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Effectively Teaching African American Social Welfare Historical Developments

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A select group of African American and other educators continue to develop literature on African American social welfare. As this literature increases and is subjected to scholarly exchange and debate, educators are beginning to raise questions about effective teaching strategies for integrating the content into the curriculum and effectively delivering the content through classroom lectures and discussions. In addition to concerns about the content being "heard", black educators are concerned that African Americans not always be depicted historically as helpless individuals who were the "white man's burden" and are also concerned about the broad characterization of African American Social Welfare as mutual aid. This article attempts to address some of these issues and recognizes that the African American integration issue is part of a broader educational concern about diversity. Teaching about diversity is both a content and process concern. However, the emphasis here is on process as related to an academic mechanism for acknowledging diversity through curriculum choices as opposed to other classroom related process concerns such as managing tensions and disagreements among students over issues of diversity. While this content integration focus addresses the African American population, the framework can be adapted as appropriate to other racial and ethnic groups and the integrating concepts and principles should be viewed as transferable knowledge.

The framework I'm presenting for delivering and integrating content on African American contributions was developed and effectively delivered with a class of forty-one (29 white students and 12 African American students at the end of the drop/add period) at North Carolina State University in Raleigh, North Carolina. The class was part of a project developed from a

Ford Curriculum Development Award sponsored by the Duke-UNC Center for Research on Women to revise the existing course on Social Welfare History to include more African American content. (See "Model Course Content Outline" used with the project class.) Other inclusions such as application of teaching aids have been incorporated as a result of expressed needs and feedback from faculty participants in the Council on Social Work Education Social Welfare History Group Symposium. One of the most valuable insights gained from exchanges in this area with social work colleagues and interdisciplinary faculty at the Duke-UNC Center was that white students often perceive a "little" content on diversity as a "lot" and may become emotionally saturated. Some white students express doubts about the extent of early self-help developments in African American communities because they have learned history from the perspective of oppression and the oppressor. In this victim oriented perspective, scholars gave little attention to what was happening within the black and/or slave communities. The early perspective of African American scholar, E. Franklin Frazier (1956) which was promulgated by white politicians and scholars such Glaser and Moynihan (1963) expressed the view that "The Negro is only an American and nothing else. He has no values and cultures to guard and protect" (p. 63; also see Kochman, 1983, pp. 8-10) have also thwarted both the academic and the popular understanding of independent historical developments in African American communities. For these reasons, it is critical that social workers involved in historical research be as meticulously accurate as other historians.

Balancing Afrocentric perspectives in a manner which affirms and builds on social work students' ideals about human equality and other American values tends to be a more effective teaching approach. Students' ability to "really hear" content which appears to be new knowledge or content which appears to be at odds with what they are learning or learned in other courses or from other professors is another important consideration for effective content delivery and integration. A unifying approach, then, is an effective and useful technique for helping students "hear" the content on African American social welfare origins and leadership in Western society. The

MODEL COURSE CONTENT OUTLINE*

- I. *Social Welfare Arrangements: Introductory Concepts*
- II. *Influences on the American Response*
 - Judeo-Christian and Western Influence
 - African Mutual Aid Tradition
 - Elizabethan Poor Laws
- III. *Colonial America*
 - Patterns of Aid
 - Ideas about Social Welfare and Political Order
 - Slaves and Free Blacks
- IV. *The Revolutionary War Years*
 - Age of Humanitarianism
 - Great Awakening
 - Enlightenment
 - Ideas from the American Revolution
 - Separation of Church and State (South)
 - Black Benevolent Societies/Churches
- V. *The Rise of Institutional Care*
 - Early 19th Century American Development
 - Anti-Pauperism in the 1840's
 - The Institutionalization Movement
 - Black Women and Racial Uplift
- VI. *The Civil War and After*
 - Industrialization, Immigration, Urbanization
 - Social Darwinism
 - Scientific Social Welfare
 - Community Caregiving Among Black Women
- VII. *Mid-Nineteenth to Early Twentieth Century Social Reform*
 - Child Welfare
 - Public Health
 - Settlement House Movement
 - Mental Health Movement
- VIII. *The New Deal, Reform and Reorganization*
 - Progressivism
 - Alternatives for the Black Community
 - Development of Welfare State Ideal

*Topical outline developed from Axinn and Levine (1992), Berlin (1974), Katz (1986) and Trattner (1989).

teaching approach described in this article developed out of an attempt to effectively deal with the previously described student reactions which social work faculty as well as other liberal arts faculty have encountered. The historical time line in the framework incorporates the time periods covered in the articles in this addition which include the preslave emancipation era and extend to the pre-New Deal Era. The framework uses several integrating concepts which are prevalent in social welfare and other liberal arts literature. The unifying concepts are applied using historical research principles. The unifying integrating concepts and principles which are significant components of the framework appear below:

Integrating Concepts and Principles

Mutual Aid As A Social Welfare Arrangement. Mutual aid is a form of primary group support which has existed and persisted since ancient times throughout history. In this form of support, sometimes viewed as a mechanism of adaptation, individuals with a shared heritage, culture, sense of community, common concern or common need bond together for purposes of helping. This shared sense of community and common bond is sometimes referred to as a "consciousness of kind" (see Handel, 1982). As an umbrella term, the concept of mutual aid originates with informal, loosely structured forms of helping in natural networks and extends to more formally organized voluntary associations or structured community caregiving activities which provide support and services outside of the traditional governmental sponsored programs from the time of the Elizabethan Poor Laws in Colonial America to the emergence of institutional social welfare programs during the New Deal era. Mutual aid then is but one of six means of meeting human needs. Johnson and Schwartz (1978) describe these alternative ways of meeting human needs as "arrangements for the delivery of social welfare services" and describes these arrangements as mutual aid, charity-philanthropy, public welfare, social insurance, social services, and universal provisions. The more structured community oriented service activities which emerged at the end of the

nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries are examples of the evolution of self-help efforts in the African American community from earlier mutual aid activities to African American social services through voluntary associations.

Chronological Developments. Popular texts on Western society social welfare historical developments tend to focus on the development of charity/philanthropy, and public welfare (public assistance) programs. While mutual aid is sometimes noted as a community caring alternative throughout history, little attention is given to this form of social welfare development. Handel (1982) outlined a useful chronology of western historical developments from biblical antiquity through the 1970's which includes mutual aid developments as well as charity and public assistance. However, the Handel chronology provides only limited details on mutual aid as a western development and virtually no detail in relation to the African American community where mutual aid persisted as a dominant form of care in the early history of this country because of exclusion and the focus of charity and public assistance on "white citizens" as noted by Trattner (1989). Handel (1982) further characterizes mutual aid into three useful categories for purposes of unifying content integration in the approach being presented: mutual insurance which includes medieval fraternities and guilds, friendly societies, and immigrant societies; community action which developed primarily during the sixties; and self-help groups such as Alcoholics Anonymous which are now widespread in American culture. In the early historical developments, mutual aid existed in the form of fraternal organizations and friendly societies. For purposes of the historical time line here, primary focus is on the mutual insurance category of mutual aid. However, at the turn of the twentieth century, mutual aid activities took on the character of "community action" type activities and began to evolve into social service type voluntary associations or what is sometimes referred to as African American Social Welfare.

Using Historical Source Material. As indicated earlier, more resources are now available on African American contributions

to social welfare and related historical social service developments in the African American community. However, while the widely used social welfare history texts are beginning to acknowledge more that alternative arrangements persisted in the black community from the colonial period through the progressive period, there is still a dearth of mainstream social welfare literature acknowledging the legacy of African American leadership in social welfare. There is a need to include self-reliant efforts which took place in the African American community as well as provide content beyond periodic references to early abolitionists such as Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth, the Freedman's Bureau, and the origins of groups developed through interracial cooperation such as the NAACP and the National Urban League. (see Johnson, 1991). Effective delivery and integration, then, requires that faculty use secondary social history sources and whenever possible, primary source material to give greater validation to course content. For example, the attached chart on the "Growth of Mutual Aid in the Black Community, 1775-1865" (Peebles-Wilkins, 1991) was developed from secondary social welfare and social history resources.

Direct involvement by the faculty member in historical research helps strengthen course content with primary source data. During the teaching project period described earlier, primary source data collected in a funded project on mutual aid in the African American community helped validate content infusion with "hands-on" resource material. The discussion on teaching aids below represent examples of how selected resource material which facilitate African American content delivery and integration can be infused in the model course content outline described.

Using Teaching Aids. Teaching aids for class handouts and for student assignments are particularly useful for content integration purposes. The charted chronology attached is an example of content which can be used to fill in the gaps. As one reads the articles in this journal, other examples become apparent which can be used to complete the chart as desired. (see chart on "Chronology of the Development of Mutual Aid in the Black Community.") The chart is exemplar of the development of African American self-help efforts from informal mutual aid

Figure 1

Growth of Mutual Aid Organizations in the Black Community, 1775–1865

Ethnic Friendly Societies (1)	Free Black Mutual Aid Societies (2)	
<p>Pre-Revolutionary Period (1)</p> <p>Scots Charitable Society (1657) Episcopal Charitable Society (1754) Charitable Irish Society (1767) German Society of N.Y. (1767+) French Benevolent Society (1767+)</p>	<p>Revolutionary War (1755–1783) (2)</p> <p>African Union Society (1780) Free African Society (1787) Brown Fellowship Society (1790s)* Dorcas Society (1838)** African Female Union (1838)** Sisterly Union (1838)**</p>	<p>Civil War (1861–1865)</p>

*Caste-based membership
 **Gender-based membership
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 Source: Berlin, Nash, Newman, Ross, Trattner

networks in early America to membership oriented societies in the Revolutionary War era to African American social welfare or social services in the New Deal era and beyond.

Other examples corresponding to the previous content outline can also be included. For example, using the mainstreaming approach, illustrate what happened in the white community during the period of widespread poorhouse care in the mid-nineteenth century by using statistics on the Blockley Almhouse in Philadelphia. (see chart on “Classification of Persons”). The question of what happened to the African American indigent population can be addressed, for example, using the Perkins (1981) discussion of “Black Women and Racial Uplift Prior to Emancipation” to provide insight into the African American community. Perkins notes that self-reliance and independence was stressed in the African American community and members of the African American community were cared for in varied mutual aid networks. At an 1848 National Black Convention in Philadelphia, it was stated that “to be dependent, was to be degraded” (p. 319).

Table 1

*Chronology of the Development of Mutual Aid in the Black Community**

	Charity/Philanthropy	Mutual Aid	Social Service
Historical Periods, Social Developments, Landmark Events			
American Colonial Period 1607-1789		Informal support in slave networks	
Industrial Period 1733, Industrial Revolution			
1776, Adam Smith Publishes ideas of laissez-faire capitalism	Financial assistance to non-members of fraternal societies	Membership oriented friendly societies	
1865+, Industrialization of U.S. intensifies after Civil War			Social settlements, services to elderly, child welfare and day care services National Federation of Women's clubs
GREAT DEPRESSION 1929-1939, U.S. economy crippled			

*Historical outline adapted from Gerald Handel, "Chronology of the Development of Social Welfare in Western Society", in *Social Welfare in Western Society*. New York: Random House, 1982.

Table 2

Classification of Persons—Blockley Almshouse, Philadelphia, 1884

<i>Total White Persons: 1,509</i>	
Children	111
Hospital and lunatic	718
Old men's infirmary and incurable section	188
Male working wards	79
Mechanics' wards	42
Old women's asylum and incurable	256
Women's working ward	71
Nursery with women	21
Nursery with children	23

Source: Benjamin J. Klebaner. "Public Poor Relief in America 1790-1860," p. 211. There were also 79 Negroes in the almshouse, including three women and ten children. The statistics do not show how many Negro adults were capable of working. Cited in Blanche Coll, 1973.

By the time of the Progressive Era, the African American community through women's clubs and other activities had begun to develop social service programs. It is during this period that identifiable voluntary associations providing selective African American social service programs began to emerge. African Americans for the most part did not reap the benefits of progressive social welfare reform. The ideology emerging from African American child welfare reform of charismatic leaders such as Janie Porter Barrett who, along with the Virginia Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, founded in 1915 and operated the Virginia Industrial School, is a good illustration of child welfare services in the African American community. An example of this ideology is reflected in the attached chart (see "A Comparison of Barrett's Philosophy with Professional Social Work") developed from primary source data such as "The Virginia Industrial School" written by Barrett in 1926. This ideology also reflects both the emergence of "professional social work" like principles in an identifiable social service program.

Other creative applications of African American content can be modified and infused at the discretion of the individual faculty member. However, in addition to the resources previously

Table 3

A Comparison of Barrett's Philosophy with Professional Social Work

Expressed Philosophy Educational Theory	Social Work Value/Principle
Kindness rather than severity.	Non-judgmental/ non-punitive
Give her every chance to make good, leaving mistakes behind.	Acceptance, basic worth and dignity
I have an <i>open forum</i> as often as the girls want it, where a girl can say anything she has on her mind.	Purposeful expression of feelings
The white people and black people are working together to liberate the lowliest girls in our Commonwealth from ignorance, prejudice, hatred, vice . . .	Improving quality of life, realization of goals and aspirations
. . . teaching them the lessons of love of race, love of fellow-man, love of country.	Democratic/caring social order
We are trying hard to live by the Golden Rule.	Justice and fairness
Accomplishment through faith, good will, cooperation.	Harmony, group cooperation

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mentioned and the articles included in this journal issue, the selected readings listed below are also recommended for use with the previously proposed Model Course Content Outline:

1. *Influences in America: The Helping Tradition in the Black Community*, by Martin and Martin (1985); *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1926*, by Herbert Gutman (1976).

2. *Colonial America: Arn't I A Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South* and "Female Slaves: Sex Roles and Status in the Antebellum Plantation South," by Deborah White (1985; 1983).
3. *Revolutionary War Era: "Black Women in the Era of the American Revolution in Pennsylvania,"* by Debra Newman (1976); *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South,* by Ira Berlin (1974); *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720-1840,* by Gary Nash (1988).
4. *The Rise of Institutional Care: "Chronological Development of Black Fund-Raising Organizations, 1775-1855"* by King E. Davis (1972).
5. *The Civil War and After: "Some Contributions to Welfare Services, 1865-1900,"* by Inabel Lindsay (1956); "Lifting the Veil, Shattering the Silence: Black Women's History in Slavery and Freedom" by Darlene Clark Hine (1986).
6. *Late Nineteenth Century and Twentieth Century Social Reform: "Moral Goodness and Black Women: Late Nineteenth Century Community Caregivers"* by Wilma Peebles-Wilkins (1992); "The Women's Club Movement," by Beverly Jones (1990), pp. 17-29; *Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925,* by Cynthia Neverdon-Morton (1989).
7. *The New Deal Era: "Most Invisible of All: Black Women's Voluntary Associations"* by Anne Firor Scott (1990); "Black Women and American Social Welfare: The Life of Fredericka Douglass Sprague Perry" by Wilma Peebles-Wilkins (1989).

The recommended selected readings represent just a few of the previously written and currently developing articles from the literature on African American social welfare and social work which can be used to provide greater content diversity in social welfare history. A heavy emphasis was placed on gender in these recommendations because the Ford Curriculum Development Award project thrust was oriented toward providing a framework for gender, race, and class content integration.

SUMMARY

The prior descriptions on the legacy of African American leadership and contributions to social welfare historical developments represent a means of fostering human diversity in social work education. As noted earlier, integration of content on people of color is part of a larger educational concern about diversity on college campuses. The CSWE Revised Curriculum Policy Statement calls attention to the need to treat diversity as a normal part of American life. As suggested by the Faculty Teaching Excellence Program (1993) at the University of Colorado, fostering diversity in teaching requires that we

“establish respect for the values of diverse peoples by using specific examples, from [our] fields of study, to show how culturally varied people have contributed to Western history and civilization. In particular, we need to use examples that illustrate the value and beauty of the ethnic/racial/gender group under discussion” (p. 12).

African-American social work educators have been vigilant in their attempts to encourage infusion of minority content into the social work curriculum and to provide frameworks and models for content integration in the different content areas. (see Chestang, 1993, pp. 1–14). The focus here reflects the vigilance of those educators who advocate for consistent inclusion of the African American legacy in the development of social welfare in Western society. The content included here emphasized the collective expression in the African American community which evolved out of a common heritage of slavery, segregation, and oppression. Survival strategies within the African American community are emphasized as opposed to focusing on African Americans as dependent victims of an unjust society who acquiesced and succumbed to oppression. Altering customary ways of thinking and infusing African American historical content in the spirit of the African American self-help tradition is still a challenge to mainstream social work education.

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