# Hull House and the Emergence of Professional Social Work

BY JERRY D. MARX

THE TURN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, a period in American history known as the "Progressive Era," was a time of major reforms in the economic, political, and social institutions of the nation. The Adam Smith model of a capitalist economy based on small business competition was increasingly overshadowed by the influence of large-scale industry. The enormous industrial growth that followed the Civil War featured unregulated competition among individual entrepreneurs based on the ideology of "Social Darwinism"—survival of the fittest.[1] Yet, as the nineteenth century came to an end, many liberal reformers believed that American institutions needed better coordination, collaboration—even regulation. These reformers, firsthand witnesses to the "Industrial Revolution," came to understand both the positive and negative social welfare aspects of an industrial economy.[2] To better promote social welfare, new, more civic-minded organizations needed to be created. Social cooperation needed to supplement individual initiative and competition. Hull House and other American settlement houses played a major part in achieving these ends.

The first settlement house, Toynbee Hall in London, England, was a residence for Oxford University men in a poor section of the city. Run by an Anglican priest, the Rev. Samuel Barnett, this "settlement in the slums" was an "outpost" from which to teach students social responsibility in accordance with Christian social ideals.[3]

Using Toynbee Hall as a model, American settlement houses were private nonprofit organizations, established in poor, inner-city neighborhoods to promote the social welfare of community residents. In cities such as New York and Chicago, the vast majority of these residents were poor immigrants. Women— including several famous social workers—became the dominant force in American
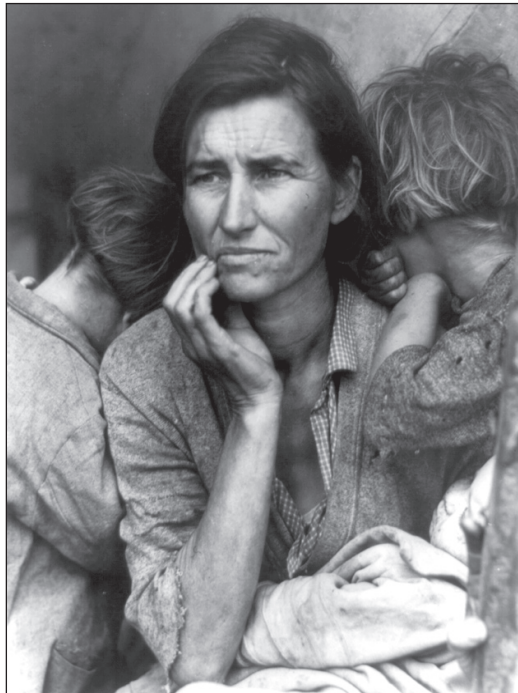
Migrant Mother, photo by Dorothea Lange

settlements, eventually comprising 70 percent of settlement residents.[4] Jane Addams, Edith Abbott, and Grace Abbott were all settlement house residents who became identified as social workers. While often inspired by religious conviction, settlement leaders moved beyond their city mission predecessors to further emphasize scientific methods.

During the Progressive Era, the settlement houses became prominent leaders in social research and advocacy. Although the first American settlement house was established in 1886 in New York, the most famous early settlements were Chicago's Hull House, founded by Jane Addams and Ellen Starr in 1889, and New York City's Henry Street Settlement, established by Lillian Wald in 1895.[5] (Because Lillian Wald was a nurse, the Henry Street Settlement was initially called the Nurse's Settlement.) By 1900, there were 100 settlement houses in existence.[6] Ten years later, about 400 settlements were operating in the United States.

"The Poorhouse: America's Forgotten Institution"—DAVID WAGNER

BOOK REVIEW BY GIANNOULA KEFALA

David Wagner gives us the real picture of nineteenth century institutions for the care of poor Americans in his most recent book, *The Poorhouse: America's Forgotten Institution*. The author focuses on the poorhouses in New England during the period from the 1890s until the demise of the poor farms. Poorhouses were tax-supported residential institutions to which people were required to go if they could not support themselves. They were started as a method of providing a less expensive alternative to what we would today call "welfare"—what was called "outdoor relief" in those days. The poorhouse became known as "indoor relief", care in an institution, as opposed to "outside relief", care within a community. If the need was great or likely to be long-term, the destitute were sent to the poorhouse instead of being given relief while they continued to live independently.

The poorhouses in the USA followed the English example regarding rules and regulations of the houses. These poorhouses were built with great optimism. They promised to be a much more efficient and cheaper way to provide relief to paupers. And there was a fervent popular belief that housing such people in institutions would provide the opportunity to reform them and cure them of the bad habits and character defects that were assumed to be the cause of their poverty.

However, the poorhouse was an inadequate solution concerning the long-term problems of unemployment and financial need. The poorhouse, according to Wagner, was a violation of individual rights such as respect for human dignity and self-determination. Poorhouses have been known by various names throughout American history. These institutions were known as almshouses, workhouses, poor farms, county homes or infirmaries. The importance of the poorhouse is based on the fact that many other institutions patterned themselves after the poorhouses, including mental asylums, prisons, orphanages, and homes for unmarried women. The poorhouse was not only an institution

Hull House *continued from page 1*

These settlement houses (along with social work educators such as Eduard Lindeman)[7] were significant influences on the community organization and group work methods in the emerging profession of social work. Like charity organization societies of the time, settlement houses were founded on the principle of scientific philanthropy. Observation, information gathering (or in today's terms, "data collection"), and documentation were believed to be prerequisites to social advocacy and change. In fact, Residence, Research, and Reform were the three "Rs" of settlement house work.[8] While acknowledging the worth of the individual, for the most part, settlement leaders targeted their reform efforts on the social environment of immigrant neighborhoods in the large industrial cities. In so doing, their goal was the prevention of poverty and class conflict while promoting the health and welfare of industrial communities.

Leaders of the settlement houses criticized the casework approach of charity organization societies for not being more social reform-minded. Yet, radicals in the labor movement considered the settlement houses to be too conservative in terms of social reform.[9] Settlement leaders such as Jane Addams accepted the capitalist base of the American industrial system. After all, life in the United States was better for most immigrants than the life they left in Europe.[10] The settlement houses, therefore, aimed to promote social integration, facilitating the functioning of immigrant groups as they adapted to industrial life. Where radicals in the Socialist and Communist Parties emphasized the struggle among classes, settlement leaders, for the most part, encouraged cooperation among classes in promoting social welfare.[11] Addams, for one, believed that the most effective anecdote to rapid and disorganized industrial growth was better coordination among key community stakeholders. In short, the mission of the settlements was to make the existing system better, not to replace it.

Although there was variation among settlement houses, the reader might be surprised at the range of activities organized at some settlements. Hull House, the most prominent example, first started a kindergarten, which helped to establish a positive relationship with immigrant parents and children in the neighborhood.[12] The kindergarten was followed by a public kitchen, called a "coffee house" and a gymnasium, adapted from a former saloon.[13] Due to the limited amount of activity space in the crowded urban neighborhoods, settlements such as Hull House were particularly valued by immigrants as a space to hold club meetings, public discussions, lectures, dances, and other social activities. As a result, Hull House became the social center of the neighborhood, constantly filled with activity. Eventually, other services were added including a "boarding club" for young women, a nursery, and a post office branch.[14] In fact, services commonly found at the settlement houses around the United States included employment referral, visiting nurses, arts and crafts courses, libraries, penny savings banks, art galleries, and music halls.[15]

In providing space for various clubs, lectures, and public discussions, the settlement house workers were able to see and hear the needs of the various neighborhood immigrant groups. Settlement workers at Hull House, for instance, spent much time advocating for needy individuals.[16] This made the settlements attractive sites for young professionals interested in social research and advocacy, especially young, well-educated women wanting a socially significant career. The medical research of physician and Hull House resident, Dr. Alice Hamilton, examined the spread of typhoid in the tenement buildings.[17] Hamilton and Florence Kelley, a lawyer and fellow Hull House resident, were also active in industrial research, and consequently, the fight for occupational disease laws, 8-hour workday maximums for women, and labor restrictions for children. Consistent with the settlement philosophy, careful research typically preceded the call for reform.

Thus, settlement leaders became active in the various social reforms of the Progressive Era. Given the significant amount of social legislation passed during the Progressive Era, the community organization and social advocacy efforts of settlement house leaders must be considered a success.[18] Yet, settlement leaders were aware of their limitations as voluntary charitable organizations.[19] Leaders such as Jane Addams recognized the importance of coordinated effort among various community stakeholders, both public and private, in promoting social welfare. In fact, settlement houses served as a means of communication among various groups.[20] Sometimes these were diverse immigrant groups with different languages but common problems. Sometimes these groups were in opposition regarding

some community problem. At other times, the groups trying to communicate were public officials and needy immigrants seeking services.

The settlement leaders, therefore, often worked in partnership with other groups in conducting research, initiating community improvements, founding other social organizations, and advocating for social legislation.[21] These groups included city and state government officials, trade unions, progressive business leaders, and other nonprofit associations. To illustrate, in 1899, long before Ralph Nader's consumer movement, settlement leaders such as Florence Kelley worked with other reformers in creating the National Consumers League, an organization that used consumer pressure in advocating for child labor laws, minimum wages and shorter work days for women, as well as safer consumer products.[22] With respect to trade unions, settlement house leaders collaborated with other reform groups to establish the National Women's Trade Union League in 1903. Furthermore, regarding minorities, a number of settlement reformers supported the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909 and the National Urban League in 1911. In helping to organize the NAACP, Lillian Wald hosted the National Negro Conference at the Henry Street Settlement in 1909.[23]

DID YOU KNOW?
Florence Kelley became a resident of Hull House while fleeing a violent domestic situation.[24] In late December of 1891, after being hit and spit on by her husband, Florence packed up her three children and belongings and moved to Chicago, becoming a resident of Hull House within a week of her arrival.

At times settlement leaders worked in coalitions with other groups. At other times, a community project started by one group was handed over to another group for future operation. In one instance, a landlord gave Hull House a free lease on a tract of city property with four buildings.[25] Hull House was allowed to keep the rent from the property. When Hull House leaders ask the landlord for permission to tear down one building and move the other three to make a playground, the landlord consented. Hull House operated the playground for 10 years, at which time, it turned over the

playground to the city. Thus, all three sectors—the for-profit, nonprofit, and public sectors—contributed to the establishment and maintenance of a critically-needed resource for parents and children.

Their focus on collaboration eventually led settlement house leaders to join forces with the charity organization societies, further contributing to the emergence of "social work" as a profession.[26] A significant event in this evolution of the profession was the 1905 merger of the settlement house journal, *The Commons*, with the New York Charity Organization Society's journal, *Charities*. And in 1909, Jane Addams became the first settlement house leader to be elected president of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, the most prominent national conference at the time for social workers.

DID YOU KNOW?
Jane Addams was voted in public opinion polls the most "exemplary" American?[27] Can you imagine a social worker receiving that honor today? Her father had been a prosperous businessman in Illinois, and perhaps, the biggest ethical influence on her life. In addition to establishing her Chicago settlement, Hull House, Addams helped found the American Civil Liberties Union in 1920 and was a leader in national and international peace efforts. For this latter work, she received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931.

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Social Welfare History Symposium Oral Sessions

Boundaries of Sisterhood: Race, Class, and Gender in Michigan's Welfare Rig0hts Movement

BY CYNTHIA EDMONDS-CADY

ABSTRACT: This study examines women's participation in the early welfare rights movement and their responses to policy changes, 1964-1972. The purpose is to understand how the women's standpoints, as they related to the intersection of race, class, and gender, impacted movement participation and their reactions to changes in welfare policy (Collins, 1998; Hartsock, 1998), focusing on the ways in which boundaries of race and class were crossed and maintained. A multidimensional standpoint theory (Naples, 2003) frames this qualitative, historical study.

PROBLEM: In 1996 the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program was replaced with Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF). Within this current climate of welfare reform, shifts to privatization and downsizing of social services has accelerated, making it critical that social workers develop effective and creative community intervention strategies (Mizrahi, 2001). Social work education must produce an understanding of how women historically crossed or maintained boundaries of race and class in their anti-poverty movement work, in order to inform current efforts at community intervention and outreach to diverse populations.

LITERATURE: In looking at the history of the War on Poverty, it is important to assess the complex changes made to welfare policy. The trajectory of the national welfare rights movement interacted with specific changes in welfare policy from 1964-1972. Research on the development of the welfare state and welfare policy has been criticized for assuming a gender-neutral stance (Gordon, 1994), resulting in distortions to our understanding of how welfare policies affect, and are affected by women. In order to increase our understanding of the historical response to welfare policy, the perceptions of the women involved must be obtained. The profound changes that Detroit experience during the 1960s

also provide a rich historical context for an examination of the welfare rights movement. Racial and economic transformation occurred as white flight from the areas surrounding the inner city took hold concurrent to blacks integration of these neighborhoods, and the auto industry's decline accelerated, resulting in increased lay-offs (Sugrue, 1996). This study emphasized the particular experiences of women in the Detroit, Michigan area.

QUESTIONS: This study was primarily interested in answering the following questions: 1.) How did women involved in the welfare rights movement mobilize across the difference and within similarities? 2.) How did women's responses to changes in welfare policy reflect difference and similarities?

METHODS: Combined methods of oral history and document analysis were used, with a purposive theoretical (Silverman, 2000) sampling strategy ensuring a diverse sample to fit the theoretical framework. In-depth oral history interviews were conducted with 15 women who participated in the welfare rights movement. Documents created by movement participants, from archival sources located at Wayne State University, Michigan State University, the University of Michigan, and the Wisconsin State Historical Society at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, were also analyzed. The theoretical framework was used to create a conceptual map for the study, which acted as a guide for specific oral history interview questions and categories of analysis for the documents. Transcripts from the interviews were initially coded and analyzed using the computer program, NVivo, with larger patterns and relationships analyzed using matrix displays (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

FINDINGS: Results indicate that an identity or standpoint as "woman" or "mother" was important for both white, middle-class participants and African American, poverty-class participants alike, in their initial motivation to join the movement. Documents (such as newsletters, handbooks, action alerts, etc...) that responded to changes in welfare policy also emphasized motherhood and the right to financial support in order to care for children. Differences emphasized race and class, and were most pronounced in decision-making

and leadership issues within the movement. These results indicate that similarities in gender or motherhood status were helpful in motivating individuals to initially form linkages across difference, but connections were often not maintained due to perceived imbalances in decision-making and control within the movement.

IMPLICATIONS: An understanding of the ways in which race, class, and gender intersected historically to affect participation in the welfare rights movement and response and action towards welfare policy, will help current community practitioners and social work students maximize client self-determination and advocacy efforts. Themes that emerged from this study indicate that the use of women's standpoints must be an important factor in developing linkages across difference as long as diversity is maintained in decision-making and leadership opportunities. This knowledge is particularly important for social work students and practitioners to utilize in community intervention efforts, because of the current climate of disempowerment inherent in contemporary welfare reform.

Undermining Progress in early 20th century North Carolina towards delinquent Black girls

BY TANYA S. BRICE AND FATINA J. LORICK

ABSTRACT: African American women were instrumental in developing social welfare services for African American girls as a means to uplift the race, and more specifically, as a means to protect "true Black womanhood:. Through the National Association of Color Women (NACW) these women united to formalize social welfare services to meet the needs of the community. They established orphanages, old age homes, kindergartens, homes for working girls, homes for wayward girls, as well as other programs (Hodges, 2001; Lerner, 1974; Salem, 1994). These clubwomen provided services to the African American community through women's girl's clubs. They even provided activities for boys as a means of protecting young girls (Carlton-LaNey, 1999). African American clubwomen were keenly aware of the negative perceptions of African Americans by Whites. They were indefatigable

in their efforts to improve the image of the race through the social uplift of its weakest element, particularly delinquent African American girls. This quest for uplift motivated them to provide benevolence, educational services, and to teach social graces to those of the lower classes (Gilmore, 1994; Hodges, 2001; Hunter, 1983). During the early 20th century, North Carolina's African American clubwomen gained support from the African American community and from progressive Whites as they sought to meet the increasing needs of delinquent African American girls. Despite the semblance of support, these women also battled elements that worked against their efforts. This presentation will examine efforts made to undermine progress towards adequate service provision for delinquent African American girls. In addition, this presentation seeks to explore the nuances of support, from the African American community and by progressive Whites, as it relates to legislative efforts, economic support and public health issues. Finally, this presentation seeks to examine motivations for engaging in undermining activities. This paper builds on historical and contemporary literature about attitudes towards delinquent (wayward) girls and will further this theme as it focuses on attitudes towards African American girls, a population often excluded from historical research (Abrams & Curran, 2000; Carlton-LaNey, 1999; Hunter, 1983; Nevferdon-Morton, 1982; Peebels-Wilkins, 1995; Wedlak, 1982; Waites, 2001). This historical paper relied on primary data from the following sources: the North Carolina State Archives, Public Welfare Collection, Raleigh, North Carolina; Perkins Library and Archives, African American Women Historical Collection, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; and Wilson Library and Archives, University of North Carolina, the North Carolina Collection, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. This examination of social reformists' efforts towards social justice may be described through the lens of an Africentric theoretical perspective. African American clubwomen were empowered by the principles of self help, mutual aid, race pride, and social debt, all of which are fundamental to Africentric social work practice (Carlton-LaNey, 1999). These principles provided the necessary resilience against undermining activities experience by; these women. In addition, social stratification theory influenced the way in which delinquent girls were viewed by African Americans and by progressive Whites. While there were tireless efforts towards social justice, there were distinct class differences in methods used to provide services to these young girls. Middle class values were the standards and these delinquent girls were evaluated according to these standards. This work is important to social work education. It exposes students to the historical contributions of African Americans to the social work profession. Furthermore, it enables students to interpret historical dynamics of contemporary policy, programs, and organizational development. Finally, this study provides an example of working towards social justice through social reform. This paper advances the knowledge base of social work education by providing content that is lacking or underrepresented in social work/welfare literature. Additionally, it fills gaps in our knowledge and understanding of services for delinquent African American girls in early 20th century North Carolina.

Social Work and Alice Paul: Remembering Our History, Reclaiming Our Future

BY ROBERT DAUGHERTY, SYLVIA HAWRANICK, JOAN DORIS

ABSTRACT: Alice Paul belongs to the forgotten generation of suffragists. Her generation had not yet been born at the time of the Seneca Falls convention, yet they carried the torch that had been lit by Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Staton, Susan B. Anthony and their sisters in struggle, and continued the fight that eventually resulted in the passage of the 19th amendment. In addition to her extraordinary leadership in the suffrage movement, Paul continued her fight for woman's rights nationally and internationally until her death in 1977. Included in her countless accomplishments was authorship of the Equal Rights Amendment and founding the National Women's Party (Gilmore, 1977).

While the contributions of Paul and other suffragists of her generation are often overlooked by the general public, it is perhaps more disturbing that she has been forgotten by the social work profession as well. Alice Paul, as a 1906 graduate of the New York School of Applied Philanthropy, was one of the first professionally trained social workers in the United States. While at the New York School, Paul lived and worked in the College Settlement House. After her graduate, she obtained work with the New York Charity Organization Society. In 1907 she went to London, again to work in a Settlement House and to work with several Charity Organiza-

tion Societies (Paul, 1975). In fact, although Paul had been exposed to the cause of suffrage while growing, she attributed her commitment to a meeting she was taken to in London by the Director of the COS in which she was working (Paul, 1975).

Many social workers of the time were supporters of the cause and Paul had important relationships with notable social workers who were suffragists, including Jane Addams, who nominated her to lead the Congressional Union of the National American Women's Party, and Florence Kelly, who served for a time on the Board of Directors of the National Women's Party (Paul, 1975, Baker, 2002). In addition, four of the 81 women who were jailed for suffrage listed their profession as "social work" (Lunardini, 1986).

However, despite many social workers commitment to the cause of women's suffrage, and despite Paul's training, her professional experience and her lifelong commitment to the fight for social justice and social reform, Paul has remained conspicuously absent from histories of social work. Indeed, Paul herself did not claim professional affiliation with social work, claiming that social workers "didn't do anything" (Paul, 1975).

Although there are a number of factors which contribute to this historical omission, it is our contention that it is chiefly the result of overly narrow definitions of social work practice, which have dichotomized the field. In embracing the legacy of Alice Paul we are also suggesting a redefinition of social work practice, in which "direct practice" includes work towards social justice and social reform, and one in which social action, is informed and directed by the needs and desires of social work clients.

Such a redefinition would have profound implications, not only for social work practice, but for social work education as well. Such a definition would require that throughout curricula, content would include course work on social advocacy, activism and social reform.

Had such a definition been widely accepted in 1906, perhaps Paul herself would have been better able to see the connections between her social work training and practice and her life's work and the social work profession would not have lost the insights and perspectives of this brilliant and courageous leader. It is our hope that in reclaiming our professional history, we shall not be condemned to repeat it, but rather, can move forward in creating a professional which embraces the "work" of social work, in all of its many forms.

Oral Sessions *cont. from page 4*

Trans-Atlantic Diffusion of Social Work Knowledge: Careers of Addams, Masaryk, and Salomon

BY REBECCA L. HEGAR

ABSTRACT: Jane Addams in the United States, Alice Masaryk (or Masarykova) of Austro-Hungary and later Czechoslovakia, and Alice Salomon of Germany were central to the campaigns for social reform and the emergence of social work in their respective countries. They also were instrumental in the development of international forums for exchanges among social workers, which became important in the early diffusion of social work knowledge. Tang (1996) and other theorists (Adams, 2001) note the key role of diffusion or international transfer in the processes of social reform and social development.

This paper draws from the letters, autobiographies, and published works of Addams (1860-1935), Masaryk (1879-1966), and Solomon (1872-1948) to examine their contributions to social reform and the transatlantic diffusion of social work knowledge. Although Addams in an internationally renowned figure, Salomon and Masaryk are less well known outside of Europe (Lehmkuhl, 1988; Sodova, 2001). While the three women were not close personal friends, their careers reflect interesting parallels and intriguing points of intersection. The single published treatment of connections among them (published in German) concerns only Addams and Solomon (Schuler, 2004), however, some of the original documents used by the author do appear in English translation in another work (Sklar, Schuler & Strasser, 1998).

Addams, Masaryk and Salomon share a number of characteristics with other women who achieved prominence in the early 20th century, including influential family backgrounds; higher education, and lives that did not include marriage and children. What sets them apart from many contemporaries was their simultaneous involvement in the struggle for social justice through women's organizations, the international peace movement, and social work and social work education. Each was a prolific author who showed appreciation for social work in other countries and promoted the international transfer of ideas (e.g. Salomon, 1909). For example, Salomon wrote the introduction to the German edition of Twenty Years at Hull House (Addams, 1910) and translated Social Diagnosis (Richmond, 1917).

Hull House was central to the connections forged among the three women. Addams and Masaryk first met after young Alice's mother (The American-born first-lady of Czechoslovakia) wrote to Addams, who she knew only from her writings, asking that Addams look out for her daughter, who was visiting the United States and staying in Chicago (Masaryk, C., letter of 4/7/04 in Addams, 19784). Salomon also met Addams in Chicago, when she traveled to the U.S. in 1909 as a delegate of the International Council of Women (Salomon, 2004). Both Masaryk, and Salomon stayed at Hull House during intermittent visits to the U.S. (Masayk, A., 1980; Salomon, 2004). Although Addams forms one of the primary links between them, Masaryk and Salomon had more similar careers. Each was among the first European women to earn the PhD and each founded an early school of social work. Both encountered political persecution during the Nazi era, although for somewhat different reasons, Salomon, a convert to Christianity, was from a Jewish family. She attributes her own eventual loss of professional status and exile both to her Jewish heritage and to her internationalism (Salomon, 2004). Masaryk, the daughter of the President of Czechoslovakia and his prominent American wife, was jailed and later exiled because of her family's political role (Masaryk, A., 1920; Unterberger, 1974). Addams supported an international campaign to free Masaryk (Wald, letter of 5/16/1916 to Addams in Addams, 1984). Both Salomon and Masaryk came permanently to the U.S. as refugees in the 1930s. Each suffered a loss of status and influence with the change of circumstances.

In Europe, there is a renewed interest among both historians (Lehmkuhl, 1988; Schuler, 2004) and social workers (Kubickova, 2001; Weiler, 1988) concerning the careers and contributions of social reformers, including Addams, Masaryk, and Salomon. U.S. literature also has considered the contributions of European pioneers to the development of the profession (Healy, 2001; Kendall, 2000). It is important that social work educators and students recognize the role of international transfer of ideas and methods in the early history of social services, as well as the contributions of less well known social workers who were present at the creation of the profession. The process of transfer or diffusion of ideas has continued relevance to education in social policy and social work practice.

Breathlessness: Richard Cabot's 1908 Conceptualization of Social Work Burnout

BY DR. CLAUDIA D. RAPPAPORT, PHD, ACSW, LCSW

ABSTRACT: Since the 1970s much has been written about social work burnout or compassion fatigue. In researching the development of medical social work at Massachusetts General Hospital, I discovered that in 1908 Dr. Richard Cabot wrote about social work "breathlessness." This presentation explores his theory, early social worker experiences that led to these theories, and how Cabot's ideas compare with theories since the 1970s.

Cabot hired the first medical social worker at MGH in October 1905; he began writing about breathlessness only 2 years later, showing how quickly he recognized the positive and negative impact of the work on the staff. Cabot's theories on breathlessness are found in three 1908 sources in the Ida Cannon Collection (ICC) at MGH: 2 handwritten documents form February and March 1908 and a published articles, "How to Avoid the Breathless Habit," from Charities and the Commons in 1908. Primary research on the early experiences of MGH social workers that contributed to his development of this theory comes from a variety of material in the ICC, including correspondence, reports, early case records, and published articles and books by Cabot, Ida Cannon (head of the Social Service Department from 1907 through 1945), and other MGH social workers.

Cabot's theory of breathlessness has a number of interesting similarities and contrasts with later books and articles dealing with social work burnout; these will be explored in this presentation. Some of his ideas include the following conceptualizations of what breathlessness is, what causes it, and what can be done to remedy it.

Cabot characterized breathlessness as including: feeling overwhelmed by clients needs, getting lost in the details; loss of creativity, inspiration, and originality, becoming short-sighted and dull; allowing the work to become mechanical and routine; loss of ability to think progressively about the work; loss of ability to humanize clients; satisfying only superficial client needs; becoming callous to human suffering; loss of ability to see the beauty inherent in social work; dulling the social worker's soul; physical exhaustion and illness; emotional pain.

Cabot saw a number of causes of breath-lessness, including: large caseloads, being required continuously to take on new clients despite already being overloaded; worrying about cases that had not been resolved satis-factorily; being asked to do concrete, routine client services that don't utilize professional social workers' skills fully; seeing sad, ugly re-alities of clients' living situations; dealing with human suffering every day, which could drain the social worker's sympathy and wound their spirit; the inevitability of beginning to question why such bad things happened to people; con-stantly having to make difficult decisions about human problems.

Cabot proposed a number of potential solutions, including: watching for early symptoms and consulting immediately with the supervisor; reducing caseloads (which was always easier said than done); limiting types of referrals being accepted (another solution that was a challenge to accomplish); refer-ring clients to other agencies instead of trying to handle all needs themselves; engaging in follow-up work with clients to see positive outcomes; setting aside time each day for reading and reflecting on social work issues to find new directions for the work; sharing ideas with other social workers, recognizing common experiences and concerns and build-ing fellowship; giving public presentations about social work to remember what the work accomplishes; writing about social work to increase thinking and to further the science of social work; conducting research for a sense of accomplishmentvrecreation, laughter, including with clients, to maintain balance; being in touch with the beauty of life; sim-plifying the work, developing more efficient approaches; engaging in self-study to discover strength, courage, cheerfulness, originality and wisdom; maintaining a broad vision of the work, not getting lost in detailsvfocusing on the enjoyment and pleasure obtained from the workvreceiving encouragement from a co-worker who is not feeling discouraged by the work; avoiding the trap of martyrdom; utilizing spirituality as a source of strength.

Cabot had a comprehensive theory regard-ing what we now call social work burnout or compassion fatigue. Our ideas about how such theories were first developed should be revised to give credit to this early conceptualization of an important social work phenomenon that continues being researched today.

Not Such a "Barren Time" : Developments in Social Casework in the 1950s

BY JOAN DORIS

Histories of social work have often focused on major social movements, changes in social policy, or landmarks in professional devel-opment. Only rarely have developments in practice methods or theories been seen as significant historical markers. However, to ignore or gloss over significant developments in social casework theory and method is to miss a story that is central to the development of the profession itself. As Wilensky and Lebeaux noted, "...it [casework] is so dominant that it is doubtful that there would be any such identifi-able entity as professional social work without it. Emphasis on casework evolution can index the evolution of the whole profession" (p. 288, 1965). Despite this, histories in social work continue by and large, to focus on periods of social reform, rather than on developments in social casework. The nineteen fifties, the focus of this presentation, are a case in point.

The nineteen fifties were an era of signifi-cant and profound changes for social casework theory and practice, as well as for the larger profession, however, they have often been ignored by social work historians, or dismissed as being largely negative developments in which social workers focused on their own status, rather than on the needs of their clients. As Reisch and Andrews put it, "Ironically, the drive for professionalization within social work diminished, rather than expanded, the profes-sion's attention to the public interest through social reform activities... By reducing clients' control over services, professionalization directly contradicted the democratic ideal that had guided the social work field for decades" (p. 130, 2001). Some historians have continued to focus on the lasting impact of what has been termed the "Freudian or psychiatric deluge" or on the influence of spiritualism and human-ism and decry the conservative, individualist focus on casework during this era (Specht and Courtney, 1994, Leiby, 1962). Other historians have examined professional developments within a political or economic framework and have virtually ignored developments in casework theory and practice (Wenocur and Reisch, 1994, Reisch and Andrews, 2001). In discussing the post war era, Kemp states, in ret-rospect the period seems, "...a barren time, at best a backdrop for the dramatic social upheav-als of the 1960s, at worst a period of grinding conservatism in which social work was defined

increasingly in terms of individual problems" (1994, p. 201). Theoretical developments, such as family theory and problem solving theory have been overlooked. However, the advances in casework theory during the 1950s were significant and very real, and they helped to integrate more recent psychological knowledge with the profession's traditional concern with the family and larger social environment.

In addition to the advances made in practice theory during this period, numerous articles were written addressing issues such as the nature and purpose of social work, the definition of social work, and how to incorpo-rate work for social justice into mainstream practice (e.g. Bisno, 1956, Bohen, 1958) This conceptual work resulted in a redefinition of social work practice that was significantly broader and more socially focused than the narrow conception of which it is often ac-cused. The advances in casework theory dur-ing this period lasted for decades, and paved the way for some of the more radical changes in casework over the sixties and seventies.

Finally, as the profession matured in the fifties, with the establishment of the NASW and the CSWE, so too was casework matur-ing. For the first time, social caseworkers in the fifties had access to practice theory that incorporated both psychological and socio-logical theory, as well as practice wisdom. This provided a theoretical base to guide caseworkers in both thinking about and do-ing casework—addressing at the same time both the individual and her environment. In moving past the rift created by the func-tional-diagnostic debates that had dominated discussions in casework for well over a decade, social work was making room for the diversity of casework approaches that were to emerge in the seventies and beyond.

In examining the developments in casework theory, as well as the discourse sur-rounding social work education and profession building, it appears that social work leaders were more concerned with traditional social work values and interests than has often been acknowledged. During this conservative era, they developed ideas which informed and en-abled the more radical changes which were to follow, while providing a professional frame-work which could withstand those changes.

SOURCES: This presentation is based upon a review of conference proceedings, contempo-rary and historical books and journal articles which address developments in social casework theory and practice during the nineteen fifties.

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concerning poverty; it also dealt with problems related to old age, sickness, physical and psychological disability, alcoholism, child welfare, widowhood, single parenthood, treatment of deviance, and unemployment.

The poorhouse was a structured and regimented environment that had a harmful impact on people's self-respect and self-reliance. The poorhouses were institutions that created an environment of apathy and passive compliance through the strict routines and regimentation of residents. The residents in poorhouses lost the capacity and inclination to care for themselves and resume independent lives in the community.

By mid-century, people were beginning to question the success of the poorhouse movement. Investigations were launched to examine the conditions in poorhouses. They had proven to be much more expensive than had been anticipated. And they had not significantly reduced the numbers of the "unworthy poor" nor eliminated the need for "outdoor relief". The society recognized that poorhouses were a temporary solution to a permanent problem. The nation seemed to understand that these people needed public assistance in order to maintain independent living situations.

The Civil War brought major changes in social welfare. Included among these was the fact that the war increased the number of populations in need in society. Recently freed African Americans and disabled war veterans needed support. During this period, the poorhouse continued to serve multiple roles such as a health care provider for poor people, a maternity hospital, a holding area for orphaned children and a homeless shelter.

During the Great Depression laws were passed prohibiting children from residing in poorhouses and removing mentally ill patients and others with special needs to more appropriate facilities. The poorhouse population was even more narrowly defined during the twentieth century when social welfare legislation (Workman's Compensation, Unemployment benefits and Social Security) began to provide a rudimentary "safety net" for people who would previously have been pauperized by such circumstances. The Social Security Act of 1935 marked the beginning of a major shift in the social welfare system. This act made changes in public welfare, social insurance and social services. Certain categories of poor became the joint responsibility of state and federal government. The Social Security Act provided both social insurance and public welfare programs designed to
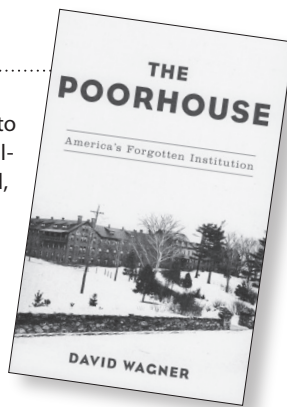
be permanent responses to poverty. Despite these programs, comprehensive solutions to the poverty of the Great Depression remained elusive.

The goals of social welfare in this era were expressed as helping people develop self-respect and dignity through self-support and by protecting vulnerable people from temptation. These goals were translated into the social control goals of "making people behave themselves and keep working." The social welfare system in the United States was developing and taking on a unique character, responding not only to individual needs but also to its citizens' beliefs about dependency. People were beginning to realize that the needs of some members of the society were not being met in the poorhouses and this was due not to these people's lack of moral character but to the nation's social, political and economic reality. Eventually the poorhouses evolved almost exclusively into nursing homes for dependent elderly people. But poorhouses left orphanages, general hospitals and mental hospitals—for which they had provided the prototype—as their legacy.

In our current health and human service system, deinstitutionalization and social integration are pivotal to service delivery, and will continue to be so in the future. Thus, the author predicts that the need for alternative residential services will increase significantly in the future. Social workers will be called upon to play an important role in fulfilling this mandate. Whether it is people with intellectual or physical disabilities, mental health problems, AIDS, or families and individuals who are homeless, the social worker's primary mandate will be the maintenance and support of deinstitutionalized persons in the community.

Therefore, according to Wagner, social workers must develop new, broader based strategies to deal with oppositional communities. They must innovate and propose new structures for involving community residents, as old models are no longer effective. Social workers must educate the public about their role in supporting social policies for the disadvantaged groups; must work systematically and cooperatively with communities, and encourage people to become involved as active participants in this helping process.

Wagner's book in a passionate way gives us an education in the long history of the poorhouses. This is a book that all the social workers need to read in order to have a deep understanding of the modern schema of institutional settings. During the 1930s the demands of the Depression involved social workers in the highest levels of policy development. Today, social workers need to assume leadership roles in the creation of a new national policy for dealing with poverty.

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