Problems of
ADMINISTRATION IN SOCIAL WORK

by

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PREFACE

There are many ways in which one might write about social-work administration. The mechanics, principles, procedures, philosophy, and structure constitute some of the variations in treatment which could be applied. While this volume touches upon all the approaches mentioned, it adheres more closely to the techniques that have been found valuable in the actual doing of the job.

Because it deals with actual problems confronting social-work executives, the material occasionally deviates from the subject of pure administration, venturing into phases of community organization and other kindred fields. From the literary viewpoint this may be improper but unfortunately no way has been discovered to narrow the character of problems which confront social-work management.

Part of this book was published in mimeographed form in 1937. Professional schools and many universities used it as reference material for student training. A conviction has been growing gradually that instruction in administration needs to be sharpened by the schools and by the agencies in the field. As a result of rather widespread request, therefore, the mimeographed volume has been materially enlarged and completely reorganized for the use of both students and practicing social workers.

It is exceedingly difficult for anyone with heavy administrative duties to find much time to devote to a special project. Competent assistants and professional friends are indispensable, and they have been so to the writer in the preparation of this book.

Acknowledgment is due particularly to the Author's secretary, Frances Goar, who typed the manuscript time and again and attended to many other details in addition to her regular duties, carrying an unreasonable burden which no good executive should impose upon his secretary. Althea Atwater not only made many manuscript corrections, but to her sound professional judgment there was added a personal intimacy that permitted criticism to flow freely and frankly. Wayne McMillen, of the University of Chicago, and Arthur Dunham, of the University of Michigan, carefully read the original manuscript and their wise comments and suggestions were of the greatest help and encouragement.

So many others have given aid on special subjects that only those who

have been actual consultants can be mentioned. Most sincere appreciation is extended to Waterman Baldwin, Florence Seder Burns, Allen T. Burns, Louise M. Clevenger, Edward E. Di Bella, A. A. Heckman, Frank M. Rarig, Jr., Lillian L. Simmon, and Arthur D. Walker.

Recognition also must be accorded a large number of long-suffering students, who over the years have unconsciously made possible the preparation of this book by forcing their instructor to keep a jump ahead of their agile thinking.

PIERCE ATWATER

St. Paul, Minnesota
January, 1940

INTRODUCTION

Recent years have witnessed the growth of a conviction in some quarters that administration is an independent field of knowledge. A corollary of this view is that, once mastered, the principles of the field may be applied with equal success in any sphere of human endeavor. The conflicting opinion is that administration is a tool applied within some definite area that is always, in some respects, unique and particular. Some of us who are so old-fashioned as to support the latter view believe that the basic requirement in administration is to be aware of the direction in which the function should be developing. This implies much more than the mastery of a set of procedures to keep the job going. It implies an intimate and thorough understanding of the function itself.

One of the great virtues of the material Mr. Atwater has assembled here is that it relates specifically to a definite field — the social services, an area in which he is completely at home. He has not tried to adduce doctrines and procedures to apply adventitiously to police departments, hospitals, experiment stations, and other public services. He has wisely resisted the lure of principles *in vacuo* and has set forth clearly and concretely the tenets he has found useful in administering social agency programs.

Mr. Atwater's background of experience and the record of successful achievement which he brings to his writing are the best guarantees of its content. His long administrative experience in the field of private social work has been supplemented by important assignments in public welfare, both at the state and federal levels. From these adventures he has distilled convictions that cannot fail to stimulate those who bear the heavy responsibilities of guiding the services upon which the welfare of many distressed individuals depends.

The practitioner with an imaginative approach to problems of administration always keeps in the forefront the community organization aspects of the job. He recognizes that his position as the director of a program provides a base from which improvements in the pattern of community services can be accelerated. This attitude permeates the materials assembled in this volume.

Although some administrators may not concur at all points, few will

quarrel with the attitudes in terms of which Mr. Atwater envisages the administrative job. Teachers and students of social welfare administration will be grateful for the provocative materials that have been brought together here in convenient form. Although several important contributions have been made in the last decade, there is still a dearth of substantial material on problems of social-work administration. The present volume is an effective attempt to help fill some of the gaps.

WAYNE MCMILLEN

University of Chicago
January, 1940

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Part I. Personal Problems of the Executive

Part I

PERSONAL PROBLEMS OF THE EXECUTIVE

Chapter 1

PERSONAL QUALIFICATIONS FOR EXECUTIVE WORK

ADMINISTRATION NOT A FIELD IN ITSELF

There is a popular idea that the administrative problems of a hotel, a railroad, a public utility, a department store, and a social agency are much alike. Some people actually think that a college of business administration can train young students for executive duties in any field. In the years immediately following 1932, the newly developing relief organizations used experienced social workers, but for the broad problems of administration and direction at the top "trained executives" were brought in. Some of these people served with distinction, but many others not only misunderstood the basic problems when they came into office, but knew little more about them when they went out.

The idea that administration is a field in itself and that all administrative tasks are much alike is not well conceived. It must be admitted that certain principles hold true. All executive officers have to employ people. They must provide operating income. They must use about the same techniques in keeping track of expenditures. They must successfully supervise a staff. They must successfully establish certain public relations. They must get the job done.

However, in these processes many shades and variations of judgment are required. Furthermore, these more refined distinctions must be made with exactness. They call for special and detailed knowledge of the field. How can a railroad executive wisely decide the qualifications of a case-work supervisor? In the same way how can a social-work executive determine the type of person who would make a good freight agent? While the academic principles of producing and expending money are much the same in managing a hotel or a hospital, the day-to-day decisions on these matters represent quite different procedures. Analysis of one administrative problem after another suggests that an intimate knowledge of the field in which the job is done is of paramount importance. Evidence of successful leadership without knowledge and experience can be found, but such situations seem to be the exception, as any examination of broad fields of social work will reveal.

The growth of the Boy Scout movement over its first twenty-year period was largely the work of administrative personnel. They quickly built up training courses which were made increasingly elaborate and which were combined with actual experience in the scouting field. From the very inception of the movement the Boy Scouts used their own people, trained in the essentials of the program, and hand-picked with a view toward a life work in the organization. There has been no deviation from the principle of inside training. No one can deny that this has been a successful job of administration. It may be argued with some justification that training for Boy Scout service has been too narrow, but whatever position one takes in such a discussion, the fact remains that the administrative job has been well done.

Like the Boy Scouts, the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. have drawn their leadership from their own training schools since the very beginning of their movements. All must admit that these two associations have an enviable history. They have not only been important forces for over half a century, but at the same time have built up a large capital worth in property and prestige. The administrative jobs have been of the best, and have been done exclusively by their own trained corps of executives.

The social settlement field offers another good example of administrative work which has been placed almost exclusively in the hands of trained settlement residents. Whoever heard of a doctor or a businessman, or even a schoolteacher, being made head resident in a settlement house? Sometimes a qualified social worker will enter settlement service from case work or other group-work activities, but the instances in the last quarter of a century of outsiders being placed are so few as to be relatively negligible. The capacity of settlement people for administrative service is attested by the fact that their movement is large, important, and incidentally has a large capital value.

The field of children's agencies is another field of service which has great prestige, where an excellent and progressive job has been done, and where the administrative posts have been in the hands of trained social workers.

The private family welfare field is now largely staffed in executive positions by trained workers who have been case practitioners and supervisors. But this is a development of more recent years. In the early days social work was dominated by women, and since many societies considered a man essential for the executive job, they were forced to

turn to the ministry, education, or kindred fields. Some of the men who thus entered social work have refined and enriched its whole background, and the history of the movement can point with pride to these few successful leaders, but there seems little purpose in dwelling upon the many failures who contributed so little.

Gradually the force of professional opinion, the facilities for experience and training, and the invasion of the male worker into social service ranks have resulted in a rather complete change. While this branch of welfare work must be regarded as a bad example of administrative practice in its early days, it can now be used as evidence of a happier trend. At present these agencies represent not only sound administrative practice in their own programs, but they have provided and will continue to produce much-needed personnel for public welfare administration.

The early record of administrative practice in tax-supported welfare enterprises is also bad. Not only did these earlier organizations face the same absence of qualified people as the private societies, but they were also forced to contend with political factors. These two obstacles seemed insurmountable for many years, but now things are changing for the better. Even elected governmental officers are beginning to recognize the fallacy of expecting successful administrative performance from people who do not have a mastery of the field of work involved. For many years some state boards in charge of institutions have tried to place qualified persons as superintendents of their hospitals and educational and penal institutions. These same states are attempting to reorganize public assistance machinery to make it difficult for untrained people to be given positions of power and responsibility. Definite accomplishment can be noted in this direction, and another decade will probably see administrative posts in public welfare organizations filled exclusively from the ranks of qualified personnel.

Community chests have sought leadership from many fields. A large number of executives have been borrowed from business ranks because they appeared to have promotional capacity and ability to raise money. Now that some twenty years have passed, it would be reassuring to state that all new employment is confined to social workers who have demonstrated their competence in administration. Such is not yet the situation, although much improvement has been made. Every year fewer important chests employ local businessmen because of their proven leadership or ability to raise money. More and more frequently

chests look to men and women of professional competence and agency experience. This trend is shaping rapidly because of the startling evidence that the really outstanding chest organizations of the country have been and still are under the executive control of experienced social workers. There seems to be a definite correlation between good management of chests and the broad social-work experience of chest executives.

BACKGROUND OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

The person who aspires to an executive position in social work can find no direct short-cut to attaining it. A college course followed by professional education in a school for social work is assumed. Some courses in finance and accounting, which are rarely taken as prerequisites for social work, would be very helpful. Since few agencies seek a completely inexperienced director, a school which emphasizes training for administrative work need not be chosen. The selection of a school becomes more important when the student is entering professional study after some years of experience, because then an emphasis on administration may have a practical bearing upon future placement.

More and more executive positions in social work are being filled from the practitioner group. The present managing personnel knows something about most fields of activity, but has had no intensive knowledge of any. However, a record for satisfactory performance in some main branch of operation is certainly no disadvantage in obtaining executive status, and in the near future will probably constitute one of the principal requirements. Apprentice experience seems still the best road to the responsibilities of an administrative job. The normal steps would be something like this: (1) good educational background, (2) professional school certificate or degree, (3) case work, group work, or community organization practice, (4) supervisory or semi-executive experience, (5) management.

Of all these steps, three and four seem the most vital in preparing for administrative duties. On the other hand, they become important only after the first and second steps have been completed. Before anyone is given the responsibility of direction, he must be a professional worker of established competency. No agency or governmental department can afford to place the reins of control in the hands of someone who has given only good promise of success. Chances of this kind are sometimes taken and occasionally they work out well, but usually if as much time were devoted to completing all the normal steps as to finding a short-

cut to executive position, accomplishment of the ambition would be just as rapid.

CONCEPTS OF ADMINISTRATION IN OTHER FIELDS

There was a time when ministers headed most private colleges. In years past, training for the ministry was not unlike that for educational positions. It was thought that a minister who had headed a successful church had a proven capacity for leadership and could be transported into the educational field and preside over the destinies of a college with similar success. As training for education progressed, there developed a measure of resentment against the use of distinguished ministers as college presidents. Even in sectarian colleges there is today a growing tendency to use educators as presidents. Standards set by intercollegiate associations demand certain minimum professional qualifications in faculty members. Men and women trained in education prefer to work in an atmosphere where the emphasis is educational and not religious. Properly handled, there need be no serious conflict between education and religion. Improperly handled, conflict always results. The thoroughgoing educator does not want to chance trouble. He wants to enter an institution for professional practice where he will have a reasonably free hand. Naturally he gravitates away from the denominational school when it is presided over by an executive without professional background in education. Undoubtedly there is a definite correlation between successful denominational colleges and the adoption of high standards of faculty training and experience. More and more are those trained in the field of education being promoted to college presidencies. Less and less are distinguished ministers being given these posts.

In nondenominational colleges today it is almost unheard of to put into the presidency a successful business executive, even though he may have an academic background. Thus the whole administrative field of education draws executive leadership from its own ranks and has turned its back on the use of administrative officers who have not gone through the preliminary steps of training for their posts.

The steps toward administrative responsibility in education are almost identical with those outlined for social work: (1) educational background, (2) graduate professional training, (3) teaching experience, (4) supervisory positions, such as a department head or dean, (5) management.

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Practically all railroads draw their executives from among men who have been trained in the groundwork of the business. This does not mean that most presidents started as brakemen, although some did. More and more, railroads take in the young engineering graduate as an assistant engineer in the construction or the water department, promote him to divisional engineer, and finally to an executive position in some branch of railroad operation.

There was a time when successful bankers were called upon to become heads of department stores or railroads or manufacturing corporations. Today good bankers usually stay in banking. Department store management has become a field of its own, and so have the other lines of business administration. Prospective managers prepare for duties in particular operations. They may take a general business administration course in college, but it is successful apprenticeship which places them in positions of real administrative responsibility, rather than educational training.

The great hotel corporations likewise do not pick their managers from men who have been distinguished merchants or lawyers or financiers. They train their men in their own hotels. They subsidize training courses in connection with colleges. They want men who know the hotel business.

Practically every field of endeavor recognizes that administrative responsibility cannot be vested in people who have command merely of certain essential principles of administration. These principles must be refined by practical experience in the field of operation. Social work is no exception to this rule, and any examination of competent administration in the social-work field reveals this to be a fact.

COMPARATIVE PROFESSIONAL STANDING OF EXECUTIVE AND CASE WORKER

In most universities there is no difference in professional standing between a college president, a dean, and a professor. Most of the celebrated figures in science and literature are teachers whose research and whose thinking have been given public recognition. Actually they start in the classroom and they end in the classroom. Few get sidetracked into administrative duties. Not many are really fitted for such work and there is no great incentive to seek it, because it carries no added honor or community position, nor even a vast disparity in remuneration. In other words, a man may remain a teacher all his life and still

have opportunity for achievement and a fairly decent living. But a case worker has no such wholesome outlook today.

This condition forces social workers into administrative duties for which they are not fitted in order to earn enough money to support their families. This situation is bad for the profession, the clients, and administrative practice. Social workers are too resigned in facing this problem. One reason for their attitude is an absence of understanding as to exactly what constitutes administrative service. They see it as affording more pay, greater recognition, and higher community distinction. And they see correctly. On the other hand, they fail to catch, until too late, many of the liabilities, limitations, and dissatisfactions inherent in the role of manager. Perhaps if these features were more clearly appreciated, greater vigor would be displayed in achieving certain satisfactions of salary and position in the higher ranks of case work.

LIABILITIES OF ADMINISTRATIVE WORK

Not all social workers like administrative duty. First of all, it requires a willingness and a desire to get away from the routine of "practice." Physicians, like social workers, become habituated to their patient relationships; the thing that interests them is the medical problem presented by the individual case. If they are removed from the patient, most of them tend to lose the gripping interest that being face to face with a problem creates. As compared with the dramatic and tense situation of grappling with disease, executive positions in the medical field become mundane and uninteresting. Exactly the same situation prevails in social work. Practice of the profession is most interesting at first hand, in the problems that arise with the individuals and groups served. There must be a willingness to leave this close relationship for the complications of executive control.

There can be no question that the assumption of administrative duties makes one remote from the practice of his profession. Immediately there is thrust upon the executive the necessity of dealing with money and figures. He is constantly annoyed by salesmen of typewriters, carbon paper, and printing. Legal matters are interjected, and in the public agencies politics is a constant source of irritation. The chronic community kickers sit at his desk and drive him to distraction. He attends meetings until he is weary. He begins to feel that everyone is his boss and longs for the good old days when he really practiced social work.

While the executive officer does not have to determine what treatment shall be meted out to the individual client, which is the heavy responsibility in professional practice, he must none the less make decisions that vitally affect the social treatment of large groups. Instead of having a relationship to the lives of the people represented in a single case load, the executive has a second-hand responsibility toward all the cases which his organization serves. If he decides intake must be curtailed, large numbers are affected. If relief allowances must be reduced, he is the instrumentality for doing so. These are not pleasant decisions to make. They weigh heavily upon the mind and conscience of a thoughtful director who knows his business. When his duty calls either for procuring more funds or for giving less service, the taxpayers blame him for one decision and another set of critics consider him heartless and inhuman if he makes the other.

The executive is the staff member who assumes ultimate responsibility, and in the exercising of this prerogative, he makes himself liable to misunderstandings and becomes surrounded by circles of acute conflict. The administrative officer is the spokesman in all important matters involving the agency policy. He is listened to attentively because what he says has a bearing upon the lives of many people. This responsibility cannot be taken lightly. A person must greatly enjoy the thought of power to subject himself to all the liabilities that go with ultimate authority.

Most executives are given the unpleasant task of saying "no" much oftener than they are permitted to say "yes." The professional practitioner is in duty bound to promote any idea that makes for the welfare of his client. Both his desire and his sense of professional ethics prompt him to seek constantly more and more benefits for the group he serves. Such is his interest and purpose in life. But between the professional worker's objective and its attainment stands the executive. He may agree that the agency can do the things his staff desires provided he can obtain money for the doing of them, but between the executive and the fulfillment of staff objectives stands the community pocketbook, in the form of either a public treasury or a privately raised fund. To most of the recommendations daily coming before him the administrator is forced to say: "We cannot do this now"; "No money available"; or "I will see what I can do about it."

In executive control are involved all the penalties which go with leadership. An executive lives more or less in a glass cage, the agency

head becoming a focal point for the gaze of all interested people, and assuming all public criticism because he is in a place where people can get at him. Some associate may be responsible, but no good director can disclaim responsibility for anyone who works for him.

The responsibilities which go with management are sufficiently great so that no one should enter this field who is not prepared to carry them with reasonable ease. It is perfectly obvious that an executive cannot spend his agency into bankruptcy simply because all the suggestions for expenditure are necessary for client care. He dares not say "no" to meritorious requests and then worry himself sick over the necessity for doing so. He cannot permit himself to imagine the harm his decision has done. A year of such life would so jeopardize health as to make him a complete wreck.

NECESSARY QUALITIES IN AN ADMINISTRATOR

General qualities. — Any person willing to assume an executive position must be capable of developing a personal philosophy which will permit him to recognize the limitations of his accomplishment at the same time that he is attempting to better situations. The public and the staff are anxious to accomplish things with speed, and the executive must speed things up all he can, but all progress is only too slow, and the superhuman results asked of him will be impossible. Unless an individual can accept the limitations of executive opportunity, he will not make a good leader and he will ruin himself as well.

In general, the executive must have a closer interest in the perspective view than in the details of the job. He must like to work for broad objectives rather than to follow detailed case procedure. This is not an unusual quality; but it must be realized that some people have it and some do not.

Just as good a mind is required for administrative as for practitioner purposes, but no better. Executives are not geniuses. They should be wise as a result of experience over some years. They should be able to find interest in many of the administrative problems here under review, even though some of these problems would be boring to others. They must have the same interest in battling with financial matters as others have in dealing with a problem child. The real point is that some people like to deal with problem children and dislike to raise money and keep track of its expenditure. Naturally the executive type must prefer the latter to the former.

Attitude toward power.—Power is a dangerous thing. The broader it is the more dangerous it becomes. It tends to affect all men adversely. It is like a drug. It warps personality. It is egocentric. As he is given increased power, the individual may come to feel that his agency moves about him and him alone, eventually that the whole field in which he is engaged centers about him, and finally even the entire community. At this stage of his career a series of disastrous blunders may well unseat him, and such an executive will have ended his usefulness.

Unfortunately, the administrative bent of mind always includes a desire for broad power. The paradox of the situation lies in the fact that while one must like power, he must also be afraid of it. It is at this point that most executives have trouble. It is here that foundations for failure are laid. To desire power and at the same time to be afraid of it entails a basic inconsistency. Instead of fearing power most people strive to secure more of it. The more power that is given, the more successful seems to be the performance. With success and added responsibility, the person tends to become arbitrary. His associates begin to distrust him and rapidly he drops out of touch with the job at hand and a series of disagreements begin.

Any person who is insensately desirous of power for power's sake had better remain out of the administrative field of social work, because in the long run he will fail. Social work is not a profession which offers much scope for dictatorship; it includes too many talented people with discriminating judgment. Not for long will they stand conditioning their individual practice to the whims and caprices of dictatorial power.

Molding group action.—Social-work administration calls for a singularly sensitive execution. The executive officer must gear his decisions to the thinking of his principal associates, both lay and professional. The molding of broad policies is not wholly within the field of administrative decision, but is definitely a part of group action. Administrative power in the social-work field means not personal prerogative, but individual leadership. It constitutes the controlling and shaping of group thinking into specific and acceptable channels of action. This does not mean that executive control in social work is not a courageous type of personal performance. The reverse is more nearly the truth. It is much easier for an executive to decide an issue on the basis of his own thinking than to bring a board and an operating staff into agreement. Herein lies the most difficult feature of the administrator's job.

The agency head deals not so much with a body of rules and regulations which represent his own judgment as with a flexible body of thought. The political leader enunciates his own platform and his own decisions on important matters and asks support from the public and his associates. If his decisions are not approved, recourse to the ballot gives opportunity for the introduction of a new leader. Social work is quite the contrary. The executive does not stand on a particular platform built on definite issues. He takes his position on broad and somewhat indefinite principles, the interpretation of which, rather than the principles themselves, becomes the important element. He may come into office stressing certain convictions, such as employment through the use of the merit system. But this is susceptible of all kinds of interpretation. How are the classifications of positions to be defined? What kind of examinations are to be given? What salary range is to be paid? Are positions restricted to local residents or open to anyone with professional qualifications? What is the basis of tenure? These are all questions in which the practicing staff is vitally interested. No executive can safely decide these matters on his own initiative; the detailed solution should be measured by what associates believe to be the most desirable course of action. Also the decisions must be changed from time to time. A careful weighing and balancing between professional judgment and board reaction is essential, and the executive must become a clearing house for conflicting opinions. If he is a wise man it may be possible to effect a reconciliation by a compromise based on personal judgment. But first both groups must be won to his point of view, and in the process of rallying all factions the executive may well have to modify and alter his own opinions. It is the adjusting of group thinking to a common purpose and a common action that calls for diplomacy and a cautious, patient, and courageous executive.

It is much easier to issue a proclamation of one's position and ask for support than it is to win following and backing by getting the group mind to function in unity. All sorts of policies are concerned in organization procedure: legal policy, board and executive interpretations, community policy, and the policy-making functions of the practitioner. These policy functions of the various groups in a social agency are not infrequently conflicting. No single element is so important as the executive in making the organization function smoothly in the execution of these policies. This is not because the executive creates and carries out the policy in any more important way than the other groups. As a

matter of fact, his policy-making function is somewhat limited. His real problem is securing a harmonious working together in all spheres of policy which go to make up organization procedure. If a legal policy needs to be changed, the executive is in a good position to try to effect that change. If the board proceeds incorrectly in its policy-making function, the executive has a better opportunity than anyone else to adjust the attitude of the board. If the policy involved in professional treatment seems to be too strict or too lenient, the executive can do much through leadership in staff meetings and personal conference with his workers to get it back on the right track.

It is certainly patent that any executive who is insensitive to conflicting policy forces within his agency, and who feels much more can be accomplished by stepping out and forcing legal changes or alteration in board policy, is going to make trouble for himself with all groups. Yet every executive is tempted to stress the kind of arbitrary leadership that at first glance seems to accomplish ends quickly. This is the kind of thing a man may do if his ego has become inflated by a conviction that there is little he cannot accomplish through the strength of his position and through exercising his personal prerogative. Unfortunately this process never works.

Decisiveness.—However, the idea of creating out of isolated points of view and diverse attitudes of mind a common ground for action in no way negatives the essential need to accept responsibility and make definite decisions. Social work cannot use as executive officers people who are so sensitive to everyone's opinion that they never decide on any definite course of action. The combination of elements in the administrative field is not unlike the blending of colors in a picture. No matter how sensitive an artist may be to color combinations, he must sometime finish his picture and start on something else. Likewise, at some point, whether the executive is satisfied or not, he must call it a day and begin on something else. Some social workers in important administrative jobs are forever beginning nowhere and ending the same place. They have literally tipped over backward so they will not offend anyone. Sometimes it becomes impossible to make the load which is harnessed to the forces of social work pull evenly, and the necessity of going ahead under uneven alignment becomes clear. The executive may have failed in his mission, but his failure will have to be overcome by the cautious utilization of his own executive prerogative. He must then be ready to accept responsibility himself and stand or fall on its satisfactory execution.

Definite decision rendered after careful, but not too long, consideration is an element of successful administration in any field of endeavor. Social work is no exception to the rule. It is only the politician who is trying to avoid any kind of action who can forever take matters under advisement. There comes the need of saying yes and no, and of holding to the particular decision until some new factor enters to alter it. The type of mind which cannot take definite action will never make any contribution in the administrative field. Nor should any of the things that have been said about the essential qualities of executive leadership in social work be taken to minimize the importance of definite decision. One can be willing to accept responsibility wisely and at the same time employ those traits which are necessary to bring others into agreement and induce others to follow along.

Fluency of thought and speech.—There is no executive type. A social-work executive can be of either sex, short or tall, fat or thin, silent or talkative. It is sometimes felt that speaking ability is an essential quality for administrative work, yet some of the very best social-work leaders have been poor speakers. It is probably necessary that any executive be a fairly fluent thinker. A social-work leader is involved in a great many meetings. In these gatherings group judgment must be arrived at. It is quite necessary that an executive be able to think rapidly, form judgments quickly, and be able to say the right thing at the right time so as to bring conflicting points of view to some unified conclusion. One cannot do this unless he thinks quickly and is able to draw up a course of action almost simultaneously. A man who cannot put his thinking into words which tend to lead to a decision is at a great disadvantage.

At the same time deliberateness and an ability to give careful consideration to all sides are valuable assets. Snap judgments are not advisable in this field, any more than in any other. A social-work administrator must form his judgments outside of the office and be ready to act while on the job. There is little time to think there. His fundamental point of view must be so developed that he can secure action at the right moment by a quick adaptation of the plans presented.

It is a decided asset for an executive to be able to sway people's opinions by speaking ability. On the other hand, when this ability reaches the proportions of real dramatic power, it may soon become a liability. If he reaches the point where he finds it easy to change people's ideas by emphatic argument, there follows such a large personal satisfaction

that he is too often tempted to make his own convictions prevail, and naturally loses the beneficial result of securing action from the group. Eloquence should be used rarely, and one should never fall back on it as the last recourse to get action.

Diplomacy.—There is a gross misconception of the diplomat's role in social work. To have a diplomatic aptitude for social work one does not necessarily have to be suave, smooth, dignified, well dressed, cultured, grammatically flawless, or to possess to perfection any of the other qualities attributed to the diplomat. On the other hand, no social-work executive can be an uninteresting bore and attain good results. While a courtly manner may be an actual liability, it is essential to treat people well and seldom give affront. In general, the social-work director must have the facility to get along with diverse groups, understand their point of view, and in return cause others to appreciate his own position.

A few simple illustrations of what may be termed the diplomatic operation in social work may lend color. Suppose the staff leaders decide it would be beneficial to permit most of the employees to take Saturday off during the summer months. The executive is favorable to the idea, but is not sure what the governing board would think of the innovation. He may know that in their own businesses his board members carry through the full six-day week. He is doubtful if they would accede to the suggestion that while the office remain open on Saturday, at least half the staff be given the day off. He is certain this granting of extra time would not interfere seriously with work; he is equally sure the board would consider it a bad precedent and not wish to grant it. To bring up the matter would precipitate an issue, and a negative settlement would establish a precedent.

The above is by no means a hypothetical situation. It is a problem that has faced any number of agency managers. To please the staff, some have presented the question to the board and have received its decision. Other executives, fairly certain of negative action, have taken the matter into their own hands by introducing the practice of gradually permitting Saturday leaves to not over half the staff, with no publicity. If the work is still satisfactorily done, the governing board usually knows nothing about what has happened and by the time the matter is brought up formally, a precedent is already set. It may be argued with some justification that the executive has misled the governing board by not giving them a chance to act. Whether or not this is

bad depends entirely upon one's conception of executive prerogative, as well as upon the status of the situation at the time the action was taken. Whatever theoretical opinion prevails, the fact remains that in one instance the Saturday leave desired by all was given to none, and in the other case all the staff received some benefit. Action of any kind in the social-work field is always accompanied by pressures against it. Diplomacy of a high order is called for if any change is to be effected.

At the time when relief had come to be an accepted responsibility of the public-welfare administration, many private relief agencies were assisting public departments in case treatment and supplementary relief items. Each family society which wanted to develop a new field of work for itself met strenuous objections to any change from public-relief authorities who were reluctant to lose the case workers they had borrowed and the relative ease with which they could obtain supplementary appropriations on certain items. This sort of situation baffles administrative leadership. Change in the field of private-family welfare work was essential. Private boards were doubtful as to the type of change because no completely demonstrated service or procedure had been developed. Public authorities were opposed, and some firm, aggressive, wise, and considered course of action had to be pushed through. Any plan followed by the executive called for disagreement with both groups, but it could not be a type of disagreement which would lead to open controversy. The fact that private-family societies have been slow in solving this problem indicates that executive leadership was not sufficiently diplomatic to carry out what was a plainly demarked course of action.

In social work the diplomatic characteristic which seems essential is the ability to get along with other people while winning them over to what appears to the executive and his board a logical course of action. This involves a fine sense of strategy, facility in taking a negative position without offense, a pleasing and interesting manner of altering the opinions of others, and an ability to set a course of action which, while it may be changed many times, always keeps moving in the same general direction.

Ability to function with the sexes in sharp disproportion.—Social work is a field largely dominated by women. While men occupy a great many responsible posts, they are outnumbered at least four to one. (According to the 1930 census there were 6,649 male and 24,592 female workers.) This numerical preponderance precludes successful participation by men who dislike working with women. At the same

time it creates a difficult situation for women executives, because, generally speaking, women prefer to work under the direction of men rather than of their own sex. Furthermore, if women executives in any way attempt to capitalize on a prevalent conception that men must show a certain respect and deference to women, men workers dislike this attitude and women associates recognize it even more quickly and resent it even more thoroughly.

The fact that social work is largely a woman's world does present certain complications to both men and women executives. That the difficulties inherent in the situation are any worse, however, than if the balance between the sexes were contrary, as in most businesses, cannot be accepted as fact. Most men and women who have spent years in the social-work field become habituated to the conditions and find little difficulty in adjusting to the sexual unbalance which exists, just as do those who have been in the business world, where the contrary situation prevails. It cannot be said that social work offers more administrative problems because more women than men work in the field. It merely offers a different set of circumstances with different problems. It is necessary only to understand the conditions, to become thoroughly acquainted with the atmosphere, and to appreciate the necessity for a somewhat different approach.

Patience.—An administrative officer must have a full measure of patience, especially in social work, where most of the administrative problems find their solution through the combined judgment of many professional people. This is a characteristic of the highest importance. Social-work treatment, in either case work or group work, is at best a slow process. It has many ups and downs. Discernible improvement is but slight. Time is a big factor in adjustment. An executive cannot afford to become impatient because then he immediately conflicts with sound professional practice. At the same time he cannot permit programs to continue where no success can be noted. How to secure a balance between the inherent limitations of social treatment and the accomplishment of ultimate objectives is one of the chief problems faced by any social-work administrator.

Confidence in associates.—Probably the greatest asset of all is the willingness of an executive to face responsibility and to trust and credit associates. It is only through the professional staff that successful treatment can be administered to clients. This means that an agency must have skilled practitioners who are not only willing to accept responsi-

bility, but are also capable of exercising it. Since results come slowly, many executives tend to lose confidence in the program, attempt to curtail certain aspects of it, or seek short-cuts in the solution of agency problems. This tendency invariably conflicts with the treatment process. As a result, professional workers feel they are not trusted and that the executive is not willing to share the blame for failure. This whole question hinges on the procurement of an adequate staff, the professional competency of which is indispensable; and the willingness of the executive to provide a basis for that staff to function to the fullest measure of its capacity.

Chapter 2

RELATION OF THE EXECUTIVE AND THE STAFF

NEED OF OBJECTIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD WORKERS

An office force consisting of even three or four workers is not exempt from problems arising out of executive and staff relationships. Human nature is no different at work than at play or at home, though it must be viewed with a different emphasis. Close personal relationship which cements affection into stronger and stronger bonds creates the lasting foundation on which a home is built. To a lesser degree this sequence is the basis of personal friendship. Since people are habituated from childhood in the forming of close personal ties, this tendency is naturally carried into business relationships. Here it creates trouble within most organizations.

Workers are paid to undertake a specific assignment of daily work and to accomplish the task in a satisfactory manner. In social work, as in most other departments of human activity, few persons can do a job alone. Dependence upon one another is almost universal. This results in personal association for good or bad and is the source of failure or success of the job of the entire agency.

DESIRABLE AND UNDESIRABLE TRAITS OF STAFF MEMBERS

It is especially desirable that the executive head of an organization come to a clear realization of the qualities he wants in the people who comprise the staff. It is barely possible that by such realization he may tend to understand the traits he must display himself. The following list of human traits or virtues is seldom found in any one person, but does constitute a standard which is entirely objective and is not too high for all workers to try to reach:

1. Intelligence for the job assigned.
2. Skill.
3. Industry.
4. Health.
5. Honesty and integrity in work.
6. Cooperation with other workers.

7. Courtesy and good manners in dealing with others.
8. Patience with the task and with other workers.
9. Loyalty to the job, the organization, and other workers.
10. Courage to face the task day in and day out.
11. Ability to work under strain at special periods.

Just as there are certain qualities to look for, there are these undesirable qualities which must be avoided in choosing workers if objectivity is to be maintained:

1. Tendency toward officiousness.
2. Personal opinions which may be distasteful to others.
3. Overconfidence in dealing with others.
4. Underconfidence in dealing with others.
5. Obstinacy in holding to a position.
6. Temperamental reactions to people and things.
7. Emotional unbalance on special occasions.
8. Slowness of perception about new situations.
9. Mannerisms which are irritating to others.
10. Tendency to form office intimacies which lead to friction.
11. Liking for unusual styles of dress, or similar personal characteristics which are disliked by others.

All executives consider themselves objective, but one's opinion or words cannot be taken seriously if he acts to the contrary. In dealing with the staff the manager must regard coworkers in relation to the job at hand and not in personal relationship to him. His objective must be to work for the staff so that it may function as a unified group to attack efficiently the job before it. Whenever the head of an organization considers he alone is responsible for achievement of objectives and that the staff works for him, trouble usually follows. Such an attitude evokes a bid for loyalty to the individual as contrasted to the organization. But personal ties result in degrees of intimacy which produce jealousy, insecurity, and dissatisfaction, and cause both the executive and the staff to underweigh the desirable traits needed in an office and overweigh the personal characteristics which need to be sublimated.

DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION AMONG STAFF

It may be largely true that the leadership of any institution explains its essential character, because leadership determines ultimate objectives and values. This is true in business, politics, and social work; but no one could claim that the manufacturer whose business policies and

whose product receive wide success is himself personally responsible to any greater degree than he can secure the cooperation of his working force. No mayor or governor will continue to receive the confidence of the voters unless he heads a good municipal or state government, the business of which is carried on by well-trained and competent people. Likewise no social work agency is of any real value simply because it has a good executive. In all branches of business, politics, and social work, leadership is good only to the extent it can successfully coordinate the effort of its workers to do the job wisely and efficiently. In a real sense the staff does not work for the executive. By every measurement the exact reverse is the truth. The executive works for the staff.

Attitudes to be avoided.—Many small examples in social-work agencies illustrate how management fails to understand proper executive and staff relationships. As daily mail comes to one's desk, one reads letters signed, "John Doe, Executive Director," with this signature underneath, "by Agnes Smith, Supervisor." What line of reasoning leads any executive to want his name on the correspondence carried on by his associates? Is there anything about his signature that makes the letter more official? Are executive prerogatives being limited because the people who actually write the letters take individual responsibility for their action?

There are too many instances of executives who tend to resent other staff members representing the agency in its public relations. In any large organization there ought to be more than one person to whom the public can look for speaking engagements, for information as to policy, and for decisions and opinions. Naturally, no executive wants his organization represented by inadequate people or by associates whose experience and judgment would not entitle them to speak on important organization matters. Also, any executive might take offense if he were constantly ignored. On the other hand, it is the duty of the head of an organization to develop a sense of responsibility in his principal associates, to encourage them to make speeches, to render decisions, and to share administrative duties.

The ghost-writing of speeches, which the executive may read only too poorly, is not conducive to the right sort of executive-staff relationships. Any manager who is too busy to prepare his own speech had best let someone else do the speaking for him. In politics this is sometimes not possible though even in politics it would probably be wiser if the highest officials spoke less and did their own speech-writing more. But

in social work there is no excuse for ghost-writing; no associate likes to hear his speech read by somebody else.

Then there is the question of quotations in the newspaper. Any management should be concerned over interpretation of its policies, whether such interpretation is made by the executive or an associate. But public relations are not protected by a flat rule that the only individual who can be quoted is the director himself. This is a pompous protection which is no protection at all. Any responsible department head ought to be given freedom to be quoted in the press if it becomes necessary. If management spent more time in frankly discussing its controversial problems, so that all principal executives within the organization would understand them, there would be a wider feeling of confidence, and newspaper releases would be handled better.

There is plentiful evidence that there still persists in the minds of many directors the firm belief that the staff works for them. In the long run they seem to feel the organization can register success only if everything is weighed and considered by them personally. Achievement is not reached through the work of individual executives, but is the result of cooperative effect by the whole staff. The executive can only be the leader, and success will grow larger only as his associates take more and more responsibility and exercise it properly.

Attitudes which create staff cooperation.—If loyalty to the organization is desired, it is necessary for the director to repose confidence in his staff. This is especially true of the professional staff in social-work organizations. The really great executives in the history of social work have been those who took pleasure and pride in developing their associates. No reputation of an outstanding executive has ever been dimmed or marred because he was fortunate enough to have associates who were persons of ability and achievement in their own right. An organization does not have this sort of professional associates unless they are given the chance to exercise their independence. They must have responsible duties and freedom to execute them without too much conditioning of executive authority.

The wise executive is only too glad to shine in the reflected glory of his own subordinates. All social-work agencies need an outreach into many community affairs, and it is impossible for the executive to be responsible for public relations of all kinds. The measure of the organization's effectiveness depends upon the whole staff as it goes about its duties from day to day.

On the theory that the work of the organization is really done by people other than the head and that his duties are advisory and coordinating in their implications, the only constructive course of procedure is to develop a staff which can do its work well. If this is done, the work of the executive will be well handled. If the reverse is true, failure follows. Every executive wants to have a staff which has a large measure of enthusiasm, ambition, hope, thoroughness, democracy, and fellowship. He secures these desirable qualities by working for the staff. He alone can create a spirit which makes for the traits mentioned and which in the long run produces a good end result.

Informal personal relationships.—No outward expression of the executive's desire to work for the staff means anything until proven by his attitude and relationships in the regular business of the agency. It is in the small, informal relationships that the qualities of the executive soon come out. It is only too easy to become a type of buzzer-ringing, conference-holding, cloistered executive officer. This sort of person ignores his staff and the work of his agency because he sees so many other matters of more importance. In some large organizations the manager is seldom seen except in his own office. He drives up in a car and, if he does not sneak into his room, at least he enters in such a hurry that he never notices his staff. His exit is about the same way. People are summoned to him and he is always keeping two or three waiting.

In favorable contrast is the organization head who likes to get about his own office and see what is going on. Even though the organization is large, it is not impossible to drop in on the various departments just to see who is there and what is happening. If the manager feels that the pressures of the job are so great that he can never leave his own chair, he would do well to remind himself that sometimes he leaves the city or is called away to a meeting, and always comes back to find his chair just where he left it. Any manager can find time to visit around his own domain. Nor should these visits be formal inspection trips. Rather, they should mean simply dropping into the office of some associate, sitting down and smoking a cigarette with him, and either taking up some problem of work or letting him propose it.

Everyone eats lunch. In the busiest agencies it is not impossible to have a few sandwiches sent in and call together some of the people in the office on matters which concern them and go through the business of eating at the same time that questions are being settled. This provides a little fellowship and gets work done at the same time. However, it is a poor substitute for joining the luncheon group of office people who may go to a hotel and take an hour or so for a friendly let-down during the noon period.

Even in complicated organizations an executive should try to develop the feeling that he is available to the less important people on his staff, as well as the more important. If some part of their work is not going well, they may get a certain satisfaction in talking over the problem with the person highest in authority. He may not want to settle the problem himself, but if he displays a willingness to hear it the result is beneficial.

Association with an office staff should be achieved in an impersonal manner. No matter how good the office spirit, there are always personal cliques and animosities. An executive should be careful not to involve himself personally in these groups or to show preference for one over another. As long as people labor together they are going to have likes and dislikes; most employees work in a narrow sphere and the personal attributes and attitudes of those associated with them become important. Most people want something to quarrel over as well as to work over, and a reasonable amount of personal ill-will is not damaging. It is only when those higher in authority become personally involved with cliques and groups that serious trouble occurs.

Many managers make the mistake of patronizing their staff. Employees do not like even friendly patronage. They prefer that the head of an organization treat them naturally and straightforwardly. They do like friendly conversations if they think the manager is really interested. They do not like to be entertained, talked to, and inquired about as a matter of duty. No employee wants a manager to be officially nice. It is not much above being officially unpleasant. There are many ways in which executives patronize their associates and it is a matter to which considerable personal thought should be given.

Formal staff conferences of main associates.—Too much formality with department heads does not create the spirit which is desirable. Some large social agencies, where the work is not all housed in one building, hold formal conferences of department heads and find it an indispensable routine. When a group is in one place these conferences may be handled individually or with those present who have a common interest in the problem at hand. Social work has too many meetings to conduct unnecessary ones. There is no point in just going through motions. The manager who always has his main associates

meet with him at 8:30 on Monday morning, for no other reason than that it is Monday morning, accomplishes nothing.

When dealing informally with the main associates it is well to be sure no feeling develops that too much attention is being given to one or two people. No small group should play too great a part in settling policy problems of the organization when there may be others who ought to assume the same measure of responsibility.

When the whole organization is housed together, it is well to hold an occasional formal staff conference of the whole group. Here routine business can be reviewed. Those present should bring up the problems in their own branches of the work which they want discussed. Important matters pending board action can here be reviewed. Department heads can suggest the things which they think ought to be presented, and the whole group can advise as to proper disposition. In the same way, discussion of new policies can be held. Here it is important to have the meeting review tentative policies which the executive has discussed individually with department heads. Not only is every department head interested in the work of his colleagues, but in most cases no job is entirely centered within one department without reference to others. Departmentalizing work is merely facilitating its execution, but no department can be a separate entity in itself. Herein lies the reason why staff conferences of department heads are necessary. Most of them are involved in some aspect of the work of every other department.

Staff meetings of this kind can well recheck the operation of the entire program. Criticisms of it can be made and correction of policies suggested. No matter how closely the executive keeps in touch with individual departments, there is no substitute for an occasional meeting together to work the group mind on problems of individual departments or problems common to them all.

Formal staff conferences of professional group.—Business conferences of professional workers are best held by departments. In a relief agency, for example, the district office should have its own periodic conferences, called by the district supervisor. In addition, there should be occasional gatherings of the whole professional staff. Certainly one every month or two months should prove sufficient. The real objective of such meetings is to develop cohesion in the organization, to give information, to report board action, to review new policies, and to encourage a sense of fellowship and good feeling.

These meetings usually cannot be held during the working hours of an organization, because if it is large they are disrupting to business. Luncheon meetings sometimes offer a good solution to the problem, and it is not impossible to combine the social and business element by having a dinner meeting at night, making it as brief as possible, but introducing some fellowship element.

At meetings of this kind it is wise to have representatives from the governing board present. In the case of a large local welfare department, the mayor of the city might be invited, or other public officials who have direct or indirect working relationships with the agency. Members of the professional group like to know these officials, and it is constructive for the officials to see the kind of staff the welfare department employs. Professional social workers are a fairly responsible-looking group of people, and when seen all together, they make a good impression as compared with other community groups. Thus a professional staff meeting can offer opportunity for bringing the organization closer to its board and other special people.

Staff relationships are improved if the younger staff members can be given a part in helping to work out the problems of the organization at meetings of this kind. Staff committees can report their findings. The executive can outline his new ideas and speak about new problems as to which his staff may not be fully informed. Department heads can offer criticism of the way in which parts of the program are progressing and make suggestions as to how different attitudes on the part of the staff might help in the solution of difficulties. If outsiders are invited they can be heard. Discussion should be stimulated and questions should be encouraged, with good humor and a pleasant time an important order of business. Above all, staff meetings of this kind should not be drawn out too long.

Even a specialized agency employs people of professional capacity who are not social workers. Much of the success of day-to-day work depends upon the smooth running of the office. Any office manager should be considered an important addition to conferences of the professional staff, since decisions made at such meetings depend in part for their success upon satisfactory handling by the office force. The head bookkeeper, auditor, comptroller, or whatever the person in charge of the financial resources of the organization is called, should also sit in on matters of professional consideration. In large agencies there may be specialists, such as a publicity director, purchasing agent, or

statistician, whose work and opinions have a distinct bearing upon professional policy and execution. All these people should have a close association with the professional staff and be considered a part of it.

Relations with the clerical staff.—Because the professional group looms more important, no executive should forget that the clerical staff is vital to the functioning of his organization. It is easy to leave this branch of the work to the office manager, but it is not good policy. While it is of doubtful value to include clerical workers in the staff meetings just described, it is wise to bring the whole staff together at some affair during the course of the year.

In many public welfare organizations and in some private agencies, clerical workers belong to a union and through its machinery have an organization of their own. Such an organization can be to the advantage of management if some interest is taken in it. The fact that a union exists should not deter an executive from calling occasional meetings of his own with clerical workers to talk over problems from the point of view of both the executive and the staff itself. If this is done and the position of the organization, board, and manager is fully explained and understood, some measure of guidance is provided for action on the part of the outside organization. At the same time such meetings supply a channel for bringing the outside organization's position to the agency executive in an informal way before it has been crystallized by fixed policy. While it is conceivable that some conflict might arise between action by informal staff meeting and by a union, such a result is unlikely unless the executive uses the staff meeting to influence the functioning of an independent organization of employees, either professional or clerical. Indeed, no union composed of professional workers would oppose staff meetings on the ground that they might develop conflict with the union. Indeed, satisfactory expression at staff conferences would probably be one of the standards any professional organization or union would adopt. The same principle would probably prevail for the clerical staff, though such executive-clerical relationships have not been well developed.

In suggesting internal organization for the clerical staff it must be remembered that there are limitations in the number of meetings which can be held during the course of the year. It is seldom practical to have a meeting if there is nothing worth while to decide but an occasional meeting gives people an opportunity to raise some question or bring up some issue which it may be impossible to present in any other way.

Certainly once or twice a year problems can be discussed from the viewpoint of clerical workers. Clerical workers are not usually self-expressive, but some encouragement will not only bring up many interesting issues, but will produce some exceptionally good ideas toward the end of better clerical operations of the organization. The fact that these meetings need not be frequent in no way lessens their importance when they are held.

The matter of executive, professional, and clerical relations becomes reasonably simple when the agency or department is not large. Under such circumstances meetings can be convened on brief notice. Everyone knows everyone else intimately and the difficulties in maintaining good working relationships are lessened because of the closeness with which all people work together.

An office manager should be encouraged to secure assistance from clerical workers by calling them into conference on special office problems. Such meetings need not be dignified by the name of staff conferences, but can be used to assist in making decisions on many kinds of office needs and problems. If complaint arises that the mimeograph is not in good condition, the office manager might well call into consultation two or three persons who have the largest amount of mimeograph work and let them decide what is the best course of action to follow. In addition to matters pertaining to new equipment, problems of output in work frequently arise. Where some stumbling block exists to getting a certain job done, the problem should be explored by the several people involved to see if a quick solution can be found.

The opinion of an executive, office manager, department head, or anyone else in authority needs to be reinforced by the opinion and observation of others closer to the job. Only a few minutes are required to call in two or three people and talk over the situation, and such time is well invested. Such an informal discussion facilitates getting the job done and creates a feeling on the part of clerical workers that their opinion is not only desired, but considered valuable.

Study committees from the staff.—Regardless of the activity or nonactivity of organized groups, the management should take the initiative in encouraging staff action. Conditions are never perfect even in the best-housed and equipped organizations. When special problems come up which seem to be irritating and which do not appear susceptible of simple solution, it is good practice to appoint a special staff committee for the purpose of studying the problem and making a report. These

reports, as stated above, can be made at the general meeting of the professional staff, although most of them can best be presented to the executive between staff meetings. By the time of the meeting date some solution may be found, and that can be reported, with credit given to the committee which has worked out the problem.

Every organization is constantly considering new policies and changes in old ones. This is a subject which can be assigned to a staff committee. It is better never to have standing committees of the staff, but to use different people on various issues. It is possible to use a staff committee on anything. Except for giving so many of these assignments as to interfere with regular professional duties, no harm can result from having small committees of the staff study any conceivable subject. Not only does this become a good working policy, but many valuable suggestions frequently result. Committees are purely advisory, but if their work is good the suggestions they make should be taken seriously. Obviously some suggestions must be put into operation or the use of the staff committee becomes an empty formality.

In the operation of staff committees it is essential to establish some measure of discipline in the handling of business. By discipline is meant the need for keeping records and making a businesslike job of committee work. If staff committees run over problems in a loose manner, there is confusion in their own minds, and no definite record is ever obtained of what they actually did recommend. Some individual should be made responsible as chairman, and it is up to him to see that the records of the committee are properly kept. Committee records are especially important on matters of working conditions and on changes in organization policy, in order that there may remain on file a clear memorandum of what the group thought at the time the work was done.

In social work the younger professional group are a fine lot of people whose professional assignments are perforce narrow and who need constant stimulation through participation in the wider affairs of the agency. If this opportunity is given, younger workers will make many mistakes, but they will be the sort of errors which would occur anyway, and would probably develop in more acute form if the group had not been given an opportunity to work under the auspices of the organization itself.

Dependence on the office manager.—It is clear that no executive can be responsible for every detail of office business. If he takes a real per-

sonal interest in the problems of his professional staff, someone else must exercise the same responsibility for the clerical force. Assuming there are well-established employment policies in the organization, the executive should himself exercise the supervision of these policies with reference to the professional group and assign someone to see that they are carried out with the clerical group. When such an assignment is made to someone who can be designated as the office manager, the executive should give him reasonable freedom of action.

Such matters as vacation schedules are just as well handled by someone other than the executive if they are given out in accordance with policies which he approves. Not all employees can take their vacations at the most desirable time of the year. The actual assignment of vacation periods must be made thoughtfully by someone who is willing to talk over the problem individually with each member of the force. This is the kind of task the office manager can handle, and it is much better for the executive to assign that responsibility.

It is helpful to the general discipline of the organization for the office manager to have complete charge of employment of clerical workers. No executive can follow the work of clerical helpers and know whether or not they are doing the job properly. If poor work is being done and disciplinary action in the way of discharge has to take place, it is best for it to be generally understood that such a decision is in the hands of the office manager. Furthermore, if he can discharge, he ought to be given free rein in employment. This implies, of course, that the engaging and discharging of people is consistent with the organization policy. It is the duty of the executive to see that his office manager does not exercise petty tyrannies, show partiality, and act in any way inconsistent with the manner he would use if he handled employment himself. In matters of employment an administrator wants an office manager who is a barrier between himself and the clerical staff, but not an insurmountable barrier. Any worker, whether he is clerical or professional, should feel that he can reach the highest authority in the organization if he wants to.

If constant appeals come to the executive over the head of the office manager, it is direct evidence that something is wrong with the way he is handling the job. The clerical staff is just as human as the professional group. They are interested in the job they are doing. They want good equipment to work with, fair treatment, reasonable hours and conditions, and a systematic scheduling of their work. The office

manager should be able to satisfy these needs, and if he does not, the executive should see where the trouble lies and make correction.

Individual status and privilege.—Those in the organization who are given real responsibility seldom worry much over their titles and prerogatives and the respect accorded them if they know their business and if they are doing a good job. However, there is a tendency in the beginning of any career, especially among young people who have high ambition, to be petty and jealous about individual status. This is a natural trait and one which should be encouraged to some extent. Leadership within an agency must be formalized, and different persons merit certain status, both as to public position on the staff and within their own minds. Troubles usually arise when a worker's private concept of his duties conflicts with the opinion of these duties that is held by his associates.

Younger people, unaccustomed to authority, may tend to be jealous, stiff, arbitrary, suspicious, and easily offended. An executive must be patient in dealing with this situation, but at the same time he must be firm in not letting the tendency run unchecked. On building the right perspective in the minds of people to whom responsibility is given depends the whole course of training people for larger responsibilities.

This rank and title business goes up the line from the lowest to the highest worker. It involves such petty things as exactly where the worker's desk is placed. Is it in as favorable a location as the desk of her girl friend? Dissatisfaction sometimes occurs because one worker is given a new chair or a new typewriter and another is not. Perhaps one person is given a more favorable vacation date, or someone else has two days' more sick leave. All people are jealous of what they consider their rights. Rights soon become merged with privileges. Rights and privileges, and ranks and titles, present constant and vexatious difficulties.

These are problems which tax the ingenuity of every executive in routine operations, and they are even more serious ones to an office manager. They must be dealt with so as to afford a measure of satisfaction, or trouble will follow. In social agencies where both professional and clerical people are frequently overworked, and where much personal advantage is taken of them, the management must be extremely patient in its concern over what appear to be petty jealousy and personal display of temper. This is just the kind of thing that results from overwork and frayed nerves. If the organization has been

partly responsible for creating this state of mind, it should as a matter of duty work diligently to adjust it.

Contact with other agencies.—No professional social worker can afford to be too clannish with his own group. It is a good thing to attend interagency meetings. Especially is this valuable for an executive. He should try to get acquainted with professional people on the staffs of other agencies. He ought to know them and see what they are doing. He may want to employ them some day, and it is better to have personal knowledge than to depend entirely upon formal recommendations and hearsay.

It is a splendid thing to invite other executives, supervisors, and professional workers to meet with the agency staff, and by the same line of reasoning it is a good thing if the executive can accept invitations to meet with other groups. Certainly this opportunity will be developed if he has other groups meet with him.

In keeping up contacts with other agencies it is clearly of value for an administrator to play an important part in the council of social agencies in his city and to cooperate in the central planning of the community social-work job. There is a growing tendency for workers in public agencies to mingle with each other and to feel they form a little different group than people doing the same type of work in private agencies. Twenty years ago the private social worker felt somewhat superior to the public employee. Now the tables are quite turned, and the public-welfare worker thinks himself more important than the employee of the private agency. The very fact that this is a shifting sense of status constitutes proof that it is a matter of sheer prejudice rather than of reality. Every executive, whether he is in the private or the public field, should do all he can to develop a spirit of comradeship between all responsible professional people regardless of the auspices under which they work. There is no real reason why a children's case worker should not be just as desirable an associate if he works for a private as for a public agency. Any distinction between the professional duties of the two types is difficult to discern, and none should be made.

SELF-DEVELOPMENT OF THE STAFF

Professional and general reading.—Every organization employing a sizable professional group should make it a point to provide some of the current literature in the field. With the beginning salaries most workers receive, they cannot buy many new books, and it is not always

convenient or possible to secure them at a library. If an agency will spend about fifty dollars a year, it can buy at least four of the main periodicals in the field, such as the *Survey,* the *Survey Graphic, Social Service Review,* the *Family, Social Forces, Social Work Today,* or more specialized publications dealing intimately with the particular field the agency represents. In addition to these periodicals, at least ten new books can be purchased and passed around among the staff for study purposes. Even with so small an annual investment, a reasonably good library can be rapidly built up by an agency.

This matter of staff development can be still further advanced by half an hour of a staff meeting's being devoted to the review of some good book. If the agency has been purchasing books, it is scarcely worth while to review the ones owned, as they are available to read. Perhaps it is wiser to introduce another type of literature in staff book reviews. In one city where the Mexican problem was the source of much professional debate a study of the novel *Tortilla Flat* by John Steinbeck proved to be a real contribution to enlarging the workers' understanding of Mexican families. In somewhat the same way, *February Hill* by Victoria Lincoln gave workers on the staff of a large protective agency for children a new slant on problems of child neglect. It is in order to stress the fact that one's reading should not be confined exclusively to professional studies that some staff time should be given to the literature of other fields.

It is not recommended that any agency attempt to build up a comprehensive reference library, because there is no sense in competing with an organized library service which should be depended upon by agency workers. On the other hand, agency ownership of books, and the opportunity for staff members to work among books, constitute a good example and create an atmosphere conducive to a development of personal interest in reading and personal libraries.

Writing for publication.—Personal development has a direct correlation to professional competency. The worker who is given recognition for personal research in some branch of his field and for writing up his findings for publication tends to find a satisfaction and sense of achievement which make him a distinctly improved staff member. For these reasons it is a constructive device to encourage people to write for publication and to attempt to achieve some measure of personal distinction. An agency which is not willing to let a staff member use some agency time to exploit his ideas is singularly blind to the fact that self-

development pays dividends in the way of increased value in work to the agency itself.

Younger workers on special projects.—Exactly the same position should be taken in regard to the making of speeches and personal contributions of other sorts. It has grown to be traditional in the social-work field that most of the speeches are delivered by people of executive position. Occasionally one will attend an annual meeting where the junior workers are given the assignment of interpreting their own jobs and activities. Invariably this is refreshing to the people present, and usually those younger workers speak with surprising ability. Speaking in public gatherings or meetings of the agency becomes routine business with the director. More often than not he is careless in preparation and his sense of opportunity is dulled because he is called upon so often. One may like to read the old, old story, but actually he approaches the new experience with a greater sense of enthusiasm. If the younger workers appear more and the older officials participate less, the whole quality of agency and professional interpretation is enhanced. At the same time the younger people are participating in a constructive project for their own growth and development.

Further professional study.—Opportunities for further study always appeal to younger workers. Social agencies pay so poorly, and the present standards of employment are so high, that any agency should be exceedingly generous in providing staff members possibilities on agency time to conduct personal study. It is virtually impossible for a busy case worker to practice his profession all day and to take extension courses half the night. As a matter of fact, the subjects which it is desirable to take are usually given at schools for social work in the daytime. Just what loss will an agency suffer if a worker is permitted to spend from 3 o'clock every Tuesday on some course he especially wants to take? Social workers are not employed by the hour. It is the quality of performance which nets real results. If the point of view and technique can constantly be freshened by stimulation from informal and formal study, the agency cannot help but gain in the end. Such opportunities for development should not be allowed to run wild, but a generous policy should prevail, and it should be considered one of the compensatory advantages which, from the financial point of view, are all too lean.

Keeping alive the spirit of adventure.—There is a growing conviction that the younger social workers are a daring, adventuresome, radi-

cal group, who are giving cause for alarm to the more stable and responsible elements of the profession. This is a theory remote from fact. New graduates are not a daring group. They have been meticulously drilled in detailed techniques. Their first jobs are narrowing and filled with uncertainties. They have a difficult time in obtaining status and when they have finally achieved some feeling of security, they are afraid to release the brakes.

Time and time again the urban worker in an established case-working agency has opportunity to leave for a better position in some state which does not enjoy a good reputation for its social-work machinery. In thinking over the opening, he knows politics will be involved, new obstacles will have to be met and overcome, a strange circle of friends developed into a familiar one, and all of these problems solved amidst what he visualizes as an unfriendly atmosphere in an unknown section of the country. He compares these things with his own home town or the place in which he has taken his training or had his early professional practice. The change looks bad. He thinks he will wait until some better opening comes up in surroundings with which he is familiar.

Social work, like any other profession, presents a real opportunity for youth. But it is only a certain type of youth who is able to forge ahead quickly and carve out a place of responsibility. The type is characterized by the spirit of adventure. With years of narrow training and experience, the developing of a proper progressive attitude hinges a great deal upon the executive and supervisory staff of the agency in which young graduates start their work.

Social work is rapidly becoming universal in the United States. For fifty years it was confined to the larger urban areas, which had social problems so acute that some organized approach at their solution was necessitated. The involved social problems of the more rural sections of the country were consistently ignored because the simpler society could cover them up with inadequate treatment, and because the newer sections of the country were populated with younger people and there was actually a smaller number of social problems to be dealt with. As the population grew older and the shift from rural to urban areas continued, the need for social services became universal. It is in these regions in which social work is new that young professional people have the greatest opportunity.

Those people who hold the reins of power in the social-work field

today are of an era which is suspicious of the states now pioneering in this field. These older workers have visited many places, have made investigations, have attended conferences, and have had either first- or second-hand experience of social work in the raw. They have seen it mishandled by people of inexperience, and opportunities ruined by inept politicians. They cannot see how professional opportunity exists in such conditions. They forget that the same set of circumstances prevailed where they started work twenty or twenty-five years ago. They forget that they themselves have overcome most of the handicaps which now present themselves in those regions which are just starting organized social work. They forget that years ago there were no traditions, no federal supervision, no public sentiment which recognized social-work methods. They forget that the opportunities today in states without great urban centers are much greater than they were in these large urban centers twenty-five years ago. This tendency on the part of present leaders to overlook these opportunities is a tragic mistake. Failure to encourage the younger people in the profession to go out on their own responsibility indicates loss of perspective. Here they can overcome basic difficulties and by real leadership earn a place of responsibility for themselves. This is a real challenge. It is a hard school. Many who go out will be beaten. But those who have competency will win a place and exercise wide influence.

Social-work executives should develop in the minds of their staffs the conception that all the world, wherever one goes, is much the same. In every part of this country one finds people who are the counterpart of those in every other. There is no best place nor poorest place. All situations are different, but all cities and states are made up of the same elements. All have vastly differing problems and all represent different stages of development with contrasting emphasis and points of view, but at bottom the people are just the same. The contrasts are only on the surface and in the traditions.

Because of the great sweep of territory included in this country, young people are sectionally minded. The far West, the deep South, the remote North, and the industrial East take strange characteristics in the imagination of untraveled young people. They somehow believe that in the sweep of the Dakota prairie with sparsely settled land and accumulating dust storms life must be untenable. They tend to see the South broken down with an impossible race problem, and with an outworn economy which gives little opportunity for progress. They think

of Minnesota as having a winter climate which runs down to forty degrees below zero, with needy people suffering from cold in unheated tenements. These may seem broad mental concepts with no foundation of truth. Probably they represent only too well the untutored thinking of young people. It is up to agency leadership gradually to inform the staff that life is about the same everywhere; that brilliant people live in the Dakotas; that prairie life has a charm all its own; and that a dust storm is but an occasional episode, like an earthquake in California or a tornado in Kansas. Neither Californians, Kansans, or Dakotans worry greatly about earthquakes, tornadoes, and dust. They let the rest of the country do their worrying for them. Where a climate is cold, facilities have been developed to meet it. Northerners who sense a feeling of great injustice to the Negroes in the South must also remember that the really adventuresome and enterprising young Negroes of the North tend to go south because there Negro life is organized and some business and professional opportunity exists for the talented Negro with a sense of leadership. Opportunities there are much greater than will ever be found amidst the small Negro population of the northern cities. Every place has its advantages and its disadvantages which tend to balance each other.

The spirit of adventure in facing new experience is an important thing to keep alive in the staff of every social agency. Actually it may not be the duty of an executive constantly to encourage his staff to leave him. On the other hand, social work has but little to offer in the way of slow and steady progress in one single agency in one particular city. Also it is a pioneering profession and every established leader owes something to the less well-organized parts of the country. What he owes more than any other one thing is the sending out of talented young people for positions of responsibility and leadership. As stated in the beginning of this discussion, young social workers are apt to be conservative, fearful seekers of security. Those attitudes should be changed, and it is up to the executive to do his part in developing the sounder and the more progressive point of view.

Promoting activity in other fields of interest.—Social work is a time-consuming and thought-provoking sphere of effort. People work all day, discuss problems at meals, and get together in the evening to talk shop. This is bad for the individuals and worse for the profession. Some responsibility exists in the administration of an agency to develop other interests for its staff. No suggestion is made that agency heads

must take people by the hand and attempt to lead them into activities which will be good for them. The thought is proposed, however, that there be held out encouragement to develop personal participation in affairs outside the social-work field.

One activity which social workers neglect, because of the time-consuming nature of their work, is sports. There is nothing inconsistent with professional competency in being a good tennis player, an expert golfer, or an effective volley-ball player. Many good workers have grown old physically before their day because they took their work too seriously. The much-abused civic club offers some outside release. Bridge-playing, hiking, hobbies, art, and any number of other things bring social workers in contact with other people with whom they can develop interesting friendships, enjoy new experiences, and grow to understand other points of view.

Use of individual talents.—In one city there was a nursing agency which discovered it had on the staff a mimic of artistic proportions. This nurse could appear before a group, and with real dramatic ability take the part of the sick Irish woman whom she had attended that week. She could imitate the talk and point of view of the old man who was a bed patient with a serious heart affliction. She could throw herself into the role of the scarlet fever child or the pneumonia convalescent. It was always a treat to hear her, and she soon appeared on a number of community programs.

In another city a young case worker skilled in the art of writing produced some intriguing case stories. These grew from a kind of private circulation to national publication. They made a deep local impression, both before they became famous and afterward. It was another instance of promoting an individual's capacity in a certain direction with great good to herself, the agency, and the community.

In another instance a social worker was a talented singer. The increasing use of this talent at social-work meetings led to his appearance before other organizations and public meetings within the city. While quite outside the field of social work, his capacity as a singer, and the opportunities which were opened up for the use of this talent, were helpful in every direction.

Many younger people in social agencies make effective speeches. More and more this gift should be used, because on the whole, their interpretation is better than that of the executive. Individuals need a wide background of experience in order to become effective speakers.

Too many seem to think they automatically gain platform ability by the assumption of executive duty. If they are thus misled, they may bore one audience after another. It would be much wiser to use some fresher people, who in turn would gain skill and self-confidence. As a result, when the executive mantle fell on their shoulders a really good job might result.

There are dozens of ways to push forward staff associates. Constant effort to introduce them to people they do not know, and to effect this with some enthusiasm and pride, is a great help. If the whole matter is merely perfunctory, the person to whom the staff member is presented is not impressed that he is being given any unusual opportunity in meeting this young person. Agency leaders are careless about matters of this kind. They are thoughtless, too, in commending good work and in giving recognition for achievement.

Miscellaneous items which make for good will.—There is probably no good theoretical reason why women staff members who do not happen to occupy private rooms cannot be allowed to smoke if this privilege is extended to men. Today there are about as many smokers among women social workers as among men. There is no theoretical justification for not giving women the same smoking privilege as men, but there are public prejudices against it. In many situations these prejudices have to be accepted so as to avoid public affront. To offset inequality the organization should try to provide some room which women can use to lounge in a few minutes and take a smoke. A committee room might be available for this purpose, but a women's lounge room is a valuable addition for any office. There is no real reason why men should not be given some place in which they also can get away from their desks. There may be no real reason why a lounge room cannot be provided for joint use of both men and women. The rather calm assumption that a staff can get along without anything other than the barest toilet facilities is not an enlightened viewpoint, to say the least.

For the professional staff, at least, working hours do not mean a great deal. Most of them are in and out of the office so much that no time schedule is actually kept of their movements. On the other hand, both the professional and the clerical staff work hard through the year, and some conveniences can be offered in the way of time schedules which are very welcome. Summer hours become more or less a matter of course in most agencies. The office opens earlier in the morning and closes earlier in the afternoon. A few more daring agencies have

adopted a five-day week, at least in the summer months, and a very few have tried it throughout the year. This shift in hours is not particularly helpful to the professional group, but if part of them do not have to be on duty at all on Saturdays, it is really a great stimulation to work the rest of the time.

No attempt will be made to mention many of the little things which actually become important elements in creating contentment and satisfaction in staff relationships. Such factors as comfortable chairs, reasonably attractive surroundings, even heat, good ventilation, and the absence of irritating and unsatisfactory working equipment, will go a long way in improving an office situation for the executive and the staff. Needs and ideas of this kind are not really a part of the subject matter under discussion but should be understood as important to it.

Chapter 3

RELATION OF THE EXECUTIVE TO COMMITTEES AND BOARDS

TRAINING OF SOCIAL WORKERS IN COMMITTEE PROCEDURE

So many of the problems of social welfare are settled through committee action that all social workers should be trained in the best techniques of committee operation. In this connection a particular responsibility falls upon an agency executive. It is obligatory not only that he have command of the skills in this procedure, but that he consider it a conscious duty to pass on these skills to his associates.

It is peculiar that so little consideration is given in schools of social work to the professional duties of a committee secretary. Sooner or later all social workers will be forced into the position of serving as a committee secretary or as its executive officer. To be successful in this service one must have command of a set of skills. Unfortunately, most voluntary committees, such as those in professional organizations, unions, schools for social work, etc., provide little opportunity for experience through service. In such committees responsibility for action is given to the chairman and the secretary usually keeps the minutes. However, in any social agency where citizens of the community are brought into committee service, the executive or some staff member is assigned as a secretary; and in such committees the secretary becomes the executive officer, the chairman usually acting as presiding officer and public leader. This difference is important, and from the viewpoint of the technical skills involved there is as much difference as night and day.

Any agency executive should give his associates who are inexperienced in committee action full opportunity to observe how committees and boards ought to be run. This can best be done by letting younger workers see committees in action. While the observation process is going on, certain duties, such as minute writing, arrangements for place of meeting, and other routine tasks, can be assigned. Probably the most important responsibility of the executive is the personal conference with staff members so that the teaching process can be pointed up and problems of committee work can be discussed.

THE ROUTINE BUSINESS OF A COMMITTEE SECRETARY

Specific assignment to committee.—The first thing to be made clear, not only to the committee secretary but to all members of a committee, is an understanding of its assignment. Many committees get into difficulties because they do not understand precisely what they are to do. It is highly desirable to have all committee assignments made in writing. Committees usually are appointed through action of the board of directors by means of a motion. At the very least, the form of the motion creating the committee should be given to all members of the committee. Occasionally a board chairman or other appointing authority may on his own initiative name a committee for the study of some problem which is later to be taken up for consideration by the organization. In such case the appointing authority should specify in writing exactly what he wants the committee to do.

Assistance to the appointing authority.—After a board has authorized the appointment of the committee, it must be named. Occasionally the motion creating the committee includes the personnel, but this is more frequently left to the judgment of the president, the board chairman, or some person who is given appointing authority through the constitution or the bylaws of an agency. Few laymen who are authorized to appoint committees have complete knowledge of the situation. As a rule they need help from the head of the agency or one of the staff.

Any good organization should keep informed through its professional leaders about people in the community who would make good committeemen. All committees should be representative of the principal interests concerned in a problem. The first task is to select a good chairman, and then to build up the personnel so that a group is created which has the maximum capacity, opportunity, and ability to get action toward the end the committee is appointed to serve. At the outset then, one of the most important jobs of the committee secretary is to do all he can to see that there is a good committee.

It is always wise to see that appointments are made in the name of the appointing authority. In general the executive secretary should not name committees. It matters little who sends out the letter of appointment, although it is better that the letter should go out over the name of the appointing authority. At the same time that notice of an appointment is given, all committee members should be informed of all others who are appointed on the committee. It is almost needless to say that

the full charge of the committee or some outline of its duties should accompany the appointment.

Forms of calling a committee meeting.—Methods of calling committees, while purely routine, are an important factor in the success of committee operations. Sometimes committees like to meet regularly on certain dates of the month. That it is more desirable to meet on call of the committee chairman when business is ready to be transacted is the prevailing opinion. The call should be by letter, postcard, telephone, or a combination of these methods. Perhaps the cheapest way to send out a notice is on a government postcard, but frequently cheap methods do not get good results. Some organizations feel that the best method is a form letter or a typewritten letter announcing the meeting five or six days in advance. Whatever written notice is employed, it has been clearly proved by experience that a telephone reminder on the day of the meeting is invaluable in stimulating attendance. Many people are careless about their engagements and forget the meeting unless reminded in this way.

Advance conference with chairman.—Among the important duties of a committee secretary is to talk over with the chairman the agenda for the meeting and keep the chairman informed about the progress at all times. The easiest way to do this is to consult personally with the chairman, giving him some opportunity to review matters and to discuss problems. In connection with the meeting itself, it is always well to let the chairman know in advance how many of the committee are going to be present and who they are. The committee secretary should be well informed upon the viewpoint of committee members regarding the problem at hand. In any good committee there is frequently divergence of opinion between two or more groups. Certainly the chairman should be informed as to who constitute these groups and what their opinions are. In general, the committee secretary should equip the chairman with all possible information which can be given in advance of the meeting.

Younger social workers who are inexperienced in serving on committees should try to develop a reasonable perspective of the whole problem of committee service and action. It is probably a mistake to try to copy the technique used by mature and responsible executives. Their procedure may work for them, but it is apt to be difficult to copy and inappropriate for the younger worker. In general, executives fail to act as expected. Their procedure is frequently bad, as they are some-

times "rusted and corroded" by a sense of power gained through long experience and authority. No doubt it is the duty of an experienced executive frequently to remind his associates that he probably sets a poor example for them to copy.

The place of the secretary in the meeting.—It should be remembered never to pre-empt the chairman's job. He is the presiding officer and should sit at the head of the table, open discussion, and take command of the situation. It is the secretary's duty to see that he does this as well as the chairman's own idiosyncrasies will permit. Not all good men and women are good chairmen. Discreet suggestions from the committee secretary can sometimes improve the chairman's conduct, although the suggestions must be guarded because no chairman likes to be instructed too frequently or too meticulously. In committee functioning, the chairman is a sort of judicial officer, while the secretary is a kind of counsel for both the chairman and the committee and should take his place as such and not confuse his position with that of the chairman. The secretary should be the first one present at a committee meeting. The secretary may feel he is very busy, but business executives and other community leaders who are giving their time to the agency on a volunteer basis are more impressed with their jobs than with that of the secretary, and they do not like to have a secretary come in among the last arrivals. Oftentimes members come who have not been present before, and it is certainly the secretary's duty to see that they are courteously and promptly introduced to the other members and made to feel at home. In other words, the secretary must be a sort of host for the occasion.

The secretary's voice should be heard frequently in the discussion of the problem. He is supposed to bring to bear upon the question his professional viewpoint and help to interpret the policies of the agency, present detailed material, explain it, and try to be as helpful as possible. It is well to have a secretary readily accept any assignment of duty, but in being responsible for "in-between meeting" activities the secretary should not do so much as to prevent committee members from doing something. Probably the routine tasks should automatically go to the secretary; but there is always the matter of negotiation with other people and interests in the community which involves discussing problems with others. This duty of negotiation should as far as possible be passed on to committee members because the weight of their position and personality should lend strength to the successful outcome. The

secretary makes a mistake when he takes on too much of this type of work.

All committees are appointed for some definite purpose. The sooner the goal is reached the better it is for the agency because its resources and its personnel can be turned to attack some new issue. Therefore, the real job of all committees and the first duty of the secretary is to try to get the job done and to take every possible action which will lead toward a speedy conclusion.

Minutes and records.—It is needless to say that one regular job of the committee secretary is to assume full responsibility for minutes and records. Nor should a secretary take this responsibility too lightly. The records of a committee are important for current operations and particularly important for future reference. It is surprising how little information committee records bring to bear on a problem when it arises again after two or three years. In the making up of the records of the committee and preparing the minutes and files, it is well if a committee secretary pauses to think how that record will look five years hence. There is little new in the world, and most committee problems have a tendency to pop up at a later date. This should be kept in mind and a record built for that purpose.

Committee minutes have a peculiar importance. They constitute the current history of the committee and provide the basis for appraisal of the committee work. In them can be found the justification for committee operations. Through them the organization can decide on changes in committee structure. They vitally affect the whole policy of the agency. They are important to the past and the present and the future.

Certain points in minute-writing stand out as significant. These might be listed as follows:

1. The date of the meeting, including the year. It is surprising how many minutes are written showing only the day of the week and the day of the month. In reviewing the past history of an organization, it is frequently impossible to tell the year in which the meeting was held.

2. At the beginning of a set of minutes there should be a list of the committee personnel with full name and address. Often it does not do any harm to list the business or agency connection of the members.

3. The minutes of every meeting should show those in attendance as well as the place and hour of the meeting. These petty details are sometimes of future usefulness in recalling the individual attendance.

4. Minutes need to contain the background and viewpoint of the groups present at the meeting. Individual opinion is relatively unimportant, but if there is a clash of viewpoint between two groups, it is well to summarize this in appropriate form and as briefly as possible.

5. The record of action should be set off in some way to attract immediate attention. The three most practical methods are indentation of motions, marginal headings, centered captions, or a combination of the three. The simplest method to use in transcribing minutes is centered captions and indentation of motions.

6. The prompt writing of minutes is invaluable. Minutes delayed for weeks frequently do not well reflect what happened and, if mailed to committee members, their value is greatly reduced because few people are interested in what happened weeks before.

7. One of the most important items frequently overlooked in minute preparation is the approval of the minutes at the succeeding meeting.

8. All minutes should have a good workable index. This should be supplied at least once a year, and in complicated minutes more frequently.

9. Finally, minutes should be bound at the end of the calendar year or, if preferable, the fiscal year. Since, however, fiscal years can be changed by constitution and the calendar year seems fairly stationary, it is probably best to use the calendar year for this record. Binding need not be an expensive procedure, but should be well done. A little gold lettering makes a volume look quite important.

Some of the points which might be considered immaterial to minutes and which are frequently employed in minute-writing, might be mentioned:

1. On the whole, verbatim minutes have little significance. This is no implied criticism of the Congress of the United States, but certainly the transcripts of its proceedings do frequently illustrate the needlessness of verbatim reporting. Those journals are printed, however, as a matter of public record and have a significance entirely different from the running records of any organization.

2. An inexperienced stenographer should not be entrusted with minute-writing. Certainly it is a great asset if an organization has an experienced stenographer who can serve in the capacity of minute-writer. Even when this device is employed, verbatim reports are not desirable. A picture of the situation is the objective.

3. Many minutes are cluttered up with unnecessary appendages

which should never belong to the minutes, but need only be referred to in the minutes as being on file. This practice presupposes a good filing system, but that is another problem.

4. In something the same way as exhibits are used, many minutes are overburdened with long lists of bills paid or payable which properly have no place in a set of minutes.

5. Boards and committees have a tendency to be extremely petty in discussions pertaining to routine matters, and the committee secretary should use good judgment in keeping things out of the minutes as well as in putting them in.

It is obviously the duty of the executive to read carefully all minutes prepared for all committees of his organization. He should read these minutes with critical judgment, passing on his criticism to the person writing them. Even if it is unnecessary to write the minutes over again, the committee secretary should have the benefit of any constructive suggestions the executive has to offer. Because minutes are extremely important, no committee secretary need feel offended and no executive should consider he is being too petty if he has the fundamental record changed in a way to make it more revealing for the present or the future.

Special duties of a committee secretary.— There are a few professional courtesies that a committee secretary must observe. He must carefully make all detailed arrangements for the place of the meeting and preparation of a luncheon or dinner, if one is to be served, and look to the general comfort and satisfaction of the committee members. Such a small detail as comfortable chairs is not at all unimportant if the meeting is to last several hours. It will be found that the wise judgment of the committee has a direct relation to the kind of chairs it sits in. The secretary, of course, must see that the meeting concludes at a reasonable hour. Committeemen get very irritated if they are kept too long past the time that the meeting ought to adjourn. Social workers have a strange feeling that their business is so important any layman ought to stay indefinitely to settle it. This idea of importance is all right except that most laymen do not agree with it.

Another responsibility must be the informing of absentees as to what happened at the meeting. If this is not done and a member misses a meeting or two, his interest is apt to lag and attendance at the meetings will suffer. Not only must the committee secretary frequently remind the committee members of assignments between meetings, but must

help them carry out these assignments and make it as easy as possible for members to serve. A few "don'ts" also seem appropriate in discussing the part of the secretary in committee procedure:

1. Do not try to entertain the committee, but stick to business as much as possible.

2. The secretary should never vote at a committee meeting. As stated above, he is there as an adviser and counselor. It is the committee members who decide the issue. The secretary's duty is to bring things to a focus.

3. Do not be too legalistic about interpreting the organization's policy, and do not too frequently remind the committee of its exact assignment. In the United States committees tend to be fairly liberal in their interpretation of the law. On the whole, this is a good thing and should be encouraged.

4. When it comes to a sharp clash of opinion, do not take sides, but try at all times to point out the facts and let each group feel that the committee secretary is trying to work toward a meeting of minds and is not advocating one side of the question. This impartial position is not always possible, but should be maintained as far as possible on any given issue.

THE EXECUTIVE'S DUTIES TO COMMITTEES

The general executive must assign committee jobs. He should certainly be interested and helpful in the selection of personnel, through counsel with both the staff members and the appointing authority. The executive should attend all meetings when it is possible for him to be there, and he should never be so busy as to neglect entirely any committee. Frequently he can serve a very helpful role in settling committee disagreements and in "bailing out" the committee secretary when he is in some trouble.

The executive's position is somewhat difficult at committee meetings. When he speaks it is with a particular authority because he definitely represents the board of directors. Therefore, he must be somewhat guarded or soon the committee will feel it is an unnecessary appendage to the organization and that the executive feels that he is not only empowered but also capable to settle everything. On the other hand, he must be prepared to give his own experience on the subject at issue and to tie it up with the practice and policy of the organization. In general, his job is to assist both the chairman and secretary in bringing about committee action as rapidly and as wisely as possible.

To a certain extent the executive must serve as the balance wheel in committee activities. It is easy for any organization to get so many committees that there is not enough machinery to serve them. It is the executive's duty to see that this does not happen. He must frequently review the committee records and talk with members of the staff and see that all committees are kept active and alive or discharged when their fruitful functioning is over, thus making way for progress or opportunity for other committees to serve in their place.

Any general executive must beware of too many outside committee assignments. In the first place, he owes a primary duty to the committees of his own organization and his own board of directors. Inevitably he must serve on a good many committees which relate to corollary services, many of them performed by other agencies or by some other level of government. The local executive frequently is asked to serve on state committees pertaining to federal activities. Then, too, an executive owes an obligation to take his part in a council of social agencies or other planning group concerned with local community planning. And certainly no executive can ignore an obligation to committees of professional organizations with which he may be connected. These tend to overlap, so that social-work executives often have some direct relationship with at least three or four professional or functional groups, such as the American Association of Social Workers, the American Public Welfare Association, the Family Welfare Association of America, the American Public Health Association, and Community Chests and Councils, Inc. These organizations deal with professional or operating problems of national concern, and the general executive must keep up his end of the responsibility.

Then, unfortunately, there are committees that pertain to general community affairs. If the mayor or the governor decides that some executive would be a helpful addition to a public committee, the executive finds it a little difficult to explain to the distinguished official that he is too busy to serve. These community committees frequently lead to a good many involvements. Even if committee responsibility stopped at this point it would be rather complicated, but it goes still further. Also most executives become involved in a state conference of social work or the National Conference of Social Work, or with national agencies that have programs in which opinion is exchanged, and to these also some obligation is involved.

It is entirely clear that the executive could use up most of his time

in committee service alone if all these committee duties were taken too seriously. And yet, unless one takes committee service with some degree of earnestness, that service might better be refused. The suggestion is offered that a good many committee assignments should be carefully weighed and perhaps even important ones declined with regret.

RELATIONSHIP OF THE EXECUTIVE TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Selection of the board.—By constitution, ordinance, or statute, a board is created and some method of appointment or election provided. This board in turn is the responsible governing body of the agency. One of its most important functions is to appoint a manager or executive officer. An obligation ranking equally with appointment is that of discharge or retirement of an executive when the board considers his usefulness is past. Therefore, it should be assumed in theory that it is highly improper for an executive to have anything to do with the appointment or election of his board members. The charge could be made that he was playing politics in his own interest, which would be bad.

Theory and practice, however, are two different matters. Who could be more interested in or have more suggestions of value to offer about the qualifications of suggested board members than the agency executive himself? So important is this factor that probably few boards, public or private, are appointed without the executive's being in some way consulted. Whether his advice is regarded as a political action or a constructive suggestion depends upon how wisely the executive handles the problem.

Certainly if the membership of the organization elects the board of directors no executive can wisely raise any voice as to his preference of candidates. If the citizens elect, the same thing is true, and silence is not only the politic but the wisest course. But most nominations in private agencies are made by a committee, which is usually named by the appointing authority. As a practical matter the appointing officer usually consults the executive; if only a private conversation is involved, there seems to be no valid reason why an executive should not give an opinion as to who in the organization would make the wisest nominations. The point of the matter is that great discretion should be used. Never should an executive be on record with a letter suggesting names for members of the nominating committee. He can tell quickly enough whether the appointing authority wants his help, and if it is not desired it should not be given. At that point he could well ask himself

whether he does enjoy full confidence of the agency which employs him.

When a meeting of a nominating committee is held, it is not improper for the executive to meet with the committee if it desires his attendance. An agency manager should be extremely cautious in a situation of this sort. He should make it absolutely clear not only to the chairman but before the whole committee that by constitution it has been named to draw up a slate for the governing board. He, as manager, stands ready to meet with the committee, to tell it who have been the most active people, but if the committee prefers to discuss the matter alone, he will be glad to turn over the names and withdraw; that even if he remains, he wishes to be considered as merely a source of information on which the committee can draw. With this point of view clearly expressed, the committee can proceed with the business with or without the executive, but in most cases the committee wants his attendance.

The point which needs to be stressed is that an executive should neither be quixotic in his attitude about the freedom of action of a nominating committee, nor forward in attempting to transact the business for it. A sound and satisfactory handling of the situation will depend entirely upon the executive's skill in dealing with people.

Most local welfare boards are appointed by the mayor or board of county commissioners. Public officials seldom make appointments without some consultation. If a local public-welfare executive is in good repute his opinion is usually sought, both regarding the effectiveness of service rendered by board members whose terms have expired and concerning possible successors to them. The relations between the local executive and the appointing authority will determine the position to be taken. Here again, an executive must be a realist, and while cautious, should try to give the officer charged with appointment all information which will shed light upon the situation.

Election of officers.—Something of the same problem presents itself in the election or appointment of board officers. Here there are particular reasons why the executive is even more interested than he is in the naming of his official board. The chairman of the board or the president of an agency is the public spokesman for the organization. It is important that the president be a good official representative, and it would seem to be within the duties of the executive to try to see that the organization secures the services of an outstanding citizen who

could be effective in this capacity. Furthermore, the president is the presiding officer and upon him rests much responsibility in the transaction of business at board meetings. Even more important, the president serves in a judicial capacity and it is highly desirable that he be of a judicial temperament. From the executive's point of view the power of the president as the appointing authority is of vital concern. Some citizen having intimate knowledge of the agency operations is of the greatest possible value in exercising this responsibility. Finally, the president carries considerable authority in personnel matters and as a conferee in the determination of administrative policy with the executive. All these close relationships indicate that it is not only highly desirable, but almost essential, that the executive officer have as the president of his organization or chairman of his board someone with whom he can work in a spirit of mutual confidence, good will, and cooperation.

The general issue is one thing, but the securing of a president or chairman of the kind suggested is quite another. Just how an executive can exert his influence and whether or not he should do so becomes important. In the appointment of board or organization officers the device of nominating committees is sometimes used. In a smaller and more informal group the matter of new officers can frequently be settled by the retiring president calling a little caucus of some of the more important officers. A meeting of minds can usually be reached, and the president can name a nominating committee to bring in a slate at the next meeting of the board.

While there are some who will dispute the ethics of procedure herein described, few can deny that this sort of executive action constantly goes on and in fact has considerable justification and logic behind it, if not carried too far, and if not promoted entirely for purposes of self-interest. The word "entirely" is used because it cannot be denied that any executive has a personal interest in these matters.

Personal relationships with board members.—First of all, any executive should try to acquire an entirely normal relationship with the members of his board. He is going to like some and not like others. Officially he should treat all the same. Any executive will find much of value in individually consulting board members. It is never a bad thing to call occasionally at the office of a board member to talk over some problem on which his advice is desired. It is also wise to encourage board members to drop into the agency office, because this gives an op-

portunity to show them around and acquaint them with the work of the agency or department. These individual consultations also make it possible for the executive to give board members something to keep interested in and keep them on the job. Any board member who has nothing to do does not enjoy his service and is an asset neither to the organization nor to the executive.

Capitalizing personal skills.— All board members have certain personal skills which they can bring to their work for the agency. An alert manager will try to capitalize these skills. It seems needless to list them, but on the whole it will be found that bankers can be exceedingly helpful in the financial operation of the organization. They know the field of work. They can be consulted individually on this aspect; and they will be especially interested in these problems of the agency, which will prove helpful and effective. Lawyers understand problems of legislation and there are many particular niches into which a lawyer's skills can be fitted. One could go on further in describing capabilities. A word of caution might be helpful: frequently a banker, a lawyer, or other business or professional man may prefer to serve in some other capacity, because he may have skills in which he is avocationally interested and may prefer to carry these into "extra-curricular" activities. He may desire a change from rather than a continuation of the daily grind. Therefore, it is wise not to place a member with too much certainty until his own viewpoint is ascertained.

There is no reason why an agency executive should seek to establish social relationships with the members of his board. Friendly and personal association with board members is not harmful, but neither is it particularly valuable, and an executive probably makes a mistake to seek out this type of relationship. If personal friendships develop normally there is no reason why there should not follow a natural friendship, but to be too forward in trying to establish one is unwise.

Improper use of board.— There is a legal basis for the government of every social agency, usually a charter, a law, or a resolution of some official body. In the case of private agencies it is the constitution and bylaws of the corporation. Whether the board is large or small, it is none the less the legislative body under which operating policies are made and the continuity of the agency ensured. In functioning with his board of directors it is an important duty of the executive to see that the board has an opportunity to do its work in an expeditious and efficient manner. The scheduling of business and the method of its presentation

can create good or bad executive-board relationships. The manager's decision as to what constitutes the administrative as contrasted to the legislative processes of the agency becomes a distinction with a fundamental difference.

For example, queer traditions have unfortunately grown up about what a board should do with respect to money. Up until 1935 the Board of Public Welfare in St. Paul, Minnesota, carried out the following sequence in the handling of its accounts:

1. The vendor made out his claim on a special form in triplicate and had a notary public sign the claim, the vendor swearing as to its accuracy and legitimacy.
2. This claim and thousands of others were checked monthly by the bookkeeping department of the board and then were returned for official signature.
3. The executive secretary signed every claim.
4. Two members of the official board signed every claim.
5. After signature by board members, the claims were turned over to the county attorney, who had to examine each and append his signature.
6. The claim was then brought to an official meeting of the board and formally approved.
7. After approval, it was presented to the Board of County Commissioners.
8. After approval by the county board, claims were sent back to the Board of Public Welfare and a check could be issued.

It is needless to explain that although the above procedure was an onerous and unnecessary burden to place upon all of these officials, no one but a new board secretary, who wearied of signing claims, ever thought of changing the law. Yet this was easily accomplished upon a recommendation from the county delegation in the legislature. As a result of this action, no such red tape is now necessary, and the eight steps in bill payments have been reduced to comparatively few.

Though the procedure just described is worse than usually found, it is not untypical of the red tape followed in many agencies. Just why any governing board should feel it knows about the finances of its agency by approving all individual bills is an unsolvable mystery. The way in which a governing board should discharge its responsibility for ensuring good financial control is to see balanced monthly statements and not meticulously approve all of the detailed items which make up

such statements. It further discharges its responsibility by periodic audits, in which some outsider examines the individual accounts to see that only proper bills are being admitted.

Proper use of board.—The agenda for the board meeting is a detail of considerable importance. Much of the detailed work to be brought before boards can be summarized in a formal monthly report of the executive, which can be read, accepted, and placed on file. Such a formal monthly report dealing with informational and routine matters can usually be disposed of in from five to ten minutes at any board meeting, will be found fairly interesting, and can be used as an effective device to clear the deck for action on other and more pressing matters.

Boards are interested in broad-gauge problems affecting the agency. The welfare board operating a county program, for example, is interested every month in the following types of issues:

1. Did the board stay within the budget allowance for the month on categorical aids? If not, what is it going to do about the county's allowance, which is definitely limited?

2. How many cases is the staff carrying? Per district? Per case worker? And so forth.

3. Is the average cost per case for unclassified relief going up or down, and why? What should be done about it?

4. There is a complaint by a group of professional workers that the board is not paying enough salary on a certain classification of service and that some other near-by city is paying more and taking workers from the staff. Can the salary range in this classification be changed?

5. The board has received a legal ruling from the county attorney about the expenditure of money on transient families, and his opinion is thus and so. Can a new policy be adopted to conform with legal requirements?

In general, boards are concerned with finance, personnel, operating policies, community relationships, social statistics giving comparisons with other cities, and matters of important information and decision. Boards are not interested in the details of vendors patronized, methods of bookkeeping, filing cabinets, or matters of administrative routine.

A long list of important problems which could be presented to a county welfare board is in itself indicative of difficulty in the relations between the board and its executive. Boards cannot handle a long agenda in a space of a few hours. The executive who can never get

his board through its agenda had best study his own procedures. Perhaps he is bringing up too much business. Possibly some of it is unnecessary. Perhaps—and this is usually the case—the board is not meeting often enough. Perhaps some individual board member is too meticulous in his discussion and is wasting the board's time. As a matter of fact, probably the greatest time-waster is the executive who talks too much and in too great detail.

The handicap of formal procedure.—Committees likewise may become a handicap. The minute any board becomes too formal in its procedures, it has to adopt a routine practice of hearing committee reports. Thus channels through which rapid action can be obtained are hopelessly clogged. Naturally, committee action is sometimes necessary. Generally speaking, it is well to make most committees special in character. They investigate and report on a certain matter and then are automatically discharged. If possible, it is better to have no standing committees at all. If committees are used extensively it may be found that one or two standing committees are running the board. The members then become dissatisfied and are apt to show less and less interest. Eventually the board may be run by a small clique.

The executive's place in a board meeting.—The executive must assume a large measure of responsibility for the matters which are presented to the board. It employs him because it has confidence in him, and it is much better that the executive himself make a number of formal written recommendations to his board on his own initiative than to have committees constantly appointed and recommendations made over their names. The executive must stand on his own feet and take personal responsibility for proposals made. If he does this the board will not always accept the suggestions he makes, but it is a good thing occasionally to have a board disagree with its executive. It may even be a good practice to make some recommendation the executive knows the board will not accept, if for no other reason than to give the board a feeling of responsibility. Naturally no executive wants his board to overrule him too frequently. When that occurs, it is wise for him to be thinking of a new position.

At least once a year the chief administrative officer should give his board an opportunity to meet without him. When the agency budget is up for approval and the salary of the executive may be the subject of discussion, he should leave the meeting and state definitely that the board should discuss the subject freely and alone. It is not unwise to go

ahead with a board meeting when the manager is out of the city or ill. No executive is so vital that the wheels must stop if he is absent. Let the board and staff carry on. Both will appreciate the executive more when he returns.

Staff members should be given opportunity to know board members personally. The idea that individuals on the staff are just waiting for an opportunity to undermine their chief is a bit disconcerting. Yet all too frequently one sees executives extremely jealous of their prerogatives. Even if there exists downright enmity toward him among certain members of the staff and board, no executive is going to profit by trying to keep such people apart.

Department heads and principal staff associates should attend board meetings and themselves present some of the material for consideration. No board wants to be overrun by the staff, but objection is never registered when one or two younger staff members or even students are brought in to formal meetings for observation purposes. The more an executive can give the impression that there is nothing secret about the operations of his board, the more confidence is created. The idea of occasionally inviting to board meetings executives from other agencies is good. It is better to issue such invitations when the counsel of such persons is desired on business scheduled for the meeting.

Interpreting board and committee action to the staff.—Staff conferences are the channel for giving information regarding board and committee action as well as refining material to be presented for board consideration. There are seldom, if ever, any records which cannot be made public. Such shielding of information would be illegal in a tax-supported agency and at least unnecessary in a private organization. Since this is the situation, why should not staff members be encouraged to read board and committee minutes? Unfortunately there are still a good many agency heads who choose to surround board activity with an atmosphere of great importance and secrecy. It is a foolish policy which makes it impossible to interpret adequately what happens to a group of people closely involved.

Enough has already been presented regarding the conduct of staff meetings so that it is not necessary to discuss here in any detail ways and means by which board material can be analyzed and refined, and, after the board has acted, new administrative procedures established. It is important to remember that in board meetings much pertinent subject matter for staff discussion is created. If the proper procedures

are employed, board meetings are more effective, staff conferences take on a purposeful end, and petty jealousies and misunderstandings are avoided.

The personal element.—If all executives were interesting and engaging people, there would be less trouble in relationships with governing boards. But social workers are not employed to head agencies because of pleasing personality. At least they are not supposed to be employed for such a reason. Personality does help a great deal; and no executive, however great his prestige and professional competency, can afford to be careless in his personal relationships and insufferably dull and ponderous in his formal presentations and his general dealing with people.

There has been some discussion of objectivity and officiousness, good manners, and idiosyncracies. These items and many others constitute personal faults and virtues which weigh heavily in an executive's total relationships. One often wonders why presidents and prime ministers cartoon so well. Probably the answer is that cartoonists think about them and feature their mannerisms and their qualities. The cartooning process, which goes on in people's minds as well as in the pictures, reacts on the person as both an asset and a liability. No one can stop it because no one can control what others think, or to a wide extent, what others do. So it must be accepted that an executive is labeled quickly by his staff, his board, and his committees, as suave or crude, excitable or calm, secure or uncertain, responsible or undependable, judicious or arbitrary, aggressive or retiring, honest or dishonest, objective or subjective, pugnacious or peaceful, firm or wavering. There is nothing that can be done about it, except to understand that these personal traits are important and frequently magnified beyond reason. If this fact is realized the executive may be able to control his natural tendencies to some extent when he knows they irritate his associates.

Chapter 4

EXECUTIVE OPERATION IN RELATION TO THE WHOLE COMMUNITY

COMMUNITY FACTORS AFFECTING SOCIAL-WORK AGENCIES

The head of any social agency is given little opportunity to fall into a deadening routine. No matter how small the agency or department, it is affected by a large number of factors quite beyond the scope of its immediate operations. No organization is a complete entity in itself. Perhaps it is not too much to say that the success of agency work depends in part upon the ability of the executive to understand basic community forces and to deal with them adequately. Some analysis of what the community forces are that come to bear with varying weights upon any social agency might be worth consideration.

1. *Agencies in collateral services.* — An organization providing care to dependent children must deal with other societies operating in the same field and in the family welfare services. Since children's work is closely connected with the juvenile court, satisfactory working relationships must be established at that point. Every social agency in every field of work is in a comparable situation.

2. *Community program for central planning.* — Most urban centers have some kind of council of social agencies with which all welfare organizations are affiliated. If they are not, they should be. If the planning program is not satisfactory, local agencies owe an even greater obligation to help make it so. Cooperation with the local planning effort is essential to all agencies whether they are privately financed or tax-supported.

3. *General public welfare establishment.* — No social agency can afford to neglect the importance to its work inherent in such governmental services as health, recreation, security, relief, or work relief. No one can conceive of a welfare society which is not in some way affected by these public welfare programs. Yet many agencies, particularly private agencies, pay little attention to their significance.

4. *Central fund-raising for private agencies.* — It goes without saying that community chest participants have a direct relationship to the rais-

ing of funds. Even local private agencies not in the chest may be there in the future. Yet many community chest secretaries feel that some of their member organizations do not act as though they were vitally concerned. The tax-supported agencies today feel that the community chest is of relatively small importance and that the significance of the movement is rapidly waning. Such a position of superiority is as irritating as it is misplaced, because no public welfare official ever knows when the very existence of his program may depend upon the citizenship interest created by private agencies. Any local effort to which 20 per cent of the people contribute money and in which thousands actively participate as workers becomes a matter of serious concern.

5. *Organized business.* — As welfare work develops and spends a great deal of money, the principal services for the creation of wealth have a vital concern in it, because their own wealth, whether represented by the tax dollar or the gift dollar, is diverted to this channel.

6. *Organized labor.* — With urban industrialization self-created opportunity lessens for all people. More and more individuals tend to become dependent upon the smooth functioning of the industrial machine. Those persons closest to the economic margin are likely to have personal experience with welfare measures because they do not have much opportunity to help themselves when the machine slows or temporarily shuts down. As a result, organized labor becomes concerned with all welfare processes, and as labor increases in power, its viewpoint becomes more important to social agencies.

7. *Media for mass communication.* — All welfare organizations want aid from the press and the radio upon occasion. If they seek nothing, they at least do not want things written or said about them which are not favorable.

8. *Governmental structure of the community.* — The schools, the police, the courts, and other governmental services affect all people. The schools are important to practically all welfare agencies because at some point they affect family life. Since some detailed treatment will later be given the subject of politics and social work, it is necessary here only to mention the fact that all organization heads need to be aware that the political structure of the community will bear study and understanding.

9. *Localized community forces.* — There are racial, religious, nationality, and neighborhood forces in all communities which have a vital bearing on the work of all social-work organizations. An executive who

fails to try to understand and to meet these well-defined local forces is sure of much difficulty.

10. *External forces.*—Social work is a dynamic enterprise. Agencies which never change die an early death or become a liability rather than a community asset. No executive can sense immediately a change which is in the air, but he will be aided immeasurably if he diligently reads the best literature of his field, and keeps pace with creative thought while it is in the making.

11. *The weight of professional opinion.*—Most new techniques and creative ideas spring from the mass of professional experience and are given the light of day through the exchange of ideas at meetings, conferences, and through publications. Any executive who fails to follow and contribute to this changing body of professional information deprives himself and his agency of the great values inherent in this relationship.

Admittedly, there are other details in the picture of community life about him which any executive must observe with care. It seems reasonably certain that those which have been mentioned cannot be ignored by anyone in any place. There is no assumption that all executives are alert to the limited list given. They are not. Even some of the best social-work leaders miss a number of them, but as a rule the top-flight executives know how their business relates to the forces of the community.

CONFLICTING COMMUNITY FORCES

Community life is made up of innumerable threads which, woven together into an indefinite pattern, form the whole. A community is like a tapestry of many figures, each an entity in itself, but the whole forming a satisfactory design wherein each figure is dependent upon the other for completion.

Various forces in the community at first glance seem to be conflicting. What is good for labor does not seem to be helpful for capital. Frequently people say that commercial recreation is detrimental to church life or that movies conflict with public education. The charge that politics ruins local government is frequently made. It must be evident that if community forces are thus constantly in conflict with one another, no successful urban life is possible. This condition can scarcely exist, because everyone recognizes a large number of urban centers which function with reasonable success.

While the social agencies of a city are knit together as a number of

individual forces with a common goal, viewed from the aspect of the whole of community life, social work is a part of the design which makes the tapestry a unit. It is one of the strands which should run through most of the parts. The successful social-work job in any city is the one which draws to its support governmental officials, labor leaders, business leaders, educators, and all other substantial groups. Social work is by no means the only common ground upon which men and women can unite in a common interest. Public education, art, city planning, sanitation, and public safety are similar examples of this thread of common good in which all citizens of all economic interests, of all races, of all religions, and of all political affiliations can find a united interest. The well-conducted social-work movement depends upon the support of all people. The successful community is the one in which the woven figures, distorted or realistic, still have enough threads in common to complete the pattern.

In such a world as we live in many forces do conflict, but it must be realized that the principal job of a social-work administrator or a public educator, or a governmental official, is to strive for a minimum of acute conflict, first in that field of common interest in which he works, and secondly in the city at large. After all, no one can say with authority that the hopes of real estate interests are necessarily contradictory to the aims of city planning and that hopeless conflict must be assumed from the start. Certainly it is not politics which makes bad government. One can just as readily say it is politics which makes good government. If every group in the community falls into its own rut and attends exclusively to its own business, there is little opportunity to get together, and acute conflicts may arise at any number of points. A broad conception of community leadership becomes an essential element, not only to achieve successful community life, but to maintain it. Both fortunately and unfortunately, conditions in an urban center never remain static. There are many cities experiencing acute conflict today which had a fine background of successful community life twenty years ago. The reverse is also true.

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS GROWING OUT OF CHANGE

Cycle of development in a city.—There is some indication that cycles of community well-being occur, at the height of which broad-gauge leadership seems to dominate the stage. Then a series of events may turn the situation and plunge a community into sharp conflict of one

kind or another. Beginning about 1910, the city of Minneapolis experienced a period in which great progress was made. About that time a city park board was created under the leadership of Theodore Wirth, who was made superintendent of parks. The city had three small lakes which were something more than mere ponds and several others which could hardly be dignified as lakes. Not only was the Minneapolis Park Board able to capitalize on the natural beauty which existed, but it also used its imagination to create beauty out of elements which in themselves contained very little of beauty. Mr. Wirth laid out the whole Minneapolis park system for development over half a century. Now that half of that period has elapsed few American cities can equal the beauty and usefulness which can be found in the Minneapolis parks.

Another group in the city became interested in music, and under the leadership of a businessman, E. L. Carpenter, there was developed the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, led by nationally known conductors and talented musicians, whose salaries were met by an increasingly appreciative public who paid for tickets, and by a "long-suffering" group of contributors who acted as guarantors. The interest displayed by the citizens in the development and the maintenance of the orchestra was thus still another factor providing a common basis upon which diverse interests of the city could come together.

Something of the same spirit of progress was manifested in the Minneapolis public school system when an enlightened board of education brought to Minneapolis Dr. F. E. Spaulding, a nationally known educator, who did much to bring into the school system something of the same planning, leadership, and vision which were characteristic of the development of the parks and the orchestra.

Just prior to this time, W. H. Dunwoody, a man of large means, left an endowment for the maintenance of a trade school known as the Dunwoody Industrial Institute. The board of trustees in charge employed Dr. C. A. Prosser as the director, and a system of industrial education was developed in Minneapolis than which there is none better in the United States. This system filled a gap in the educational life of the community, and in addition brought together the best minds from many diversified fields of interest in the city to attack a problem in the interest of all in the community.

One could go on enumerating many further lines of activity in the organization of community forces in Minneapolis which helped to make it a great city. For example, all of the competing business or-

ganizations were drawn together in the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association. A young man from Cleveland, Howard Strong, was appointed as its secretary. One of the first things Mr. Strong did was to bring from New Jersey Otto W. Davis, who was given the job of bringing order out of chaos among the charitable and social agencies of the city. Frank Staley and Frank Olson came on as leaders in the Bureau of Municipal Research, to study municipal government and finance. Others were called in to take the leadership in developing the industrial aspects of Minneapolis life. Within a comparatively few years there were established a group of organized social agencies which were serving community needs in an excellent way. In addition these agencies developed so many social-work leaders that today the influence of this particular period in Minneapolis stretches across the country to at least twenty-five different cities, where the young men and women of that day now carry heavy responsibilities as leaders.*

But along with these outstanding accomplishments, another effort was being made which was a signal failure. Time and time again citizens were brought together to try to work out a new city charter. While government was reasonably efficient, representation in the council was unfair and departments within departments had been created to the point where the governmental structure was awkward. Every effort, however, was futile. Excellent consultants, such as A. R. Hatton of Cleveland, were called in, but no results were obtained. In addition, each effort seemed to leave in its wake a greater degree of conflict.

Success in the growth of industry was accompanied by the growth of labor problems. Minneapolis was a labor center for the Northwest and thousands of transient workers passed through its market. Inevitably there developed some radical leadership in the labor movement which became increasingly articulate, especially following the war and the establishment of communism in Russia. Beside this development in labor, perhaps either a cause of it or a result of it, there grew up an organization of business and industrial leaders known as the Citizens Alliance. Each group was strong and forceful, and the two were as far apart as

* These include David C. Adie, Commissioner, New York State Department of Social Welfare; Otto F. Bradley, Executive Director, Community Federation of Boston; Ruth Hill, Assistant Commissioner of Public Welfare, New York City; William Hodson, Commissioner of Public Welfare, New York City; David Holbrook, Director, National Council of Social Work, New York City; Pearl Salsberry, Director of Public Welfare, Honolulu; Walter M. West, Executive Secretary, American Association of Social Workers; Elizabeth Yerxa, Director Juvenile Department, Wisconsin State Board of Control.

the poles. A feeling of tension began to be created, and some community leaders who had given years to the shaping of forces which would unify the community found themselves under suspicion by one group or another. They realized that much of their effort was dissipated because of the growing distrust felt on every hand. Between the years 1918 and 1930 Minneapolis suffered the loss of many leaders. At the same time, other fundamental industrial and agricultural changes occurred. Efforts of common interest could not be maintained. Industrial conflict became increasingly acute. There were also a number of minor clashes,* and as a dramatic climax the nationally reported truck drivers' strikes of 1934 and 1935.

This story of Minneapolis is not given to indicate that there is anything hopeless in its community life today, or that it was infinitely good twenty years ago and is now exceedingly bad. Such is not the case. On the other hand, there is no question that Minneapolis was a better articulated and a more smoothly functioning community in 1915 than in 1935. The reason for this change is undoubtedly the fact that the administrative leaders of government, social work, labor unions, business organizations, and the rest were unable to maintain their positions of strength, and to keep conflicting forces in community life from gaining dominance. Perhaps if the community had been wise enough to keep some of the leaders it had, or perhaps if the leaders themselves had been able to keep control of the situation, Minneapolis would still enjoy the comparative community contentment it experienced twenty years ago. That the various parts of community life have no common pattern is a factual observation. There can be no question that given a little different set of circumstances, and such lessons as the city may learn from the more recent occurrences, the pendulum will swing the other way, and all that was good in the situation of 1915 may again be asserting itself by the year 1945.

Community life in all cities tends to swing in cycles of this sort. It is probably equally true that as a result of the best type of community action any community is permanently better off and never sinks down to the lowest possible level. Perhaps the best example is in the deep chasms of political graft characteristic of some cities in the nineties. While there has been much political graft since that date, nothing has been as bad as in that period.

A social agency which lost touch with the community.—A certain

* See Charles R. Walker, *American City* (Farrar and Rinehart, 1937).

western city with a population of 100,000 maintained an active chapter of the American Red Cross during the war period. Its board consisted of able men and women from the citizenship of the community and it organized a meritorious wartime program. But as the war receded further into the background, it was distinctly noticeable that the chapter was living more in the past than the present, notwithstanding the fact that it was expending annually a substantial sum of money in service to veterans. There were acute health problems in some of the smaller towns of the county which the chapter was making no effort to meet. The case-work program, which had been fitted to meet wartime conditions, was slipping badly and gradually being replaced by a more or less perfunctory meeting of relief problems as presented to the staff by veteran applications. More and more the work was becoming a mere paper effort assisting veterans to claim bonuses and to establish some service connection with disability claims. Satisfactory relations with the three or four leading ex-service men's organizations were not maintained, and the feeling was growing among the ex-soldier group that the Red Cross was not interested in their problems and their welfare. A Red Cross membership campaign was not held because the chapter received its support through the community chest. There did not seem to be many active problems and as a result there was a more or less self-perpetuating board of directors. No interpretative program was carried out.

National officers of the Red Cross were not unfamiliar with the fact that a once-flourishing chapter was beginning to be a dead symbol of an active and profitable past service. Arrangements were finally made to have a social worker, experienced in Red Cross procedure, come in and make a study of the situation. This social worker spent considerable time in the beginning interviewing leaders of groups which professed interest in the ex-soldier welfare problem. Later a number of cases were studied from the records and a clear course of action was mapped out which called for the complete reorganization of the agency. The adoption of a resolution which included the resignation of all board members and a new election, the discharge of the executive secretary and the staff, the broadening of the field of work to meet modern conditions, and representation in the organization by ex-soldier groups, was a Herculean task which completely revamped the chapter and left it an effectively functioning organization during the next decade.

Even this brief summary of the situation in this particular organization seems to show plainly that following the war the chapter board and officials lost all touch with community forces, both within and without the local social-work movement. The satisfactory record during the war was spoiled exclusively because the group was satisfied to live on its past attainments and showed neither energy nor imagination in keeping in touch with the forces working all about it. On the other hand, the social worker who was called in for the purpose of reorganizing the chapter spent almost his entire time in laying plans by which the chapter could be enlivened and again brought in touch with the other forces of the community. The utilization of a new board, a new executive, and a new program, and the throwing of bridges out to other groups in the community interested in this same problem was a reorganization which involved the rebuilding of community relationships. Success resulted, first, because the treatment prescribed was correct; and, second, because the new board and new executive had a sense of these primary responsibilities involving other community forces.

A family welfare society which did not keep abreast of current thought.—In another middle western city of 150,000 population a family welfare society had been developed over a period of some thirty years prior to 1925. This society carried a major responsibility for welfare and relief procedure in the community, and its record as the sponsor for many outgrowths of welfare work in the health, recreation, and children's fields had been exemplary. But as time went on, the board of directors, again a somewhat self-perpetuating group, and the executive, who by 1925 was a man past sixty years of age, were more interested in developing a workshop for the blind, in creating day nurseries, and in maintaining a second-rate case-work program, than they were in the building of a good tax-supported public relief department, and in maintaining a high-grade staff of case-work technicians in its own organization who might serve as a standard-setting group for the public agency.

The result was disastrous. In the five-year period from 1925 to 1930 not one stone had been turned in the way of developing public agency standards to provide a foundation which would withstand the weight of depression relief. In 1930, 1931, and 1932, prior to the advent of federal relief, the county relief department spent tax funds in the crudest possible way. Relief needs grew by leaps and bounds, and still basic family welfare requirements remained unmet. Sufficient money was ex-

pended to do the job in a fairly comprehensive and respectable manner. Meanwhile the private family welfare agency spent its relief budget, received from the community chest, on a limited number of families, and continued to show an interest only in the few hundred clients it carried. This might have been somewhat satisfactory if the quality of the work they rendered had been in any way a good example for the public department. Such was not the case. At a time when this agency should have been preparing community machinery to meet a disastrous situation in the way of unemployment relief—the knowledge of which was on every hand by the year 1930—it failed utterly to make any such provisions for the city.

When federal relief came into the picture, the groundwork on which to build an organization was no better. The state sent in workers and a fairly good job of relief administration was carried on under state supervision, but to the end the local community never sensed the feeling of local responsibility for some 10,000 dependent families. The opportunity which lay before this family society in the year 1925 was great. It was lost. The country is filled with illustrations of opportunities missed because of poor administrative strategy in agency boards.

It is easy enough to recognize agency situations of the past in which a lack of executive perception and discernment rapidly curtailed usefulness. It is especially simple when someone points out the situation. But the executive process functioning in relationship to all factors on a current basis is quite a different matter. Agency leadership needs to be singularly alert to keep from falling into deep ruts. The only safeguard is good judgment reinforced by day-to-day observation of the factors in the total community picture which have a bearing upon the decision at hand. In order to illustrate the complications of this important problem of executive leadership, it might be well to consider some of these situations "in the making."

In the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.—Institutional equipment was provided the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. by generous communities twenty-five years ago because real need was apparent on every hand. Young men and women were flooding the urban centers from rural districts, and there was need for appropriate living quarters. Gymnasiums, swimming pools, and dormitories were all vital needs twenty-five years ago. Other community forces were also interested in these prob-

lems. For the past decade public schools have been installing gymnasium equipment, and more recently large schools have been building swimming pools. Popular sentiment no longer considers urban centers the dens of iniquity they were regarded as some years ago. Room registries started by the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. now reveal a number of places where young people can find room and board at reasonable rates under satisfactory conditions. Another indication of the decrease in the need for dormitories is the fact that many of these dormitories no longer limit their enrollment to men and women under twenty-five years of age, but frequently there can be found in them persons of such maturity that by no stretch of the imagination could they be considered young men and women. So it can be seen that other forces in the community have also recognized a real youth problem and have also worked toward its solution. Churches, some of them with both gymnasiums and swimming pools, the growth in public recreation departments, the development of city parks, the availability of higher quality commercial recreation, and many other enterprises have contributed to a diminishing need for institutional equipment.

Nothing in the above discussion is intended to lead to the conviction that cities no longer need the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. The point is that the great building boom in these associations was twenty to forty years ago. These plants are now becoming old. At present there is a movement in many cities for the remodeling of old buildings or the raising of funds to build completely new plants. The most careful study of community forces must be made by these agencies, both nationally and locally, to determine whether their programs are necessarily dependent upon costly equipment. Nothing would do these associations more good than some experiments in programs not dependent upon brick and mortar, which would capitalize to the fullest, community resources in schools and churches, and which would lend a directional and promotional, as contrasted to a proprietary, interest in plant equipment.

In the community chest. — As the year 1939 opened, most thoughtful community chest executives raised the question quietly, in their own minds at least, as to whether the twilight period of the community chest movement was not slowly approaching. The campaigns held in the fall of 1938 were not too successful. It had been a bad business year, and a good many people were irritated over the general tax situation and European conditions. With regard to relief the sentiment was often

heard, "We are doing too much for these people anyway." But behind it all there might well appear to be more fundamental disturbances and the community chest manager was more worried than anyone else. Were chests to continue on substantially the same lines on which they were created? If not, what would happen?

The question can be answered simply. Nothing is going to happen at once; but, as suggested, discerning judgment is needed in a situation of this sort, and it does no community chest executive any harm to ponder on the problem. If chests are not going to develop during their third decade as they have the first two, then are they going gradually to fall off to a position of no social usefulness? Certainly they have served a real purpose, and it can be stated without dispute that the backers of the community chest movement in the United States will not willingly permit them to become institutions of second-rate character. Assuming that chests have reached the maximum of their money-raising capacity, what shift might be made in their basic operations to line them up more closely with current concepts?

First should come some careful thinking by leaders in the community chest field who can sit down together for two or three days several times a year and attempt to explore the future. These deliberations should yield experimentation in at least some cities, the findings of which might be applicable on a wide scale. It is not suggested what pattern these discussions might take, yet it is fairly clear that any group of people would conclude that community chests do not have to be larger than at present in order to continue to be useful. They might even be smaller in volume and yet find the net value of their services to the country measurably enhanced. In fact, big enterprises are sometimes less valuable than small ones. Someone once said that the mouse can do many things which the mountain cannot.

Nothing goes on in the same track permanently. Even rivers change their courses. Community chests are probably due for some shift in their emphasis. This will gradually take shape whether any group plans it or not, but if changes are not planned and if the future is not anticipated, a disorderly development is apt to follow. This is as true in any welfare field as it is in the community chest movement. The question of future development is particularly pertinent among chests at the moment because public welfare has of late years occupied so much the center of the stage. Since it is going to continue as a large-scale operation, chests must re-adapt their services more quickly than they

have the past few years if they are to keep in line with changing times and changing conditions.

In old-age assistance. — Because public welfare service looms so important is no reason to suppose that it does not have many problems also. In fact, during the building process any movement is more subject to disaster than when it is once established. Unexplored territory is being surveyed, and leaders never know exactly what is around the corner. This country has gone in heavily for old-age assistance under the impetus of the Social Security Act of 1935. Perhaps one might more truthfully say that the original impetus was the Townsend movement and several other efforts to provide old-age security for all without investment by any. Some critical politicians referred to these as the "funny money" efforts. Out of it all came the public assistance program of the Social Security Board. This program, being based on the grant-in-aid principle, with detailed laws drawn up by the several states, subject only to conformity with the general act, created vast differences among the state programs.

In some manner leaders of the program for old-age assistance must get together on what they conceive to be a sound theory of operation. Should pensions be given to all people of sixty-five years of age as a routine benevolence of government, and as an effort to raise the general living standard, or should this assistance be given on the basis of need, which was the implication of the Social Security Act? Politicians are much interested in this general subject. They must decide whether old-age assistance is to be strictly interpreted on a needs basis, or offered as a system of small pensions to all to elevate standards of living.

These issues again constitute history in the making. No groups seem to be acting constructively on the subject. Least of all are the state and local old-age assistance directors moving to secure any meeting of minds on what is good for the security program, their clients, or the politicians. Bureaucracy always tends to stifle somewhat the creative impulse, because administrators are bound more and more tightly by red tape. The more assistance standards and exact procedures are specified legally, the less professional judgment needs to be exercised. As professional competency becomes a minor factor in the situation; professional people with creative imagination tend to move into some other field. So it appears that this acute current problem is being left to the action of the vote-getters, the pressure groups, and the general public, with social workers playing but a minor role at the moment.

In work relief. — The debate theme of "Work vs. the Dole" has been the subject of oratory both in high schools and in Congress. It has many ramifications. The Congress has consistently made appropriations for "relief of unemployment" as an emergency measure. Basically the character of congressional appropriations for grants-in-aid to the states for relief or work relief were no different than the grants given to the federally controlled Works Progress Administration. Probably the first point important to any decision is, What should be the permanent policy of the federal government with regard to work relief? Next, certain questions must be answered as to the relation of work relief to public works.

From 1933 through 1938 work projects were continually in operation, with a wage basis paid all or partly in cash for definite services rendered. On the whole, work projects have been designed so that a large proportion of the cost would be paid in wages and a small proportion in materials and supervision. There has been much criticism of the permanent value of these projects. Some has been merited, but much is invalid. The fact remains, however, that no government can continually carry on work projects without a substantial material and supervision cost and still have those projects of permanent economic value.

The problem that must be answered currently by the WPA and by congressional leaders is what kind of a work program is wanted. Both mistakes and complications being admitted, can they be eliminated and something better and more permanent be erected upon the temporary structure of WPA?

The nation has fallen into controversy over whether WPA is good or bad, whether it is constructive or palliative, whether it is work or relief. These are not vital issues, and governmental leaders have not been solving the really important aspects of the problem, aspects which are important alike to the government and to the people the program serves.

CONCLUSION

The comment in this chapter, beginning with the isolation of those factors with which executive operation deals in relation to the total community, and progressing to a theoretical discussion of community forces, then finally passing on to illustrations of past mistakes and current problems, brings out the task every executive officer has to face in a more or less acute form.

Almost any qualified person can function with reasonable satisfaction

in the mere maintenance of any kind of a welfare job, whether public enterprise or private corporation. The superintendent of a free dispensary who handles his patients well, who schedules his clinics properly, who secures good practitioners to treat the sick, who manages the budget economically, cannot help making a fair success of his job.

As complicated as the mechanics often are, however, they do not involve the major skills which the social-work executive is called upon to display. In the long run, it is far more important that the clinical superintendent referred to have a real conception of the place of the free clinic in the scheme of local social-work organization; that he know the clinic is in line with the best current thought in meeting the needs of clients eligible to free dispensary service; that the dispensary program be properly integrated with other social-work activities in the community; that the medical service given through the clinic be not wasted because of improper follow-up care. After all, what is the good of giving insulin to a diabetic if he cannot get the right kind of food?

Chapter 5

ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS IN SEMI-RURAL COMMUNITIES

DEFINITION OF A SEMI-RURAL COMMUNITY

A large city engulfs the individual. Outside his immediate circle of friends and associates he knows few people, nor is he known to many. Unless one becomes a celebrity and is publicized pictorially, he goes about from day to day unrecognized in the flesh. But in a town of 5,000 to 25,000 population, or even larger, no public personality can remain incognito. It is true he may not know many people personally, but if his position is one of any prominence, he is recognized by all.

In this discussion "semi-rural" conditions of administrative work refer to operations conducted in cities from as small as 2,500 people up to 25,000. It is true that some of the same characteristics exist in cities of as high as 100,000, but the community that is over 25,000 and not up to 100,000 has just as many aspects of the urban center as it does of the smaller town. There is no fixed line dividing semi-rural from urban conditions. Sometimes the factor of close proximity to a much larger center must be taken into consideration. The city of 40,000 or 50,000 in a rural state becomes quite a metropolis, because it is the center of an important region. At the same time it retains certain earmarks of the smaller town. Again there is no fixed point at which rural aspects of social work become predominant, that point depending upon the geographical location as well as the characteristics of the people.

ATTITUDE TOWARD OUTSIDE WORKERS

In the smaller town the personal habits and character traits of the administrative leader of a social-work program become of great importance. There is a greater need to conform to the customs of the people in a smaller than in a larger city. The smaller the city, the more intense and personal civic pride becomes. Another important psychological fact is the suspicion which local people usually have for the outsider. The suspicion can only be overcome as the "foreigner" fits into the group and becomes one of it. By the same line of reasoning, doubt

of the expert is more deeply entrenched than in urban centers. The reason is that if a social worker is considered an expert, he is called in to work on some problem which heretofore was not usually recognized as needing attention. While some of the civic and governmental leaders may realize that it has now become a problem which demands special attention, the citizenry at large cannot understand why it is necessary to import someone to do the job, when in the whole past history of the city no such individual was needed. While these points of view are also evident in the more metropolitan place, life is more impersonal and they do not come to the surface as they do in the small community. These are all real factors, and no worker can overcome them by disagreement, or by a head-on collision, but must use all possible ingenuity to conform to local channels of thought, even to the extent of overcoming personal inclinations to the contrary.

Social and economic concepts.—The smaller town inevitably has a narrower concept of social and economic problems. The people have a certain fear of innovations. They feel much closer to their local government because they know personally the people who run it.

Taxes are taxes in the small town and are not in any way connected with economic theories of governmental control. In the more populous centers industry and large property-owners pay a good share of the taxes. In the smaller community large capital worth is nonexistent or almost so. The majority of people have small cash incomes and are thrifty American citizens. In the big center a large portion of the people who live on an industrial wage would be willing to vote in favor of a policy to "soak the rich." But in the small town this concept is changed to "soak the thrifty," and as most of the people fall in this latter class, it is easy to see why such a theory would be offensive, and just why the great bulk of the people are interested in taxes as taxes. This closer personal relationship with government, as well as the absence of acute industrial strife, tends to condition the whole social and economic thinking of the group; and the social-work executive fresh from the large center may go seriously counter to the social and economic interpretations of his fellow-citizens in the smaller community. He must use good judgment and not act too impulsively.

GROUPS DEMANDING SPECIAL ATTENTION

Churches and ministers.—Religious feeling may not be deeper in the small community, but it assumes greater importance in community

life. In addition to its added force in the smaller community, the citizens still tie up more closely in their own thinking the relationship of the church to the social problems. The traditional philosophy that the church has a proprietary interest in the needs of distressed people, even though it may not actually minister to those needs, is still a real factor. Church leaders should be among the first persons whom a social-work executive seeks out for advice and guidance in the development of his work. He should be particularly careful of his relationships with the ministers themselves. They occupy places of relatively greater importance than in larger cities. They are well known to the citizenry at large as well as to their own church members. Their opinions and approval must be sought and gained on all matters of change and all general problems of social-work administration.

Labor.—Conditions surrounding labor organizations are apt to be extremely changeable, depending upon the local situation. Along the northeastern seaboard and in the whole industrial section of the country extending through Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, a town of 25,000 people is usually built around some large industry. In the South, Middle West, and Far West, cities are not built around a large industry, but have grown up as distribution centers. Labor organization in the regions first described may take the form under which it is known in the big industrial center. Here labor understands the power developed through organization. It is economically conscious and politically interested. Its leadership is alert. It wants an influential relationship with the social-work program, and it insists upon keeping that program squared with certain of its policies that are policies on which business and industrial leaders may be in conflict. On the other hand, in the Middle West and South, where industrialism is not a predominant characteristic of the smaller town, no such consciousness exists on the part of labor in economic, political, and social welfare matters. There labor tends to join craft organizations and takes its place shoulder to shoulder with the small-earning, thrifty people. An administrator in social work must be very careful to realize what kind of town he is in when developing policies with regard to labor organizations.

Business.—Whether the smaller town is industrial or not, the attitude of its people toward business enterprise tends to be different than that of urban dwellers. While there may in town be one or two representatives of what might be termed "big business," this group is represented by the small but substantial business leader. He has a much

closer relationship with the people who work for him than his urban counterpart and is more genuinely interested in their welfare and personal affairs. On the whole, this more friendly feeling on the part of business people is reciprocated by the employee group. The sharp distinctions characteristic of the larger center do not usually exist. Most men and women have grown up in the small community and they are likely to know personally most of the people in it. While the mobility of individuals in the urban area is very great, the small-town population is much more stable. Frequently the store-owner and the people who work for him went to school together or have known each other most of their lives; and not only do they think about the same on most matters, but they have a basis for a personal and friendly relationship that does not have a parallel in a big city.

Public school leaders.—The social worker trained in a university may tend to undervalue the importance of the elementary and secondary school leaders in the smaller community. Most cities of 5,000 to 25,000 do not have a college or university. There is much civic pride in the high school, and the principal and his faculty are important people. They often play a leading part in civic affairs. They are apt to be among the individuals in the town who know most about the development of a social-work program. It is well for any social worker quickly to establish good working relationships with the educational group. He will find them a great help, and usually a strong backing in the development of his work and its interpretation throughout the community. In this connection there can be an introduction in the public schools of some work about welfare problems. Comment concerning it will be carried home; and in this way indirect interpretation to the whole city is possible through the school system.

Social clubs.—Social groups have a good deal of influence in civic and welfare matters. The women's card club in a big city is just a card club. In a smaller town it may be quite different. It is true the members play cards, but they may also have venerable traditions of "assisting the poor" or "providing care to the sick." Life is much less specialized, and the social group, whatever its main purpose may be, has other ramifications. At least it can be taken for granted that these social groups may have an important bearing on the development of a welfare program. They should be studied carefully to determine their interests. They may contain many influential women, and if they have had any participation in welfare procedures at all, it is a good plan to

seek them out and develop their activities in some conformity with the social-work program.

Slower reaction to social problems.—The thinking of people in the smaller city reacts more slowly to social forces. It is not that the citizenry is uninformed, or that its thinking is backward on state, national, and international affairs. Neither is this delayed reaction caused by the fact that people do not read or keep informed on the newer thought in art, literature, and other cultural fields. The reason is probably found in the fact that the shoe does not fit the foot.

More than any other one thing, the social worker with a big-city background must understand that, on the whole, life seems better in the smaller town. There can be given many arguments to the contrary but sociologically speaking, community life impresses its own citizenship as less pathological. If people fail to sense problems, they are little interested in them. Certainly the European war talk is less impressive in the small Missouri town than in the city of Cleveland, Ohio. The acute labor-capital conflict in the steel industry may be vitally important to the people in the states of West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, but it means little in Kansas, Oklahoma, and Nebraska. Current comment on divorce, crime, and vice is of interest, but the people in the smaller city do not see the problems there. Proportionately, these smaller cities may have just as many social problems as the larger ones, but there are so many things which make life simpler and easier that people are just not so alive to the force of external comment and thinking. Social workers must realize this situation and deal with it accordingly.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF AN ADMINISTRATOR WORKING ALONE

The large-city agency offers easy facility for professional association, not only with the executive's own supervisors, but with other community social-work leaders. Without stepping out of his own office he can secure advice, reinforcement of an opinion, or critical comment from someone on his own staff or, by picking up the telephone, from a friend elsewhere. In a town of 10,000 people it is probable that the only social-work executive of professional qualifications and training will be the director of the county welfare bureau or whatever it may be called. Private social work is nonexistent in professional form. There may be a Y. M. C. A. or a Y. W. C. A., but frequently they are largely voluntary in make-up. There may be a community chest, but it is probably just a financial campaign put on by the chamber of commerce.

Certainly there are no case-work supervisors and there may be very few trained social workers. Likely as not the county welfare board has previously been run by a local person who needed the job and who was dropped only because of insistence from the state that a professional person had to supervise the agency in order that the county might receive state grants.

In such a situation the social-work executive must display a completely rounded knowledge of his program. Most of the factors discussed in this volume relating to staff relationships, development of policy, financial controls, and relationships with other agencies, become wholly different when the social-work leader stands alone. In the first place, his administrative duties are much more detailed. He is not removed from the case. He sees many clients himself; puts out his own financial statements; does his own supervising; and makes his own treatment policies. He personally interprets his program to the client, and to others when on collateral investigations.

The smaller town executive usually is not burdened down with an endless number of meetings. He gets things done by direct action, not by long discussion to determine policy, which is passed on to someone else to carry out. He is an executive, a supervisor, a case-worker, a group worker, a publicity man, and many times a clerk, all in one.

After a director works in such a situation for a year or two, he begins to feel like a British civil servant must who serves alone among the natives in some far-flung outpost of the East. He longs for association with professional people of his own type. He feels stranded and far removed. He tends to forget that he is dealing with exactly the same kind of problems that he would be handling in the larger center. Only here he is attending to them on a more intimate basis with infinitely more power than he will ever have again. He forgets that this kind of administration is the best training for self-development and for future large-scale operations that it is possible to receive. He forgets that an excellent performance will gradually develop for him a reputation for achievement such as would be difficult to secure in the large city.

When the social-work administrator stands alone he works under many disadvantages, but the possibilities for potential development far outweigh them. In any professional career a few years devoted to foundation-building is relatively a short time. While he will tend to feel he is going to seed, he should constantly remind himself that this is much less an acute danger than is falling into a rut in the big city.

Nor is this executive in an outpost far removed from association with other professional people. Such a concept is far too extreme. There are constant visitors from the state capitol. There are frequent intercounty conferences, and there are always possibilities for attending meetings of wider importance. And, too, the social-work executive in the small town is living a pleasant life surrounded by fine people who are no different than they are in the bigger city, except that they are on the whole much more personally interested in their social worker; and fine friendships can be formed, as well as a splendid backing secured. The professional person who has an opportunity to live intimately with others need have no fears that he is losing touch with his own group, because in the end he will see far too much of them anyway, and look back upon his experiences in the smaller city with a good deal of longing and pleasure.

DIFFICULTIES OF CASE-WORK TREATMENT

There are limited facilities in the smaller town for case-work treatment. In the large-city agency professionals think of case work in terms of community resources including home economists, psychiatric workers, legal aid people, orthopedic surgeons, and workers in the public dispensary. No such organized facilities exist in the small town. This fact seriously conditions case-work treatment, but does not necessarily prevent constructive work. While facilities are not organized, and while there may be no psychiatrists, the case-worker will find wise women who can assist in home management; able physicians who may not know the last word in psychiatry and orthopedic technique, but who will know where it can be obtained, and who have themselves done much with mental disease and broken bones; and lawyers who will be only too glad to assist. The able executive can do almost as much with unorganized facilities in the smaller community as the social worker in the big city can accomplish with everything at hand, since, while available, these facilities are so crowded as to impair their effective use.

Case-work treatment is awkward because local people know too much about the families concerned and too often give conflicting advice. This is a bad situation, but it may be developed into an asset if the executive's interpretative program with his friends and neighbors can be made effective. The fact that welfare cases are known, and that treatment is closely watched, may not be an unmitigated evil. Gratuitous advice and other forms of "interference" really spring from the

true interest of others in the client's condition. It is both a complicated and difficult feat to turn this situation to the advantage of case treatment. The main point to remember is that this interference cannot be taken with too much offense by the executive, and that he must patiently attempt to condition the interest of the client's friend and his own fellow-citizens into channels which will fit in with the treatment he proposes to render. Especially must this approach be drilled into his own staff, so that far-reaching conflicts between the professional approach and lay interest will not eventuate.

Naturally, case-work treatment in the smaller city is a generalized program. As time goes on the same social-work staff is going to handle problems of the aged, family relief, child care, and delinquency. This calls for a much broader knowledge on the part of both the executive and his staff than does the more specialized job in the bigger city. But it should be remembered that it also provides a greater opportunity and a bigger challenge.

THE INTERPRETATION PROGRAM

Social workers can come close to encompassing personal contact with all groups of people. There are not so many civic clubs, church groups, lodges, labor organizations, and social clubs that an executive cannot reach most of them personally within the course of a single year. This permits an opportunity to look after the interpretation job in a much more personal manner than can the city worker, which should mean a greater success.

It has been stated that life seems much better in the smaller town and that while in proportion social problems may be fully as acute, the citizenship is not apt to recognize them. It is the professional obligation of the social worker in his interpretation program to show up unmet welfare needs and develop public sentiment in favor of making some attack upon the problems. When all is said and done, the small community may be more cruel with those in distress than any other place. Social workers know many instances of small towns which permit the worst of housing and the greatest of hardship. The overcoming of this condition must be approached with a good deal of caution. It does no good to call names. If speeches are made, they must be guarded. A patient and accurate building up of public sentiment in favor of social action is necessitated. If one finds delinquency, this fact should not be side-stepped. It should be remembered, however, that the situation has probably existed for a long time, and that to date no one has offered

any correction. To get angry about the matter and show it up with overvigorous vehemence may seem called for, but does not constitute a constructive approach. Private consultation with the school principal, the probate judge, several ministers, and a few outstanding laymen may come a good deal closer to solving the problem by private analysis of the facts than will any crusade started personally by the social-work executive.

ATTENTION TO RURAL AREAS

In the smaller town, and especially in the rural portions of the county, there is great opportunity for constructive action in the way of adequate interpretation. The trouble with public relief in this country from its inception has been the almost complete ignoring of the primary groups. The people in remote sections of the county watch the arrival of the social worker with great interest, and they are extremely wary of what they say. The organization of neighbors in remote rural sections, and putting a few of them into advisory groups in localities where relief or other problems become difficult, can go a long way in establishing some understanding of the program. The county welfare board is far removed from the corners of the county. When the county commission makes Mr. X a member of the county welfare board to represent the rural interests, it is nothing more than the merest gesture if Mr. X lives twenty or thirty miles away from certain rural sections within the county, and the people residing there have never heard of him.

It is an almost superhuman job to do the routine work required of an executive and then to drive out in the evening to confer with advisory committees in rural sections of the county. These are some of the penalties which must be paid for work in the smaller town. Effort in this direction must be undertaken if the rural people are to understand anything about the work, and if rural support is to be obtained for the program.

All of the points which will be stressed in other chapters about interpretation apply to work under the situation being described. Certainly the visitors are important to it. And in smaller towns and rural areas the clients discuss their affairs with friends and neighbors just as much as in the larger cities. There is infinitely more friendly visiting, and the success of the program and its understanding is more or less in direct proportion to what the clients and the citizens have to say about the result of the work.

PUBLICITY PROBLEMS

The small paper. — A small city likes its own paper and reads it. No opportunity should be lost by the county welfare worker to form close relations with the newspaper editor and to see that appropriate news items about work are inserted. There is not quite the competition for space in the paper of the smaller town that there is in the large city daily. The publisher usually knows what day he is going to have heavy advertising; also, while the paper is of limited size, the news-gathering staff is not so large. As a result, there is a more ready acceptance of social-work news, and not only because there may be more space, but because there is a more genuine and comprehensive interest in welfare matters.

Public speaking. — A splendid opportunity exists for appearance at meetings in the smaller community. Program features are always in demand, and by some little imagination in preparation, visual presentation of the county program can make a remarkable impression. Here again the executive himself must expect to do some public speaking, which he will find another drain upon his time. But in the smaller city this is more important than in the larger town. The quality of platform speeches is just as high, but because the audience is apt to know the speaker personally, they will give him a more friendly reception, if he does not violate their patience. The small-town administrator should make a constructive effort to develop his speaking ability. Even if this seems impossible, he will still have to make some speeches anyway, so that he will have to be on guard against making long-winded ones that will take up too much time.

Other publicity problems. — The whole publicity program of the agency can be most informal. Such devices as movies, the radio, the Sunday magazine supplement, are all more or less unusable in the smaller city. It is quite true that there is a somewhat less commercial use of the mails for advertising purposes, and for this reason social-work publicity might find a more ready acceptance. Still, small-town people are much more critical of any expenditure by a welfare agency that is not for purposes of its own direct program, and what might be gained through the use of this publicity would be lost by adverse criticism of it. To use all publicity methods which cost no money and can be carried out in cooperation with some volunteer group should be the goal. Much can be done, but the publicity program takes an entirely different turn than in the larger city.

RELATIONS WITH THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

County commissioners. — Local county and city government in the smaller population unit is much closer to the people. It is the county government which looms large to the social-work program, because in most places the welfare work is under its auspices. As township management of public welfare is diminishing, it need not be mentioned.

The executive must keep close to the county commissioners. It is absolutely essential that they be made to feel a proprietary interest in the program. Traditionally, all welfare work was under the direct management of the county commissions. If the social-work program is professionalized and taken out from under their personal control, they tend to feel a sense of jealousy and sometimes assume a critical attitude toward the social worker. This is no new experience for any executive, and by patience and good will the point of view can be overcome. One thing that helps is the fact that usually commissioners are only part-time officials and have many personal problems in handling their own businesses or farms, and know they cannot spend too much of their time in detailed work. If an executive moves slowly with the whole theory of professionalism, and avoids big words and pompous action, the chances are he will make himself pretty well understood to the county commissioners and gradually win their confidence and be accepted as a part of the permanent government.

Local politics. — Politics is no different in the smaller community than in the large center. At times it appears and is more crude. If the county commissioner wants to get a job for some friend or relative, he says so quite frankly and usually does not go through the manipulations characteristic of the big-city politician. Platforms, control theories, and partisan politics tend to be replaced in local affairs by personal reputation for integrity, promise or action on the matter of local taxes, and neighborhood and personal support. State politics in the same community takes a different turn, and party loyalty and party work, as well as principles and platforms, are much discussed and are about the same as in larger places. The social-work executive is mainly concerned with the more personal politics which characterizes the level of government with which he deals. As for state politics, the administrator must adopt his course, but whatever it is, he must be sure he has carefully weighed the result of his action, and at least taken into consideration all of the factors.

In the long run, unless the social worker can prove satisfactory to

the county politicians and county governmental workers, his position is untenable. Every effort must be made to become a part of the governmental group. In striving to win this status, no social worker can mix up in the type of personal politics prevailing in small city and county governments. In these levels of government, especially in the smaller community, politics is a matter distinctly of men and not of law. Office-holders are there because friends and neighbors place them there. At some future election friends and neighbors of other men will put their candidates into office. The sort of personal conflict which sometimes develops over political office in the smaller community is no fray which a social worker should enter. Friendship and working relationships must be developed. Political association that will result in entanglements must be avoided.

EMPLOYMENT OF PERSONNEL

Suspicion of the "trained social worker." — In a large-city agency such public criticism as comes because a nonresident was employed may loom large, but probably will constitute a mere rain cloud which quickly blows over. The executive of a county welfare department in a semi-rural region finds that when he employs a new social worker the whole community is interested and continues to be. The big-agency case worker is just another case worker. In the small town he becomes a person of importance. If it is a home-town individual who is employed, there is apt to be trouble if his history from the cradle up has been regarded as not quite satisfactory. If it is an outsider who has been brought in, he is inevitably assumed to be guilty until he proves himself to be innocent.

As time goes on the reluctance of communities to employ outsiders will be somewhat overcome. It will be easier to take the trained worker if he comes from the state university, even though he may not be a local resident. This will tend to take off some of the disfavor attached to a nonresident. But there may be no training school within the state. If such is the case, a trained worker not now a resident, but one with some claim to former residence, may be found. This offers a slight mitigating influence against the conviction that home-town talent is being overlooked. In spite of every effort, the small town must occasionally take in a person who is a total foreigner, and who can only be regarded as such by the local citizenry. So it comes down to a question of what qualities in a worker the small-town executive should look for.

People bred in a semi-rural atmosphere are fairly sure that youth is youth for a long time. All over this country during the emergency relief period there was a deep resentment against the "inexperienced" college graduate who was frequently forced on the community to handle a large case load, the character of which he only too frequently misunderstood. For these reasons it might be well to seek as much maturity as possible. Training-school graduates are not all young people, so this practice would not be entirely impossible. Also it should be remembered that some very young people look much more mature than do others. While no clear-cut rule should be made, it is well to give age factors consideration.

The conscientious state welfare department can lend strength to local departments in this matter of local prejudice against outsiders. The state itself should set up standards of employment, and it can always be explained that there are no local people who can fulfill the state requirements. If qualified local people are available, there is no reason to resort to this excuse. If the state welfare department will not lend the power of its organization to reinforcing the local executive, a bad situation will result, with local opinion and prejudice likely to prevail.

Explaining the value of training. — The issue simmers down to a question of how to explain to local people the value of training and experience. Strangely enough, this is not easy to do in specific and elementary terms which people understand. If the public thought more of training and experience than of broad claims which are foundationless, they would not patronize all the quacks and cures offered for the treatment of disease. Actually, no one has yet proven conclusively why a trained social worker should be better than an untrained social worker. The following points, however, might be listed:

1. The trained worker knows how to determine need. The untrained worker is frequently misled; is awkward in his questioning; misses the important points; and in general makes more mistakes which cost the agency money in substantial amounts.

2. The trained worker should know the legal aspects of welfare work and the interpretations which have become a matter of common practice. No matter how much the untrained worker has studied the legal setup, he is unacquainted with the professional interpretations of it. The present tendency is to coordinate all public-assistance measures, so that actual legal knowledge, as well as professional policy, becomes

much more involved than it would in dealing with a single phase of the welfare problem.

3. The present tendency is to do constructive case work on many and varied family and individual problems in connection with straight public-assistance administration. The trained worker should be able to recognize social problems in the family that the untrained worker would never see. In this respect his service is much more valuable and is likely to result in more constructive good for the client and the community.

4. Effective case treatment depends upon a knowledge of how to utilize community resources in the client's interest. Even in a semi-rural county, resources for the client's good present a complicated set of facilities, and it takes a long time for an untrained person to master or to secure full knowledge about them. The trained worker could pick up this knowledge even in a new community in a few days.

5. Welfare work has developed a technical terminology and specialized procedures which leave the untrained person totally at sea until they are mastered.

6. The federal government formally classifies many specialties in social work as a part of its civil service procedure. Having given recognition to professionalism in this field, it insists upon certain standards in every state. As a result of this action in higher levels of government, no local community can maintain satisfactory relationships with the state and federal governments unless it adopts similar professional standards. It is vitally important that counties be recognized as conducting standard programs, because most of the operating revenue is given through higher levels of government, which must approve the general character of the program before money is transmitted. A trained staff helps relationships with these other branches of government.

7. Adherence to standards of training and experience in a local staff tends to prevent upheavals due to changing local political administration. If no qualifications are established and people are engaged simply upon the basis of a "good personality," there is a much greater temptation for incoming elected officials to change the staff and appoint their own friends. Certainly there is no reason why they should not do so, because their friends are just as good as anybody else's friends, especially if it is a fact that the preceding administration considered that experience and training counted for nothing.

These suggestions are merely indicative of methods to prove that an

experienced and trained personnel is best. They may be considered inconclusive and not comprehensive. In dealing with people who have but little imagination and who will give no weight to academic logic, an administrator has a real job on his hands in establishing satisfactory evidence on a proposition which seems so simple as the one under discussion. He will never satisfy a prejudiced local opinion, held by either politicians or the public, through using the arguments here stated. Hope does lie in the fact that arguments such as these might be given a local slant which would help to make them locally convincing.

IMPORTANCE OF CENTRAL PLANNING IN THE SMALLER COMMUNITY

While welfare councils are large-city institutions, the same reasons which account for their usefulness there apply just as strongly to the smaller city. The lack of central planning may not result in as chaotic a condition in the semi-rural community as in the big city, but its absence definitely prevents any attempt to conduct a program on a cooperative basis. The responsibility for some movement toward community planning machinery must come from the leading social agency, which today is usually the county welfare department. In the smaller city private agencies are not in a position to assume community leadership because they have no professionals of sufficient experience and capacity to undertake the job.

Every county welfare director not only desires but needs the united backing of the community. It is not difficult for him, under general advisory help from his board and other citizenship groups, to set up and to make useful a small council of social agencies. Here could be represented all of the public as well as all of the private interests. The really substantial body of leading citizens will be able to function together. The mere creation of such a unit would be of no value unless the county welfare director is willing to give a good measure of personal time to the working out of its program.*

Frequently it is felt that the public-agency executive has no right to give much time to something "not connected with his work." If a community seriously feels that cooperative work, a focusing of public opinion on social problems which demand solution, and an opportunity to secure united action of the local citizenship, are not matters connected with the work of a local welfare department, then and then only would

* Louis Serene, when county welfare director at Grand Forks, North Dakota, developed an interesting and useful council, which had been established originally in 1934 by Paul Bliss, a field representative of the State Relief Administration.

such a criticism be valid. It is perfectly elementary to state that no county welfare department can do a good job unless it receives cooperation from the other organizations of the community, and from the leaders who are interested in social problems. Neither a public nor a private agency can carry on its program in a vacuum. Many have tried and have failed. These services to a council of local social agencies are just as much a part of the job of a local public welfare director as making certain that his own books are in balance and his own program is being properly conducted.

Part II

DAY-TO-DAY ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

Chapter 6

PERSONNEL POLICIES

EFFECT OF TYPE OF AGENCY ON PERSONNEL POLICY

Larger private agencies.—Personnel presents a problem common to all organizations. There are larger private agencies which have carefully developed personnel policies in writing, so that employees and prospective employees can understand exactly the theoretical conditions under which they work or apply for work. Few private agencies, even though they have definite personnel policies, are as objective in their personnel approach as are public agencies under civil service. There may be some which have a form of examination system, but such agencies are rare. There probably are many which have some specific method of evaluating work done, and systems of promotion from one grade to another. Also most private agencies with good policies have definite provision for vacation and sick leave. But generally speaking their standards are less formal, even though they may be just as definite as those provided under a traditional merit system.

Smaller private agencies.—The smaller private agencies, the most numerous group, have only the vaguest sort of personnel procedure. Not infrequently these vague principles may result in a high-grade operation, depending upon the person in executive control. When an agency is made up of a small number of people (less than twenty, for example), the need for objectivity in the handling of personnel becomes less important because fewer problems arise. For the most part these agencies make good employers. There is no legal substitute for mutual good will, though a merit system helps ensure some degree of it when the personnel problem becomes so large that it cannot be handled on an informal basis. While the lack of a personnel policy in the small private agency has some bad results, it is only the exceptional case in which acute difficulties arise.

Public welfare organizations.—There are probably more public welfare agencies outside the civil service than under it, although there may be more people employed in welfare organizations under civil service. These days the larger agencies are fast coming under the merit system;

the rapid changes from 1935 to 1939 would make any figures questionable. But whatever the facts and figures, a large problem exists in the tax-supported agencies entirely outside the merit system. Some welfare work exists in most of the three thousand counties of the nation, and a great many of these do not come under any legal provision regulating employment. Some of these agencies have been alert to the need of the situation and have developed personnel policies and practices which compare favorably with the best. It is not impossible to develop an informal merit system which has most of the good features of civil service and is even able to avoid some of the bad.

This chapter deals only with personnel policies and practices which are fundamental to all types of agencies. No attempt is made to suggest systems of personnel operation, nor to discuss the administration of the merit system. The subject is so broad and so complicated that only a volume could deal with it in logical fashion. But there are certain principles which need executive consideration in dealing with personnel problems under any system of operation. It is to these issues that the following discussion is directed.

POLICY TOWARD PRINCIPAL STAFF ASSOCIATES

Importance of executive to any personnel system.—No policy or standards of personnel can work well without executive cooperation and good will. Some merit systems under the best type of legislation fail in their objective because of poor management, and others which have the disadvantage of a bad legal establishment succeed only because the administration is good. Civil service may be able to get the right person for the job, but what happens to that individual when so placed depends entirely upon executive policies. The manager can view personnel standards as a protection to the jobholder, but actually these policies are a protection to himself and his organization also. If he can bring himself to this realization, his treatment of personnel problems will yield better results.

In the employment of principal associates no policy or system will work well if the executive is jealous of his prerogatives and afraid to trust and delegate real authority to his associates. He owes these people many things which no employment policy, however strict, can ensure them. Some he takes on his staff for the purpose of giving executive experience, with the idea of sooner or later placing them in other positions. Every manager has other people who are usually more mature

and whom he expects to remain with the organization permanently. Between these two groups there is a third type of employee who may be with the agency for a reasonably long time, but eventually will seek promotion elsewhere. The interest of the executive helps greatly in guiding principal associates to promotion within the agency or without it. No associate is going to be happy under the best merit plan unless he knows that the executive is working in his interest.

Need to evaluate work of principal associates.—The future of any principal professional associate depends upon the work he does on his current job. As a result, the executive owes some frank evaluation to all his staff, but particularly to those who share with him the responsibility of management. It is somewhat difficult and awkward to be too formal in the evaluation of one's main associates. Probably the best way is to handle the matter indirectly. Some written comments in the form of an office memorandum can be made by a director in the criticism of work being done or reports made.

Disagreements with important staff associates.—In spite of the best intentions trouble can and frequently does occur between the head of an organization and one of his primary assistants. However, there is really no excuse for serious ruptures, and some consideration must be given to how they can be avoided. Disagreements, personality conflict, temperament, and unfriendliness arise between those people responsible for administration in the same way that they occur among others. It is wise for the executive to realize that time heals many problems. But sometimes, even after waiting unreasonably long periods to effect adjustment, and being careful to deal impersonally on all matters, it may be impossible to continue a harmonious relationship. For the good of all individuals and of the organization, a separation from the service is indicated. It is obvious that every time an executive gets into disagreement with one of his principal staff members he cannot follow the gallant course of resigning himself. There is only one head but many workers, and it is probably entirely proper when misunderstandings arise which are impossible to settle that the staff member and not the executive be sacrificed. There are exceptions to this as there are to any rule.

One of the best methods of satisfactory settlement lies in frankly talking over the situation with the person involved and making an attempt to arrive at a mutually satisfactory arrangement about seeking another position. In the long run it never pays an associate who has an

important position in an agency to break completely with the executive unless some deep-seated principle is involved which makes that person willing to face sacrifice to achieve an end. While a real principle seems to be at stake in every situation, one should be cautious of his ground before resorting to personal sacrifice. It is never wise to be quixotic. Usually the best solution of a conflict is found in compromise, which benefits both parties. When a principal associate in an organization finds himself misplaced, the best strategy is to consider with the executive what new position can be found. Both should be willing to take sufficient time to secure the right opening, even though months are needed.

When some broad issue is at stake and disagreement is evident, the executive should see that the record is in order. By the record is meant written comment extending over a long period and containing the executive's criticism and opinion of work done on specific projects by the assistant in question. It is simply impossible to be on good terms with a staff member for years and then suddenly discover that the organization would be better off without his services. If such is the case, the executive is in the wrong unless he can secure data to prove himself in the right. It is a good deal better that he should show patience and suffer some personal embarrassment than act upon impulse by discharging an important person without adequate foundation.

At some point in the proceedings the officers of the organization or a board committee can be called in to review the matter. In the case of a public agency without a board, it is well to call into conference some elective officials to consider the problem. At the very least, before any discharge is made the individual should have a hearing at which both the staff member and the executive can state their viewpoints. If the merit system is in operation, some legal provision will be made for such a hearing, but in its absence informal arrangements should be provided.

It can be taken as axiomatic that any serious personnel explosion is an indication of executive ineptitude. Problems can be settled satisfactorily and even discharge made without creating a "celebrated case." The greatest cause of trouble in such situations is the emotional feeling which is aroused on both sides. Any staff member is permitted a certain degree of temperament and emotional display except the manager. He can engage in arbitrary action and temper tantrums and many other indications of a loss of self-control if he will select the occasions to do

so and see that his loss of control is only in matters of relative unimportance. On major issues he must be judicious, and when acute personnel controversies arise it is proof that he has not been judicious when he needed to be.

POLICIES TOWARD PROFESSIONAL STAFF

If the professional staff is small, the executive's relations to it are the same as with principal associates. In the case of a large organization the executive must work through a supervisory force, in which case conditions differ greatly from those in the small office.

What individuals on the professional staff are in line for promotion? Which of them are doing their jobs the best? These and many other questions can only be determined by those in a position to evaluate work and to recommend change of status. How can the executive know if his supervisors are objective in their point of view? Some system of fair rating must be devised. Students of civil service have developed rating scales and other methods of evaluating work. Any manager of a large organization should study these systems and adopt one for use in his own organization which seems to give promise of sound objective results.

No administrator can leave professional staff management entirely to his supervisors. In the final analysis he must himself decide on changes in staff status and put the recommendations of his supervisors into effect. His problem is how to keep in reasonably close touch with the professional staff and at the same time not interfere with the authority of his supervisors. Some of the methods which suggest themselves as practical are the following:

1. The executive should make it a point to attend departmental or district staff meetings so that he can be in personal touch with the professional staff and observe it in operation.

2. He should be available for personal conferences with the professional staff. He should have a private talk with each one every few months unless the staff is unusually large, in which case he is so far removed that he can only trust to the opinion of his main associates, who might be said to supervise the supervisors. It is best not to make these personal staff conferences altogether formal. A policy can be encouraged whereby supervisors send professional workers to the executive to discuss specific case or staff problems. Thus some private conferences can be arranged in such a way that the staff member will

not feel he is merely being sent to the executive for the purpose of personal appraisal.

3. As indicated previously, the executive should occasionally call general staff meetings where staff committees may report and where some degree of acquaintanceship can be developed.

4. He should take great care in discussing formal evaluation of professional workers with the supervisors. With the mass of reading matter which crosses the executive's desk, he must not forget the duty to his staff of reading evaluation reports and talking them over with supervisors.

5. Any manager is wise who gives the informal impression that he is quite willing to talk with any professional staff member either alone or with associates on departmental problems. One of the best checks that management has on the supervisory force is what professional workers think about the supervision and its effectiveness. Any executive who gives the impression that his door is closed to responsible criticism makes a serious mistake. Any supervisor who discourages professional employees from appealing over his head shows himself to be petty and narrow or personally inadequate to his own job.

One of the best general precautions is to be certain that the professional staff understands the organization's personnel policy on all points. The practice of having a written policy statement is commendable. New employees ought to be given a copy of this, and all information regarding changes should be available to the whole staff at all times. Petty misunderstandings as to policy are frequently the cause of difficulties. This cause can be eliminated if a clearly worded document exists.

There are bound to be a certain number of necessary separations from the service among professional employees. No personnel system can be 100 per cent perfect in picking the right person for the job. The executive must be sure that these separations from the service are carried out according to policy. As in the case of main associates, it is well to take plenty of time, encourage supervisors to be patient, and to give professional workers the benefit of the doubt. Members of the professional staff are frequently members of a union or other organization of employees which may, and should, and probably will, protest any arbitrary discharge made without satisfactory evidence. So again the record must be in order and no action taken until it can be squared with the policy of the organization. When the facts are clear and a satisfactory

record is available, so that the point cannot be made that the discharge is a departure from the accepted policy in such matters, the executive should take action in a straightforward manner.

POLICY TOWARD CLERICAL STAFF

The small organizations constitute no serious personnel problem because of the close personal relationship between the management and all the people employed, regardless of status. In the large organization the clerical workers are too far removed from intimate contact with the manager for him to judge their work with much personal consideration. An executive must act upon the recommendation of his office manager and department heads. This degree of executive remoteness is unfortunate. It should be recognized by the management as a limitation and great care should be exercised in formal evaluations and objective tests. Nothing here is meant to indicate that an executive should not do everything possible to know his clerical force, their problems, their work, and their point of view. Furthermore, this information should not all be gained at second hand, and a real effort should be made to meet committees and groups representing clerical workers so that a better and clearer appreciation of their problems can be developed. It is needless to state that all discharges and promotions should be made consistent with the organization policy.

JOB CLASSIFICATION

Job classification needs to be flexible. From time to time change is made in standards and methods of operation. Any classification needs to be revised at least annually and should be worked on continually.

A job classification should be specific in describing the position, in setting up the standards of training and experience, in establishing the general channels of promotion, and in fixing the salary range. While civil service makes essential a job classification, agencies operating without a merit system need it even more urgently.

One reason more agencies do not classify their service is because they view it as a complicated task. A job analysis is quite a different matter than a job classification. Any job classification is better than none; a simple one without much detail will at least provide a standard. Any executive can create a workable plan without much research. If considered a flexible instrument, it is subject to constant change and improvement. An experienced civil service administrator, at least several of whom are available today in almost any state, will be glad to give

advice to any public or private social agency on methods of establishing a satisfactory job classification.

One guiding principle should be exactness. For example, many agencies set so wide a salary range in a classification that it almost negatives any clear-cut salary policy. The same thing may be said for experience and training. Job classification must produce clear-cut channels for promotion and establish definite and exact status for each grade of workers.

THE SYSTEM OF APPOINTMENT

Under civil service. — Any civil service plan automatically supplies some method of examination for applicants. In these examinations the organization itself has responsibility. It could scarcely be considered unethical for the agency executive to have close contact with the civil service administrator. Both are concerned with proper examination questions, methods for evaluating employee service, and many other items. The civil service staff is really a part of the agency and almost as close a relationship needs to be established as with other departments. Nor should the only connection be between the civil service commissioner and the executive. Advice from the principal associates is essential. This information should be conveyed to the civil service executive at first hand so that he can be brought in contact with staff members who may express personally their viewpoint on personnel problems.

Outside civil service. — In those agencies not under the merit system some orderly appraisal of applications must be made. A staff committee can help out in this matter as well as a group from the governing board. Certainly all agencies should have a carefully prepared application form on which routine information about the applicant is available as to both his training and his experience. Letters of recommendation should be filed with the application. Such letters should be followed up if additional information is needed. When a vacancy needs to be filled there can be no harm in having a staff committee interview applicants and serve as a sort of examining board. This group could draw up questions for a written examination. Whatever the size of the agency, any candidate should be pleased to have the opportunity to answer questions formally in writing. It frequently happens in agencies without fixed policy that a staff member is employed and later found to be poorly equipped for his duties. An orderly application blank might have avoided such an unpleasant situation. Personal conference is of little value even though desirable and necessary. It must be reinforced with evidence.

Clerical employment. — In the employment of the clerical force every agency needs to give the applicant some actual tests. These can easily be provided. A stenographer may have excellent references, but any executive knows that stenographic ability is a relative thing. A person of modest skill may take dictation well on routine letters. The same individual may be completely lost in a more involved type of correspondence or report-writing. If it is the latter need that the stenographer must fill, let the staff member who needs the stenographer give some involved dictation and see what kind of transcription results. Allowance must be made for strange surroundings, new people, and a certain degree of nervousness. On the other hand, these handicaps are not greater than many others that the individual will have to overcome if awarded the job. Examinations can be set for all clerical processes, but consistent planning by the employing office and study of methods to be used are essential.

Professional employment. — When it comes to the employment of the professional force tests of skill are virtually impossible, and the manager must depend upon evidence submitted. This goes back to the use of staff committees, application evaluation, and such other devices. The point to be stressed is that there must be system to appointment, whether or not it is provided by law.

Temporary appointments. — Temporary appointments are allowed under most civil service plans, though the practice can be much abused. Few social agencies can get along without the use of some temporary help over periods of emergency.

It is clear that the best method of securing such help is through applications on file of people who are under consideration for permanent appointment. The need for casual help at various times of the year can be an actual benefit to the agency if sound principles are followed. By the careful use of such employment, applicants can be given a thorough test as to their capabilities for use on a more permanent basis later. All such temporary workers should be employed under a specific classification and paid in accordance with the minimum range.

VACATIONS AND TYPES OF LEAVE

Vacations. — It is a well-recognized principle that every employee of a social agency needs a vacation. A vacation system should therefore be established for every classification of the service.

It is customary to consider that all employees are entitled to two

weeks' vacation and some amount of sick leave. It is the general practice to require a year's work before a vacation is granted. If a vacation is given for the benefit of the organization as well as of the worker, too strict an adherence to this condition is questionable. A worker who has been in the organization's employ less than a year should at least be given a proportional vacation.

The professional group may have a longer vacation than the clerical staff with some legitimate excuse. It must be admitted this is preferential treatment, and it is subject to difference of opinion. A common argument advanced is that the professional staff carries a greater amount of responsibility with a consequent increase of strain. This may or may not have validity. Another point of greater weight is the fact that it is more difficult to replace a professional than a clerical worker. The tendency to treat the former with more concern and consideration has an element of enlightened self-interest. Perhaps the best argument for preferential treatment is that of tradition. Also the fact is clear that privilege creates privilege, and sooner or later the longer vacation to the professional worker may react to the benefit of the clerical staff.

Sick leave. — Sick leave is a difficult matter to handle, but needs careful consideration in any personnel policy. It is clear that most people are going to be sick sometime during the year. Occasionally a long illness is inevitable. What should the organization do about it? In the end an agency is going to do what the board decides in special cases, but that does not discount the value of some consistent policy for the casual illness. Usually a sick leave up to thirty days is considered reasonably generous. Such a policy cannot always be put in force immediately, but may be a privilege which can be gained by length of employment and increased as years of service advance. Certainly all workers should be entitled to lose a few days' work through illness during the course of the year as a protection to other workers if nothing else. Five or ten days' time off because of sickness is not a serious loss to any social agency. In most organizations even clerical work can be made up by the investment of extra time when the worker returns. A little cooperation between the individual and the management can make tenable a fairly liberal sick-leave policy.

In granting vacations and sick leave any agency must be governed by local conditions. Neither tax-supported agencies nor those financed by voluntary contributions can be much out of line with the local practice of most businesses. If the agency moves too far in this direction,

criticism is bound to follow, and the liberal policy may be jeopardized and even changed for one less liberal than that which is normally followed.

Time for professional study. — All agencies ought to offer some inducements for professional study to benefit both the worker and the agency. It is difficult to take professional courses during off-hours. If a worker is allowed a couple of afternoons a week during an academic term no actual loss is suffered by the agency, as the time invested can easily be made up. Social workers have no strict hours because so much of their time is spent in the field, and altogether too much extra time must be given evenings and holidays. Therefore, a reasonably generous policy on opportunities for study seems in order to reimburse the worker for extra duties performed.

Sabbatical leaves. — Few social agencies have come forward with any provision for sabbatical leaves for workers who have been many years in their employ. This is an idea that might well have careful consideration by all organizations. Eight or ten years of service in any agency might call for six months' study in some school or on some special problem in another community, with good results for both the employer and the agency. This practice has never been seriously challenged in universities, and while the excuse for it in social work is somewhat different than that of scientific research, the theory is by no means untenable.

OVERTIME WORK

In the first place, an organization should attempt to regulate its business so that there is no overtime work. Theoretically, this goal should be attainable. Practically speaking, it is seldom the case. It must be admitted there are situations which develop where work cannot be done in the required hours. During a period of acute unemployment no relief agency can meet its obligations as promptly and as efficiently as during normal times. Any nursing organization is confronted with overtime service during a period when some disease is epidemic. Settlement houses work all the time as a normal routine. Community chests have a campaign period during which the office is open twelve to fifteen hours a day.

Every executive needs to attack this problem with good judgment. It may be possible to regulate hours so that those people who have to work at night may be free from duty in the morning. In case this cannot be done it may be possible to give time off after the emergency

period is at an end, extend vacations longer, or effect some long week ends for at least part of the staff.

It is extremely doubtful whether members of the regular staff of a social agency should be reimbursed for overtime. Certainly an agency can keep a record of the overtime given by its clerical force. But when an agency starts to pay a clerical force for extra hours employed, they have to consider the situation with regard to the professional staff, which cannot regulate its hours. Endless confusion results. It is better policy to be truthful and explain the overtime situation as a condition of employment. An annual wage should take this into consideration and be somewhat more generous than if no overtime existed. Staff employees can certainly be given money for dinner expense when employed in the evening.

Temporary workers, who have none of the loyalties of the regular staff, should as a policy be paid for overtime. They get no benefits of vacation and other special privileges that the regular staff may receive. Some hourly rate of compensation for overtime can be established.

PERSONAL CONDUCT

Some business organizations automatically discharge women staff members who marry on the theory that they do not wish to employ married women. Few, if any, social agencies follow this principle. In a profession so crowded with women it is considered good policy for some to be married. But whatever the reason, a great many married women are employed in social work, and among the group can be found some of outstanding professional competency. This subject of married women serves to illustrate an employment policy, practiced to some extent, which deals with discharge on the grounds of personal conduct.

A policy which causes social agencies more difficulty than the matter of married women is the policy relating to political activities of staff members. Many civil service laws provide definitely that appointees under civil service cannot be active in political affairs. Some agencies, particularly tax-supported organizations which are not under civil service, have the definite policy of forbidding their staff members to be active in political affairs on the level of government which employs them.

It is difficult for any organization to formulate a definite policy on matters of personal conduct which affect the organization except as

they are expressed in some blanket policy relating to conduct which would cause embarrassment to the organization. It is quite clear that if a staff member is arrested for drunkenness, or commits an act of dishonesty, or becomes a bigamist, or commits any other unlawful or discrediting deed, he might automatically be subject to discharge. Just how to phrase in writing the whole host of circumstances that relate to other conduct less serious legally, but painfully embarrassing officially, is an awkward and difficult task. Probably nothing can be done about it except to take such matters into consideration in the formulation of personnel policies, and to make some provision relating in a vague way to personal conduct.

EMPLOYEE UNIONS

In the future even more than today social agencies will have to deal with union representatives. This relationship can be a help or a hindrance to management, depending on the attitude of both parties. It must be admitted that management and unions appear to have more grounds for conflict than for cooperation. This is probably a temporary situation. As time goes forward and management becomes more open-minded in its position, and unions more cooperative in theirs, a constructive result is indicated. At least any executive should start off on this assumption until circumstances prove the contrary.

Making "demands" upon the employer is considered the prerogative of the unions. It might constitute a point for executive thought whether the organization could not also make some "demands" on the union. Wind blows both ways and so do opportunities of this kind. Any union takes some pride in the standards of workmanship its members possess. In return for better conditions of work and more reasonable rates of pay and other privileges extended by management, some responsibility devolves upon the union to increase the standards of its own personnel. The result can be of value to the employing agency. No executive should fail to recognize the opportunities for cooperation which present themselves.

CONCLUSION

The policies herein discussed put all together do not establish a personnel system. Rather they constitute principles of operation which if applied properly might make for better relationships between employer and employee. These principles are fundamental to any kind of a personnel system. There are probably many other important ones. These have been selected because they have weight from the administrative

viewpoint. When incorporated as a part of any personnel system, they can be of some assistance in securing satisfactory results.

The point any administrator must remember is that it takes a good management to make any personnel plan work satisfactorily. Also it must be remembered that good relationships between employer and employee are the result of many other types of management skill. If cooperation between the executive and his staff is bad, personnel practices will naturally be unsatisfactory. If the executive himself is incompetent, no personnel system can survive his ineptitude. Many conditions create situations in which no force can work with contentment. Any office needs good equipment and machinery just as it needs a stable and dependable basis of financial support. No one thing makes for successful operation of a social agency. Personnel policies are not an end in themselves. They must be fitted in with other administrative procedures to do any good, and these others must be effective for personnel work to secure satisfactory results.

Chapter 7

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

FIRST STEPS IN SHAPING UP THE BUDGET

Making the annual budget implies much more than listing on a sheet of paper or prepared form the budget estimates for the ensuing year. It also implies more than tabulating last year's expenditures and then putting down about the same figure. It exceeds in complexity making a rough guess as to how much more one would like to ask in the year to come.

Assuming the fiscal year begins January 1, the budget should have its origin in the serious thought of the executive during the summer months. First, he may call in his principal associates for thoughtful discussions of how the organization is coming out on its budget for the current year, and what are the factors which may influence the budget for the year to come. Some typical questions raised in these discussions may be implied by the following hypothetical conference of an executive in a public agency in the child-caring field, meeting with his departmental superintendents responsible for dependent, illegitimate, and feeble-minded children:

1. What are the factors which are involved in placing the budget for our dependency department so much in the red?

2. Do you think it is true that child dependency has been increasing materially because of the large proportion of the families in the city who are on relief?

3. You people have been warning me that the relief problems have been "damming up" children in the private children's agencies; that their expenditures have gone up nearly 100 per cent in boarding-home care in the past three years; that they cannot finance any further increases and are going to bring their cases into court as rapidly as possible. Do you still think this situation is true?

4. What is your honest estimate as to the rapidity with which the court is going to act on these cases?

5. Do you think we should have a conference with the juvenile judge

and try to ascertain the point of view of the court? Do you think we should warn the county board well in advance?

6. As a rough guess made now, how much increase do you think we will have to secure to meet the problem?

7. Are you sure the private children's agencies sharing in the chest are unable to extend their temporary dependent child care to any greater extent?

8. Would it be a good thing if we considered with the secretary of the chest the possibility of the chest's curtailing work in some other field so as to devote more money to the care of temporarily dependent children? We want to be the last to urge the breaking up of these homes unless it is absolutely essential. Maybe some of these relief families who have lost their grip and are not looking after their children properly will soon be able to resume the responsibility. It seems a shame to leave any stone unturned in the cause of keeping families together.

9. You have told me that commitments of feeble-minded children to our care are going to continue to increase, because children in many families are being penalized through insufficient earning, or through living on relief, and parents find it necessary to shift burdens that in normal times they might like to carry. Is this really true?

10. What about our laying this whole problem before a committee of the welfare council to see if we cannot find some better solution than just asking for more money, some solution which might have in it more constructive elements?

11. Would it be your opinion that if the welfare council was willing to appoint an interagency committee in the children's field to think this thing over with us, our position would be strengthened thereby in case we have to ask a substantial increase in the budget we submit to the county board?

The number of questions like the above which might be discussed in this particular staff meeting of four leaders of a public children's agency could be expanded, but the above are indicative of the way in which consideration of any budget should be started.

METHODS OF PREPARING THE BUDGET

The agency executive and his staff may spend a couple of months in going over their problems for the ensuing year with other social agencies in the field, and kindred fields, so as to be able to arrive at a request which is reasonable and in accordance with the realities of the situation.

By so doing such an agency has come to informal agreements with other organizations in the field. It has related its own problem to that of all factors in the community. It has a knowledge of the complete situation with service figures to back up its dollar estimates. It has approached the budget problem, not from the point of view of the dollar, but primarily from the aspect of the job to be done. Later it has figured about how much it will cost to do this work.

Significance of service figures and unit costs.—Now there are certain procedures in the actual formation of the budget which need precise and careful treatment. For every dollar requested there should be a clear-cut written statement proving what that dollar is going to buy in terms of service. It makes no difference what kind of a budget is involved. In the children's field commented on above, it is easy to figure the number of children the agency plans to care for and the cost per child per year. The budget of a settlement house is more intangible, but every settlement can determine the number of families it serves, and about how much per year per family it expects to invest. For such organizations as the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts the portrayal of unit costs is even more simple. The budget for a categorical aid department presents a simple problem in correlating the service to the dollar, and this practice has become so common in budgets for relief administration that it is unnecessary even to point out how proper correlations can be made. But that a clear necessity is imposed on every agency executive to submit a detailed statement in which the service to be rendered is matched up with dollars to be spent is a mandate that should be so clear as to be entirely routine. To stress such a point seems wholly elementary, but the fact remains that most budgets are not submitted in this way.

Written explanation of budget items.—Trivial items in budget preparation are frequently overlooked and never considered until someone on the appropriations body which is hearing the budget asks such a naïve question as "Why do you need $465 for postage?" The person presenting the budget is taken off his guard and probably answers, "Well, we have a lot of mail." It is clear that any executive can easily be taken by surprise and be unable to give a satisfactory reply. Unfortunately he may never have a second chance to explain. The safeguard against being caught in such a trap is to see that every item in the budget is accompanied by a written explanation, which can always be referred to and which, in fact, should be placed in the hands of the

appropriations body. It is probable that such a group will never read the explanations, but if they do not, and then try to ask embarrassing questions, one can turn the tables on them. When they see that full and complete information has already been given which they have neglected to read, the whole atmosphere of the budget conference is apt to change.

Most city, county, state, and community chest budgets are prepared by departments or organizations in conformity with printed forms submitted. It is needless to outline the many and varied ways by which budget forms are put together. In the absence of prescribed method it might be stated that an executive should always show income and expenditure items for the preceding two or three years, the actual expenditures for the current year to date, plus estimates for the months yet to come, together with the total of exactly how the year will end. There should then appear the budget estimate for the year to come.

THE POLITICS OF SUBMITTING THE BUDGET

The submission of a budget should be no routine matter to the department or agency. Every kind of a social-work organization has to deal with some central authority, perhaps a city comptroller, a county auditor, a chest secretary, or a state budget director. Whatever the situation, there is always some agent for the appropriations body whose influence and friendly interest in an advisory way should not be neglected. In such an instance as the children's agency referred to above, it would be the height of folly not to talk over with the county auditor the heavy increase for the care of dependent children which is shortly going to be put in the nature of a formal request. Nor should the executive stop here. In the final analysis the county board is going to be called upon to act. This board needs education on the problem about to be presented. There are dozens of ways to "educate." Some of the following would prove useful in this instance:

1. Get the secretary of the welfare council to call a meeting on the subject of "The Growing Problem of Child Dependency." See that a good speaker is obtained. In lieu of anyone better the agency executive might make the speech himself. Then see that members of the county board not only are invited to attend the meeting, but that the agency executive, especially if he is not the speaker, brings them himself. If necessary, paying for their luncheons might prove a good investment. After all, the executive in question, if he is smart enough to see the intangible values in occasionally taking the county commissioners to

lunch, probably has a salary on which he can afford to do so. If he has not a reasonably decent remuneration, he probably never will be alert enough to think of plans of this kind, and he probably would not foresee the large increase about to come before his agency. One should bear in mind that such are the reasons why good public officials frequently receive satisfactory pay. Or the shoe could be fitted to the other foot. It is also the reason why some public officials receive such poor salaries.

2. In the agency under discussion the budget for the department of dependent children was currently in the red. At the first sign of a deficit the agency executive should appear before the county board with two or three of his own board people, explaining the nature of the problem into which the agency is running with full sail set. What do the county commissioners want to do about this problem? Jokingly, the agency executive might suggest, "Shall we bring these forty-five children for whom we are providing care that is beyond our budget resources in here and set them on your conference table? We have to do something with them. If they are given to us by the court the only place we can turn is to this county commission. We cannot run this budget on the money you have given us for this year. Seriously, we know it is a tough job for you men to tackle, but it is impossible for us also, and we have to have your help." Thus the commissioners know months before the budget is submitted that there will be trouble ahead.

3. If the juvenile judge is committing these children to the care of the agency, what is more logical than to ask the judge to speak to the commissioners about the needs of the agency?

4. If the problem of temporary care is being handled by private agencies, and they can no longer judge certain dependent children to be making any progress under temporary care, and feel they should be wards of the public agency — then why not ask their help with the county commissioners? Surely they can find in their clientele some friends who can speak to officials.

5. Then there is the family agency, either public or private, which originally recommended that the children be removed from the home. Their help can be enlisted.

Legitimate pressures. — The above suggestions may constitute pressure on public officials, but in the last analysis what does not constitute pressure? Why should not this agency let the county board understand that the problem of child care may be greater than the needs of the road

and bridge fund? Certainly every contractor, every farmer along an isolated roadway, everyone who has connection with the building of roads, is putting pressure on the commissioners. Such tactics constitute what might be termed "legitimate pressure." If the executive of the public agency for child care and his professional friends and all good citizens are not willing to speak on behalf of dependent children, and speak with force and dignity and emphasis, who is going to speak for these wards of the community? These procedures are all a vital part of the budget-making job. The agency executive who does not take leadership in setting forth the real facts involved, and see that the appropriations body has all the information, whether it likes it or not, fails to earn his salary and it is time the community got some official who is not afraid to speak his mind.

Organization for presentation.—In such ways as these preparations are made for the budget to be submitted, but finally the hour strikes when the budget goes before the appropriations body.

The budget is carefully prepared; groundwork has been laid not only with the group who is to give it consideration, but with that body's official adviser as well, in this instance the county auditor. At this point full representation before the appropriations body never does any harm. The official board of the agency should come out. The staff associates of the executive should be present. If there is a professional organization which wants to speak for the needs of the dependent children, it does no harm to have such an organization represented. The local chapter of the American Association of Social Workers, or some other workers' organization, ought to play an active role in matters of this sort. The speeches should be brief. In general, they should be appealing. Above all, they should ring with conviction.

Maintaining the offensive.—There is another side to the story. Whether it is a city commission, county board, ways and means committee of the legislature, or a community chest budget committee, never assume that these people fail to understand their business. Usually they do. Almost always there is some brilliant person among the group who is going to find the flaws, if there are any, in the budget. After enough has been said to convince the most incredulous, the fireworks will begin. First someone will plead poverty of the group and the impossibility of granting larger appropriations. Next someone will find fault with the estimates. The agency is on the spot.

Unless the budget has been prepared with perfection, and unless the

estimates for enlarged need are unimpeachable, the tide of battle will turn against the agency. If the estimates are faulty, probably the agency deserves defeat. But if they are not faulty, the agency can perhaps maintain the offensive throughout the hearing. In passing, it should be remembered that the whole history of budget preparation has been so bad that the appropriations body has almost inevitably been able to get the agency on the defensive side of the debate. Once the organization asking for the money has to defend its position, it might just as well close up the budget books and go home. Even at best, insuperable barriers in the way of financial inability may preclude the agency's getting all it needs. Then the budget problem begins all over again.

OPERATION OF THE BUDGET THROUGHOUT THE YEAR

Flexibility.—Every organization needs to have a flexible budget. If such is not the case, there remains no budget at all. No human being can accurately estimate complicated needs over a year in advance of the time some of them will be felt. Every month the budget needs revision, and such revision should be acted upon formally by the agency board. If some department gains a few dollars in the first couple of months of its budget operation, that department should be held down to a lower annual total, and the money reappropriated to some other item of the budget which seems to be falling into arrears with good excuse. The excuse element must be weighed carefully. Is the executive sure it is good? If not, he should insist that the department make up its deficiency by more economical expenditure the next month.

Responsibility.—The large number of instances in which relief district offices have entered a new month of administrative work without even knowing how much they had to spend is inexcusable. How can any agency expect a department to be cautious of its money unless the department head knows how much money he can have before the month begins, and throughout the month is held strictly accountable for what he is spending day by day? Daily budget controls are an essential feature of budget operation. A large part of the trouble over relief budgets can be avoided by the display of a little intelligence and common sense from the top down. The whole situation can become a game of excuse-finding. The district supervisor did not know how much money he had; the county relief director failed to tell him because the state had not yet informed him; and the state administrator did not know because the legislature had not decided. The explanation sounds

perfectly logical, but it is one of those logical-sounding excuses in which there cannot be found one grain of truth. What if the legislature was delayed? What prevented the state welfare executive from announcing his county budgets on a conservative basis even before he had the allotment? What prevented the county executive from telling his units what each could spend on the same kind of a conservative basis?

There might be audible many groans that the amount granted was too little, but when the official figures did come from the legislature and were found to be more than was estimated, then what satisfaction would be experienced as the state and county leaders went down the line increasing the grants. Bad budget controls, lack of day-to-day information, the passing of the buck to somebody else, are inexcusable practices which exist only because the executive has no imagination, no real sense of responsibility, and no nerve to deal with the problem in the absence of orders from higher authority. The sooner social work loses that kind of executive, the better off it will be.

Special safeguards for budget control. — In the operation of any budget throughout the year, such devices as the use of "contingent fund" and "ear-marked reserve" or "general reserve" can be employed. It is a good thing for any executive, like any housewife, to keep something in the sock for a rainy day. Many managers have been severely criticized for running into deficits, but has anyone ever heard of an executive losing his job because he had created a surplus? Simply explained, a contingent fund or an ear-marked reserve is to provide a basis for meeting some need that may develop which is contingent upon something else, the certainty of which is not assured at the time that the budget is established. Usually it is good practice to so intersperse these contingent funds and ear-marked reserves with other figures of the monthly financial statement that the governing board and department heads do not see them too easily, and are thus not constantly reminded of the necessity to spend them.

There are a few old saws that every executive might well remember: "An unagreed-to deficit is as preventable as smallpox"; "Think three times before you make any financial commitment, and then wait a few minutes before you sign your name"; "Know that your files are such that you can prove every expenditure, even ten years later; and that you can lay your hands on the proof"; "Always estimate your income conservatively and your expenditures generously"; "A surplus never wrecked any social agency, but deficits have swamped many."

THE EXECUTIVE AND FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

In a sizeable agency control of finances becomes a detailed and involved matter which cannot be handled personally by the executive. All of the routine work and much of the control and planning of expenditures must be delegated. One thing, however, should be remembered: while the manager can delegate work, he cannot assign to anyone else his personal responsibility.

Needs for command of arithmetic. — An understanding of basic principles of financial control becomes a necessary part of the equipment any executive must have. There runs through all matters of finance the opportunity to apply crude but effective methods of appraisal. Every manager must retain his grasp of broad objectives and a real perspective of his finances. Illustrations of the principles involved can be found in many instances of day-to-day administration. In the days of large relief expenditure, subsidiary enterprises were often conducted. The example of a reasonably large commissary which bought goods in quantity, sent them out on requisition, and then billed the agency for a slight markup to cover overhead expense, constitutes a typical illustration of such business enterprise. After the commissary had been operating some time it was decided to use cash relief to a greater extent, and the business of the commissary started to go down. Clerks were let out both to keep the overhead within the markup and because services of few employees were needed. At the same time the commissary was distributing a great many surplus commodities at no markup, and it was perfectly plain that the monthly "profit" was not enough to meet the expense of doing business. In order to balance monthly overhead with monthly profit or sales, the executive considered an increase in the percentage of markup on certain articles.

After about six months' operations the manager of the commissary was asked how much profit he showed for the period. After going over his books he announced he had accumulated about $50,000 above operating expense. With this much profit it was apparent that it was unnecessary to increase selling prices, and that monthly loss on operations could easily be absorbed by the accumulated surplus. Upon pondering over the matter, however, the question arose in the mind of the executive as to how the commissary could pay its overhead, accumulate within six months a $50,000 surplus, and at the same time be operating the business on a markup of about 10 per cent. The fact that gross sales amounted to only about three-quarters of a million dollars was con-

vincing proof that the manager's estimate was not tenable. The application of simple arithmetic proved something to be wrong.

An auditor was brought in, a complete inventory taken, and when the matter was finally analyzed, it was found that the actual operating surplus for six months was not $50,000, but about $9,000. The fact was that the manager had estimated his inventory instead of taking it. Then he had considered certain tax rebates amounting to over $25,000 as a part of operating profit. In reality this amount was not accrued through operations, but through rebate. Real financial trouble might have occurred if the executive had permitted so large and complicated a business to neglect common sense and grade-school arithmetic.

Relations with auditor or bookkeeper.—The managing director of any large enterprise, be it social work or business, must keep in mind that he is the person ultimately responsible to the board, and every statement made by any departmental head or finance director must be weighed and studied and tested by the application of the questioning mind and the use of rough calculations and measurements. It is surprising how many mistakes in judgment can be made by staff associates to whom are delegated the work of looking after financial operations.

The auditor or comptroller is assumed to be professionally qualified in his own field, but the principles of accounting and financial control are merely the symbols by which a social agency is enabled to keep track of the procedures of its work, and there must be maintained a distinct relation between that work and the dollars spent. While the executive is not expected to know all the mechanics of keeping track of the money, he must know the reasons for every expenditure, and in this sense he knows more than his comptroller. He must assist his financial associate by thoughtful consideration of all financial reports to be certain the auditor's report squares with the service problems involved.

SAFEGUARDS IN HANDLING MONEY

It can be assumed that the best modern statements of financial management are expected in any standard welfare agency or department. Outside of such statements there are many minor points which give rise to misunderstandings. Time and again social agencies take action and spend money because it is reported that "the city comptroller says" this or that; or some private agency participating in a community chest commits itself beyond budgetary agreement because "the chest secretary said it was all right to go ahead." Then there is the classic example of

some department proceeding because "the executive said I could overexpend in my district this month."

What proof is there for these statements?

No management should ever make any informal commitments concerning the spending of money. Written authority is essential. If the appropriations body has given the management a final figure and some department needs more money, authority to overexpend the budget must be secured in writing. Time and again the executive advises with members of his staff or some other agency concerning financial commitments. Frequently telephone conversations are involved, and the roughest kind of an understanding is arrived at without a shred of evidence as to what the respective parties actually agreed to do. A manager should be cautious about appending his signature to formal understandings, but on money matters there is no substitute for formal agreement. It should be the regular routine, and if any executive is willing to agree on the telephone, he ought to be willing to agree with his name signed on the dotted line.

This does not mean that such action hamstrings and "red-tapes" an agency to the point where it cannot move. These routine precautions and precise, definite, and consistent procedures should be carried out as a doctor scrubs for surgery, or as a pharmacist insists upon a written prescription, or as a bank teller checks a deposit. One can hardly say that the doctor, the druggist, and the bank teller are victims of red tape because they have perfected a careful system which works and which by long experience they have found to be the only technique on which they can rely. It is amazing how well and how rapidly good financial controls and precise methods will function even if they are complicated.

SOURCES OF FINANCIAL ADVICE

The social-work director in any type of agency is employed primarily because he is competent in his own field. It is more than absurd to expect the average social worker to be a master of everything. It is only by long experience and the slow process of accumulating wisdom that any professional person becomes a good administrative officer. The best way that an executive can master the financial phase of his job is to turn to people who know the financial business.

Not infrequently social workers are incorrigible theorists. They develop certain convictions about economics, industry, and government. There is every tendency to be sympathetic to advanced social and eco-

nomic thought. During the thirties, bankers and industrial leaders were charged with being the people responsible for the depression and the chaotic state of business. Many theorists therefore concluded that the banker was not the proper person to serve as a financial adviser in social work. It is perhaps well to remember that most bankers, trust officials, insurance executives, and many other business leaders have forgotten more about financial management than most social-work executives will ever learn. Every sensible person knows where to turn for advice if he is sick, just as he knows what to do if he is going into some building operation. By the same line of reasoning, any administrator of social work must obtain advice and guidance in finance from people who are experts in that field. Nor do these people have to agree with the social-work executive in economic and political matters. The chances are that they will probably not agree. But that fact, if it is one, should not make any difference. Who cares whether the doctor who operates on him is a Catholic or a Protestant, or whether he believes in the great man theory of history, or the idea of economic determinism?

Business leaders, especially in the matter of financial procedures and operations, have a great contribution to make to social work; and given the opportunity to make it, welfare practices will become sounder. It may also be that what is regarded as a reactionary point of view among business leaders may become conditioned by their dealing with human problems from the point of view of the social worker. Over and above all, the social worker may be surprised to find that even the businessman has a few sympathetic social theories, and simply happens to be in a position where he cannot tell of all the unfavorable things he knows about capitalist economy, even though he is aware of them and is doing his bit to correct them under the circumstances in which he finds himself.

When the social-work executive realizes that financial integrity and stability is the rock upon which all successful administrative action is built, he will have gone a long way. The reputation of any good social agency for managing its finances properly must be unimpeachable.

MONTHLY FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

Inadequacy of many financial statements. — Every organization takes a balance sheet from its general ledger at the close of each month. This should be given a careful review by the executive and his principal associates to see how they came out at the end of the period. This result

is then taken to the governing board for further review. The question of what should be presented to the board and to all persons involved in the financing of the agency, as a basis for whatever action may be necessary to take, becomes a matter of vital importance. It also happens to be a point to which many social agencies give but little thought. The kind of statements ordinarily submitted are not revealing, and it is next to impossible to understand from them the financial condition of the agency. Without attempting to cover in detail the kind of statements which should be drawn up at the end of a monthly period, some general suggestions can be made.

Income and disbursements. — There is first of all the record of income and disbursements. In general, such a statement shows the amount of money collected and the amount expended, with proper items listed under each caption. It ends by revealing the amount of cash on hand and its disposition in the various depositories.

Comparative statement. — A comparative statement is also called for, revealing where the agency stands for the number of months since the beginning of its fiscal year as contrasted with the same period a year ago. This can take the form of listing principal items of income and expenditure. The first column would show the amounts expended for each item in the comparable period the previous year. The next column would show the same information for the current year. A third column might indicate in red the items which show a larger expenditure, and in black those items for which expenses have been reduced; for the income items the procedure would be reversed. Using this method gives the management as well as the board some indication of comparable operations. In every sense it is helpful and revealing and naturally lays a foundation for pertinent questions.

Departmental statement for monthly budgetary controls. — Another statement of vital importance is a summary of control over departmental appropriations, showing the budget for each department for the fiscal year, the weighted budget for the number of months closed, the actual payments for each department for the period, and in the last column the suggested appropriations for the month just beginning. If such a statement is brought to a board meeting held any time up through the tenth of the month, not only can the board get a picture of how the current budget is working out, but it can also decide whether the expenditures about to be made for the current month are appropriate, and may enlarge or cut down while there is still time; that is, before

commitments have reached the point where no change can be made. Even though the agency or department is very large, it ought to be possible to produce this statement by the tenth of any month at the very latest. If it cannot be made up by this date, something is radically wrong with the budget control system. Indeed, in any agency or department of normal size such a statement ought to be prepared by the fifth or sixth of the month.

Statement of how the agency will close the fiscal period. — Another helpful statement should be designed to answer the question in everyone's mind, "Where are we coming out at the end of the year?" Any good auditor should be able to figure out the answer to this question. To explain crudely, he would set up the total estimated income, deducting from it the amount received to date, then establishing the estimated funds available to the end of the fiscal period. Next he would set up all appropriations under respective items, deducting therefrom the payments made to date and leaving the commitments to be paid between the date of the statement and the end of the fiscal year. These would be added up and deducted from the estimated income, the difference representing either the surplus or the deficit. Such a statement would vary from month to month, and is always found to be revealing to a board of directors as well as to the active management.

Statement showing monthly income status. — No set of monthly statements is complete without an analysis of income. All organizations, including governmental departments, receive income at periodic dates. It is not uncommon that the treasury cannot make full payments, even though these may be made before the close of the fiscal period. Frequently this involves some kind of financing; therefore, analysis of income is valuable. The statement should show the actual receipts for each of the twelve months in the preceding fiscal year. The next column might show the percentage of the total receipts for each month. The third column could reveal the estimated receipts for the entire year of the current fiscal period. The next column could be used for actual collections; and the final column for the percentage collected each month, which could then be compared with the monthly percentage collected the previous year. The last two columns of this statement, of course, show only the months completed at the date of the statement.

Statements on special financial problems. — While the types of statements suggested give the minimum amount of information which any governing board should expect to receive, they by no means cover all

the statements it is desirable to make. Supplementary special statements on problem matters are perhaps the most revealing type of information which can be given to the board of directors. In the case of an agency dependent upon contributions, a name-by-name listing of the accounts receivable might be made to show just what people are delinquent in their subscriptions. This statement would only be put out if there was trouble about collections. By bringing to the attention of the board, whether by name or by broad classification, the type of accounts which are slow, some definite assistance in procuring faster payments could be obtained.

If an agency dealing in boarding care for children is experiencing difficulty in collecting from parents, some detailed statement of the above kind might be made up. If, on the other hand, such an agency is spending too much money on boarding-home care, an analysis of the number of children who have been in boarding homes for a certain length of time might be made. This classification might lead to the conclusion that some children were being kept there too long, and the board could decide whether it wanted the staff to examine intensively the cases of those children who had been in boarding homes for over two years, and ask its social workers to decide whether boarding-home treatment was called for in all these cases.

In a relief agency which was experiencing difficulty in keeping within its appropriation, some analysis of relief by items might be made and comparisons drawn with previous years.

The underlying purpose of financial statements. — It will be seen from this discussion that real problems of administration which will challenge the intelligence and imagination of any board of directors, as well as any management, can be brought up in connection with financial matters. The trouble with most social agencies is their lack of imagination. They tend to give the board and the management little food for thought, and thereby serious financial problems are never seen until it is too late to do much about them. No administration can keep itself in the dark and expect to see anything; it must turn dull and routine financial statements into something which really illuminates the whole view of agency financial operations. Any group will be anxious and willing to give advice on financial matters if it can be given a full basis upon which to make judgments. It is unequivocally the responsibility of the executive to see that the right kind of data is presented.

Just as in many other branches of work, the use of charts and graphs

can be made helpful in showing up financial problems at a glance. This device should not be overlooked and can be made an instrument of great value.

OTHER PROBLEMS

The use of service figures.—Much has already been made of the necessity of coordinating dollar and service figures. It is just as important to make a monthly summary of service as it is a monthly summary of finance. The two must go together. These service figures have been omitted from this discussion because standard procedures have developed so many different types of service measurement as hopelessly to confuse any discussion of financial responsibility. The subject calls for exactly the same careful consideration as do financial statements. The two are inextricably bound together. No sense can be made out of a financial statement unless it is coordinated with service measurements.

Personnel of the finance department.—A special word might be added concerning personnel in the finance department. No social-work executive should be too sure of his ability to select accounting and bookkeeping personnel. The professional qualifications of these people are just as important as of those in the social service department. Any bookkeeper might easily be impressed by a "bogus social worker." Just so a social worker can easily be misled by a "bogus bookkeeper." Because some individual happens to have a "social point of view" is no reason that he will make a good accountant. Everything else being equal, a social-work executive might like to have on his staff people who have some appreciation of the program. But frequently other things are not equal. The real necessity is to secure personnel who are qualified to handle money regardless of anything else. Probably some member of the governing board or other business person from whom the executive occasionally seeks advice can be helpful in the matter of staffing this department. But above all, a merit system by which these staff positions can be classified, qualifications established, and some form of examination given, will be the greatest guarantee that satisfactory people will be employed.

Periodic audits by outside accountants.—It is needless to say that every social agency and department needs an annual audit by some qualified outside accountant. In the case of many organizations it is well for this to be done twice a year. At the end of the six-months' period it may not be necessary to complete the audit, but certain analyses may be started. This work by an outsider, even though it is an in-

terim audit, tends to check up on any discrepancies that might have occurred during the first six months of the year, and is a safeguard to both the management and the board of directors.

In social service audits it is always a good thing if the executive will cooperate with the auditor, at least to the point of introducing into the audit some small residue of service figures, so that the relationship between dollars and service will have continuity. Even in an audit made by an outside certified public accountant who knows nothing about the service side of the business, it is possible for the accountant to append service statements as given by the management, for which he assumes no responsibility, but from which he is able to make desirable and practical coordination with his own figures.

Chapter 8

OFFICES AND THEIR EQUIPMENT

HOUSING THE AGENCY

Many standard works on office management detail with great exactitude just what any business, including a social agency, needs in the way of office space, and how it should be arranged, ventilated, partitioned, and heated. Probably the average executive can be trusted to work out the details of an office arrangement, provided such a person is thoroughly convinced that the same standards are necessary for successful social work as for any other business. Overcrowding, bad lights, worn window shades, grimy walls, chairs that squeak, desks which yield splinters, typewriters out of alignment, and inaccessible office locations, are illustrative of the details that an executive must watch for. Social workers cannot preach the doctrine of the good life lived on little, and do it from a setting of disorder. Grandeur is not necessary; in fact, it becomes a liability. But a social agency should expect to be housed in a well-established, orderly, and livable office.

Most agencies need a location convenient to clients. Assuming a city-wide service with one headquarters, the loop district has little advantage and costs much more. Often at a street-car transfer point on the edge of the loop larger quarters can be secured at a lower rate than a smaller office downtown. There is no completely satisfactory substitute for the modern office building, but high operating costs due to capital investment and taxes make these buildings virtually out of the question for social agency housing. As a result, store buildings, lodge halls, and small manufacturing establishments on the edge of the loop offer opportunity for remodeling into practical headquarters.

Paint, a sanding machine, and varnish will go a long way in rehabilitating any secure building which has proper heat and satisfactory window space. Ply board or other fabricated wood products can be installed cheaply for semi-permanent partitions and are both utilitarian and attractive.

Such provisions are by no means an adequate substitute for modern business housing, but may be better for both the organization and its

clients than third- or fourth-rate buildings in the loop. With housing, as with other administrative problems, executive resource and imagination must serve a social agency in lieu of money, as funds are usually too limited for the program and even reasonable overhead charges are difficult to meet.

OFFICE EQUIPMENT

Private social agencies develop with little capital except good will, which in the end may prove quite sufficient. In the beginning these organizations are the recipients of obsolescent desks, chairs, benches, and other equipment which businessmen, at the request of an agency or the suggestion of a friend or a wife, willingly or unwillingly contribute to help start some "worthy organization." By the age and appearance of some donated equipment one might surmise that the gift was willingly made, especially if the agency paid the hauling charges. It is never wise, however, to be critical in a matter of this kind, because any start in the proper direction is better than standing still. A desk or chair is an improvement over no desk or chair. And these good-will gifts have set up in business a great many agencies which later made a significant contribution to social work.

But from another viewpoint this sort of beginning sets a pattern or tradition which is unfortunate. A poor desk is no great handicap, but an uncomfortable chair tends to make for inefficient work. The totality of an office equipped with a miscellany of desks and chairs creates a bad impression, not only on the public but also on the workers.

The real question at issue is how and when a private social agency can change to better working equipment. The gradual process is probably the easiest and most practical method. This implies some well-conceived goal or plan. Steel equipment is much to be desired in any office because of its strength and durability. It does cost money, and it is next to impossible to secure at second hand. Sometimes an alert executive can make a start by acquiring some used steel desks and chairs from a business which has failed or a government office which has closed. Such a purchase can start the process, which a good office-equipment concern, on the lookout for the agency's needs, may gradually complete. Assuming green steel is the type started with, it is not impossible to finish old desks and chairs in a green stain at small cost, and thereby give some semblance of uniformity to an office at the beginning of the plan. However, green stain on old furniture may reduce

its second-hand value, which fact should be borne in mind if any substantial credit is anticipated.

Every social agency needs a sympathetic man who sells office equipment as an adviser, even though an interested one. Although he will make but little money out of the agency, there is nothing unethical about using his good will to the organization's advantage. He will see he does not lose too much money. Office-equipment men are usually agreeable people, and they are well worth cultivating. For one thing they can help modernize an office with wooden desks and chairs at reasonable rates if the agency is willing to use desks which are of common size and general appearance but differ somewhat in detail. The old roll-top desks and those with splintered edges can be traded in for both new and used desks in good condition, so that eight or ten new and semi-new pieces of furniture can sometimes be picked up for a couple of hundred dollars. Even for a social agency so small an investment is worth while and will pay dividends in efficiency and general esprit de corps.

Nothing has been said concerning tax-supported agencies, because they have not inherited the traditions of the philanthropic period. But while starting differently, they too have run into difficulties. Great expansion has been the order of the day. Furthermore, many programs appeared to be temporary immediately following 1933, and "most anything" was sufficient. So public-assistance offices have a good many furnishings which cannot serve usefully beyond a four- or five-year period. As a result, something of the same problem confronts public agencies as private agencies and is worthy of the same serious concern by executives.

OFFICE MACHINERY

Most state welfare departments and many large county departments have to be equipped with mechanical tabulating machinery for statistical and accounting purposes. These organizations have problems comparable to the largest business corporations. Indeed some of the federal agencies probably exceed in the complexity and ramifications of record-keeping any private business. Such a situation calls for office machinery so intricate that no consideration can be given the subject in a volume dealing with administrative problems confronting the average garden variety of social-work executive.

Typewriters. — When one gets down to the ordinary private or public agency, he cannot but be impressed by the inadequacy of office ma-

chinery. A typewriter is an essential tool in any agency. There are some clerical employees who do not need first-class machines, because they use them only in conjunction with other duties, and perhaps for internal material rather than outgoing letters or reports. But all typists and stenographers who constantly use typewriters are entitled to the best machines procurable, from the standpoint of production alone.

Duplicating machines. — Duplicating equipment is a vital necessity to a great many organizations, since notices of meetings, reports, minutes, and much promotional material can be turned out on it. Any executive affected by this need should see to it that his machinery is good enough to meet his requirements. The cheapest hand model is probably satisfactory if the quantity of the ordinary run is limited. When a machine is used to turn out letters or reports frequently in excess of one hundred copies, mechanical equipment may be in order. For all practical purposes the cheapest form of stencil is satisfactory and can be procured in quantity at a price as low as seven or eight cents a stencil. Under such favorable circumstances duplicating any written comment by machinery is cheaper and more permanent for record purposes than making a second run of anything manually through a typewriter. Those organizations which have not fully explored the values of this type of machinery should do so without delay.

Miscellaneous supplies. — There are any amount and variety of office equipment, some of which can be of great value in a social agency and much of which is unnecessary. Facts and circumstances condition need. An organization like a community chest can scarcely get along without some kind of a stamp machine and some equipment for sealing. A chest will waste much time unless it has a calculator which will add and subtract and multiply, in order to figure percentages if nothing else. A large public welfare agency dealing with many vendors and clients may have to have a check-writing machine, as both a time-saver and a security device. Such little items as gadgets to clip papers, transparent tape for a multitude of purposes, a satisfactory paper cutter, various types of index cards, big clips to hold correspondence in the file, and many other devices, can be of the greatest utilitarian value and cost but little.

Need for good judgment. — In general, office machinery is needed to facilitate mass production. An agency which does not deal with large numbers needs make few expenditures for such purposes. The sales ability of the office-machinery people runs high, and the sales resistance

of social-work executives is low when they see the beautiful and efficient modern equipment in action. But machinery cannot think and it has no imagination. It is fine to have in an organization if the need is there and the money is available. Theoretically, at least, the administrator is not supposed to be mechanically perfect, but he is presumed to bring to the agency a good thinking equipment, and in the matter of management of his own business affairs he will have to use it with a high degree of discrimination and balance. If he can get along effectively without expensive additions to his office, he is expected to do so. Conversely, he should buy when he sees a profit for his agency in the transaction, but it should be a benefit which is not theoretical.

OFFICE FILES

It is evident that the purpose behind the presentation of these routine administrative problems is not technical or managerial, but rather suggestive and perspective. No one can glean much information as to how an office should be equipped or a filing system conducted by any study of this comment. But one can perhaps understand the nature of these problems and some of the fundamental difficulties faced by a social agency in meeting them. This sort of recognition is elementary to the study of any system of filing or any method of mechanical accounting. And such things always need the most intensive consideration in the light of immediate conditions, which invariably differ even in two organizations doing like work under similar circumstances. As a result there is no absolute pattern for any routine process, and any installation for any purpose must be made on a case-work basis.

A centralized filing system.—Perhaps the most obvious need in a social agency filing system is that it be centralized completely, with some one person in charge. Social-work professional practice is so highly individualized that unconscious opposition is evidenced toward a central filing system. Central files are considered satisfactory providing the worker does not have to use them. He is apt to want the file on his desk or otherwise immediately available. His trust in the file clerk is not too great. When he has a few minutes he likes to look over his records. Occasionally he wants to isolate some statistical information. Many bookkeepers, office managers, and statistical clerks think some of their working material should be filed privately because they frequently refer to it. Then the executive and his secretary, who are the real proponents of central filing, sneak into their own desks reference ma-

terial; indeed, when some important file cannot be found it is always good practice to look first of all in the manager's desk. Putting the matter another way, it is easy to observe that the entire staff fully believes in the theory of a central filing system, but that most members do not want to use it as such.

In operating a filing system successfully the first objective is to secure complete cooperation. This entails active work. Staff members must be cultivated, cajoled, and coerced. Personal talks, staff meetings, bulletins, and every device must be used. Admonition must never stop, or central filing will stop along with it. Once given the chance through the cooperative efforts of all, the second objective must be to make the central system work. The accomplishment of this goal depends upon the system and its operation.

Filing problems.—The method used must be designed to fit the needs of the agency. Whatever system is applied, satisfactory equipment is essential in the way of cabinets of various types. Certainly current files of correspondence and reports necessitate easily accessible steel cabinets with roller-bearing drawers. As the material becomes older, steel storage files of a cheaper quality can be used. Finally, the oldest material, which cannot be discarded but which calls for infrequent reference, may be stored in the cheapest kind of cardboard containers. Other filing equipment for a social agency includes provision for disposition of cards, magazines, periodicals, books, index cards, cuts, and any other items which are likely to be needed in the future. A number of incidental needs arise in the maintenance of files. Separators and tabs are important; large clips to secure the contents directly to the files themselves may be needed. While incidental equipment is not costly, it is a necessary part of the filing system.

Elimination of unsightly files.—Social agencies have to be careful of expense. The result is apt to be a heterogeneous mass of files presenting a most disorderly appearance in any open office. There are two solutions to this situation. The first and easiest is to discard old, unsightly files and miscellaneous cabinets which do not match, so that complete uniformity will result. Such files present a satisfactory appearance even in an open office. Unfortunately, this solution costs money. The second way to handle the problem is to partition off a room for the files and get them under cover. While this also calls for expenditure, it is not so serious an outlay as needed for uniform filing equipment if the organization is large and its files poor and diverse in appearance.

A responsible filing clerk. — The file clerk or person in charge of the central filing system is responsible for successful operation. Compensation for an untrained person in such work is low, but no lower than the results which will be obtained. No untrained individual can produce results. If the budget will permit only the lowest clerical salary, then some competent staff member must assume the job of supervision. No matter how efficient the supervisor may be in connection with regular duties, knowledge and command of filing must also be a part of his equipment or be acquired. As in any other branch of activity, trained personnel is the key to a satisfactory job. Most social-work organizations are not large enough to employ a file clerk for that work alone. The next best practice is to assign some clerical worker to such duty. This alternative seldom works well. An executive should be aware of this fact. He alone can make the part-time filing clerk operate efficiently by giving the position its proper importance and by creating a really cooperative staff attitude.

TELEPHONE SERVICE

Telephone service is painfully substandard in most agencies. It seems little money is available for this purpose. But it is an item which admits of no compromise because it is so fundamental to successful operation.

When a board of directors once asked an executive to bring together all the costs involved in telephone service, and discovered it amounted to $5,000 a year, the board was shocked. They felt they had found an indication of serious inefficiency on the part of their executive. One board member who happened to be an architect and engineer said he would gladly send one of his men over to make a survey, which was done. At the next meeting of the board the agency executive waited with considerable interest to hear what this architect would report. The board heard the report, and then censored the executive because he had been rendering such inefficient telephone service, told him to install more equipment, and gladly approved a bill amounting to about $7,500 a year, perfectly conscious that even that amount was inadequate to the needs.

This illustration shows the executive tendency toward conservatism in this matter and the occasional willingness of sponsoring groups to recognize the basic importance of the telephone service. Equipment, however, will never yield a good result alone, because it is the talker who gives satisfaction. This brings up a number of points which every manager must keep in mind — the intelligence, the tone, the attitude,

and the definiteness of the person who receives incoming calls. Most social workers spend a great deal of time in the field. The handling of messages, the referring of calls to other staff people, and in general the settling of telephone business to the satisfaction of the individual calling, are of primary importance. Some instruction in and criticism of personal telephone methods is an executive duty.

LIGHT AND VENTILATION

Natural and artificial lighting both need careful consideration. While windows may not be essential to good ventilation with modern air conditioning, most offices will need windows for both air and light for many years. Then too, it has a good effect on workers to be able to look out of the window. The feeling of being cooped up in a place where one cannot look out is bad. To be hemmed in with just a narrow areaway between one and the next building is not much better. A remodeled factory building with elevated windows above the line of vision gives the same impression of imprisonment. Where wind full of dust and dirt continually blows in, a ground-floor location is also irritating. These are a few minor factors which an executive must consider and from which he must draw his own conclusions.

All things are relative. Few office situations are perfect. As a result, an organization may have to adapt to several unsatisfactory conditions, in which case it is well to consider if there are any devices which will ameliorate the difficulties.

Venetian blinds. — Venetian blinds are often a great help. These can be procured at prices not far above good-quality window shades. They tend to reflect light and are adjustable. Some think they improve the appearance of an office and others do not. Their utilitarian value for working purposes cannot be denied. Especially are they valuable on the south and west windows to deflect intense sunshine, particularly in the warmer months. They get soiled, but so do shades, and on the whole their upkeep is not much more and their durability somewhat greater.

Illumination. — Artificial illumination is always a problem unless perfectly worked out by indirect lighting. Many workers have become so habituated to direct light of extreme intensity that they cannot accommodate even to good indirect illumination. In addition, the proper kind of equipment is costly. Some help seems forthcoming on this problem. Equipment companies have come forward now with greatly improved overhead lights carrying indirect illumination in partly trans-

parent fixtures. If ceilings are not too high it may be possible to secure reasonably satisfactory results at comparatively low cost. Usually it will be necessary to supplement general illumination with desk lights for certain people who do close work or have impaired vision. Fortunately equipment companies have placed on the market desk lamps of unusual effectiveness at most attractive prices. These are manufactured on the same principle as the overhead lights. And they are decorative as well as efficient. These combinations being available, there is no good reason why the lighting problems of a social agency cannot be solved at a low cost.

Ventilation.—Ventilation has a direct relationship to efficiency of workers and demands administrative concern. Many buildings housing social agencies, indeed probably most buildings, have no provision at all for mechanical ventilation. As the air grows bad the force grows tired and the work suffers. There is probably some correlation between poor ventilation and respiratory infections which cause loss of time through illness. Altogether these factors create a problem worth serious thought even though there are strict limitations to satisfactory solution unless fundamental remodeling is possible—which is not usually the case.

Delegating to one person the responsibility for opening office windows hourly for one or two minutes may prove helpful. This device costs nothing and in some offices has worked out satisfactorily. If a little care is taken so that wind does not blow papers, and employees do not become chilled and irritated, no harm can come of trying the experiment. Opening windows will not have any noticeable effect on employees in a week's time. Good results show only after a prolonged application; and if a manager tries this expedient he should keep it up for six months to a year in order to judge at all of its success.

There are better ways to regulate ventilation. Any reliable air-conditioning company can give advice, which is, of course, accompanied by effort to sell equipment. Impartial expert opinion may be obtained by most social agencies without cost through consulting some friendly architect or engineer. There is no secret about the fact that a large open office will benefit from an electric window fan permanently built in and regulated to change the air frequently enough to effect good working conditions. Some of this equipment is not costly, but its efficiency is probably dependent upon particular circumstances, which differ greatly between offices.

Humidity.—Fresh air is by no means the only factor in ventilation. Most steam-heated buildings in cold climates create a serious humidity problem. Just what effect an average relative humidity of 0–10 per cent has on a working force is a question of individual as contrasted to mass reaction. Medical comment appears varied. But no one can deny that evidence shows more respiratory infection in winter than in summer. Thus the humidity of the atmosphere may be a factor worth thinking about. A reasonably accurate gauge to register percentage of relative humidity can be purchased for little and borrowed for nothing. Again air-conditioning companies are only too glad to demonstrate their products, and here is one, the effects of which can quickly be measured by a layman with a humidity gauge. Humidifiers are not cheap, but are not beyond the consideration of even a social agency. Again no sharp reaction on employees is immediately discernible. Any office may secure a 20 per cent increase in relative humidity, but whether it makes an office force more immune to infection or has other good results can be determined only after a trial of several months or a year.

THE PROBLEM OF PRIVACY

A private office provides a high degree of satisfaction to the worker. This fact is important, but not as a basis of judging the need for private accommodations. An executive should consider first of all how many private rooms he can secure in the given space and still leave a light and airy room for a general office. He should keep in mind the light, heat, and ventilation for all others in the office. Buildings specially designed for partitioning are vastly different from those constructed for other purposes. As a result, an executive may have to give thought to compromise expedients.

Given a square or rectangular four walls, certainly two sides can be used for special construction. This leaves two sides to provide light and air in the large workroom. The question is, what should be placed on the two sides where there can be privacy? Naturally there must be an entrance, and adjacent some kind of a counter to accommodate an information desk. This may or may not cut down private space, depending upon which wall the entrance cuts. Then if toilets and washrooms are not otherwise available in the building, they will also cut down the number of private offices. Furthermore, a file room and general workshop is better if screened from public view, as it is impossible to keep it in shipshape condition. Any sizable social agency needs a committee

room for meetings and, if possible, it should have some kind of a small rest room.

If professional people who must hold confidential interviews are placed at a desk in the outer office they are at a distinct disadvantage. Usually agencies try to arrange files or screens to give semi-privacy. Such an arrangement fails, and makes the general office look like a second-hand store. It is much better to give professional workers desk space for ordinary work and to build a series of small conference rooms for private interviewing. These rooms need only contain two or three chairs and a small table on which to write and lay out papers. Since most interviews are short, the problem of light and air can be ignored.

Clients have been forced into many embarrassing situations through failure to provide privacy for professional workers. Agencies have tended to measure privacy too exclusively in terms of the private office. The conference room or cubicle may not be so satisfactory to the ego of the worker, but it is just as practical for the client. In fact, it has certain assets from the administrative viewpoint. Less space is needed. Office management is easier. Light and air are better because private accommodations are fewer. The office looks better.

MAKING THE OFFICE ATTRACTIVE

There may be a few social-work executives who have some artistic taste, but their employment is certainly not conditioned by that attribute. Even though an executive thinks he knows how to create an attractive office, it is probably better that he consult some architect in the laying out of his plans. Perhaps he only wants to improve his present layout by a few skillful touches here and there. If so, he needs even more to have reliable professional advice. Here he may want an interior decorator on whose good will he can impose. His staff may contain a member who has competency in this field; also social agency board members are not infrequently experienced in making drab rooms attractive. There is good help available all around, and a manager misses a good opportunity unless he takes advantage of such assistance.

He may well start on the premise that the appearance of any office is susceptible to improvement. A really attractive place to work is a decided asset. It has a bearing upon production. It creates personal satisfaction. It promotes pride in work. It helps in public relations. It is by no means an academic and esthetic item in office management.

The wall color, window blinds or shades, floor covering, pictures or

wall charts, desk arrangements, and many other incidental items can be altered with striking results. If one has ever watched an artist or even a cartoonist put life and animation into a sketch with a few touches of the crayon, one can well appreciate what a competent interior decorator might do by a few changes in the office establishment.

CLEANING AND JANITOR SERVICE

Office workers do not appreciate good cleaning and janitor service until they have experienced poor. It is a fine thing to look out of a clear window or to walk on a well-kept floor or to see a clean picture. It is particularly necessary to maintain clean and orderly working conditions when the space per person and machine is small. Life on a ship is extremely confined and running gear must be ready for instant need under maximum strain. Therefore, it is kept secure and perfect at all times. The same principle should apply to a social agency. There is the confined space. There is the need for instant use. There is the requirement of discipline. Unfortunately, such orderliness does not prevail. One reason is bad tradition. Another is a lack of executive conviction that janitor and cleaning service is important.

If one criticizes the condition of the toilets and washrooms in a social agency, he is apt to hear the excuse that clients use them also. If rugs are soiled, it is because so many people walk over them. If walls are dingy, it is because the agency cannot redecorate. These are excuses and not explanations. Toilets and washbowls get dirty because they are not cleaned regularly. They are supposed to be used, and clients use them for the same purpose as the staff. Rugs are in bad condition because the cleaning people either do not work on them or because they have improper equipment, not because people use them. When walls are dirty and dingy they need cleaning, which any janitor can do himself if assigned to the job by the manager. They may need paint also, but no wall needs to be dirty. Item after item could be listed to reveal executive carelessness in a social agency. No janitor or cleaning woman is going to perform the manager's duty of standard-setting in the service performed. They know instinctively how careful they must be. Some energetic janitors will do a good job in spite of management's willingness to work under bad conditions, but most of them will not unless the incentive is present. If an army colonel can regularly inspect his kitchens, a social agency head can see that his washroom is clean without any loss of dignity.

HELP ON OFFICE PROBLEMS

Staff meetings afford a medium for discussion of many of the day-to-day administrative problems. The office manager particularly and department heads also have an obligation to share many of these executive responsibilities. They should be made to feel this sense of duty by repeated reminders and by the delegation of responsibility.

There are also other managerial aids. It is sometimes surprising what a staff committee of clerical workers can suggest with respect to office equipment, lighting, files, and many other office problems. If there is a union, ask the members to do something. There would be less difficulty with organized workers if management assigned them some duties in assisting it. People generally and unions particularly are pleased to be given opportunities for cooperation.

Invite the board or city and county officials or the organization's membership to visit the agency. Encourage suggestions. Advance problems. Request assistance toward solution. No executive gets help unless he asks for it. Too often it is the cranks and busybodies who volunteer aid. The responsible staff member, board member, or just plain member is busy with his own affairs, and while willing to help if called upon to serve a real purpose, prefers to think he is not needed unless specifically singled out. Minding one's own business is a well-tried proverb. It is the executive's business to secure proper cooperation. He will not offend in doing so. He may develop sources of substantial help and good will. At least, it costs nothing to try.

Chapter 9

OPERATING POLICIES AND HOW THEY ARE DETERMINED

THE NATURE OF POLICY

A community chest executive was offered the opportunity to have his organization named as beneficiary for an attraction secured by a department store, designed to bring people into the establishment, and thus to stimulate Christmas trade. The show was popular with children and adults alike. An admission price was charged but the store did not want to keep proceeds above the cost of the production. The community chest secretary expressed his regret in not being able to accept the anticipated revenue of several thousand dollars. The chest had only to lend its name as the advertised sponsor. The organization, however, had a policy which did not permit this sort of cooperation. Naturally the secretary refused in a diplomatic manner, and in fact conferred closely with the department-store manager in selecting the best possible beneficiary from the standpoint of both the store and social work in the city. The point for discussion is not the situation but the policy. Why did the chest have it? Who made it? What was the executive's duty in relation to it?

Experience has proved it unwise for chests to sponsor any commercial enterprise for a percentage of profit because competitive commercial houses which are regular chest contributors resent the use of the organization for such purposes. Facts indicate this attitude to be perfectly reasonable. Why should a chest help one merchant rather than another? Obviously it cannot do so and still command community support from all.

No problem would be presented if all requests were so simple. Many times a chest can without hazard be made the beneficiary of some entertainment. The question arises as to who will judge the circumstances and what will be used as a guide. These matters come up for executive action with sufficient frequency to make board action impractical. Sometimes a decision must be made without advance notice. An executive needs something to guide his decision so that his directors will not

criticize the result. Such a guide, rule, or policy is made in the form of a resolution by the governing board, and is therefore legislative action governing the management. The policy can be altered by the board at any meeting, but so long as it exists on the records the organization is supposed to act in conformity with it.

All social agencies have policies. The larger they are, the more complicated and formal the policies become. Public agencies must be more cautious than private ones about their policies because, since they operate under the government, any citizen or taxpayer may object and even file suit if he thinks a public agency is not functioning within the law. The law itself constitutes one type of policy. When the executive writes a bulletin regarding a certain procedure, he is creating still another sort of policy. The professional worker visits a case and extends aid of some form because in his professional judgment the need exists; this action constitutes another variation in the policy-making function.

LEGAL POLICY

Act of Congress.—Every social agency must have some basis for legal operation. The easiest examples to understand are those organizations established by congressional action. The Social Security Act of 1935 is an involved instrument because it provides the basis of legal operation for a complicated system of grants-in-aid to the states, as well as a method of tax collection from thousands of employers, together with the transmittal of savings from some twenty-six million employees. The general structure of the administrative organization is set forth in the act. The relationship between the levels of government is outlined. The schedule of benefits to be paid under the insurance is definitely established. The act serves as a good example of a legal policy.

State old-age assistance act.—A legislature enacts a statute providing for old-age assistance to persons above a certain age, with specified length of residence and incomes below a fixed amount, who have no children able to care for them and no other means of support. The act itself creates the auspices under which it is to be administered. There may be created a board of commissioners, or there may be a single administrator, or the auspices may be some already established public welfare department. Whatever the arrangements, the law itself becomes the legal basis for operation. Interpretations, together with rules and regulations, and detailed policy-making are all left to the board or individual who is granted by statute the power to decide day-to-day issues

as they come up. Such administrative action is conditioned by other laws, and naturally the office of the attorney general, and even the state courts, sometimes figure, through legal rulings and interpretations. Such court action and legal rulings then become a part of the legal policy.

Articles of incorporation of private agencies.—Another common legal policy in the social-work field is represented by the constitution and bylaws or the articles of incorporation of local private welfare organizations. When any group of people decide to create a society for functioning in some specific branch of the welfare field, or to carry on any form of social-work activity, the first step is to draw up an instrument which defines the purpose of the organization, its government, its membership, and all other factors pertinent to the continuity of its operations from year to year. This document is written in conformity with the state law and is usually filed with the secretary of state in the process of formal incorporation. Currently or at some later date there may be added a more detailed legal instrument, which is known as the bylaws of the corporation, and which details such items as the amount of the membership dues to be paid, the duties of the officers, the time of meetings, and a number of other policies of somewhat lesser importance than those represented in the constitution itself.

Thus the constitution and bylaws of the private philanthropic organization relate to it as the act of Congress does to the Social Security Board, or the state law to the old-age assistance system. Just as Congress or the state legislature can amend its actions, so also the membership of the private corporation is enabled to amend its basic law under provisions described in the articles of incorporation and the bylaws.

Local charters.—In addition to the legally constituted policies already described, there are other types, such as the charter granted a local Boy Scout council by the national organization. These grants of power are in the form of written provision, which, within certain limits, governs the policy and procedure of the local council. Other examples of this kind of charter are those of the Camp Fire Girls, the Girl Scouts, and other national corporations in the welfare field which maintain local branches, but whose existence is dependent upon affiliation with the parent organization.

There are variations in this type of charter which can be illustrated by the articles of incorporation of a local Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. While these organizations have a definite national affiliation, they operate under a greater degree of local autonomy than those just referred

to. These associations have found it desirable to establish a mixture of policies of a national character and those arrived at through the medium of local determination.

The will or endowment.—Still another type of legally constituted policy frequently found in the welfare field is that of the endowment or will by which a substantial sum of money is left for purposes specified by the donor. This kind of instrument is so varied in character as to make it impossible of specific description. The types vary all the way from the endowment which creates either a self-perpetuating board of trustees or one appointive by the courts or some other continuing agency. In recent years these endowments have developed into more flexible instruments than was formerly the case. It used to be considered good policy in leaving an endowment to specify the exact method of its expenditure, even though it was presumed that only the income was to be spent and that it might go on ad infinitum. The utter fallacy of this procedure was proved. It became plainly evident that many problems of today cease to be problems of tomorrow because their cause is removed. Crude examples are at every hand and need no mention. Any mechanical civilization with the rapidity of change occasioned by modern science and invention invalidates the foresight of ensuring wise expenditure of money for almost any purpose. The better theory of endowments prompts people to leave them so that some group can plan their expenditure with a reasonably free hand and with a purpose not too specifically defined. Furthermore, the idea is spreading rapidly that all endowments should not only expend the interest from investment, but distribute the principal as well, so that within a reasonable number of years the entire fund may be liquidated.

While this list of legally constituted policies for welfare organizations is not complete, those that have been summarized illustrate the principal characteristics of legal policy forming the basic law of most welfare organizations.

POLICIES CREATED BY THE GOVERNING BOARD

An example from state government.—The Minnesota state legislature provided a state relief fund during a special session held in January, 1936. This relief fund amounted to about $7,500,000 and was turned over to the State Executive Council, which body was instructed to decide upon its allocation and the methods of its administration.

The State Executive Council sought a formula by which it might

allocate state funds to the counties which needed them to meet relief needs. What actually was done is unimportant, but the judgments which went into the decision can be used to illustrate the manner in which board policies are decided.

These Minnesota relief funds could have been paid to counties on the basis of population. Still, some counties had no relief problem, while in others half the population were in need of assistance. Obviously, such an allocation would be unfair. Perhaps the distribution of funds in proportion to the number of relief cases carried by each county would be more satisfactory. Then up came the question of the ability of counties to finance their own relief, and the thought that the law really intended the money to assist counties which could not adequately help themselves. Why give state relief funds to counties, even though they had a heavy case load, if they had hidden resources to pay the bill themselves? This line of discussion shows the complicated interplay of opinion usually involved in drawing up rules and regulations on a legal policy of any kind, even though the legal instrument which provides the foundation of operation was thought to have been made very clear.

A community chest board policy.—Every community chest has a constitution in which its purposes and some of its broad policies are defined. Yet every year some group must decide how much money the chest should try to raise. Obviously this becomes a matter of decision for the board of directors. Here, too, are many conflicting opinions. Some argue the need is much greater and therefore an increase should be made in the asking. Other members of the board reply that the ability to give has been lessened, and as a result the goal should be no higher. Still others say that the government is doing more relief work, so the goal can be reduced. Another point of view that may be brought forward is that while the relief appropriation might be reduced, the needs are much greater in the recreational and children's fields. The whole question is fraught with differences of opinion. The governing board policy wisely arrived at constitutes the drawing together of conflicting ideas into a workable plan which comes as close as possible to satisfying the group making the decision.

Other types of board policy.—A social settlement decides it needs a new building. The old one is worn out and does not constitute a modern plant. Perhaps its governing board is entirely agreed this is true. On the other hand, how much it can raise, what kind of a building it

wants, what will be the needs of the neighborhood during the next thirty years, and a multitude of other problems require answers that are administrative policy in the making.

Exactly the same kind of a situation comes up before the county welfare board. Shall it extend its function from that of a purely relief-giving agency to a family service organization giving case-work service? This demands an important decision, and probably the law under which the board operates, or the grant of authority from the city or county commission, may not be at all specific on the point. Perhaps it could not undertake this work if it wanted to. First it may be necessary to receive a legal opinion, which, if different than expected, may mean it must begin all over again in deciding whether it would be wise to establish the proposed function under the new circumstances.

One might go on and on listing the type of things which constitute board policy: Where shall the agency bank its money? In what amount shall it bond certain employees? How shall it invest its funds? How much insurance shall it carry on the plant? How will it meet a deficit? How will it dispose of a surplus? What are its standards of employment? How much shall it pay people in various classifications of work? These are all questions which illustrate the types of problems demanding legislative action by the board of directors or other policy-determining-body.

THE POLICY PREROGATIVES OF THE EXECUTIVE

The broad outlines of an employment policy are determined by the board of directors except under civil service. It must approve the classification of positions and the approximate salary range to be paid. Aside from the employment of the executive himself, it is not good practice for a board to render more than advisory service in the employment of the staff. Actual selection of staff members is the responsibility of the executive himself, to be exercised personally or partially delegated to some subordinate. Such questions as the person to be employed, how much he should be paid, under what classification and scale of pay he will fall, under what appropriation the expenditure should be charged, are all matters for executive decision. But some rules of procedure must be made.

A constitution of a children's agency prescribes that the organization operate in the field of child care. The board may decide that its general policy shall be to look after children temporarily dependent, for whom

there is hope that they may be returned to normal family life. This seems clear cut, but really the most important policy function is left for executive determination. Such questions as how many children the agency can handle, for what proportion of this number it can provide boarding-home care, work-home care, or supervision in their own homes, are all unsettled problems. Moreover, it is a broad assertion of policy even to assume that the professional staff can determine just what children are only "temporarily dependent." What does this phrase mean? How can it be applied? Who is going to determine whether the dependency is temporary or not?

There are thus many instances where the executive must decide upon the interpretation of policy. Almost everything done in an important welfare organization has some bearing upon already instituted procedures. The board must refine the basic law, establishing rules and regulations. The executive must then clarify these rules and regulations in terms of professional operation; and finally the interpretations of the executive must be refined still further through the policy-setting function of the professional worker.

POLICY-SETTING BY THE PROFESSIONAL WORKER

Take, for example, a settlement house in which there is a gymnasium. The constitution has already defined the general purpose of the house. Under its provisions the organization has constructed a building. By board policy the head resident is instructed to operate the gymnasium. This resident has decided that there shall be basketball leagues, and some professional physical director is put in charge. But his problem is not simple. He may have half a dozen leagues, with six or eight basketball teams in each league. How often can the A team use the gymnasium? Will he set aside a special evening for the B team? Who is eligible to play on the teams? Which leagues are to be permitted to compete? What should be the minimum and maximum ages of participants in any league? The charter has nothing to say on these problems, neither does the board of directors; and if the head resident has any opinion, it is merely a personal one given as a matter of advice to the physical director.

Thus it will be seen that such a professional worker has important policy decisions to make. The idea that policies are drawn up only by the board of directors, or that policies are contained exclusively in the charter, is a gross misconception. Probably the most important policy

of the agency, even though it may be narrow in the policy sense, is the one made by the professional worker.

What does the average relief client care about the law governing the relief agency? It may be vastly important to him, but probably he has never read it, and by the same token he is little interested in the interpretation of the board of directors or the executive as to the correct field of work in this particular relief agency. What the client wants to know is, "How much relief will I get, and will it feed, clothe, and house my family with reasonable decency?" Who answers that question? The professional case worker on the job. To be sure, the board of directors or the executive may have detailed the amount of food relief that a family of five can be given under certain conditions. That is as near as any board or executive can aim at the target. Such special conditions as sickness, with consequent special diet, other available income, relatives to help, and the age of children, form some of the conditioning factors which determine the policy of how much relief a family is going to receive, and that policy is determined almost exclusively by the case worker. It is therefore by the individual worker that the relief client judges the agency.

In the case-working field someone has to decide whether the C family shall be brought into court on a neglect charge, to see whether the home shall be broken up. Will the neighbors who testified about the terrible occurrences in the life of the family actually come into court to reveal their story? Are the rumors spread about true? Can one believe what the children say? Can one credit the statement of the doctor, the minister, or the employer? How much of what they tell the case worker is hearsay and how much is actual evidence? No, the policies governing case-work action on this family are in no sense regulated by the charter, or the board, or the executive. Professional performance becomes the test. The professional worker makes his own policies.

One could go on at some length in the various fields of social work, pointing out the kind of questions which only the social worker can answer. The answers to these questions determine the policy: "Can I end boarding-home care for Johnny and return him to his parents?" "Should I try to commit Mrs. D?" "Should I recommend to the court that Helen be put on probation?" "Shall I end the clinical treatment of the case?" "Can Mrs. E be confined at home?" "Should Mr. F go through bankruptcy?" "Should I advise Mrs. G to seek a divorce?" These are treatment policies. These are policies determined by the pro-

fessional acumen and skill of the case worker. On these policies the professional staff member may seek advice from the supervisor or the executive or any number of other people. But these others only give him advice, and in the end he makes a professional judgment. His decision is vitally important, and may mean as much or more in the life of a certain family as when the physician decides whether he will resort to surgery or continue treatment. In both cases the wrong decision may involve the most dire consequences.

It would be impossible to describe accurately the policy-making problem of the social agency without taking into consideration the various sources of the policy-making function. Of these the professional worker is probably the most important of all. This is to be especially emphasized because so many of the young and more inexperienced professional workers take too lightly their own responsibility in matters of policy. Whenever mistakes are made or things occur which they do not like, they readily blame the executive or the board for the occurrence by passing it off with such a phrase as "our policy is not good on this matter."

Policy-making is a composite action by the charter, the board, the executive, and the practitioner. By no logical argument can it be proved otherwise. All elements in the organization which deal with clients are involved in the policy-making job.

THE NATURE OF COMMUNITY POLICY

Out of the background of community life arise many factors that condition any kind of social agency policy. This is another fact which emphasizes the value of understanding the interplay of forces in the community and that intangible thing that might be called the community mind.

Geographical differences. — In the northwestern part of the country, where the climate is severe, it has come to be taken as a matter of course that relief families will be given enough coal to keep them warm. This in no sense means that relief agencies are expected to provide coal only to keep down acute suffering. People of any northwest city would vote as a unit that families in need of aid be given enough coal to keep them warm. This means that some coal is allowed in practically every month from September through May. A worker coming to that part of the country from the southeastern section would have to acquaint himself with this deeply ingrained community tradition.

South of the Mason-Dixon line one runs into well-established convictions on the subject of race relations. It is the duty of any relief agency to treat all people as human beings, but a Northerner working in the South would likely find his position entirely untenable. If he was cautious he might alter the Southern customs to a certain extent; but the basic fact would remain that the South is clearly convinced that the Negro has one standard of living and most whites have another. Southern opinion seems inflexible, and it involves the theory that it is no business of the relief agency to alter Southern custom. The same principle holds good in public education provisions in many Southern cities, a good public school system being provided all the way through secondary schools for white people, but Negro education perhaps stopping with the eighth grade or junior high school. These discriminations, as contrary as they are to fundamental principles of justice, must be taken into consideration. Of course, a social worker may be quixotic and take any kind of a stand he wishes. In such situations as these, however, he would probably invalidate his future usefulness.

How community policy is altered.—During the past decade sugar-beet companies in the Middle West have gradually imported a substantial number of Mexicans for work in the beet fields, regular farm workers not being well suited to it. This importation of cheap labor solved an immediate problem. Hovels were provided for Mexican families to live in, and the whole family group labored in the fields. At the end of the season they found shelter in the cities, most of them having earned enough to live on a low Mexican standard until work opened up again in the spring. Successful living depended upon some common laborer's job which the head of the family might get during the winter. Beginning in 1930, when the depression was felt, sugar-beet companies gave help to some of their Mexican labor to tide them over into the spring. As the depression gained headway, local farm labor decided it wanted to work in the beet fields, and Mexican families began to be replaced. Also the sugar-beet industry was not as successful as formerly, and wages were paid for shorter periods. When later in the season Mexicans moved to the city, practically none of them had enough savings to get through the winter, and the sugar beet companies did not help them out. Thus they were forced onto public relief.

There was no fixed community tradition as to how these Mexicans on relief should be treated. It was necessary to create a community point of view. A social worker could go a long way in helping to form

some basis of community opinion; he could not, however, move more rapidly than the city was willing to go. Deportation of Mexicans who had illegally entered the country was considered, but information proved there were so many without legal status that it was impossible to attempt deportation. Some sixty families from St. Paul were voluntarily returned to Mexico in 1932 at an expense to the community of about $4,000. Within a year it was found that some of these same Mexicans had returned, and the practice was given up.

With deportation impossible, and repatriation impractical, some other course had to be worked out. In 1933 and 1934 relief per Mexican family was low, probably about half the average relief expense for the community. But the Mexicans learned the American way of living and became less satisfied to subsist on a lower standard. Community leaders at first resented giving Mexican families the same treatment as their own local citizens. As time went on, delinquency, crime, communicable disease, and all the attendant social problems growing out of a low standard of living by the Mexican group, were observed to throw in jeopardy American families in the same community. Also, as time went on, Mexicans took advantage of the public schools, the settlement houses, and various other educational opportunities. Families of outstanding worth rose above others. Community opinion began to shape itself into the feeling that "something could be done with these Mexicans after all." By 1938 most thoughtful citizens who had studied the Mexican problem had come to the conclusion it was in the best interest of the community to meet needs in Mexican families, in accordance with their individual situations, on the same level as needs were met in other relief families.

The community viewpoint having changed to this extent, any worker dealing for the first time with Mexican families in the community under discussion would have to be sure that he did not bring into the treatment of his cases policies formed in another community which discriminated against its Mexican population. By the same reasoning, a worker leaving this community and treating Mexicans in some other would have to be careful that he took into consideration the point of view of the new community.

Adaptation to community tradition.—Social thinking advances slowly, and often actual damage can be done by flaunting too advanced ideas. While the process of education is laborious and not at all sure, it is the only vehicle by which a community moves forward. Probably

every social worker determining his own treatment policy must move faster than the normal community concepts would permit him to go. But he cannot afford to move up in front to the extent that he loses all touch with the life about him. Such a procedure only results in permanent damage to the individual, the agency, and the community.

Tradition determines whether it is good taste in a particular city to call infants born out of wedlock "illegitimate." Some cities have discarded the phrase on good grounds. "Underprivileged" has been a popular word throughout almost the entire country, but today many people are frowning on it because it implies a stigma to a certain group. These are small illustrations of the part community tradition plays in shaping action and policy. If in a speech about children enrolled in a social settlement, a social worker constantly refers to them as "underprivileged children" when the head resident of the settlement has been trying for months to eradicate the use of the term, the speaker would not leave a good impression in the minds of either the head resident or the people who had been converted to the impropriety of the word.

The policy conditioned by community consciousness is not merely a negative thing. It does not constitute a barrier which no social worker dare transgress. On the other hand, the worker must know what these community traditions are, and how they work, in any place in which he proposes to practice his profession. They are not impossible barriers. Indeed, they may offer a constructive challenge. It is the obligation of the worker to elevate the community concept. This he can do by wisdom, patience, and education.

CHANGES IN LEGAL POLICY

Every worker has a responsibility to observe how the legal policy fits the need of his organization. A city which operates under a board of public welfare finds that such boards are usually established by the city charter or by a special enactment of the legislature. In either case the provision creating the department could only prescribe the basic law in conformity with best judgment of the time. Probably it represented a compromise on what the original group wanted in order to ensure passage in the legislature or at the polls. As time went on, impractical features of the law come to light.

One welfare board, created for a county by a special act of the legislature, discovered that there was no authority permissible under the law by which this board could maintain a cash revolving fund to use

in the payment of rent, family moving expenses, and essential cash relief items. This was an obscure matter overlooked when the law was set on the statute books. It can be seen, however, that this particular welfare board was in a serious predicament as the volume of relief grew great and it was hedged in by an impossible limitation. For years the only way in which it could get around the barrier was to ask private agencies to pay these expenses and later to reimburse them upon bills rendered, which was an awkward, complicated, and expensive procedure.

One day a group of people interested in the board were lunching together when the secretary hit upon the idea that he might be able to obtain the approval of the county delegation in the legislature, then in special session, to change the law. At the next meeting of the delegation the board's secretary, together with other officials, presented the problem. It was traditional in this legislature that when action involved one community only, and the delegation from that community was unanimously favorable, the whole body voted "yes" as a matter of routine. It took only thirty minutes to explain the need and convince the senators and representatives that the step was not only practical but essential. The amendment to the statute was passed without question. This welfare board could immediately set up a revolving fund and meet problems which for eight years it had been hampered at every turn in solving. Why did not some board member, some professional worker, some private agency executive, or some legal adviser, suggest this procedure before?

The answer is that professional workers as a rule do not interest themselves in matters of legal policy. They say, "That kind of action is the business of the executive." No doubt such an opinion has support, but in another sense change of legal policy for the better constitutes a basic issue in which any professional person should have an interest. Therefore, it is proper and highly desirable that all professional workers study the legal policy under which their agency operates to see what can be done to improve it.

One of the classic illustrations of change in legal policy is that of the endowed orphanage. Modern orphanage boards consider it desirable to expend their income for care of children in boarding homes, but legal restriction sometimes prohibits the use of their endowment funds for this method of care. Objectors cite court cases to prove a precedent for their conservative opinion. Yet the fact remains that many heavily en-

dowed orphanages are today operating boarding-home programs, psychiatric projects, and other deviations from the program prescribed in their original charters. Nor have these institutions lost their endowments by so doing. Many of them have been through involved and expensive court actions, some of which have lasted for several years. In the end, however, they have been given court authority to proceed on a modern basis of child care. If such a goal can be reached by alteration of legal policy, even though it is difficult to attain, it is worth attempting, and if failure marks the first trial, second and third attempts may be more successful. To continue the expenditure of money under a plan which does not meet modern needs simply because some person long since dead has described too meticulously how the money shall be spent, does not seem a justifiable course, ethically, legally, or humanely. The courts are instruments not only of law, but also of equity and justice. The law is not supposed to be static, but an ever-shifting body of knowledge. If professional social workers as a group would give more serious attention to faulty legal policy, much more rapid progress might be made in its correction.

HOW PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY CREATES CHANGE

Following 1933 many private family societies carried on programs wholly inconsistent with the trend of modern family welfare practice. It is hoped that at last social work has entered a period in which the field of relief is left to public welfare administration. For a private family agency to devote its resources exclusively to carrying a small relief load, on any grounds, seemed to be an untenable foundation for operation, in spite of its traditions and constitution.

Some private societies by 1936 and a great many by 1939 had revamped their basis of operation and begun to experiment with a service program, leaving basic relief care to the public agency, themselves providing relief only on what has been described as an opportunity level. Such a reorganization may not be an ideal solution of the problem of what field of work modern private family societies should engage in; but it is an indication that at least some few, even as early as 1935 and 1936, had come to recognize that their old traditional programs were a duplication and a misfit in local provision for family welfare care, where public departments had been established which were able and willing to deal with the relief problem on a permanent basis. Because of these early and thoughtful experiments, by 1939 much progress had

been made, a great deal of it directly attributable to conscientious professionals who took the responsibility of changing fundamental organization structure.

CORRECTION OF FAULTY BOARD POLICY

Policy as established by a governing board is much simpler to change and alter than the legal basis under which an organization operates. The board is closer to the professional staff, and the faulty policies themselves usually affect the staff more intimately. The example closest at hand is the pay range for various classifications of employment.

Most cities furnish illustrations of correction in salary rates, usually brought about by the action of the union groups, and in some instances by chapters of the American Association of Social Workers. Most boards appreciate organized suggestions if brought to their attention in the proper manner. Proposals to alter pay scales can come from any group representing either organized or unorganized workers in an agency or department.

Responsibility of professional workers.—The sooner professional workers develop a proprietary spirit about their jobs and a sense of the importance of their personal relation to the executive and the agency, the better it will be for all concerned. Almost every medical man worth his professional status is interested in all conditions of hospital life. He takes a leading part in the correction of abuses, such as poor food and inequitable salaries to nurses; in the question of who shall and who shall not be permitted to practice on the staff; in the amount of hospital rates. All of these matters, and many others, are constantly presented to the superintendent by physicians individually and collectively.

A comparable situation does not exist among social workers. On the whole, they fail to give voice to their opinions about how the agency is conducted. More than most professional groups, they appear to regard their employment as limited to the confines of their particular duties. In recent years this condition has changed for the better through the energy and initiative of the younger group in the profession, many of whom are nonprofessional, but who have brought into social work characteristic action of other fields. Frequently the protests from these groups have been misdirected, but recognition of the principle that professional people on the staff owe a duty to the agency and to themselves to correct agency policies and board and executive interpretations which are unsound and impractical, should be conceded a forward step.

The proper way in which to develop channels of communication on matters of agency policy between the professional staff and the controlling power in the agency must be a matter of experiment. Satisfactory progress will be made in direct proportion to the high quality of thought and action put into this matter by the more thoughtful of the professional group. They can well take a lesson from the younger people, and develop, extend, and make more practical the type of group recommendation which has been made in so many of the relief agencies of the larger cities.

In an organization which depends upon professionally trained people there must be a spirit of democracy. A training program which includes college graduation, two years of postgraduate training, and a year or two of apprenticeship, is expected to produce people of substance, with personal opinions, observations, and convictions which are worth listening to. This sort of person does not want to be muffled and forced to work under conditions which allow him no voice in policy determination. Most boards are not as close as they might be to modern social-work thought and are not acquainted with the newer developments and standards of training. No doubt they would be glad to grant a wider voice in policy determination to the professional group if they were constantly reminded as to what these persons have to offer.

This leads to the question of how much the professional worker does have to give. In the past he has displayed too little initiative. The average social worker has been reluctant to state his opinions clearly. Anyone now entering the social-work field should assume that times have changed. Not only should workers aim at making their opinions felt through individual and group action, but executives should realize the potential values of this action and do everything they can to string wires by which the voice of professional workers can be carried to the ears of the management.

Responsibility of the executive.—To effect thoughtful action, it is presupposed that the professional staff must know what is happening in the governing board of the agency or department. The executive should see that his staff is enabled to read copies of board minutes and receive memoranda concerning board interpretations; in general, to spread among the group complete knowledge of what is happening by examination of written records and through verbal announcements. It must also be remembered that the client and the public seldom hear what the board does. They only know what social workers tell them.

Workers must therefore be informed, and if the executive of the board does not take steps to give information, he should be reminded of his duties politely but emphatically.

In such ways also the board is assisted to keep abreast of the best thought of its staff and of its clients indirectly through the staff. It must always be remembered that the board is far removed from the job. It can receive first-hand information only by being constantly in touch with the personnel which is doing the job.

INFLUENCE OF SIZE OF AGENCY ON POLICY-MAKING

In discussing the question of executive policies it is trite to propose that they should be determined only after conference with principal associates and other professional members of the staff. There are many policies which the executive would handle as a matter of personal prerogative, but those which affect professional performance should be weighed and considered by the people who are responsible for carrying them out.

There are some large welfare organizations in which the executive seems far removed from the professional staff. Even department heads use care in approaching him. Other workers scarcely see him at all. Indeed some welfare establishments are now so large as to make them almost impossible to operate from the viewpoint of sound administrative procedure. A state welfare director cannot be responsible for state institutions, including prisons, supervise all forms of public assistance and relief, maintain proper relationships with counties, and at the same time carry on normal contacts with his associates. In some federal departments and a few local welfare units the same condition prevails. Size itself removes the executive from any close touch with intimate problems. These duties must be delegated, and it may be questioned whether this can ever be done with complete success.

It is fortunate that most welfare agencies have not grown to gigantic proportions. It is with doubtful honor that the nation has received the giants of industry. Giants of social work may fare no better in accomplishment for the public good. The old slang phrase, "The bigger they come, the harder they fall," is pertinent in regard to the natural trend toward consolidation. Some operations become too large to sustain themselves administratively. Their failure shows up more clearly in the creation and maintenance of sound social-work policies than at almost any other point. The "bulletin-writing executive" invites staff discord

if he maintains high-grade professional service. His personnel gradually becomes transformed into the mechanical and routine type of worker who is satisfied to labor in a factory atmosphere.

It is only in a private agency or public department of moderate size that executive–professional staff relationships can be close enough so that the best principles of policy determination can survive. This point is fairly debatable. There are indeed a few examples of high-class professional operation in the large units. But to permit the director to act like a social worker, to allow him opportunity to observe social treatment on a case-by-case basis, and to afford him time for personal guidance of the staff on policies, an agency of moderate size is usually essential. Given such conditions, the alteration of executive policy becomes relatively easy if staff and management concepts are sound.

IMPROVEMENT IN PROFESSIONAL POLICY-MAKING

Frequently professional workers are much more dogmatic in the matter of policy interpretation than is any other group. Their attitude will change as a new spirit in regard to policy relationships is developed from the top down and bottom up. Social workers who have ignored their natural responsibilities for legal, board, and administrative policy cannot be expected to exercise any considerable influence on policy. That professional workers are perhaps the most important link in the whole question of policy has been indicated; that they carry out this responsibility effectively is questionable.

The traditions of the emergency period have been bad. A tendency to throw responsibility on someone higher up has been too prevalent. This can be improved only by an entirely new concept in policy dealings. The application, however, of this newer point of view depends upon the willingness of the professional worker to accept responsibility and to exercise some discrimination in interpreting policies on the job. A new idea of professional importance becomes essential. No ground will be gained until this highly individualistic state of mind has been developed for a considerable period.

CONCLUSION

It is needless to comment that the policy of any organization represents the very heart of operations. The only element in the social-work field which looms up as of greater importance is the matter of professional competency. Regardless of how sound the policies may be, no

social-work organization can effectively do its job without a high-grade staff. These two vital matters go hand in hand.

Since 1932 a dangerous precedent has grown up which concerns the stability of social-work policies. The frequent change of regulations, the institution of new programs throughout the length and breadth of the country, constitute a tendency which endangers the basis of future social work. Many people who have had experience during this period may feel that such sudden changes should characterize normal operations.

Social-work treatment is a slow process. Patience in operation is essential. Policies cannot be shifted quickly from one foundation to another. Stability in social work naturally calls for great deliberation, just as it calls for wide experience and high professional standards. The responsibility of policy-making, beginning with the law and including the board, executive, and staff, is a basic issue to which all professional people must respond individually. It is only by a completely democratic control of policy throughout the organization, by careful consideration of changes, and by basic stability of the whole structure that social work can expect to receive public confidence.

Again it must be understood that social work exists to serve its clientele, and that before all, it must attain a high degree of client understanding and sympathy, or policy and program have failed. If some of the problems herein discussed are kept in mind, and if professional workers can assume the responsibilities indicated, there should result a reasonable client understanding and public confidence which will tend to make any agency a better place for the practice of the profession.

Part III

BROAD PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTRATION

Chapter 10

THE SOCIAL-WORK EXECUTIVE AND POLITICS

WHO ARE THE POLITICIANS?

A president, a governor, a county commissioner, or a township trustee must have had widespread aid from friends to be elected to office. He is the important man for the moment—the politician in office. But there are many other politicians. They include those who are thinking about political office in the future; those who have helped directly or indirectly in the campaign; and those who assist the official in office and attempt to keep him there.

The difference between the politician and the voter is one of degree, as measured by activity in various political channels. Every citizen is for or against the man who is running for office. He makes a definite choice at the polls. He privately tells his friends how he is going to vote and probably points out mistakes in their voting plans. This is the great American pastime, in which almost every man and woman in the country participates to a certain extent. Even children wear election buttons and display some childish, if unreasoned, interest in politics. But such activity does not carry the distinguishing mark of the politician.

The politician is "on the inside." He is the man who is delivering votes within a given area for a particular candidate or ticket. He may not be the speech-maker, because political parties often secure outsiders to make their political speeches, and these outsiders may not even have close connections with political parties. The real politicians are the manipulators. In the first place, they secure the election of their candidate; and in the second, they advise him on policies, appointments, public actions, and every point which they think has a bearing on his re-election or on the welfare of the party.

THE POWER OF THE PARTY

By and large, all people are elected to office through the instrumentality of political parties. Many times outstanding individuals without political backing have thrown their hats in the political ring out of a

sense of public duty. On one occasion the major party candidates for the governorship of Kansas were not such as to please many thoughtful voters, and a group proposed that William Allen White of Emporia, whose name was known intimately by every Kansas voter, run as a so-called independent. Out of a sense of great loyalty to the state, and a conviction that neither party candidate would serve the state's best interests if elected, Mr. White consented to run, and made a vigorous and colorful campaign. His newspaper articles and speeches filled the front pages of every newspaper in Kansas. Quotations from his campaign efforts were carried in the press of every large city in the country. It was a dazzling campaign. He literally knocked speechless his two opponents. Any citizen of Kansas who did not know politics would have predicted Mr. White's election by an overwhelming majority.

But he was not elected. The other candidiates snowed him under. They had political machines behind them. Mr. White had only the ability of his pen and voice. These were great enough to attract the attention of the whole United States, but they were not powerful enough to beat the local politician in the slow process of securing votes in his precinct, family by family. There have been instances where people have been elected to office merely as distinguished citizens, but these examples are few and far between. Usually such success is the result of sizable public indignation with political power which has been ruthless and highhanded to the extent of creating real public anger, strong enough for the moment to shake the deeper foundations of political party power.

Any dissertation on how politicians are elected to office would fill several volumes. Here is pointed out only the fact that normally government is run in all lands by men and women who have affiliations with political groups. Every city, county, and state government is controlled by people who are indebted to political machines for their official power. Social-work organization is a part of the machinery of government, or closely related to it, and almost every social worker has business relations with at least the politicians who are in office. He must understand the American system of politics and how it functions.

POLITICIANS AS HUMAN BEINGS

"Venality" of politicians.—One cannot assume that politicians are bad, or that because those in office must receive backing and support from political organizations, they are bound body and soul to do the

dictates of their political advisers. As a matter of fact politicians are not nearly so venal as people think. More often than not, the thing that is good business is also good politics. Real political power is not often gained through the employment of cheap political trickery. It is more a product of statesmanship than of politics. If a mayor of a city attempted to gain strength by employing political friends to work in the administration of his relief department, he might please the people so employed, but before he was through with his term of office, there might be considerable repercussion because of the resulting inefficiency. On the other hand, if he had used his power to maintain high standards of employment and insisted on a soundly conducted relief program, it is not unlikely he would have gained a measure of public confidence, and along with it thousands of votes. To jump to the conclusion that practice of politics is always inimical to good government would be about as sensible as to conclude that the sun is always bad for growing crops because one year there was too much of it and a severe drouth resulted.

Nonofficeholding politicians.—It would be advisable for every social worker to find out who are the politicians in his town. The ones in office are apparent enough, but, as stated before, only a few politicians want a public office. It is well to consider what they do want. In this connection we might ask: Do the thousands of citizens who help raise community funds expect to get anything out of it? Do the hundreds of men who give volunteer service to the Boy Scout program expect personal reward? Do the hundreds of people who take part in amateur dramatics receive any tangible benefits from their participation? Politics is an American avocation. People like it. Many men are politicians from quite laudatory motives. They like to feel themselves in a position of power. They like to have officials ask their advice. Most of the time they render honest judgment and attempt to do what is best in any given situation. These are the constructive politicians. Fortunately most are either constructive or thoughtless as to why they play this game.

One must realize, however, there is another side to the picture. Some politicians have selfish motives themselves or represent selfish interests. Government has many good contracts to award, and while careful systems have been worked out by which contracts go to the lowest bidder, there are ways and means to subvert all rules and regulations. Therefore, it may not harm a contractor if he has some tie-in with politicians. There are other politicians on the lookout for petty graft. Every city

has wellsprings of evil, and some politicians carry around their little buckets to catch the drippings from such sources.

Politics is just like any other force in the community. It has a good side and a bad side. It has fine people as well as the scum of the earth. Thus it behooves social-work executives to know the good from the bad; to understand the motives behind public action, to know who presses the buttons and pulls the strings. There are rumors about how things are done politically. One cannot believe them too readily. The wise social worker, however, can discover the factual basis of the political world almost as easily as he can discover the factual basis of any other community activity. To be sure, politics has more complications, is not quite so obvious, and is shrouded with a certain mystery. Still it can all be penetrated if one is willing to make a study of the situation and establish personal relationships with the people who really know.

WHEN IS A SOCIAL WORKER A POLITICIAN?

Suppose that in a city where the mayor acts as appointing authority for the local welfare board, he finds upon taking office that two vacancies must be filled. Among others, he calls in for advice two or three leading social workers. They start out by suggesting qualifications the mayor should consider in making his appointments. He replies by suggesting a couple of names. His advisers agree that one is all right and one not so good. The mayor then suggests that they quit beating around the bush and give him the names of several people upon whom they all could agree. They propose two or three whom they think would be satisfactory. The mayor's rejoinder is that they all agree upon one. They do. He proposes that one of them go out and in his name ask that one to serve on the board. Is this politics?

It would certainly be a fainthearted social worker who considered that this modest discussion involved him in the political arena. If the mayor called in these social workers, they were plainly lucky. If he had not called them in, it would have been their duty to reach the mayor, directly or indirectly, and provide guidance for the appointments which he had to make. In matters of this kind it is seldom good ethics for social-work groups to pass resolutions about particular people who would make good members of a local welfare board. Such a course of action only tends to irritate the appointing authority. The law vests some official with the power to appoint. Usually that official is glad to have organizations propose the qualifications that are desirable. But

he might well be indignant with professional groups who went to the extent of trying to name individuals for the job.

Yet, even though the mayor might display resentment because professional organizations suggested specific individuals, the fact remains that he must have definite suggestions. The problem for social workers is how to get their concrete proposals before the appointing authority in a decent and ethical manner. Naturally, if the mayor calls in some representatives and asks them point blank, an unusually fortunate opportunity is provided.

Example of political tools used by social workers.— At the time old-age assistance laws were first being approved by the Security Board, a certain county with a large city had been operating a county pension plan under the auspices of its welfare board. A person who had done good work for several years was director of the local service. He occupied the position through appointment by a former secretary of the county welfare board, which in this instance had been given authority by a resolution of the board of county commissioners to establish the local service. The welfare board in turn had asked its secretary to set it up and had approved his plan. Shortly after its inauguration, the pension service had begun to run itself. The director of the local pension plan had certain business relationships with the board of county commissioners, who by law had to approve individual pensions recommended. He did not have much contact with the welfare board, even though he was under its auspices.

When the federal act began to apply in this state, expansions were necessary, and one day in a meeting of the county commissioners a resolution was proposed which aimed to bring the enlarged pension system under their own direct auspices through a subcommittee. When this resolution was read there was some outside protest, but the action carried by a vote of four to three.

As soon as the action was taken, one of the members of the board submitted a list of seven whom he proposed be employed at once as additional investigators. It was plainly evident that the cheapest sort of politics was beginning to enter the new plan almost the one moment after it was established. This was too much for one member of the board, and when the question was put, it lost four to three.

In order to safeguard the system to some extent, the members of the county board who had been against the whole plan saw to it that the chairman, who was one of the three opposed to the arrangement, should

appoint on the subcommittee the other two who had been against it. This was done, and the subcommittee of three had a majority who were not in favor of playing politics with old-age assistance. They set up a merit examination as a basis for selecting the enlarged staff, although civil service was not used in connection with employment in county departments.

Local social workers assisted the board subcommittee in selecting its candidates through examination. From the viewpoint of politicians the scheme was diabolical, because the jobs were better paid than comparable ones in the county welfare board's relief department. When the examination was announced, the experienced workers in the welfare board took the examination and easily passed head and shoulders above the rest. There was nothing left except to certify the professionally qualified people who stood highest on the list.

Political manipulation was certainly used in turning the tables on the county politicians. Was the political strategy resorted to by the social workers who conceived the idea of giving the civil service examination an ethical political move? By no stretch of the imagination could it be charged that there was any lack of professional ethics in the action taken. That these same social workers used political tools to turn the tables on the others can scarcely be denied. When the time comes that social workers are so meticulously ethical that they cannot stoop to any traffic with politicians they will have their heads so high in the clouds that their feet will be entirely off the ground.

SOCIAL WORK AND STATE POLITICS

Local politicians are an entity in themselves. National party lines seldom mark local political divisions. In fact, many local offices are on a nonpartisan ballot. The significance of this is not that local government is outside the political realm, but merely that local political machines are built around local issues and tend to transcend state and national lines. This is not always true, but generally speaking one finds a greater scramble of political parties locally than in any other level of government.

In the states, on the other hand, though parties may not be of exactly the same constituency as nationally, broad party lines tend to govern state elections, and they are usually similar lines to those that figure in national affairs. Some illustrations of how politics and social work meet in states might be pertinent.

Politics in the creation of public welfare board.—There was to be created in a certain state a public welfare board. A group of legislative officials sat in with an adviser to draw up the framework for the bill. They knew little about the principles involved and permitted the outside adviser a free voice in explaining the basic features the act should contain. Later these suggestions were refined by the attorney general's office, and a suggested form of the bill sent to the technical adviser. The following features illustrate a few ways in which the principles suggested by the nonpolitical adviser were contorted by those who had political interests:

1. The adviser proposed the appointment of the state welfare commissioner by the state welfare board. The bill as drawn up placed the appointment in the hands of the governor.

2. Originally it was suggested that the board of county commissioners appoint local welfare boards of not less than five nor more than seven citizens, of whom not more than two of the small board, nor more than three of the larger board, were to be elective officials of the county; and that all persons named receive approval of the state welfare board. The revised bill provided that the board of county commissioners make the appointments; that two commissioners be appointed to serve on the smaller board, and no more than three commissioners on the larger board; but that in addition the county judge be a mandatory appointment. It was plainly evident that by this slight misrepresentation of the principle of citizenship boards, local county officials would always have control. The addition of the county judge ensured this feature.

3. The adviser suggested the principle that appointment of the local county welfare director be made by the local board, subject to approval by the state welfare department; and that there be inserted in the law some educational and experience qualifications. He went to the extent of naming what these should be. The draft of the bill carried the principle of local appointment and state approval, but omitted any qualifications, which would clearly leave the way open to any type of political appointment.

4. It was proposed that a clause be inserted providing appointment of local workers in conformity with state standards; and that certain broad principles, such as classification of positions, with qualifications, be inserted in the law. The adviser dictated the qualifications for principal professional classifications. These were entirely omitted, and the

idea was inserted that all employees be locally employed, but approved by the state welfare department. This, of course, was a neat way to establish a strongly entrenched political machine controlled in the state capitol.

There were several other minor violations of the principles suggested, but the foregoing represent the more important items. It so happened that the technical adviser to this group was a federal official with some power, and when the draft of the bill was submitted to him for approval before introduction in the legislature, that official quickly altered the principles to their original meaning; his effort was largely wasted, however, because the law that was finally enacted contained most of the bad features.

Chaotic conditions following end of FERA.—Following the federal policy of discontinuing direct relief on or about December 1, 1935, states were thrown back on their own resources and initiative. Many state organizations which had been given backing and supervision by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration had never made any effort toward legalizing the temporary state relief establishment. Also, a number of the states never really believed that federal relief would be discontinued and failed to take the announcement seriously. When the federal government withdrew, most of the safeguards it had built up to ensure some kind of standards were broken down.

How state politicians operate.—The end of 1935 and the beginning of 1936 saw a number of state legislatures in special session to prepare for benefits under the Social Security Act. At the same time these sessions considered the relief problem and appropriated some money (usually not enough) to take care of direct relief for the next few months. The problem was automatically raised of which state agency should receive the money. Legislatures could scarcely appropriate it to a relief administration that had no legal status. In one instance it was given to the state executive council, which was a body consisting of the five major elected state officials: the governor, auditor, attorney general, secretary of state, and state treasurer. In this state the executive council usually served as a sort of interim body to act on certain matters when the legislature was not in session.

The executive council decided to use the former emergency relief administration of the state, but made a number of changes in its structure, which are listed below:

1. The basis of administration was altered from a centralized to a

decentralized procedure. Stated another way, formerly the state executive appointed the county administrators; all bills were paid in the state office; the whole relief machinery was under a central control. Under the new plan the control was decentralized, with county boards in charge of local funds, which could be expended as they might decide. There was nothing inherently wrong in the decision to decentralize. It might have constituted a step forward, if the proper principles of state supervision had been imposed.

2. The state executive council, which really acted as the governing board of the state relief administration, assumed a legalistic attitude toward the state supervisory problem.

3. Almost immediately upon change of control, there was indication that these elected state officers were "playing up" to the county politicians in all parts of the state. One member, in speaking to a state-wide meeting of county commissioners, said in substance that as far as he personally was concerned, he was sure the county commissioners could spend relief money more wisely than some of the young college graduates who had been placed as case workers in the old state relief organization. While these same state officers insisted that they were going to preserve standards and had the state administrator send out bulletins to that effect, individually they did all they could to break down any desire of local county commissioners to raise or maintain the standards which these same officers claimed they favored.

4. In addition, the whole matter of satisfactory supervision was further injured when the members of the executive council urged, as a political gesture, the need for "economy." While the council members maintained they wanted the state funds spent wisely, they insisted that all the state had to do was to get the money to the local county commissioners, and that should not require any substantial sum. When it was pointed out that the federal Social Security Board earmarked as much as 5 per cent of its state grants for the administration of old-age assistance, in addition to which it required the state to spend some of its own money, the executive council was still unimpressed. Five per cent of the state grant in this case would have amounted to about $375,000 a year for administrative purposes, and almost double that sum if appropriations from local political subdivisions were taken into consideration.

5. Social workers in the state under discussion were extremely conservative in their recommendations. They proposed to the executive

council that about a quarter of a million dollars a year might ensure good standards by providing a high-quality field staff, a good auditing service, maintenance of a statistical bureau, and a special department for simple studies to show what type of local county relief administration seemed to work best in this state. The theory was pressed that state money should not be given to counties unless there was assurance that at least minimum standards of relief administration would be maintained. Such standards must be measured first in terms of personnel. Granted that these counties should have a good deal of local autonomy, the least they could do was to agree that the state should approve the local relief director, and that local workers should be employed in conformity with standards set by the state. Even this simple element of state supervision would require a knowledge of all persons engaged by local counties to see whether or not they actually did meet the standards set by the state.

6. These proposals, involving only the simplest sort of supervision, were agreed to in principle, but an effective state machinery to see that they were carried out was never established. In the end the state actually spent beyond the quarter of a million dollars which the executive council originally claimed was far too much.

This story was repeated in many states, with variations but the same basic pattern. Elective officials generally cooperate with other elective officials, but have a wholesome disrespect for expert service. As has been shown, they are all part of a political system, which to secure its reelection must play together on any matter which involves the interest of the party.

Basis for selfish political action.— Elected officials in any state may sincerely feel that the public can trust the county commissioner in matters of relief over and above the social worker. Citizenship opinion tends to agree. It is not uncommon for the elected official to say he does not know anything about welfare work except one thing; that is, the social worker is unpopular with the man on the street. He contends that knowledge of this sentiment is sufficient basis on which to act. If the man on the street would prefer to trust the county commissioner rather than the social worker, then the action of officials described above, might be interpreted as carrying out the will of the people. But although the actuating motive is probably political, many state officials feel that they are acting not upon selfish political interest, but for the ultimate good of the state.

RESULTS OF REMOVAL OF FEDERAL SUPERVISION

Probably the Federal Emergency Relief Administration removed the pressure of its supervision on state relief systems at just the wrong time Citizens of most states were pretty sick of the relief business; and if left to go their own way, state officials were bound to play into the hands of popular sentiment. If the federal government had retained a measure of supervision over state relief through giving grants-in-aid at the same time it was developing the Works Progress Administration, an entirely different history could be written of the period. But this was not done, and in the critical months following December, 1935, the quality of relief administration sharply declined, and local and state administrators were left to grapple with a Herculean problem alone and unaided. Nor were these professional people a popular group at that moment. Politicians all over the country took particular pride in speaking of the wastage of relief funds and how they proposed to put relief expenditures on a sane basis.

At the same time they were making these remarks they took money appropriated in their own state for direct relief and spent it for materials on WPA work projects which they wanted to see completed, or purchased land for some pet projects of party interest. As funds began to be exhausted, state officials talked louder than ever about "sane and conservative" relief, but at the same time wasted money entrusted to them by the legislatures and then passed resolutions insisting that Congress act to assist states in a "grave situation."

Such was the kind of political manipulation in many states immediately following the withdrawal of federal supervision. The politicians were in the saddle and the experts in the dust behind. The fact that relief administered by partly qualified people under fairly decent standards had pulled the country through one of the most disastrous periods in its history was never recognized. The time and energy and emotion most social workers invested in this gigantic enterprise might have led them to expect well of their country. Unfortunately, the country did not know and appreciate what they had done. The public saw only the gigantic expenditure, and figured most of it had gone down the proverbial sewer. By many and varied devices the social worker was pictured as a part of that group of persons who gleefully drained the country of its money and stability. The politicians saw the point. Probably most of them sincerely thought the popular picture of the social worker was true. They made the most of the occasion.

Perhaps the most discouraging outlook for relief administration was in the year 1936. It was somewhat brightened by the developing program of social security. As welfare policies became more stable, and as people saw the devastating results of political administration, confidence and respect for professional social work increased. In the state referred to above, the attitude of county politicians had changed considerably by 1939. Some who had mismanaged relief were not re-elected, which proved very salutary.

NATIONAL POLITICS AND SOCIAL WORK

From May, 1933, to the inception of WPA in the summer of 1935, the FERA maintained a program surprisingly high-minded in its concepts and unusually broad in its policies. There were plenty of bad spots. State officials tried to beat the federal government at every turn. It developed into a game of seeing how much federal money the state could get and how little of its own money it would have to spend. The basic policies underlying federal grants were never made clear by Congress. The federal administrator was given the impossible task of trying to bring order out of chaos. It just could not be done. But these points have nothing to do with the basic character of the administration. It was almost inconceivable that so many states operated so long without serious political interference. The FERA was a state enterprise carried on under federal supervision. It employed more than fifty thousand people and established standards of employment, which as far as possible called for people of professional qualification. That it was possible to throw together such a state enterprise, almost overnight, is an unprecedented achievement in American history. Mr. Hopkins had the whole thing set up before the politicians really knew what had happened. As the months went on, however, state and federal political leaders began to feel that this gigantic structure could be used. So small a change as providing that state administrators must have senatorial approval completely altered the picture.

The Emergency Relief Act of 1935, in which Congress provided that all federal officials receiving a salary of $5,000 or more must be approved by the senate, ensured a breakdown of the reasonably efficient system of administration created by Harry L. Hopkins as federal relief administrator. As has been emphasized in many articles, if Mr. Hopkins could have established the Works Progress Administration on the foundation of the work divisions of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration,

which had been operating consistently for nearly two years, not only would the new program have started promptly, but it would have been a much more popular and orderly measure. The provision requiring Senate approval of personnel simply meant that an entirely new organization would have to be built up over the nation. It meant further that most ranking state appointments could be made only if satisfactory to the senators from that state. It followed that in a majority of instances new state administrators came into office, bringing with them personnel that was for the most part new and untrained for the business which lay ahead.

It can be argued that some of the new people were better than the ones who had previously been in charge of state relief. To some extent this is true, but the exception cannot prove the rule. If any objective appraisal could be made of the qualifications of the state personnel of WPA and FERA, there is little question that the appraisal would have revealed that the FERA personnel was better than that of WPA. The men and women may not have been any better in the FERA than in the WPA, but in the first instance they were trained people and in the second instance they were not. It can be argued quite properly that under the relief program professional people were employed, while under the works program there was not the same clear-cut professional status. Social workers were necessary under one, and more or less supernumerary under the other. All this is true. It may be true also that the social-worker type would not have been satisfactory in conducting the WPA program. The real point, however, is that the work divisions of the state emergency relief administration were not controlled by social workers, but were in the hands of engineers and business people who had served on the job for two years, knew their work, had become acquainted with local officials, had developed good programs, and could have handled the new job more effectively than the new group, many of whom it must be admitted were political appointees; that is, political in the sense that politicians had dictated their appointments.

THE NEWER VIEW OF PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

From this brief résumé of political inroads into welfare administration which can be made on federal, state, or local units, it is evident that the day of welfare administration under public auspices has arrived, and that social work must be alert to the problem if public welfare is to be kept on a reasonably honest and professional basis. The

fact that dangers exist is no reason to believe that good performance is impossible in the public welfare field.

Directly or indirectly, the governing boards in the field of social welfare are going to be elected public officials. Financial support will more and more come through government and taxes. Professional workers cannot fall into the attitude of taking public money and spending it as though they were operating a private social agency. In the long run, the democratic system — of elected representatives of the people determining the general character and volume of welfare services — is the soundest to follow. There will be many charges of political manipulation. Some of them will be based upon fact. But private agencies too, even foundations with self-perpetuating boards, have seldom performed with uniformly high standards over the whole length of time in which they have operated. Indeed, some of the worst examples of program operation have been in this type of private agency.

The trouble with public social work in the past quarter century has been that its traditions were bad; that it could not rise above the political limitations of its own level of government; and that the public was not sufficiently conscious of the importance of welfare work to care very much about what happened. Now the outlook is different. Local government is improving its basic structure. Politicians are becoming more convinced that party success in the long run is based upon efficient administration. New traditions in the application of the merit system to government are being built up, and finally, the country has become public-welfare conscious, at least to the extent that most people regard welfare problems as among the most important confronting government. With this newer view coming to the fore, it probably is safe to regard public welfare administration as a potential instrumentality for social progress; and to believe that its basic control by politicians need not invalidate its useful purpose and effective administration, if the professional people involved remain alert to the dangers of the system as well as the advantages.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY SOCIAL WORKERS

Just about the time a local welfare structure seems to be functioning effectively, it is time for the next city election. The professional group desires either to see the incumbent officers re-elected or to have an opposing group of candidates come in. It is generally true that they prefer to keep the present government in office. The reason is the nat-

ural desire of most people for security and maintenance of the status quo. Social workers, like any other group, fear change and prefer what they now have to the uncertainty of the future. This state of mind does not always exist, but in the absence of downright antagonism on the part of incumbent officials, it is usual for the older and more mature workers to be fearful of change. Not infrequently the younger and more radical group want an overturn of political authority if the party in power does not happen to be the most "advanced" group in the field. This situation tends to be true not only of the mature as contrasted with the young social workers, but also of educators, physicians, skilled workmen, and even to a certain extent, businessmen.

Granting the tendency to want the "ins" in, and the "outs" out, the question arises of how to transmute convictions and desires into effective action. Shall the group spread around the word that the municipal ticket should be re-elected because the party has treated welfare problems with good judgment and has not mixed politics with administration? Should social workers make speeches about the matter? Should they make a few good-will contributions to election funds? Should they openly advise the politicians?

Dangers of social workers' political activity.—There is no categorical answer to the foregoing questions. Practice indicates that some social workers participate in politics and some do not. Observation might be made as to what in the long run seems to be the best policy. But this question should be kept in mind: If the group or individuals do active work to keep the "ins" in, what happens if the opposing candidates are elected? They will scarcely approve the political activity of appointive governmental employees. Invariably the "outs" have come into office only after a heated political campaign. Their nerves are frazzled, and they sense an enemy in every appointive chair. The average American politician will not consider it his duty to prove to the appointive worker in a welfare department that he is really a kindly man who can win over his political enemies in the administration by placing full confidence in them and backing them up at every turn. The American political animal is of a different stripe. The appointive governmental officer or worker who has played politics with a vanquished political enemy is fair prey and, to say the least, the ultimate usefulness of that appointive officer or worker is seriously impaired.

Local politics is altogether too personal to permit any social worker, especially governmental employees, to take any active part whatsoever

in local elections. As private citizens, people can say what they please, although even in this connection social workers should be sure they are defining properly the word "private." There are some workers who adhere to the following principles in their political ethics:

1. They keep their voting to themselves and make no comment about it. This is perhaps an extreme position of caution.

2. They refuse point-blank to make any contributions to any political group, local, state, or national.

3. They will do no party political work, even to the extent of formally joining the party or voting in a party caucus.

4. They will give no political advice, and if friends or governmental associates who happen to be elective officers seek help, they evade the question as much as possible, or frankly state their conviction that it is unethical for professionally employed appointive people in any way to mix in politics, even on a highly personal basis.

5. They will work with all elective officials professionally but will have nothing to do with them politically.

The above is rather an extreme code of ethics, and some variations of it are listed below:

1. They will make no public speeches, but keep it no secret among friends or inquirers that they think a certain group of elective officers more desirable than some other group.

2. They will make no contributions to local political parties, but in state and national politics (in the case of local workers), they have no hesitancy in taking a straightforward political position, and, if they wish, in doing political work.

3. They will give private advice to politicians and let them know beyond doubt that they are for them and will do all they can within the limitations of what they consider professional ethics to secure their election.

4. They will work with all parties professionally but prefer some over others.

As time goes on, more varied concepts of political activity on the part of the social worker may be developed. He should always remember that he can be charged, with some justice, of political activity even though his contributions may not be distinctly public. The social worker in the private agency may be in a different position than a governmental employee.

Also, there are times when government becomes so threatening to

welfare interests that honesty and professional ethics clash, and when they do the more conservative position may have to be abandoned. There are many times when workers of professional competency cannot and should not remain quiescent. In becoming active to help break the power of any group, however, it must be borne in mind that personal professional status is seriously threatened thereby and may eventually be destroyed. In addition, one should understand that when he becomes active against what he considers to be an ominous political situation, he is acting upon his own opinion, which may not be entirely unprejudiced. If social workers as a group were to take a partisan political stand they would set a precedent for all time, and they would be playing with a dangerous fire which is capable of attaining conflagration proportions.

It may be the better course of action never to engage openly in political combat, trusting that a completely corrupt government may be corrected by action of right-thinking citizens at the polls without any leadership and assistance from the social-work group. The political administration that reeks with inhuman and insensitive treatment in the welfare processes of government, is probably even worse in the management of public works, public utilities, and public finance, and is likely to be dealt with by the ordinary political forces of the community.

Once a social-work group takes a public position in any election because it thinks the situation calls for action, on what principle does it stand in some future year, when as a whole it does not think political action desirable, but part of its group does? While there may be times when social workers as a professional group feel they ought to take a stand, it is even more probable that such occasions will be exceedingly few; and it is possible that in local affairs the best policy is to remain completely aloof under any circumstances.

In instances of bad politics where social workers think a change would be desirable, it is easy to develop a clear-cut social-work position by individual expression, thus leaving but little need to register a formalized group conviction. To leave action to individual choice may not appear to be a heroic stand, but it is not inconceivable that it is more efficacious than to try to fight as an organized group.

Relation of state and local political interests.— There is just enough relationship between local political interests and state political interests so that some of the principles which apply to the conduct of social workers in local parties may also have to apply in the state field. This will de-

pend upon the individual situation, as there is great variation throughout the country as to the relationship between local and state politics. There is enough communication, however, between the two groups in most places so that one cannot conclude that the local social worker without professional state connections can remain politically impartial in local affairs, but as a matter of course can act as he chooses in a state political fight. Certainly there is more room for latitude in state questions, but even here it is questionable whether sound professional ethics permits real political activity in any level of government.

ADVANCED SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC THEORY IN POLITICS

Partisanship.—It is only natural that many individuals of a professional group dedicated to the treatment and correction of the ills of society would see much need of fundamental change in basic conditions. Indeed, a sufficient number of social experiments are going on in the world to make it certain that many professional social workers will have not only a natural interest in effecting fundamental social change, but also convictions about the methods for so doing. Few groups have studied more intensively than social workers forms of social control and systems of government, such as socialism, communism, fascism, and other current experiments.

In almost every level of American political organization there are minority groups which are extremely "left" in character and which inevitably intrigue the interest of social workers. This discussion deals exclusively with social theory as translated into political action and with what seems a wise course of procedure for a professional group to follow in regard to the groups which have embraced such theories. The question may well be raised whether the political methods of the more radical parties and groups are any cleaner than the political methods of others. Is not the political method substantially the same in all parties? Can it not be considered that politics is politics, regardless of the complexion of the political theory the party is organized to promote? These questions are pertinent to present-day conditions.

The temptation facing social workers.—It is becoming constantly more difficult not to reconcile measures for social control with efforts to reduce the group needing remedial services. New political groups appearing on the horizon propose to take certain actions to correct fundamental conditions. Suppose such a party gets into state or local power. In the social-work field the new administration is anxious to secure

people for social-work jobs who share its own social and economic convictions. Any new party in power tends to be more conservative in trusting the expert than do parties which have held power for some period of time. The newer party tends to trust only its own membership. This tendency is particularly demonstrated by the Russian, German, and Italian governments.

When a new political party comes into power, the competency of professional social workers must undergo a certain testing period before it can win the respect and confidence of the newer political group. Nor can one criticize those who because of their political concepts distrust the expert unless he is an avowed friend in camp.

There is little of the heroic in social work, and little to popularize it with the politicians. It is a profession narrowed by intensive treatment, often unable to see the forest for the trees, and impossible for the average politician to understand because of its jargon and other complications. The political reformer who wants to carve out a massive change in social structure can sense but little support from a professional group which crawls around on the moth-eaten fringes of society, dealing with problems few politicians understand except to the extent that they want to wipe them out. Not that social workers like their confined arena any better than do the politicians; there is always a great temptation for the professional worker to throw in his lot with the political reformer or the political leader who wants change on a large scale.

Uncertainty of professional alliance with politicians.—But there is no assurance that the United States, nationally or in its lower levels of government, is going to accept all at once the hopes and aspirations of the more radical leaders. Just as these leaders, in carrying out their policies, want the help of people who are sympathetic to their social and economic views, so do the more conservative political parties want the same thing. If one party is entitled to have work for it only those in whom it reposes confidence, then others also are entitled to the same thing. It is impossible to get away from this basic logic, just as it is impossible to get away from the proposition that political methods are usually the same, regardless of the political theory or the platform which actuates the party. Economic views change, but political machinery remains more or less constant. As a general rule, the newer parties play politics more crudely because they are less secure and more fearful. There have been innumerable illustrations all over the United States where social workers have been sympathetic to and have aided the

liberal political enterprises, but have found that when the new group finally came into power, political expediency had to take precedence over professional standards. Then too, social workers have learned that it is a rough road which bridges conditions of the moment and ultimate social and economic goals.

Any conclusion that it is safe for social workers openly to support a new party because they happen to favor its objectives is by no means a logical one. There is a wide gap between objectives and their realization. Years and years may constitute that division. Meanwhile social work as an essential process in the life of the community must go on. If through political activities social workers as a group make themselves unacceptable to the party in power, or to the one which may come into power, they seriously invalidate their usefulness as a profession.

Probably all social workers, and holders of administrative positions in particular, should carefully weigh their professional work against ultimate social goals. It may be that a good welfare director can hold any theory he likes and that it will affect only very slightly his professional duties. It may be that a child-welfare worker can carry out his program of sound treatment for dependent children without its making much difference whether he is a conservative or a radical. By similar reasoning, it may be that social workers cannot actively join any political groups, whatever their aims, just because the aims seem sound. After all, social betterment is a long process. Outstanding social workers over the past fifty years have done much to accomplish desirable social ends. Few of these great leaders have sought to do so through the platform of any particular party. They have worked with all parties. They have retained the confidence of some and the respect of most. Perhaps this is as far as any social worker can hope to go and at the same time competently practice his profession, even though his social convictions may not square with the objectives of a political group with whom he works.

WHAT SOCIAL WORKERS WANT FROM POLITICIANS

The whole politician–social-work relationship is filled with paradoxes. If the group is "in right" with the Republicans it is usually in wrong with the Democrats, or the Progressives, or whatever third-party group there is in the state. On the other hand, if the group is not in right with anybody, where does political influence rest? The whole question might be answered by asking another: What do social workers want with political influence anyway? Perhaps it is just what they do not want.

Stated in another way, perhaps it would be a dangerous power to have. But no organized profession can take an entirely negative position. It must want something. What, then, is it that social workers want from the politicians?

Respect for the profession.—First of all, social work wants the respect of political parties. Respect can best be gained by maintaining a professional attitude. It is conceivable that the respect of one group might be secured by working with that group and attempting to serve its political ends. If such a course is followed, however, there will be neither friendship nor respect at the hands of any other group. All things considered, it would seem that the respect of all political parties can be gained only by a fairly strict adherence to professional activities. At best, social workers can step into the political arena only in the face of grave dangers to themselves and their group. Whether or not the risks involved are worth the end to be gained is a matter for individual and group decision under the particular set of existing circumstances.

Acquaintance.—Next in order of importance, social workers want the acquaintance of politicians. If they are going to work with those who may come into office, they have to know them. As working relationships develop on the basis of personal acquaintance, they tend to become easier. Certainly it is well to go out of one's way to meet the political group and be friendly with it regardless of party lines.

Recognition of professional integrity.—One desirable end in the relationship between the social worker and the politicians is to be achieved through professional action, wisdom, and conduct; that is, to build up in the minds of all politicians a sense of confidence in the professional integrity of the group. The foregoing discussion bears squarely upon this point. As years have gone by, there has developed in the public mind a reasonable confidence in the professional integrity of the doctor. This same state of mind characterizes relationships between political groups and educators. No body of civil servants is perfect in this respect, but social workers may certainly carry on their activities in such a way as to merit the respect and confidence of political groups.

One of the important elements in the building of group reputation is for social workers to refrain from asking personal political favors. If they also develop the reputation of never trafficking with political skulduggery in any party, and exposing it frankly whenever they find it in relationship to their own professional objectives, politicians will soon learn that social workers are a body with professional integrity.

HOPE ON THE HORIZON

These are some of the desirable ends which social work might well strive for in its relation to politics and political parties. In striving for these objectives there must be strong adherence to cautious and conservative principles and conduct. On top of this there must be a well-developed confidence that social work can attain to an individual status that is at least on a par with, if not superior to, that which older and more established groups have achieved in the political structure. It should be remembered that social work is now slowly building its traditions, and that it will take many years to work out ultimately satisfactory relationships. There is probably no short-cut to the solution of this problem.

The British civil service might well be investigated, and to a certain degree emulated, as a guide to professional conduct in the social service field. Here can be found a group of well-trained, thoroughly secure, and on the whole satisfactorily remunerated professional civil servants, who are left alone by the politicians and whom all British parties regard with reasonable confidence and respect. More than a hundred years have gone into building up the background of this service, which, while far from perfect, is infinitely superior to anything in the United States.

But even in this country at present there are developments which give a basis for confidence and high hope. For over twenty years the federal Children's Bureau has been an outstanding social service unit with fine ideals and, on the whole, a brilliant personnel; one which has flourished and maintained the public confidence under a half-dozen national administrations.

Fortunately for social service in this country, the Social Security Board gives promise of being an agency of high standard and caliber. Its appointments have been satisfactory from the professional point of view. The definitions of what constitutes expert service, and what proportion of employees can be placed on the unclassified list, are narrow; and the whole policy of the board is indicative of strict adherence to the merit system.

Then there is the public school development in the United States. Not all systems are entirely free from politics, but on the whole public school teachers enjoy the advantages of high standards, merit employment, moderately decent wages, and security of tenure. Furthermore, public education has developed progressive ideals, and has gained the basic respect and confidence of most political groups. The development

of state universities throughout the nation is even more significant, and the way in which they have maintained reasonable independence of political control augurs well for what public welfare administration may one day attain.

Even these examples, notable as they are, by no means exhaust the list of professional groups which have attained independence from political control. In most American cities where civil service prevails it will be found that the real power in the governmental departments is lodged in appointive officers whose security is protected and through whom the work of the city is carried on year in and year out, irrespective of the political group in power. Incoming politicians have to depend upon someone for professional and technical advice. Their political advisers cannot tell them how to run the health department, or the city hospital, or the sewage system, or the auditor's office, or the department of the chief accountant. In the near future, public welfare administration should be added to this list, and it can be if social workers, and more particularly those responsible for administration, will steer a sound professional course which keeps the group out of the shoal waters of the political seas.

There is, in fact, every reason to hope that if social work can maintain high professional ethics, can keep a liberal viewpoint and yet not lose its patience by trying to advance a decade in a single year, it may succeed in effecting a public welfare administration which is constantly progressive and able to attain its ends regardless of the political group in power. Social work has perhaps the widest opportunity ever offered any profession to improve the whole spirit and tradition of the public service, because during the next decade the majority of social workers will have much to contribute to the public life of this country. And if the profession makes no serious mistakes, it will build for itself a sound foundation in the governmental structure and leave that same government much better than when it entered.

Chapter 11

CENTRAL PLANNING

Social work is too diversified to be intelligible to the layman. There are about twenty special branches and the profession as interpreted by a medical social worker presents a quite different picture from that drawn by a group worker. A community chest which tried to explain the details of operation and program objectives of some fifty agencies would not be successful. Out of the detailed procedure of specialized fields and specific agencies there must be some centering of attention on main essentials. It is through the instrumentality of central planning that a unified approach and public understanding are achieved.

EFFORTS AT CENTRAL PLANNING

Early efforts. — The idea of a central clearing house is as old as formal social work. Some sixty years ago there began the movement among charity organizations known locally by such titles as the United Charities, Associated Charities, and Charity Organization Society. In its inception this movement was directed toward central planning for a number of isolated relief-giving societies. The attempt was made to bring them into a common understanding and to study the relief activities conducted in the city.

Although the movement soon turned from a coordinating to a functional plan of action, so that before many years its main characteristics had completely changed, the fact remains that over fifty years ago a united front was recognized as desirable. If such a need existed in 1880, when urban life was comparatively simple and social-work organization just starting, it is many times more essential today.

Need of newer organizations for a central agency. — In days gone by, the popular agency became the most important. No better proof of this exists than the evidence presented by the orphanages. Any group of pathetic children appealed to popular sentiment. The public replied with expensive plants in which to house them. These private children's agencies maintaining institutions were among the best-known charities from 1875 to 1910. In the same cities in which these well-established

agencies existed were struggling organizations dealing with problems much more important than those of the propertied orphanages. But they did not fare so well. They were not understood. There was no symbol by which they could present their services to the community. Their development was slow.

As the years went on, some of these organizations developed great prestige through the effort of individuals who became convinced of their value. They too built up a place in the mind of the community and gathered to their support a great following. The Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. are good examples of the later development. Other agencies created different devices to attract attention. Nursing became popular. While nurses were not housed in an institution, they wore uniforms and the service they rendered was fairly understandable to the average citizen. Another example was the settlement house, which had no position in this country until Henry Street Settlement and Hull House were developed. Shortly there began to spring up over the nation institutions of a similar character, which soon gained a large and substantial backing. In the same period, however, less understood programs failed to receive anything like the support merited by their value to the community. There was no balancing of financial support with need.

The development of modern central planning and financing. — Midway between 1910 and 1920 the idea of federating local agencies grew up and was combined in Cleveland with the principle of central financing. Out of this was created the community chest movement. Here was introduced some machinery to attain what was described by Allen T. Burns, director of Community Chests and Councils, Inc., as a "balanced ration of social work for the community." This was a good phrase. It appealed to businessmen, who from the beginning gave strong aid to community chests. The idea was important and, because it was common sense, chests over the country made a significant contribution to squaring need with dollars available. It could not all be done in five or ten years, but slow and steady progress has been made over the first twenty-five-year period of chest operation. Much basic unbalance has been eliminated by chest supervision.

NEED FOR CENTRAL PLANNING OF PUBLIC SOCIAL WORK

Public agencies have been no exception to the rule that unguided growth leads to uneven support. For example, county poorhouses were one of the first public welfare developments. While no one can deny

that some institutional care was needed for chronically sick and aged persons, this was a poor beginning in the light of the total acute social needs. But citizens could see these institutions. They thought they knew in what they were investing tax funds. Naturally relief followed in quick succession. On the whole, however, local and state institutions for custodial care captivated the imagination of local governments and state legislatures. The prejudice was so deeply entrenched that even today it is easier to secure large sums for state institutions than small amounts for preventive and constructive programs which might keep people out of the institutions.

The development of state welfare departments and local boards of public welfare provides a foundation for accomplishing in the public field what the community chests have done among private agencies. Though so far the progress of community chests has been much more rapid, the day of public welfare administration is just beginning and holds great promise for the future.

Until the competitive element can be eliminated, no substantial gains are possible. How much social work of a special kind a community needs is a purely objective proposition. It is susceptible to real test and measurement. It is not a matter of sentiment. It need not involve guesswork. It can be decided quite factually. The near future will see new enterprises and new money expended in this objective way.

COUNCIL ORGANIZATION

A council of social agencies is a delegate body. The organization consists of both public and private social agencies. Usually each agency names two delegates as representatives to the central body, one a board or lay member and the other an executive or professional person. The public social agencies are not clearly defined. Most constitutions read "any public agency or department." A small private home for the aged usually has the same representation on the council as a large public relief department.

Some provision usually is made for representation of civic organizations within the council membership. The principle here is to bring into the association citizenship groups whose primary interest is civic work as contrasted to social work. It is presumed these groups have an interest in social work as it affects the civic activities of a city. Such organizations include chambers of commerce, improvement associations, lodges, and occasionally labor organizations. The representation takes

about the same form as that of the social agencies except that no person with professional social-work qualifications is included.

A plan of individual membership is occasionally worked out. Some councils have no limitation on the number of individual members, while others prescribe that the number of individual members shall at no time exceed the number of social-agency delegates. The aim is to keep the basic power in the hands of social agencies. In most instances, individual members are elected by the board of the council.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNCILS

Early councils.— The central council idea in social work goes back to the inception of the charity organization movement, as previously pointed out. Attempts to form the present type of council were made periodically from the 1880's down to about 1909–1915. The council or federation of social agencies idea really took root during the period when agencies were becoming more numerous and chamber of commerce endorsement committees were growing more active in approving budgets of local charities. The work of these committees demanded better organization among social agencies. Accordingly, the idea of a council of social agencies or welfare federation became established in such cities as Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, Denver, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, and Minneapolis. During the earlier period much attention was devoted to a review of budgets, which involved consideration of the gross amount needed by an agency for operation and the amount which it was necessary to raise by public subscription. Upon recommendation of the council this latter amount was usually approved by the chamber of commerce endorsement committee, which advised businessmen and other interested people who made contributions. Meeting together on matters pertaining to finance inevitably led to the idea of functional committees, as an attempt to settle conflict in programs caused by the need for establishment of new work or extension of old work.

Influence of war-chest idea.— While the roots of central financing were older than the war, the war-chest idea was really the starting point of community fund campaigns on a widespread basis. Many of the larger cities conducted drives for the war-period agencies, and most of them included within the budget a relatively small amount for local philanthropies. So much public attention centered on the war that it was becoming increasingly difficult to raise money for local welfare organizations. Placing them in the war chest automatically ensured

support. When the war ended in 1918, the idea of the war chest was carried over into the field of community fund needs. There were still certain war activities to be financed and money to be raised in this country for distressed populations in the Near East. From 1919 to 1923 the campaigns continued to be a sort of war chest drive, with the social agencies taking the central place rather than the war-work organizations. It was an ideal time to launch central financing on a broad scale, because local citizens had become trained in the liberty loan campaigns and other fund-raising efforts of the war.

RELATIONSHIP OF COUNCILS AND CHESTS

It was at this period that two developments took place in the council idea. Where the council was strong and where it had furnished a good deal of lay leadership, the council itself took over the central financing idea as one of the services to be rendered. In other cities it was thought best to incorporate the community chest separately and consider the council of social agencies only as a participating agency in the fund. The above suggestion that the strength of lay leadership determined whether or not the council operated the chest reveals only one of the important factors in the decision. In a number of cities it was felt from the inception that central planning and central financing should not be mixed. On the whole, councils were rather narrowly representative of the large giver, and it was considered that more prestige and money-raising power would be gained for the fund by the creation of new boards of trustees which more definitely represented the giving public as contrasted to the spending group. This is a statement the accuracy of which might be challenged, but the fact that it did represent one important point of view cannot be denied.

Since the war period many councils have continued as independent bodies, most of them receiving their financial support through community chests. Of necessity there has developed the closest possible relationship between the council and the chest. Where they are separate corporations it is oftentimes found that the same executive staff serves both organizations. In these instances it makes little difference that the paper organization proves an organic separation. The one important exception is that in some independent councils the function of budget agent has been retained by the board of the council. Even so, some ultimate power of decision resides in the board of the fund, which reserves to itself the right to ultimate determination of the amount of

money to be raised and the amount available for expenditure. Where the council budgets local agencies it is usually limited by these conditioning factors at least.

When the same staff serves both the chest and the council, the latter remains an independent organization in name only and becomes essentially a part of the fund organization. In practice, it is rather difficult to tell whether the council is a department of the fund or the fund a department of the council; that depends entirely upon their programs, emphasis, leadership, traditions, and points of view.

Chest and council separation.—As time goes on and the importance of public agencies and departments becomes greater, there is some reason to believe that the independent council can serve all groups of agencies better than where the council staff is interlocked with the chest staff, or the council itself operates a financial department. This observation is by no means conclusive, but the issue does take on importance where the same staff serves both organizations and the chest campaign drains heavily upon council leadership. Planning work necessarily stops for several months while council executives labor with the fund-raising problem. While the campaign work is important to the agencies participating in the chest, it is not so important to agencies financed through taxation; consequently when the council activities more or less stop, both groups of agencies are penalized, but the public ones more so than the private.

Unified operation of chest and council.—In spite of arguments which tend to prove that the independent council can best serve all agencies, in practice it is doubtful whether such arguments sufficiently take into consideration the whole situation. During the years since the war money-raising has been of basic importance in developing and exploiting the field of private social work. No agency can operate without sufficient funds. Chest campaigns have grown larger and larger, not reaching their peak until the year 1931. To obtain good results it was essential to have an efficient leadership. But it was not easy to find, combined in a community fund executive, a person of professional as well as promotional capacity. Considerable competition was created among cities in securing executives of demonstrated ability. A rather high scale of remuneration for such work resulted. At the same time the qualities for leadership in social planning were just as urgent in the councils, though here the need for ability to raise money was not necessary. The capacity to effect social change called for talent of a high

order. Most cities simply could not afford the overhead expense involved in the building up of two separate staffs. The scarcity of leadership combined with its high cost led to the conclusion that these two functions could be combined. As this idea took root, it also became clear that it was difficult to differentiate planning procedures from financial controls. No matter how anxious social workers were to prove that planning was done through the council, major steps were often concluded through the budget committee of the fund.

From the community aspect the functions of central operation became clearly demarcated, no matter under what auspices they were conducted. These functions were central financing, central planning, and central budgeting. All three related definitely to the private agencies; but only the planning function involved the tax-supported organizations, except as the others indirectly correlated with their programs. As this fact was clarified, there was evident a marked tendency to place these functions under the control of one corporation. Many good arguments were advanced on both sides of the question of whether the structure of the new corporation should be that of the chest or of the council. As it turned out, the council was the organization on which the structure was built. But delegates to the council readily recognized that for their own interests it was wiser to elect as trustees men and women of means and influence who would lend sufficient prestige to the movement to secure ample funds. Agency delegates also tried to select people representative of community life and particularly people who had a social point of view. Whatever the basis of the consolidated corporation, the character of the boards in charge of finances was about the same. Certainly the consolidation of chest and council provided a basis of easier action, eliminated many elements of conflict, and made possible quicker results because the same board of directors controlled all three functions. It is in this way that the council movement has progressed; some review of the way in which present councils function is now pertinent.

VALUES AND POWERS OF THE COUNCIL

Council work has kept together the social forces in the community. This process in itself leads to no direct results, but indirectly it does make possible accomplishments through specific operations. The many council meetings, the committee activities, and the close association of professional leaders with lay board members create a type of under-

standing, acquaintanceship, and mutual confidence which can only be brought about through the creation of machinery in which all these people are participants.

In no city do the formal council meetings mean a great deal. They are usually held regularly on a monthly or quarterly basis; programs of value are presented; some form of discussion takes place; and occasionally the council body gives voice to its opinions and develops recommendations. Actually the real work of any council is performed personally by its staff and committees. Committee reports are acted upon at council meetings; but the action is usually clarified before the report is presented, and the council as a delegate group is more or less perfunctory. While council meetings are enjoyable and profitable, their greatest contribution is to symbolize the meaning of the more fundamental purpose of the organization.

The really important feature of the delegate council is not so much what it does do as what it could do. Most constitutions vest real power in the council itself. This is especially true of councils which operate a finance department. Should the board of directors in the exercise of its financial power become totally out of touch with agency needs and good practice in meeting social problems, the council could exercise its powers and prerogatives. In the first place, it could radically change the board of directors, since it usually elects the majority. In the next place, it could demand discussion in council meetings of controversial issues. Finally, it could, if it so desired, insist upon the settlement of those issues as the delegate body dictates. There have been a few cases on record where council delegates have rebelled at the action of their board. On the whole, such action does not characterize the council movement, because delegates usually have confidence in the board and find other ways to correct abuses. Should the council's powers be exercised against the group of leading citizens which the council has elected to the board, a community controversy of such wide proportions would result as to damage the social-work program for years to come. The basic thing to be remembered is that real power does rest in the council, and this fact is one of the important reasons why the council is of great value.

COMMITTEE ORGANIZATION OF THE COUNCIL

Functional committees. — The use of the functional committee is the basic method of council operation. It is through this particular application of planning procedure that most of the work is accomplished.

These committees are usually dominated by the professional social-work group, but in addition interested board members are included. Some laymen in the community have been in such close touch with social agencies that their concept and understanding of social work has become almost professional in character. The extensive use of these people in council committees is of the greatest value.

Divisional committees.— There are many types of committee organization. Most councils function through divisions of the larger fields of social work, such as health, recreation, family work, child care and delinquency. In these formal divisions of the field practically all agencies find representation. While councils commonly develop this type of organization, sharp variations of form occur. As an operating principle, the divisional chairman really becomes the individual through whom the division functions. Occasionally the division as a whole, representing all the agencies in a given field, will meet. Usually small functional committees are appointed within the division. Any division may have several such committees. These groups meet and present their findings directly to the board of the council. If such findings get too involved, action by the council itself occasionally becomes necessary. Committee action usually does not have to be reported to any higher authority, and the measure adopted by the committee can be put into effect immediately.

Council staff.— Most councils employ not only a director, but several people who can serve as committee secretaries. These are usually younger people of professional qualifications who are seeking training and experience in the field of community organization. During the earlier period, when council staffs were smaller, professional workers not only served on committees, but frequently acted as both chairman and secretary. This plan was not found very satisfactory, because council records were located all over the city in many agencies, and continuity of action was being seriously impaired. Even now, council staffs are usually small and many of the old practices prevail; however, increased effort is being made to have these activities pass through the council office so as to provide a basis for central planning and a history of activities.

Need for factual basis of operation.— The results of council committee work have not been nearly so fruitful as should have been the case. The reason lies in the fact that until recently research departments of councils were not regarded as important. If the procedures in build-

ing up a factual basis for council business can be developed, functional committees automatically achieve greater results. As this problem is considered in another chapter, it is not dealt with here. But it should be understood that the growth of well-entrenched and well-financed research departments, dealing in community-wide figures, is the most important of the next steps to wider usefulness of functional committees.

NEED FOR MORE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION OF COUNCIL FUNCTIONS

Councils have sponsored research projects on every type of social program except their own machinery. They are like the physician who is interested in the health of everyone but himself. The national clearing house for councils is Community Chests and Councils, Inc. During the decade from 1930 through 1939 it has taken the leadership in sponsoring the community-wide type of survey. Perforce this had to include the work of the chest and council itself. As a result the searchlight of investigation has penetrated even council operations. The physician himself has been placed on the sick list, and some things more fundamental than growing pains have been revealed.

Such a simple point as the classification of operations in common terminology had gone unexplored. The national organization saw the need and assumed the initiative in studying council methods and program. A research committee of council executives, acting under the direction of Bradley Buell, field director of Community Chests and Councils, Inc., worked all during 1938 and in 1939 published a bulletin on council functions. This bulletin indicates in simple language the main things that councils can do:

"1. They can provide a medium for educational activities directed at their own constituency and at the general public.

"2. They can endeavor to secure direct action from the authorities controlling a particular operating unit or group of units to make changes deemed desirable.

"3. They can themselves administer certain kinds of services.

"4. They can coordinate the services of two or more agencies toward the more effective production of a joint result."

In functional terms more definite than these four broad classes of service, the bulletin finds educational activities of great importance. General meetings of the agency, meetings of divisions and committees, conferences, and institutes are activities which fall under self-education

of the group. Another problem is interpretation to the community at large. Here it is found that councils undertake a number of projects: year-round publicity, explanation of certain community social problems, such as housing reform, need for recreational facilities, and improvement in nutrition and home management, and interpretation to the community of such subjects as child neglect, juvenile delinquency, infant mortality, and so on.

Further analysis is made of council activities leading toward action. Council executives record many features of work aimed to secure improvement in both public and private service. It is not only through social agencies that councils show a tendency toward action, but also in work done in the interest of general community improvement. Further than this, many councils are found to be active in influencing legislation on a wide variety of issues.

As previously indicated, councils administer certain services, the best known of all being the social service index or social service exchange. But a large number of other administrative services are rendered. Councils operate statistical bureaus, bookkeeping service for some member agencies, auditing service, joint purchasing to secure quantity buying, facilities for mental testing, and many other services.

Any council will have going from five to ten projects toward coordination of work in which it is actively engaged at all times. As soon as one condition is remedied, a new one seems to present itself. In this field of activity Mr. Buell finds five main ways in which councils approach the problem of coordination:

"1. By sponsoring or administering joint projects to which a number of agencies supply staff, facilities, clientele, etc.

"2. By defining divisions of functional responsibility between two or more agencies.

"3. By defining the continuous procedural relationship between two or more agencies in handling individual cases.

"4. By securing agreements between agencies in respect to both 1 and 2.

"5. By some administrative device which facilitates and insures the continuous discharge of the service of several agencies in terms of such understood and defined relationship."

A review of council procedures based upon careful inquiry, such as Mr. Buell and his committee have made, is better than the many papers presented on council functioning, because it has brought out principles

of action and developed a pattern of procedure. As social work enters the 1940's, it will face a sharper need for good planning processes. Because of the use of borrowed money to finance public programs from 1932 to 1939, the country has not felt the full force of welfare costs up to 1939; but when they become a direct tax burden the public mind will turn toward economies. How to cut costs without serious sacrifice in results may be the challenging issue of the next decade. The answer to the question, if social work attempts any response, will be found in central planning. Unfortunately the machinery for this is not sufficiently well geared to stand heavy strain. Some consideration of its deficiencies seems in order. Before putting any equipment to acute test, it is well to inventory its strengths and weaknesses.

DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNAL COUNCILS

Instead of a divisional and functional committee organization, some federations have developed a series of internal councils known as the health council, recreational council, case-work council, and so on. These councils usually have been given separate budgets and have employed executives of their own. They have achieved many sound results and there is certainly argument for their course of procedure. But this development is not without its dangers.

Possible competition between subcouncils.— The idea of a central council springs from the need of eliminating competition in the field of local social work. As indicated, a large number of agencies inevitably develop a competitive spirit. The popular ones fare best. If social work is highly organized in four or five main councils, the thing that is not only apt to, but frequently does develop, is a competitive operation between the councils themselves. No matter how closely the subcouncils are related to the general council, they become in effect separate entities. While they may provide a strong leadership within their separate fields and adjust many perplexing problems, the correlation between one council and another is never completely satisfactory because of the element of conflict. The function of the main executive and the central board becomes one of adjusting the differences which arise. Subcouncils emphasize not the community social-work program as a whole, but the several parts. A successful subcouncil necessarily creates a good deal of loyalty to the field as a field, and endeavors to stress its importance over and above its relative position.

Subcouncil administrative services.— Because subcouncils are strong

there is a tendency to create administrative activities. Each subcouncil feels it needs its own research department. In order better to correlate operating agencies within a given area there arises the temptation to place a subcouncil representative as "adviser" or "coordinator" to see that neighborhood agencies all work toward a common goal.

These steps in subcouncil procedure create an expensive overhead establishment which any city can ill afford to maintain. The fact that this form of organization encroaches upon administrative as contrasted with planning functions is clear-cut, no matter how strenuously it may be denied. There is a real tendency to break the unified whole into large segments. This may or may not make for the ultimate weakening of central planning. At best the evidence is indicative rather than conclusive.

Need for further experimentation. — Administrative officers in agency and community work can well recognize values in subcouncil organization. They must at the same time see its dangers, and if they think such dangers are great enough to lessen the effectiveness of the central planning program, they should hesitate to effectuate the subcouncil type of organization. When all is said and done, social work today is not so complicated as to necessitate four or five central planning bodies. If such is the goal toward which subcouncils are pulling the planning movement, then there is good reason for concern. This may be considered an unjustified warning, but there is enough foundation for it to merit thoughtful consideration as present tendencies may be leading toward destruction of the planning function.

LEADERSHIP IN COUNCIL PLANNING

The importance of a professional executive. — Council work becomes an empty gesture unless there exists competent professional leadership. It might be supposed that in any well-organized local social-work movement council work could be performed satisfactorily by the utilization of agency leadership in key positions, even if there was no council management at the top. In practice this is not true. Agency executives are too involved in their own administrative duties to furnish the day-to-day service which is essential. Furthermore, one agency does not want to submit its problems to another agency executive, no matter how fair he might be, as his agency may have interests in the community problem involved. All organizations want to feel that there is a staff in the central office whose first duty is to the community at large. These

seem good reasons to suggest that no council can satisfactorily function through the volunteer service of agency executives alone.

This should not be taken to indicate that agency personnel should not be in key positions in the council along with laymen. Most council business is transacted through agency personnel. Their duties comprise membership on boards and committees and service as advisers to the council staff. They function efficiently, however, only when there is a council executive. Although much has been said to indicate that council work is carried out through divisions, functional committees, or subcouncils, actually it requires leadership more personal in character. Just as an individual agency cannot operate smoothly if run by a board, a committee, or several department heads acting in unison, so a council cannot serve to the full extent of its potentialities unless management is vested in some individual head, professionally qualified to exercise his authority, and with enough time and opportunity to do the job.

The executive as a consultant. — Much valuable work is performed through conferences of the council executive and the agency. No organization which wants to alter a program formulates its ideas in detail and then calls for consideration by a council committee. Rather the head of the organization talks over his ideas informally with the director of the council. The plan might be worked out together, and when sufficiently clarified would be taken up with some functional committee, the members of which would also contribute to the refinement of the proposal. When agencies have problems, they first want to talk about them privately and confidentially with some individual and not with a formal committee. The satisfactory relationships between agencies depend as much upon executive action as upon formal committee work.

Most problems as between public and private agencies are subject to individual negotiation and agreement. Such a question as whether the public welfare department should take on a new program is not an issue which can be presented as an academic theory and solved by committee consideration. The ultimate decision is a result of careful individual work, carried out more or less privately between the public agency executive, some of his board, and two or three other leading professional workers in the same field. Such work is quietly engineered by the council executive in a highly personal and confidential way.

The executive as a negotiator. — There may be value in illustrating the manner in which personal leadership is effected by the council di-

rector and the type of action he can take which necessitates his being constantly on the job. A brief list of things which require this form of personal leadership, either at their inception or as they are carried through, is given below:

1. A settlement worker becomes convinced that some council committee should sponsor and operate a recreation institute for the better training of volunteers. How does the settlement worker develop this suggestion? It is laid before the council executive for discussion and original planning. But before it comes to the committee a great deal of work has been done and the idea clarified into a plan of procedure. A committee needs a definite proposition on which to act.

2. A home for the aged considers an extension to its building. Problems of new intake, finance, the reaction of other homes, the need for expansion, and many other points become involved. The council executive is the key person with whom matters of this kind are discussed.

3. The needs of a public children's agency are grossly misunderstood by the county board. How can a new interpretative program be created which will help this agency? The agency executive wants to talk over the problem. The council director is a good person to assist him.

4. The local welfare board does not like a proposed bill in the legislature modifying the state welfare setup. It wants to crystallize opinion in the community to fight the change. It does not want to do so in its own name because of its close relationship to the state. The council executive is requested to consider ways and means of organizing public sentiment.

5. The school for social work finds some reticence on the part of local agencies to assist in its field training. It wants to change this attitude. It feels someone in the local community could find a better solution than it could on its own initiative. The school can turn to the welfare council, or more strictly speaking, the executive officer.

Hundreds of situations could be listed which typify the need for professional leadership in the council. Most of these problems would necessitate the help of a person of broad understanding, considerable personal influence, and high-grade professional capacity. The council staff is no more important than the council machinery, but the point which must be kept fixed in mind is that council machinery cannot function without an adequate staff. The way in which material is presented to committees, the work done on the problem before it is transmitted, and the whole field of private negotiation, are all matters which spell success or failure. These become matters for individual attention and personal leadership.

NEED FOR ADAPTATION TO PUBLIC WELFARE DEVELOPMENT

Councils show surprisingly little adaptation to changing conditions in local welfare development brought about by the enlargement of public welfare facilities. The disparity in council representation between large and small agencies is becoming a serious problem. Together this unbalanced representation in council organization and this lack of adequate numbers of delegates representing public welfare have led to a situation detrimental to the continued prestige of the council idea.

Organic limitations of councils.— In the planning to meet emergency relief needs there was evidence of the inadequacies of council organization. At that time it was a widespread practice to use the resources and staff of the council under some such committee name as the Mayor's Advisory Committee on Relief Problems or the Relief Coordination Committee, in order to bring the principal officials under auspices more directly related to the problem at hand. The practice was advisable because public officials complained that the right people were not represented on the council. Also the council executive and his board felt that more could be accomplished under an auspice other than their own. While such conditions evidence liberality on the part of councils to work without credit for the larger public interest, it is none the less serious that so little thought is given to the auspices and machinery for central planning. This carelessness as to procedure may tend eventually to establish present councils as planning bodies for private social work, with the local welfare units serving the public field. This might be a logical and satisfactory method if it were not for the conviction that planning must be central, which conviction makes the two-way splitting of the planning function seem bad. Also if it is felt that the burdens of public welfare administration are so heavy that no time can be given to planning, the potential situation becomes worse.

Need of local public welfare units for central council.— Few people realize the pressure which falls upon the public agency executive. He is chained hand and foot to the administrative task. Money, staff, press, politicians, protest groups, speeches, client appeals, legal complications, and official investigations all contribute to the administrative burden. Except as planning is exercised through some executive whose time is free for the planning function, little planning is done.

In addition, the public agency needs the aid of a central council for welfare work in order to achieve its own goals. For a good many years there is going to be a battle over the shift of power from county commissions to local welfare departments. Certain traditional prerogatives of the commission will be encroached upon by the welfare establishment. It is not good strategy to have these moves supported by the authority which wants more power. A community is a bundle of different forces, often conflicting. Community action is secured by finding a common ground upon which these forces can meet. The long process of reconciliation is the result of meticulous work and cannot ever be brought about by administrative edict. In the long run it will probably be found wise to establish a planning authority removed from administrative operation for this purpose. That local welfare work is changing and becoming more important and more centralized is no argument that these administrative departments can take on planning work any better than they could in the past.

Council reorganization.—How can the traditional council broaden its base to serve better the community as a whole, including both public and private agencies? The answer naturally gravitates toward the basis of representation; the present unbalance of delegate power will not serve effectively. The tendency is to coordinate public welfare service into a smaller number of units. As this development takes place the lack of balance in council representation will become even greater if there is no corresponding movement to reduce the number of private agencies.

It would seem that some new principle of representation could be introduced based on the following: (1) gross expenditure of money; and (2) expenditure of money for service activities, which would be linked up with the number on the professional staff. For example, agency representation on the council based upon volume of expenditure might be as follows:

Less than $10,000 = 1	$ 50,000 to $100,000 = 4
$10,000 to $25,000 = 2	$100,000 to $200,000 = 5
$25,000 to $50,000 = 3	$200,000 to $500,000 = 6

$500,000 and up = 8

The principle of using gross budget figures as a basis of representation could be further conditioned by giving additional representation for expenditure on professional staff, as illustrated by the following table:

Up	to	$15,000 = 1	additional delegate
$15,000	to	$25,000 = 2	additional delegates
$25,000	to	$50,000 = 3	additional delegates
$50,000	to	$75,000 = 4	additional delegates
$75,000	to	$150,000 = 5	additional delegates

This theory of representation rates the agency not only on the size of its gross budget, but also on its weight as measured by its professional staff. However one regards the matter, both the bulk of an agency and its service are measures of its importance; but from the point of view of council work and community values, the professional staff becomes of primary interest and should entitle the agency to additional representation. This point is illustrated by taking a large county infirmary which spends $100,000 a year. Such an agency is vital in the life of the community, but it employs practically no professional staff, and as a result is of less importance from the viewpoint of social planning than a child guidance clinic which spends $50,000 but has a professional staff expenditure of $40,000. How would these two organizations be represented under the above schedule?

The county infirmary would be entitled to three delegates, because it spends, it can be assumed, just less than $100,000. The child guidance clinic, which spends just less than $50,000, would be entitled to two delegates on the basis of its gross expenditure, but would be given three more delegates on the basis of investment in professional staff. The infirmary would have three delegates as against five for the child guidance clinic. This would seem to be a reasonably fair proportion.

It must be said, in passing, that this is but a crude and elementary proposal, which would need considerable refinement and definition. This is not the place to go into the details of the suggestion. The illustration is given in order to stimulate thought on the need for some change in council organization which would more fairly represent agencies in proportion to their strength and value in the community. Especially it would bring into the council organization a much fairer representation of the large public departments, thereby ensuring the council of considerably more prestige in the exercise of its planning function than it would have if it continued its old plan of organization.

PROBLEMS OF THE FUTURE FOR CENTRAL PLANNING

Reasons for separation of council and chest.—With the growth of council functions, its direction of community chest drives may not

prove satisfactory for future planning needs. Community welfare programs are bound to develop greatly in the immediate future. With new developments in well-entrenched research departments and with a crying need for continued functional activities, a council staff cannot well afford to give its undivided attention to the raising of a community fund. Given the right professional perspective, there is no real reason why a council organization cannot also lead a private money-raising campaign except for the conflict which arises in the time schedule. Furthermore, it might be reassuring to public agencies if the council executive were not so closely tied up with the community fund. Politicians and public officials cannot but feel that a council director who is also a chest executive might tend to favor the private agency in any controversy which came up because it is the private agency from which he receives his salary. In deference to those prejudices, which are not without foundation, some argument might be made for a complete separation of chest and council functions.

But although such a point of view has merit, there are practical difficulties in the way of its execution. The private agencies are an important group, and the whole budget process is naturally an important element of its planning program. Furthermore, public officials have no very good right to object to the source of support of a council until public welfare administration is willing to contribute in money the share of the value it receives in service. The legal complications surrounding the payment by public agencies for outside services rendered are difficult to overcome. Certainly any public agency could pay a nominal membership fee to the council, but such funds would not be adequate to provide a council budget. No council can do the things it is called upon to handle in any city above 100,000 population without a fairly generous budget, which might run anywhere from $10,000 or $15,000 up to $30,000 or $40,000. Assuming that the public welfare facilities represent one-half or two-thirds of the general outlay for the welfare machinery, public agencies must make a fairly sizable grant to the planning group. This involves legal problems which vary from city to city, consequently no plan can be offered as a practical starting point.

If the form of council organization is to be altered, hand in hand with it must go a search for an enlargement of financial support in which public agencies will participate. When procedures are developed which prove workable, then and then only is there time and opportunity to talk about the divorcement of the council from the chest. Even

when that day comes, some new form of council responsibility to the budget-making processes of private agencies will need to be developed, because this field of work cannot be completely separated from the council. Budget controls and local social changes are so closely related as to be almost one and the same thing. New approaches to this problem in both public and private agencies should be carefully studied. Not until councils have developed a new form of organization and bridged these difficulties in their relations with public and private agencies on the budget question, can it be said that the problems of the council of the future have been solved.

Chapter 12

RESEARCH AS AN OPERATING PROCEDURE

PLACE OF RESEARCH IN SOCIAL WORK

Social agencies should view research as a method or a process. It does not necessarily imply a specialized department for statistical purposes fully equipped with modern tabulating machinery. Even more than a method or a process, research is an attitude and a point of view. As nearly as possible all professional workers should have some research training so as to understand its theory and approach.

Information acquired through research methods should serve as a basis for professional judgment on all social-work programs. It reinforces opinion with facts which provide a basis of actual knowledge. The research method can be useful in any operation — accounting, case work, office management, money-raising, or any other method of procedure.

Most important to social treatment, research can be used to measure and to test results of operation. Sometimes social-work programs confuse method with accomplishment. For example, techniques used in psychiatric social work are stimulating and interesting, but the rate of progress and improvement as actually measured by research is much more stimulating if the work is successful. But successful or not some objective test of it is essential. Sound research methods can be used to test the results of any welfare program. It is for this reason that they are needed as a part of every operating procedure.

RESEARCH IN ORDINARY OPERATIONS

In a county welfare department. — In 1939, unless a local community had state aid, funds for unclassified relief were inadequate, and the resulting problem was particularly acute in the urban centers. In some states sharp conflict existed between the rural and urban elements in legislatures. Anticipating such difficulty in Minnesota,, the Ramsey County Welfare Board in St. Paul and the Minneapolis Public Relief Department made a study of residential status of families on their rolls in 1938. The purpose was to determine how many families in the case

load had been residents more than ten years, how many had been residents less than ten years, and how many had gained residence since 1933. When it was shown that 12 per cent of St. Paul relief cases and 17 per cent of Minneapolis relief cases had acquired residence since 1933, an important fact was revealed.

This information was helpful in securing legislative action on a state appropriation for general relief purposes. It provided concrete evidence that rural districts had small relief loads because their residents had been forced to seek help in urban centers. Rural legislators knew that unclassified relief was usually inadequate in rural districts and drove families to cities, but for the first time this piece of research provided proof. There was much less trouble in securing aid for the large cities than had been anticipated. This little piece of research into the make-up of the urban case load brought results when bitter argument would have been futile.

By agencies caring for dependent children. — An increase of work was expected in the care of children outside their own homes following the emergency relief period. When this prospect materialized, children's agencies needed larger budgets, or recourse to some other method to permit increased intake.

In one city more extensive use was made of mental examinations. They had not been given routinely to all children. The practice was now instituted, and all cases were studied to determine the progress being made and whether or not there was any correlation between a low intelligence quotient and a satisfactory response to boarding-home treatment.

It was discovered that dull children did not make as satisfactory adjustment in boarding homes as those who had a higher intelligence rating. This result might have been anticipated, but the introduction of the mental examinations gave a sounder basis for action.

The agencies in this city modified intake policies. Since there was not enough money to give boarding-home care to all children, it was highly desirable to use a selective basis of intake. In facing this problem all agencies needed to reinforce professional opinion with objective data. Mental examinations were of assistance not only in providing a new basis for selection, but in arriving at other disposition for boarding children not responding to treatment. The study assisted materially in improving the whole standard of children's work.

As an aid in a community chest campaign. — In the fall of 1938 the

THE SAINT PAUL COMMUNITY CHEST, Inc.

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF THE WORK DONE BY COMMUNITY CHEST AGENCIES IN THE FAMILIES OF EMPLOYED PERSONS LIVING IN ST. PAUL

These figures show:

(a) that Community Chest Agencies serve families of 15,157 employed people;
(b) that Community Chest Agencies serve about 15% of families of all St. Paul employed persons;
(c) that more than half of these services rendered by Community Chest Agencies are in the form of personal aid and services through social settlements.

These figures are revealing. They show that part of the work of Community Chest Agencies is concerned with a group of people who are not on relief yet having needs which can be met only through these agencies. The meeting of these needs helps to maintain family ties and preserves the natural desires of families to work out their own problems.

These figures are compiled by Community Chest Agencies from actual records of services performed from September 1, 1937 to August 31, 1938.

Classification	(1) Business Concerns	(2) Other Business Concerns not in Column 1	(3) Total Business Concerns	(4) Self-Employment and Govt. Employment (Exclusive of WPA)
Number of Business Firms	359	41	400	....
Number of Employees	42,662	....	....	....
Total Number of Employees' Families Served	6,371	1,086	7,457	7,700
Percentage of Employees' Families Served	14.9			
Number receiving Personal Aid Service	2,765	584	3,349	2,701
Number served by Social Settlements	542	161	703	1,076
Number served in Boys' and Girls' Work	3,064	341	3,405	3,833

COMMUNITY CHEST AGENCIES RENDERING THESE SERVICES

Personal Aid Service	Social Settlements	Boys' and Girls' Work
Personal Aid Work includes: Family Service, Legal Aid, Nursing Care, Child Care and other types of service.	Social Settlements serve disadvantaged areas by work with children and adults in their own neighborhoods.	Boys' and Girls' Work Agencies are self-explanatory, reaching an almost perfect cross-section of St. Paul children.
BUREAU OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES	CENTRAL COMMUNITY HOUSE	BOY SCOUTS
CHILDREN'S HOME SOCIETY	CHRIST CHILD COMMUNITY CENTER	CAMP FIRE GIRLS
CHILDREN'S SERVICE	COMMUNITY BOARD	GIRL SCOUTS
FAMILY SERVICE	HALLIE Q. BROWN COMMUNITY HOUSE	YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSN.
HOME DEMONSTRATION SERVICE	JEWISH CENTER ACTIVITIES ASSN.	YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSN.
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE	NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE	
JEWISH WELFARE ASSOCIATION		
MUTUAL AID BLIND ASSOCIATION		
ST. PAUL FAMILY NURSING SERVICE		
ST. PAUL SOCIETY FOR HARD OF HEARING		
ST. PAUL URBAN LEAGUE		
SALVATION ARMY		
WELFARE BOARD—AMERICAN LEGION		

Families of employed persons served represent only a portion of the work of Community Chest Agencies. Moreover, the services to families of employed persons represent a smaller proportion of dollar-expenditure. The greater proportion of dollar-expenditure goes for work with children of families without employable people. Such work requires a higher cost per case.

Edward E. DiBella
November 1, 1938

RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION INTO SERVICES OF COMMUNITY CHEST AGENCIES IN ST. PAUL

St. Paul Community Chest wanted some information on the subject of how many employed people received private agency service, what the service comprised, and what kind of employed people obtained it. With the aid of its agencies and the use of their records, the results shown in the illustration were secured.

This study was not complete. Some agencies did not respond. In many instances the place of employment was not shown in the record. Yet, even though the research was not comprehensive, it did produce startling information. Results helped the chest in dealing with heads of corporations in that it provided an actuating motive for increased corporation giving. The information was valuable in the solicitation of employees, because it showed that chest agencies offered services which 15 per cent of the employed people used. It was also of assistance in interpretation to labor unions, because they learned definitely that their membership benefited from the work of chest agencies.

NEED FOR RESEARCH-MINDED EXECUTIVES

The illustrations showing application of the research method should suggest why executives need to be research-minded. Some people might object that these illustrations are not true research. They certainly imply the use of the research method in day-to-day procedure. However, aside from unusual circumstances, where a more formal type of research is needed, it is on these simple day-to-day problems that a scientific approach to information can best be used.

Agency directors should keep in mind that the newer graduates from professional schools are given a good foundation in research methods. This is one of the most valuable assets of modern training. More mature executives do not have this foundation. They have made many mistakes in administration because of its absence, and even now some of them tend to be rather suspicious of the younger people who know their way about in this field. The more progressive agencies are incorporating in their normal procedures the methods these younger people are bringing into their agencies. They are giving them an opportunity to perform constructively, and this practice is laying a foundation for more solid progress.

Too frequently mature executives think of research as some species of rarefied procedure. Actually it is an instrument needed in the routine of operation to produce better methods and particularly to test results. In the long run it is the conscientious work done on normal program

activities which through slow accretion finally creates new ideas. Most agency directors will find it the most practical to be modest in their objectives in the matter of new discovery and diligent in their effort to do the immediate task well and erect for it a sound foundation. If this is done, discoveries based on research, or any other process, will probably take care of themselves.

GRADUAL GROWTH OF SOCIAL-WORK "DISCOVERIES"

The case-work method.— In *Social Diagnosis,* by Mary Richmond, there is nothing to indicate that she created the case-work method. What she did was to assemble the techniques used and give them new meaning, order, and significance. But there would have been no such volume as *Social Diagnosis* without careful work by many people.

Boarding-home care of children.— Foster-home care of children grew up over a long period of years. The present methods and techniques, which have meant much in the lives of thousands of children, are not the invention of any single person, but the contribution of many. Present child-care methods are far in advance of those of a quarter of a century ago. They certainly constitute one of the major discoveries in social treatment. Research played an important part, but here constitutes a different approach from that employed by the scientist working alone, who after extensive experimentation discovers a serum antagonistic to a specific germ development.

Central planning and financing.— The idea of central planning and federated finance has roots going far back into the history of social work. Any historian would have difficulty in fixing the exact origin of these methods. They were not created simultaneously by any one person, nor did they develop in any particular geographical area. Many persons in a number of places contributed to these important procedures.

The group payment plan for hospitalization.— One might easily cite names of those who were responsible for the creation of the group payment plan for hospitalization which has grown so extensively since 1933. Popular magazine writers have pointed out its origins as to place and people. Actually it seems to have grown out of an existing need and out of a theory based upon the insurance principle, even though because of legal reasons it is not known as an insurance plan. It may yet prove to be one of the most important developments of recent years, since there is evidence to indicate that some kind of a group payment

plan for medical services will grow out of it. Inevitably one thing leads to another. Research in social work produces creative results through a collective as contrasted to an individual method.

Old-age security.— There can be little doubt that the whole idea of old-age security, which now seems firmly entrenched, has developed over long years. While the Social Security Act provided a better foundation than had existed, it was not that act which committed the country to the desirability of protection in old age. Millions of life insurance policy-holders were an important factor in establishing the idea. Professional social work can thank some of the earlier writers on the subject of old-age security. Posterity can and undoubtedly will show appreciation to the administration of President Roosevelt for sponsoring this act, but the fact remains that it was the work of many; and if it had not been passed in 1935, the action would have been taken soon, no matter what administration was in power. Actually material produced by research methods constituted sufficient evidence to prove that a great industrial nation like the United States could not go on much longer without a planned procedure to give greater security to superannuated citizens.

PROGRESS IN SOCIAL-WORK RESEARCH METHODS

Early research.— Until about 1920 qualified social workers were so few in number that professionalism did not exist. Professional organization was then just starting. Although the National Conference of Social Work has been established since 1873, it certainly cannot be said that there has been a profession ever since that date. Even today most social workers question the completeness of professional status.

It was only in 1928 that any comprehensive statistical framework was developed in the social service field. In contrast, health statistics have been gathered for many years. Public-health officers had developed some research methods before social work had a professional consciousness. Everyone today knows what is meant by the "infant mortality rate." Even laymen recognize that if less than fifty out of a thousand children die before one year of age the rate is fairly good. Such factual evidence is understood because infant death rates are available for all states, cities, and foreign countries.

How many social workers today could quote rates for dependent children, juvenile delinquency, or dependency? There are norms or rates, but they are not too reliable. Comparability from place to place is lacking. Methods of record-keeping are still uncertain. Definitions

need more refinement. Already there have been many years of hard work. But prior to 1920 the need of basic data was recognized only in theory and little constructive work on reporting systems had been started. From the viewpoint of research methods, social workers were groping in the dark in that period.

The agencies in those earlier days were an outgrowth of neighborly efforts, and they had little perspective beyond the immediate group served. In fact, the age of philanthropy, which might be fixed approximately from 1875 to 1920, can be characterized as highly personal. People gave money and rendered services to others less fortunate because they were a privileged group with resources. A tradition of philanthropy developed.

Without professional competency and tools with which to work research in the modern sense was largely experimental. Yet this early period reveals constant effort on the part of isolated social workers, confronted by tremendous problems, to find some solution for them. They constantly sought help from other workers who were considered to have achieved significant results. They brought in these people for consultation and study. Social problems were considered and new plans of treatment devised on the basis of fragmentary evidence, limited experience, good guesswork, and a considerable amount of human wisdom.

Out of it all gradually emerged a profession, a statistical foundation, a philosophy for the treatment of various social problems, and a surplus of methods and techniques. To each of these things early research contributed materially. These efforts have raised social work to a new level, even though the level may still be low.

Up to now the research-minded social worker has been the exceptional person. In the future all workers with administrative responsibility will have to use research as an operating tool. In approaching present-day problems they should appreciate that current progress often depends upon the past. It is well to secure a grasp on developments in research during this early period.

Utilization of past surveys. — In 1924 Wichita, Kansas, assembled all survey recommendations, noting the ones which had been carried out and listing the others on which no progress had been made. Welfare council committees decided they had had enough to work on so that no more surveys would be needed for some time. Most cities which have had an active social-work program for a couple of decades can well

pause to discover what fruit has sprung from seed sown in the study of local social problems.

In the use of research data or social studies the past must be taken into consideration. No agency can do much in the solution of any social problem within a current year. What is going to happen in that year depends upon what has occurred in the past. The roots of social progress are deep. Whether a city surveys its surveys or not, it is desirable to set down in definite form a description of community and agency situations which have been given consideration and on which certain definite actions have been taken.

First steps in the utilization of past surveys are conditioned by a number of factors. Many surveys made had no real objective. Naturally they were forgotten. Others can be found in which valuable information has been overlooked. In spite of their uncertain value they are susceptible of practical utilization. They have been a factor in the life of the agency or the community. It is advisable to investigate them.

Community chests' first efforts in gathering data. — In the years immediately following the war, time and effort were spent by community chests in trying to compare agency budgets in one city with those in another. To say that city A was not spending enough on public health nursing because city B of the same size appropriated twice the sum, provided a foundation for arguing that the former should secure more money. But almost at once inconsistencies were apparent. In few cities was public health nursing handled exclusively by either the public or the private agencies, and naturally all nursing services had to be taken into consideration. When all facts were revealed, the conclusion as to which city spent the most money might be reversed.

Per capita giving-rates to community chests are conditioned by the same factors. In 1920 many cities did not spend a dollar out of taxes for public relief. At the same time others were fairly generous in tax appropriations. Naturally, community chests raised larger sums in places where they met the entire relief burden. From the scientific point of view comparisons between these cities were a waste of time.

Organized efforts in gathering social data. — In 1924 Raymond Clapp, then associate director of the Cleveland Welfare Federation (now manager of the Indianapolis Community Fund), made the first comprehensive study of welfare expenditures in nineteen cities. His report proved of great value because for the first time it took into considera-

tion all sources of income and functional expenditures. Some logical comparison between cities resulted.

This effort led to further work, and in the year 1928, under the joint auspices of the Association of Community Chests and Councils (now Community Chests and Councils, Inc.) and the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago, there was established the registration of social statistics under the direction of A. W. McMillen. After two years under private auspices the work was taken over by the federal Children's Bureau, and since 1930 has been functioning on an enlarged basis. After ten years of federal operation there are about fifty cities for which full, complete, and accurate data have been assembled on a comparable and scientific basis. Thus it will be seen that efforts, apparently futile in their inception, may gradually become important and effective in their result and application.

The reporting systems of governmental agencies.— Acknowledgment should be made of the significant contribution of statistical data made by the federal Works Progress Administration and the Social Security Board, and the state welfare departments, all of which maintain regular reporting systems which have done more for social planning and research than all other efforts because of their broad foundation. Unfortunately, these reports do not cover all fields of operation.

Objectives in gathering social data.— It can be concluded that out of a feeble beginning two foundations for action have developed which should prove of great value to local social work. The first is a system of comparative statistics which can serve as an index to social-work progress in the nation at large. In a limited but nevertheless effective manner, the registration of social statistics by the federal government is doing this. The second is a local record of past work done, which can provide a basis for future local progress. Today in every city with a sizable social-work establishment, there exists at least a conviction that there must be some central statistical machinery for reporting current work from month to month. In practice, the two systems will overlap at many points and be part and parcel of each other. It may be added also that, eventually, the central statistical bureaus in the cities must be far more comprehensive than any such facilities existing in 1939.

THE NEED FOR COMMUNITY-WIDE STATISTICS

A local welfare department serves so large a portion of the total population that its figures alone, of all agencies operating in the com-

munity, become meaningful. If in any city the total case load for a single month is ten thousand families, it can be assumed that this figure will cover well above 80 per cent of all active cases in the community. This situation may not prevail forever. Sooner or later the local agency may not carry as large a proportion of the total case load as it does now and has in the past. As a result, many public departments might be willing to participate in a movement which aims to secure a totality of the welfare picture.

A complete perspective view is necessary. Every community wants to know the total relief load, whether handled by public or by private agencies. It should know the number of families in which child dependency occurs. The number of families contributing inmates to local and state institutions is also important. There ought to be a correlation between categorical aid and other social services. Much other information is needed. All will agree that a complete picture of individual aid is essential.

Charts which have been produced to show the ups and downs of child care in individual agencies mean little to the community as a whole. They are of value only to the administration of the agency. Instead of spending money on its own statistical production, a single agency can participate in a central reporting system and receive back its own tabulations. More important still, it also thus receives the total picture of child care for the community.

There can be little doubt that in the long run statistical procedures must be pivoted around some central plan. Aside from the fact that this concept has been established, there is little experience as to how procedures can be instituted. Groundwork is being laid through the registration area work now going forward in about fifty cities (see page 210). There has also been a growing tendency among councils of social agencies to develop research departments, most of them with a statistical basis for operation. But there have been no cities bold enough to launch out into a complete correlation of all agency figures in all fields.

Possibilities in the social service exchange.— The traditional social service exchange has fulfilled a useful purpose in the prevention of duplication and the routing of case treatment. It has made available knowledge of work done for the family in the past. With a few notable exceptions, exchanges have not progressed far from the point of their original concept. Their main function continues to be identification. There can be no argument against the necessity for thorough identifica-

tion. But the question might be raised as to whether the process of identification cannot be made part of a more comprehensive community statistical control.

Cities cannot make progress in this department of social work without being ready to scrap old machinery for new. An extensive system, centering in the social service exchange, to gather social data for an entire community can be considered an ambitious idea. Also, no system of demonstrated value has yet been worked out which will provide identification as a minor element in the securing of statistics from all community agencies. Even so, some experimentation has been attempted along these lines.

The St. Paul plan.—On June 1, 1938, the Central Registration Bureau (confidential exchange of St. Paul) was consolidated with the Registration Department of the Ramsey County Welfare Board. The latter organization had served about 85 per cent of the entire case load and the bringing together of the two card systems eliminated substantial duplication of effort. With the assistance of a WPA research project, work has been going forward rapidly to provide the statistical foundation necessary for the perspective picture needed. It will take several years to complete the job. In the end there appears to be no great obstacle to securing a research director who can serve jointly the county welfare board and the welfare council. By that time this particular public department may be making a substantial contribution to central planning both by its sponsorship of the project and by the use of its mechanical tabulating equipment. Such central bureaus are so costly in equipment and personnel as to necessitate cooperative participation by the local public welfare unit, the social service exchange, and all other private agencies working through the welfare council. Even with all such support, research procedures must be integrated with day-to-day operations and with the process of identification in order to justify the heavy expense involved.

RELATIONSHIP OF THE MODERN SURVEY TO LOCAL AVAILABLE DATA

Local survey by national agencies.—Reference has been made to early surveys and their contribution. A number of national agencies have used the survey method constructively. Among others have been the Family Welfare Association of America, the American Public Welfare Association, the American Public Health Association, the Child Welfare League of America, and Community Chests and Councils, Inc.

Prior to the 1930's efforts sponsored by these and other organizations tended to be piecemeal in character. All recognized the local interrelationships, but cooperative effort between a number of the national agencies and a single local community was not well worked out until Community Chests and Councils, Inc., took leadership in the coordination of the survey business. Their action was in response to the need for local welfare councils to analyze all fields of work in a community at one time. Among significant first steps on a broad scale were the Hartford and Providence surveys of 1934 and 1935 directed by Bradley Buell. A wide group of national agencies sponsored these undertakings and worked together in providing the survey staff. The results of the two efforts, as well as others following them, have been most significant.

First of all, the comprehensiveness of the work was important. The communities in which the surveys were made obtained a valuable blueprint to guide operations over the next decade. A new local respect for objectivity was created. All these surveys not only secured accurate figures to form a basis for judgment, but they established reporting systems by which the cities could maintain a solid statistical foundation. In addition, the surveyors took on added responsibilities for negotiating some of the needed changes in social-work structure. Finally, the national agencies were brought into close touch with local problems and were in an excellent position to give advice and guidance in the future.

Relation of local statistical data to the survey procedure.—It would be unwise to suggest that all the significant values in these surveys have been indicated. Many have been omitted as not pertinent to the subject here under discussion. The question at issue is the relationship between the modern survey procedure and available local data.

Much of the time consumed in the surveys was in securing the factual basis for the work. As cities develop central organizations which have command of the entire field of social-work statistics, there will not be the same need to spend effort on this work when a survey is undertaken. Practically all staff resources can be devoted to the appraisal task. In fact, when cities know exactly where they stand, statistically speaking, they will sense their own problems earlier and more easily. This would assist outside consultants materially. They could start in at once to appraise the situation and undertake to negotiate some adjustment.

At best, surveys are expensive undertakings, even though the most costly have paid large dividends when made with a modern approach. On the other hand, both national agencies and local communities desire

a wider application of the survey procedure. If the factual foundation is already available, this service can be rendered at a substantially lower cost. Any city can take advantage of the method more frequently. Such local facilities will increase many times the number of surveys with good results.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM INDEX

It must be evident that a close connection exists between the survey method as one phase of social research and the availability of comprehensive local social data. Unfortunately other factors are needed to reinforce statistics. One of the most important planning needs is an accurate tabulation of local social problems. No systematized method has yet been established to record the trend of community situations which create difficulties and are important to the smooth functioning of the social-work program. Not only must surveys deal with these problems, but all agencies work on them from day to day. A knowledge of social problems constitutes a part of the research equipment universally needed. For the most part evidence regarding them is scattered through various records not easily accessible. Unfortunately much of it resides in the minds of individual leaders. While the human mind has many values, it is a poor receptacle for filing other than personal information. Some consideration of methods which can be used seems in order.

There is ample indication that agency and community problems do not exist merely in the minds of different people. They have reality. They are just as definite as goods sold in business. Sometimes an agency or a community solves a problem or permits it to rest after a partial solution is discovered. But usually the situation changes so rapidly that many problems are chronic.

To get at a picture of agency and community problems an index should be maintained which clearly reveals the extent and character of work being done toward their solution. Minutes and records of social agencies are usually chronological. Most internal problems are perennial. They appear year after year. The record is revealed by minutes of committee meetings, special reports, memoranda of conversations, newspaper stories, and in other ways. The record on any problem becomes almost hopelessly involved.

It is a comparatively simple matter to maintain a "social problem index." A loose-leaf ledger system is better than a card file because there is more space for notation. Any kind of homemade arrangement can be satisfactory if someone is assigned the duty of its upkeep. If a com-

mittee meeting is held on some phase of a situation, the names of the committee members, the date, and a word or two about the business should be listed. If a newspaper controversy centers around the problem, the names of the publication and the dates should be inserted. If a speech is made, the name of the speaker and the date and place should be entered. Every important occurrence in connection with the problem in question should be indicated, so that when further work is done a complete guide as to available material and where it can be found will be at hand.

Social agencies keep careful books for a record of their handling of money. More and more they are beginning to maintain satisfactory records on service rendered. On social problems, however, the most careless controls are exercised. A little work each week can maintain a social problem index. A small agency might not need to post its index more than once in several months. A welfare council might find its record-keeping job much larger. A local public welfare department would also be forced to devote careful attention to the matter if its index was to prove valuable. Like most reporting systems, no apparent results would be forthcoming for several years unless the index was established on a retroactive basis. This is not impossible. When some community reaches the point where it has a good index to its social problem development over a period of ten years, it will attract so much attention that all cities will establish this type of record-keeping as a routine matter.

Chapter 13

PUBLIC RELATIONS IN SOCIAL WORK

PUBLIC SUPPORT AND CONFIDENCE

The primary objective in public relations is to gain confidence and support, a goal not easy to reach. The public is frequently described as "fickle." It might more accurately be called "elusive." The term "public" usually refers to all the citizens residing in a given area. This public has certain intrinsic powers. For one thing, it can give or withhold its support except that it cannot do so acting as a conscious entity. The public is so complicated an organism as to defy control.

Public opinion is always in a liquid state. It flows in many directions. Throughout history examples are evident in which the flow of public opinion has been controlled successfully for a short time, historically speaking. When dammed up it sooner or later overflows. In the long run, no organization can win public confidence and support by purchase, flattery, manipulation, fear, or force. The only known method is to earn it.

From the philosophical viewpoint social work is a continuing process. There always have been movements to lessen social ills and to assist people in trouble. There always will be so long as human nature exists. The responsibility residing in the leadership of such movements is to permit the work done to speak for itself. If the results seem bad, support will be withheld. Public relations would appear to be a very simple matter.

Strangely enough, this elementary theory is basically sound. If all agency directors let it be the cornerstone of their public relations policy, results might be better. Many social-work programs do not need so much interpretation as their sponsors think they do. The best method of securing continued support is to do a good job on the task assigned. This requires an alertness on the part of professional workers to make all people with whom they come in contact understand what they are trying to do.

A first step then in approaching the problem of public relations is to consider some examples of day-to-day work and permit them to illus-

trate proper procedures which might be applied to other types of social-work activity. Executives must see that work is done in such a manner as to win support in normal working relationships.

IMPORTANCE OF CLIENT ATTITUDES

Connection of citizens with welfare services. — The great majority of American citizens follow sports closely. Every newspaper devotes special space to a sporting section. People in all walks of life become expert in their prognostications of the winning team and the quality of players. In an argument concerning a definite game or the winning potentialities of a certain team or the skill and prowess of a popular athlete, the sport fan who happens to have a personal acquaintance with some of the players or the "inside dope" direct from the coach is the man to whom people listen with attention. He may not actually know any more about the situation than others who have read the details in the paper, but at least he thinks he does. The personal contact enlivens his interest and puts him in closer connection with facts.

The professional social worker is something like the player in the world of sports. The press and magazines are filled with articles about welfare problems, but the person who knows a social worker or who sees social work in operation with its clients speaks with more authority. In most discussions there pops up the man who says, "But I know a case. . . ."

It is not surprising that in recent years, when welfare services have been extended to so wide a group, almost every citizen knows social-work treatment from the viewpoint of an individual or family under care. The best publicity in the world, with the strongest appeal, the sharpest logic, and the most attractive form, has no reality when compared with personal acquaintance of the average citizen with specific clients.

The client attitude is largely conditioned by the worker. An important part of his professional equipment must be an understanding of interpretation duties connected with case or group treatment. One hears of the bedside manner of the physician, the vote-getting ability of the politician, the platform command of the speaker, or the courtroom manner of the lawyer. There is no comparable descriptive terminology for the social worker, only the phrase "client-worker relationship." This is a good conference term, but poor from the standpoint of popular appeal. "The sympathetic manner" would be better except that in the past

popular conception has tended to accept the phrase, the "hard-boiled" social worker. The obloquy of such a descriptive word is only less distressing than the fact that no true and meaningful term exists. This tends to prove that constructive thinking about the problem does not exist. Also it is worse than useless to devise phrases consciously; they will be created spontaneously only as a result of professional practice. It does not matter how social workers describe themselves. What is important is how clients regard the profession.

The practitioner's responsibility for interpretation. — The responsibility for interpretation of social work falls heaviest upon the professional social worker. No other factor in the field is so important. Whether the client, in relating his experiences, recounts his benefits or the lack of success of social-work treatment, whether he talks about the treatment sympathetically or critically, largely depends upon the professional worker who gave it.

Strangely enough, the human being loves to talk about his ills. If people cannot find anything else to do they enjoy talking about their operations and the way in which their doctors treated them. Current American tradition has made people feel that the clients do not want to talk about their treatment at the hands of a relief agency or a public clinic. Such a conception is wrong. It never has been true. Today, when a majority of people in certain neighborhoods are clients of social agencies, they constantly talk of how they are treated "at the welfare." They discuss the amounts they receive and the popularity of the workers. Undoubtedly there are exceptional cases, but they are mostly drawn from families who were once of a higher economic status, who have lived in better districts, and who expect shortly again to attain economic independence.

Most communities are rendering some kind of welfare services in the dependency, health, and child welfare fields to well over one-fourth of the total population. These services are becoming almost as common to many as the public schools are to all. No one hesitates to talk about the functioning of the schools, the experiences his children have, and the character of the teachers. More and more the same thing is happening with welfare services. Actually therefore it is the clients who do most of the interpretative work from which develop favorable or unfavorable reactions in the public mind. Ultimately, of course, this reaction depends upon how well the professional worker does the job with which he is entrusted.

THE HANDLING OF COMPLAINTS

With so large a proportion of the population involved there are bound to be many complaints of unsatisfactory service. They run all the way from the client who calls to say his coal did not arrive on time to the more obstreperous type who makes scenes in the office or the protest group that decides to "take up" the case of Mrs. Smith. Whether the complaint is simple or complicated, its satisfactory adjustment is vital to public relations. If it is not promptly settled there are interested citizens who champion the client, appeal to elected officials, or through other pressure channels, try to force the worker to "do his duty."

Quick adjustment of legitimate complaints. — It is trite to say that there is opportunity here to make the work of the agency better understood. Administrative people should remind themselves constantly that the largest number of complaints have a reasonable basis. Executives tend to see only the exceptional complainant, whom the case worker has had to turn down, and who appeals to higher authority. It is the complaint with the least merit that usually becomes the celebrated instance. Many examples of even this sort can be turned to the advantage of the agency. While the public is invariably sympathetic to the client who does not receive generous treatment, it is constantly growing more intelligent in its attitude, and less naïve about the psychopathic complainant who seeks to attract public attention. At best complaints are difficult, but if clerical and professional people are alert and will seek prompt correction of errors, much good will can be engendered among the client body with good effect upon the public attitude.

The "celebrated" type of complaint. — The unusual case which finally comes to the executive or reaches the press needs cautious treatment, but if the agency has fundamental justification for its action it is a singularly dull manager who cannot make such a case serve the cause of better public relations and enlarged public understanding. To do so requires a generous attitude, admission that the agency can make mistakes, and no disparaging remarks about the client.

The best tactics are quickly to get out from the defensive position in which the agency always finds itself when a complaint becomes public, by making the client defend his own case. One well-known charge is that some agency plans to take children away from their mother. This appeal tends to strike the heart of the American public, and all good mothers and fathers rise up in deep concern at the treatment being meted out to poor parents by the ruthless social worker. It proves salu-

tary in instances like this to announce that no families are broken up without court order. The agency cannot give an opinion as to the truth or falsehood of the serious charges of neglect made by neighbors and others in this case, but it is confident that the court will decide the matter fairly and that this family will not be separated unless the legal evidence is full and complete. Then if the situation has reached the newspapers, the burden of proof as to why there is such a furor falls upon the family. It has to start talking about the complaints of its neighbors and the attitude of the court instead of about the social workers who want to take the babies away.

It may seem unfair that any social-work administrator should plot to protect the reputation of his agency and his staff by placing the burden of proof in any celebrated case upon the client himself. It can usually be assumed, however, that when cases have reached publicity proportions the agency has gone the limit in trying to make private and confidential adjustment of the difficulty. It is never the agency which brings the case before the public tribunal of the press, but invariably the client. If the client is the aggressor, and it must be remembered that even in these unusual instances the client may have no other recourse, then it is up to the client to make clear his position.

It seems appropriate that the agency should protect itself, but above all, it should never reveal facts which are confidential. If the client wants to do so, that is his business, and the best strategy is to give him free rein to do as he pleases. By so acting, the agency is maintaining its ethical standards, and as the case becomes more and more complicated, the client becomes constantly in a more vulnerable position.

COLLATERAL VISITS

Professional workers in the course of collateral visits form many relationships with the public. They frequently see relatives and neighbors of the client. They talk with employers and professional connections, such as doctors and ministers. They have to know something of the background of the children. and this brings them in touch with teachers. It is from such associations that large numbers of citizens come into actual contact with the functioning of welfare agencies. It is through such relationships that the work of social agencies is judged. The entire process of either case work or group work, as it is practiced on the job from day to day, is an important factor in the interpretation of the whole social-work program.

Its importance can be indicated by the work of certain public agencies. Many of them never seek newspaper publicity or put out interpretative reports of their work. They merely go along with the daily job. Frequently they are better understood than some private agencies, which, because they must receive contributions, make sizable expenditures in attracting attention to their work. Advertising may prejudice people for or against a given social-work program. It will never make such programs understood. Advertising and publicity have interpretative value, but are not the mediums through which public understanding and sympathy are attained.

CITIZENS AS INTERPRETERS

Lack of citizen participation in public social work.—The weakest point in present-day developments in the public welfare field is the tendency to make operation bureaucratic. Widespread citizenship interest is not attained without participation. Any enterprise in which a large number of citizens feel they have a part is automatically ensured of some success. Public welfare procedures glaringly ignore this fundamental concept of sound organization.

The largest factor in sustaining interest in community funds is that hundreds of citizens feel they are personally responsible for the operation of the fund. They raise the money. They work hard in doing it. But they derive a good deal of pleasure from it at the same time. In securing subscriptions they have to fight for the organization, and while they may not know much about it, their part in the game is clearly defined. They prove to all that it is a good thing; that it needs financial support; and that it is an enterprise in which all citizens should be interested. They work rather by appealing to the civic motive of the contributor than by constructive explanation of what the fund is about. Whatever they do makes but little difference. The important fact is that they are on the job working and with something definite to do.

In contrast, public welfare administration may be established under a small appointive board which relies upon a professional staff. Except for what citizens read in the newspapers, or hear personally explained by staff members, or listen to in public speeches, or see in formal printed reports, the public has no personal connection with the work. Yet even so, public welfare administration is today discussed in most homes and at many small gatherings, both formal and informal. It is the subject of numerous magazine articles and is a part of the political campaign

material of every party and group. Most of the comments made about public welfare administration are by people who have absolutely no connection with it. Part of the reason for the misunderstanding of relief and public assistance is the fact that its real purpose is constantly being misrepresented by writers, speakers, and politicians who either try to use these programs for ulterior purposes or who simply fail to understand their meaning.

Social workers realize this situation but feel helpless to do anything about it. Constructive approach to securing a better interpretation of the program is admittedly a long, hard, slow road to travel. On the other hand, extensive development of citizenship participation in public welfare is by no means impossible, if public welfare administrators are willing to take the trouble entailed in its development.

Advisory committees in a local welfare department.—In St. Paul there was created in 1934 an interesting system of committees in connection with the nine district relief offices. These committees were organized under what was known as the Advisory Committee on Relief Problems appointed by the mayor of the city. Its declared objectives were as follows:

"1. To give financial counsel and advice.

"2. To hear regular and detailed reports from officials in charge of relief administration as to detailed policies and procedures; and to consider and make recommendations concerning helpful changes.

"3. To see that the work of the public and the private agencies is closely coordinated in the relief field and to make for the greatest possible efficiency.

"4. To maintain a widespread citizenship interest and participation in family welfare work so as to prevent the board of public welfare from becoming a bureaucratic agency remote from the point of view and participation of the citizenship. To accomplish this objective it is suggested that the committee create advisory conferences in each of the nine relief districts, appointing a membership of twenty to thirty men and women representative of the district and the citizens thereof."

Carrying out the fourth objective called for a widespread citizenship participation. The mechanism arrived at was an advisory committee appointed by the chairman, of some two hundred and seventy-five citizens, each serving on one of the district advisory committees. Naturally the central committee worked in the closest cooperation with the board of public welfare. As to the district committees, they were given to understand that on all matters of relief policy and procedure they would have to work with the official board, but on all matters of local community interest they could proceed on their own initiative as citizens.

For example, if a committee decided that the amount of family contribution called for from working children was too much, it would have to work on this policy of the welfare board by formal recommendation and subsequent agreement and if the welfare board could not agree, nothing could be done about it. The contrary situation was illustrated by one committee which became concerned and shocked over the housing conditions of its particular district. Here they were informed that they could proceed on their own initiative to do anything on this community problem which struck them as being helpful.

The operation of these committees was not all that might have been hoped. They were large and unwieldy. Some citizens selected were not interested. Some committee officers were not satisfactory. During the second year the earlier mistakes were corrected and the working channels of the committees made clearer. Gradually there developed a deep conviction that these advisory committees had a real place in the functioning of the board of public welfare, but in 1937 they were discontinued because too heavy a burden fell on the general executive.

This responsibility should have been shared by the district secretaries. But they were busy also. The original impetus to the committees was given by the welfare council, which also provided a committee secretary. The project was a demonstration one and as such was duty bound to end when a fair trial period was over. At that point there was agreement as to its value, but not as to the responsibility for operation. Public welfare officials do not as yet feel actual cash investment can be made to promote citizenship concern and responsibility. Some day they will remember that a comparatively small number of well-selected people may have a wide influence upon what thousands of others think. Social workers should attempt to secure public support not only through the medium of mass opinion, but through the channels of constructive individual study and individual participation. It is to be hoped that when public welfare executives are actually convinced on this point, it will not be too late to act.

RELATIONSHIPS WITH CHURCH GROUPS

The historic interest of the church.—Churches have a historic interest in charitable enterprise. The term "charity" is definitely associated with

the religious teaching of most church groups. The history of separate welfare development unfolds only as urban life in the United States becomes more complex. But although the belief that churches have a deep interest in human welfare still resides in the minds of most people, the actual administration of charitable assistance has now almost completely passed from church to secular auspices. Nor does this transition, by which the administration of social work has passed into other hands, need to create any conflict between church groups and social-work agencies. Indeed, quite the contrary is true. The teachings of the church and its effort to inspire its membership to a sense of personal responsibility for reducing human suffering by good deeds can be and should be capitalized by the social agencies. In most communities, however, no constructive channels of cooperation have been established.

Church–social agency cooperation.—Interpretation of welfare work can be much advanced by the creation of machinery through which church groups can render certain services to clients of welfare agencies. There is no reason why statistical procedures cannot mechanically segregate the Lutheran clientele from an agency's records and these people be called to the attention of a group of Lutheran ministers acting cooperatively. The same procedure can be worked out with Catholics, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Jews, and all others. At this point these denominations can decide for themselves what action they want to take. Certainly there is nothing unethical about an agency's notifying a minister that some family professes membership in his church group and asking him to decide what particular church should extend its fellowship to the family. Certain precautions should be taken to see that ministerial committees of this sort do not announce at the outset that the name was given them by a social agency. But it is simple to avoid such obvious errors.

It is not the business of a social agency to decide whether church affiliations would or would not be good for a particular family. This decision is the responsibility of the family itself. It is right and proper that clients of social agencies, if they are out of contact with the church, should be given the opportunity to form such association if they so desire.

Churches have something to offer welfare clients who are out of gear with their environment, or others who are sick, or in cases where problems of delinquency or insanity tend to pull the family out of normal relationship with its friends and its community. A cooperative minister is interested in the religious welfare of the family, particularly

that of the children, and there is no good reason why he should not be given an opportunity to help if the family wants his assistance and desires the participation in church life which his group has to offer. It will be found that church officials are not anxious to assume treatment responsibilities. As they learn more about social-work programs they are willing to let social agencies assume these duties.

The need for well organized machinery.—Merely keeping church groups informed as to the agency clientele which professes interest in a specific denomination is by no means enough. Through some cooperative channels social agencies should keep in constant touch with the churches. They can use the case-conference method to illustrate typical problems, thus permitting the church leaders to suggest methods of treatment to the social workers and at the same time affording opportunity for the social workers to suggest helpful procedures to the former. The exact machinery by which this relationship can be developed still remains to be discovered.

At least half a dozen cities in the country have established in certain agencies special working relationships with some religious groups. No community has yet tackled this problem on a comprehensive scale in which most of the major church denominations and most of the important agencies would come together through the instrumentality of some common machinery. Here is a job that social-work executives might think over from the viewpoint of central planning. Can community-wide machinery be created for the handling of this problem? Beginning in 1931, the United Charities of St. Paul (now Family Service of St. Paul) established its Lutheran Case Committee, which in 1939 was serving with increasing usefulness. This development is indicative of the process here suggested.*

RELATIONS WITH THE PRESS

Indirect publicity.—Some years ago the writer was passing through the city of Grand Rapids, Michigan. In reading the daily paper he found the leading editorial devoted to the subject of the city deficit occasioned because the government had failed to make any provision for tax delinquencies. As an illustration of the shortsightedness of the government, the editor had used the example of the Welfare Union (community chest), showing how it budgeted shrinkage in its pledges, and ended the year in balance as contrasted to the city, which closed

* Detailed information is available from A. A. Heckman, secretary.

the fiscal period with a serious deficit. This editorial appeared to be entirely unsolicited. The subscribers to the Welfare Union must have thought it an impressive piece of interpretative publicity. It tended to convey conviction that the Welfare Union was sound in its fiscal management as compared with the city government. It would have been utterly impossible for the Union to have written a story calling attention to its good business controls because they were certainly no better than should have been expected. Yet when the contrast with some other civic institution was made in a newspaper editorial, attention was called to the Welfare Union in a way which could not have been duplicated and which had considerable interpretative value.

Cooperation with newspapers.—Social work should aim to establish press relationships which are mutually beneficial. If it is the policy of the agency to ask only limited space in the form of publicity, but to cooperate fully in making its own news available and in giving leads to newspapers on other items of interest in the community, it will automatically receive good treatment from the press because it will be giving the newspapers something of value in return. The social-work executive who keeps his eyes and ears open is able with entire propriety to "tip off" the newspapers on valuable news breaks.

An example of helpful cooperation which caused no embarrassment to anyone, but enabled a certain newspaper to print an important advance story is that of a relief administrator in a southwestern state who discovered through a Washington official that the President was planning to make a western trip and might stop in that city. Presidential itineraries are carefully thought out and a number of important officials suggest the points at which to stop. The particular city in which this relief executive worked was evidently being considered. The tip to the local newspaper editor on this important matter was much appreciated, because it not only enabled the newspaper to break a good story, but it also permitted local politicians and officials who were eager for the President's visit to urge that this particular city be placed on the itinerary.

It so happened the President did come to that city. In connection with his visit the papers used a good deal of material on what the federal government was doing for citizens of that community. This particular relief director had some factual information available which he could give. He was also instrumental in securing information from other officials, thus typifying in his entire conduct on this occasion a cooperative attitude which cost him little but meant much to the daily press.

When press support becomes essential.—Newspaper people do not like social agencies which try to use the papers consistently for publicity purposes. Often this attitude is due to an executive who is overfond of seeing his name in print. When this condition develops a welfare organization may discover it is unable to obtain press cooperation when it is most needed. As a general policy it has been found wise to request aid only when it is needed from the standpoint of the community itself as contrasted to the agency. If a director has been cautious and cooperative he will have little trouble in obtaining backing when it is essential. The following examples well illustrate the type of situation in which press support is essential, and which is of a nature that newspapers usually prefer not to give:

1. A public relief department feels it necessary to make a vigorous effort to reduce expenditures because sufficient funds are not available. It decides to terminate some borderline relief cases. Hard feelings always follow in the wake of this necessity. The first news story is easy. The public is interested and the papers are glad to print it. But when the job really begins and the agency wants to secure as much public understanding as it can of all of the facts involved, it has to receive newspaper space beyond that which could be considered real news. It then wants some non-news stories which it feels will have an interpretative value.

2. Any agency which is raising money for either a current expense budget or a capital cost effort has a certain amount of news to offer; but if the campaign is to be understood it must have additional press comment beyond the mere news angle of the effort. The aid of the press is necessary and its willingness to cooperate by giving prominent space is essential.

3. A recreation department opens up its summer program in the public parks. It has certain schedules of play. These details are not of general news interest. They affect people within a localized area. Unless they are given space in several issues, spread over a number of days, the program may not be understood and members of the community who could benefit may not be informed. This is just the sort of thing which newspapers publish to be cooperative but which contains little of general news value.

4. A family nursing agency is struggling with the problem of communicable disease. Measles may have attained epidemic proportions. Public announcement of the seriousness of the situation and what people should

do to safeguard their children is a fine news story when it first breaks, but in two or three days it begins to weary the public, whose fickle interest turns to something else. Unfortunately, an epidemic of measles is not beaten in three or four days, even by combined efforts of all the health facilities of the city. It is a battle which may take many weeks. As the public interest wanes and the newspapers want to deal with some other subject, the dangers of this situation and continued reiteration of instructions have an even greater urgency than when the public interest was alive. The newspapers alone can extend the help needed.

These illustrations are typical occurrences. Not only does getting out a newspaper demand hard work at high pressure, but there is always less space than there is material to put in it. While newspapers are interested in enterprises making for the good of the city and would like to be generous to all, under the circumstances they can only pick and choose. Nor is the picking and choosing entirely impartial. Good newspapers are built by good news-gathering methods and efficient business practices. Both news and business efforts are dependent not alone upon the paid staff of the newspaper, but upon the help of various friends and individuals. The social-work executive will find it profitable to be classed among the friends of all the important newspapers. It is only by establishing such relationships that full press cooperation can be gained when the need for that assistance is great.

Press opposition to social-agency action.— Social workers occasionally find the press against them. It may be the policy of an individual paper to oppose a particular public welfare measure. This should not come as a terrific blow. The agency director can expect eventually to be in a newspaper controversy. All public officials get into such a predicament at times if their activities are of community-wide importance. Even so, it should be remembered that the editor attacking a program starts out in an impersonal way. He usually quarrels with the issue, not the man. It is entirely possible to have a social-work effort under fire of a daily paper and at the same time to continue friendly personal relationships with that paper and its representatives. As a matter of fact, it is under these circumstances that a social worker is in the greatest need of a good reputation with the news-gatherers. If he has been friendly with the newspaper men and they are ordered to show up the weakness of some part of his program, they will be much more inclined to treat the matter fairly and to tell the story with less coloration than if they personally do not like the official under attack.

INTERPRETATIVE VALUES IN REPORTS, BULLETINS, AND FACTUAL STUDIES

All organizations should be alert to the publicity values inherent in the daily routine. In the cold financial figures of the end of the month may be found some interesting news material. This may not be appropriate for newspaper release, but it may be of particular value to the agency board, committees, staff, and volunteers. Furthermore, some features of it might be used in the press and could easily be pointed out to a newspaperman for such use as he might be able to make of them. The monthly service report is of even more widespread value to the people mentioned above as well as to the other agencies in the community and many non-social-work groups.

Every agency now and then considers enlargement of service and makes studies to test the need for extensions. Such studies as are made could well be capitalized by circularizing findings among a limited group, or giving them to the press, or by sending out speakers to explain the situation in some detail. This is really the process of taking soundings to see what people think about a problem. At the same time the agency is accomplishing this useful purpose, it can be securing valuable interpretation of its program.

No agency can engage a publicity person with the idea that he can sift the multiplicity of interpretative items and secure ones to feature which all would agree to be the best. Obviously only the executive and professional staff can assume responsibility for the whole interpretative program, with a publicity associate doing the detailed work of carrying out the professional aims and objectives of the agency. There are listed below some illustrations of written reports, bulletins, and special studies thus cooperatively prepared which have proved valuable.

1. *Results from a statistical bulletin.*— To show the relief trend a certain state administration put out in January, 1936, a report showing the total relief and work relief load for each county in 1935 as contrasted with the total direct relief load and WPA load for each county in January, 1936. The grand totals for the state showed about two thousand more cases being handled in 1936 than in the previous year. The report was susceptible of analysis by counties, and conclusions were drawn from the factual information listed. Current facts about relief in the state — which counties were better off than the year before, and which ones seemed to be worse off — were among the points brought out. This bulletin was published for the purpose of guiding the admin-

istration. This report, however, proved of much greater value than mere fulfillment of the purpose for which it was issued.

First of all, an analysis of this sort had not been made before and was extremely illuminating to many different groups. It had already been announced that WPA quotas would be reduced. The direct relief load was greater at the time the report was issued than combined state and local funds could carry for the eleven months remaining in the year. The legislature was then in special session and the report was one of the primary reasons that an increase was voted in the relief appropriation. Furthermore, the report began to show up the fact that if WPA quotas were reduced it was going to be impossible for the state and local communities to carry the relief load without some direct assistance from the federal government. The interpretative comment caused an awakening throughout the state that real work must be done on congressmen and senators to bring the federal government back into the direct relief business.

It is obvious that this report went far beyond its original objectives. Many officials and citizens contributed to the development of its intangible values. While this is a striking example, it can be taken for granted that almost any report which is of importance contains more implications than were intended and has more values than originally anticipated. They will all bear study by the administration to see not only what they record, but also what they imply. It is well also to have a staff committee study reports and bulletins, both before and after they are issued, to see what new interpretative value can be given them.

2. *News in a routine inquiry.*—A community chest secures figures from all business concerns employing twenty-five or more people as a basis for judging the number of supplies it will send these concerns for use in the annual chest campaign. In the fall of 1936 one chest discovered that there was an increase of about 8 per cent in the number of people employed. This seemed gratifying to the community chest director, not only because it offered an enlarged opportunity for money-raising, but because it appeared to indicate some hope on the horizon, at a time when encouragement was needed, that employment conditions were picking up. Here was an unusually good opportunity for a news release in which all citizens would be interested. Of course, the story had to be carefully safeguarded because there were many conditioning factors, and it could not be taken as positive that employment conditions had improved to the extent that the figures from the large

business concerns indicated. No real employment study had been made. Still these same concerns had reported on a similar blank for fifteen years. While the figures on employment might not be accurate, they were probably comparable. Thus, with a clear-cut statement as to its limited accuracy, a story was picked out of this routine procedure which constituted a good news release and reacted to the benefit of this particular chest.

3. *Results of a legal aid lawyer's monthly report.*—In the spring of 1938 a legal aid committee was reviewing the cases being served by its lawyer. A heavy proportion involved attempts for settlement of debts on the part of clients who had exhausted their credit when they lived off relief, but who now had commercial employment. As soon as they secured work, their creditors pressed them, some to the extent of garnishment. So large a percentage of legal aid cases had these features that the committee was impressed. It caused a careful review to be made of all facts surrounding the garnishment laws, and reached a decision to lay before the legislature recommendations for liberalizing the residue of earned income not subject to garnishment. It also brought into sharp focus the whole problem of the debt adjustment that was necessary in thousands of cases before people formerly on relief and WPA could be returned to commercial employment. Involved in this little monthly report of the legal aid lawyer were problems for state legislative action, the building up of an enlarged debt adjustment service, and other interpretative material of wide possible use.

4. *Needs suggested by a statistician's annual report.*—One day an enterprising statistician laid upon the desk of a welfare council secretary a seven-year tabulation showing the number of dependent children under care on December 31 from 1929 through 1935. The figure for December 31, 1935, compared with that of December 31, 1929, showed an increase of 88.92 per cent. This was just one of many reports, and no particular significance was attributed by the statistical department to the growth in the children's field. To the welfare council secretary it meant the explanation of constant irritations over ever increasing expenditures by agencies having children in boarding-homes. Further, it explained why juvenile court action seemed so slow on dependency and neglect cases.

The percentage of increase in families under relief care from 1929 to 1935 was also figured and proved to be 646.27 per cent. This figure presented evidence as to why the number of dependent children was con-

stantly increasing. These reports, which incidentally were culled from the monthly figures made to the registration of social statistics conducted by the federal Children's Bureau, caused several important developments in this community, involving changes in children's agencies, enlargement of the juvenile court, and the development of a family agency approaching its problem entirely from the service basis. Furthermore, on the basis of this report some significant articles were written of great value and interest to the whole community.

The foregoing illustrations are pointed out with the idea that they are the type of thing an administration should attempt to find and seek to capitalize. Every agency should remember, however, that real interpretative value must be based upon something more than just desire to be understood. An agency secures public support and public sympathy through the basic soundness of the things it does.

CORRELATING AGENCY PROGRAMS WITH UNDERSTANDABLE SOCIAL OBJECTIVES

There are too many specialties in social work. There are too many agencies. Programs become so narrow they are not meaningful to laymen. The average citizen knows little about the treatment of delinquency. Although he is informed casually on its counterpart called crime, it is the criminal and not the delinquent whom he knows about. The treatment of delinquency might be described as adjusting the young boy or girl with delinquent tendencies to normal community life so that he will not later develop a criminal career.

Description of techniques means little. Tying up the idea of treatment to an understandable goal means much. For example, the routine health programs, such as clinical service, nursing care, health education, are not of much public interest merely as procedures. Every intelligent citizen, however, is interested in morbidity when he learns that an epidemic of scarlet fever will leave the same marks upon his family as upon the family of a relief client. The average parent can see that a post-scarlet-fever mastoid is just as apt to happen to his children as to others. He does not want scarlet fever in epidemic form, nor measles, nor diphtheria, nor infantile paralysis. The health agency which constantly correlates the community morbidity rate with the fine services it sponsors, day in and day out, makes a great impression on the thinking of the community as contrasted with the agency which merely runs interpretative pictures of nurses ministering to the sick. The picture

may be valuable, but too many health agencies seem more impressed with the pictures than with the total results of their operations.

Most citizens are not particularly interested in Negroes and they only profess to be glad to see the Negro get a square deal. They do not really know the Negroes or understand their sociological position in the community. On the other hand, any intelligent person is startled by the fact that in most northern communities, if 16 per cent of the white people are living on relief, probably 60 per cent of the Negroes are in the same situation. This is outright employment discrimination. A white employer who is in the least interested in social justice would quickly see that if this unbalance is permitted to go on there will develop in the community a festering sore which one day will have a serious effect upon community life. The problem is more difficult of solution where the proportion of the Negro population approaches a high percentage of the total. In most communities north of the Mason-Dixon line, however, this problem could be settled without any serious upset in the employment situation among whites by cooperation of employers to give the Negro group a better break. In attempting to bring about this change the agency is merely correlating its own objectives and the details of its own program with a broad social objective which the average person can comprehend.

The public is not concerned with techniques of social work. It can be made vitally interested in social welfare goals. If the professional social worker is going to achieve real results in the interpretation field, he must think and speak in broader terms.

INTERPRETATION TO AGE GROUPS

To the middle-aged group.—It is the middle-aged who run the country. The old people live in the past. How many times in the present decade have social workers heard the story of "how we met the depression of 1893"! There is no use either in arguing or in making any constructive appeal to this group. The middle-aged offer more opportunity, but unfortunately most of them are usually busy with their own affairs. It is they who rule the world. Social work should be grateful for the comparatively few who are interested in public affairs and who give some time beyond the confines of their own responsibilities. It is this group of people who are willing to think about broad objectives of social work, but who do not have the time and energy to engage in much active participation. Since this is the dominant group in the com-

munity, social work should make its appeal through channels that will reach them.

Through elementary and secondary schools.— Then there is the youth of the country. In the first place, more social wisdom is being put into elementary school work. In this connection the teacher group is an important one, with which social-work leaders should have the closest relationships. Social work has overlooked its contacts with the elementary and secondary schoolteachers. There has been fairly close partnership with the university leaders. But it is to the elementary schools that social work needs to direct its attention. Fortunately, public schoolteachers are just as alive to welfare problems as the average university faculty. Indeed, the public schoolteacher sees the result of social-work programs in his classroom in a more intimate way than does the university professor. There is no group more anxious to place its teaching on a sound basis than are the elementary and secondary teachers. They feel a close fellowship with the social worker and are anxious to see the world as he sees it. Neglect of this group by social workers has been nothing more than a careless oversight which should be remedied.

To young business people.— Then too, social work needs the younger men and women of the country, those who have recently come into the world of business, professions, and labor. Some interesting observations have been made as to the average age of members of case-conference committees and boards of directors, and other volunteers in the social-work field. They tend to be old. Though many of these older men and women are excellent people, most of them developed their interest at an early age. The fact of the matter is that social work has not made sufficient use of new people to replace or augment old ones, as is essential in attaining and maintaining improved interpretation of social work.

Chapter 14

PUBLICITY METHODS

Publicity and public relations are not synonymous terms. Publicity itself has to do with media for disseminating information to the public. While social agencies must have standards as to the reliability of facts and figures, there is nothing unethical in reinforcing such facts by argument which will convince the public of the desirability of any agency program or public action in its behalf. Every organization needs support of a financial and moral character. As pointed out, this assistance comes as the result of day-to-day operations. But it can usually be accelerated by wise publicity.

A large agency in particular must treat the problem of publicity in an organized way, just as it handles the problem of program operation or maintains its statistics. Case workers and statisticians find real interest in their work. They render expert and thoughtful service. Their contribution is great. The same thing can be said of a publicity staff.

Does the social agency want a news-minded social worker or a social-minded news worker? Actually what it needs is a technician — someone who understands the technical details, who knows newspapers, printing, what the news-minded public wants, and above all, one who likes to handle this type of work.

In business if the public can be influenced to buy one brand of product instead of another a certain business flourishes. In social work nothing much is accomplished until there results the public understanding and sympathy discussed above as the end and aim of interpretation. As has been pointed out, the publicity director is not the only interpreter of the program. Interpretation is to a large extent the result of professional activities. The publicity director is not to social work exactly what the advertising man is to business.

The publicity man is a technician. He prepares the kind of copy the administration wants to have featured. He clears all publicity material. He suggests to the executive certain possibilities for publicity that are inherent in the general program of the agency. He is the executive's consultant on method. He is many other things.

THE FUNCTION OF A PUBLICITY DIRECTOR

As a consultant.—Every large agency must publish certain reports. Someone in the organization should be familiar with such publishing arts as typography, make-up, and layout. The publicity director should be the consultant on all printed material used by the agency. Even form letters should be turned over to the publicity department and be rewritten in a way which will attract more attention. Speeches to be given by professional people might be better if the publicity director had a chance to study them and suggest places in which they were too technical or advise the deletion of certain paragraphs which might be confusing to the lay mind.

There are many ways and means to publicize dull but important subjects. Professional social workers have greater potentialities for being uninteresting than most other groups. Many ministers have been noted for this capacity in their sermons. Knowing that religion is important to themselves ministers think it is to their congregations. Likewise social workers seem convinced that the only thing citizens need in order to become converted sinners is full information on the subject. This theory is like believing that what people want is novels, irrespective of whether they are interesting or dull. Here is where the publicity director can be of the greatest value to the agency. Let him see anything that he wants to look over, encourage him to suggest how routine letters, bulletins, and announcements can be made more effective.

In meeting the public.—In a large agency the executive is prevented from attending to important business because he must deal with the politicians, visiting officials, salesmen, and many others whom he cannot well put off. But perhaps he can use his publicity associate in this work. It is traditional to turn the press over to the publicity department. Perhaps if the director saw the newspaper men more and the politicians and visiting officials less, both his public statements and his relationships with the politicians might be improved. In other words, a publicity worker should assume a reasonable share of the responsibility in meeting the public on the varied matters which daily confront a large agency.

Special activities.—Certain routine and necessary duties fall to any publicity department. Keeping up the current history of the agency and the annual summary of its operations and results can be assigned as a specific duty.

The agency also needs a library of cuts. Large organizations fre-

quently waste many dollars over the years because there is no proper filing and inventory of cuts. Suppose a chart is made and reproductions taken off on a zinc etching at quite an expense. Two years later someone wants to reproduce the chart again. A hunt begins, but it is futile. The cut has disappeared. Probably it was kept for a year at the printers. Most printing offices are disorderly and it may have been lost there; or it may have been thrown away or sold. Publicity departments are often as disorderly as printing plants. Order and publicity seem to have nothing in common. Observe the classical illustration of an editor's desk. How he finds anything is beyond comprehension. If the publicity man is experienced, he has probably inherited these bad traits. But a good library of cuts and pictures is of primary importance. If the publicity man has not the necessary sense of routine procedure to build this, any file clerk can probably tell him how, and visit him once a month to see that he carries out the filing plan.

The publicity department should have carefully prepared lists of people through whom public relations can be strengthened. It should work on these lists so that when some material dealing with the policies of the agency needs to be sent out, a list is available for instant use.

There are many special duties which a publicity department can perform. Some of these are highly personal, in the nature of assisting the executive to do his work. Most of them are connected with straight publicity functions and are in the field of providing a basis for efficient information service. A review of these functional duties will show the major services carried on by publicity workers.

PRESS SERVICE

Spot news.—Some individual must be responsible for press releases. The need for spot news should be recognized and good facilities should exist to aid the newspapers in obtaining it. Most urban centers have both morning and evening papers and frequently there is competition between them. No agency can play favorites. News which breaks in the morning should be released for evening publication. News following the deadline of the evening papers should go for morning use. Some advance information may be given on events or meetings occurring in the afternoon so that evening papers may devote space to it. The person responsible for preparation of material can find news value in many agency activities which ordinarily might not attract attention. Such stories can be used for general release at any time, or they may be re-

leased to a single newspaper, if a reporter desires an article of this kind as his own personal project.

News service in a state-wide agency.—In a state-wide agency it is a good idea to produce a few weekly features for direct transmittal to editors of all newspapers in the state. Especially in the smaller communities these releases are apt to be used, and they keep the details of a state program before the local citizenry. Even though such releases are not used consistently, the building up of material of this kind has other advantages. It is helpful in the compilation of historical data. Frequently occasions arise when it proves valuable to have a prepared release that can be given out on a moment's notice.

Feature stories.—In the large urban centers where many welfare agencies operate, the local papers use features stories in certain issues. Most Sunday editions have magazine sections or special departments devoted to interesting stories. Here social work can produce feature stories, packed with human interest, dealing with individualized aspects of the work among its clientele. With such releases pictures help, and this provides a practical outlet for some of the stored-up material in the picture library.

Sometimes feature stories deal with general problems of social work as contrasted with case stories. Here the use of statistics or of simple charts and graphs are appropriate. Every publicity department should study its more complicated type of statistical charts to see if some of them could not be simplified for publicity purposes.

Problems of the small agency.—Any agency service to the press must have command of what is happening in the agency. The worker in charge must maintain good relations with both editors and reporters. He should see that they have every opportunity to discuss news stories or any other matters with the head of an agency. In a small organization the executive himself will have to perform all these functions, whether or not he is equipped to do so. In such event he should try to secure assistance from his staff, board, or volunteers. There are people in every city who have had newspaper experience and who may be willing to assist a social agency on special occasions. Also, in an emergency, one can employ a free-lance journalist for a nominal fee.

THE USE OF THE RADIO

In business and in social work.—Radio has become the forum of public discussion. Politicians, news commentators, and educators are constantly on the air, and some of the things they have to say relate

to social work. It is questionable to what extent a social agency can make use of the radio as a principal medium of publicity. Advertising campaigns over the radio have created consumer demand with startling results. If business can capitalize the radio, why cannot social work do likewise? The answer is that it has been tried many times and there is yet no proof, nor many isolated instances, of radio's accomplishing unique results in the public understanding of a social-work program.

This lack of result is not the fault of the radio. It probably lies in the fact that social agencies cannot command the same radio time and talent available to commercial concerns on a fee basis. It is not impossible to secure free time through the courtesy of the station or the willingness of some business concern to contribute its own paid time. It is also possible to secure free talent. But there is an absence of consistency in both the granting of free time and free service which makes the radio more difficult for the social agency to use than for the business concern.

Sadly enough, there is a spirit of missionary zeal in the radio plans of most social agencies which puts their efforts on a different basis than the commercial programs. If it is a playlet there is usually a moral. If it is music there is the long explanation of the program tie-up with the social agency. If it is a public forum discussion of social problems, then if the speaker says anything important or deals with controversial issues, the agency gains as many enemies as it does friends.

Possibilities for indirect use.—Radio publicity is still worth conscientious experimentation. It may be that constructive social-work programs will yet develop on the air, and several cities have achieved valuable results. However, it is more than likely that the radio can be used only with modest effect, and perhaps much of its value will be through the indirect approach. In addition to national news commentators, most local stations employ one or more commentators from the urban area which the station serves. It is especially desirable that important agencies keep in touch with these local commentators to see that they make use of the more important events in the local social welfare field. In the same way it is not impossible to send short messages through the regular station announcers; and while they may consist of only fifty or a hundred words, they may come as a connecting link between programs which have a large number of listeners. If delivered by some popular announcer, they serve a valuable end.

It is well for a publicity department to keep in close touch with the program managers of radio stations and have on tap certain brief

speeches and discussions of currently interesting features which might be used on short notice. While radio has developed facilities for filling breaches in programs, most stations are glad to have more reserve material for use in an emergency.

It must be admitted this is a conservative presentation of radio possibilities. But more optimistic ideas are yet to be proved. This does not mean that radio may not develop into an asset to social work. While there is definite indication that its possibilities are limited, the negative attitude is taken here because it is wise not to devote too much time to exploitation of a publicity medium geared to serve commercial enterprises primarily. While social work may be able to devise ways and means by which it can turn this commercial service to its own account, the exact methods for so doing must be a development of the future.

DISPLAY PUBLICITY

Practically every agency has frequent opportunities to exhibit its work. Such opportunities arise in connection with conferences of workers, large meetings in which the agency participates, county and state fairs, commercial and industrial exhibitions, and other functions. A more or less permanent exhibition placed on display in some room in the office is valuable for out-of-town visitors, politicians, and others interested in the program. The publicity department should maintain this and make it available on brief notice for other purposes.

There is also a growing demand for information about agencies from students in the public schools and universities. Exhibits such as discussed can be useful in explaining the elementary features of the agency program to such people.

Social agencies have been too aloof from the normal business processes of the community. For example, when a "good government week" is held, certain exhibits of the main city departments usually are arranged, but the public welfare department is noticeable by its absence. Cities also feature commercial exhibits depicting industrial programs or commercial art. Rarely are social agencies seen in these displays. In reality, a good exhibit, illustrative of the program of an agency, might attract more attention than street pavements or the parts that go into the making of tractors.

THE USE OF MOTION PICTURES

Portrayal of work through motion pictures seems on first consideration to be an excellent method of publicity, as the eye grasps impres-

sions much more quickly than the ear. Pictures have been used mainly by large organizations or by community chests. They have their disadvantages as well as their advantages.

Difficulties of competing with commercial productions.—Locally produced pictures naturally have to compete with commercial motion picture photography. The American public may not be accustomed to consistently high-class commercial picture shows, but it is certainly habituated to excellent photography. The competition among screen actors is keen because remuneration is large. As a result even poor motion pictures are on the whole well produced and display a skilled and high-grade cast. Thus when a social agency attempts to put out a movie to describe its work, there arise a number of obvious difficulties.

In the first place, it cannot hope to compete with the excellence of commercial photography. Whether or not the audience likes the subject matter and is able to understand the point made, it cannot help but draw an invidious comparison between what it sees on the screen and what it is accustomed to observe in the motion picture house. This is a serious disadvantage at the very outset. The public does not tend to be charitable in its judgments on this point. Instead of saying to themselves, "It is a wonderful picture, taking into consideration the fact that it was photographed locally," they really feel, "It is pretty cheap photography." There is just no way of circumventing this reaction, because no social agency can go to the heavy expense involved in making a picture which will be able to compete photographically with a commercial product.

In the next place, local screen talent can in no way measure up to the standards of the Hollywood industry. The principal characters have no prestige with the public, nor do they have a basic training in pictures which enables them to make the most of their talent. As a result, their work is inferior when judged by the standard to which the public is habituated. This tends to make the picture less successful than its real value might merit. For these reasons commercial houses dislike to show "homemade pictures." Nor are they to be criticized for this position. Audiences go to movies for entertainment, and the managements of picture houses know perfectly well that their patrons resent intrusion of advertising and educational pictures which have a propaganda element. The social-work educational picture does not have as widespread publicity value as might be imagined.

Nothing has been said about the difficulties inherent in dramatic por-

trayal. People marvel at how few commercial pictures display any dramatic genius in their conception. If Hollywood, with its command of the best talent in the country, can hit the mark only infrequently, it seems almost impossible that local scenario writers, with a confined field to work in, could hope to be successful in producing a social-work picture of high dramatic quality.

On top of everything else, motion picture publicity is costly. This is not only because of the original expense, but if the picture is displayed privately before organizations and special audiences there is the cost of arrangements for the meeting, transportation of equipment, employment of an operator, as well as of having enough copies of the film so that two or three showings can be made simultaneously. Also when extensive private screening is arranged for, it conflicts with use of the picture in commercial houses because so many of the audience will already have seen the picture.

Cooperative productions. — Certain social-work enterprises lend themselves to cooperative action in the use of the motion picture. For the particular purpose of chest campaigns there have been put out by commercial companies some excellent trailers, the high quality, brevity, and dramatic ingenuity of which have made them universally acceptable to motion picture audiences. The availability of such pictures to a number of cities makes them cheap. Copies can be purchased for eight or ten dollars. Without trouble, showing of such trailers can be arranged for in practically every motion picture house, with first runs at the large theaters and second runs at the neighborhood houses.

There have been some new developments in the cooperative use of locally produced pictures by chest organizations of several cities working together. These pictures have all the disadvantages recounted above, but they also have some advantages, in that more money can be invested in the production by spreading the costs, thus making a better picture at less expense to the participants. Naturally such a picture cannot be localized to the extent that it could for use in only one city, but it is questionable whether the showing of entirely local pictures leaves any greater impression on the public than more general material. Most citizens are not intimately familiar with their own institutions. They are unaware whether a children's home pictured is local or in some other city.

For the average agency or public department, motion pictures constitute one of the best mediums for giving information. On this point

there can be no debate. When everything is taken into consideration, however, it is greatly to be doubted whether the motion picture constitutes nearly as practical a medium as most people think it should. Certainly, it is limited to agencies which have liberal budgets on which to work, and cannot be taken seriously as a practical educational device for most private and public organizations.

In many cities there have been developed local motion picture news releases in which both public departments and private agencies can sometimes find a place at the expense of the local theater or the local newspaper or whoever is producing the newsreel. Naturally, whatever is shown in such release must be a feature of importance and of wide public interest.

THE PICTURE LIBRARY

There are so many persons interested in photography and meticulous in the filing of both pictures and negatives that it is surprising to observe that social agencies are careless in regard to these matters. No valid reason exists to prevent any organization, large or small, from having a well stocked library of pictures to choose from, for any special occasion. An album is a cheap and effective record of any agency operation to maintain.

In connection with the maintenance of current history it is valuable to have pictures of officers, board, and staff. The only expense is for paper on which to paste the photographs and the incidental time of some staff member to secure them. The same procedure can be followed with respect to office, institution, or other properties which have activities. In spite of all tradition to the contrary there would seem to be no real reason why occasional photographs should not be pasted into the official minute books. None of these pictures have to be commercially produced. Most amateurs are competent. In a few years this practice can create much of interest and of value.

Naturally the picture library is most important as a pictorial record of organization activities. In the past executives have caused many cameras to snap for their immediate purpose, but they have failed to provide any systematic filing system. This is particularly true with regard to negatives, which are usually retained by the commercial photographer. Arrangements should be made to keep negatives for the permanent record of the agency, even if objected to by the photographer. Of all valuable records, pictures are the easiest and the cheapest to maintain.

SPECIAL PUBLICITY DEVICES

The dramatic skit. — Some organizations have grown to recognize the limitations of the public-speaking campaign and have used their imagination to develop variations. One interesting procedure is the dramatic skit, for which local talent has been organized to write and produce short sketches which can be given without property or makeup. Some few of these productions are high grade in themselves, and most of them are much more interesting to the audience than the brief ten- or fifteen-minute speaker.

Other variations of the dramatic skit have been developed in the form of the dialogue or "trialogue." An agency which needs public interpretation of its work can write a production involving either two or three participants who are well trained to play their parts. This has more possibilities for common use than a dramatic skit because it requires no properties at all. The two or three people involved can stand up at a luncheon table or on any platform and do their "stunt" with as much facility as a public speaker. Furthermore, the dialogue type of speaking has the advantage of definite terminal facilities, and it can bring out exactly the message that the social agency wants delivered.

The shadowgraph. — Another practical and interesting plan is giving information to small groups through the use of the shadowgraph or the Chinese puppet show. This device can be cheaply made and involves only the use of paper figures, oiled and colored, behind a frosted glass, the whole setting being placed in front of a strong incandescent lamp. The showing is better if the room is darkened but it can be used in a much lighter room than would be expected. Here the dialogue or trialogue can be developed into a full-fledged dramatic performance at small cost and with the use of only two people, who speak the lines and move the figures at the same time. It takes a little practice to develop proficiency in moving the figures across the glass, but as it is a simple procedure, skill is acquired quickly.

Every reference library should have detailed descriptions of how these shadowgraph mechanisms are made. Volunteers who have a slight amount of artistic skill can quickly make the figures and create the mechanism by which they are moved. A picture-framing establishment can manufacture the stage, placing the frosted glass at the right level and supplying some foundation on which to stand it. The cost is slight. A small library of characters can be manufactured for practically nothing. The device can be used throughout the year at any small gathering,

although it is not impractical for showing before as many as a hundred people, if the characters are made large enough and the stage is reasonably close to the audience. This is a practical application of the dramatic element to social-work publicity. It is particularly appropriate for agencies which have a number of small meetings.

Shadowgraphs and dialogues may seem appropriate only before women's clubs. This is an erroneous conclusion, as experience has indicated that men's luncheon groups and mixed audiences respond enthusiastically to this type of approach.

THE PUBLIC SPEAKER

Mass production of speeches. — Social agencies have outworn their welcome in regard to organized public speaking. Mass production of speeches started during the war period with the use of four-minute men in the theaters. These men suddenly appeared at the conclusion of the feature and were trained to give a four-minute speech to the audience on liberty loans or some phase of war work. This was acceptable at the time because anything was all right with the average audience as long as it was in harmony with the national objective.

The public now is weary of hearing "brief messages." People talk glibly about speeches on social work being too long. As a matter of fact, this is not true. Some speeches are too long — probably most of them — but it is because they are poorly conceived and badly delivered, not because they are good speeches overdeveloped. It is extremely difficult to say anything about an involved subject in less than twenty or thirty minutes. Most of the speakers social agencies send out do not have command of their subject matter. They can talk only five or ten minutes at best, and often they have nothing pointed or important to say during that limited time.

Function of speakers. — Average speakers serve usefully to inform the public upon some emergency situation without much detail. The qualified speaker, and usually he is either a professional worker or some thoroughly informed person, still has a fine reception if he knows his subject and has any skill as a platform speaker. In the use of public speaking as a publicity device, it is well to remember that the first essential for a speaker is to know what he is talking about, and if possible to speak with the authority of official status. Next, and almost equal in importance, is to secure a person not only with command of the subject, but with ability as a public speaker.

The factors which commend public speaking as a publicity device are the ease with which appointments for a speaker can be made, the simplicity of securing people to talk, and the cheapness with which it can be done. On the other hand, none of these seeming advantages can be turned to real publicity value unless the fundamentals of a good speech are adhered to. For an agency to suppose that because it has sent out fifty speakers on some subject it has accomplished anything valuable is an assumption without foundation. Most social agency speakers get a satisfactory reception only because of the inherent courtesy of the audience and their conviction that they must bear up under civic duties whether they be at a civic club, a parent-teacher meeting, a church, or other assemblage. The only real audience resentment that a social agency is apt to encounter is when it introduces its propaganda into a place of commercial entertainment. Here, even if the audience is courteous, it is no sign they like what is given them. If they do not like what they hear, the agency might just as well never have attempted its speaking program.

THE HOUSE ORGAN

An organization publication making its appearance at regular intervals and dealing with human interest stories or other pertinent comment is becoming of rapidly diminishing importance. Many house organs are dull and unimportant. Their space is limited, and too many topics have to be covered for them to say anything significant. House organs have been a reminder that the organization still operates and considers its work important. Just how extensively the material is read seems questionable, but when publications have been discontinued a singular lack of complaint has followed from the readers.

Still the regular agency publication is by no means a thing of the past. Modern thought is giving different form to the old-fashioned house organ. Large welfare enterprises now put out a monthly statistical bulletin which presents tables, graphs, and financial figures of real interest to the clientele. There is no deception in this. It is not publicity, even though it has a high interpretative value.

A bulletin such as referred to has been put out by many state welfare departments. Interesting monthly reports were published from the inception of the FERA and WPA programs. The Social Security Board publications are other excellent examples. More and more, community chests are using information of a factual character in their campaign booklets. The annual reports of local welfare boards, as well as special

monthly bulletins which they sometimes issue, are all examples of this newer type of house organ.

The new procedure is infinitely superior to the old. This sort of bulletin is not a sugar-coated pill. It is futile to entice readers by pretty pictures and fancy type and bright colors. The new type of bulletin depends on straightforward fact. It has no fancy trimmings. An inexpensive reproduction process can be used, and charts, graphs, and large type for easy reading.

Bulletins containing such information constitute the best sort of publicity material. If more information is needed about the routine of the work, special bulletins can occasionally be mailed out to the clientele of the agency to display the details of work in particular fields.

In considering the use of house organs it must always be remembered that the printing usually is a minor cost. Mailing is expensive. Lists should therefore be carefully selected. As the factual material contained in the house organ is valuable, no agency need worry about getting enough "subscribers." The real trouble will be found in keeping down the list of people who want the bulletin to such proportions that it will be possible for the agency to continue publication. In this connection some large organizations have been successful in securing a paid subscription list, which is about as strange to social work as charging admission to a campaign meeting would be to politics. There is no doubt that information of real value lies in the records of most large agencies, and if they would spend as much time trying to dig out what people wanted to know as they spend trying to figure out what would be good material with which to "educate" them, these agencies would get much farther with their publicity efforts.

PAST AND PRESENT PUBLICITY PRACTICES

The old era.—Twenty years ago social agencies took over publicity men from business. Trained publicity men brought to social work a measure of selling competency. It was thought good will could be created by talking about it. Publicity experts were taken into the field largely by private agencies which needed to raise money. High-pressure ideas were introduced, with a background of the wartime advertising spirit. For a number of years this type of treatment worked to produce contributions and arouse public interest. It mattered little whether publicity was truthful or not. In money-raising campaigns of the early twenties it was not unusual to prove that an agency served more citi-

zens than lived in the community. It was never explained that some of the number had been counted a hundred times, nor that the actual counts were largely guesswork in the first place. The publicity man, who knew very little about social work anyway, was willing to take the figures as given him, or in the absence of factual data he created his own facts.

The present-day approach.—Social work has progressed a long way since that time. Even in money-raising campaigns today it considers the truth as the foundation on which to build. In the long run, truth is much easier to handle than manufactured "facts," because it does not place any strain on the imagination. As social-work seeks support on the basis of fact as contrasted to fiction, it finds more room for real interpretative material and less for fantastic claims.

But social work was no worse than business, which has always been glaringly boastful in its advertising. Here it can be pointed out that while business can make any claim it wishes to prejudice people in its favor, social work cannot gain support on the same faulty premises. When the public tires of a commercial product and sales begin to slip, some new item can always be manufactured to take its place. But social problems do not change fundamentally. They grow larger or smaller. New methods are created to solve them. Basically the same problems continue year after year. If the public loses confidence in the claims made by social agencies, or if they have reason to believe that statements about a program are untruthful, the agency loses support and sympathy.

Exaggeration in publicity should be written off as a mistake of the past. The modern professional publicity worker, conscious of his public relations duty in day-to-day work, has a newer and a sounder conception. He should bring to the affairs of a social agency guidance on the use of publicity devices. He should suggest anything he desires about publicity methods and exploit them fully. While the executive cannot delegate the policy function of his public relations program, he can feel infinitely more secure today, knowing that his publicity staff understands as well as he does that the publicity function is but a part of the whole complicated problem of public relations.

Chapter 15

PRINCIPLES OF MONEY-RAISING

CAPITAL AND CURRENT EXPENSE EFFORTS

Methods of providing capital funds.—Money to finance capital cost needs is a problem separate from that of current expense operations. When a city undertakes to establish a public hospital, the first thing required is capital investment. Such funds are usually provided through bond issues. When a church group decides it will erect a new hospital or build an addition, it organizes a money-raising effort and solicits members and friends. Large sums of money are required for these capital needs. A money-raising effort can be launched only after careful analysis of conditions, needs, and availability of money.

Capital needs are sometimes small. When a recreation agency decides to develop a camp it can follow an informal procedure. Some generous member donates ground, or a small fund is raised to buy land adjacent to a lake. The first year the agency sinks a well and builds a small lodge. The campers live in rented tents, the cost of which becomes a part of the current expense. Year after year, by slow degrees, additions are made until finally there is camp equipment which may be worth $25,000 to $50,000, depending upon the permanent improvements. Organizations, both public and private, often acquire propertied worth by the slower process of accumulation rather than by formal campaigns.

Another common way in which organizations develop plant facilities is through the establishment of a building fund or the appropriation of money from endowment funds for construction purposes. Homes for the aged gradually enlarge by encouraging contributions to building funds, or by promoting the idea of naming the institution in the wills of members of the supporting group. Over a period of years both reserve and endowment funds are created, and if popular, the institution eventually acquires a sufficient amount with which to erect a new building.

Joint financing of capital needs.—There has been experimentation in the joint financing of building fund campaigns, but this has never developed into common practice. It would appear that community chests

might be able to increase their current expense budget by 10 per cent for capital cost purposes.* The 10 per cent could be held in reserve until a substantial fund was created, and the needs of member institutions could be met from this fund. The plan has much to commend it, because it would provide community planning for capital expenditures as well as current cost. However, constant variations in operating needs make the execution of such an arrangement difficult. At the time when individuals and corporations are least able to give, the current need tends to increase. If substantially larger funds are necessary for regular day-to-day work, the tendency is to raid the capital reserves. It is next to impossible for any community chest or other central financing group to hold intact over a span of five to ten years reserves for capital or emergency purposes. Human nature must also be considered and its tendency not to give more until the amount on hand is expended. This makes an otherwise practical device difficult to employ.

THE CURRENT EXPENSE CAMPAIGN (RESTRICTED)

Churches raise annual budgets by a campaign limited to the membership. The most popular method is the every-member canvass, in which a selected group of solicitors try to reach all members of the church on some Sunday afternoon.

Social-work agencies, both in and out of chest cities, raise their current expense budgets by a variety of methods. A bureau of governmental research, for example, secures a few substantial contributions solicited by one or two members of the board from large taxpayers who are interested in seeing sound methods of finance in the administration of city government. Organizations like the birth control leagues, over which there is some split in public opinion, frequently cannot participate in the central fund-raising campaign of the community, and therefore fall back on their own efforts among an interested clientele. Personal solicitation, appeals for sustaining members, and mail requests for contributions are the procedures utilized.

The restricted current expense solicitation is the oldest type of effort in the social-work field. On its foundation most private agencies have built up their status. These current expense campaigns involve a limited number of large gifts, and a larger number of medium-sized donations.

* The Saginaw, Michigan, community chest has been the most successful in combining capital and current expense campaigns. Serious thought is being given this subject all over the country. Community Chests and Councils, Inc., has available considerable data.

Little effort is made to enroll large numbers of people to give small amounts, except as they do so through memberships, certain classes of which may involve only nominal amounts. The success of these campaigns depends upon a few interested and wealthy supporters.

THE MAIL CAMPAIGN

Intensive work is required to organize any kind of a personal solicitation effort. Social agencies have studied techniques and methods of mail solicitation. One person can sit down and figure out a basis of appeal, use some duplicating process of letter writing, and as if by magic his letter can be delivered to any number of people almost overnight. Perhaps if all sorts of organizations did not entertain the same idea the mail campaign would be a wonderful solution of money-raising problems. But the mails are open to all for any legitimate purpose. Social agencies have no prior rights, and their appeals are delivered no more faithfully than those coming from the stock salesman, the merchant, or the real estate agent.

Here again is evidenced an inability of social work to compete with commercial endeavor. The only fact that still gives a philanthropic agency some precedence in mail competition is that it can usually command the personal sponsorship of an outstanding person whose name and position in the community command attention. Recipients of letters from such a source must recognize the unselfish nature of the request. Business has no such comparable approach, and in this one way a superior opportunity is presented to social agencies. Business can prepare more expensive and impressive copy, but it may not be so effective as that of the social agency, if the organization has the right community backing.

A few mailing devices have been developed which have remained unique over many years. The best illustration is the Christmas seal campaign sponsored by the National Tuberculosis Association. Fortunately other social agencies have respected this method and have not copied it until recently, when another national organization established an Easter seal campaign. Inevitably when one agency "muscles in" on another's territory, it is only a question of time before three or four more will decide that they might replenish depleted resources through a Thanksgiving seal effort, or a Washington's Birthday stamp, or an Abraham Lincoln Memorial seal. It is unfortunate, but true, that if this development occurs, the Christmas seal campaign will produce dimin-

ishing returns. The surprising thing is that the Christmas seal campaign has gone on for so many years without interference and that charitable agencies have remained charitable so long. Welfare effort is not unacquainted with the competitive spirit and mutual throat-cutting is only slightly less prevalent there than it is in commercial matters.

THE ENDOWMENT CAMPAIGN

All propertied agencies can use endowments. In fact, no social agency scorns them. But the institution which has a large plant that will one day wear out is forced to encourage, promote, and secure endowment support.

Increasing the size of endowment funds is a slow process. On the whole, people prefer to "leave" endowments rather than to "give" them. The individual does not like to deplete his own capital assets. Rich men have been well drilled from childhood concerning the ignominy of the poorhouse. It is one of the reasons why they are rich. They hold on to what they have. If they earned their wealth they have motives for leaving some of it upon death to charitable institutions. In the first place, it is a fine, generous gesture. Next, they may not have complete confidence in their children; or they may feel that a large inheritance would not be good for them. Because of taxes, endowments can be created without serious net loss to the estate. While they may have been worried all their lives over possible failure of their business, and have felt they needed a reserve in case of danger, death removes such a hazard as far as they are personally concerned. Thus various factors afford opportunity to exhibit a generosity which they felt was impossible during their lifetime. Also there enters the desirability of leaving some memorial to themselves or their families.

Such are some of the reasons why an endowment campaign is a slow process. Rarely has a concentrated effort to secure endowment funds been found successful. Even colleges, which have been most successful in building up endowments, recognize the handicaps of quick action and have had to wait patiently for endowments to accumulate from bequests.

Only a few agencies without property have been successful in gaining much endowment support. This is probably a blessing in disguise, because the institutionalizing of any program tends to make it more permanent, and frequently its very permanency is an obstacle to progress. It is the unpropertied agency which is the most flexible, and which

holds the greatest promise for elevation of standards. If such agencies could secure endowments with ease they would then pass into the propertied class, with ultimate detriment to their professional contributions, to new ideals, new programs, and new methods.

THE MEMORIAL CAMPAIGN

Many college stadiums in the country were built as memorials to the war veterans educated in the institutions. It was a clever idea to promote these efforts during the flourishing twenties. They were among the most successful schemes ever launched.

Many cities which had long desired better civic auditoriums so they could compete with other centers in securing conventions, discovered that new buildings could be obtained more easily if they were dedicated as war memorials. City fathers were more willing to vote bonds if this bit of sentiment was attached to an otherwise commercial venture.

The memorial idea has been used extensively by social-work institutions. Many well-known letterheads carry such names as the John Smith Children's Home, or the John Doe Home for the Aged, or the Tom Jones Hospital for Crippled Children. Some thoughtful agencies have suggested to potential memorial donors that if they would care to leave $100,000 for an institution, not only would it be named after them, but another $100,000 might be raised from other citizens to match the generous gift. It is natural for a prominent citizen to wish to perpetuate his name in a community. No one is injured if a memorial is made doubly large by inducing other citizens to help in its erection, if the endowment has been made contingent upon its being matched with a like amount.

One can view these memorial efforts with a sense of humor, but not in any spirit of sarcasm or satire. After all, many political leaders have caused wars in order to perpetuate their names in history. Men have pillaged and murdered for fame. The worst commentary is that they have been successful and our histories devote much space to their accomplishments. Contrast these warriors with the man who desires a niche in community fame and gains it by a generous endowment to provide opportunity for children or a safe retreat for the aged and homeless. Why should not social workers encourage this method of securing community recognition if people are susceptible to its inducement? Many large endowments for charitable purposes might have

been better if more unrestricted, but all such endowments have done some good and none are known which have been a positive detriment. Therefore, the memorial endowment for welfare purposes is something which can well be encouraged.

THE LIMITED INTEREST CAMPAIGN

Limited interest campaigns are made among a relatively small number of people. They are for a special project and almost invariably the solicitation is handled in a brief period of time. Every executive has problems of raising money for certain items of special interest. Public funds have legal limitations. The public agency needs something it is not permissible to buy. Perhaps there is no fund to purchase land, or the agency needs a site for a district office. Perhaps it is the matter of a survey the results of which might prove or disprove the efficiency of a type of operation but for which funds are not available. Often a public agency wants to experiment with some enlargement of program for which funds are not appropriated, and a small amount of money will start the enterprise. Citizens who have particular interest in problems of this kind are not unwilling, if they have money, and if they feel the undertaking important, to contribute funds for the development of such ventures. For example, early in the depression several cities raised special funds for the purpose of making small loans in an effort to keep ordinarily self-supporting people off the relief rolls by tiding them over an emergency. An agency may want to publish the results of some research and may raise money from those people who think the publication would have a valuable result and who are willing to give money to make the result known.

Private agencies frequently raise special funds, particularly for equipment. Some groups are beginning to appreciate the desirability of good office furnishings, and campaigns among small numbers have been made to provide for this need. A few people on boards see the value of purchasing an automobile in order to perform better certain duties, and the gift of transportation has been popular. An agency becomes interested in developing some new type of program which has been demonstrated in other parts of this country or abroad, and decides to raise a small fund to send a professional worker to study the experiment. These limited interest campaigns are a part of the regular duties of any social-work executive and constitute an important type of money-raising campaign.

THE PAID SOLICITOR CAMPAIGN

There are still many local and state-wide agencies which rely upon solicitation of gifts by paid staff members. In the children's field it has been traditional for agencies in some states to engage workers to visit the agency children wherever they may be placed, and while they are in the town or the rural district looking after the agency wards, to call upon those interested in the work and solicit contributions. In the past, ministers were used extensively for this service, because they not only combined an interest in the children and some experience in soliciting funds individually, but also could make arrangements with a local church for a speaking engagement, at which a free-will offering could be taken for the work of the organization.

This type of money-raising effort is rapidly passing out of existence because the costs are high; if they are all charged against the money-raising effort, they usually amount to more than 50 per cent. These costs are reduced if some of the expense is charged against the service program, but as it is difficult, if not impossible, to secure individuals who are good solicitors and at the same time good social workers, the arrangement is not in the interests of efficiency.

Locally this type of campaign is still adhered to by many so-called "missions," whose interest is primarily religious, but who may also provide service for homeless and unattached men. While money-raising efforts of this kind have almost been given up, many good agencies in a number of different fields of social work owe their inception to the type of procedure described.

THE COMMUNITY TYPE CAMPAIGN

The community chest is the outstanding illustration of the community-wide money-raising effort. While certain joint funds were raised prior to the war period, the community type campaign received its big start in the government liberty loan drives and the war-fund campaigns in behalf of the Y. M. C. A. and the American Red Cross. Those proved so successful that many of the techniques and methods were carried over into raising money for all the welfare agencies.

The distinguishing feature of the community campaign is the assumption by leaders that its appeal is so general that the entire citizenship can be considered to have some interest in and responsibility for its success. Invariably it is a money-raising effort highly organized and concentrated in a short period. It is aided by all the devices of publicity,

and capitalizes civic spirit to the utmost. The whole community is organized either by geographical units or business groups, or both. So complicated is the detailed functioning of the community effort that a separate chapter will be devoted to a description of it.

The community chest is by no means the only example of the community campaign, as many groups of more limited interest have employed the method with success. Colleges, which sometimes mean a good deal to their own city and are considered a civic and commercial asset, make generalized local appeals. Community advertising efforts by chambers of commerce, especially in cities which depend upon the tourist trade, raise money from as many citizens as they can reach. Capital cost funds for hospitals and other large social agencies which might make some claim to the interest of all people adopt the community method of procedure. Such campaigns are not legitimately the community type and have merely borrowed these techniques for their own advantage. The distinguishing feature of the community appeal is its comprehensiveness. It attempts to enroll all groups and all classes into one common effort. The appeal should embrace a comprehensive program of community-wide interest.

THE YEAR-ROUND CAMPAIGN

There is a growing tendency looking toward the replacement of the intensive community effort by a year-round promotion of finance in order to avoid the upheaval which the intensive campaign inevitably creates. Some chests have tried to sign up donors on a continuing pledge, the amount of which holds good year after year until one of the parties to the agreement requests alteration. Other cities, which feel that such a development freezes the giving ability of the community at a fixed figure and still want to retain potentialities for growth, are trying to arrange annual expiration of pledges at different dates. They maintain an organized force to make new agreements as the old pledges expire.

Neither of these procedures has been developed to the point where any city has been able to rely solely upon it. In the methods both of freezing subscriptions and of having them fall due at varying times, it has been necessary to employ the intensive community effort to complete the job. While few community organization workers and businessmen are enthusiastic over the community type campaign as developed since 1918, they have begun to feel by experimentations with the year-

round work that it may be more trouble to get away from the intensive effort than to continue it.

Just as long as the money-raising authority is being constantly pressed to raise more and more, there is little likelihood that the intensive campaign, with all its disadvantages, can be discarded. If community chests could raise about a third less money than they are required to do, it would be comparatively simple to work out a year-round campaign, soliciting a much smaller number of people, doing away with high-pressure methods, and producing a reasonably sure return in an orderly manner. It is frequently the chest critics of the intensive campaign who are themselves responsible for its continuation by their constantly enlarging of the needs of the agency they represent. Under such conditions any chest is forced to employ every method to raise money and to give its community what might be termed a high-pressure campaign.

In spite of the difficulties of the year-round money-raising campaign, it certainly holds promise for the future. If employed part way, it might remove many of the disagreeable and unsound features inherent in present methods.

WHY MONEY-RAISING IS A COMMON ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEM

The heavy responsibility of public welfare officials.—One usually thinks of the community chest executive as the only social worker in the city who has money-raising problems. As a matter of fact, his responsibilities to produce revenue were much less for the years beginning in 1930 than those of the director of the local public relief agency. A city in the habit of raising a million dollars for its private agencies through the community chest did not spend in the 1920's more than half or three-quarters of a million dollars out of taxation for public relief. Beginning about 1925, those figures started to mount, and by 1930 had assumed alarming proportions. The relief program which cost a community half a million dollars in 1928 probably ran to a total of five million by 1934 and jumped beyond this figure when the WPA program was fully developed. The public welfare administrator who had to find money to jump his budget from $500,000 to $5,000,000 over a period of seven or eight years certainly assumed a money-raising task which constituted his chief problem. It makes no difference whether money is secured from local taxes or federal and state sources. It is still money and the pressures to obtain it are extremely great.

Money for social-work schools.—Schools for social work might be

considered far removed from the money-raising field, but in most graduate schools which developed from 1920 to 1935 the administrative head was constantly worried about the money-raising problem. It may be that some of these schools had to struggle only with their own university board, but others sought support from foundations or approached individuals for gifts and endowments. Whatever group they chose to work with, an acute money-raising task confronted them.

The executive's struggle with earned income.— Such social workers as those responsible for Y. M. C. A. or Y. W. C. A. or hospital operation are deep in financial problems. Institutions of this kind depend upon earned income running from 30 to 90 per cent of their gross budgets. It is just as difficult to grapple with the collection of payments for services rendered as it is to raise money through contributions. When the need for social services is great, the opportunity to maintain levels of earned income decreases. As economic conditions became more acute in 1930, the occupancy figures of hospitals went down sharply for the same reasons that young men living in rooms rented by the Y. M. C. A. sought cheaper quarters. The results were obvious. If hospitals could not maintain their occupancy figures, or if they had to reduce rates, and if Y. M. C. A.'s could not make their dormitories pay, the managers of these institutions were face to face with the money-raising problem, and had just as sharp a fight on their hands as any community chest executive in his money-raising problems.

While the exact nature of the executive's financial responsibility differs in every field, the underlying principles are about the same. Anyone who assumes an administrative position must figure money-raising to be one of the heaviest responsibilities he undertakes, if not the primary one. At least the agency cannot operate unless money is provided, and ability to understand all of the principles of money-raising is an inherent part of the professional job of any social worker who occupies a managerial position.

THE NECESSITY OF A REAL NEED

Public money as a public trust.— There is little of art or magic to money-raising. An enterprising promoter may be successful in providing money for an unsound enterprise. Successes of this kind are not foreign to the social-work field, but on the whole, year in and year out, social-work efforts succeed financially only when they are meeting a real community need.

As soon as social-work leaders learn the principle that all public money is a public trust, they will be better off. One difficulty about the emergency period beginning in 1930 lay in the fact that problems were so great that Congress, state legislators, and private contributors exploited the only method they knew of to meet the problem, which was to provide generous grants to social-work agencies. Money became too lightly regarded. As a result it was carelessly spent at too many points.

Another matter of administrative concern should be care not to raise money for traditional enterprises which have outlived their usefulness. In the public welfare field soldier relief is a clear-cut illustration. On top of all the provisions made for relief measures to the whole citizenry, soldiers have enjoyed special relief provisions which only too often duplicated the regular programs. Private agencies have gone on maintaining day nurseries, which were created originally on the theory that the mother could work while the child was cared for in the nursery, but which had little point during the depression, when the mothers could not get positions. The number of social-work enterprises which are allowed to live year after year because they have become traditional may not loom as a large percentage of the total expenditure, but they are sufficient in number to prove that social-work leaders responsible for trust funds are not habituated to the principle that every program should represent a real need.

Dependence of success upon validity of program.— The method of presenting social needs to the public is often unsound. Social work should tie up service to be rendered with dollars to be spent. It is impossible to establish a real need for money unless it can be clearly shown what the money will buy. Private agencies have not been the only offenders. There are many small and unessential programs in the public field.

In some respects public welfare executives have even more responsibility for honesty and integrity on this point than have private agency executives. The taxpayer has little recourse if he does not believe in the activity for which the tax dollar is spent. Private agency donors can always stop giving. There is a great deal of loose talk about the way in which community chests force giving by employees. Unfortunately some of it is true, but when one starts discussing "forced giving" he must remember that all tax money is a forced charge for service rendered. A real ethical duty exists in this respect which is related to the necessity of a real social need in any program. And raising money from

the public treasury carries with it even more ethical responsibility than does raising money from private gifts.

Probably the most emphatic reason why social-work organizations must prove a real need is that they cannot be permanently successful unless they do. In the chest field, for example, there can be found a distinct correlation between good social work and generous gifts. In the public welfare field it is clearly observable that the really important agency tends to get its money. Certainly relief programs, agencies for boarding-home care of children, and hospitals and clinics have been generously dealt with at the hands of all appropriation bodies because there was such clear need for their continued functioning.

Naturally there are situations where poor leadership affects results of money-raising. The leadership may not be professionally incompetent in actually doing its job, but simply lacks ability to present its program. On the other hand, this is just a nice way of admitting professional incompetency, because money-raising and interpretation are basic to good administration.

FAULTY MONEY-RAISING PLANS

In the fall of 1931 the motion picture industry of the country gave benefit shows, the receipts from which were to be spent for worthy purposes. It was a nice gesture on the part of Will Hayes and other people in the industry promoting good public relations. The effort, however, illustrates the necessity not only of a good plan by which money is to be raised, but also a good plan by which it is to be spent. In most cities theaters determined how the proceeds from this benefit were to be invested. In many places some struggling group which wanted financial support was able to induce the motion picture interests to turn the money over to it. In other instances where the fund was given to a mayor's committee, certain other organizations without established foundation were able to secure it. Such decisions might have been expected because the agencies supported by taxation had an established income, and private agencies participating in chests were already financed. What was better than to give this motion picture money to some organization which profited neither through public support nor community chest participation? There was no preliminary plan as to how it was to be spent, so decision was made on the spur of the moment. The investment might appear a good one on paper, but actually in many communities it did as much harm as good by fostering and keeping alive unsound social welfare ventures.

There was a good deal of confusion in the plan by which funds provided in the Emergency Relief Act of 1935 were to be spent. This lack of a detailed program in the law itself gave rise to interdepartmental friction. How much of the $4,800,000,000 was to be turned over to regularly constituted agencies of the government, such as the army and navy, the river and harbor work, the Public Works Administration? How much was to be spent by the Works Progress Administration on the smaller projects designed to employ the residue of unemployed who could not be absorbed by the regular governmental agencies? This is not a discussion of the merits of this particular act. Its example is cited to show that many of the difficulties experienced in the expenditure of this great public trust fund could have been eliminated if more time and care had been spent in drawing up the act and detailed provision made in it for carrying the plan forward.

THE REALISTIC APPROACH IN MONEY-RAISING

Organizing the larger givers.—There is a popular impression that raising money involves announcing a need, planning to meet it, establishing a goal, and requesting the public to give. This conception is about as naïve as a belief that one can cross the ocean by building a boat, putting up a sail, and allowing the wind to do the rest. The elements to be considered in a money-raising campaign are to be dealt with elsewhere, but here it should be stated that money-raising of any kind must be accompanied by detailed knowledge of where the money is coming from, just who are to be the pace-setters in solicitation, how much money an agency must have before it ever starts, and to whom the money-raising efforts are to be directed, since campaigns must be aimed at specific people and not just at the public.

In the campaign classification of potential contributors it is clearly evident that most money will be given by special interest groups. In any effort financially competent sponsors must be secured. It is the height of folly to announce what is wanted without knowing exactly the potential sources for the money.

In this connection, before making any public statement it is well to know not only who the most interested givers are, but how much they will give, and when they will give it. The only way these questions can be answered is by taking around a card or memorandum to the givers and having it signed up on some conditional basis at least. Lead-off people are necessary in any kind of an enterprise. In money-raising

they are vital. So important is this that the pace-setting group must give before anyone else. It is not sufficient to hope that the pace-setters will do what is expected of them. The extent of their generosity must be established beyond doubt.

Just what proportion of a campaign goal these pace-setters have to provide depends upon the character of the effort. In current expense operations in which there is a wide public responsibility, it can be taken as almost axiomatic that the group who give large gifts must provide at least half the money. In capital cost efforts, where the small giver cannot be expected to contribute, this same group of large givers must provide at least 80 per cent of the goal. The minimum amount of what is termed a large gift may be different in each case. In raising a community chest budget, for example, where all citizens are asked to contribute and where the size of the city is not too great, or where it is not too highly industrialized, campaign leaders must see at least half the money in gifts of $500 and up. Successful chest campaigns have been conducted with less from this group, but as a rule this is a minimum guarantee of success. In raising a building fund of $100,000 from 2,000 contributors it would be folly to start it unless the campaign leadership could see at least $60,000 in gifts of $1,000 and up, $25,000 in gifts of $100 to $999, with the remaining $15,000 in gifts that would not average much over $10 from about 1,500 people. Unless such an analysis is made on paper and most of the larger gifts actually in hand, it would be much better not to attempt the campaign. Agency reputation is built upon success, not failure. If a campaign is to end disastrously, it is best never to start it.

Approach to other contributors. — Considering the realities of money-raising, it is not only essential to have command of all the basic facts of giving, as above described, but it is necessary to know something about the make-up of what is commonly called the public. The public, in a money-raising sense, is a group of givers, and different methods have to be employed for the larger giver, the middle-sized giver, and the small giver. The interpretation and the publicity must be aimed with a rifle, not a shotgun. In approaching the public as defined in money-raising language, it is vital that the effort be geared to the particular group being solicited.

Need of professional workers for money-raising experience. — These comments have been made because many social workers are entirely vague about the money-raising problem. The professional worker is far

removed from it by the details of his regular job. Professional workers who desire or expect to occupy administrative posts could afford to display a good deal of interest in money-raising problems. They might well attend budget hearings of the city council or the county board. They could with profit to themselves work as solicitors in community chest campaigns and in other ways attempt to secure some practical experience, because sooner or later they are going to be face to face with the money-raising problem in some form.

THE UNIVERSALITY OF THE MONEY-RAISING PROBLEM

The experience of Jane Addams. — If one were to interview outstanding social-work leaders in an attempt to determine what they had to do with money-raising efforts, he would be amazed to learn the large portion of time devoted to this work. In reading about the life of Jane Addams one is struck with the struggles she had, not only in creating Hull House, but in using her influence to secure appropriations for social work from the city of Chicago, Cook County, the Illinois legislature, and the Congress of the United States. Miss Addams' case was not exceptional in the time she had to devote to the financial problems incident to her special interests. It was exceptional only in that she was highly successful in the work. All distinguished leaders have been face to face with this problem in whatever branch of the social-work field they may have participated.

Necessity of facing the problem squarely. — The money-raising problem falls on the shoulders of social-work executives with the same monotonous and wearing regularity that tropical heat leaves its indelible mark upon residents of the hot countries. There is no escape. The higher one ascends in the scale of responsibility the more he becomes bound up in the money-raising problem. To trace the sequence one observes the case worker fighting for the financial needs of his client. The next step in the progression is the supervisor struggling for enough money to meet the needs of clients immediately under the supervision of his own workers. Then comes the agency executive on the alert to secure sufficient funds on which to run his agency. Next comes the social-work leader, whose duties go beyond that of his own organization and who devotes much effort to meeting financially the social needs of the entire community. Beyond this some social-work leaders have to take a measure of responsibility for state or federal action. Finally, there appear a few such people as Miss Addams, who shoul-

dered heavy financial burdens in the interest of distressed people everywhere.

The only answer to this burdensome problem is a knowledge of the business of raising money. When one has command of how to do onerous tasks the burden is lighter. When there is no escape from a problem, the only recourse is to face it. One must master the problem of raising money in social work if he has any administrative aspirations. An executive who is not interested in and willing to uphold his own share of responsibility can never measure up to the standards inherent in a post of leadership.

That money-raising is the most pressing, irritating, annoying, fatiguing, and nerve-racking problem in social-work administration cannot be denied. Still it has a fascinating side. An adminstrative worker must learn to appreciate the interesting elements which go to make up a money-raising campaign. He must develop a sense of leadership and provide adequate working plans by which money can be obtained. The financial problem is never simple, but it is one problem which can be solved. Money-raising is an aspect of social work in which definite progress can be noted and goals attained. So many of the results in welfare work are intangible that at times it is pleasant for an executive to lay his hands on some specific thing, the success or failure of which is measurable in actual figures.

Chapter 16

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY-WIDE CAMPAIGN

METHODS OF PRESENTING NEED AND GOAL

Written material.— The first step in picturing a social-work need to potential contributors is to put it in writing. One must put down on paper a logical explanation of the purpose for which money is to be raised. It should be made simple so that the average citizen can understand the problem. The explanation may present some appraisal of how fulfillment of the need will be an asset to the community.

The explanation of the need should include detailed information about the budget, as to both the method of expenditure and the sources from which funds are to be raised. Putting it another way, the middle-sized giver always likes to know how much is to be raised from large gifts. The small contributor wants to know what others are giving. As a result of this natural interest it is well to show what the campaign committee expects to receive from gifts above $1,000, from others between $100 and $999, and finally what proportion of the total is expected in public contributions averaging a small sum.

When the executive of the agency has outlined his own ideas as to the need and the goal as clearly as possible, they should be presented to a board committee for further test and refinement. There is only one practical way to do this. The executive's written copy must be duplicated and sent to members of the committee or the board for private reading. These people should then be invited to a conference to discuss the report. Careful notes should be taken of their criticism.

Following this meeting the executive should rewrite his copy to include the practical suggestions of the individuals he has consulted. When found to be faulty his own ideas should be deleted. A new draft of the description of the need and the goal should be drawn up and resubmitted to the group for further consideration. If found satisfactory, the time has arrived when expert counsel should be sought as to the best publicity method for presenting the cause.

The final preparation of the formal booklet describing the need and

goal is a job for a publicity expert. Whoever does it must be able to write well and must know type, the use of color, photography, and all the technical details which enter into creating a good piece of publicity.

A circular describing the need and the goal is the first step in any campaign. The leaders of an organization must know exactly what they are doing. It is easier to analyze ideas in written form than as a result of group discussion. Even if the board is opposed to issuing a booklet describing the campaign, it is best to have unpublished copy listing the points. Such an outline is a guide to the whole effort. It is a declaration of purpose. It is the basis upon which appeal is made. It is an indispensable foundation for successful campaigning.

GENERAL CAMPAIGN PLAN

Definition of duties.— Just as every construction program needs a blueprint, so a campaign needs a general plan of organization developed in considerable detail. A chart showing the outline of all departments will clarify the principles of procedure. Here again written specifications are called for. The duties of the chairman must be made clear. The campaign or sponsoring committee must know what is expected of it. The associates of the campaign chairman, who usually occupy positions as leaders of geographical units or other divisions of the soliciting force, must understand their assignments. If these leaders have others working under them, such as team captains or leaders of smaller groups, the details of these positions must be clearly defined. Finally, every organization plan gets down to the workers who are to solicit the pledges. The duties of workers sound simple. They involve getting the money. But these duties are the most complex of all.

Written instructions to workers.— While meetings of workers are highly desirable, because it is possible to explain to small units the purpose and procedure, written suggestions are indispensable. The usual type of campaign material given to the worker is not of a high grade. It is traditional to present questions which will be brought up in the solicitation and suggestions regarding answers. A sounder method is to give the worker a general picture of the campaign and leave to his own initiative the method of securing the subscriptions. It is impossible to explain to workers just what they will run up against and attempt to equip them with all conceivable arguments.

In giving out workers' material it is well not to borrow too specifically from commercial sales manuals. It is much to be doubted that

the soliciting of philanthropic contributions involves the same sales techniques by which business sells its goods. It so happens that salesmen are usually the best campaign solicitors. They may be more efficient because they know the principles of salesmanship, but it is probably more accurate to say they are superior because they are expert in dealing with people, and because they like any enterprise which involves the selling element. On the other hand, in most campaigns some of the best workers are those who know nothing about salesmanship, but who happen to enjoy moving around and meeting new people. Any sales manager would agree that it is impossible to make salesmen out of a volunteer soliciting force. Perhaps it is wiser to encourage workers to make the most of their own convictions and their own generosity in the cause for which they work. Encourage people to act as they usually do and to capitalize on their sincerity and the unselfish nature of their services. Do not try to make supersalesmen of them overnight.

Other ways of giving workers information.— On the positive side solicitors should know everything they are willing to absorb about the problem. They should be encouraged to feel they are not just a cog in a big soliciting machine, but are here associated with an organization which looks to them to interpret its problem to the public, to capitalize their acquaintanceship with others, and to use their own initiative in handling the task in the way they think best.

It is needless to say that the worker should also know the type of organization under which he is functioning and the responsibility of others as well as his own. This objective can only be accomplished through distributing written material, much of which he will not read. To ensure his getting a certain amount of direct information it becomes necessary to invite all workers to both small and large meetings, so that it is certain all may be reached through the medium of either the written or spoken word.

THE PUBLIC LEADER OR CAMPAIGN CHAIRMAN

As a standard-bearer.— Every money-raising effort must be built around a campaign leader or chairman who is a volunteer worker. Given a satisfactory professional worker and a small paid staff to look after the detailed work of the campaign, the chairman need not give a large amount of personal time until the moment of intensive effort arrives. It is necessary that he then be on the job for consultation purposes, to keep appointments, to iron out difficulties, and to give the

whole problem his thoughtful attention. During the campaign period itself the chairman is the standard bearer, the leader, the speaker, a source of inspiration, the man who makes ultimate decisions. Such responsibilities are of the utmost importance. The personal qualities which make for the best type of campaign chairman are important to consider.

The prominent citizen.—The man with the greatest public prestige is not always the best. Well-known civic leaders attain community position by slow degrees. Any organization which occupies an important community status can afford to create new leaders. Social agencies have relied too much on citizens of already established reputation. They are limited in number. New blood is needed. In a campaign chairman the agency must be certain that the man selected enjoys a good reputation as an honest and reliable citizen. He certainly should have more than ordinary status in his business or profession. He must have command of his own time, or work for a concern which is willing to free him for the civic duties in question. While race, religion, and politics may be conditioning factors, they are relatively unimportant.

The campaign leader should be a reasonably good speaker, but this talent is usually overstressed. Too good a speaker is sometimes a liability. Any man who has had some experience in presiding at meetings, speaking frequently on business matters to his associates, and who is not actually afraid to throw his voice out in a big room, can serve quite adequately. The only disqualified person would be one inherently shy, one who was actually afraid to stand up before a large body of people. Speaking ability in a campaign leader never yet has measured the success or failure of a campaign. While real speaking effectiveness is an aid toward successful leadership, any man who can create a favorable impression before a group is satisfactory.

Importance of the judicial quality.—A calm, judicial personality, enlivened by a spark of animation and a sense of humor, is a really great help. The mercurial personality which becomes overoptimistic as a result of a few early successes and is thrown into the depths of gloom by the first series of adverse reports, is the worst kind of leader in campaign work. It is in the ups and downs of money-raising that the calm, judicial attitude becomes a tower of strength. The thinking, conduct, and personality of the chairman is reflected through the ranks of the workers. If he becomes depressed and gloomy, so does the whole campaign force. An excess of either optimism or gloom is not helpful. In

efforts to raise money an orderly, efficient, spirited march toward the objective day by day is the sort of attack to be encouraged. It is only the leader who has good judgment, balanced imagination, and consistent good humor who can produce the kind of leadership which makes for success.

The logically minded chairman gets things done. All attempts at raising money become complicated. When a committee is in the midst of rating the amounts to be requested from large givers, there is a constant tendency for people to get off the track and start relating stories about this person or that. The chairman who constantly keeps his objective in mind presses the committee to go ahead with its work and will know how to terminate useless deviations. He will be a great help in saving the time of everyone.

Campaign leaders have to meet frequently. They meet to consider vital points, such as the matter of quotas or personnel. Endless argument is apt to ensue unless the chairman can give way at the right moment, be firm when necessity requires, and sometimes actually step in and decide the matter himself. It is only an orderly mind which can accomplish these desirable ends. The chairman who thinks logically on all points is many times more valuable than the civic enthusiast who spends time shaking hands and patting the boys on the back. Naturally, this hail-fellow-well-met quality is not entirely out of place. It is obvious too that the orderly thinking man must also have certain assets of personality which create friendship and good will. He may possess these, however, without that exuberance which many people feel should mark a campaign leader.

Desirability of a sense of strategy.—A sound sense of strategy is an indispensable asset in the campaign chairman. Events do not always move as scheduled in the plan. There is considerable divergence of opinion between campaign leaders. Some think it is better to do one thing under a given situation, and some are equally convinced it is wiser to do another. The helm by which the course of progress is steered must throughout be in the hands of one man. Either that man must be the professional worker acting through the chairman, or the chairman himself. Unfortunately, democratic control is almost impossible to achieve in campaign technique. On the other hand, the opinions of active workers must be given weight and adopted where possible, because if they are ignored, ill will and loss of efficiency in the working force will follow. Just how to maintain an iron grip on administration

and yet permit the principal campaign associates to feel that the chairman is carrying out their will and desire, becomes a complicated and involved problem of strategy.

Then there is the whole relationship between the campaign workers and the public. Just which of the various appeals will be stressed, how to deal with the newspapers and the radio, and what to say to both, are distinctly public relations issues on which the success of the campaign may hinge. For these reasons a diplomat with a sound sense of strategy is to the agency's campaign what a good foreign ambassador is to national interest in a foreign country.

SPONSORING COMMITTEE

In order to enlist support from all community groups, some agencies feel it important to organize a sponsoring committee. Such a group has little place, except to prove, in a somewhat perfunctory manner, that the whole community is welded solidly together behind the campaign.

Where the program of an organization is not well understood publicly, the idea of a sponsoring committee is valid. In campaigns for agencies which are well known it is preferable that the agency board itself stand before the public as the sponsor of the effort. Citizens are not unobserving and they see quickly enough that a sponsoring committee has no real power over the policies of work, and that it represents nothing but window trimming for the particular effort.

While the sponsoring committee is not important except where an agency is comparatively unknown, it can be actually detrimental if the agency hides behind it. There are instances where national social-work agencies raise money locally. They take great pains to secure a local sponsoring committee, but in some instances they do not even have a local board to conduct their regular work. In cases of this kind a sponsoring committee can be a boomerang with the contributing public if the feeling arises that local people are used only in raising funds and that outsiders spend it as they see fit. This result is familiar enough so that it may seem better for local agencies to stay away from sponsoring committees and trust to their own boards to give the effort sufficient prestige.

ORGANIZATION SETUP

Without a hypothetical case it is impossible to describe the organizational form of a community type campaign. As a general principle the following structure is essential:

1. A board of directors or some authority which determines the need, the goal, and the basic policies.

2. A campaign chairman and professional staff.

3. A group of associates for the campaign chairman who are responsible for certain divisions of the work, such as special gifts, geographical units, employee solicitation, school solicitation, out-of-town corporations, publicity, and other departments.

4. In any sizable effort, in addition to the relatively small number of divisional or department leaders mentioned above, it is necessary to secure a large supervisory force who might be called team captains or district managers. These are the people who actually go out and organize a given territory or supervise the solicitation of a specific group of names. They are the leaders who are responsible for the recruiting of the workers and who supervise the operations of the solicitors. They are the people to whom the workers make reports. Borrowing terminology from the army, the campaign chairman is the general, the main associates are his field officers, and the group here discussed are the company commanders. (No suggestion for the use of military titles is intended.)

5. Some campaigns employ more connecting links between the chairman and the worker, but whatever the setup, every money-raising effort finally comes down to the worker on the job.

In commenting upon the campaign organization to the workers it is well to describe the plan simply. The chairman may say, "I have ten divisional chairmen; each divisional chairman has ten district managers; each district manager has ten workers." Because campaign workers are volunteers and cannot afford either much time or thought for the enterprise, simplicity of procedure is highly desirable. Everyone may know that a plan such as stated by the campaign chairman must be conditioned by the realities of campaign work. Obviously, some districts will require more workers than others. But irrespective of variations, it is good policy to tell one story and stick to it, permitting the district manager to rely on his own good judgment in departing from the original plan, when he comes to the doing of the job.

Committee procedure is not well adapted to campaign organization. There are few jobs which cannot be done by the campaign leadership itself. Special committees only create confusion. Once the organization is established, additions to the structure tend to weaken it. Given a good plan of campaign, most troubles are due to bad management and not to faulty machinery.

THE PROSPECT LIST

The comprehensiveness of the prospect list depends upon the kind of campaign to be conducted. Principles already mentioned must be followed in drawing it up. In the beginning, names should be placed upon cards and brought before a rating committee, which is charged with listing the approximate amount which the volunteer solicitor should request.

The prospect list with the ratings becomes the master file for the campaign, from which all other lists and cards are made. The following uses of the prospect list are basic in every effort.

1. Each operating unit, such as a geographical area or a group of people to be solicited, must have its own prospect cards, together with a district or team list. The cards and list should be given to the individual in charge of the district or group; he can then arrange the breakdown of the cards into smaller units as he wishes.

2. Each district or group, even though it numbers only 75 or 100, must have its own prospect list and cards.

3. Duplicate records of these lists must be maintained in the headquarters office.

4. It is probably wise to have, in addition to the master file, complete alphabetical lists of at least the prospects above $5 or $10.

There are many variations in and complications of the above procedure. Campaigns employ all sorts of mechanical equipment, and have in many ways enlarged this simple outline of essential needs. Many times great improvement has been effected. On the whole, however, efficient controls can be maintained with no more complicated procedure than here indicated.

As the campaign progresses, the subscriptions already in should be crossed off the alphabetical list as well as the team lists. This can be done in the headquarters office every night. The district manager is responsible for his own list and should cross names off as the workers turn over the signed subscriptions. Those people who refuse to give should not be marked off the list until the district manager is certain that further work will not yield results. When that point has been reached, they can then be marked off as refusals.

By keeping up to date with all the work that has been done, the campaign leaders know every morning exactly where they stand. The oft-repeated inquiry, "Has this man given yet?" can be answered in a moment.

RATING OF CARDS

Rating-books. — Whether the rating job comprises 3,000 or 50,000 prospects, there is only one technique which is comprehensive, quick, efficient, and simple. It has many variations, but basically the process is the same. From the master file, list the cards which need to be rated into rating-books. These should contain the name, address, and business connection of the prospect, together with what he gave in the preceding campaign. There should be from twenty to one hundred such books, each book containing about the same proportion of the prospects in alphabetical order. The last column in the book should be a blank space for listing the rating of the prospect.

How the rating committee functions. — The rating committee should be comprised of about twenty-five people, made up of bankers, credit men, insurance agents, investment people, trust officials, and others who know the financial standing of large numbers of people. They can be gathered in a room, instructions given, and one book passed around to each man. The first thing he does is to append his signature on the cover in a space provided. He then rates every person he knows. As soon as he has finished one book, the person in charge of the group gives him another and passes his book to someone else. By this process it is possible for one man to go through as many as ten to twelve books, containing five hundred names each, in a two-hour session. The one in charge of the rating committee should try to have as many individuals rate each book as possible. It will usually be found that by the time a book has passed through the hands of ten to fifteen men, most of the prospects will be rated.

Such a rating system has been used for years in many cities. Just who created the system is perhaps uncertain, but the origin of the idea is usually attributed to Harry Wareham, manager of the Rochester Community Chest. There is no copyright, and any group can use the plan with the certainty that if instruction is properly given, a successful rating job will result.

In small campaigns it is unnecessary to make up the books. The master file cards can be arranged in twenty or thirty alphabetical groups containing about one hundred cards each. There should be placed on the top of each pack of cards one of different color on which the members of the rating committee can sign their names to indicate who has been over that particular group. The rating can then be handled just as with the books.

Instructions to rating committees. — All rating committees should be warned as a routine instruction that the giving of money is based upon two factors: first, the financial ability of the man to give; and, second, the individual's interest in the purpose for which the money is being raised. Take, for example, a Y.M.C.A. building fund campaign. A very rich man who happened to be a Catholic might want to make a contribution as a gesture of good will and personal interest. But he certainly could not be considered by a rating committee as nearly so good a prospect, nor should he be rated for so high an amount, as, for example, an active Presbyterian who enjoyed a similar financial status. In most campaigns there are basic factors that any rating committee must take into consideration and which they may not understand unless careful explanation is given. Naturally there are many other detailed instructions which must be given a rating committee before it starts the actual process of compiling lists of prospects. Once the ratings are completed, they should be placed on the master file, so that they will be easily available for all the lists described.

Special rating of larger prospects. — No campaign committee should accept as final the cards rated from $500 up by the general rating committee. Those should always be taken to a smaller group more intimately informed about the wealthy people of the city. It is because such rating needs to be made with great care that the work already performed by the general committee should be rechecked by a special group of bankers and others who have private and complete knowledge of all people of large means.

ENLISTMENT OF WORKERS

Securing workers. — The main leaders of the campaign can be secured well in advance. It is probably unwise to ask them to get their district managers or group leaders more than a couple of months, at the earliest, before the actual campaign begins. One of the main reasons for this precaution is that the unit leaders may sign up their workers too early. If they do, they will secure a good paper organization; but by the time the campaign is held, they may find it has blown away. Even in large campaigns the enlistment of the working personnel can well be delayed anywhere from six to two weeks before the opening day. It is easier to secure the enlistment of volunteers as the heat of conflict approaches closer. Leaders will use different methods. There will be a few instances where little campaign units are kept together the year

round. This, however, is exceptional, and idealistic arrangements will not work as a general practice.

Many money-raising campaigns create a bureau to secure enlistment of workers. They pass enlistment cards around to churches, civic groups, business corporations, and in every conceivable way try to get people to sign up for work in the approaching campaign. These cards are then distributed to district managers, who put the signers on their working force.

The personal element in recruiting workers. — The campaign worker who does his job as a sheer matter of civic duty is not very dependable. What a campaign needs is not so much numbers as qualified volunteers. The worker who has a sense of personal loyalty to his group leader, combined with a conviction that he is working in a good cause on which he is well informed, is the man who produces the best results. Workers stick to the job as much because of their leader as because of their conviction that the cause is a good one. The churchman, the civic club member, or any person who is dragged into the campaign because of civic appeal, may do his job fairly well, but such performance is not the rule.

Oftentimes district or group leaders will need some help in choosing workers, and if the chairman can secure some volunteers it is a good thing to have their names available. The quiet creation of a reserve force is desirable, but wholesale enlistment of volunteers does not make for strength and cohesion in the campaign organization.

EDUCATIONAL MEETINGS OF WORKERS

Value of small meetings. — Even though a 30 per cent attendance can be considered a good average, a plan of small meetings for workers in districts or groups is worth while. These small meetings involve a great deal of work for the campaign leaders. The divisional associates must attend them and the campaign chairman or professional adviser ought to be there. Such meetings are painfully time consuming. They are apt to be long and drawn out, but they have no substitute in giving the campaign leaders the "feel" of how the organization is shaping up.

At these small meetings workers ask questions which they would never dream of propounding in a larger gathering. The professional social workers connected with the organization for which the money is being raised can attend such group meetings. It is in places like this that they can do their best work in interpretation of their program.

Workers who come to these small meetings tend usually to stick by the ship until it gets into port because they receive personal contact with the leaders of the campaign and with the agency itself, which is distinctly beneficial and instructive. In lieu of the small meetings, main divisions of the campaigners can convene at larger affairs. Such meetings are sometimes valuable. They can capitalize the group spirit better than a small meeting, but they lack the personal touch.

Educational meetings. — The best excuse for calling either small or large meetings of workers a week or two weeks before the campaign is to give out prospects and supplies. To break the ice, the supplies can be distributed, and the district or group leader can give each worker his definite assignment, including the prospect cards. If the meeting is a small one, an hour can be taken up with this routine, which is always interesting to the worker. Then the meeting can again be called to order and the educational job started.

Small meetings of workers always go better in the home of the district leader or some other member of the group. There is something about sitting quietly around a private living room that results in unhurried discussion. Also the spirit of private hospitality is mixed with the public business, and the whole attitude of the workers is different than it would be if they were assembled in a club or the campaign headquarters.

Finally, all educational meetings end up with some kind of an opening rally for all the campaign workers.

THE OPENING CAMPAIGN MEETING

Types of opening meeting. — The variations in the type of opening campaign meeting are so extreme as to defy composite description. The more conservative idea is to devote the opening meeting to the workers themselves for inspirational purposes. Great enthusiasm can usually be created in the atmosphere of a large dining-room with a simple dinner at the usual hour. The newer conception of an opening meeting is to convene all the workers on Sunday afternoon, bring in a symphony orchestra, invite the public, and see how many thousands can be turned away. One can take his choice, as there will be found just as many successful campaigns of the conservative type as among those which employ the more public display.

It is wise to make the character of the opening meeting depend upon the atmosphere of the campaign effort. When a city indulges in a good

deal of football spirit over a campaign, all factors which enhance the element of display become helpful. On the other hand, when a conservative campaign is conducted, the last thing desirable is to create cheering sections and other devices for artificial stimulation.

The essential business. — In this latter event the meeting should become a serious and dignified, but enthusiastic and animated, conference of all workers who can be packed into a room for a dinner affair. About all the program calls for is a few introductory remarks by someone representing the organization sponsoring the effort. The campaign chairman should then present the main leaders, introducing a slight amount of humor and predicting the fine showing each group is bound to make. He can be followed by the speaker of the evening, who should be a person of some reputation, preferably national, but above all a man or woman who knows the field of work in which the agency operates and can speak with authority and conviction on its essential place in the life of the community. Any campaign leader who can convene his people at six o'clock and get them away by eight, and who hears favorable comment on the meeting, has done a good job. This is about as much as any opening meeting can accomplish. The rest is only frill and trimming and the trouble with most opening meetings is that there is too much trimming.

REPORT MEETINGS AND PROGRAMS

As distinguished from the opening meeting, which is educational and inspirational, report meetings relate exclusively to business and progress. They should be brief and well scheduled. Entertainment and some music are not out of place, but above all, should not be stressed too much. A speaker to occupy only ten minutes is desirable and almost necessary, although his place can be filled by brief entertainment or demonstrations provided by the clientele of the agency.

The program on page 278 is an actual schedule of a campaign meeting. There is a reason for each item. Music is desirable as people come into the room so that there will not be that dead feeling characteristic of a large meeting hall when people first enter. The music also has a value while the luncheon is being served, because it tends to stimulate excitement over reports. Generally, it takes the curse off the routine of coming in, serving luncheon, and getting the daily report ready.

Community singing is desirable, not so much for the singing itself, but because it permits the chairman to start the meeting promptly

whether or not the people have finished luncheon. If they continue to talk during completion of the reports, it does not matter because they are drowned out by the noise of the singing. Song leaders should be cautioned not to indulge in tricks. They should select well-known songs

SIXTH CAMPAIGN REPORT LUNCHEON

Monday, November 21, 1938
Saint Paul Athletic Club
12:15 p. m.
A. B. JACKSON, *Chairman*

12:15 to 12:40 P. M.	Music by Northern States Power Company Orchestra. Thank orchestra
12:40 to 12:45 P. M.	Introduce Henry Schmidt for community singing
12:45 to 12:55 P. M.	Selections by the Hallie Q. Brown Singers, composed of: Mrs. Belle Tyler Mrs. Hattie Oliver Mrs. Eleanor Wallis Mrs. Harriet Hall
12:55 to 1:15 P. M.	Mr. Jackson to take reports for the day: Special Gifts Committee — N. P. Delander General Division: Division A — C. L. O'Brien Division B — E. I. Whyatt Division C — Harold H. Ames Division D — Arthur A. Devine Division E — Benjamin G. Griggs Division F1 — Mrs. H. E. Cammack Division F2 — Philip J. Mackey Industrial Division — Harry R. Fairchild
1:15 to 1:25 P. M.	Address by Clarence B. Randall, chairman of the 1930 campaign
1:25 to 1:27 P. M.	Report for the day by Pierce Atwater
1:27 to 1:30 P. M.	Concluding statement by Mr. Jackson
1:30 P. M.	Adjournment

and encourage as much noise as can be produced. The quality of the singing does not matter at all. Singing breaks up the business of eating and report-figuring as nothing else can.

In order to calm down the group a little, and give them time to sit back and smoke, a striking entertainment number lasting no more than five to ten minutes — preferably five — is valuable. If it is possible to secure entertainment through the agency itself, or campaign workers, it should be done, but quality is an important factor and nothing amateurish or cheap should be offered. The entertainment should be impressive.

A report meeting is called for the purpose of reporting. Results for the day should be given by all the district units. As many as one hundred reports can be given in twenty minutes. If the main associates of the campaign chairman are well trained, and if they personally take charge of their own district reports, they can keep within the time allowed. This sort of reporting gives the leader a chance to stand on his feet and at least get a hand or a cheer for the day's showing. In this connection, applause is one thing that must be watched carefully. If too much of it is given, time is wasted. It should be sharp and brief. Reports of districts and group leaders should be clear and loud. Furnishing megaphones sometimes proves helpful for people who have poor voices.

In the foregoing program the address of the day, given by a former campaign chairman, is scheduled where it appears in order to permit time for the auditor, who has taken down the reports, to assemble the results. Wherever possible it is well to feature a campaign worker as the speaker. In cases where the leader is not of the working personnel, it is valuable to secure as a speaker an outstanding worker of the past. A speech should always finish on time. The report for the day can then be given either by the auditor, the secretary of the campaign, or the chairman. It is probably best that the auditor or campaign secretary make the report, because this gives one of them an opportunity to say a word; and it also grants the campaign chairman a moment to collect his thoughts as to what he will say in his closing statement. The concluding remarks of the general chairman are important. His workers listen to what he has to say. They are anxious to know whether he thinks the campaign is going well or poorly, what his instructions are for the next day, and to have information on any other principal points he wants to mention.

AUDITING PLAN

Balancing the day's results. — The technical procedure of auditing pledges and cash as they are turned in is one which any competent accountant can prepare. This comment concerns what those in charge of a campaign should expect to obtain from the auditing plan.

Naturally, the balancing of the day's campaign results is essential. The total amount raised must be known, and an accurate total of the cash drawn off, the cash on hand, together with the amount due, must balance with the total of the pledges. The cash must also balance with

the sum reported on the individual cards. These results of any auditing plan are the obvious ones and scarcely need to be mentioned. Too frequently, however, this is all the auditing department is able to produce and it is not enough.

Classification of pledges.—One very important feature in campaign strategy is a knowledge of the type of pledges coming in. A classification of pledges by amount is highly desirable. Such a classification should be one more obligation of the day's work in a campaign auditing department. Is the total of the campaign up to schedule because some department is ahead, to balance some other department which is behind? It is clear that a campaign chairman must know that all branches of the work are functioning in accordance with a scheduled sequence. This means that the auditing department must have some more detailed classification of results. It is clear that if all pledges taken in during the day are separated by amounts, and tabulations are run of those between $5 and $24, $25 and $99, $100 and $499, and from $500 up, these being added to similar classifications made for previous days, the campaign chairman will then be able to figure the progress of the effort. He can also establish the number of pledges in each bracket which were in last year and are not yet in this year. This helps greatly in broad analysis, but still is not sufficiently illuminating in relation to the progress of work in each unit of the campaign. As a result, more detailed analysis needs to be forthcoming.

Daily and cumulative totals for each small campaign unit.—The most helpful statistical report from the auditing department is the tabulation by small units of the results for the day. These results should show the standing of every campaign unit, even though they number over one hundred. Subtotals should be shown for the larger campaign divisions. It is always well to keep the auditing returns in any kind of annual campaign on a similar basis, so that the detailed results of each day's efforts can be compared with those of the corresponding day the year before.

While the results of each day of a campaign are important because they show the chairman which units are working and which ones are not, there is a still more valuable daily report which must come from the auditing department. The cumulative showing of each unit of the campaign to date reveals to the management exactly where the strengths and weaknesses lie. This report should be made for both the small and large campaign units. In addition to being of great strategic value, it is

the report from which daily progress announcements for the press can be taken.

In producing reports of the kind described, not only should each unit of the campaign be shown, but the names of leaders should be appended, so as to make it possible for the campaign chairman or manager to correlate results with individuals. In addition to measuring the results in terms of dollars, the quota on each team should also be figured in percentages.

From these daily reports the chairman or the divisional leaders can pick out the weak places and then, going back to the team lists, can quickly analyze the cause of the weakness by determining the exact prospects still outstanding.

Determining quotas.—While it is the prerogative of the campaign leaders to set quotas, the auditing department must do the detailed work. The establishment of quotas in a campaign becomes almost indispensable. People work better if they have some mark to shoot at. Great care should be taken to arrive at equitable quotas. Some campaign leaders pad quotas and then reduce them at the last moment in order to give impetus to the closing day or two of the effort. This plan has merit, but it is interesting to note that the reverse procedure seems to work just as well. The campaign organization can give out unit quotas which may be 6, 10, or even 15 per cent less than the total that needs to be raised in the campaign, telling all units they must exceed their minimum quota by 10 per cent in order to reach the goal. The theory of this plan is to give every unit an easily attainable quota. They then reach 100 per cent without too much difficulty, and some campaign leaders believe that a team works better when it has reached its goal than in trying to attain it. The whole conception sounds almost ridiculous. Yet while there is not as much precedent for this latter procedure as for the former, there are many instances where it has been applied with great success. The fact that both types of strategy work leads to the conclusion that the best quota of all is one which is accurate, correct, and tenable. There is no point in misleading people when honesty is just as effective.

Protection of cash.—Every campaign auditing department should understand the necessity for certain precautions in the handling of cash, and should take out insurance against robbery on the premises and messenger holdup. Usually a number of volunteers take part in the auditing; they should be selected with the greatest of care from among

business concerns known for their integrity and high quality of personnel, both as to skill and character. Since cash cannot be counted until late at night, it is wise to make arrangements with some bank to send its own messengers, who will turn over a receipted deposit slip before the cash leaves the office.

DAILY ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

Since the method of daily reporting has already been described, this discussion of daily analysis deals with other aspects of the problem. Any good auditor should be able to give a daily campaign result from the data already mentioned by 8:30 to 10:00 P.M., depending on the volume for the day. No matter how late the report is turned in, the campaign manager, the leaders of main divisions, and others who are close advisers on the matter of strategy, should study the results at an evening meeting. This is absolutely essential, because the whole temper of the public statement to be made in the morning press becomes extremely important in a community campaign. Every campaign has some large gifts tucked away and the rapidity with which these are thrown in bears heavily upon the apparent result of the campaign as followed by the public through the press. The purpose of these meetings in the evening, when the campaign leaders go over the results, is to deal with problems of this kind. Here again there are many theories. Some campaign people feel it is best to make it appear that the effort is not being quite successful, while others take the contrary position. The natural conclusion is that absolute honesty is the best policy. The strategy board should try to reflect in the daily press the exact status of the effort, all facts being taken into consideration.

The real purpose of this nightly conference is to decide what will be done with the units making a poor showing. If anything constructive is to be undertaken the next day, detailed plans must be made that night, so that the clerical force can produce the kind of material needed early enough the next morning to have a practical bearing on the day's results. Over and above these things, if the real leaders of the campaign know what the situation is at night, they can be counted upon to get to work and correct the weak spots the first thing in the morning. Whereas if they are not informed at night that there is a deficiency, they will not learn of it until the report meeting the next noon. Sometimes the best campaign leaders are poor figurers. They must be kept informed constantly.

METHODS OF MEETING CRISES

No matter how well a campaign progresses, there are always problems. Even the best campaign is more or less one crisis after another. The community type campaign is concentrated into a brief period, and campaign leaders must always remember that one objective is to complete it within the specified time. This means drive, push, excitement, and high-pressure operation. In addition, it means knowledge of all facts, clarity in expressing them, permitting no weak spots to develop, and keeping the whole effort moving in high gear so as not to lose momentum. This type of campaign necessitates a constant high speed, but one which must be broken up in day-to-day operations. All campaign efforts stop for the night, and they have to be started again the next morning. Even the best of organizations requires constant prodding. When a unit is going well the worker has a tendency to let down. As soon as half the units have let down, the fire is out. For these reasons every day becomes a crisis in a community campaign. Some new reason has to be given as to why renewed energy must be displayed by all in the next day's work.

With this kind of problem, solution is greatly aided by the fact that there really occurs a new crisis every day. It may be that the amount in dollars reported was satisfactory, but the number of pledges was short. This immediately argues that the next day increased pressure must be made on picking up the number of pledges lost the day before, because everyone realizes that it is not only the large gifts which are needed, but many small ones. Frequently some department of the campaign is moving slowly, such as the large-gifts group or employee solicitation. Again the chairman may observe that too many cards are being turned back without adequate solicitation. Cards bear such notations as "moved," "out of city," "gift will be made at home," or "husband is giving downtown." No campaign leadership has to look for harassing problems with which to deal, or disasters with which to scare campaign workers. A large, concentrated campaign produces every hour enough apparent disasters to wreck the effort unless real work is done toward their prevention.

The atmosphere of crisis runs throughout the campaign period. It is only necessary to give stress to the right things. If this is done a high pitch can be maintained throughout. Intelligence and a fine sense of diplomacy in the stressing of the right things at the right time are the

greatest factors in keeping the organization alert and smoothly functioning.

KEEPING TRACK OF PROSPECTS

In simple terms, all money-raising involves a list of names to see and a subsequent solicitation of the people on the list. Even a complicated and involved community campaign is nothing more. The only difference is that every time the names of more people are added to the prospect list, the more complex becomes the job of keeping track of both the prospects and the workers.

Suggestions as to basic records, all of which are variations taken from the master card file, have already been mentioned. But over and above every other factor, there looms the need to answer promptly and accurately the questions: "Has he given yet?" "How much did he give?" "In whose territory is his card?" "If he did not give individually, is he included as a part of a corporation gift?" "Is his pledge in his wife's name or his own?"

When the effort involves three or four thousand prospects, keeping track of gifts is not difficult, although system is essential. When the campaign reaches proportions of thirty to fifty thousand prospects, the job is neither simple nor easy. Nor is there any mechanical solution for the problems involved. There are many systems of visible index cards or ledger sheets which tend to help, but no machine provides brains. Careful, detailed clerical work under competent supervision, kept up to date as the campaign moves forward, is the only way a master file can serve accurately and dependably to answer the kind of questions which come up many times every hour during the course of a large campaign effort.

CLOSING THE CAMPAIGN

Any kind of dramatic game, or play, or money-raising effort calls for an appropriate climax. It is impossible to sustain for very long high enthusiasm and concentrated energy. In community work enthusiasm and energy are too precious to waste, and no campaign, whether it is a failure or a success, should permit these qualities in its workers to die out. Even a campaign which fails to reach the goal can close on a high note of appreciation and transmit to its personnel a sense of victorious achievement.

The method by which the appreciation of the sponsoring group is rendered to the workers is not particularly important. The main thing

is to release them on time and let them know what their efforts have meant to the town. This can be pretty well accomplished through a closing meeting and through appropriate comment in the press.

To recognize distinguished service on the part of individual workers is dangerous unless it is given to one or two leaders in a symbolic way for the whole working force. It should be borne in mind that the excellent service given by a dozen of the leaders in the way of planning the effort, determining the strategy, and in general serving as the brain trust, may not have involved any more work than that given by some of the people lowest in the ranks, who faithfully wore out shoe leather in making innumerable calls, with what seemed to them but little result. Perhaps the average worker would not function well without good leadership, but there can be no question there would be no money-raising at all unless an organization could secure large numbers of people to solicit the gifts. Acknowledgments must indicate this fact if they are to be acceptable and constructively aid any other effort in which the services and backing of these people are desired.

THE FINAL AUDIT

A summary of results in the form of a detailed and comprehensive audit is invaluable for future operations. Introductory comment about the result of the campaign as contrasted with previous efforts, the mention of high points of success or failure, and the use of the final audit as a history of the effort, all may help greatly for the succeeding year. Every unit of the campaign should be summarized, with columns devoted to the unit quotas, the amount raised, and the percentage of goal attained; this becomes an indispensable reference and guide to the future. Sufficient copies of such an audit should be prepared so that at least the principal leaders may have a copy. A sufficient reserve supply should be made so that if the campaign is repeated, the new leaders will have a record of what the organization they are to operate accomplished in the former effort.

Part IV

FIELD TRAINING FOR ADMINISTRATION

Chapter 17

PROBLEMS IN TEACHING ADMINISTRATION

BACKGROUND OF MATURE SOCIAL WORKERS

Prior to 1920–25, most practicing professionals in social work achieved their training through the apprenticeship method. Some entered executive and other positions by transfer from closely related fields, such as the ministry, education, work in civic and commercial organizations, or by self-created opportunities. This fact has been previously alluded to, but no mention has been made as to how more recent workers were introduced to the job-training process. This latter process has a direct bearing on the present problems of providing field-work experience in administration.

Even before the war, many colleges and universities appointed a local welfare worker to lecture in departments of sociology and anthropology. At the same time some sociologists developed a practical interest in training for social work. In those days sociology and anthropology were approached more academically than today, so the new viewpoint was refreshing. Students taking a social science major were often stimulated by this new type of instruction. It opened new avenues of interest. Students visited social agencies, inspected housing, and occasionally were able to secure summer employment in an institution or other type of welfare organization. Upon graduation it was natural for them to seek a full-time job in social work.

The training function of certain agencies.—In most urban centers at least one or two larger agencies actively sought young college graduates with social science training. While it was true their services could be purchased cheaply, and they could be given a fairly full load of work from the start, yet it was a fact that these agencies often held a definite concept of their own "training mission." If they exploited these young workers, which they did, there was at least the excuse of limited funds and practically no public conviction that superior people were needed in the administration of welfare services. Furthermore, the workers themselves were fired with missionary zeal. They often chose their work in the face of parental disapprobation. Not only were they willing

and prepared to work for small compensation, but they invited the grind of training to which they were exposed in this new fraternity, which was dedicated, they thought, to doing something significant in the world.

During the first quarter of this century, in a few agencies scattered over the country, case supervision was actually personal criticism and instruction. The staff conference was a seminar, which, even though occasionally dominated by the executive, still effectively carried on the training process. The truth is a good many excellent social-work leaders came out of this somewhat informal type of school. But the system had its limitations and certainly did not satisfy the ambition of outstanding executives, who early turned their attention to the creation of independent schools and institutes.

Importance of early schools and institutes. — There are people who occupy important positions in the social welfare field today who take great pride in referring to their experience in the United Charities of Chicago, or the Charity Organization Society of Buffalo. These are just two of many organizations which assumed real leadership in training young workers during the earlier years of the century. Also a certificate from the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, or attendance at an institute conducted by Mary Richmond, or enrollment in a number of other similar educational developments, conveyed real prestige, which is not without importance to the present date (1940). The significance of this growth was the gradual increase of professional training facilities and the diminution of agency responsibility.

THE TRAINING SITUATION TODAY

Relation of the educational process to social welfare agencies. — At one time welfare effort was under church auspices. Today even some sectarian agencies are quite autonomous in most matters. The separation of religious teaching and social-work operation is appropriate. This does not mean, however, that the personal aid and participation, financial and moral support, and advice and guidance on the part of church groups, individually and collectively, is not needed as much as ever.

This point is made because it has a close corollary in the relationship of professional schools and social agencies. Everyone wants the educational process to stand on its own feet. The training of workers is a duty of teachers and schools, not of busy social workers employed in operating agency welfare programs. On the other hand, both public

and private organizations are vitally interested in the training process, because they must employ the graduates and the schools must equip students to meet the needs of the field. There is no need for pleasant platitudes concerning the desirability of cooperation. It exists. Both schools and agencies are alert to the need. But it is in point to state that with the great expansion in school enrollment and the severe shifts of program in the field, some additions to curriculum appear essential. These may have to be cooperatively supplied by the combined facilities of the schools and the agencies.

Desirability of a rounded program of field-work training. — The present basis provided by the schools for field-work training and experience is incomplete. Case-work and group-work agencies, both public and private, can adapt themselves as school centers for supervised field instruction. It is well known that the number of clock hours required are not so many but that students can spend them all in case work or group work or both. Even so, the present curriculum in most schools does not meet the need of some students, and in many schools the absence of any supervised field-work instruction in administrative procedures and duties constitutes a serious lack.

NEED FOR INSTRUCTION IN ADMINISTRATION

The lack of knowledge about administrative procedures on the part of younger professional workers is evidenced in many ways. The following list is not intended to be complete, but it does indicate an obvious lack of understanding of administrative processes:

1. *Poor equipment of many small-agency executives.* — The inability of many small public and private agencies to secure executives experienced in administrative duties is reflected in the large number of community problems which face them. On the whole, large agencies appear to function more effectively than small ones largely because they can secure the services of more experienced managers. The smaller organizations must gamble with people of second-rate quality or unproven ability. If more rounded training in administration was established, the situation might be improved.

2. *Indication of widespread executive ineptitude.* — Few surveys fail to discover serious community problems that can be solved only by a change in the managing personnel. Often it looks as if an executive had geared every action to create for himself as much trouble as possible. Careful investigation reveals his complete incapacity to deal with prob-

lems of administration. His professional background may have been excellent as a case worker or group worker, but confronted with responsibilities for financial control, public relations, or staff supervision, he had little idea of practical procedures. It might even be said that all conflict over the treatment of social problems is the result of executive mismanagement. There always will be difficulties because the most skillful directors are not equal to some situations. On the other hand, so many social-work conflicts exist everywhere that one can only conclude that too many social agency leaders are but poorly equipped for administrative duties.

3. *Misunderstanding between executive and practitioner groups.*—Antagonism is often evident between the executive and practitioner groups. The basis seems to be lack of training and experience in administration the practitioner group receives. In carrying out their program for better professional status, they often display so gross a misconception of executive controls as to be extremely irritating. The mature administrators lose patience, with some excuse, and what they say is just as offensive to the practitioners. It needs to be pointed out that this conflict is dangerous to the profession as a whole, and if any possibility exists of improving the relationships by more effective training methods, every effort should be made to do so. Some of the antagonism is the result of legitimate and needed efforts looking toward proper professional independence, remuneration, security, and authority. But these worthy objectives are not ones which social-work management opposes in principle, and they do not explain the suspicion of the two groups toward each other.

4. *Success of well-equipped county workers.*—It was clearly proved in most states during the emergency relief period that county commissioners were suspicious of trained social workers. Social workers considered county officials as a major problem in their lives. They were—and to a certain extent still are. But the reverse is also true. Rather inexperienced young executives are sent out to manage a county welfare program with all its ramifications, and even though graduated from a training course, they frequently must be a real problem to the county commissioners. Most state welfare directors have several well-equipped people who can be sent to serve a trouble spot and who always effect an improvement. They know their business and are well prepared to handle it. If there had been enough qualified workers there would have been no serious problem with the commissioner group. The

way to secure more workers of proven capacity is to provide better administrative training and experience.

PRESENT TYPES OF ADMINISTRATIVE FIELD WORK

It may be pertinent to summarize the forms of administrative field work now generally existing. They are as follows:

1. *Field work as part of a classroom course.*—Some early experiments have been made by certain schools in assigned and credited field work as a part of one or more courses in administration. At the University of Minnesota, for example, credit is given in administrative field work as a part of a general course in the administration of social agencies. The field work comprises: (a) Attendance at assigned agency board, staff, and committee meetings, with written reports of the administrative problems considered. (b) Work upon assigned field inquiries, including such administrative procedures as: (1) the operation of the statistical system in a county welfare board; (2) a study of budget control procedures in an assigned agency; (3) a study of bookkeeping methods in an assigned agency. (c) Executive conferences—in which from three to five students are delegated to interview an executive and talk over with him privately certain questions which they raise and others which the executive proposes, with a full report on the results of the meeting.

2. *Practicing executives attached to faculty.*—Most schools have brought to their faculties one or more practicing executives to give lecture courses in the general field of administration. Some professional schools have been fortunate enough to have a full-time faculty member particularly versed in administrative problems, and a rather full coverage of practical situations has been made possible. Many of these courses have not included any actual field-work training, but have contributed much to student understanding of the administrative field of operation. There can be little dispute as to the wisdom of balancing such instruction with observations in the field in order to give balance and reality to the classwork.

3. *Informational field trips.*—Informational field trips provide some opportunity to study certain administrative problems. In addition, public welfare leaders, institutional superintendents, and executives of private social agencies are brought to the school for lectures on special subjects or for discussion with small groups of students. This has been a helpful addition.

4. *Administrative project experience in an agency.* — The practice of assigning students for field-work instruction of an extended character to agencies and granting field-work credit is employed occasionally. Some graduate students having a satisfactory background of agency employment can be given an entire term's field-work experience under properly supervised conditions. Sometimes these students are paid a stipend during the training period. Some schools prohibit remuneration. The results of this form of apprentice training have been both good and bad, depending upon the conditions of assignment, the attitude of the supervisor charged with instruction, and the type of work given.

5. *Apprentice training after graduation.* — A few agencies offer apprentice training to graduate students for the purpose of providing administrative experience, holding out the hope of rapid ultimate promotion when details of the work have been mastered. Students receiving such positions are usually mature people who have had practical experience prior to formal training, and who want to prepare themselves for executive positions. Such training has nothing directly to do with schools themselves, but arrangements for securing promising people are often made between the school and the agency.

FUTURE GOALS IN ADMINISTRATIVE INSTRUCTION

An orientation course. — From the viewpoint of operating executives it would be valuable if all professional schools afforded a minimum of administrative field instruction to all students. Elementary requirements might not include here more than a well-founded and thoroughly organized orientation course, to be given early in the training experience.

Nominal specialization. — A second objective might be the development of administrative instruction for students who wanted to take more than the minimum requirements, but who did not wish to specialize in administration. To meet this need a wider range of field-work opportunity would have to be developed. If as much as fifty hours in administration were to be counted as a part of the minimum requirements for supervised field work, several definite field-work courses would have to be provided.

Intensive specialization in administration. — For those mature students whose qualifications were satisfactory as the result of agency employment and who wanted to obtain an intensive administration course, additional facilities would have to be established. Here the use of supervised apprentice training might prove tenable, provided the schools

were willing and able to work out definite supervisory responsibilities with the agencies equipped to provide opportunity for such students. The school itself should maintain a field supervisor who could keep in touch with the agency and the student to see that a definite agreement regarding the scope and procedure of the training course is carried out.

Detailed treatment of suggested goals. — The purpose of this presentation is merely to afford a transition from operating problems in social-work administration to problems connected with teaching the subject matter. The next chapter outlines in some detail methods by which these goals in administrative field-work instruction might be attained.

Chapter 18

OUTLINES OF FIELD-WORK INSTRUCTION IN ADMINISTRATION

AGENCIES WITH WHICH A SCHOOL SHOULD COOPERATE FOR FIELD INSTRUCTION

If any rounded field experience in administration is to be provided by a professional school, at least ten to fifteen cooperating agencies are essential. They should cover the major fields of social work as fully as possible, and should include both high-grade and low-grade standards of work. The following indication as to the types of agencies is not complete, but is suggestive of those whose help needs to be enlisted:

A. Care of dependent children.
   1. Public agency for boarding-home care.
   2. Private agency for boarding-home care (sectarian if possible).
   3. Orphanage.
B. Juvenile delinquency.
   1. Probation office.
   2. Detention institution.
C. Family welfare and relief.
   1. Public assistance department.
   2. Private family agency.
   3. Certain auxiliary services, such as work with hard of hearing, sectarian agency for family care, commodity distribution, work with foreign groups, department or institution for care of the homeless individual, aid to travelers, and so forth.
D. Public health work.
   1. A public health nursing organization.
   2. A health department relating to sanitary control.
   3. A hospital for free care.
   4. A public or private clinic or hospital out-patient department.
E. An institution for care of aged who are chronically ill.
F. Recreation and group work.
   1. Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, or Campfire Girls.
   2. Y. M. C. A. or Y. W. C. A.
   3. Public recreation department.
   4. A social settlement.
   5. A community center.
G. A child guidance clinic, or other organization using the psychiatric case-work approach.

H. Central planning of social work.
   1. A social service exchange.
   2. Function and methods of cooperative planning.
I. Money-raising procedures.
   1. Community chest.
   2. Special funds raised by chest or other agencies.

ORGANIZATION WITHIN A SCHOOL

A school of any size needs a faculty member assigned as an administrative field-work instructor. A committee of six to ten agency executives or supervisors should be named as an advisory board. Thereby some sponsorship for the program is obtained outside the school. This cooperation rests upon the sound theory that this training is demanded by the operating organizations and that the school is merely meeting the need of its constituency.

It is obviously futile to ask aid from any group until specific channels of cooperation have been charted. The greatest trouble with most experiments in administrative field-work training has been the absence of clear-cut ideas as to what the schools wanted the organizations to do. Evidence exists to show that both schools and agencies have been conscientious and definite in some student assignments, but there is substantial indication that both have also been extremely careless. Schools must refine their methods along lines acceptable to agencies and within the scope of their facilities. Working out a definite and specific plan would seem to be the first need. But this step should not be made by the schools without some working committee of local executives and supervisors to lend balance and practicability.

When a school has obtained the cooperation of local agencies, responsibility falls upon it to make assignments of work. This means the instructor in administrative field work must make arrangements for a constant flow of information from participating agencies concerning the schedule of meetings and events which will lend themselves to student participation. This in itself is not an easy matter. Not only does it require proper forms to fill in, bearing date, time, place, and description of meetings, but it means a close personal contact with some designated person in each organization. The handling of meetings can be a routine function, but the dating of students for executive conferences or field inquiries or other work becomes a matter on which personal agreement must be reached between the agency and the school. If an executive agrees to meet four or five students on a date too far

in advance, he may find it necessary to cancel the meeting because of other pressing business which conflicts. When a small group of students is assigned to study a bookkeeping system of a certain agency it is barely possible that on the suggested date the books will not have been put in balance and the clerk or clerks will be engaged in straightening out some problem which makes it impossible to pause for student instruction. These difficulties evidence the need for a personal contact with the agency on each assignment. Organization of this work is the only tenable procedure, and in any school where students are given merely an orientation course, it is essential for some one faculty member to be in charge of the student field work.

WRITTEN PROCEDURES FOR INFORMATION OF FACULTY, AGENCIES, AND STUDENTS

Purposeful ends are seldom achieved except through a planned outline of procedure detailing the operation step by step. This plan needs to be written, so that it will not be subject to misunderstanding, mis information, or misconstruction.

As indicated, there are at least three different types of field work in administration. If all graduate students are to be subjected to some amount of field work, definite plans for an orientation course are essential. The agency must understand what it is expected to do. The school must outline its own responsibilities. The student must be able to procure a description of the kind of subject matter he will have to study and the work he will have to do in order to complete the course satisfactorily. This calls for a detailed description.

FIELD WORK FOR ORIENTATION COURSE

A. Reading of minutes.
   1. Locate an agency which keeps good minutes and where there is space for some student to sit in the office and quietly study minutes of a board of directors, a committee, or, if a small agency, all the minutes covering a period of from three to five years.
   2. The student might attempt to make a record of twenty or more of the most important problems of that agency as reflected by the minutes.
   3. On the basis of classroom instruction as to what constitutes good minute-writing, the student might make written comment on how the minutes improve standards as set up by the class instructor or wherein they fall short of such standards.
   4. The student could make brief comment upon what the minutes reflect on such administrative problems as personnel, control of finances, relationships between board and staff, control of public relations, development of new policies, cooperation with other agencies, other assigned problems.

B. Specific field visits for observation and report.
   1. Attendance at a meeting of the county commission or city council, preferably when some welfare problem is to come up for consideration.
   2. Attendance at a meeting of a committee of the state legislature if the city is located where it meets.
   3. Attendance at a community chest campaign luncheon.
   4. Attendance at a welfare council meeting.
   5. Inspection of a social service exchange.
   6. The record procedure used by a relief agency in giving aid, from the application through the entire process of transcribing the information on the statistical records of the agency for bookkeeping purposes, case count, social data, and so forth.
   7. Examination and explanation of statistical procedures used in a public welfare department, either state or local.
   8. A visit to one or more institutions. Several students might be assigned in a body and special arrangements made for the superintendent to give a brief explanation of the administrative problems.
   9. An examination and appraisal of booklets and annual reports of one or more designated agencies.
   10. A review of several agency budgets with the budget secretary of a community chest, to be followed by a budget problem wherein the student is given a set of data and required to make out an actual budget, listing items of operating expense and items of income.
   11. Presentation to students in special session of principal administrative problems of various fields, as viewed by: a public welfare director; the head of a private family agency; the director of a large children's agency; the head resident of a settlement house; a Y. M. C. A. or a scout executive; the superintendent of a nursing organization; the director of a private hospital.

C. Attendance at and report upon one or more agency board meetings (arrangement should be made with the agency, and not more than one or two students should be assigned to attend).
   1. Instruction as to the nature of the meeting.
   2. Private discussion following meeting with the secretary or some other staff member to answer questions.
   3. Written comment upon the meeting and description of the administrative problems considered.

D. Same objectives in attendance at staff meetings.

E. Same objectives in attendance at committee meetings.

These suggestions in no way cover all of the possibilities open for use in an orientation field-work course in administration. They should be considered suggestive of the facilities available and the type of assignments which can be made.

The main purpose in assigning students early in their school experience to observe agency operation from the administrative point of view is to make possible their better understanding of administrative procedures when engaged in other field work. This early training gives them a perspective picture of some of the administrative complications. The student has an opportunity to cover administrative problems in class and then see what these problems look like in the day-to-day operation of several types of agencies.

Field work such as described would necessarily be a cursory review of the problem, with but little intensification. However, the student contacts with agency executives and supervisors might yield good results for both. It would afford the agency leaders some opportunity to know students, what they were thinking about, and what their attitudes might be on welfare problems. At least, this association would do no harm to any executive and might produce considerable good. At the same time the students could not help but gain some little advantage from association with the management of social agencies This might help them to understand better the problems faced by the social agency. It would at least serve to introduce them to problems in the administrative field and would tend to give those problems some degree of reality. Objectives must be narrow in any such orientation course. How well they are reached will depend upon the soundness of arrangements between the school and the cooperating agencies.

FIELD WORK FOR NOMINAL SPECIALIZATION

After passing through an orientation course some students might feel the need for more intensive study of the problems thus far only generally reviewed. Whether or not it would be wise to permit further administrative field work must be decided by the school faculty. Field work of any kind should be viewed as a distinct privilege, because it involves an unusually high student cost and difficult adjustment on the part of the cooperating organizations. Students who do not take work seriously should not be entitled to field work. In permitting students to take field work in administration on more than a casual basis, even more cost and trouble are required than in the types described above. As time goes on, and as systems are better perfected, the difficulties and expense may be reduced. At the moment, however, the weight of argument would be not to permit even nominal specialization in administration unless the student does high-grade work, is experienced enough

to understand the problems, and has an honest interest in going further in this field of work.

Nominal specialization in administrative field work must perforce follow much the same lines as the orientation course, but it can take different forms. The outline below attempts to impart a degree of intensification to the orientation procedure outlined above and especially suggests a larger and more detailed outline of field projects.

A. Minute-reading.
   1. Additional follow-up in minute-reading on a more comprehensive basis than provided in the orientation course.
   2. Delegation of students in attendance at board and committee meetings to write the minutes of what took place.
   3. After writing, presentation of minutes to the executive or some staff member of the agency for criticism and possibly for actual use by the agency.

B. Study of procedural bulletins in public welfare organizations.
   1. Reading of written procedures.
   2. Discussion with some assigned staff member as to why they were published, how they were prepared, frequency of change, and so forth.

C. Assignment of a simple problem in procedure writing, such as:
   1. A system for collecting boarding-home fees from parents.
   2. Procedure for a filing system in a small office.
   3. Procedure in handling personnel of a small agency.
   4. Procedure in controlling the master file of contributors to a community chest.
   5. Procedure in calling committee meetings for a specific organization.

D. Attendance at board meetings, with wider assignment of duties, such as written reports on subjects like the following:
   1. Handling of the meeting by the chairman.
   2. Criticism of the manner in which the executive presented his business, including answers to the following questions: What techniques did he use? Was his position one of leadership or guidance? Did he allow his staff to participate? Did he raise issues in such a way as actually to receive the opinion of his directors? Did he have a satisfactory agenda? Was business expedited too much or too little? What made the meeting interesting or uninteresting? Did the discussion indicate that the board actually controlled the policy, or was it merely a rubber stamp to executive procedure?

E. In connection with committees, application of much the same type of inquiry.

F. In connection with staff meetings, these additional assignments might be made:
   1. Describe the relationship between the executive and the staff.
   2. Was the meeting instructional or deliberative?
   3. Was the program of real or perfunctory value?

4. How might more have been made out of the meeting?
5. From observation in the office, do you think a better time and place might have been selected? If so, describe and criticize.
6. Make inquiry as to the frequency with which the group meets and the kind of subject matter which is generally taken up. Decide whether the staff meetings are adequate or inadequate for the purpose of the organization.

G. Subjects which might be considered in making more intensive use of the executive conference:

1. Consideration of the financial problem of securing money within the agency.
   a. Methods used.
   b. Results obtained.
   c. Types of earned, endowed, or other income.
   d. Executive's own opinion of agency procedures in these matters.
   e. Written comment on the adequacy of the measures adopted to secure such income.
2. Budget operation.
   a. Examine an agency budget. Is it a flexible budget, and is it changed to meet conditions as the months progress?
   b. At the time of the interview can the executive tell where he stands on each item in the budget?
   c. If some items are overexpended, what steps is he taking to correct the situation?
   d. What are the chief budget problems at the moment?
   e. What methods is the executive adopting to meet these problems?
3. Personnel procedures (for agencies outside civil service).
   a. Does the agency have a personnel policy?
   b. Discuss the policy.
   c. If none exists, what general principles are followed?
   d. Are they really principles or just indefinite theories established by tradition?
   e. Is the staff turnover low or high, and what is the cause of the condition?
   f. Is the service classified, and what is the general range of pay for the various classifications? Why were these ranges set? Are they frequently changed?
   g. Discuss vacation and sick-leave policies.
   h. Is there any internal or external organization of the staff?
   i. Does the executive favor or oppose such organization, and why?
   j. From the executive point of view, what constructive action has the organization taken? What destructive action?
   k. Comment on any number of other specific items.
4. Examination of an executive's calendar. Some executives keep a calendar of appointments. Arrangements might be made by the school to secure a copy of that calendar for the year and assign it to a small group

of students for analysis. Later they could talk with the executive and secure additional information on the specific types of interviews granted and meetings attended during the period of a month.

5. Discussion of executive duties in correlated agency activities.
   a. Relationship to national organization in the field in which the agency operates: How much responsibility is entailed? What is the nature of it? Give specific examples of the kind of assistance called for. How much time does it take? Is it of practical value to agency operations?
   b. Responsibility of the executive to professional organizations: Does he attend meetings? Is he on any committees? What is the nature of the service he has performed? How much time does this service require? What values to his agency does he see in the professional organizations?
   c. Responsibility of the executive to the central planning function: Is he personally involved in the central planning work in the city? What does he actually do in connection with this work? Does it yield beneficial results? What are they? Does he make changes in his own program without taking them up first with central planning authorities to see how they fit into existing work? What changes does he think could be made so that central planning work might be more effective? In the opinion of the student, does the executive give too much or too little time to the latter function?
   d. Discussion of such extra-curricular activities of the executive as the following: Does he participate in the state conference of social work? Does he have connections with the national conference of social work? Is he called upon to prepare many papers? Does he have to make speeches for other purposes? How does he prepare speeches? How many speeches a year does he give? What are the values to his organization? What other things does he do outside the agency, such as teaching or joining clubs and organizations for policy reasons, and so on? Does he consider these things to be a serious drain on his time? Does he like to do them?

H. Discussion of handling of public relations.

1. Does the executive supervise this himself?
2. Is the staff conscious of its duties in the field of public relations?
3. What does the staff do to carry out its responsibilities?
4. How does the executive regard public relations in such matters as dealings with the press, and interpretation of his work through bulletins or public meetings, or through personal contact?
5. Does he think the staff makes friendly citizen supporters for the agency program through work with clients? Why or why not?
6. Does his agency enjoy the friendly backing of other agencies in the community, and how did he obtain it or fail to receive it?
7. Are his board and volunteer membership helpful in creating good public relations? Exactly what do they do?

8. Does his agency have good relationships with church groups? How were these created?
9. If the agency does not have good church relations, what would be gained if it had?
10. If a public agency, how is the executive's department regarded by city officials? How is it regarded by taxpayers?
11. What does he do to increase good will from officials and citizens? Does the student think he could do more than he does?
12. In general, are the public relations of the agency well worked out, definite, specific, and do they constitute a real program? Or is the whole matter vague in the mind of the executive and could it be questioned whether there is a public relations policy or not?

I. Discussion with the executive as to methods of policy determination.
1. Does the constitution or the law under which the private agency or the public department is established work well?
   a. Would the executive suggest changes?
   b. How does he secure changes?
   c. Is he doing anything to make the changes?
   d. Who is helping him?
   e. Why does it take so long?
2. Ask the executive for two or three samples of operating policy as created by the board of directors.
   a. Why were these policies instituted?
   b. Who suggested them?
   c. What kind of consideration was given their adoption?
   d. Do they meet the need?
   e. How long have they been in effect?
   f. Do they need any change?
   g. Who would suggest the change and how would it be adopted?
3. Ask the executive to illustrate some samples of policy that he himself creates.
   a. Wherein lies the authority that permits him to act?
   b. How long has the particular policy been in operation?
   c. Can he change it himself or does he have to consult his staff?

J. Comparison of administrative procedures in business with those in social work.
1. Study of a mechanical tabulation system as applied in a large bank or home office of a casualty insurance company.
   a. Commercial concerns have been in the business of controlling certain procedures by mechanical tabulation longer than social agencies. It would be well to see how a big business corporation handles its work as compared with a public welfare department.
   b. Wage scales of employees might be compared.
   c. Length of service might be studied.
   d. The general appearance of the office and the condition of the equipment could be considered.

2. Study of a purchasing department of a public utility.
   a. How does the utility buy its goods and supplies?
   b. Do they have a bidding system and is it formally conducted?
   c. Compare their purchase records with those of a social agency.
   d. Note differences and methods.
   e. Compare efficiency.
3. Investigation of a filing system of a life insurance company.
   a. Is the company more careful of its records than a relief agency?
   b. Does its filing system appear to be more expensive and more carefully managed?
   c. Is its equipment better or worse?
   d. Is the capability of people in charge of the filing system greater or less?
   e. Is their compensation higher or lower?
   f. Could a social agency afford the filing provision made by a life insurance company?
   g. Is record-filing in a life insurance company more important than it is in a social agency?
4. Investigation of an intraining employee program of a large bank.
   a. What kind of courses does it give to its employees?
   b. Is the instructor compensated?
   c. On whose time is the work done?
   d. Who takes the courses and why?
   e. Does the bank consider this intraining program as important as does a social agency?
5. Investigation of a trust company's voucher and check-writing system.
   a. What kind of system is used?
   b. Does it differ from that of a social agency?
   c. Are controls better or worse?
   d. Are there more steps in the writing of a check than in a social agency?
   e. Can the check be written more quickly?
   f. Is the record more complicated or more simple?
6. Review of the tax and social security reports demanded of any large business concern by local, state, and federal governments.
   a. Since public welfare work and social security measures receive taxes from business institutions, it is well to see how the businessman feels about the subject.
   b. How much time has to be taken to file reports?
   c. How much money has to be paid out of the business in real estate, income, employer taxes?
   d. How much payroll deduction is made on behalf of the employees?
   e. What does the business concern think of the system?

K. The assignment of some student on a bookkeeping project to work with the bookkeeper in balancing the books at the end of the month to see how the process is accomplished.

1. Note the posting of the journals to the ledger.
2. Note the taking off of the trial balance.
3. Study the trial balance and consider just what it reveals about the financial status at the end of the period.

No attempt can be made to list all possible types of student field-work projects in administration. A careful tabulation of as many as seem practical should be made in the manual of procedure for administrative field work used by any school. These outlines are merely suggestive of what might be done.

Excellent projects could be worked out for student study of a research bureau, confidential exchange, administrative devices in handling such problems as clothing and medical care, civil service procedure, the use of forms in administration, and many others.

FIELD WORK FOR INTENSIVE SPECIALIZATION

Where schools receive mature students who have already had good experience in case work or group work, and who desire a school certificate with special training in administration, the procedures already indicated are inadequate. As field work is better developed it may be that systems short of apprenticeship training may prove sufficient. At present it is difficult to see how an average school could grant much more than fifty to one hundred clock hours in administrative field work. If more is desired, about the only recourse is to assign a student to an agency where, under supervision, the student will do full-time work over a period sufficient to earn a substantial number of field-work credits. Both schools and agencies have had a good deal of experience in apprenticeship training. As stated previously, the experience has been both good and bad.

Some suggestions might be given as to types of desirable projects upon which a student could work. For instructional purposes it is wholly undesirable to have the student engaged exclusively upon some one project. What the student wants and needs above all is a rounded experience in observing and working on a multiplicity of administrative problems. If he is assigned to one thing and spends all of his time upon it, the outcome will be that no such comprehensive opportunity can be afforded.

On page 204 are shown the results of a project called Summary Statement of Work Done by Community Chest Agencies in the Families of Employed Persons Living in St. Paul. This work was supervised from August through October, 1938, by Edward E. Di Bella, then a graduate

student from Washington University of St. Louis taking a quarter of full-time field instruction in administration at the St. Paul Community Chest, Inc. The propect was adapted to Mr. Di Bella's experience, and approved by the school, agency, and student. While the project had important results, it is the administrative experience in its execution which alone is the important consideration here. The following outline showing the steps involved in the project, indicates the nature of the rounded field experience which work on the project afforded:

A. Securing of general approval of project from agencies prior to student's presence; appointment of committee of agency executives to consider details.
B. Consultation with staff, in which student worked out a more refined statement of plan, and in addition produced the following:
   1. A schedule to be filled in by participating agencies.
      a. Conference with several research specialists who knew forms and the limitations in their use.
      b. Consideration of the form with several agency executives to determine practicability of securing information.
      c. Study of other available forms to test amount of space needed for answers.
      d. Getting several agencies to fill out forms as a test measure before printing.
      e. Writing specifications for printing, with office manager in charge of purchasing, reviewing bids, and placing the order. In this connection careful estimates of quantity had to be made.
   2. Definitions to be used in making form.
      a. Writing definitions.
      b. Criticism from staff.
      c. Conference with research experts.
      d. Going through office procedure for mimeographing, and so forth.
   3. Detailed plan to be presented to committee of agency executives.
      a. Experience in calling the meeting.
      b. Experience in presentation to group.
      c. Preparing notes on their criticism, including opportunity for discussion pro and con.
      d. Writing committee minutes.
C. Distribution of forms.
   1. Consideration of cheap and quick methods.
      a. Could agencies call at office?
      b. Should community chest deliver?
   2. Conclusion worked out in staff conference to convene the large agencies for purpose of securing forms and receiving detailed instruction on their preparation.
   3. At a conference held on or about August 18 the student:
      a. Presented instructions.
      b. Answered questions.

c. Assigned and charged each agency with proper number of cards.
d. Explained extent of field service he would render.
e. Stressed date when returns were expected.
f. Following meeting, personally delivered forms to smaller agencies because: their presence at meeting would have made it too large; their questions might not have been pertinent; or they probably needed more personal instruction.

D. Field work.
1. All agencies were visited between August 22 and September 15.
2. Provided student with excellent opportunity to observe agency programs and to meet and negotiate with executives.
3. Presented realistic picture of problems faced in any research project.

E. Tabulation.
1. Working out of method and forms.
2. Consultation with staff and research advisers.
3. Conference with office manager on assigning clerks to do tabulation.
4. Conference with certain community chest campaign leaders to secure their opinion on points of information which might prove most helpful in money-raising.
5. Experience in the use of office equipment, such as alphabetizer, calculator for percentage, and so forth.
6. Experience in dealing with executives who suddenly want to add some new items to the tabulation which require changing procedures.

F. Progress reports to board of directors and campaign leaders.
1. Training in presentation of reports.
2. Ample opportunity to observe other activities.

G. Determination of use to which figures should be put.
1. Values to and use by large contributors.
a. Should a summary of corporation totals be sent to the executive head of each business? By letter, by personal representative, or by publication of all company totals in one list sent to all?
b. Should the solicitors handling the larger subscriptions be given the information to use on their prospects if thought desirable?
c. Decision to "feel out" situation (in one instance information was made available to about twenty large business concerns, from which there were various reactions, but favorable on the whole). Such negotiations bring the student into extensive contacts with another group of people, and provide experience in all the elements which enter into a complicated decision.
2. Values and use for influencing giving of employees.
a. Discussion with leaders of that branch of solicitation.
b. Direct discussions with groups of employees.
c. Discussion with several leaders of organized labor.
3. Use of the forms in special cases to increase standard of corporation-giving by proof of extensive service to employees.
a. Organizing special solicitors to present case to chief executive:

showing the number of employees served; analyzing the types of service and the expense involved in rendering it; pointing out other corporations which give more and which receive much less service; and emphasizing the point that the legal reason corporations give money is to benefit their employees.
b. Organizing other solicitors to present case to employees who do not respond well, showing that social services are real and valued by their own group, and explaining what they are, how much they cost, and how they can be secured.

H. Organization among the beneficiaries of agency service.
1. Convening of executives to discuss methods of requesting their clients to assist the agency by speaking of the service they have received if they felt it valuable.
a. Letters prepared.
b. Problem considered from all angles.
c. Agreement reached as to its value.
2. Supervision of twenty-four agencies in the sending out of nearly fifteen thousand letters.
a. Need for many types.
b. Various methods of distribution.
c. Job of keeping the agency on the course of attempting to secure outspoken private testimony among client's friends and fellow-workmen as to value to them of services rendered.

I. Use of material in general campaign publicity.
1. Discussion with publicity leaders.
2. Ways and means.
3. Presentation of evidence to editorial writers.
4. Preparation of general printed statement (see page 204).

J. Organization of detailed data for instant use by campaign workers when needed.
1. Presentation of information to campaign workers.
2. A filing system to make data available.
3. Personal counsel to campaign workers about methods of use.

K. Analysis of results.
1. How did the plan work?
2. Is there evidence of concrete value?
3. Where were the mistakes: in the project itself, in its application, and in the strategy of disseminating information?

L. Organizing data for use next year, as to proper filing, a written analysis for a guide, a discussion with the agencies involved, and a discussion with the campaign leaders.

M. Consideration of social significance of data beyond its immediate use.
1. How much of the total service of chest agencies is rendered to employed people as contrasted to others?
2. How much of the total cost goes into such service?
3. Do results square with planning?

COMMENTS ON THIS PROJECT AS A METHOD OF FIELD INSTRUCTION

A field assignment comprising full-time work over a considerable period of time needs to include certain essential elements if it is to result satisfactorily for the student, the school, and the agency. Some of these needs or objectives are summarized below:

1. A specific piece of work should be offered.

2. Completion or substantial progress should be possible within the period of the assignment.

3. The work should bring the student in close touch with the professional staff.

4. It should offer a reasonable possibility for the student to observe and, if possible, to participate in the functioning machinery of the organization, such as committee activity, meetings of the governing board, staff procedure, and relationships with other agencies and with the public.

5. The value of the field assignment is increased if the student is made responsible for certain routine administrative duties which normally occur in the work he is doing, such as the calling of committees, writing of minutes, purchase of supplies, management of clerical assistants, operating within budgetary limitations, using office machinery; that is, in general he should be given an opportunity to familiarize himself with day-to-day procedure.

6. Any assignment which cuts across a number of functional activities within an agency affords a highly desirable variety of experience, but this type of project is not easy to work out.

7. Some general commitment should be made by the agency to afford general observational opportunities in all parts of the agency program, so that the assignment will be comprehensively instructive, even if the project itself is narrow.

8. While the agency has many responsibilities to make a field-work assignment valuable, the more fundamental obligations fall upon the school. No project can be successful and no agency can carry out its end of the work unless the student is mature in judgment and action. He must have a working knowledge of social-work procedures, possess a sound theoretical background, have had practicing experience, and be intelligent and interesting.

The particular project outlined had within it most of the fundamentals described as essential in this type of field-work instruction. Cer-

tainly the school did its duty in the matter of student selection, as the individual involved was not only a promising professional, but already had an established record of proven ability. Also the school was careful to determine in advance the character of work to be done in the agency and insisted upon regular reports from both the student and the supervisor. The agency contributed a worth-while opportunity and received real value from the project.

The limitations to this method of intensive field training in administration lie in the difficulties of finding satisfactory assignments. Some which have been used with good results to both agency and student, like the one outlined, cannot be repeated in the same organization. But there is no end to creative endeavor, and new ideas are constantly occurring to meet ever changing conditions. Keeping in mind the varied fields of administrative operation, the large number of efficient agencies, and the limited number of experienced students competent to be given training of this character, little doubt exists that the need can be met.

Formal agreements between school, student, and agency are necessary for intensive field work in administration. They may be analyzed as follows:

A. The school should agree:
   1. Not to assign immature students without some practical experience.
   2. To contact the agency intermittently to receive criticisms of the student and to give the student advice and guidance.
   3. To provide an outline for periodic reporting by student and agency.
   4. To remove the student at the agency's request.

B. The student should agree:
   1. To keep office hours and submit himself willingly to the necessary disciplines for office operation.
   2. To perform the jobs assigned to the best of his ability.
   3. To help with general work as long as such assignment does not conflict seriously with his main task.
   4. Not to waste time of the staff by unreasonable questions.
   5. To respect the confidential nature of the organization's business.

C. The agency should agree:
   1. To regard the person as a student and not as an employee.
   2. To put in writing a description of the assignment.
   3. To provide an opportunity for the student to observe, as far as possible, the general administration of its whole program.
   4. To offer a minimum of two to three hours a week of personal conference with the student by the two or three ranking staff executives or supervisors.
   5. To provide some specific individual as the student's supervisor.

6. To make reasonable written reports on the progress of the student, as requested by the school.

Agreements containing some of the points noted, as well as others, might tend to clarify the responsibilities of all three parties. When an action cannot produce harm it is well to try it, and such agreements constitute that kind of harmless action.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT ON FIELD WORK

It should be repeated again that all this discussion of field work in administration is merely suggestive to teachers, students, and social agencies. It is not an outline of a definite course of instruction. It makes no attempt to provide anything approaching coverage of the subject matter. It is not proposed as a substitute for present school procedures.

Instruction of students constitutes one of the major concerns in the whole field of social-work administration. Since no completely satisfactory technique has yet been devised for it, it is a problem which should receive the constructive attention of social-work executives. For some years the writer, as a part-time member of a professional school faculty, has been experimenting with practical ways of meeting the need for field-work instruction, and the suggestions offered in the detailed outlines in the foregoing pages are some of those which he knows have been tried out through actual student participation. Some procedures have worked better than others. Certain assignments have been successfully carried out by one student, whereas another received but little value from them. More intensive work and further experimenting needs to be done before the methods suggested can be considered to have proved their worth. But though at the present writing these methods are still badly in need of refinement, they do afford a starting point for the further constructive consideration of teachers, students, and social agency leaders.

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INDEX

INDEX