Papers, SWHA, box 34:file 1). Over the years she wavered in this belief, but, she reported, was always reconvinced by her husband whose life work, after all, was involved with interpretation (Hall, 1971).

Hall was as comfortable talking with members of Congress as she was talking to residents in her Henry Street neighborhood. Robert Kennedy referred to her as a woman "whose name is a legend among those concerned with social justice" (6-8-67) and President Johnson applauded her for advancing the cause of human welfare (6-29-67). He invited her to the signing of the Medicare Act in 1965 (HH Papers, SWHA, 87:1). She remained influential into old age. For example, at the age of 84, in 1976, she continued to be active in the National Federation of Settlements, United Neighborhood Houses, Hamilton Madison House, Citizens Committee for Children, The American Parents Committee, Inc., Consumer Family Foundation, Inc., Attorney General's Consumer Frauds and Protection Bureau, Mobilization For Youth, and was Director Emeritus, Henry Street Settlement, Clarke Chambers, historian, pointed out that ". . . she was deeply committed to the social-action role of welfare work; she believed in the necessity of social research; she was relentlessly

insistent upon social justice as ever the pioneering generation had been." (Chambers, 1963).

Lack of Attention to Hall

Hall remains unknown to many social workers. Her role in social welfare history has not been told. Library searches indicate that, other than some book reviews of her memoirs in the early 1970s and some brief references to her in social welfare history books, she is little known to us. Some exceptions are noted: Chambers, in both his 1963 book, *Seedtime of Reform* as well as his 1971 book on Hall's husband, Paul Kellogg, gives generous reference to Hall and credits her with a significant role in second generation social work. Chambers knew Hall well for the last twenty years of her life. On April 19, 1968, he sent her a copy of a paper on poverty which he had presented at a national meeting. On the title page he had hand-written, "To Helen Hall—who *made* the history for others to write" (HH Papers, SWHA, Box 10:File 2). Also, Judith Trolander's 1987 book on *Professionalism and Social Change* gives Hall some attention and refers to her as one who "used the settlement house as a base for a long, devoted, and energetic career on behalf of liberal social legislation" (1987, p. 52). Finally, Hall was included in the 1986 *Biographical Dictionary of Social Welfare in America*, edited by Walter I. Trattner (Steinwall, in Trattner, 1986).

Certainly one reason for Hall not being better known is that Hall was not interested in taking center stage and often avoided any credit due her by insisting others played a more significant role or simply by refusing to let accolades be recited for her. Perhaps the major weakness in her 1971 memoirs is that she gave so little space to speaking about herself. She had a great deal to say about her neighbors at Henry Street Settlement and she credits various professionals and politicians for their involvement in settlement issues. She was so insistent that everyone be credited that "... once begun, the names multiply for fear of offending anyone missed" (Trolander, 1987, p.54). Chambers read a draft of the book and provided Hall with a critical analysis including the comment, "Again I know this is not intended to be a full scale autobiography, but I think you should have a bit more about yourself. . ." (HH Papers, SWHA, Box 37:File 1).

Either by choice or by nature, Hall did not project a strong national image despite her high involvement in projects that extended far beyond the borders of her neighborhood. Trolander compared her to Jane Addams and concluded that their different styles explain why Hall has not received similar praise and attention. Hall did not possess "Addams' genius as a publicist nor her ability to protect a strong public image of herself" (1987, p. 53). Hall had the difficult task of assuming leadership of a settlement which had been ably led by Lillian Wald, the founder of Henry Street Settlement, a pioneer of the settlement movement and one who portrayed a strong image. Many letters between Hall and Wald have survived and show that there was a great deal of warmth between the two women. Hall wrote Wald regularly after she took over Henry Street and kept her apprised of all activities.

Hall was committed to serving her neighbors as a friend and neighbor, rather than as a person who held power or prestige. Her approach to issues was to secure consensus rather than to promote confrontation. This was typical of settlement workers at that time and, even though the paternalistic aspects of working on behalf of neighbors would come to be called elitist by community organizers of the 1960s, Hall's demeanor was an expression of her sense of egalitarianism. Her model was anti-professional and in line with those who opposed the profession's emphasis on casework. As Wenocur and Reisch (1989, p. 73) note:

... The settlements' philosophy of training and service was not conducive to the establishment of a unique occupational domain. Whatever their class biases and their often awkward attempts to bridge class and cultural barriers, the settlements strove to create a more egalitarian relationship between providers and recipients of services. This approach was diametrically opposed to the prevailing conception of professionalism in the U.S. which stressed the expertise of the professional and a service ideal which underscored the unequal relationship between the parties to the service transaction.

The Social Work Second Generation and Hall's involvement with settlements occurred after the period when settlements

were dominant and her work ended during a period when settlements were under fire by the anti-establishment mood in the environment. The fact that Hall resigned (in 1967) during a period of great transition and turmoil in the settlement movement no doubt altered any assessment made of her work. Settlement Houses were at their peak before World War I and went into decline during Hall's years in settlement work. As casework took hold in the social work profession, the social reform efforts of settlements declined. In the 1930s, there were only 230 houses—down from 413 houses in 1910 (Wenocur and Reisch, 1989, p. 234). They were not given new energy until the 1950s and 1960s as neighborhood movements emerged. Ironically, while the advent of the "War on Poverty" and the funding of the Office of Economic Opportunity in the mid-1960s revived settlements, it also led to their eventual loss of favor. In 1965, it is estimated that settlements had over \$10 million worth of OEO grant money (Trolander, 1987, p. 185). Ideological differences, spurred on by some dominant personalities (i.e., Saul Alinsky, Richard Cloward), made it impossible for the settlement to continue to benefit from OEO.

The charges directed at settlements in the 1960s were centered around three basic issues: (a) confrontation, not the settlements' (and Hall's) desired mode of consensus, was alleged to be mandatory for social change; (b) settlements were accused of having become part of the established order; and (c) settlements were seen as not working with the ones who were the truly needy. The long-standing policy of settlements working on behalf of the poor by mediating between the well-to-do and the poor was seen as irrelevant and elitist by community organizers of the 1960s (Beck, 1976; Trolander, 1982). Hall's approach fell into this policy; she was considered "establishment" and she believed that you tap the wealthy patrons for money and support for programs in the neighborhoods. Her role in and approach to Mobilization For Youth exemplifies the ideological issues that were present when she bowed out of Henry Street.

Mobilization For Youth

Mobilization For Youth (MFY) was the training ground for much of the criticism directed against settlements. Ironically,

MFY emerged out of the settlement movement and more specifically out of the work of Hall and the Henry Street Board of Directors. In 1957, the Board of Directors at Henry Street conceived of an interdisciplinary project to fight juvenile, delinquency by focusing on community organization, treatment, and research. Hall spent ten months writing a proposal for a demonstration project which would focus on the Lower Eastside in New York City. (HH Papers, SWHA, Box 90:File 5). She and the Henry Street Board recruited Lloyd Ohlin and Richard Cloward from Columbia University School of Social Work to develop a research design for the project. In late 1959, they received a two-year NIMH grant of \$450,000. They remained connected to Henry Street (were physically located there and funds were channeled through the settlement house) until late 1960. More planning occurred (now under the leadership of James McCarthy, Richard Cloward and George Brager) and MFY was finally launched by President Kennedy in May, 1962 when it received \$12.6 million (Hall, 1971).

In a short time, MFY became highly politicized and rejected its settlement beginnings and thus, Hall. Throughout this time, Hall remained optimistic and positive and later asserted in her typical style, "While I disagreed with some of their methods and their overhopefulness about being able to research everything, I considered the first three directors intelligent and creative men, who had great dedication" (Hall, 1971, p. 275). When Hall resigned, at age 75, from Henry Street Settlement, the director of MFY, Bertram Beck, also took on the directorship of Henry Street. In a brief period of ten years from its beginning conception at a Henry Street board meeting, MFY came full circle reconnecting with its Henry Street roots.

In an article on Mobilization For Youth (after Hall retired) in the *Village Voice*, (10-24-68) Susan Brownmiller referred to Hall as "the dowager empress of traditional social work." She said that "The powerful, elitist Miss Hall was both a sponsor of the original MFY and a dedicated enemy of MFY's community organizing program." Brownmiller noted that Beck was now in residence at Henry Street and said, "...In a heavy bit of symbolism, Beck has moved into Helen Hall's apartment in the Henry Street establishment (it goes with the job) and his family

now reportedly enjoys the services of Helen Hall's old cook." While Hall was disappointed and hurt by the article and its inaccuracies, she was predictably reluctant to defend herself by responding to the charges. It must have been particularly painful for Hall, who fought her entire career against the dominant trends in social work, to be called the "dowager empress" and an "elitist". She was caught up in a trend that was far larger than herself—a trend that was both ageist and sexist—the movement in the settlement houses from older female-dominated leadership to younger male-dominated leadership.

Even though she declined to defend herself in print, her supporters were furious and decided to take a stand. Samuel Schneiweiss, an attorney and Henry Street board member, drafted a letter to the editor of the *Village Voice*, but first let Hall read and edit it. He reported, "I made the mistake of telling Helen of my intention to respond to the article. It took the combined efforts of Fairfield Dana and myself to overcome her opposition. In addition, Helen censored my response, so that it ended up completely factual" (letter to Mrs. Herbert H. Lehman, HH Papers, SWHA, Box 93:File 10). Schneiweiss's letter to the editor was published in the *Village Voice* on November 7, 1968 defending Hall and summarizing all her activities and her significant contributions. It also pointed out that she was a founder of MFY (Brownmiller had indicated that Richard Cloward was the founder of MFY). Beck sent the letter to Hall with a handwritten comment, "From one elitist to another" (HH Papers, SWHA, Box 93:File 10).

Conclusion

Helen Hall died in 1982 after several years of declining health. A memorial program was held in April, 1983, in New York City where those who remembered her (including, for example, the Honorable Robert F. Wanger) spoke of her work and of her character. A former assistant to Hall summarized their relationship: "From Helen, I learned that good is a stronger force than evil, that in the least promising soil, a few small seeds of compassion, planted and carefully tended, can spread into a whole garden of human dignity" (Henry Street Settlement, 1983).

Despite her widespread work in national affairs and neighborhood concerns, her leadership in the National Federation of Settlements, her extensive writings and studies, Hall has not received appropriate attention from those who study the past. Her contributions to the social work profession, particularly in the area of social reform, need to be more fully acknowledged. Hall was one of several strong women of the second generation who were able to benefit from the earlier pioneer social work women and to move successfully forward in an environment that increasingly was not conducive to leadership by women.

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Daily Life of the Oldest Old

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The purpose of this study was to investigate how very old persons—a representative sample of 129 noninstitutionalized 85-year-old Swedish persons with different patterns of adjustment—may live and experience daily life. The analysis of in-depth interviews showed that better adjusted participants enjoyed their freedom as retirees to form daily life at their own choosing. Within patterns of poorer adjustment, daily life was more influenced by other conditions than by the individual's preferences. It was common to construct personal time-tables for keeping up self-control and regardless of the level of activity, most participants thought that time passed quickly. It is argued that older persons' everyday activities, experiences and wishes should be thoroughly investigated and adjusted to when intervention programs for the elderly are planned.

Knowledge of older persons' daily lives may provide a starting point for social and medical interventions. Altergott (1988b) states that a perspective on daily life helps us to understand the well-being of older people in society and that learning about behavior patterns helps us to define constructive measures for enhancing quality of life in later life. In addition, Passuth and Bengtson (1988) argue that research in social gerontology has strayed too far from people's everyday experiences and that research on older people's day-to-day lives is important for the

understanding of phenomena of aging. Studies on daily life have usually employed time budget methods and often only leisure activities have been focused on (Altergott, 1988a; Cowgill & Baulch, 1962; Gordon & Gaitz, 1976; Schmitz-Scherzer, 1976). However, according to Moss and Lawton (1982), the frequency of time devoted to an activity does not necessarily measure the satisfaction or pleasure that is obtained from that activity. In their study on the time use of four different groups of independent and dependent elderly, respondents were asked to rate their appreciation for various activities in which they were engaged.

Daily life of the oldest old (85+) has received little attention. An 85-year-old person has usually been retired for about twenty years and has thus a long experience of creating an individual life style. But this age group is also at greater risk of experiencing physical and mental impairments and loneliness, which will influence daily living.

The typical very old person in Sweden is, like in other Western countries, a widowed woman living in her own home. Women of 80 years and older constitute almost three quarters of the elderly and only 16% are married as compared with 52% of the men in this age group (Statens Offentliga Utredningar, 1985). Swedish social policy aims at enabling the elderly to remain in their homes and in consequence of this policy, community-based home-help service and housing subsidies have been well developed. Home-help service, for example, encompasses almost half of the oldest old (Statens Offentliga Utredningar, 1985).

The concept of time needs to be the focus of studies of the daily life of the elderly since the relationship to time is different in old age. Retirees are relieved from obligatory timetables that to a great extent used to shape their daily lives and careers. Now, they may structure time according to their own wishes but this freedom can also make aging problematic. Markson (1973) argues that the old person must be able to replace obligatory timetables with voluntary quasi-timetables and therefore "the ability to use one's social time as one chooses, as a vital part of personality reintegration, is necessary for successful aging" (p. 46).

The purpose of this study was to investigate how 85-year-old persons living in the community spent their days and how daily life was experienced. In order to cover as many aspects as possible of the subject, a qualitative method with in-depth interviews was used. The participants were previously categorized into seven different patterns of adjustment to old age (Carlsson, Berg & Wenestam, in press). To ascertain the heterogeneity of old age (Maddox, 1987; Rowe & Kahn, 1987) the analysis of daily life experiences was made with particular regard to the interviewees' different patterns of adjustment.

Method

Subjects

The participants in this study were recruited from an ongoing health survey (H-70) of 85-year-old persons living in Göteborg, which is the second largest city in Sweden with 500,000 inhabitants (Rinder, Roupe, Steen & Svanborg, 1975). Out of a random sample, 162 persons who lived in their own homes were selected. The number of drop outs in this group amounted to 33 persons and thus 129 persons took part in the study—39 (30%) men and 90 (70%) women.

The sample did not show much variation in social background factors such as education and living conditions. Only 4% of the women but 17% of the men had a high-school certificate or a university degree. Most people lived in apartments in the older central districts of Göteborg. A majority of the subjects had lived in the city for more than 50 years and 73% lived alone. Half of the men and 13% of the women were still married. There were no marked variations in financial situation or income, largely because of the Swedish state pension system and housing subsidies. About half of the participants (54%) showed some degree of impaired mobility, 60% needed help in daily living and 73% of these persons received public home-help service.

No one was excluded from the study due to their physical or mental health status. Among the drop outs six persons felt too weak to participate and another six were excluded by their guardians because of dementia. Five persons declared that they were tired of investigations and five thought that their memory

was not adequate to answer questions. Two had died before contact was made and eight persons did not answer repeated phone calls and letters. One interview was excluded by both the analyst and the co-judge since the answers did not show credibility. Thus 129 persons participated in the study.

Qualitative method

The qualitative method that was used—phenomenography—was developed at the Department of Education and Educational Research at the University of Göteborg. The purpose of the method is to categorize and describe people's different perceptions of a phenomenon by using comparative analysis (Marton, 1981). When qualitative data in the form of in-depth interviews are used, these are analyzed for the characteristics of their meanings concerning specific topics which were the focus of the interview.

All experiences, thoughts and feelings that each person expressed in the interviews were weighed together in the analysis. Each perusal of the transcribed interview is in effect a step further in the researcher's understanding of what the participant wanted to convey, since the understanding reached at the previous perusal was used as background knowledge to be developed further.

The next step in the analysis is to group conceptions that are qualitatively similar and to describe the nature of this similarity. The outcome of this grouping of similar conceptions is a limited number of qualitatively different categories of description, which are characterized by the reduction of the amount of information and their content-specific nature. The qualitative differences between the categories imply that they are sharply delimited from each other as to their characteristics. The categories are then named, described and illustrated with representative quotations from the interviews, which reflect their contents. The total number of interviews then form the base and frame of reference for the total qualitative variation that emerges as a result of the analysis.

The categories of adjustment that constitute the basis for this study on daily life emerged from an analysis of in-depth interviews where the participants were asked to describe their daily

lives, themselves, their family lives, satisfaction with their past, wishes for the future and present pleasures. The interviews that took place in the participants' homes were tape-recorded and subsequently transcribed. The comparative analysis of these interviews revealed seven qualitatively different categories of adjustment reflecting how old age was experienced and adjusted to (Carlsson et al., in press).

Reliability

In order to test the reliability of the categories they were examined by a cojudge, who had access to the descriptions of the categories and to the interviews but no information about which category the different interviews belonged to. The cojudge's task was to categorize the interviews with the guidance of the descriptions of the categories. When the categorizations of both judges were compared, the first and the second judge agreed in 105 cases (out of 129), which means a simple interjudge reliability measure of 0.82. A correction for chance (Cohen, 1960) reduces the reliability somewhat to 0.77. The cojudgement thus implies possible overlapping between the categories.

Daily life

For this study an analysis of the in-depth interviews was performed with particular regard to how the participants lived and experienced their daily lives. The participants were asked to describe an ordinary day, a good day, a bad day, what they wished the days to be like and whether it was difficult to make time pass. The results from the analysis are presented for each category of adjustment with representative quotations from the interviews. Each description thus covers all the variations within its category in living and experiencing daily life as were expressed in the interviews.

Categories of adjustment

The seven categories of adjustment are ranked from positive to negative experiences and adjustments to old age as judged by the author: Category A. *Self-Realizing* (7 persons: 2 men, 5 women), to whom old age was perhaps the most meaningful and enjoyable period in their lives—now they had the time to

read, to reflect and to help other people. The participants in Category B. *Mature Aging* (16 persons: 7 men, 9 women), took great pleasure in their varying and more practical activities and saw old age as a natural ending of a good life. Category C. *Adapting* (35 persons: 10 men, 25 women), were quite dissatisfied with their lives but they felt they could influence their present situation and thus they could sustain their integrity. Category D. *Dependent* (18 persons: 2 men, 16 women), were strongly dependent on their families—they made life worth living. Category E. *Resignedly Accepting* (33 persons: 12 men, 21 women), experienced their present lives as tedious and filled with losses. To themselves they tried to accept their situation but in a passive and resigned way. Category F. *Despairing* (13 persons: 3 men, 10 women), felt helpless, superfluous or humiliated and had great difficulties in adjusting and they reacted with open despair. Category G. *Withdrawing* (7 persons: 3 men, 4 women), had withdrawn into a world of their own where they were not disturbed by their surroundings. They were very fixed on the past and due to mental incapacities they experienced life as fragmentary.

There were no gender differences in adjustment to old age. Reduced mobility and need of help was least common in the two first categories but the variability within the latter categories was substantial.

Results

A. *Self-Realizing*

The Self-Realizing made long and detailed accounts of their daily lives with accurate statements of time. The mornings were devoted to reading the newspaper thoroughly and to listening to news or morning service on the radio. The rest of the day was often filled with activities that they found meaningful and often involved contact with other people. Often they helped others both practically and emotionally. One woman visited lonely old people in nursing homes, one gave emotional support via her church and one woman did the laundry for her daughter's family and looked after their sheep. However, the Self-Realizing

also made sure they got time for their own interests and pleasures, which above all was reading for hours. The interviews made evident that they fully enjoyed their daily lives despite any physical constraints and all thought that time passed much too quickly.

(Mr. O. is a retired teacher in quite good health. He lives with his wife in a house of their own and has two sons).

I usually go out to get the newspaper at half past four and I fetch our neighbors' too since they also are rather old and not so well. Then I go to bed again and give half of the paper to my wife. . . . Well, then various things take place. Yesterday, for example, I went to my sister and brought some talking books with me and I took some of her bills to the bank. After that I went back to her, we had coffee together and I helped her to put up some curtain. I went home to eat at two o'clock and then I went for a walk to the cemetery and took the tram home. I had planned to do some gardening in the afternoon but my son phoned to say he would come over so I sat down to read instead. When he came we talked for a couple of hours till it was time for the news on TV. Then I went to bed upstairs to read a book. I borrow quite a lot of books at the library. . . . This spring I have been retired for 23 years, it has been 23 fantastic years that have filled me with. . . . Before I could not imagine what it could be like. It has been quite fantastic because I have had so much to do all the time.

B. Mature Aging

After breakfast and reading the newspaper many of the Mature Agers started to tidy up their homes and then a variety of activities followed. Usually the days were structured so that certain occupations were performed at certain times. The Mature Agers were most conscious of the importance of physical exercises and went for long walks. Many had some special interests that took up much of their time like: gardening, dancing, birdwatching, reading, chess or economy and some belonged to different clubs. Interaction with family and friends was frequent, particularly with the children, but few mentioned that they helped others. In the evenings they watched TV and were usually selective regarding the programs. These interviews reflect intensity, an open mind and satisfaction with life and the days were experienced as being too short.

(Mr. T. used to be the managing director of his own firm and has been a widower for the last ten years. Two of his children live near by but one son is living abroad).

Well, the newspaper comes about half past five and then I do some exercises and have a cup of coffee and a bisquit. I study economy for about two hours till it is time to go for a walk with one of my friends. At half past one I do not want to be disturbed because then comes the report from the stock exchange (on the radio). At two o'clock I get up and do some exercises. . . . When it is gets close to half past four I start to prepare dinner. I enjoy good and proper food, I am very careful about that. I read the papers for a while and watch the news or some interesting lecture on TV or I read a book. The evening passes like this and perhaps I go for a walk around the block. I have some prostate problems so occasionally I will have to get up in the night at about three and then I try to make myself comfortable and go to sleep again. Then the paper comes at half past five and we have been round the clock and I am feeling quite well.

C. Adapting

Daily life of the Adapting was less active and circumstances like the weather, health and contact with other people often influenced how the days were experienced. Their days were quite alike and everyday activities like doing housework took up much time and energy. The rest of the days were filled with mostly indoor activities like knitting, sewing, reading, doing cross-words, baking and TV watching or they went for short walks. Contact with others was mainly upheld via frequent phonecalls. Thanks to their ability to keep themselves busy with occupations that they enjoyed they were, however, quite content with their present lives and with themselves.

(Mrs. A's husband has been dead for five years and she has no children, her only relative is a nephew but she has got several friends. She suffers from asthma and was recently told by her doctor that she has a malignant illness).

If I feel well and have my breakfast and then read my newspaper then I can go out for a while and take a walk. Well, it depends on the weather if I want to go out or not. I like to go out and move about a little if I can and fortunately I usually can do that. Then I cook some food and I don't know exactly what I can tell about the

days but I am mostly at home and in the evenings I watch something that interests me on the TV. Sometimes I play patience if I am tired and so the day passes. I speak quite a lot on the phone, yes I do that because I have many.

D. Dependent

The interviews with the Dependent reflect the importance of contact with their families. With an exception for the two married men in this category, it was only when a child, grandchild or a sibling came to visit or made a phone call that the day was brightened up and feelings of loneliness were alleviated. Also, the Dependent usually had close and frequent contact with their families. Only a few could go out without help and on a fine day they suffered deeply from not being able to go outside. Several said they "did nothing" during the days while others tried to fill their time with some home making, sewing or knitting, reading magazines or watching TV.

(Mrs. H is twice divorced and she had brought up three children mostly on her own. A collar fracture some years ago made her less mobile and recently she got a pace-maker).

Yes, I must say that it is a good day when my home help comes in the morning and makes my bed and makes my coffee. Now I can do it myself but not some time ago. Then she tidies up here and does some errands. She comes in the afternoon too and that makes it twice a day. I think that is very good, I am satisfied with that. I have been so tired for a long time. Of course I walk here to and fro with my stick and out in the corridor too but I get tired and then I lie down and read—my daughters bring me magazines. . . . I only wish I could get out and sit on the benches. When I sit here alone and it is raining then I get depressed, I almost want to cry but I'm really happy when my youngest daughter and her husband come to see me. They have been shopping for me and cook dinner and they tell me to go and rest till the food is ready. Dinner is served, he says and then they will stay for a couple of hours and that day I think is wonderful.

E. Resignedly Accepting

The Resignedly Accepting preferred to talk about what they used to do when they were more fit or what they would do if they felt better instead of telling about their present daily

life. Having realized that the present failed to correspond with the past or with their wishes they tried to accept this by being grateful that they could manage the way they did, despite their need for much home help. Due to pain, impaired sight or walking problems they were usually housebound and daily life was quite monotonous. The day usually started with reading the newspaper then they tried to perform some household tasks. They rested a lot, read some and ended the day in front of the TV.

(Mrs. P. is a severely handicapped woman living alone in a flat designed for disabled persons. Her husband died fourty years ago. She used to work as a home helper and now she recieves home help almost daily. Her two daughters live near and visit her each week).

As a rule I get up between five and six in the morning and then it takes a long time to make a cup of coffee and sandwiches and to get washed and dressed. To get dressed takes a very long time, sometimes an hour. Just to button my clothes takes a long time and this has happened during the last six months. Before it went so quickly and I never had to think about it. Then I read the paper and cook some food and keep myself busy. My home help always comes in the morning and gives me my eye drops and there is always something I must do. At about eleven or half past twelve I've got nothing to do and in the afternoon I lie down. I take off my shoes and lie in bed to rest my legs for one or even two hours. Of course I have moments when I am depressed but I don't show it to anybody. I watch the TV but I don't like the foreign films since I don't know any languages and there is so much violence on the TV so I listen to the news and that's it. So I walk around here in my flat and sit down to read a paper and so on.

F. Despairing

Daily life of the Despairing was experienced as trying or meaningless. It was only in this category that the majority thought the days were too long. Most could manage housework, although with difficulty, and could go for short walks. However, the contrast between what they were able to do some years ago and what they could do now was too great and made them feel useless. Only a few did something apart from everyday activities. Occasionally, they more or less forced themselves

to go for a walk or even attend club meetings but it did not give them any pleasure. As to social contacts, the Despairing showed great heterogeneity: Some were almost totally isolated while others had frequent contact with above all their children. These contacts could, however, not alleviate their feelings of loneliness and unhappiness.

(Mrs. C. has been a widow since forty years, she is childless and lives in a big flat at the center of the town).

It is hard to put my thoughts into words but it is a good day if I can find somebody who can take me for a walk so that I can come out. Well, nobody calls me and nobody comes and I walk here up and down and yes, I feel shut in. Then I try to go out on my own but that is not a good walk. Things are not always easy when I walk about here like a lost soul. I am so restless that I can't sit or lie down but I walk about and that's rather dismal. . . . Before I used to devour books but now I cannot see the text any more.

G. Withdrawing

Due to mental impairments, the Withdrawing had difficulties in accounting for their daily activities. But being allowed much time for answering, the interviews made clear that they rested most of the day and that they needed much help to cope with daily living. They often let their thoughts wander back to their childhood or earlier adulthood and they were inclined to mix the past together with the present. Some thought, for example, that their dead spouses were still alive. Their wishes were quite modest: Some wished they could go out for a walk and one woman wished she had a better character so that she at least could do something during the day. One severely demented woman's answer to almost all questions was that she wished she had more contact with people.

(Mr. F. lives with his wife in a small flat outside town. He is a retired driver, has got one daughter and is in good physical health)

Well, when I have done my obligations, then I sit here and make myself comfortable. Yes, then I sit here and enjoy myself. I read the newspaper and most of all I sit here and dream. I have got memories from when I was four years old, events that I can remember clearly. I remember my father when I was with him, we sailed he and I. . .

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to investigate how daily life may be lived and experienced in very old age. A qualitative analysis of in-depth interviews revealed great differences in life styles and experiences among the 85-year old participants, which support the demand for a more heterogenous view of the elderly (Maddox, 1987; Rowe & Kahn, 1987). We found that daily life in very old age could be most active, enjoyable and meaningful. At the other extreme, it could also be experienced as monotonous or meaningless. The diversity that stood out in this study could be attributed to the fact that in-depth interviews were used, which allowed the participants to talk freely about all aspects of their daily lives, or that different patterns of adjustment were examined.

The meaningfulness that was experienced among the Self-Realizing and Mature Aging may actually be due to the participants' advanced age. These persons enjoyed a daily life style of their own choosing without any external demands on how to live. The lack of expectations on the the elderly—"the role-less role" (Rosow, 1974)—needs thus not be negatively experienced as is a common perception.

In contrast to the full life of the participants in the former categories, daily life in the later ones was experienced as increasingly monotonous, meaningless or too complex. These participants showed by their way of reasoning how a declining ability to influence daily life might lead to resignation, despair or withdrawal into a private world of thoughts.

Relationship to time appears to have an important meaning in very old age. Despite the variations in daily living, some consistant patterns with regard to daily scheduling and perception of the passage of time stood out in all categories. Time was generally experienced as passing quickly, regardless of the level of activity. This agrees with previous findings that the elderly perceive a swifter passing of time than younger persons (Kastenbaum, 1966; Wallach & Green, 1961). According to these authors the limited time perspective of older persons (much time has been used up and little remains) causes them to feel an increased value and intensity of time (Kastenbaum, 1966; Wallach & Green, 1961). The experience of time as having a

great value in old age contrasts, however, to the low value that society attaches to the time of the elderly.

Structuring of the days meant that certain tasks were to be performed at certain hours and it was often so carefully done that we have labelled it *ritualization* (Carlsson et al., in press). This procedure helped to sustain self-control, a strong predictor of psychological and physical well-being (Reker, Peacock, & Wong, 1987), for performing activities of daily living and consequently also integrity and autonomy. Therefore, housework may have a value of its own and moreover, it can help to reduce the leisure time that has to be filled somehow. Those who ritualized their days had thus constructed personal time tables, which Markson (1973) claims to be important for successful aging. Daily schedules also proved to be most common in the categories of better adjustment to old age. However, daily routines, and thereby autonomy, might easily be disrupted by sudden changes in scheduled helping hours, for example. This is an actual risk in Sweden, where almost fifty percent of the oldest old receive public home help (Statens Offentliga Utredningar, 1985).

An additional finding in this study was the three distinct time-patterns regarding relationships to time. In the first categories the participants lived very much in the present and made good use of their time. In the middle categories time was deliberately filled up to make it pass, while in the later ones the past was most important and present time was merely passing by. Time-budget studies demonstrate that elderly people generally spend the larger part of the day in their homes, which thus is the location for most activities. Moss and Lawton (1982) found in their study on four groups with different degrees of dependency, that 75–85% of the day was spent at home, obligatory activities occupied 27–34%, television watching 20–23%, rest and relaxation 12–20%; much of the waking day (59–66%) was spent alone. Older women (75+) have been found to spend twice as much time alone (8 hours a day) as men, which mainly is due to the overrepresentation of widows in this age group (Altergott, 1988c). As to outdoor activities of very old individuals, Swedish investigations show that 30% of persons 80–84 years went for walks several times per week and weekly gardening was done

by 20% (Statistiska Centralbyrån, 1985). In this study it was apparent that getting out was a major concern, besides meeting other people, for experiencing a good day. To be able to get out of doors was not self-evident any longer and therefore, when it could be done it implied deeper meanings of physical well-being and achievement, of being part of life and of recognizing and being recognized by people in the neighborhood.

Regarding generalization of the results, the study shows conditions that could make them applicable to other groups of especially very old persons; the study population was a representative sample of 85-year-old persons living in their own homes in the city of Göteborg. There were 129 participants (which is considered a large number in qualitative studies) and reliability of the categories of adjustment was examined by a cojudge. Moreover, several of these categories corresponded to the patterns of adjustment that were discovered by Neugarten, Havighurst and Tobin (1968). Thus, it may be concluded that the findings of this study could apply to the oldest old living in the city of Göteborg. And since the Swedish population of very old persons is quite homogenous in income, educational backgrounds, access to public home help services, transportation and medical care, the results may be valid also for other oldest olds in Sweden.

The most conspicuous finding in this study was that even very old persons construct personal time tables for the purposes of maintaining control, independence and for experiencing a swifter passage of time. Consequently, when older persons need care and support in their homes, either from the community or family caregivers, it is important to find out how their possible time tables are constructed and to adjust caring interventions to them. On the other hand persons, who do not structure their daily activities, may need assistance to do so in order to enhance their autonomy.

The different ways of adjusting to daily life that are described in this study require diverse ways of approaching the elderly and clearly speak against stereotyped thinking in both research and in care planning. In order to develop home care programs that are better adjusted to how older individuals use their time, it might be suggested that in-depth interviews could

be used (also for demented persons) as a starting-point for interventions. However it needs to be observed that caregivers of the elderly usually belong to younger generations with higher materialistic demands and obligatory structured time and thus have different relationships to time. Therefore, we argue that educational programs should include teaching in time perspective with special emphasis on that of the elderly. This will help to promote an understanding of how older individuals value and use their time and how these issues are related to autonomy and well-being. Regarding further research on the daily life of the elderly, it would moreover be interesting to perform combined quantitative/qualitative studies for comparing how actual use of daily time correspond to subjective experiences of daily living.

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The Withering of Community Life and the Growth of Emotional Disorders

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The architecture of this essay is as follows: I begin by assaying the communitarian crisis of the modern western world. Second, I offer a brief narrative of the social and cultural variables that foster rootlessness and social disintegration in much of urban industrial life. Third, I state a strong case for how this same process may be systematically undermining the nuclear family as a life-long community, threatening the dependence of children on care-giving adults, and, thereafter, the psychological development of children.

"Plants have roots, spiders have webs and people have relationships."

Blake

Communitarian critiques of the modern Western world have endeavored to analyze the distinctive social transformation brought about by materialism, endless economic growth, and unbridled economic competition. This line of criticism is essentially linked to the economic and political structures which have developed in the last centuries. A Platonic-Romantic moral sense of the good is used to evaluate the shifts in moral consciousness and definitions of moral aspirations which flow from the privatization of individuals and the withering of communities of common life and ritual. Communitarian thought shares a critical assessment of the philosophical and economic doctrines defining individuals as having priority over any conception of social morality.

One of the most enduring legacies of nineteenth century romantic criticism of the Industrial Revolution is the concept of human alienation, which is echoed by the youthful, intellectual

Marx. The theme of romanticism is fully and qualitatively summarized in the *Communist Manifesto*.

Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at least compelled to face, with sober senses, his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind. (Tucker, 1972, pp. 337–338)

I want to explore these themes to determine whether the communitarian crisis is undermining the nuclear family as a life-long community and thereby threatening the dependence of children on caregiving adults. First, I shall sketch a portrait of the premodern world. Next, I shall trace the historical and cultural variables that foster rootlessness and social disintegration in much of urban industrial life, and consider the ways in which this same process may be systematically eroding family ties and thereafter the psychological development of children.

For all the differences of origin and country, premodern communities evidence some common characteristics. A person's frame of reference for the formation of values equaled the standard of society at large. People who lived in classical Greece ultimately defined concepts such as will, integrity, and freedom in the context of the social order. For the Greeks, freedom was concomitant with the notion of human interaction. They saw themselves as members of an ongoing and historical community, sharing the same norms, institutions, gods, and cultural activities. There was little distinction between personal values and community norms. Plato's ideal was for the individual to honor the established social morality of the city, its ethical life. The harmony of Greek life was expressed by the dependence of the individual on his society and the way in which its norms and customs imposed a complex of obligations, as the culture wove an integrative web of spiritual and communal values around the individual and his practical concerns. The essence of the person was not his psychological states and dispositions; it was rather the socialized person who was the essential individual.

Liberty in this tradition pertained to the right to participate in the transcendent life of the polis or community life.

The premodern world of predictability and tradition created a strong sense of community at the local level. Traditional consciousness emphasized the continuity between present and past and minimized social change. Such a system obviously enhanced the sense of common concerns within these communities. In a world that was overwhelmingly rural, village life comprised a socially and culturally homogeneous group, whose common values were formed and repeatedly reinforced by their continuous association and shared experience, at first within the family and then outside in their church and community. In such a community of life and ritual, the whole group moved together through the cycle of reproduction, labor, achievement, celebration, and mourning.

Out of this tradition, community interests dictated that the fortunes of the civil society took precedence over the personal advantage of the individual. Prior to the modern age, the accumulation of wealth was inhibited by an ethical attitude that declared the purpose of work to provide for the basic necessities of life and discourage idleness and concupiscence. In the then religious world, objects of human manufacture were adorned with symbols and emblems charged with moral significance. In most societies, material accumulation and exchange was subjugated to social goals. Exchanges were used more for solidarity than for profit, as economic growth and greed were contained by cultural and moral values.

Demos's (1970) psycho-social reconstruction of family experience in Plymouth colony demonstrated a general premodern pattern whereby the family and the wider community were joined in multiple activities of profound reciprocity. For example, family productive activity was characterized by economic relations that were antecedently limited by communal tradition and custom. Production was primarily geared to subsistence. Families accumulated productive surplus, but not at the expense of their communal obligations towards their neighbors. To foster good will in the community, annual surpluses were exchanged with a pool of friends and neighbors (Macfarlane, 1970). As the historian Medick wrote: "The family continued to work until its

subsistence was assured. It then gave in to leisure and worked to satisfy additional material or cultural needs which always took precedence over an expenditure to work to gain a purely monetary surplus" (Medick, 1981, p. 66). Work, free time, sociability, culture, morality, and economy were virtually indivisible. Work was not yet a means to an end.

Within the family, physical and emotional needs, work and pleasure were coterminous with one another. There was little distinction between the shares of labor and income that each member contributed to the maintenance of the family. While households were divided along gender lines, the fact that tasks were sex-linked did not contradict reciprocal dependence. Farm work required husband and wife be indispensable to each other.

Yet the family was more than an economic unit. Here are several generalizations, again from Demos (1970), that apply to the family wherever found in early America. It was a productive enterprise, a vocational institute, a house of correction, a church, and a welfare institution. Throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth centuries, parents reared their children with love and affection, to love and to fear them, and to hate pleasure and their bodies, and to subordinate their wills and selves to their parents (Greven, 1977). Parental love and affection was the norm.

A collective interest in socializing the young prevailed. Neighbors, the church, and a set of clear cultural values provided social and psychological support for families and their responsibilities for child rearing. Demos's observations showed that the family was joined to other institutions and other purposes in an intricate web of interconnections: "Family and community, private and public life, formed part of the same moral equation. The one supported the other, and they became in a sense indistinguishable" (Demos, 1970, p. 186).

However, as people were pulled into the modern world of capitalism, the reciprocal relationship between individuals and their solid social formations were metamorphosed into something unrecognizable. Historians have scrupulously documented and narrated an epochal transformation over the last three centuries in personal values, communal interdependencies, and personalistic social bonds. The organic conception of the whole

in which the sum remains greater than its parts began losing ground to the conception of the whole as the sum of its individual parts.

The growth of a market economy ripped apart the mold of custom and the usages of tradition. The manufacturing economy extended itself endlessly, creating the first truly materialistic culture. The Protestant work ethic was transformed from its original concern of glorifying God to a new telos: increasing individual material prosperity and that of society. In the developing secular world, private interests were released from moral constraints and communal regulation of economic activity. By the mid-nineteenth century, the classical republicanism attempt to maintain a delicate balance between economic individualism and traditional communal values gave way to the disruptive force of an expanding economy. To use Carlyle's (Tennyson, 1984) words, the "cash nexus" was diffusing and deepening its grip upon the social order. The ideal of the opportunistic enterpriser, instead of civic minded persons dedicated to the common good, had become the model for the community to emulate (Berthoff, 1982). The profit motive and unappeasable greed, as ubiquitous characteristics of society, became a modern phenomenon.

The individual was removed from the old integrated forms of community. Vigorous communities by which people formerly identified themselves lost a sense of autonomy. As the maximization of private profit and economic growth became the foundation of government policy, economic enterprises and productive activity became disembedded and independent from the community. In a sense, the contemporary Western world detached itself from the past. The economic system came to operate as an amoral quasi-autonomous sphere. The cult of efficiency and competition fostered a practical life-world dominated by technical rationality (Habermas, 1975; 1984), gradually replacing the set of rules, mores, customs, and habitual practices that had traditionally guided people's behavior. A world disenchanting in Max Weber's language, a world without an objective moral order was constructed.

Gradually the moral economy of the past is replaced by a new foundational commitment to individual equality under

the law and the postulate of economic and individual freedom. The privileging of equality operates to exclude not only permanent inequalities of status but also ascriptions of authoritative opinion to any person within society. Freedom thus becomes a natural right, because no one is deemed to have the right to impose opinions by virtue of his or her intrinsic identity. Without a bonding link or form of social cohesion, freedom allows the individual to choose his own aims, values, and conceptions of the good. Individuals are now free to view themselves as a distinct entity, and society comes to consist of disassociated individuals, each with an ontological ground of his or her conception of the good life. After all, the increased prominence of individualism undermines membership in a community, whether in a tribe, village, city, nation, or family. For the self-defining individual, social arrangements are a necessary burden to be pursued only for egotistic ends. Community for the first time is external to the individuals who comprise it, an attribute and not constituent of their identity. The true dependence of the individual upon the surrounding community is denied.

The change from one socio-economic system to another deprived families of their economic independence. Large-scale manufacture separated the household from the traditional place of work. Such a cessation of household and the place of work necessarily entailed a pattern of sexual-economic division. Wives were excluded from the publicly recognized economy and largely confined to that part of life which was private and personal. This social and economic division of labor replaced traditional sexual interdependency with sexual polarity.

During the nineteenth century, the socialization of children is differentiated between father and mother in a much sharper way. Within a minute period of history, the father goes from his historic superordinate role as a concerned, involved parent within the family to his new role as a subordinate worker subjected to a system of rules and to a hierarchy of power. "Now for the first time," to quote Demos (1986, p. 52), "the central activity of fatherhood was sited outside one's immediate household. Now, being fully a father meant being separated from one's children for a considerable part of every working day." Socialization is left to the mother.

In the process, adults trade the sociability of medieval public life for the privacy of family life. The family, as persons, surfaces as an individualistic unit. Philippe Aries' (1962) incisive historical analysis of the reciprocal relations between the family and the wider community shows that the motor of industrialization gives the family a more private and individualistic nature. Emotions, as the family withdraws from the public world, are no longer diffuse—with numerous foci—but focused, almost exclusively, on the domestic unit. The family becomes "the private domain, the only place where a person could legitimately escape the inquisitive stare of industrial society" (Aries, 1979, pp. 40–41).

Since World War II, the family has become isolated in a very comprehensive and almost totalizing sense. Relative to its neighbors and immediate surroundings, the family is much more self-contained than the great majority of any previous generation of urban dwellers, and incomparably more so than most villagers of previous ages. With the cult of domestic privatism being implemented, the social dialogue and neighborliness associated in the past with the much-used front porch, life of the sidewalk, and the front yard vanishes (Jackson, 1985). Neighborhoods, as places to find friendship, identity, and support, have generally disappeared from the American scene (Fisher, 1982) and parenting is now a lonely undertaking (Maher, 1987).

With the coming of the modern era, the role of the family undergoes still another change. It has, Aries (1964) explains, paradoxically, become a repository for the waning cultural heritage of the traditional world, a refuge for values and custom which are passing. Yet Laslett (1979), together with Aries and Demos, concludes that the loneliness of the modern family has created undue stress from which it cannot recover. Thus, according to Laslett, "changes . . . in the ideology of family life and the relationship of the family to other social institutions have affected the process of socialization in ways that have increased the salience of the family in the formation of personal identity" (Laslett, 1979, p. 250). Accordingly, Macfarlane, who has made a monumental contribution towards the understanding of the social history of the British family, shows that the development of the market economy from medieval to modern times has left

the family in a spiritual and cultural vacuum. The prime moral feature of the commodity economy, as Macfarlane explains, is that: "In its wake come all the associated costs: the destruction of wider groups and communities, the corrosion of loyalties, the calculative, rational view of life, the 'alienation' which Marx documented, the 'anomie' that Durkheim analyzed" (Macfarlane, 1986, pp. 343-344).

In disowning the characterological and community-directed norms of traditional culture, modern society shows how it is possible to alter sacred commitments. Middle-class family members exist in the moral world of mass consumerism far removed from local tradition and are at odds with the earlier emphasis on self-denial. With the privatization of God, secularization of society, and prominence of commercialism in society, the social meaning of marriage and sexuality has been dramatically reconceptualized.

Looking back at puritan New England, sexuality was primarily linked with reproduction within a family context. There was an emphasis on commitment, acceptance of social attachment, self-sacrifice, and libidinal restraint. But as more and more forms of social life became increasingly commercialized, a philosophy of consumption which encouraged immediate self-gratification and the pursuit of pleasure was established. Beginning in the nineteenth century, sexuality could no longer be contained within marriage, as the marketplace sanctioned the release of desire in so many direction, including the libidinous.

For many people of different classes, life's needs and meanings now focus on the aspiration of sharing in the enlarged scope of human desires that is espoused by the consumer society. There exists today a split between the older ethic of conjugality as a public duty, and the newer dream of sexuality as a private, personal pleasure. With the severing of sex from associative bonds and reproductive life, sexuality becomes a private interest related to personal identity, happiness, and development (D'Emilio & Freedman, 1988).

The family, as Orr (1979) maintains, must attempt to compensate for family members' unmet needs in society. It provides a therapeutic function which purports to serve psychological man or woman. To this ever-widening preoccupation with the

self and its inner recesses, family life must be interesting enough to meet the modern individual's needs or else the family member will seek fulfillment in the marketplace. In this context contemporary family life acquires a negative image:

Seen from this viewpoint, domestic relationships look dangerously like an encumbrance, if not a form of bondage, inhibiting the quest for a full experience of self. Monogamous marriage is liable to become boring and stultifying: in other things, after all, variety is the "spice of life." Moreover, the responsibility for children only compounds the problem. The needs and requirements of the young are so pressing, so constant, as to leave little space for adults who must attend to them. "Spice" and "space": these are, in fact, the qualities for which we yearn most especially. And the family severely limits our access to either one. (Demos, 1986, p. 37).

As a result, the security of children becomes increasingly precarious as parental involvement becomes tenuous. About one-half of children in the United States will experience their parents' marital dissolution. For many children the emotional aftermath is traumatic. Almost a third of the children become clinically depressed and function poorly in their school and social life. Many children seem to adjust initially, only to erupt later with problems of anger, promiscuity, depression, fears of betrayal or abandonment (Wallerstein & Blakeulee, 1988). There is also devastating economic and social consequences of divorce for female household heads of all classes and their children. Mother-headed families are frequently below or near the poverty line (Fuchs, 1986; Weitzman, 1985).

Throughout western civilization material deprivation has negatively impacted private human relations and loosened parental-child bonds. The relationship between emotional needs and material interest have historically been the complementary foundation of family solidarity. In the practical experience of family formation and the dynamics of social reproduction, the emotional and material are systematically interconnected. Emotion, trust, and sentiment are structured within the necessity of providing predictable material resources to manage those needs within society (Medick & Saben, 1984). For example, in the ancient world and into the eighteenth century, parents, although

they cared deeply about their children, abandoned their offspring in desperation when they were unable to support them (Boswell, 1988). Today many of our nation's citizens live in an equally unstable economic situation that creates a similar dissociated impact on parental-child relations.

Wilson (1987), who has written probably the most important book on poverty to appear in the 1980s, has documented how inequalitarian pressures bear down disproportionately on minorities to precipitate a communitarian crisis for many black people. The relocation of industry to the suburban periphery or to cities of newly industrialized countries has removed poor minorities from meaningful job opportunities. Minorities have become geographically concentrated in a dual city, one affluent and the other poor and peripheral. This new underclass lives now in economically and socially isolated communities outside the mainstream of social and economic life, removed from both the black and white middle class.

Wilson's main conclusion is that poverty has become more intractable for reasons partially cultural and psychological. With the growing bifurcation of the black community, the cohesiveness and texture of their community has been gravely broken. The "marriageable male pool" (the proportion of young black men in position financially to marry and support a family) declines as young black male employment sharply decreases. Poor black families become increasingly headed by young women dependent on very poor wages in the lowest rungs of the service sector, or on welfare.

The well-being of children, according to Wilson, is at risk. Children are being raised in an institutionless community, where everyone is poor, instability is the norm, and the social and psychological role of fatherhood is nonexistent. Adolescent mothers generally lack psychological maturity to be a "good enough parent." They consistently show poor patterns of interaction with their infants, spending less time talking to them, looking at them, and interacting in rewarding ways (Osofsky & Culp, 1987), interfering with the social and emotional development of the child, making later development potentially problematic (Osofsky & Eberhart-Wright, 1988).

For those left behind, the inner city is dim, claustrophobic, and utterly hopeless. A large-scale study in London showed frighteningly high rates of depression in unemployed women living at home with young children, rates as high as 40% among the working-class mothers (Brown & Harris, 1978). A demoralized, apathetic and depressed mother deprives the child of the mother's vital constitutive attachment and empathic care. Children with depressed mothers, Winnicott (1958, p. 93) writes, "have a task which can never be accomplished. Their task is first to deal with the mother's mood." Several major studies show that depression in the primary caregiver is the most prevalent etiological factor in episodic psychiatric disorders in children (Cytryn & McKnew, 1980; Beardslee, Keller, & Klerman, 1983).

At first glance, the removal of production from community and family life creates the appearance of a "public" world removed from interpersonal relations and, allegedly, concerned only with relations of capital and production. However, a deeper contemporary analysis of the family does not support the theory of a public/private dichotomy, but, alternatively, suggests a dialectal interplay between the relationship conditions of the family and the impact of the material conditions of economic activity. To illustrate, Lasch (1979) and Donzelot (1979) depict a breakdown in the privatism of both realms as having significantly affected the traditional institutions which were the extended supportive environment of the family. Institutions that had previously placed high value on the importance of reciprocity, mutual obligation, and solidarity at the social level are no longer available to perform this critical function. Mediating institutions such as the church, neighborhood groups, and associations have succumbed to the encroachment of managerial bureaucracies with the accompanying deterioration of the historic moral and practical functions of community. The family, which appears to be private, is exposed to the public domain through channels which bypass the immediate community. Professionals now take responsibility for functions previously performed in a family and community context. This further weakens primary ties of mutual interdependence on which the character structure of men, women, and children ultimate

depend. The conservative theorist Murray (1988) highlights the loss of community relations:

Communities exist because they have a reason to exist, some core of functions around which the affiliations that constitute a vital community can form and grow. When the government takes away a core function, it depletes not only the source of vitality pertaining to that particular function, but also the vitality of a much larger family of responses. (1988, p. 274)

The feminization of poverty, the marginality of the economic security of the working class, the loss of enduring social units, the strains explicit in the loneliness of parenting, and the changing sexual composition of the work force all undermine the family's ability to function as a viable psychologically and emotionally supportive structure for children. For the most of human history, the relationship between mother and infant was characterized by very close physical contact. Indeed, breast feeding assured close physical and emotional ties between women and their babies for several years. In contrast, contemporary children sleep in separate rooms and are fed by bottle. If the mother works away from the home, then some other and more differentiated form of child-rearing must develop for the care of children. Half of all women with preschool children work, and half of those employed mothers have at least one child below the age of 12 months in the care of comparable strangers during the day, a new social phenomenon.

While the effects of day care on toddlers is controversial, the more recent research raises concern about nonparental day care before the child's 12th and 18th month. Belsky (1986), who has studied the issue of day care for over a generation, reviewed the most recent studies on the adequacy of attachment at one year of age and its sequelae. He concluded that day care instituted during the first year of life constitutes a "risk factor" for the development of not only secure attachment at age 1, but also of heightened aggressiveness, noncooperation with adults, and withdrawal later in childhood.

All children need constitutive attachments. The crystallization of the child's psychic structure and affective states takes place within the context of external relations with the child's

primary attachment figures. A "good enough" parent-infant mutuality is necessary for the infant's subsequent psychological growth and development. The child requires a developmental milieu that provides certain essential nurture, structure, and socialization to enable him or her to develop into a psychologically mature person. The genesis of normal or pathological development is inextricably intertwined with family relations. What is most distinctive about children is that they are associational beings dependent upon the social relations of bounded and bonded community.

On the other hand, deprivation of deep and profound emotional ties in infancy may cause lifetime developmental damage to the child's later capacities for social competence (Sroufe, 1983; Lutkenhaus, Grossmann, & Grossmann, 1985), peer relationships and social functioning (Bates, Maslin, & Frankel, 1985), creating and sustaining human bonds and social concern (Grossman, Spangler, Suess, & Unzner, 1985; Ricks, 1985). In the same vein, feelings of loneliness are significantly associated with one's perceived early attachment relationships to parents (Shaver & Hazen, 1985), a factor in the alienation that underlies teenage alcoholism, drug abuse, and suicide (Lidz, 1976). To summarize, Selma Fraiberg writes:

The distinguishing characteristic of the diseases of non-attachment is the incapacity of the person to form human bonds . . . the other striking characteristic of such people in their impoverished emotional range. There is no joy, no grief, no guilt, no remorse. In the absence of human ties, a conscience cannot be formed; even the qualities of self-observation and self-criticism fail to develop. (Fraiberg, 1977, p. 47)

It is at this point that the intrinsic value of "good enough" parenting intersects with the broader community and the social structure most clearly. The uncontrolled drive to economic growth, concentration, mobility; the exaltation of instrumental reason over history and community seriously undermine the nuclear family as a life-long community. Indeed, psychological individuality, as a developmental achievement, is becoming increasingly problematic. In recent years, a number of social scientists and psychiatrists have noted the increased prevalence and

proliferation of emotional disorders. It seems that the internal relations of our advanced industrial society generate pervasive insecurity and rising numbers of mental health patients. For instance, the epidemiological study of historical trends in the evolution of schizophrenia in Europe suggests that schizophrenia increased sharply in the nineteenth century. Hare reviewed a number of studies and concluded that between

1859 and 1909, the total increase in the rate of insanity was 17.3 (35.8 minus 18.5); and of this, 7.1 (41%) was due to the increase in schizophrenia over and above that attributable to causes acting to increase the rate of all types of insanity. Thus, the postulated increase in the incidence of schizophrenia can account for at least 40% of the increased prevalence of insanity between 1859 and 1909. (Hare, 1988, p. 525)

Furthermore, major studies demonstrate an increase in the incidence of depression. This has been variously described as a sharp rise or epidemic. It has been suggested that the age of melancholy has replaced the age of anxiety (Hagnel, Lanke, Rorsman, & Ojesto, 1982). Most noteworthy, since World War II, is the trend of an earlier age of onset of depression for adolescents and young adults (Klerman, 1986). The epidemiologic study of psychiatric disorders in the United States demonstrates, as a leading researcher concludes, the cohort that came to maturity after World War II, i.e., born after 1936, is experiencing earlier ages of onset and increased risk of major depression (Weisman, Nyers, Leaf, Tischler, & Holzer, 1986). One large-scale community study, for example, finds that among women almost 70% have suffered a major depression by age 30, compared to 4% of those born before 1910—a 15-fold increase (Klerman, 1986). The baby boom generation, which now comprises almost one-third of the population, has experienced greater rates of depression and similar trends have been reported for suicide and substance abuse (Klerman, 1988). A frightening picture of domestic cruelty which denies children a normal sequence of development has been painted recently by Crewdson (1988). The Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter argues that the sexual abuse of children has increased dramatically since World

War II. Based on a complete examination of the available data, he estimates that nearly 38 million Americans have been sexually abused in their childhood. In the vast majority of cases, according to the experts, the abuser has been abused in childhood, and many of the new victims will also be at risk to become abusers when they become older. If this pattern continues, according to Crewdson, 13 million of our nation's children will be sexually abused before they reach their eighteenth birthday. In addition, there is a malignancy of child abuse existing today in our society that did not exist two or three centuries ago in New England. Demos summarizes his historical research on child abuse: "Most childhoods in pre-modern society knew their own forms of severity. But they seem not to have known the particular sufferings which the term 'child abuse' now calls so vividly and painfully to mind" (Demos, 1986, p. 87). The fact that child abuse is far more prevalent than in traditional non-western societies is attributed by anthropologists, in part, to the social isolation in which many families are forced to live. "Embeddedness of child rearing in larger kin and community networks," Korbin (1987, p. 32) writes, "provides assistance to parents and also helps to ensure that child care behaviors will be open to scrutiny and community standards maintained."

The psychoanalytic community has for some time been reporting a symptomatic and structural change in personality structure. The obsessional neurotic and conversion hysteric so characteristic of an earlier, more acquisitive and sexually repressed society, have been all but eclipsed by a plethora of character disorders. More and more psychiatrists believe that character disorders may be the predominant mental problem of our times.

In 1954, Gitelson (1954) noted an increasing number of patients with narcissistic personality disorders. Waelder wrote:

The psychoneuroses seem to have changed since the early days of psychoanalysis, with simple and rather transparent cases of grande hysteria retreating from sophisticated urban quarters and being reported from back waters only; and, in general with repression, the simple form of defense, giving way to more complicated mechanism. (1962, p. 618)

This same observation was noted by Zetzel (1970), who contended that the "so-called good hysteric" of Freud's day was being replaced by more disturbed and difficult patients with personality disorders. The "normal personality of our culture" was described by Tarakoff (1966) as one of infantile grandiosity that is congruent with our culture's moral notions about autonomous individuality. While recognizing the enigmatic nature of etiological considerations, Lazar writes "whatever the explanation—and the question remains open—the patients [with personality disorders] I have described comprise an increasing number of those who seek . . . help" (Lazar, 1973, p. 597). And Dr. Otto Kernberg (1986), a leading theoretician in the area of pathological narcissism, very recently stated that the incidence of character disorders may be increasing.

Character disorders are the subject of controversy, given the tendency on the part of some theorists to postulate a single deficiency—caregiver unavailability, family pathology, constitutional or hereditary factors, or other early traumata—as the cause of pathology. Nevertheless, there is a growing consensus that character disorders are rooted in the intersubjective abruption of the emotional reciprocity of the caregiver-infant atonement during the separation-individuation stage of development occurring during the child's first three years of life. Mahler (1975), whose contributions to the field are seminal, stresses the unity of nature and nurture in the care giver-infant dyad and sees all of these factors—individually or in combination—as capable of undermining the "mutual cuing" requisite to the achievement of a cohesive self. Yet, she does assert that the emergence of a cohesive self depends on the gradual internalization of equilibrium-maintaining parental functions. The principal condition for mental health at the preoedipal level is the ". . . actual mother-child relationship which serves as a basis for the quality and stability of mental representations" (Mahler, Pine, & Bergman, 1975, p. 188). Internalized parental and societal delimitation is vital to the child's coherent personality organization.

The few research studies of the families of adult character disorder patients found a consistent failure on the part of the parents to provide basic nurturance, protection, or empathic

caring (Gunderson, Kerr, & Englund, 1980). In sum, parental failures, to Modell (1980), are usually those of emotional unresponsiveness.

Concordant with the representation of the human condition in much of the late twentieth-century literature, Kohut (1977, 1980), views the modern individual as a deeply damaged character whose core sense of self is devastated. The narcissistic personality of our time suffers from impairments that are characterized by insufficient psychic infrastructures which are themselves connected with inadequate experiences of internalization, identification, and idealization. The decline of parental emotional responsiveness during infantile experience, according to Kohut, is inversely related to the characterological shift in our time toward character disorders. On the one hand, character disorders result from parental emotional unresponsiveness, affective absence, and empathetic coldness. At the same time, the quality of parenthood is the result of historic psychotropic social factors that have caused a diminution of emotional interrelatedness. Parenthood both mirrors and conveys these changing social realities and cultural values, and these changes are ultimately reflected in the individual's personality configuration.

We may also talk about the differentiae of modern family crises in terms of the literature it produces; it is by our imagery of the past and present that the character of children's existential anxiety can be known. As with so many cultural developments, the last part of this century witnesses the beginnings of a changed attitude in children's literature between the relationship of parents and children. The early twentieth century imagery depicts the family as solid, stable, and secure—a perfect place of refuge. At the heart of this period of children's literature, children and parents exist within a system of mutual respect, love, and responsibility. The children in family fiction are never solitary figures but are connected to their world through their parents, brothers and sisters, neighborhood friends, and community. The authors identify one central task of growing up as the transcendence of egocentricity. MacLeod describes the goal of parenting:

The pattern of fiction encouraged children to become acquainted with their communities and their fellow human beings, to find

their place in the society beyond home. Personal growth was measured and maturity defined by a child's growing understanding of and concern for other people. (MacLeod, 1984, p. 111)

Today's authors, by contrast, convey a nihilistic, schismatic quality regarding family life, and depict an astonishing hostile attitude toward parents. Parents are not only indifferent to their children, but openly destructive. "Fathers are preoccupied with success and moneymaking; mothers are selfish, neurotic, unloving, alcoholic, or addicted to pills. If this fiction is to be believed, the contemporary American family is a shambles" (MacLeod, 1984, p. 107). Parents no longer have the interest, concern, time, ability, and will power to modify the self-centeredness of children.

Any encouragement to go outside of one's self is cautious at best, and most protagonists are, in fact, mainly preoccupied with self. Their problems, their emotions, their reactions and needs occupy the center of the literature, and neither challenge nor perspective is added by the authors. (MacLeod, 1984, p. 111)

Social problems in our age are not only associated with inequality in the domains of material reproduction but also reflect the disintegration of cultural tradition, socialization processes, and the family as an enduring way of life. Characteristic of our age is the interlocking relationship between the degree to which personal problems, the symptomatic change in the typical manifestations of mental disorders, and political problems intersect. The privatizing features of culture, which includes the decline of community ties and traditional supports, tend to increase the burden—psychological and economic—on the nuclear family. These concrete, historically specific transformations of our social order coalesce to delimit the nexus of intimate relationships on which the moral community is to be built. Support for this position is provided by the socio-psychological tendencies about the growing significance of the crises of childhood.

All factors combine to make a forceful argument that the development of the infant within the family is the point of reference for investigating the increasing rates of emotional disorders. It is here, at the interface of the child with the human community toward which he or she ineluctably moves, that the

essential, intrinsic value of parenting and nurturing is manifested most clearly. From the standpoint of the dynamic psychology of early childhood, the process of healthy development, a complex affair, is inherently dependent on a continuing personal relationship between an infant and a mother-figure. Nevertheless, these historic systemic features of contemporary society impinge upon the family to produce a change in the child's nurturing environment. Indeed, the disruptive breakdown of vigorous constitutive communities, and where the very conditions of social life have the consequences of furthering the boundless impersonality of human life, renders children's developmental progress toward the formation of a mature sense of self increasingly problematic.

Within our life world, there is a melancholy awareness of the socio-cultural loss of interdependence, cohesiveness, stability, and continuity in human relationships. The historical conditions of familial life that once fostered the process of internalization and individuation have all but been eclipsed by the depersonalization of social relations today. Should the family dissolve emotionally as a "haven in the heartless world," it will do so not because it has exhausted its ubiquitous nurturing purpose but because it exists in a world grown alien to its traditional values.

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Organic Communities, Atomistic Societies, and Loneliness

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The article distinguishes two models of human organization, the organic community and the atomistic society. It maintains that the organic paradigm stresses (a) the ideal unity of the whole; (b) organic or intrinsic relations; (c) living or dialectical processes; (d) the image of "members"; (e) the mutual interdependence of the members; (f) a role perspective; and (g) dynamic or natural functions. By contrast, the atomistic construction emphasizes (a) the value of individual freedom; (b) external connections; (c) mechanical or causal explanations; (d) the metaphor of "parts"; (e) the independence of the parts; (f) a rule orientation; and (g) a formalistic, legal, or artificial framework. The paper next contends that the sense of individual loneliness or alienation experienced is generally much greater in the atomistic society. And since both the American family and the society are, in the main, atomistically structured, it follows that loneliness is much more pronounced and prevalent in American society. The article concludes by offering some programmatic ideals and cures to reverse and mitigate the present tendency toward increasing loneliness.

The German sociologist, Ferdinand Tonnies, distinguished two basic forms of social organization, the organic community and the contractual or atomistic society (1957). In this paper, I wish to reformulate Tonnies' models for my own purposes by relating them to a discussion of loneliness.

But before beginning, two things should be noted. First, especially at the macro level of large social and political units, these two paradigms of social organization may not occur in their pure and undiluted theoretical forms. In this context, I will be describing ideal types, which probably do not exist in a perfect form on a grand scale. Nevertheless, both principles or models (I employ these two terms interchangeably) serve, consciously and unconsciously, as goals and accordingly guide their respective participants in their adopted conceptions

of human interaction and relationship. Consequently, the dual paradigms constitute powerful conflicting tendencies of human organization, which lead in diametrically opposite directions. In this respect, the two principles determine the individual's sense of alienation from—or unity with—the social group with which one is involved.

Secondly, when single individuals or small groups are considered, then it is possible that the characteristics of the twin modes of human existence can be empirically exhibited. Thus, it is quite likely that a relatively isolated but self-sufficient rural family, for instance, actually represents a real organic social structure.

Similarly, it is often the case that solitary transients and recluses primarily function as atomistic individuals, who are either virtually unrelated in any human way to the larger framework of society or, who, if they are peripherally connected to it, express an antagonistic response to that society. At this more constricted level, the organic family or community as well as the isolated individual are both contemporary sociological realities and their actual presence, with all their pertinent implications, must be recognized because they have far-reaching consequences which directly determine the social existence we all experience.

Examples of philosophers who have adopted the organic model would certainly include Aristotle, Hegel, and Marx. But both the earliest and the clearest formulation of the paradigm surely originates with Plato. According to the *Republic* (1957, IV 441C–434D), the structure of classes within the ideal *polis* should reflect a similarly ideal separation of activities or functions within the human soul (the principle of justice). By the same token, although separate, the diverse functions should also be integrated harmoniously within the soul and state when they perform their various but coordinated activities (the principle of temperance). Thus both the individual human psyche as well as the small city-state should manifest an infrastructure of coordinated activities between its interdependent members. Just as the whole person is constituted by the separate but contributing functions of (a) appetite and desire, (b) spirit or courage, and (c) reason and wisdom, in a corresponding fashion, the ideal

state should exhibit the cooperative interfunction between the three classes of citizens comprising it, (a) the farmers, artisans, and merchants, (b) the soldiers and police force, and (c) the wise legislators and rulers, who guide and determine policy. Consonant with this paradigm of cooperation, indeed it is a direct implication of it, is the conviction that each person should function or behave in an interdependent and synchronous fashion in relation to the other members involved; implicit in the paradigm is the principle that the various roles together are all required to define the identity of the whole and that if any one role should fail to operate, then the entire organism is transformed in a deficient manner. Consequently, the model incorporates a terminology which is distinctive in emphasizing metaphors of function, role, member, organic whole, etc. To extend the metaphor or picture a little further, it is argued that just as a living animal is healthy when its various limbs and organs are coordinated according to their diverse functions, just so the polis consists of various mutually conditioning operations. For Plato, this means that there is a natural division of labor and qualitative factors are stressed. And if one member or class seeks to usurp the function which naturally and intrinsically belongs to another, the organism adapts poorly (1957, IV 441C–445B).

A further sociological implication of this model is that meaningful relations and activities are essentially internal, intrinsic, since they are mutually defined by all the other elements within the organic whole. Thus they are often described as living, dynamic, human, and dialectical. It follows that no one is self-sufficient. Not only is one born within a family, and therefore the group is primary, but the whole defines the individual and the individual could not exist without it. But more than that, it implies that the good or the happiness of the individual cannot exist apart from others. The individual not only needs the group in order to live but he needs their mutual support in order to be happy or virtuous. This is what Aristotle meant when he said that people are social or political animals; their happiness lies in the polis; and a person apart from society is either a beast or a god but is not human. This obviously dictates a sociological approach—as opposed to a psychological one—in understanding people and their interactions with each other.

Thus, the individual's well-being can only transpire within the context of a supportive community. This is another way of saying that the value of the person cannot be separated from the person's functions within the whole and both rights and duties have meaning only in the context of an organic unity. Community, defined as a sense of belonging and identity, a reciprocal sharing with others, is natural to us; it is an expression of our essential nature. Hence social actions are determined by functional roles and *freedom is conceived as doing as you should* in order to promote the good of the whole community. Social duties prevail over individual rights.

Generally, such organic communities are hierarchically structured. The small family consisting of a father, mother, and child, Plato's ideal polis, the medieval Catholic Church, the feudal manor, or Hegel's nation-state are each examples of organic wholes. But sometimes, the hierarchic principle is theoretically violated, in principle at least, as in Marx's concept of the classless community after the final revolution. (Nevertheless, it is quite possible that this theoretic deviation from the model could never have been carried out in actual historical practice.)

For some proponents of the model, most notably Plato and Rousseau, the suggestion is made that the ideal unit contains an optimum numerical population. It should be sufficiently large to carry on diverse activities but not so extensive that all the members do not know each other. In Rousseau, this means direct participation by the citizens in the life of the community, the political organism (1973). Should the organism increase beyond certain naturally determined proportions, then the organism is transformed into a monstrous creature and it becomes an unnatural entity. The empire of Alexander the Great and the Roman empire in its declining stages, were precisely such macrosocial monsters. That is why for Hegel, the ruling principle of organic vitality consists in communal self-consciousness, a spiritual realization of a culture's sharing or a common language, laws, customs, institutions, religion, political ideals, etc. And this self-conscious and hence rational awareness presupposes a historical insight into the dialectical process that brought about precisely those "forms of life" (1977).

Historical and sociological examples of this principle of social organization are as abundant as they are varied. Sparta during the Peloponnesian wars, the Roman republic, the early Christian community, monasteries in the middle ages and today, Robert Owen's New Lanark, the contemporary Japanese factory, many peasant villages in Asia, the California hippie communes, etc., may all serve as ready historical examples of the type under discussion. Sociologically speaking, the nuclear and extended family, the kinship system, the tribe, rural communities, ethnic communities, etc., are alike theoretically grounded in the organic model.

As previously stated, the guiding principle determining the value of the organic community and the criterion of success applied to the social organization behind it lies in its expression of unity; and therefore it follows that the good of the whole is above the value of the individual. That is both the strength and the great danger of this model. For as Hegel warned, it may be necessary for the State to "crush many an innocent flower" (1956, p. 32). Thus, when this form of social organization deteriorates, it tends toward totalitarianism, despotism, dictatorship, the claim that the ruler knows what is best for others and that the party in power should "force men to be free" (Rousseau, 1973). The negative utopia depicted in Orwell's *1984* is a good example of this form of totalitarianism (1949). When this state of affairs exists, then communication breaks down, the sense of belonging and mutually sharing disappears, and an extreme sense of loneliness and alienation is generated in those who are judged as deviant or acting against the good of the whole. An example of this is the recent ostracism or shunning of a father by the members of his own immediate family on instructions from the Mormon Church.

By contrast, in the contractual or atomistic society, the social body is composed of individual parts, rather than members. Together the parts add up to a collection, an aggregate. Whereas the organic community reflected qualitative and functional differences among its members, the contractual society displays primarily quantitative differences—the parts are regarded as equal, interchangeable, replaceable; one part is very much like

any other. In an atomistic society, then, the social organization is made up of a smaller or larger number, a collection, of qualitatively identical units; each is a unit sufficient unto itself. Some collections or aggregates are small and some are large but there is no inherent limit to the size of the society. Thomas Hobbes' state described in *Leviathan* (1981, p. 196) is as perfect a model of this conception of people in civil society as Plato's *Republic* is of the opposite paradigm (1957, II 357A–367E). Other defenders of the atomistic model are the social contract theorists in general, which would include Glaucon, in *Republic II*, Spinoza, Locke (1946, p. 48), and Rousseau, the latter being inconsistent since he paradoxically argues in behalf of both models.

In the atomistic society, relations are essentially regarded as contractual, external, legalistic, formalistic. Whereas the organic community stresses functional roles, the contractual society emphasizes legal rules. These thinkers regard the individual as completely self-sufficient and capable of surviving apart from others, often in a state of nature, where the laws of civil society (Locke) and morality are suspended (Hobbes). But because there is no impartial judge in the state of nature (Locke) or because life within that condition is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short" (Hobbes, 1981), one is forced to combine with others for the sake of security and protection. What one would really like to do is to be able to injure others with impunity; what one fears most is being injured without the power of retaliation; so one compromises and promises not to hurt others if they promise the same. Society, then, is the outcome of an artificial agreement. It is unnatural; what is natural is to do as one likes; *freedom is doing as one pleases* (Glaucon). One should be allowed to pursue one's self-interest as much as possible and hence "that government is best which governs least" over the individual's "rights," i.e., egoistic self-interest. Obviously, in the atomistic model, rights are emphasized over duties; this principle contrasts markedly with the organic value of the individual's duties to the whole.

Whereas in the organic community the good people can only exist on the condition that the community as a whole is good—hence Plato's goal to reform the *polis*—in the atomistic model, the value of the individual is separate and distinguishable from

the quality of the surrounding aggregate (1957, II 357A–367E). Accordingly, the dominant value consists in guaranteeing the expression of individual liberty as the highest benefit a society can confer upon its constituents. This value may be reflected at various levels of operation and through diverse institutions. In a religious context, it is grounded in the Reformation principle that individual conscience alone dictates to the individual; economically it is exhibited in Adam Smith's *laissez faire* principles; in political thought it is exemplified by Locke's liberalism and in social thought by Mill's principle of self-regarding conduct which assures the individual the moral rights of freedom of speech, religion, and association as well as the right to non-conformist behavior (1947).

When Locke proposes that individuals may return to the state of nature when the terms of the civil contract are abrogated, he clearly has in mind the genuine possibility of solitary individuals physically emigrating to the new world and forming a different society. But this sort of atomistic self-sufficiency can be pursued on a spiritual level as well. Thus, Kierkegaard's existential brand of Protestantism describes a path toward individual salvation (1974).

On the larger scale of societal characteristics, the traditional example of an atomistic society is most clearly represented by the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century in England, France, Germany, and later in the United States. Correspondingly, a number of sociological works heavily depend upon just this picture of the isolated individual. Thus, it may be said without fear of exaggeration that Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1958), Durkheim's *Suicide* (1958), and Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd* (1953), more specifically the concept of the "inner-directed man," and Fromm's *Escape from Freedom* (1965), Berdyaev's *Solitude and Society* (1976), all draw on the atomistic individual.

Like the previous model, this paradigm also has its peculiar brand of horror. When this form of social organization tends toward disruption and corruption, it manifests itself in the more virulent instances of capitalism, in states of unbridled competition and anarchy and of social Darwinism; it is a situation of "every man for himself," a war of all against all (Hobbes 1981,

p. 185). For some, it is a condition wherein the state of nature is indistinguishable from civil society. The numerous examples of civil disobedience and civil war which dominate our contemporary times serve as obvious examples of this attitude toward human existence.

As previously intimated, these opposing models, the organic and the atomistic, have far-reaching implications in connection with the feelings of loneliness involved in the contrasting paradigms. In the organic model, generally speaking, the tendency is toward lesser loneliness for the individual because a spirit of unity, mutual interdependence, and reciprocal support is encouraged. Nevertheless, as previously suggested, if a particular individual does not conform, then he or she is often severely punished, quite often simply by being excluded from the life of the whole. Exile, ostracism, or even merely ignoring an individual can serve as very efficient forms of punishment. We might recall in this context that Socrates himself refused to choose life if it meant banishment from Athens. So the point is that although there is usually less loneliness—and more of a sense of belonging and sharing—in the organic family, tribe, or community, nevertheless, when there is loneliness, it is often extreme because only one or a few are excluded from the communal life of the whole. A good example of this phenomenon is offered by James Lynch in his discussion of voodoo deaths. When an individual is excluded from the activities of the tribe, the enforced isolation frequently leads to death (Lynch, 1977, p. 59). By contrast, in the atomistic society, since everyone is on his own, the feeling is less lonely because it is more common. In this respect, the individual does not feel different.

Nevertheless, the atomistic society intrinsically generates a preponderance of loneliness among its individuals. As we have already indicated, a number of diverse factors contribute to this sense of loneliness. The political theories of the social contract theorists and the economic free enterprise system of capitalism have already been stressed. But beyond or “beneath” all this there is something else as well and perhaps it is (unfortunately) inherent in the very nature of our democratic social organization and political institutions. It is something which Alexis de

Tocqueville realized as a necessary element of democratic societies. Describing his impressions upon visiting America in the 1830s, he declared that

In ages of equality all men are independent of each other and isolated and weak (Tocqueville, 1969, p. 439).

One must admit that (democratic) equality, while it brings great benefits to mankind, opens the door, . . . to very dangerous instincts. It tends to isolate men from each other so that each thinks only of himself (p. 444).

In aristocratic (and hence organic and hierarchically structured) ages (and social organizations) each man is always bound by close ties to many of his fellow citizens, so that he cannot be attacked without the others coming to his help. In times of equality each man is naturally isolated. He can call on no hereditary friends for help nor on any class whose sympathy for him is assured. He can easily be set upon alone and trodden underfoot. . . Equality isolates and weakens men. . . Equality deprives each individual of the help of his neighbors (p. 697).

In such a society, the only recourse to injuries or threats lies in the law, and Tocqueville correctly points out that America is unusual in being a country where each person aspires to understand the law. But the law, we must recognize, is an impersonal and abstract system of relations.

Contemporary American society is primarily and overwhelmingly organized along atomistic and contractual principles. Relations between husband and wife, employer and employee, student and teacher, landlord and tenant, bank and homebuyer, doctor and patient, social worker and client are all fundamentally formalistic, legalistic, and rule-oriented. And today, for example, social workers are advised to contract with their clients for services rendered (Garvin and Seabury, 1984). Is it any wonder that we are a lonely society?

When we have difficulties with our spouses we take them to court and file for divorce; we initiate dissolution proceedings. When we have employment disputes, we take the employers to court. Labor unions seek impartial arbitration. When our neighbor has a noisy party, we phone the police.

Our teachers seldom live in the areas they service; doctors no longer make house calls; computers send out bills; no one marries the boy or girl next door any longer; we leave home to go away to college; no one goes into his father's business any longer; we get jobs in cities we have never seen; we get promotions only if we are willing to relocate; in our ambitions to be upwardly mobile, the stress is on mobility.

Our children are sent to daycare centers so that both parents can work, i.e., be independent; divorce is on the increase; single parent households are increasingly common; we have *produced*—in the most mechanistic fashion possible—an entire society of fragmented youth, latchkey kids, runaway kids, and throwaway kids. In years long gone by, parents shunned divorce if there were children involved; today, the individual parent's right to happiness comes first.

Emotionally dissatisfied children are increasingly turning to drugs and alcohol and we wonder why. "What is wrong with kids today?" The answer is loneliness. And as the children of divorced parents grow up, get married, and have children of their own, they will repeat the same pattern as their parents (Lynch, 1977, pp. 69–86). We have polluted our social environment and the results will appear to plague us in the future. In our society, all we share is an increasing awareness of separation.

Elsewhere I have argued that loneliness—or more specifically the desire to avoid loneliness—serves as the basic motivational drive in all human beings (Mijuskovic, 1977, 1977a, 1977b, 1977c, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1980a, 1980b, 1981, 1985, in press). Accordingly, the fundamental problem of human existence is grounded in our individual sense of alienation. Assuming that this is the case, then it follows that any social organization which inherently promotes loneliness will be, to that extent, a society wherein a growing number of its individuals are unhappy and suffering from a variety of emotional disorders. The ultimate source of all this discontent will be loneliness.

Can we illustrate just how this happens? I think we can. In many neighborhoods in southern California, Hispanic children attend elementary school with relative ease, even when there is a language difficulty. Their parents encourage them to learn English as well as they can; the children walk to school with

the same friends year after year; they share lunches and enjoy a strong sense of identity with the Hispanic communities in which they live. In short, their human existence is expressed in and through organic relationships. By the time they have reached high school, something has happened. Few are left and even fewer finish. What has happened? Instead of cooperation, they face competition. If they do not know the answer to the teacher's question, someone else will surely blurt it out. Success is measured entirely in terms of individual grades. There are class standings and individual criteria of popularity. Something has happened indeed. What has occurred is that the Hispanic children have gone from the organic model of community to the atomistic model of the dominant American culture. And no one prepared them for what was about to happen.

What can we in our respective capacities as parents, teachers, social workers, and psychologists do about the atomistic society? What we can do is consciously encourage the values of the organic community and try to balance the picture of human existence so that it is not so skewed in one direction (Cherlin, 1984; Ooms, 1984). To be sure there are dangers in the organic community but there are great benefits as well and we have essentially disregarded the advantages in preparing our children to be "independent." To be independent is to be alone.

Assuming that the foregoing historical, conceptual, and essentially negative analysis of contemporary American society is basically correct, then what are the possible remedies? What sorts of models ought we to use to guide us?

In order to address this more specific issue, let us consider two social units, one fairly large and actual and the second relatively small and ideal. Accordingly, let us first discuss the client population which receives public social services and later the American nuclear family.

A little over two decades ago, public welfare services depended on social workers who divided their time and energies between visiting the homes of the poor and working on budgets. Thus, for example, in Chicago, an ADC (Aid to Dependent Children) caseworker would generally spend two days a week making home visits and seeing families and three days administering fund allocations, handling crises, and filling out forms.

There was a genuine attempt to individualize grants. For instance, rent allowances varied according to the actual rent paid. Services were more supportive, less investigative in nature. It was not unusual, for example, for caseworkers to become involved in landlord-tenant issues and evictions.

By contrast, today, the grant is administered impersonally by an eligibility technician and it is much more standardized. In addition, the great majority of public social workers, who are employed by the department of social services, represent child protective delivery systems. Their role is initially investigative and subsequently regulative as instruments of the court. Through judicial procedures, social workers have the authority to "remove" children from their homes and formulate a contract conditional for their return. "Protection," primarily physical, of the child clearly takes precedence over helping the family as a whole, as an interdependent organic unit. Whether voluntary (e.g., Dependency Diversion) or court ordered (e.g., Family Reunification) services are provided, in either event contracts are formulated. We rely almost exclusively on a legal, formal remedy to a human problem. The client agrees to "follow through" and perform certain behaviors in order to comply with the court's instructions and thus maintain or resume custody of the child. The contract is essentially based on a behavior modification approach and a stimulus-response model of compliance. But as I have indicated in prior publications, child abuse and neglect derives from parents who suffer from loneliness, anxiety, and hostility; they have failed to resolve earlier abandonment and separation anxiety issues. Abusive parents are, usually, dependent personalities as defined by the *DSM-III*. They desperately need supportive, nurturing (vs. contractual), organic (vs. atomistic), human (vs. mechanical) interventions. They need to bond emotionally with the provider of services rather than being controlled and manipulated by an impersonal system. One does not have to be a Marxist to realize that the child protective system as it presently operates alienates the mother from the child and the family from society as a whole. Beyond that, to expect unnurtured parents to improve by forcing external, artificial devices is unrealistic precisely because these parents have not developmentally reached that stage of autonomy (Erikson,

1963, p. 251) at which a contract is meaningful to them. Psychologically they are much more inclined to depend on drugs and alcohol than they are on contracts and standardized treatment plans. Social workers often incorrectly assume their clients lack knowledge and that it is their job as professionals to provide them with facts, information, resources on how to get things done and where. But unnurtured parents already know what has to be done; the difficulty is that they do not care enough. Dependent personalities lack motivation, not knowledge. They are passively dependent and hence abstract contractual systems, which presuppose client autonomy, fail to work because this population needs human services and human attachments. If we can cure their loneliness, we will at the same time endow them with motivation. As Aristotle remarked, the intellect alone moves nothing; only the intellect animated by desire can truly act (McKeon, 1941, VI, 2).

More than twenty years ago, the War on Poverty initiated an organic, comprehensive (as opposed to fragmented) approach to the problems of the poor. It strove to coordinate a balanced effort in terms of housing, employment, education, health, and welfare concerns. The program wisely recognized that solving the housing problem alone, through federally subsidized projects, could not succeed unless comparable achievements were dialectically attained in the other spheres as well. The War on Poverty promoted genuine self-esteem because it encouraged the poor to operate their own programs in their own neighborhoods (the Urban Progress Centers). The tendency of the War on Poverty was in principle organic; it visualized diverse spheres of activity as members of a complete whole and it resisted fragmentation. It promoted a sense of togetherness, belonging. And most importantly it avoided the illusion of quick fixes.

Probably the most successful program funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity was the Headstart program. It was designed to teach disadvantaged children the value and pleasures of learning through sharing and cooperation. It gave them an early sense of positive belonging at a critical stage in their development.

The children came to school; they were fed; any medical problems were immediately addressed; and adequate clothing

was assured. Nurturance was provided by neighborhood teachers and aides. The kids knew each other and lived within easy walking distance of each other's homes. They were taught to believe that their class was a community.

When years later researchers evaluated the program, they discovered that it was not so much that Headstart children were doing academically better than their peers in school, since the other children caught up to their headstart, but rather that the dropout rate of the Headstart children was comparatively low. They had truly experienced a feeling of belonging in school in those early years that the sadness of their environment could not dull throughout the remaining period of their childhood and adolescence.

Unfortunately, the exigencies of another war froze and destroyed much of the War on Poverty's development and it produced little fruit.

The disastrous tendency to substitute scientific procedures for human attachments and quick fixes for painstaking care also appeared in the field of mental health. Over a quarter of a century ago, in 1962, our society moved toward a deinstitutionalization of mental patients. Medication and short-term, again contractual, therapy would biologically and behaviorally solve the problems of the mentally ill. After all, the brain was basically a biological machine. Find the chemical imbalances, add a little here, subtract a little there, and you have a healthy person. Psychoanalysis took forever; it was too mental, subjective, internal. A competent nurse under the supervision of a psychiatrist could do much more and more quickly than an entire staff of Freudians. After all, human beings are merely sophisticated machines and the mind so-called is simply dependent upon, reducible to, or identical with the brain and the central nervous system. Chemical, atomistic solutions can be found for alleged mental problems.

And now where are we? Countless thousands of homeless individuals, and even families, wander aimlessly on the periphery of our society. These are the absolutely lonely ones, estranged from others and alienated from each other, they are no longer even part of an impersonal system. Their numbers are ever increasing as our atomistic methods have progressively

failed. They have fallen through the net of care and concern into the abyss of an abandoned existence. If they threaten us, the criminal system will deal with them. But if they are only a danger to themselves, we can safely ignore them. They stand self-condemned for refusing to take their medicine.

As a society, we feel a responsibility to children. Once they have reached eighteen, however, if they have not been integrated into the machinery of our economic world, then they will become the homeless, those whose issues are no longer addressed, if for no other reason than that it is economically prohibitive. These separate, unrelated atoms are no longer part of our system.

I wish to close now with a brief discussion of the American family, by comparing the negative values of today with the more hopeful ones of an earlier time.

Our society is essentially technological and scientific in orientation. And, consequently, we naively rely on a criterion of well being or happiness which is materialistic, individualistic, and based on consumption (Weber, 1958, and Veblen, 1912). But as David Hume showed as early as 1740, in *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1955, III, i, p. 1), one cannot derive an ought from an is, a value from a fact; science and ethics are two distinct, i.e., separate, spheres; and one cannot move from one to the other. The American value system assumes, however, that those who are prospering financially are in some significant sense favored and chosen in a moral sense. Hence to do well economically is not only a sign of happiness but indeed of moral well being. Individual freedom and property rights are held as sacred and are often expressed at the expense of social duties. Competition is encouraged and rewarded. These values are in marked contrast to those of a few decades ago. For example, a boy growing up in the 1940s and 1950s would play ball with his friends on his block. It would be the same kids year after year. Although score was kept there were no standings or rivalries against other teams. If there were ten kids, all played; if there were twenty children, all participated. Today, by contrast, a boy registers for Little League (and a girl for Bobby Sox). He goes to a tryout. He is assigned at least one manager and a coach. There are organized practices, uniforms, umpires, league standings—and a

bench. If a child does not do well, he will spend a lot of time on the bench. After the season, there are trophies, All Star selections and tournaments. And there are always the supportive parents who evaluate the other team members and the coaches. The criterion is always the same; there are few winners and many losers.

The next year, the kids are on entirely different teams and they are playing against each other rather than with each other.

In the 1950s college students were intellectually competitive but they incorporated strong productive goals toward society as a whole. During the Viet Nam era, however, college students considered themselves as an influential moral force and they imagined changing the ethical and political direction of the nation by protesting certain policies. They were not particularly interested in an education and often regarded their academic work as an interruption of their primary purpose, which was reformatory. Classes had to be relevant, at first morally and, later, after the war, economically. Majors in Liberal Arts declined and business and law schools flourished. Social production (the 1950s) and ethical concerns (the late '60s and early '70s) developed into individual materialistic consumption. The criterion is now simple: Who earns the most, who owns the most? Belonging and sharing—the opposites of loneliness—with our family and friends is no longer a significant value.

Something has gone wrong with our ethical principles, our moral values. And in order to correct it, we must reinvest the family with the Hegelian ideal of "unity through identity in difference." Thus, although members in a family may have different functions, nevertheless they can all share both their feelings and their values together without losing their respective uniqueness. The guiding principle, the ethical ideal of the American family would then lie in a sense of identity through belonging.

In the end, it is a question of values and what we as parents, teachers, and social workers care about. Competition or cooperation? Individual achievement or social sharing? Autonomy or belonging? Both the family and the social model for sharing and belonging have been provided for us historically and as an ideal although we have abandoned them. I am simply suggesting we return more self-consciously to those organic paradigms.

As Hegel insisted, for either a family or a culture, true freedom is grounded in a rational knowledge of the virtues of a differentiated whole, a unity through multiplicity. It is based on the knowledge that both the family and the culture develop (dialectically) from (a) abstract unity, where the father rules autocratically, to (b) fragmented particularity, in which each person merely follows his own morality, and (c) through final culmination in the ethical and social principle of the good of the whole. The alternatives then are sharing and belong with others versus atomicity and anarchy. The ethical salvation of the family and of the poor (as well as the elderly) is grounded in a rational, i.e., relational, commitment of human beings to each other. All else is alienation.

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