

MOTHERS WHO MUST WORK

A Study of the Implementation and Effects
of Public Assistance Laws Requiring the Employment
of Mothers of Dependent Children, Washington, 1959.

by

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ABSTRACT

For public assistance agencies in the United States, administrative suggestion and legislative direction has been increasingly focused on the encouragement and even coercion of mothers of dependent children to take paid employment. This has been concurrent with increasing public assistance costs during a period of relative prosperity. A common concern of social work, however, is that maternal absence from the family, whether for employment or for other reasons, promotes, under certain circumstances, family failure. This has occasioned value conflict for social work oriented personnel in public welfare agencies, and a searching after a refined methodology to apply to determinations of employability.

The methods and results of the implementation of such a legislative directive to remove employable ADC mothers from grants in Washington State in 1959 are explored. A sample of 800 cases in which mothers had been removed from grants because of employability between July 1, 1959 and January 1, 1960 was read to schedule. The study is concerned with what criteria seemed to have been selected by caseworkers as relevant to employability. In relation to the desired result of self-support for employable mothers, the study explores what criteria seemed to have been most relevant. The criteria used and the criteria most effective are analyzed.

Certain popularly expounded criteria were found to be valid and others invalid. The study applies value assumptions and theory to certain practical aspects of casework and proposes that success or lack of success relative to an employment goal can be predicted through an understanding of the value system of the public assistance recipient.

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CHAPTER 1

MOTHERHOOD, EMPLOYMENT AND PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

In the decade preceding this writing, the various legislatures of the United States have attempted many solutions to the problems that have confronted their respective communities concerning the purpose, administration and implementation of the Aid to Dependent Children program. Increasing caseloads, increasing costs and anti-social, illegal or immoral actions on the part of some clients, but attributed to all clients, have led to restrictive measures and misguided seekings after simple solutions to problems whose sources are multiple and dynamic.

Louisiana and Florida adopted suitable home provisions which precluded giving assistance to a child whose mother had had an illegitimate child after the receipt of an assistance check. Such provisions were seen as an attempt to impose a higher standard of conduct on those in need than could be enforced on the population as a whole, and contrary to the broad purpose of Aid to Dependent Children. They were later abandoned or altered under Federal pressure, but other states responded to like problems with other measures. Margaret Greenfield describes the California experience:

By the time the 1951 Legislature met, a complete change in climate had set in with regard to Aid to Needy Children. Making the California law conform with the Social

Security Act had brought about an immediate spurt in the ANC caseload and a resulting rise in total costs. This led to widespread attacks on the program and pressure on the legislature to bring about economizing changes. The program was accused of fostering illegitimacy, dependency and other evils. As a result . . . the legislature made 19 changes, all but five of which can be considered restrictive.¹

Among these was a provision whereby children could be disqualified for assistance if their parents refuse to accept reasonable employment or vocational rehabilitation training.

In a similar climate, the 1959 legislature of the State of Washington incorporated into the Public Assistance appropriations bill of that year, the following directive:

Provided, that no payments of aid to dependent children assistance shall be made from this appropriation on behalf of an employable parent or relative with whom the child lives unless the director of public assistance determines that the employment of the parent or relative with whom the child lives would result in danger and/or substantial impairment to the physical or mental well-being of the child.²

But Washington, like all cooperating states, must conform to the program objectives outlined in the Social Security Act, Title IV, section 401.

For the purpose of encouraging the care of dependent children in their own homes or in the homes of relatives by enabling each State to furnish financial assistance and other services, as far as practicable under the conditions in such States, to needy dependent children and the parents or relatives with whom they are living to help maintain and strengthen family life and to help

1. Greenfield, Margaret, Self-Support in Aid to Dependent Children - The California Experience, University of California, Berkeley, 1956, p. 37.

2. State of Washington, Chapter 12, Laws of 1959, Extraordinary Session.

such parents or relatives to attain the maximum self-support and personal independence consistent with the maintenance of continued parental care and support.

This declaration has usually been interpreted as expressing an underlying philosophy that the mother should be in the home to supervise the rearing of her children. That it is desirable for some mothers receiving assistance to be employed outside the home has long been recognized.¹ Previously, however, the decision whether or not to enter paid employment had been considered a personal one that must be made by the mother and her family. Utilizing the mother's employability as a test of eligibility marks a departure from this long-standing principle. It militates against the analysis of individual situations by means of the social assessment and, instead, sanctions the imposition of generalizations where a multiplicity of factors make generalizations difficult to justify. Nevertheless, in 1960 alone, 17 states made it mandatory for employable mothers to work outside the home.²

The Good Mother

The increasing incidence of mothers with young children working outside the home has led to a questioning of the former

1. In the present study, 24.2% of the mothers in the sample were employed and offsetting some of their assistance need at the time their needs were deleted from the assistance budget. The most drastic effect on those women earning the equivalent of their own assistance need was the loss of medical care services through the program.

2. Schorr, Alvin, "Problems in ADC Program," Social Work, Vol. V, No. 2, April 1960, pp. 7-8.

conception of the mother role prevailing in North America. Some skill or occupation outside the wife and mother role is now almost assumed, and the expression "just a housewife" increasingly synonymous with low status.¹ The fact that concurrently, there remains widespread conviction that woman's place is properly in the home is not disputed. In 1956, a Market Research Associates survey of residents of Vancouver, B.C. asked, "Do you think married women with employed husbands should work?" 76 per cent disapproved of married women with children working because "the family's interests shouldn't be sacrificed" or "a mother should be looking after her children," etc.² Such phenomena serve to illustrate the schism in instrumental values governing society's ambitions for optimum family life, and the expectations attaching to the mother role.

What is a good mother? Nominally, she is a teacher of values, and a physical custodian during the early years who raises her children to, at least, not threaten society and, at best, to serve it. The decision for the community as regards its members who require Public Assistance is how to best legislate for the achievement of this aim. Is a child's growth and development less likely to be inhibited by a working mother who may or may not be able to provide an adequate financial standard

1. Bardal, M., Rogerson, E., Dick, M., The Married Woman in Employment, M.S.W. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1956, p. 36.

2. Ibid., p. 6.

for him? Or should he spend his early years with his mother in the home in a situation which usually involves low status and the lowest possible economic standard?

Researchers have provided some guidelines. Dr. John Bowlby in his investigation for the World Health Organization concluded:

Partial deprivation brings in its train acute anxiety, excessive need for love, powerful feelings of revenge and . . . guilt and depression. The consequent disturbance of psychic organization then leads to a variety of responses often repetitive and cumulative, the end products of which are symptoms of neurosis and instability of character.¹

Dr. Bowlby saw the effects of maternal deprivation or changes in the maternal figure as most devastating in children four years of age or younger.²

Social theorists have viewed juvenile delinquency as partly a consequence of inadequate supervision in the home occasioned by the mother's absence.

When the current senate inquiry hears . . . from those who charge that juvenile delinquency is caused by working mothers and that we must get mothers back into the home, which of the public welfare people will rise to point out how ADC is in some jurisdictions being perverted so that it becomes a "push mother out of the home" program³

1. Bowlby, John, Maternal Care and Mental Health (1952), pp. 11-12.

2. In the present study, 60.6% of the cases sampled were found to have children four years of age or younger at the time the mother was removed from the grant.

3. Beck, Bertram W., "Juvenile Delinquency - A Public Welfare Responsibility," Public Welfare, Vol. XII, April 1954, pp. 53-54.

That the employed mother in the general population can be so uniformly injurious to her child's development to justify such concern is yet to be established. Other writers see a preponderance of benefits to children under such circumstances. Successful performance in an employment role where such roles are of increasing value, can enhance performance in the mother role.¹ Stress in the mother-child relationship may be lessened if the mother is able to use her employment as a safety valve for her tensions. The child's potential for acceptable and satisfying adjustment is helped to realization through identification with the model of self-maintenance and stability that the employed parent may provide.²

Clinicians have recognized an excessive focus in past mental health theory upon the mother as well-spring of all disturbances in the emotional development of her children.

Surely, the responsibility . . . for disturbances in child personality involve the mother . . . but never exclusively. Both the causation and correction of such disturbances must be shared by the father . . . and community as well.³

Such recognition that the mothering process is not carried on in isolation serves to highlight the special problems surrounding

1. Mertz, Alice, "Working Mothers in the Aid to Dependent Children Program," Public Welfare, July, 1952, pp. 64-68.

2. Josselyn, Irene, "Should Mothers Work?" Social Service Review, Vol. 23, March 1949, p. 76.

3. Ackerman, Nathan, The Psychodynamics of Family Life, Basic Books, New York, 1958, p. 174.

mother-child relationships in families receiving Aid to Dependent Children, and the handicaps under which the mother attempts to meet society's expectation to be "good."

All cases reveal a failure or interruption in normal family relationships whether caused by illness, divorce, desertion or incarceration. The remaining parent, usually the mother, carries total responsibility for maintaining the home and rearing the children. Normal marital relations are denied the remaining parent, and normal parental relations to the children. The marginal or inadequate income provided by Public Assistance often presents problems of adjustment to a low standard of living, material deprivation, and, frequently, an enforced social isolation. Problems of personality and physical and mental illness are often manifested. It is commonly in this stress-ridden context that the ADC mother must perform her mother role. The expectation of North American society for this role is that the mother will ensure for her child a sense of physical and emotional well-being. How she accomplishes this is determined by her basic attitudes and feelings toward the mother role. Elsewhere,¹ it has been written that there are five factors which primarily influence or detract for the mother's enjoyment of her role. These are the marital relationship, demands of the children, lack of finances, immaturity and personal feelings of

1. Law, Shirley, "The Mother of the Happy Child," Smith College Studies in Social Work, October 1954.

inadequacy. Several or all of these factors might be assumed to be present in all ADC cases to a degree sufficient to render the family unit incapable of meeting its needs in one of the more acceptable need meeting institutions.

The Working Mother

Currently, more than one-third of the women of working age in the United States are employed or are seeking employment.¹ Just prior to the turn of the century less than 20 per cent of the women were employed.² Working women fall into four general categories: the single woman, the married woman with no children, the married woman with children, and the woman with children who is the head-of-household. The most dramatic change in the employment pattern for women during the first half of the century has been the steadily increasing proportion of married women in the labor force. More specifically, there were only 4.8 per cent married women employed in 1890³ while the figure for 1953 was 25 per cent,⁴ a phenomenal increase. By the end of

1. Wilensky, Harold L., and LeBeaux, Charles N., Industrial Society and Social Welfare. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1958, p. 73.

2. Jaffee, A. J., and Stewart, Charles D., Manpower Resources and Utilization: Principles of Working Force Analysis. New York: Wiley and Sons, 1951, p. 164.

3. Ibid., p. 172.

4. Glick, Paul C., "The Life Cycle of the Family," Marriage and Family Living, No. 17, February 1955, p. 9.

the first half of the century the number of married women working was greater than for the single woman. Of great recent impetus to this trend was the need for "women-power" during World War II. The beginning impetus for women entering the labor force was the Industrial Revolution. It had the effect of creating more jobs which women were physically capable of performing, and coexisting was the fact that they were a less expensive labor resource. Prior to the turn of the century, single women were the only significant female group working outside the home; for the most part the mothers who found they must work did so by "taking in" work or performing domestic tasks in other homes which allowed their younger children to be with them. Marriage or re-marriage was yet the most satisfactory and the most respectable solution to the financial needs of women.

In addition to the more basic effects of the Industrial Revolution there are the other forces which have had profound influence in shaping the course of women's permanent place in the labor market. In direct response to the Industrial Revolution was the increasing necessity for legal protection of women from undue exploitation a temptation to industry because of women's earlier inferior bargaining position in the labor field. It was not until after the turn of the century that any major legislation was enacted for their protection. For example, in 1911 there were only two states which had eight-hour days established for women in the manufacturing industries.¹ Gradually

1. Washington and California.

protections for them were included along with those established for men, and the greatest strides were made in the 1930's with the passing of the National Labor Relation Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act.¹ For the first time standards which had been recommended by the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor were becoming enforceable. Another force was the progression towards political equality which had its beginnings in the feminist movements of the late nineteenth century. With its adoption in 1920 the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution guaranteed suffrage for women and movements on their behalf found a new emphasis. Professor Richard M. Titmuss comments on the changing perspective for women:

In the field of employment opportunities, as in so many other fields, new issues for social policy are taking shape as a consequence of these changes in the position of women in society. The problems of State policy which the woman's movement of fifty years ago brought to the fore were largely political; those raised by the women's movements of today are largely social.²

In the quest for equal status on the one hand and protection on the other the inherent nature of the conflict between these forces can be seen. This characterizes the present-day role conflicts for women in employment--the biological differences between the sexes and the accompanying child-rearing responsibilities for women cannot be disregarded. The desire for

1. Bernard, Jessie, Social Problems at Midcentury. New York: The Dryden Press, 1957, p. 348.

2. Titmuss, Richard M., Essays on 'The Welfare State.' London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1958, p. 103.

complete equality with man in employment had been expressed in the slogan, "equal pay for equal work." To some extent this expression persists, but Jessie Bernard points out that today this increasingly tends to be expressed in less uncompromising terms:

Proposed legislation at the present time usually speaks of equal pay for "work of comparable character, the performance of which requires comparable skills."¹

That the working mother has been a prominent feature of the changes in the value system in America is quite generally recognized. Sixty years ago firm agreement existed within society at large that a mother's primary contribution was to her family--and this included her physical presence in the home at all times. She represented a constantly available source of physical and emotional support to her family. Commonly she was the interpreter of family values while traditionally the father took responsibility for their explicit establishment. The role of the mother was, indeed, quite rigidly defined. The values, instrumental and ultimate, were not as generally in conflict as today; very basic was the autonomy of the family unit and its independence went relatively unchallenged. This, of course, was quite in harmony with the societal value of free enterprise so explicitly expressed in the prevailing political and economic philosophies. A brief glance at the changes that have taken place in the autonomous nature of the family will show that the

1. Bernard, op. cit., p. 348.

mother no longer functions relatively independently as the interpreter of values; the television programs (particularly the family situation comedies), institutionalized interpreters such as social workers, and the "humanized" role of the father are only a few of the forces actively interpreting societal values. That there now exists conflict in the values held by the family unit within a changing societal context is demonstrated in some of the reasons women chose to work. Wilensky and LeBeaux offer the following reasons:

. . . to supplement family income (an aspect of rising levels of aspiration for self and children), to support their families (a necessity for an increasing number of head broken families), to achieve "self fulfillment" (a reflection of the changing definition of woman's role), and because the opportunities have increased (an aspect of the shift toward work assignment on the basis of "what you can do" and the fact that women can do an increasing portion of the jobs available.¹

Consistent with changing expectations surrounding woman's role in society and her increasing potentiality for paid employment, eleven states by 1956 had amended their Aid to Dependent Children laws in such a way as to compel many mothers to take employment outside the home. Such laws were avowedly an attempt to encourage public assistance recipients to become self-supporting, but in administration frequently proved to be coercive, punitive and compounding the social distress of those affected. For example, in some jurisdictions assistance was denied because of the availability of work and potentiality of

1. Wilensky and Lebeaux, op. cit., p. 74.

earnings with little regard to the individual wishes or requirements of the recipient. Changing societal values became, in this regard, a rationale for the further disfranchisement of society's most socially disadvantaged group. Former assumptions regarding the general desirability of the mother remaining in the home with her children were abandoned in favor of rehabilitation and self-support goals dictated, in large part, by the changing personality of the Aid to Dependent Children caseloads.

Mothers and Children on Public Assistance

Before the beginning of the twentieth century, the usual prospect for children of impoverished families was commitment to almshouses or other institutions. In the past 50 years, foster family placement and "out door" financial aid have replaced institutions as the major implements of child welfare. The preference for the former was largely prompted by a spreading conviction that children develop best in their own home in the care of their mothers and suffer psychologically if separated from their usual family setting. But why should the question of whether or not to take employment become any greater an issue for the dependent mother than for any other mother in the community? It is, in part, a product of the disagreement and confusion regarding the orientation of the ADC program that is rooted in its earliest beginnings.

The confusion can be briefly stated as that between a program designed to help parents (or relatives acting as parents) with the costs of bringing up children who have suffered a disaster in the loss of the care or supporting ability of one or both of their parents and a program designed to assure certain benefits, social as well as economic, for children who are in this condition with the child's parent in something of the position of a trustee for his child.¹

The early Mother's Pension programs of various states which were consolidated in the ADC program are often cited as examples of a family-centered as opposed to a child-centered approach. President Theodore Roosevelt keynoted the first White House conference on children in 1909.

Children of parents of worthy character, suffering from temporary misfortune, and children of reasonably efficient and deserving mothers who are without the support of the normal breadwinner, should as a rule be kept with their parents, such aid being given as may be necessary to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of the children.²

In this statement, and in the administration of the various state programs which developed from this conference, prime emphasis was placed upon the condition of the parent in considering eligibility for such aid, admittedly with considerable attention to the "deserving" quality of the parent. In addition to giving a certain eminence to the mother's position, the word "pension" implies that receipt was likely to be of long duration, and not

1. Keith-Lucas, Alan, Decisions About People in Need, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1957, p. 64.

2. United States Senate, Proceedings of the Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, Document No. 721, 1909, pp. 192-93.

focused upon a self-support goal while children remained in the home.

The position of the parent in relation to the law which enables ADC, and the implications of this position for her family, and the fulfillment of the "legislative intent," has long been a subject of debate. The only reasonable conclusion appears to be that different people in different times will find in the law what they wish to find in accordance with their own values. There is now a growing consensus that public assistance laws contain a self-support or rehabilitation intent. The Washington law under discussion is an expression of that view. Similarly, the 1956 amendment to the Social Security Act expressed as a purpose of the program "to help . . . parents or relatives to attain the maximum self-support and personal independence possible consistent with continuing parental care and protection."

The rehabilitation motive is nothing new to public assistance. A generation ago, reformers of the English poor laws debated whether assistance programs administered as a matter of right could properly encompass rehabilitation services. To this date, British social welfare policy generally discourages the rehabilitation motive as conducive to manipulation, control and the excessive investment of discretionary power in one individual over the destiny of another.

The federal agency administering the ADC program has consistently interpreted it as a rights program, and it is

difficult in the original legislation to identify any other intent. It seems reasonable that ADC was intended as a rights program because of its close association with the social insurance program enacted at the same time. An expectation that the recipient involve himself in a rehabilitation objective would conflict with the "rights" principle. The possibility, however, that a recipient of ADC can receive assistance without the expectation that he will so involve himself is increasingly remote.

The populations of North America, for the present time, seem to have rejected the concept of public assistance as a social institution which has the single function of augmenting the economic arrangements of society. Assistance is not considered an acceptable means for individuals to meet their financial needs in the way that, for example, employment is. It is less frequently seen, even by clients themselves, as an instrument of social justice, or as a possible compensation for services to the community, as in days of yore.

Many tenets of Christendom support the private enterprise system in the belief that economic aid provided by other than one's own endeavor or that of his family is by nature a gratuity that should be classified as charity rather than as a right. This culturally "inherited" conviction results in the belief that the use of the tax power for this purpose makes the government a benefactor and thereby gives those who administer such funds the duty of regulating and sitting in judgment on the behavior of legally qualified recipients of funds not individually earned. People who hold these convictions tacitly assume or overtly say that those who administer public assistance ought to supervise the use

to which the money is put, especially to see that none of it is spent on items covered by the phrase "wine, women and song." It is even contended that public assistance recipients should not be allowed to live in a manner that endangers their health lest they become a still greater expense to the public, and that procreation should be restricted for the same reason.¹

It would seem that these values have not been consistently dominant in recent times. The period that gave us much of our present social legislation--the 1930's--was one in which millions of persons who had previously been financially self-sufficient found themselves dependent on public funds because of conditions in the economy over which they as individuals had little control.

The changed goals of public assistance have followed upon changes in the characteristics of case loads, increasing welfare costs and increasing prosperity for the general population since the end of World War II. Costs have risen in response to increases in the population potentially eligible for aid. Types of assistance formerly available, such as Civilian Conservation Corps and Works Progress Administration, have disappeared, and an increasing amount of need is thus met in ADC. Relaxation of eligibility requirements during the decade 1940-50 served to shift more persons from general assistance roles. The rate of inflation has increased more rapidly than the incomes of the lowest paid groups in the population. The expansion of social insurance benefits in recent years has occasioned a shift

1. Hollis, E. V., and Taylor, A. L., Social Work Education in the United States. New York, 1951, pp. 205-6.

in the sources of deprivation discovered on assistance rolls. Social Security and veteran's benefits have taken care of a larger proportion of families, leaving as recipients a larger proportion of families whose deprivation is ascribed to some form of disordered behavior such as mental illness, divorce, desertion, illegitimacy and neglect. This has led to many allegations that dependency is the cause of such behavior, giving rise to demands for self-support or "rehabilitation."

There is considerable confusion about what rehabilitation is. Most commonly, the state of being rehabilitated is synonymous with freedom of the individual from dependence upon public assistance monies. The concept may be broadened to "a strengthening of family life" whether the financial base of that family life is public assistance or something else. Social workers are concerned with adjustment to the maximum extent possible in accordance with the individuals' capabilities to other individuals and situations within the environment with which they are interacting.

In considering the employment of ADC mothers, one must question whether self-support is the central feature of the rehabilitation motive. Is maximum adjustment or maximum social functioning to be strictly equated with financial self-maintenance? Is rehabilitation possible when it is not sought? To these questions legislators, administrators and social workers must address themselves.

Method

The study population selected was mothers who were removed from ADC grants in conformance with the employability determination requirement in the 1959 Washington State Public Assistance Appropriations Act. The boundaries of this study were further defined as follows: 1) the cases would be selected from the files of the King County Office of the State Department of Public Assistance; 2) they would be limited to families from which the father, for whatever reason, was absent from the home; and 3) the period to be studied would be those six months between July 1, 1959, the effective date of the Act, and January 1, 1960.

The only available source for locating the above described study subjects was daily transmittal lists which certified assistance recipients for medical care. These showed any additions or deletions or names from assistance grants. A review of May through December lists revealed that 801 caretaker mothers in the county were removed from ADC grants. The May and June lists were included, since authorizations made during those months would become effective July 1, 1959.

By selecting every eighth name from the list of 801 who met the above outlined criteria for study, a sample of 100 was arrived at. Because the identifying data on the transmittal lists were not absolutely infallible, it was found that substitutions were necessary in seven instances. Substitutions were

made by selecting the next name on the compiled list. Much later in the study it was found that one case had been transferred to another county--no substitution was made in this instance.

Of the final sample of 99 cases, 54 were found to be in the inactive files, the remaining 45 active cases being distributed throughout the county's three branch offices.

A reading schedule (see Appendix A) was adapted to meet the requirements of this study from a statement of major problems in public assistance outlined by Wayne Vasey.¹ Some of the more specific problem areas were not included, since such information could be obtained only through interviews with the subjects; this was not within the intended design of this study. Provision was made for a remarks section so that necessary explanatory notes and pertinent additions could be made.

The representativeness of the sample must be considered in terms of some of the variables operative at that time. It should be scarcely necessary to point out the differential approach of staff members to such a problem as the determination of employability. Other significant factors contributing to variance were: the section on employability in the Appropriations Act was so broadly stated that it left considerable latitude for interpretation; present was the expectation that as many determinations as possible would be made to meet the

1. Vasey, Wayne, Government and Social Welfare (Roles of Federal, State, and Local Governments in Administering Welfare Services). New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1958, pp. 172-176.

effective date of the Act thus preventing adequate written interpretation; instructions and interpretations were given to county staff verbally. As a result, not only would there be differences in the interpretations given in the various county offices, but differences would exist among the three branch offices in King County. One of the purposes of this study is to identify criteria for employability as they were used, and to determine which criteria were applied uniformly and those which were not.

The variances which might occur in the recording of data on the reading schedule were kept to a minimum by continual consultation, on a case-to-case basis, between the two readers.

CHAPTER 2

THE SHORT VIEW: TO BE EMPLOYED OR NOT EMPLOYED

Eight hundred women were considered employable by the King County Office and their needs removed from the grant in the period from July 1, 1959 through December 1959. Some were already employed, some later found some form of work, some did not. What can be learned of the etiology of their success or failure?

Initially, the sample of 99 was divided into two groups--those who were already employed or found any kind of work from the date of their removal to February 1962, and those who never did. The twenty-four women already employed and the thirty-six who later found work, superficially at least, constitute some sort of success in relation to the self-support motive of the legislation. They are, hereafter, designated "Group A." Those who never found any form of work are referred to as "Group B." The experience of three cases in regard to employment or non-employment was unknown because of deficiencies in recording. At the time of the sampling (February 1962) two of these cases were closed and one was open.

Current case status and the timing of removal of the casehead from the grant over a period of six months are shown in

Tables 1 and 2. A shorter period of planning and preparation of the client for employment or the consequences of a reduced income is implied for those who were removed effective July 1.

Table 1. Group A: Mothers Who Eventually Found Work.
(Effective Date of Removal and Case Status, February 1962)

Present Case Status (2/62)	Effective Date of Removal from Grant						Total
	7/1	8/1	9/1	10/1	11/1	12/1	
Open	13	3	3	4	0	1	24
Closed	19	8	5	3	0	1	36
Total	32	11	8	7	0	2	60

Table 2. Group B: Mothers Who Never Found Work.
(Effective Date of Removal and Case Status, February 1962)

Present Case Status (2/62)	Effective Date of Removal from Grant						Total
	7/1	8/1	9/1	10/1	11/1	12/1	
Open	9	6	5	1	0	0	21
Closed	9	3	2	1	0	0	15
Total	18	9	7	2	0	0	36

In fact, "planning" for this vanguard group almost exclusively consisted of either a letter, one home visit or office interview,

a telephone call, a combination of any of these customary administrative actions, or as in some cases, no notification of any kind until after removal.

A comparison of the two tables suggests that Group A was somewhat favored in the matter of the timing of removal from the grant in relation to the first enunciation in the law of employment of mothers. A higher proportion of women in Group A were removed later than the July 1 deadline. A percentage breakdown shows that 94 per cent of Group B were removed before October 1, while only 75 per cent of Group A had been removed during the same period. When one excludes from Group A those who were already employed on July 1, the percentage is reduced to 45 per cent.

What may account for the marked decrease after October 1? By administrative suggestion as many as possible were to be removed by the July 1 deadline so that within two or three months the caseworkers may have run out of possible candidates for self-support. Interpretive material on who may be considered employable (see Appendix B) was provided in late August 1959. Because of the improbability that its requisites could be met in many public assistance cases the material, if considered, may have served to lower the rate of removal. Possibly too, an awareness on the part of caseworkers that the summary removal of mothers from assistance did not tend to make them immediately self-supporting (many cases were restored to grants within short

periods after removal for a variety of reasons) was influential in this change.

Administratively, the most accessible measure of success for the action under discussion is the relative status of the cases at the present time (2/62). Are they "open" or "closed"? At this time, 60 per cent of Group A and 42 per cent of Group B are closed, a fact which tends to support the contention of success for Group A in light of the "independence" motive of the law.

A more detailed examination of Group A reveals that of those removed effective July 1, 1959, 59 per cent were in closed status 32 months later. Of those removed effective August 1, 73 per cent were closed; effective September 1, 63 per cent closed; October 1, 43 per cent; and December 1, 50 per cent. None were removed during November. For Group B the percentages are as follows: 50 per cent of those removed the first month (7/59) were in closed status 32 months later, of August removals 33 per cent closed, September 29 per cent closed, and October, 50 per cent. None were removed after that. None of the mothers of Group B left the assistance rolls as a consequence of employment.

It is appropriate, here, to further analyze the status of those in Group A who were removed effective July 1, 1959. As stated previously 24 or 25 per cent of the persons removed at that time were already employed and offsetting a part of their

assistance needs by this means.

While the numerical figure places a greater number in closed status, a percentage development of the table indicates that a somewhat larger percentage of those employed at the time of the first implementation of the law are still open. This

Table 3. Caretakers Removed July 1, 1959.
(Employment and Case Status in
February 1962)

Present Case Status (2/62)	Caretakers Removed Effective 7/1/59		Total
	Employed	Not Employed	
Open	10	3	13
Closed	14	5	19
Total	24	8	32

tends to weaken the proposal of success for this group. While they have consistently or periodically offset some of their assistance need, they have remained on Public Assistance over a fairly long period.

In terms of employment status at time of removal and the timing of removal, only slight variations are discernible. It is not possible to attribute to these factors alone any substantial influence on the 1959 experience.

It is the writers' personal recollection that the criteria most frequently promoted by administration during this episode

involved the number of children in the home and their ages. It was assumed that the mother with no pre-school children, and with relatively few children in the home was a better prospect for self-support. Were the criteria used and with what effect?

No criteria were involved in the removal of those employed on July 1 except that they were already employed. They are therefore not included in Table 4. As a whole, Group A, the successful group, had fewer children. Sixty-four per cent had two or fewer. In Group B only 47 per cent had two or fewer children. In terms of age, a smaller number of children in Group A were pre-school age (44 per cent), while 69 per cent of the children in Group B were pre-school age (five years or under).

Age and number of children seems to have been scarcely exercised as a significant criterion for employability. Taking the entire sample less those already employed on July 1, 56 per cent had two or fewer children and 57 per cent had children under school age. However, the validity of such a criterion might even be questioned in considering the statistics of those mothers who were employed on July 1. Fifty-eight per cent of this group had two or fewer children, but a remarkable 75 per cent had pre-school aged children.

The health of the family unit and "negative behavior patterns" on the part of the children, i.e., the existence or non-existence thereof, might most immediately be considered as criteria for employability. In reading cases, the authors

Table 4. Group A: Mothers Who Eventually Found Work.
(Ages and Number of Children)

Number of Children in Home	Age of Youngest Child								Total
	Under 1 Yr.	1-2	2-3	3-5	5-8	8-12	12-15	15-18	
1		2		2	2	2	3	1	12
2	1		3	3	2	2			11
3				1	3				4
4						3			3
5				2	2				4
6+	2								2
Total	3	2	3	8	9	7	3	1	36

Table 5. Group B: Mothers Who Never Found Work.
(Ages and Number of Children)

Number of Children in Home	Age of Youngest Child								Total
	Under 1 Yr.	1-2	2-3	3-5	5-8	8-12	12-15	15-18	
1		2	3			1	1		7
2	1			5	2	1	1		10
3		3	1	1		2			7
4	1	1		2	1	1	1		7
5				2					2
6+	1			2					3
Total	3	6	4	12	3	5	3		36

defined for themselves a "negative behavior pattern" as any behavior stated or implied in the record which involved noticeable deviation from the reasonable expectations attached to the child's role by significant persons in his role network--the mother, school authorities, law enforcement, neighbors, the social worker, etc. In the sample a "negative behavior pattern" could involve a variety of situations ranging from repeated juvenile offenses and truancy to discipline problems complained of by the mother or observed by social workers visiting in the home.

A health problem was any problem diagnosed medically or complained of by the client involving the physical and mental health of herself or her children. Problems thought to be emotional but not involving a somatic complaint were also included. Of course emotions could potentially be closely allied, if not the well-spring of the physical problems the clients reported. Such negative behavior patterns and health problems in being tabulated pre-existed the removal of the caretaker from the grant as far as the readers could determine. Furthermore, the readers could find no instance where such problems were solved or even helped by the removal of the caretaker from the grant. In fact, in many instances pre-existent problems were compounded to a point where they finally impinged themselves on the awareness of the caseworkers who were either too busy or too unconcerned to have been aware of them before.

The health and behavior picture for the families of those energetic ladies already employed in July 1959 is depicted in Table 6.

Table 6. Mothers Already Employed on July 1, 1959.
(Health Problems and Negative Behavior Patterns)

Health Problem	Negative Behavior Pattern			Total
	Yes	No	Unknown	
Yes	2	4	2	8
No	2	10	4	16
Unknown				
Total	4	14	6	24

The "successful" group of women who did eventually find some type of employment, but were not employed on July 1, present a different picture in regard to behavior and health factors, if superficially a somewhat confused and contradictory one. Their predicament is set forth in Table 7 and possible at once are some interesting speculations about the health factors.

A more careful analysis of the statistics on health factors in this group suggest a heavy reliance on physical health as a criterion for employability. That a fair degree of physical health is a requisite to employment cannot be disputed. Also, as a factor in social planning it tends to be more

Table 7. Group A: Mothers Who Eventually Found Work.
(Health Problems and Negative Behavior Patterns)

Health Problem	Negative Behavior Pattern			Total
	Yes	No	Unknown	
Yes	4	16	4	24
No	1	9	1	11
Unknown		1		1
Total	5	26	5	36

measurable and tangible. In view of the uneven quality of fact-finding and recording in public assistance case records, it is interesting that in one group--the mothers already employed--health was considered in every instance, and in those who were to be employed subsequently, the incidence of "unknowns" was a spectacularly low 3 per cent. This would suggest that the mothers themselves viewed their physical health and the health of their families as an easily communicated and comprehended explanation of themselves and their circumstances. In addition, exploration of physical health made it possible for the case-worker, in many instances, to transfer his responsibility for making a decision regarding employability to the screening physician whose medical reports were returned time and again with the patent conclusion "no contraindication to full employment."

It would seem possible that the seeking after and maintaining of employment becomes such an all-consuming goal that mothers and caseworkers have frequently overlooked other factors in the total problem complex. The statistics on negative behavior tend to demonstrate this. For instance, consider the high incidence of unknowns in this area. Among the cases read of mothers who were employed on July 1, 25 per cent contained no data on the behavior of children whether positive, negative or indifferent. Why does the 25 per cent of unknowns drop to 14 per cent among those who are unemployed, but whom the caseworkers are attempting to motivate toward employment? Does this imply a hazardous maternal rejection of the mother role, a rejection handled by the mother through employment, absence from the home, and attendant distance between her and her children? And when mother has achieved that objective of partial self-maintenance, does this family require any other attentions from the caseworker, even when this employment will be pursued in a context of slum living, broken homes, minority group status, limited personality resources and other factors which are themselves hazardous to children? Mothers in the latter group, of course, may offer this as explanation of why they do not work or do not wish to work whether such explanation is to be accepted or not.

The suspected premise of employment as a magic cure to problems must be questioned further in light of the higher

incidence of reported negative behavior among those who were working as opposed to those who were not. A difference of 3 per cent may not be significant of itself, but potentially subject to a more dramatic alteration if the circumstances among the many unknowns in this group could be measured. Further, a factor potentially operative in the measurement of employability or unemployability utilizing health and/or negative behavior patterns is the response of the caseworker herself, a possible majority of whom are working mothers with their own share of problems in this area.

What was the experience in regard to health and behavior of those mothers who never found employment?

Table 8. Group B: Mothers Who Never Found Work.
(Health Problems and Negative Behavior Patterns)

Health Problem	Negative Behavior Pattern			Total
	Yes	No	Unknown	
Yes	4	19	1	24
No	3	9		12
Unknown				
Total	7	28	1	36

That the circumstances of this group were better known than Group A's is indicated by the low incidence of unknowns--

3 per cent in negative behavior and no unknowns concerning health. It is not possible for the writers to say that this greater familiarity was a consequence of this group's prolonged failure to get work with its attendant focus on reasons for this failure, or due to other causes. A high incidence of health problems (67 per cent) indicates inconsistency in the final application of health as a criterion of employability. The presence of health problems did not preclude the removal of these mothers as employable nor of those mothers in Group A who were removed July 1, but later found employment. They reported an identical incidence of health problems--67 per cent.

Group B reported a slightly higher incidence of negative behavior than Group A. The incidence in Group B was 19 per cent as opposed to a 15 per cent total for Group A. Interestingly, 17 per cent of those mothers already employed on July 1 reported negative behavior. The balance of Group A reported 14 per cent.

It might be possible to conclude that those mothers who had independently decided to work before the legislation under discussion became effective were on the whole "healthier" as were their families, since they reported a substantially lower incidence of health problems.

A final group of criteria often proposed as a guide to employability is age, work skill, education and length of time out of the labor force. Data on education was not uniformly a part of the case record as a high incidence of unknowns will

indicate. Educational experience was usually recorded according to the numerical divisions prevailing in North American public education. All subjects except one received their educations in the United States or Canada. Twelfth grade education did not in all instances signify high school graduation.

None of the subjects were illiterate. Six years of education was the lowest encountered, and this ranged up to two years of college. Several persons had educational experience beyond the twelfth grade in vocational schools, business college or similar specialized education.

In the matter of age, recorded material was based on the client's statement and in almost no instance is the mother's age verified. The youngest mother encountered in the sample was eighteen and the oldest was fifty-five.

The circumstances of those women already employed on July 1 are shown in the table below. Forty-six per cent fall into the 10-12 year education range; however, the percentage of unknowns is almost as great as 42 per cent. Only one out of the fourteen whose circumstances were known had less than 10 years of education. The average age of this group is 30.

Two of the women in the group already employed on July 1 had been referred for the vocational rehabilitation services of the Department of Public Instruction. One of these had completed training as a beautician, but was continuing in her former employment as a domestic. The other woman had been trained as

Table 9. Mothers Already Employed on July 1, 1959.
(Age and Years of Education)

Years of Education	Age of Mother						Total
	20 and Under	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	Over 40	
0- 6							
7- 9				1			1
10-12	3	1	4	2	1		11
Over 12	1			1			2
Unknown		2	1	3	2	2	10
Total	4	3	5	7	3	2	24

a dressmaker, but was working as a kitchen helper. As far as could be determined, neither of the women had ever worked in the vocations for which they had been trained.

The circumstances of those women who eventually found work are shown in the following table. This group is significantly older than their sisters who were already employed. Their average age was 34. Forty-four per cent were over 35. Only 21 per cent of those employed on July 1 were over 35. The age statistic poses more questions than it gives possible answers. Were the older families considered more employable when it came to removing mothers from grants? (The statistics of this study have indicated that those families which tended to be employed of

Table 10. Group A: Mothers Who Eventually Found Work.
(Age and Years of Education)

Years of Education	Age of Mother						Total
	20 and Under	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	Over 40	
0- 6							
7- 9		1		3	1	1	6
10-12	1	3	1	2	1	2	10
Over 12		1	1		1		3
Unknown		1	4	2	6	4	17
Total	1	6	6	7	9	7	36

their own volition were younger both in terms of the age of the mother and the ages of the children.) Did age become a factor because of the assumption that the mother had fewer maternal role responsibilities as her family grew older? Did the approaching of eventual ineligibility for ADC (because the children were older or leaving the home) make it imperative that the mother find some other means of support?

In regard to education, the circumstances of a substantial 47 per cent of this group were unknown. Twenty-eight per cent had had from 10 to 12 years of education, substantially less than those already employed. The number in the group who had had less than 10 years increased to 6. Even with the number of unknowns,

one can safely assume that this was a less educated lot.

Continuing our excursion into the fortunes or misfortunes of those who were never employed, but considered employable, the table below offers comparisons of their lot with that of their more "successful" sisters.

Table 11. Group B: Mothers Who Never Found Work.
(Age and Years of Education)

Years of Education	Age of Mother						Total
	20 and Under	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	Over 40	
0- 6					1		1
7- 9	1	1	1	2	1	3	9
10-12	2	3	7	4	1	1	18
Over 12						1	1
Unknown	1		2	2	1	1	7
Total	4	4	10	8	4	6	36

The average age of this group is 31 years. They are neither the youngest nor the oldest group, and their members are fairly evenly distributed over the given age range. They are, however, plainly the least educated. Ten of this group possessed less than a tenth grade education. Interestingly, the lowest incidence of unknowns was encountered in this group--11

per cent. Group B has consistently shown a low incidence of unknowns.

The relevance to employability of work skills and the time elapsed since an individual on assistance had been in the labor force is obvious. The writers elected to classify the subjects in terms of their previous employment experience into the categories of "skilled," "unskilled," and "semi-skilled." Those for whom no work experience could be discerned from the record were classified as "none." Those who had work experience, but for whom the researchers were unable to identify the nature of their work experience were classified as "unknown."

The process of classifying work experience into categories such as "skilled" or "unskilled" is a difficult one and the writers were often forced to be arbitrary and therefore their classification potentially controversial. For example is the occupation of "artistic dancer and stripper" in a burlesque theater to be classified as skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled? Most decisions to be made were less dramatic, but equally difficult.

Of the occupations encountered, the following were classified as skilled: school teacher, dressmaker, nurses aide, telephone operator, power machine operator, pastry chef, clerical worker and beautician. Classified as semi-skilled were waitress and theatrical performer. Unskilled were other bakery work, cannery labor, other manufacturing, domestic, commercial laundry and theater usher.

Elapsed time since last employment is a relevant criterion when considering maintenance of work skills and habits and the currency of skills in view of changing techniques and standards in the industrial and professional areas of employment.

As noted before, many of the mothers were already employed in July, 1959. Of this group, nine were employed in unskilled work, six in semi-skilled work and eight in skilled work. The type of work of one was unknown and never learned prior to termination of contact with the family.

Table 12. Group A: Mothers Who Eventually Found Work.
(Type of Previous Employment and Elapsed Time Since Last Employed)

Type of Previous Employment	Elapsed Time Since Last Employed						Total
	Less than 1 Yr.	1-3	3-5	More than 5 Yrs.	Never	Unknown	
Unskilled	2	5	1	3		1	12
Semi-skilled	2	2	1	4		2	11
Skilled	1	1	1	4	2	1	10
None					1	1	2
Unknown						1	1
Total	5	8	3	11	3	6	36

In regard to previous type of employment, this group is fairly evenly distributed among the classifications of skilled, unskilled, and semi-skilled. Six per cent had no previous work type and the work histories of 3 per cent were unknown. A larger percentage had work within the preceding five years, though a surprising 31 per cent had been out of the labor force more than five years. This was the "oldest" group in the sample both in terms of the age of the mother and the age of the children. Age proved to be some preparation for employment. An impending ineligibility for ADC on the part of the older family may have been a key motivation though possibly one derived more from fear and insecurity than in a desire to be self-supporting. (Any enhancement an older child can be to the mother's employability because of lessened child care problems is purely speculative.) The relatively recent work histories of this group as a whole are reflective of the national tendency for ADC cases to be opened an average of less than three years.

A large portion of Group B (19 per cent) were without any work experience, while only 8 per cent of those who eventually found work (Group A (b)) were without previous work experience. To further expand on this comparison, 44 per cent of Group A (b) had had work experience within the previous three years. Only 17 per cent of Group B had had their work experience as recently. There is no significant difference in the incidence of unknowns.

Table 13. Group B: Mothers Who Never Found Work.
 (Type of Previous Employment and
 Elapsed Time Since Last Employed)

Type of Previous Employment	Elapsed Time Since Last Employed						Total
	Less than 1 Yr.	1-3	3-5	More than 5 Yrs.	Never	Un- known	
Unskilled		4	2	5	1	4	16
Semi-skilled	1	1	1	2		1	6
Skilled			4	1		1	6
None					6	1	7
Unknown						1	1
Total	1	5	7	8	7	8	36

Comparisons are rather clearly drawn in the area of previous work skills. Twenty-eight per cent of Group A (b) possessed experience in skilled occupations, 31 per cent in semi-skilled, and 33 per cent in unskilled. Group B had 44 per cent whose previous work type was unskilled, 17 per cent semi-skilled, and 17 per cent skilled. Group B had 19 per cent with no previous employment as compared to the 6 per cent of Group A (b). This area of work skills looms as a criterion which caseworkers seemed to consider a valid one, since there was such a relatively low incidence of unknowns--3 per cent for both groups.

Summary

Three sub-groups have been identified in the study sample of mothers removed from assistance grants as employable in the latter months of 1959. These are (1) mothers who, the records show, found employment subsequent to their removal, those who (2) never found employment, and (3) a group already employed on July 1, 1959 and removed from the grant with the sole known result of the loss to the mother of agency supported medical care.

The circumstances of the latter group are compared with those of their unemployed, but employable sisters. They had fewer and younger children. They and their families considered themselves slightly healthier, but their children tended to poorer role performance. They remained on assistance for slightly longer periods, the while supplementing their assistance with earnings. They were younger and possessed more formal education, though in the latter area we had much less information on this group than on those who were seemingly less motivated to work. The types of work they were doing were not significantly different from the previous work types of the unemployed mothers.

Chapter 2 examines characteristics of cases to discover the validity of the more routinely propounded criteria for employability--age, number of children, physical and mental health of family members, level of education, work skills and

work experience. These criteria were among those offered by the agency as valid. Were they utilized?

Mothers who eventually found work were older than those who were already employed. Mothers who never found work fall in between, being neither the youngest group nor the oldest. Age alone is an insubstantial criterion and not consistently used.

There was a satisfying consistency in formal education, a promising criterion in that those who never worked were the least educated. Those who eventually found work were slightly better educated, and mothers who regularly worked without the stimulus of legislation were the best educated. An over-all high incidence of unknowns exists in our knowledge of the educational level, although the least incidence of unknowns exists in those who never found work. The utilization of this criterion apparently increased in relation to the slowness of movement of the client toward employment.

Mothers never employed were the least healthy from a physical standpoint. The health picture was identical for those mothers who eventually found work. The mothers already employed considered themselves the healthiest. A low incidence of unknowns in this area indicates a high degree of utilization of this criterion.

The mothers who never found work reported a slightly higher degree of negative behavior patterns than the mothers who found work. Utilization is demonstrated by a low incidence of

unknowns concerning negative behavior among the two groups workers were "working with" toward employment. Interestingly, the mothers who were working reported more behavior problems than those who were seeking and eventually found work, but fewer than those who never found work.

The most frequently propounded criterion for employability was age and number of children. In all instances age and number of children were known because of its importance in computing a financial grant. The mothers who never found work had more and younger children than those who eventually did find work. The conclusiveness of age and number of children as a criterion is confused by the fact that those who usually worked while receiving assistance had younger children though fewer children.

A larger percentage of those who never found work had no previous work experience and/or were the least skilled. These were utilized criteria because there was a low incidence of unknowns.

This chapter began with an exploration of the open or closed status of the cases under discussion. Chapter 3 will focus on the characteristics of those cases which by one means or another achieved, temporarily or permanently, the self-support objective of the agency.

CHAPTER 3

THE LONG VIEW: WHO ARE THE "SUCCESSFUL"?

The proportion of mothers in the United States labor force increased by almost 50 per cent between 1948 and 1958. A U.S. Children's Bureau review of Census figures in 1960 indicated that while the greatest increase was among the upper and middle income groups, the largest single factor leading women into the labor market was economic necessity.¹ In Washington State in 1959 the economic necessity was legislated for those on assistance.

For mothers in the middle and higher income groups certain motivations for employment are discovered in a study reported by Yarrow.² Fifty-two per cent of the mothers studied were working to achieve cultural, status, educational and health goals for their family which might otherwise be unattainable or difficult to attain. Forty-eight per cent were working essentially to achieve "self fulfillment--to use special skills, to make a 'contribution to society', to satisfy the need for 'being with people.'" In Washington State in 1959 caseworkers looked among

1. Yarrow, Marian R., "Maternal Employment and Child Rearing," Children, November-December, 1961, p. 226.

2. Ibid., p. 224.

their client mothers for motivation, and for ways to instill motivation where none seemed to exist.

Of those deleted from grants, eighteen mothers found work between July 1 and December 31, 1959. In February 1962, they were in closed status. Can it be known whether a reduction of assistance brought about their eventual independence? Did they have some special personal resources or combination of resources that eventually placed them among the self-supporting?

These 18 women share a common status as mothers who, though not employed prior to their removal from the grant, did find some employment before the end of 1959. They also share the fact that when surveyed in February 1962, their cases were closed. The case records were evaluated in relation to a set of value goals commonly held to underlie model functioning for families. They appear throughout the literature, and have been used in other studies.¹ Their expression in all sectors of North American society is common. A family is "healthy, wealthy and wise," and, above all, it is a family. A fair degree of physical and emotional health is requisite to its functioning. A family needs material resources to sustain it. The adults of the family need energy to supply emotional and educational nurturing to the young so that they may meet society's challenges to survival within accepted means. For optimum results, the

1. For example: The Family Centered Project in St. Paul, Minnesota, 1959.

adult roles should be divided between two persons, or adequate role substitutes should be provided.

Case planning as used herein, is a value dear to social workers, and is descriptive of their whole case activity in relation to the situation presented by this change in the laws of one state. Other values which guided an inventory of the records were "Community and/or Social Activities," "Education," "Race," "Legitimacy," "Parental Support," "Child Behavior," "Work History," "Adequate Shelter," "Health," and "Child Care."

The expectations of the writers of what would constitute "case planning" in this circumstance were not excessive. They are well aware of the multiple responsibilities of the Public Assistance caseworker in managing a group of cases often numbering in the hundreds. Case planning was considered to have been present where any discussion around employability and/or employment was recorded to have taken place by means of direct interview (office or home visit) not more than a year in advance of the removal of the mother from the grant. Many cases contained record of interviews with the client after the decision had been made to remove them and, in some instances, after removal had actually been certified. This was not considered case planning, since the function of such interviews was essentially to inform the client of the decision made. Letters were required to inform the client of her removal in all instances, and the writers found that even this was not uniformly done. Letters

and telephone calls alone were not considered evidence of social planning.

A universal feature of the families in this group was the absence of a male parent from the home. The presence or absence of financial support from this parent was considered a most accessible measurement of family relationships. Degrees of support from the absent parent are not taken into account. The presence of any support from the absent parent during the period under scrutiny whether intermittent, regular or below an amount specified by a court is regarded as an indication of the absent parent's continued contact with and presumed interest in the family. Only one of the mothers was widowed. She and her child received Survivors Insurance, and for the purposes of this study, regarded as parental support and an indication of past and present family functioning.

Illegitimacy was considered to have existed wherever a mother had indicated paternity by anyone other than a person to whom she was lawfully married. Pregnancies occurring during a period of marriage, but where the mother declared someone other than her husband as the father, were considered illegitimate. However, a question of the status of the child exists in such circumstances.

Child behavior was surveyed in relation to the recording of any acting out or other negative behavior on the part of the children of the family. Such behavior consisted of adjudged

delinquent or criminal acts, truancy or other behavior problems relating to school, sexual promiscuity, liquor use, and any other behavior which resulted in contact with law enforcement and/or incarceration.

Under the topic "health" the writers considered the physical and mental health of any or all family members--adults and children. Diagnosed and suspected health problems were considered as well as any statement by the client to the effect that she thought a health problem existed. In regard to mental health the writers considered suspected and/or diagnosed mental deficiency, psychosis, neurosis and character disorder as evidence of health problems. Instances of institutionalization for mental illness or deficiency were encountered by the case readers and regarded as a continuing health problem in the family.

Membership in the majority racial group remains a distinct advantage to individuals in North America. This is possibly most true of the United States where, in the Negro, a large and readily identifiable minority group remains. Also in the United States community values frequently operate to close off from such groups the economic and social advantages readily available to the racial and religious majorities. Being white is, therefore, an enhancement for social functioning in a social climate where being white has such value. That is why it is included here.

Consideration of what these mothers must provide in the way of substitute care for their children is a factor of primary importance. Adequacy of care was felt to be a value not only to the mothers of this context, but also a core value of the ADC program itself. The writers in reviewing the case records for information on child care provisions assumed that only those cases which carried explicit reference to its consideration and to its adequacy could be judged as having this factor included in the case planning. Conversely, absence of such reference was assumed to indicate inadequate consideration of this important factor.

The writers did not assume that the mother with a child in school was necessarily in a better situation to provide adequate substitute care. The quantity of care would differ, but it cannot be assumed that the quality of care would be of any lesser importance to a school child. Of recognized value is the security in the knowledge that the child of whatever age or school status is provided a source of nurture, protection, comfort, advice, restriction, and permission whether from the parent or a substitute.

Education is a most explicit value, and an evident enhancement to social functioning. A minimum of 12 years of education with graduation from high school is increasingly the requisite for employment in North America beyond the most casual of occupations. Beyond the learning of certain basic skills,

school is also an essential social experience. The longer its duration, and the more satisfying and successful experience it is for the individual, the likelier it is to enhance his potential for adequate role performance in all the areas of his future life. The presence of education and its duration was explored by the readers in all cases, though in some, the record did not contain the information.

Adequacy of shelter was judged in terms of number of rooms in relation to numbers of persons in the family. Only the gross inadequacies were picked up by the readers, such as an incidence of five persons in two rooms. Where workers noted in the record shelter problems such as too many children of mixed sex and age occupying one room, the classification of inadequate shelter was accepted and recorded. Since shelter standards were almost universally described in case records, the lack of comment as to inadequacy was felt to be a fair indication of adequacy. In addition, public housing authorities exacted a high enough standard to be always acceptable within commonly held criteria as to quality of structure, facilities and proper ratio of persons to rooms.

A history of past employment is a value with very definite implications as a qualifying experience for future employment. To have sought, found and held a job in the past is an enhancement in that certain techniques have been learned, and certain knowledge and performance abilities can be assumed. To have

lost a job or otherwise experienced some negative feeling or event in relation to past work can be a disvalue, though possibly not as great a one as never, in later life, to have worked at all. The presence of work history, its type, and its distance in the past were surveyed in all instances where factual data were recorded relative to this subject.

Indicative of stability is the length of time an individual family has resided in a given place. The cases were studied in relation to length of time in the county which is defined as the larger community, and the length of time in the neighborhood. The neighborhood was defined as that geographic area served by the same school, a church parish, the consistent use by the client of a given shopping district and/or the housing project.

This information was recorded without exception, since exploration of residence, a basic test of financial eligibility, has long been rigidly prescribed.

The presence of community and/or social activities was noted in all studied cases. This value was defined as the involvement in groups whether formal or informal which brought the mother into participation with persons outside the immediate family on a fairly regular basis. In the total sample, a "community role" took many forms--religious and political activity, adult participation in youth programs such as Girl Scouts, or neighborhood relationships which were constructive

and pleasurable for the individual, such as a weekly "coffee clutch" or sewing group. Wherever such roles and memberships were recorded of an individual, they were noted by the case readers. This survey did not extend to children of the family.

The case records are presented in Appendix C with such alteration as needed to disguise them in the interests of confidentiality without destroying or compromising their accuracy. They represent fairly adequate summaries of the most significant case data that could be obtained. They are also presented without comment as to such things as caseworker attitude and caseworker-client interaction, though this feature will be developed later in this commentary. The writers in describing the 18 mothers did not always mention the information that was not contained in the record--absence of such reference indicated that the writers had explored the record for such information, but found none.

Major factors extant in these 18 case descriptions are inventoried in Table 14 in relation to the presence or absence of the values described above which, among other values, underlie a model of adequate social functioning. Lateral arrangement of the table indicates polarity. The presence of these values in the cases represent a positive and is shown on the left side of the table, the absence of such values represent a negative and is shown on the right side of the table. A weight-count of values existent in the 18 cases is depicted so they can be

Table 14. Value-Count Scale: Eighteen Successful Mothers

18 16 14 12 10 8 6 4 2 0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18																	
Child Behavior																	
+++++ (17) ++++++ (1)																	
Previous Work Experience																	
+++++ (16) ++++++ (1) (one unknown)																	
Adequate Shelter																	
+++++ (16) ++++++ (2)																	
Majority Race Status																	
+++++ (15) ++++++ (3)																	
Legitimacy																	
+++++ (12) ++++++ (6)																	
Stability of Residence																	
+++++ (11) ++++++ (7)																	
Health																	
+++++ (8) ++++++ (10)																	
Parental Support																	
+++++ (6) ++++++ (12)																	

evaluated numerically.

Values are arranged in Table 14 in an order of frequency. The positives and most prevalent values are first, and the least prevalent last. The presence of unknowns in some of the value areas occasioned their exclusion from the table above with certain exceptions. Unknowns were treated as positives in the category "Child Behavior." Five unknowns in this category were encountered relative to child behavior in this group of cases. No mention of the children, positive or negative, was encountered in these cases beyond a statement as to the child's existence and relationship to the caretaker--a requirement of eligibility. The authors took the liberty of assuming that where negative behavior was not recorded, it did not exist as defined above. Knowledge of the children generally came from three sources. These were: (1) accounts of the mother, (2) observations by the worker, and (3) reports from sources outside the family such as schools, neighbors, police or other social agencies involved with the family. The authors felt the possibility of even a slight degree of negative behavior being undetected and not being made a part of the record (even in the most superficially treated cases) was remote enough to warrant this conclusion.

When one examines Table 14, it is immediately apparent that it is very heavily weighted on the positive side and lightly on the negative. Of least apparent relevance to the successful pursuit and achievement of the employment goal is

financial support from the absent parent. Among other possible conclusions the writers offer a change of familial values or a distinguishing set of values for this group. Does North America's explicit expectations of the male role yet have validity in fact? In regard to family life, is he less important than we say he is? In these families is it possible that the mother does not customarily share nor expect to share family roles with the other parent? Is she more self-sufficient and able to carry all or a larger number of parental roles herself? A common past assumption has been that this relative eminence of the mother is attributable to sub-cultural factors such as race. No such assumption is possible here because of the presence of majority group membership in 83 per cent of the cases. (This is approximately the percentage of race differential of the United States as a whole.) Are they members of a sub-culture based on factors other than race? Possibly people who find themselves on ADC are distinguished by a different set of values and accordingly different expectations regarding marriage, parental support and family relationships.

The agency finds itself in value conflict with such families in its efforts to secure financial support from absent parents, and also enforcing a family relationship which is presumably not desired by one or both of the parents. Concurrently with this administrative action, in 1959, the Washington agency was in the process of setting up a support enforcement

arm of the agency separate and autonomous from the social service unit, and consequently uninfluenced by the usual concerns of social service with respect to "helping." The writers do not overlook a possible relationship between increasing pressure for mothers to take action against errant fathers, and increased motivation toward employment and a desire to be independent of the agency. If such a relationship existed, it is only implicit, and only from the standpoint of the sequence of actions taken by caseworkers in response to administrative direction. At this time there was a renewed attention on recording of data relative to the absent parent prior to referral to the support enforcement unit. Very often the mother was involved in helping to secure additional data about the absent parent. Refusal to cooperate in this endeavor has for many years carried the penalty of denial or termination of assistance.

Good physical and mental health is not as prevalent among this "successful" group as one might expect. It is the impression of the writers that in considering the total sample, health most often loomed as a major obstacle to seeking employment at the time this objective was proclaimed to the client. In instances where employment could possibly have been unwelcome, ill health could surely have been an easily communicated method of escaping this coercion to work. The low reporting of health problems for this group may be explainable by the infrequent contact with the families, the brief duration of contacts, and

the focus of contacts primarily on financial eligibility. Such conditions could keep the client from mentioning health, or the caseworker from asking.

The Greenleigh Study of ADC families in Cook County, Illinois, 1958 found that the majority of families sampled had health problems of the chronic and/or controllable and improvable variety.¹ In this modest group (1959) health problems were also experienced by the majority.

The majority of these women had adequate shelter, and stable residence. Adequacy of shelter and length of residence are closely related. Poor shelter causes frequent removal in an effort to locate better shelter. This is disrupting to adult and child alike. There is little or no opportunity to become a part of a community with enduring relationships, the giving and getting of help and support based on friendships, familiarity of surroundings and a continuous school experience. Instead, an additional and constant stress is introduced that draws away energies which might be better employed in, for example, a rehabilitation goal.

While recognizing that Seattle is a newer, smaller and more homogeneous community than Chicago, Greenleigh learned that the majority of ADC families live in overcrowded, substandard housing.² However, 50 per cent of the dwellings, though

1. Greenleigh Associates, Inc., Facts, Fallacies and Future, 1960, p. 14.

2. Ibid., p. 13.

run-down, were rated as clean, and less than 20 per cent were considered dirty. A judgment of adequacy of shelter apart from consideration of the housekeeping standards of the family is very often difficult for the caseworkers. More than anything else, a decision of adequacy might therefore reflect simply a standard of housekeeping acceptable to the worker. This, however, would not be without its positive implications for social functioning. Another consideration is that housing tends to be the choice of the client, notwithstanding the limitations imposed by a shelter provision of no more than \$60. The mother ultimately decided where she will live despite possible exhortation from a caseworker that she should find cheaper or better housing.

Most of these women were members of the majority (Caucasian) racial group. Minority groups face certain realities while seeking employment such as discrimination, poorer educational background, and the greater availability to them of only the lowest paid and lowest status employment. While these problems exist, the department could compensate, in part, by making different demands on this group while taking action on the community level to remove obstacles for minorities. However, the readers found that, in fact, these very demands for self-support were often made on the Negro and Indian because they were Negro or Indian, and could easily "do housework or pick berries." The derivation of status and all the attendant

satisfactions, plus the opportunity to make enough money to make it all worth while, largely remains the privilege of the white person. And the agency is seen to reinforce this.

The almost total incidence of some previous work history (89 per cent) for this group is unremarkable in light of Greenleigh's finding of 84.5 per cent of all ADC grantees with previous employment history. Only one unknown existed in this area, and only one reported no previous work history. In regard to the type of work performed in the past, five were found to have been skilled, seven were semi-skilled and four unskilled. The majority had therefore worked in an area that involved some degree of skill. In Greenleigh, the "great majority" of all grantees were unskilled with 50 per cent representing domestic work as their most recent employment.¹

In a society that places emphasis on formalized job preparation through education or vocational training, this group was seen to have some advantages. There is a correlation between employment history and potentials for employment, and educational attainments. None of this group had less than eighth grade education. Three (17 per cent) had graduated from high school, and four (22 per cent) others had completed at least one or more years of high school. Unfortunately the educational status of nine (50 per cent) of this group was unknown. Of the skilled group, all had some high school with the exception

1. Ibid., p. 11.

of one whose educational status was unknown. Of the unskilled, one had eighth grade education and another had ninth. The status of two was unknown. Of the semi-skilled, the educational status of five was unknown. One had eighth grade education and one had eleventh. The one woman who had never worked was a high school graduate.

Concerning number of marriages, one and one-third marriages for each is not a high average. The percentage figures also represent a rather conforming picture when compared with the societal cross-section. Twelve out of the 18 (67 per cent) had one marriage; three (17 per cent) had two marriages; two (11 per cent) had three; one was never married (5 per cent). A low incidence of multiple marriages and non-marital situations suggests a higher degree of social functioning for this group.

When comparing these statistics with those on illegitimacy on Table 14 where there are six instances of mothers having had at least one illegitimate birth, the picture changes somewhat, but not remarkably. Sixty-six per cent of the mothers had no illegitimate children. This does say, however, that propriety in interactions with the opposite sex as a value was less attained than the number of marriages figure might indicate.

The obvious might easily be overlooked--not one of these mothers was living with a husband. This, of course, would be a major factor in her eligibility for ADC. Does this indicate that of more value as a criterion would be a measurement of the

effectiveness of the mother to form meaningful and lasting relationships? What implications would such a measurement have not only as one criterion for feasibility for employment, but also for adequate performance of the mother role?

The low incidence of illegitimacy for this group suggests either a fair degree of integration of values commonly enunciated in North America regarding marriage and sexuality, or a high degree of social isolation. This is especially significant, since Greenleigh reported a 70 per cent incidence of illegitimacy in their sample.¹ The women of the group at present under study may have placed a differing value on themselves as persons, had different expectations regarding friendships with men or were, perhaps, just more able to effectively employ contraception. Is the capacity to follow through on an imposed goal of employment or self-support enabled by a set of values which serve to help the mother operate with relative independence of husbands and boy friends? Just as involvement with absent fathers was minimal for this group (a situation sometimes imposed by the ADC program itself with its premium on absence), so was there little incidence of "complications" usually occasioned by the regular presence in the mothers' role networks of men to whom they are not married. (ADC mothers commonly take on boy friends for purposes of status, acceptance when rejected by husbands, families and community, or for financial reasons.) If there is

1. Ibid., p. 19.

social isolation, cannot this be a motivating force of itself which propels the woman to seek an end to her isolation in a work role?

Only one of these mothers had a problem with a child regarding negative behavior. Relatively adequate functioning on the part of the children of the family can obviously be a great aid to the mother as well as an indication of her adequacy of functioning. A child who is not acting out and/or drawing negative reaction from the school, community and other children of the family does not require the mother's time and energy in conciliating, disciplining, seeking services and answering charges. In the absence of this responsibility she may have greater energies and time to involve herself in the agency's goal for her. She also has less reason to stay home, though many mothers were removed from grants even when very evident behavior problems existed in the family. The mother who has done a "good" job with her offspring may have a greater capacity for relationships and for meeting the many demands of the employment role.

The one mother who reported a behavior problem was, interestingly, the oldest mother of this group. The employment she eventually found was with her "boy friend" and it is possible to speculate that this was not "employment" in the truest sense of the word.

The mothers in this group found employment in only six months. It is not possible to know what negative behavior patterns might have become evident had it taken them longer to find work, and our acquaintance was greater. Over-all, the incidence of those with negative behavior patterns was fairly evenly distributed among those who found work, were employed already or never employed. Those who eventually found work, including the present group, experienced a slightly smaller incidence of negative behavior. Interestingly, the mothers who customarily work reported the highest incidence of negative behavior patterns. Something which cannot be known from the group presently under scrutiny is the relationship of employment outside the home on the part of the mother to the subsequent creation of negative behavior patterns.

Our 18 mothers were an average age of 32.3. When comparing them as a group to the total sample studied, age does not loom as a factor setting them apart from the other groups. Recalling that the mothers who were already employed on July 1959 had an average age of 30, those who eventually found employment before February 1962 averaged 34 years, and those who never found work were an average age of 31, our 18 mothers seem to fall in the middle. The age range represented by this group seemed equally distributed--nine ranged from 20 to 29, and nine from 32 to 55. Greenleigh's sample showed a median age of 32.3.

The factor of age is an interesting one, however, since agency direction for implementing the July 1959 law frequently included the two quite opposed concepts. Employability should be of value to the older mothers, since their children were no longer such a care problem. These older mothers will also be faced with ineligibility for ADC when their youngest child becomes 18. Youth was of value in that it is so widely accepted as such by employers. Also considered was that the younger mothers had not had so much time to become accustomed to public assistance as a way of life. The writers feel that one point can be settled with a fair amount of certainty--age is not a useful criterion for employability.

This group of mothers had an average of 2.3 children each. Again they show the tendency to conformity. Twelve had two or fewer children. The writers suggest that families with four or more children can be judged as verging upon what might be considered a large family. It is at this point where providing adequate shelter possibly means looking beyond the available bungalow style home. It is at this point, depending on distribution by age and other individual factors, where a person contemplating giving substitute care or even minimal services as a baby sitter may think twice before considering the undertaking. Only four of our mothers had four or more children. Only one of these mothers had a child old enough to be of substantial help in child care. This mother of four children had a 17-year-old

daughter, and she found full-time employment. Another mother of four whose oldest child was 13 would have to consider his or her abilities in child caring very carefully, to say nothing of what might be jeopardized in this 13-year-old child's own development if he were required to give care. The mother of six had an oldest child of nine. The mother of five had an older child of 11.

Of this group, nine of the mothers had pre-school children as their youngest children. The youngest child of the nine others was in school. The age of the youngest child in the family ranged from five months to 14 years. The age of the oldest child ranged from one year to 17 years. Seven of these mothers had children 13 years of age or older. This represents 39 per cent of our group. It is difficult to evaluate the advantage these teen-agers may be to the mother as a child caring resource, since teen-agers have their own well known adjustmental problems. The authors recognized in the case records the conclusion of caseworkers (which conclusion was supported administratively) that a family of older children was more employable because the mother's responsibilities were somehow accordingly less.

The writers included other data in the 18 case descriptions which is more difficult to analyze in terms of their effectiveness as criteria for employability. It was more difficult to make what the writers consider as valid assumptions

concerning the "unknowns" such as was done regarding "child behavior." It was felt that by dealing with these factors separately their significance could be established within a context of more gross assumptions without destroying the relatively greater purity of the data illustrated on Table 14.

Quite consistently overlooked and consequently unrecorded was the educational status of the women in the total study. Of the group (A (a)) already employed on July 1, 1959, 42 per cent had no such data recorded. Forty-seven per cent of the group (A (b)) who eventually found employment before February 1, 1962, lacked such information. A low 11 per cent of those (Group B) who never located employment had no educational status reported. Of the 18 mothers, 50 per cent had no educational status information recorded. Of the nine where this information was recorded, three completed high school, two completed the eleventh grade, one the tenth, one the ninth, and two the eighth grade. Of the "knowns," the average number of years of education was 10.3. If we make the somewhat casual assumption that since three of the "knowns" had completed high school that also three of the "unknowns" had done so, this would show that one-third of our 18 mothers would be high school graduates. Comparing our 18 with the total sample in respect to what the writers considered a marked educational deficiency (those with less than 10 grades of schooling), 32 per cent of them fall into this category. The comparative percentages are based only on the "knowns." Only

7 per cent of Group A (a) were educationally deficient, 32 per cent of Group A (b), and 34 per cent of Group B.

Hazarding an assumption as to what may be significant in this value-laden factor, it might be found in the great difference between this group and Group A (a) in terms of educational deficiency--33 per cent for the 18, and the very low 7 per cent for the group which was already employed on July 1, 1959. Given the value of education, our 18 mothers, of whom only one-third graduated from high school and with yet another one-third in the educationally deficient category, did find employment within six months and had not found it necessary to apply for assistance at least until after February of 1962. The basic question of this thesis forcefully poses itself here: Does the enactment of a law, and its subsequent vigorous implementation, requiring employment for employable mothers, in itself become a motivating force effective enough to enable sustained employment? Are the expectations of the employing community less stringent in their value of education than is generally suspected? An interesting and perhaps productive study would be to determine the possible negative value of education by employers in industries where academic achievement is of less importance to the actual performing of the job. Even the most superficial of an analysis of this aspect is virtually impossible in this study because of the serious absence of information in the records on what type of employment these women eventually located. Such absence of even

the indication of what work the mother was planning toward may be closely related to the next factor to be discussed--case planning.

The presence or absence of case planning preparatory to the mother's assuming a work role was not included on the value count graph (Table 14), not so much because of the presence of "unknowns," but more because of the great question the writers had, and have, regarding how the client views "case planning." Because the data sheets did not record information which would make possible an analysis of the quality of the case plan, if such existed, it is not possible to even determine whether case planning is included in the value system of the sampled mothers. Rather it may be of value solely to the people who are giving help, and a somewhat indifferently integrated value at that. We might even assume that the lack of recording of a case plan, when one existed, could be indicative to the client of the case-worker's (and the agency's) lack of interest and/or involvement in her future--this, then, could become a disvalue. The other proposition presents itself--case planning, if evident to the client, whether carried on within a negative or positive relationship context, may be an effective motivating force in itself.

When viewed according to the writers' definition of case planning,¹ some statistical analysis is possible. In ten of the cases, there had been at least one face-to-face interview

1. See p. 49.

centering on the July 1959 law change. In two other cases there had been considerable prior discussion about their employment potential, but not specifically related to the law change; therefore, the number increases to 12 which is two-thirds of the sample. Of the 98 in the entire sample, 59 mothers (or three-fifths) had prior discussion of employment. The writers did note any indications the records contained of the positive or negative quality of the interviews. Among the 18 successful mothers it was felt that only four had received positive casework help in the form of suggestions, referrals, and reassurance. In only one instance was the evidence clearly indicative of coercion. The remaining seven cases out of the 12 where there was any prior discussion carried reference to the caseworker's interpretation of the law, but contained no information on whether or not help was offered or given, or how this was done.

The factor of substitute child care provision is clearly related to helpful and effective case planning. To be effective, a case plan would necessarily include this almost universal issue underlying employment of mothers. Questions of "preservation of family life," family goals and the purposes of ADC are closely linked to this concern which has generally proved most problematical for ADC families.¹

1. Geismar, L. L., and Ayres, Beverly, Patterns of Change in Problem Families, Family Centered Project, St. Paul, 1959, p. 4.

In ten of the 18 cases under discussion there was evidence that the question of substitute child care had been discussed. In regard to adequacy or inadequacy, only one of the cases contained enough information to enable one to make a judgment in this area. That child was in a licensed day care facility operated by a church organization. The assumption is that this facility was adequate from a legalistic standpoint though its suitability in relation to the particular needs of the child can only be conjecture. Significantly, this was the only child in the total sample cared for outside his home and outside a context of family relationships in what was known to be a licensed situation. In the total sample, the writers saw many plans for children being made wherein they would go outside their homes to be cared for by non-relatives. Licensing in such situations is a requirement set down in the state child welfare laws, and the Department of Public Assistance is responsible for enforcement. In the present situation, however, it appears that a large number of its representatives were unfamiliar with the requirement or inclined to overlook it in favor of getting mothers to work in the most expedient way possible.

Among these ten families, the children of one were cared for outside the home in an undetermined arrangement. Two were cared for in the home by a non-relative. The children of three families were cared for in their own home by a relative other than an older sibling. The child giving care was 17 years old.

The actual child care arrangements made by two of these mothers were never known, but they are included here because the records contained much discussion about child care, apparently because the mothers in both cases expressed concern about it relative to their going to work. The balance of eight cases contained no discussion of child care or information relative to the eventual arrangements made.

The records of eight of the mothers in this sample of 18 included references to the presence of community activity as defined by the writers.¹ Only one record noted a lack of contact with the community. The remaining nine (50 per cent of this group) contained no information on this aspect of the clients' lives. Inclusion of this factor in surveying of social functioning was justified by the potential it offered in measuring social isolation which might be experienced by ADC mothers by virtue of their classification by the community as "relief" recipients, or because of some intra-personal limitation. It cannot be assumed that the "unknowns" would be indicative of a lack of participation, since this factor was not covered with any consistent adequacy regardless of the positive or negative nature of the client-caseworker (agency) relationship. It would seem to be more likely that the "unknowns," if known, would increase the percentage of those who did participate in some community activity--of the "knowns," 89 per cent did participate

1. See p. 54.

in some group.

The writers feel that in contrast to the number of marriages factor, this factor as a criterion for employability could be considerably more usable. It gets closer to being a valid indication of the ability of the mother to form meaningful and lasting relationships with others. If the assumption can be made that by including our "unknowns" 89 per cent of these "successful" mothers had some form of community contact, this factor as a criterion and as a value would have a high place on the value count chart (Table 14).

Table 15 is the writers' version of the value-count chart showing the shift of values and the difference between negative and positive count when the "unknowns" are included. We have included the "unknowns" in terms of the assumptions made above. However, child care must yet be further qualified. The writers assumed that if child care arrangements had been discussed, the caseworkers would have recorded this type of information. One aspect of this assumption tends to make it possibly less gross--the agency had consistently mentioned this as a factor to consider. On assumptions around "unknowns" relative to previous work experience the writers considered the one unknown a plus factor because of the statistical unlikelihood that a person could have no previous work experience.

When viewing Table 15 in comparison to Table 14, it is evident that the weight has not shifted remarkably in terms of

the positive and negative. Assigning numerical value, one obtains a total positive value count on Table 14 of 101 and a negative count of 42. Table 15 shows a positive count of 146 and a negative count of 70. In proportion Table 15 shows a slightly higher negative count than does Table 14, the tendency, therefore, being to less than adequate social functioning.

The comparisons one can draw between these women are not too conclusive, although cited differences and similarities have been noted. Evident is the considerable variation between case records in the amount of information they contained about the mother and the children. Evidence of value conflict operating between the client and the caseworker, the caseworker and the agency, can be detected in the case descriptions included in this chapter. Very apparent was the focus of the July action--the value of employment. Caseworkers, in carrying forth in accordance to the departmental interpretation of the law, often lost sight of, consciously or unconsciously, the possible repercussions that going to work could cause. Health problems could be known to exist, but employment almost seemed to loom as a cure for everything and that, somehow, things would work out all right once the mother began experiencing the joys of working.

The great lack of record information relative to the kinds of employment the mothers went into would tend to indicate that employment was the casework goal in itself. Only three records out of 18 carried reference to the nature of employment

finally secured. (In descriptions of the 18 cases (Appendix C) the writers' omission of information of this kind indicates that none was contained in the record. The writers are also inclined to believe that if the caseworkers actually knew the nature of the employment, the probability of such "success" information being recorded was substantial.

Interestingly, three instances of punitive casework practice were encountered among the 18 success stories. This seems significant when attempting to locate some common denominator threading through the case data. One of these mothers refused to tell the caseworker what type of full employment she found! (It is this same mother whose illegitimate child's needs were never included in the grant.)

The mother who had a departmental fraud charge outstanding against her while she was being asked to find employment had been made to feel that this was the only way out for her. Employment was to be part of the punishment. (The law on employability of caretakers was never explained to her.) Another mother was known to be paranoid and very disturbed in her encounters with fairly routine stress situations such as agency contact. She was found employable and worked for six months at some unknown job until commitment to a mental hospital.

Three among 18 is not a very high percentage--approximately 17 per cent--but it does seem to be significant when casework of a punitive nature is found to have existed among the

so-called "successful" group. One must question how successful these mothers really were. We are also faced with the question of whether it makes any difference as to the casework techniques employed and any difference whether social work values are adhered to. The more serious question, however, is whether caseworkers can implement pre-established goals, such as employment, without compromising professional values. Those questions will be explored further in the next chapter, but it seems important to raise them here, since they become so all pervasive when reading the 18 case descriptions written from data sheets.

Examples of what would seem to be risky adjustment to the stress caused by the employability determination appear among the 18. Immediately evident was the fact that the largest proportion of these mothers went to work irrespective of their stated health problems. One mother moved to another state to find employment. By itself this cannot be considered an inadequate adjustment to the departmental request, but in view of previous impulse solutions, this mother could have used casework help in reviewing her plans to move--no discussions on her move were had. Another mother became illegitimately pregnant necessitating her restoration to grant. Eventually she married the father of her child, but nothing was learned from her as to the nature of this relationship--its soundness and whether it included a concern for her other two children. One mother managed employment for one month, remarried, and found it

necessary for her husband and herself to re-apply for assistance six months later. In itself, this adjustment may have been satisfactory, but the writers wonder about the thought these two persons had given marriage, since she had entered employment with a serious health problem and was forced to give it up because of this. Was marriage less risky than endangering her health?

Summary

A sub-group of 18 mothers are identified in this chapter who most nearly could be said to have responded in the desired way to the agency objective of self-support. They found employment in less than six months in response to an actual or threatened decrease in income, and 31 months later, they were all independent of Public Assistance. A set of value goals commonly held to underlie a model of adequate social functioning was used to evaluate strengths or a combination of strengths which enabled them to respond in this way. Also considered was any case planning or other action on the part of the agency which may have enabled this response.

The role of the absent father in these families was very restricted or non-existent. His contribution to the family's support or his sharing of parental roles was not necessarily an enhancement to the ability of the mother to assume the support of the family. A majority had never had an illegitimate birth

which suggested an absence of other men acting as substitutes in parental and spouse roles. It also suggested a greater degree of ego strength to avoid pregnancies and to perceive societal standards.

Certain positives existed in combination to a high degree with these families. Negative behavior patterns on the part of the children were not in evidence. Nearly all the mothers had had previous work experience. They largely provided adequate shelter for their families. The majority showed stability of residence. However, most of the mothers manifested health problems either in themselves or their children. The overwhelming majority were of Caucasian race.

The presence of a number of deficiencies in the case records made analysis of social functioning difficult, and obliged the authors to make a number of tentative conclusions and speculations. Complete information on educational status, child caring arrangements, and case planning relative to the assumption of a work role was lacking. The poor educational attainment of this group raises question relative to its value in the achievement of a work role under these circumstances. The lack of knowledge regarding plans made for substitute care suggests indifference to or ignorance of the intent of ADC to provide an opportunity for optimum development of the child with emphasis on the safeguarding of present and future interests of the child where any plan for care away from the mother is contemplated.

The presence of community activities and relationships was thought to be a more potentially usable criterion of employability than suspected in that it comes close to indicating the mother's ability to form meaningful and lasting relationships. In case planning, its existence or non-existence should be more adequately and uniformly explored as a potential measurement of employability.

Relative to case planning, only four of the 18 were seen to have received positive casework help in the form of suggestion, referral and reassurance. There was clear evidence of coercion in one case. Most cases showed at least one face-to-face contact relative to employment, and more specifically to the 1959 law change.

The value-count scales showed a slight shift with a small increase in the negative count on Table 15. This amounted to a 6.3 per cent proportionate increase in the negative count when including the less documented value factors on Table 15.

Women were seen to go to work irrespective of stated health problems or other conditions in the family which might reasonably have precluded work. Employment, once a decision was made relative to the individual's employability, became an all consuming goal, and one which was rather relentlessly imposed.

CHAPTER 4

THE CLIENT MOVES AT THE AGENCY PACE

Work may be a natural human activity valued by all persons irrespective of the place, the point in time and the nature of the work. Where once it was essential to spend most of one's lifetime working solely to gain sufficient livelihood to support oneself and one's family at a minimum level, work is now increasingly becoming the pursuit of leisure and happiness. Employment at recreation and self-fulfillment has become and will increasingly become the substitute for employment for the purpose of securing basic needs. Fewer and fewer are needed to spend less of their time at the production of goods and services.

Nevertheless, the activity of work for livelihood and gain persists in the present day, and for the majority it continues to be essential and natural. The writers are assuming that broadly speaking it is no different for persons on assistance than for those who are not. The pervasiveness of this value of work and its high priority within our civilization is only confirmed in the legislative directives of Washington in 1959, and elsewhere.

The law of Washington was not unconstitutional nor was it excessively harsh, since it permitted the agency to make

decisions based on the knowledge of individual circumstances. Though it marked a departure from the implicit philosophy of an earlier time of keeping the mother in the home so that she could maintain family life for the children, it was never ruled out of conformity with federal legislation and intent.

The point that is to be most questioned and perhaps regretted is the manner in which one unit of the state agency carried out the legislative intent, and attempted to make the value of work operational among its clientele. The issue of employability remains a major one in the administration of Public Assistance in Washington today as it was in 1959. Decisions still have to be made regarding the employability of caretakers, and a monetary penalty still attaches to being "employable." The major difference is that the employable caretaker is not totally removed from the grant. In this, can the agency ever be a genuine force for the reduction of inequality? Must it remain, as revealed in part by this study, an unwitting and impulsive dispenser of small favor to those it finds "unemployable," "eligible" or "moral," a conservator instead, of social and economic inequality?

The writers offer four value assumptions as foundation to attempts to move individuals toward goals of self-support in a society where self-support (independence of non-contributory government supported welfare programs) is an extremely important value. These are (1) work is a natural human activity valued by

all persons; (2) societal and personal forces do not, in some circumstances, permit an individual to work though physically able; (3) man will work toward goals to which he is committed without coercion; (4) commitment follows from the opportunity to realize one's own potentialities.

But could this or any other social agency operating in mid-twentieth century North America and confronted with decisions about employability ever integrate and make operational such values? One might even question the utility of the whole social work value system to the operation of public welfare programs of this kind. From the 1959 legislation the agency impulsively fashioned a set of judgments which served to visit on the individual client alone the full force of changes in societal and (by reflection) agency values. The philosophy of social work while proclaiming its role in social change would, one hopes, dictate a conscious and planned procedure for change, and ameliorate as much as possible the negative and painful consequences for the individual experiencing change.

An ingredient missing from case material, and therefore not available as verified fact, is the flavor of the administrative direction influencing the implementation of the law. Also missing is the caseworker response to the administrative tone being expressed at that point in time. To describe, and possibly analyze, the administrative tone in a public assistance agency is not a simple task--it is, indeed, a formidable and complex

one, and one requiring separate research much beyond the scope of this thesis. The writers have, however, located what we believe to be critical indications of value conflict between those legislating a social welfare program, those administering it, those directly implementing it, and last, but certainly not the least, those who must maintain, reconstruct, and conduct their lives according to it.

Wayne Vasey in his chapter on "State Organization for Social Welfare" comments on an important aspect of administration which, if neglected, can increase the harmful effects of value conflict:

. . . repeated reference has been made to the importance of maintaining channels and methods of communication both laterally in state office, and vertically between central and local offices. One point has not been made sufficiently, however, and because of its vital nature we are taking the liberty of discussing it here. This is the place at which communication should take place. That place or point should be that at which policy is being developed. If communication is limited to a chain of command for the issuance of orders and the interpretation of policies already formulated, one of the richest areas of administrative relations will have been lost.¹

Increasingly evident to the writers was a lack of recognition and alignment of the professional, administrative and political values in pre-legislative and pre-policy development concerning the employment of women in general and of ADC mothers in particular. Had there been this kind of communication, there would seem to have been a greater possibility for minimizing the

1. Vasey, op. cit., p. 423.

extreme variations in the way in which the July 1959 law was implemented. In the total sample and in the more carefully studied 18 "successful" mothers existed practices ranging from very obvious punitiveness to almost total laissez faire. In the writers' opinion this points quite squarely toward the inadvisability of setting administrative deadlines in the implementation of such a complex policy--the determination of employability of mothers.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, interpretive material on the determination of employability was produced in late August. Also shown in that chapter was the fact that 85 per cent of Group A and 94 per cent of Group B were removed from the grant before this material could be applied. Of our "successful" mothers (the 18) 100 per cent were removed prior to this time (October 1, 1959). Twelve of the 18 or two-thirds were removed effective July 1, 1959. One would conclude from this that those mothers who had the most employment potential were recognized early and that the early removal did not impede their attaining the goal--employment. Again, however, the writers would interject the question: Was and is employment an indication of successful casework? Since the records did not contain enough information to enable an assessment of the mothers' and their family's subsequent social functioning, this operative value-judgment on the part of the agency would seem to be highly

speculative at that point in time.¹ It should be emphasized that most of the caretakers were removed before October.

There are indications throughout the case records surveyed that laissez faire practices may indicate quite conscious attempts on the part of the caseworker to align herself with the mother. This is a possible result of the lack of value alignment between those levels in agency structure responsible for the implementation of the law. Resistance to the administrative value which set priority on employment as the case plan could not be openly revealed via case recording so purposeful omission may have been the result. Although operative client, caseworker and agency values were not consciously examined by the participants, supportive help may have been given which resulted in the mother making a positive move whether toward employment or not. This rather undisciplined approach, however, may equally have produced negative results by allowing the caseworker's personal values to prevail; for example, the caseworker may have been a working mother rationalizing her status. Disvalues that are operative would be re-enforced under such circumstances and detection by supervision made relatively impossible assuming supervision were even conscious of the relevance of values.

1. The writers feel that nothing can be devised as a good substitute for more complete information in the case record. Even if these were to have been personal interviews with the mothers, when we were data collecting, the information might have lost something, e.g., administrative tone.

The process taking place in determining employability, the writers suppose, is that from a 67-word directive of the legislature, what the agency thinks and wants is carried via the "administrative tone" (as well as more explicit forms of communication) to the caseworker, and somehow rationalized by a nebulous, unverified belief of "what the community expects."¹ Often created is a mirrored reversal of what the situation is relative to values and value priorities with the client. The process of stepping through the looking glass is a shattering experience for both client and caseworker, and where agency values continue to dominate, probably not helpful.

Ten years before the July 1959 law emerged, Irene Josselyn wrote:

The question to be studied in evaluating the desirability of any mother's working is therefore not that of the number of children she must care for, her physical or mental ability to work or the availability of employment. The first step in deciding whether or not a mother should work is the evaluation of her potentialities as a mother and of the conditions under which she can give the optimum emotional gratification to the child. . . . Therefore she must not be punished for working or for not working. . . . Our goal in assisting mothers should be to foster any plan which helps them to be the most adequate mothers they are capable of being.²

The results of this thesis seem to be in remarkable accordance with Dr. Josselyn's premise. The value-count scale in Tables 14

1. Paradoxically, in the employment of mothers as in few other issues, is the community less able to clearly enunciate what its expectations are. See Chapter 1.

2. Josselyn and Goldman, op. cit., p. 81.

and 15 in Chapter 3 are illustrative of what client values should be considered. The case records were not complete enough to enable the reviewers to know how consciously the caseworkers examined these high-weight values (in terms of employment), but the scale does show that these "successful" mothers must certainly have included these factors as important in their value systems. To keep this in proper perspective, it must be remembered that only 18 out of our total sample of 96 (approximately 19 per cent) could be considered "successes."

The 1959 experience would seem to have been an "in front of the looking-glass" process. These women seemed to possess some attributes which would tend to make them seem to be "employment potentials." How much more valid and predictable an approach to this whole area of evaluating employability might an assessment of the presence or absence of high-weight values have been is a question this thesis has not completely answered. We do feel, however, that the "looking-glass" technique had its worth, but only as a learning experience (and experiment) of the past. We as members of a helping profession, of helping agencies and of society as a whole must take a front, full-length, three dimensional view of what we see as the basic purpose of the ADC program and examine employment as only one of life's experiences which may or may not enhance the family's social functioning. We should take a total view and count the values which have meaning to the client and then those which our action threatens.

Coincidentally, our action may have qualities which could reinforce disvalues, a dimension which must be considered. An example of this could be the agency's offering employment as a way for the mother to abdicate from her maternal role.

Earlier reference has been made to the interpretive material produced in late August 1959. (See Appendix B.) Although the writers have referred to what was felt to be a lack of pre-legislative, pre-implementation planning, this material indicates that there was no lack of concern from a professional as well as administrative standpoint after the law had been in effect several months. Because of the material's length (as acknowledged by the director in his memo covering the material), caseworkers and supervisors may have found it difficult to use it as a ready reference or as an immediate help in implementing a procedure already in force!¹ Its value has since been realized (it is yet in effect) as useful in-service training material to be utilized without consideration for administrative deadlines. It is difficult to say what effect it may have had on the implementation of the legislation had it been available several months prior to the effective date; although, one again is reminded that the "successful 18" were all deleted from the grant prior to the

1. Both of the writers were participants in the implementation of this law and were employing the looking glass technique with varying degrees of "success." We were also confused, as we are saying others were, in regard to employment as a value operative in our own value systems in relation to administrative and societal values systems, not to mention the value systems of the clients.

availability of this material.

The writers also observe that this material implies, rather repeatedly, acceptance of the offered value assumption (see page 84) that work is a natural human activity valued by all persons. Might there not have been worth-while results from a pre-implementation discussion of this value assumption by the administrative group with caseworkers and, perhaps, even the clients?¹ It is interesting to compare what the material offers as important factors to consider in regard to the mother taking work with the value-count scale (see Table 14 on page 56 and Table 15 on page 76) developed in this thesis. It would seem that the results of this thesis would indicate (as the writers interpret them) that the departmental interpretive material approached the subject much too directly in terms of the effects of employment on the family. For example, rather than determining the degree of confidence the mother has in her child caring arrangements (see Appendix B, page 109, 5-b) our conclusion is that a mother holding high the value of good mothering, would be capable of arriving at this decision herself. It is also interesting that the departmental material does not refer to what we consider to be important values--adequate shelter, community activities, and race status. Child behavior, another

1. The writers recall that the general response by caseworkers and supervisors as being a positive one in relation to its giving sanction to extending the deadline for the determination of employability, but one of concern and confusion when anticipating the application of the material.

high count value, is approached quite obliquely in terms of emotional problems existing which may or may not have been intensified by employment of the mother (see Appendix B, page 108, 2-a). Previous work history is referred to only in regard to employment's effects on the family members (see Appendix B, page 108, 2-c).

To briefly summarize this comparison, the main differences in approach to the problem of mothers assuming the work role would seem to be that this thesis points toward the advisability of de-emphasizing employment as an assumed positive value. It would also seem to indicate that a more reliable approach is to view and weigh what the client considers to be of high value-count and then determine with the client whether employment will threaten or re-enforce the existing value system. For example, our 18 mothers seemed to give good health a low value-count, whereas the departmental material urges it to be considered as a very important criterion. The writers do not disagree that good health is very important to the general functioning of a family, but it would seem that the 18 mothers felt that good health was a desired thing whether employed or not employed. This may tend to explain what would seem to be an apparent conflict within this thesis. Of those already employed on or before July 1959, good health seemed to be enjoyed by the greatest proportion of them. However, at no place in the record was there comment by any of the mothers that they worked because

they were in good health.

Social work theory and practice dictates to itself a role as agent of social change. Agencies such as the Washington agency which identify their primary method of service and administration as social work, directly, if perhaps unintentionally, align themselves with this role. They carry it, however, with unease. It is a principle that is the foundation to social work that the social organization must make available socially sanctioned and socially provided devices for needs satisfaction. Also affirmed in the values of social work are the rights of individuals to have basic needs met and to realize their greatest potentials. That these highly generalized expressions are, practically, far from implementation in the world today is evident. But an agency professing commitment to social work methods, principles and values is defeated if it does not see the necessity and find the means to turn platitudes into ideals, and to make ideals operative to a maximum extent in the conduct of its internal affairs and in the community as a whole.¹

How, practically, could the agency have met and attempted to alter those forces which tend to impede realization of potentials which, in this instance, are necessarily equated with employment and self-support? Since 1961, Washington (and the

1. The writers have often heard expressions on the part of caseworkers and a few supervisors of the conviction that the Washington services program exists to a great extent "on paper" only. This suggests a perception on the part of some of the staff of a gulf between stated goals and what is, in fact, carried out in practice.

public welfare agencies of other states) has engaged in programs which carry on the work relief principle of requiring of recipients a certain amount of work in return for assistance. Such programs are often thrust on agencies by zealous law makers seeking yet another simple answer, but they do establish the expectation and authority for the public welfare agency to assume a "make work" role either as direct employer or as organizer and referring agent to projects operated by a cooperating political subdivision. Whatever higher motives are ascribed to work relief legislation, it does not, of course, provide a genuine employment role and its implicit motive most often seems to be to punish need, discourage application for assistance and to exact a return so that no one will "get something for nothing." At best, it is rarely more than an unsatisfactory substitute for genuine work. At its worst, it can be demoralizing in effect, regressive in method and wasteful of human labor. However, the agency role as provider of work roles might be redefined so as to encompass a guarantee of real work as a real substitute for assistance for certain or all recipients. It would seem much more productive and less discriminatory when a reduction of grant is contemplated because of "employability" that the agency assume a job finding role. This would seem to be particularly applicable where there is only one parent in the home. Such a role for a public welfare agency is not new under the sun. Countries whose approach to social welfare problems

is perhaps more authoritarian than North America's have employed such methods.¹ (The legislature of Washington and the Department of Public Assistance seem to be implying in their action of July 1959 that the authoritarian approach is the more comfortable when confronted with complex problems.) With the reassurance and enablement attendant on a guarantee that income will not be reduced until a job is located, the possibility of continued contact to help the person function at an optimum level both on the job and in the home once employment is obtained needs consideration. This would occasion a broadening of services to others than those just currently in need of financial assistance. Concomitant with the employment of the caretaker, a possibility is developed for observing the impact of the working mother on the total family. Certainly, a better understanding of the meaning of work to families of this kind could be gained in contrast to our present problem of not knowing either the type of work obtained or the implications to the family once self-support is a possibility.

Similar guarantees are needed relative to child care. Under recent Federal encouragement (1962) Washington has undertaken a program of providing leadership in the development of day care facilities. In 1959, the role of the department was to merely license those facilities which might exist, and no

1. Madison, Bernice, "Social Welfare: Soviet Model," Social Service Review, June 1964, p. 204.

attempt was made to help meet the increasing demand for such services. Whether the department can effectively assume this leadership role remains to be seen, but in future deliberations about the employability of a mother, it would be desirable for the agency to guarantee adequate substitute care rather than continuing the haphazard process revealed in this study where the onus of providing care is left wholly with the client who must simultaneously look for a job and get along on less assistance money.

The complex problem of helping people realize their potentials so that they may move toward goals without coercion requires the drawing upon of all areas of competence within social work as well as other disciplines. Basic to this, however, is recognition that people who seem to need coercion to get themselves to work or to move toward any other goal are simply communicating to their overseers that they do not see potentials for themselves. If one is able to identify any group in North America whose life activities and operative values apparently differ from that of the bulk of this society, it is those who are presently unable, never have and dare not hope that they ever will share in the activities and hopes of the modal population which sets the standard. This group, for any number of reasons, finds itself on public assistance, and one of the most consistently enforced principles governing public assistance in all of North America is that no one on

assistance can have more than the least an individual could have through employment. The fact of today is that the modal population enjoys unprecedented affluence. Public assistance as it is today offers no opportunity to share in that abundance. The client may or may not see the necessity of his inclusion in the modal group with all that such inclusion entails. While the public assistance recipient cannot but be affected by the mass desires, massively generated, for all the products of abundance, they cannot be helped to deal with the problems of abundance (certainly compounded in one who is experiencing it for the first time) when the minimum assistance standard places them so far below what the modal group experiences. The writers conclude that the abandonment of the principle of less eligibility continues to be requisite to inclusion of the "have not" population in the modal group. In addition, through employment the agency suggests that membership in the modal group is possible for recipients. We have not seen in this study that employment, itself, promises any such thing. Those who succeeded already possessed some recognition of their own potentials, they had experienced some success in the past, their values were approximate to the modal group. Were the successful mothers, in fact, coerced? The writers suggest that they did not view it as such, since the values they already held made it possible for them to attain goals appropriate to the modal group's, one being employment. It would then appear that those who seemingly benefited

from the coercive elements of the implementation of the 1959 law did not need to be coerced, and for those who did not succeed, the coercive technique did not work and may even have been harmful.

The problem of obligating mothers of dependent children to seek work may seem to affect relatively few people and thus be of relatively little importance. The implications, however, go beyond public assistance. Can a democratic society afford to so deprive any segment of its population and still avoid a serious threat to all of its institutions? Can it afford to justify this deprivation and attendant inequality by some magical thinking about self-support? Serious men must recognize that self-support is an illusory thing, and exists for most of us for only a short time of our lives. It is expensive for us to hate those for whom it has never existed. Today self-support as a value most usefully serves the purposes of demagogues who promise to re-establish a fantasied 19th Century on the eve of the 21st.

The self-support experiment which is the subject of this thesis took place in an economy that is rapidly eliminating jobs. Solutions have not been found for either income maintenance or new work roles for the increasing millions unemployed. Perhaps public assistance can be a first arena where we may attempt to move the value of work lower down in our scale of priorities as it has been predicted we must do. Perhaps public assistance can

be the means by which we can begin to test our ability to enable a segment of the population to not need work while avoiding the negative connotations of too little income and low self-esteem which until now have been the companions of an absence of work. Perhaps this could be a help to us all in our workless future.

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APPENDIX A

CASE READING SCHEDULE

Present Case Status

Open
Closed
Elapsed time since
caretaker restored

Marital Status

of marriages
Present status

Race

Children

Age range

Child Care Arrangements

In home
older child
other relative
non-relative

Out of home
licensed
unlicensed
undetermined

Other

Negative Behavior Patterns

Yes
No

Father (last)

Reason for absence
Support

Yes Regular
No Intermittent

Other Fathers

None

#

support

yes regular
no intermittent

Education

of years
Unknown

Work Data

Vocational skill

Yes
None

Type

Employed at time of grant
change

Yes
No

Time before employment
found

of months
part time
full time
not found
type

of years since last
employed

Vocational Training

Departmental sponsorship
Yes
No

Previous to removal
After removal

Income Exclusive of Support

From employment
Yes
No
Other

Health--Declared or Recognized Problem

Yes
No

Previous Assistance History

Elapsed time since last
opening

years months

Elapsed time since first ADC
contact

years months

Community Activity

Religious

Other

None

Neighborhood and Housing

Urban # of rooms

Rural # in household

Project

Residence

of years in county

of years in neighborhood

Remarks:

(The readers used this section for data found to be essential, but omitted in the draft of the schedule. Always included on each schedule in this section: How informed of law change-- letter, interview, both and whether before or after removal; Other reader comments.)

APPENDIX B

DEPARTMENTAL MEMORANDUM: EMPLOYABILITY
OF CARETAKERS IN ADC

STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

Olympia, Washington

TO: STAFF
FROM: GEORGE C. STARLUND
Director
SUBJECT: EMPLOYABILITY OF CARETAKERS IN ADC

MEMORANDUM NO. 59-58
Issued August 18, 1959

The determination of employability of caretakers in ADC families has proved to be a difficult process for our staff. We have had previous experience in determining employability in other categories, but such determinations have involved individual persons. In ADC we need also to evaluate the needs of the children in the family. Consequently, we have found considerable variation in CO in decisions reached.

During recent weeks, staff members from the training, program development and field service units have been developing guide material which can be used to amplify Manual Section 418.11-R. This material has been tried out in several CO and has been found helpful in analyzing the factors which must be taken into account. We are now releasing this material for statewide use.

Because of its length, the material is not being incorporated into the manual. However, we expect that Manual Section 418.11-R will be interpreted along the lines suggested in this material. We think the material will be particularly useful for staff discussion. Field staff will be working with administrators regarding its implementation.

EVALUATING IN ADC FAMILIES OF THE FEASIBILITY OF THE CARETAKER'S EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE THE HOME

Preservation of family life is the basic objective of the Aid to Dependent Children program which makes it possible for the child to remain in his own home. The 1956 Social Security Amendments gave further emphasis to providing services which encourage working toward self-maintenance and self-care and the preservation of family life. In the State of Washington the 1956 law also emphasizes the importance of services to assist the family "to attain maximum self-support and personal independence consistent with the maintenance of continuing parental care and protection." Even prior to 1957 one of the objectives of the State Department of Public Assistance has been to strengthen family life. An important aspect of this continues to be helping the client to make full use of his own personal resources, such as capacity for self-support, as well as those of the agency and community. The 1959 Washington Legislative Appropriations Act now makes it mandatory upon us to evaluate whether or not the caretaker in Aid to Dependent Children situations could take employment without jeopardizing the well-being of the children.

Because of the importance of maintaining family life in the growth and development of children, each situation should be carefully evaluated to determine the practicality of the caretaker seeking employment. In making such an evaluation the worker needs a sound understanding of the values of family life in normal child development and of the values of employment to the individual and the family in modern society. The worker will need to use all his knowledge, skill and understanding to arrive at a sound decision with the caretaker and to make this evaluation process a constructive rather than a destructive experience. Consultation with the casework supervisor would often be helpful.

Following are some areas to be considered in determining or later reviewing whether or not the requirements of the caretaker should be included in the ADC assistance unit when he or she is in financial need. In considering these points the whole situation must be kept in mind as well as the interrelationship of one area to another:

1. Consider the goals and plans of the family.
 - a. What capacities and resources for self-care and employment?
 - b. What capacities and resources for caring for the children including family members and community facilities?

- c. If the caretaker were employed what would be the advantages and disadvantages?
2. Consider physical and emotional needs of the family as a whole.
 - a. Has the family any special physical, mental or emotional problems which would be intensified or reduced by the caretaker's absence for employment?
 - b. Does the health history indicate a need for continuing care and/or protection? Is there a need for further medical attention?
 - c. If caretaker was employed before, how did the members of the family adjust?
 - d. How has each member of the family reacted previously to the parent(s) absence or incapacity?
3. Consider developmental and growth needs of each child.
 - a. What kind of care does each child need in relation to his age and stage of development?
 - b. What advantages or disadvantages would the caretaker's absence from the home for the purposes of employment create in relation to normal development?
4. Consider the caretaker's physical, mental and emotional health. Is it such that she could carry homemaking responsibilities and take gainful employment for more than one half the time customarily required of fully employable persons?
 - a. What activities are necessary in carrying her homemaking responsibilities in her present home?
 - b. What facts in her present health and health history indicate that she should or should not seek employment?
 - c. From your impression how would her general emotional pattern affect her carrying both homemaking and an outside job?
 - d. What are your impressions of her relationship with the children and other members of the family and how would this be affected by her employment?

- e. What is your impression of her ability to plan and organize her work in relation to the needs and size of the family and still have energy to assume outside job responsibilities? What would be the normal expectation of children in relation to helping with the homemaking?
 - f. Is her attitude and that of the family toward her seeking employment such that her employment would be a positive experience for the family?
 - g. How much and what periods of time would she have available for gainful employment within the usual hours of employment?
 - h. What are some of the values of outside employment for this caretaker?
5. Consider the suitability of the arrangements for child care.
- a. Do the arrangements meet the needs of the individual children? For additional information in this area see supplemental material "Some Factors in Supplemental Parental Care" and suggested reading list.
 - b. Does the caretaker have confidence in the child care arrangement she is able to make?
 - c. Would the cost of child care be sufficiently less than the net earning capacity that it would be practical for the caretaker to seek employment? Is it reasonable to expect that she will make enough to meet her own requirements in addition to the cost of child care?
6. Is the caretaker regularly enrolled in a vocational training facility under a plan approved by the county office?

CASE PLAN AND ACTION

When after carefully considering these five points it is decided that it is or is not feasible for the caretaker to take employment, what further steps need to be taken?

- a. What support or encouragement does the family need regarding taking employment or training?
- b. Would a referral to the employment service, NDVR or DVR be appropriate?
- c. Has appropriate action been taken to include in or exclude the caretaker from the ADC assistance unit? If excluded, how is she to meet her needs?
- d. When the caretaker is employed has the net income been properly computed on the SF 5822-M-2 and budgeted. (SDPA Manual II, Section 423.11).
- e. Are the reasons for the decision and action taken understood by the caretaker and recorded?
- f. Keeping in mind that people as well as circumstances change, what is the plan with the family for follow-up to review situation and for giving medical, social, financial or other services?
- g. Is help needed with obtaining suitable child care arrangements or care for ill members of the family?

II SOME FACTORS IN SUPPLEMENTAL PARENTAL CARE

The State Department of Public Assistance has a legal responsibility for the protection of children. Also the basic purpose of ADC is to permit children to grow up in their own families. This implies the care and guidance of parents (or other relative substitutes). By specific provisions of the Law and Manual Regulations no plan should be made for the absence from the home of the caretaker which endangers the well-being of the children or other family members. Therefore, if supplemental care is needed because the caretaker is otherwise employable, careful consideration needs to be given to available child care arrangements before the final decision is reached to exclude the caretaker from the ADC grant as employable, or to continue her (him) as unemployable. The needs and capacity of each child individually must be weighed. Facts regarding the specific arrangements would generally be obtained from the caretaker just as the final selection is hers.

There are several kinds of care possible including: care in the child's own home by housekeeper or homemaker, foster family day care and group day care such as day care centers. Some of the factors which should be kept in mind as caseworker and caretaker evaluate the feasibility of the caretaker seeking employment and suitability of child care are:

1. Above all else the infant and young child needs to love and be loved by the person caring for him. Therefore his care must be highly personal, continuous, and warmly affectionate. The mothering person should not be caring for more than two children under two and the same person should care for the child over a period of time. You cannot explain change to a baby, he just feels the loss of the familiar and loved. For this reason care in his own home is preferable for this age child since he has fewer adjustments to make there and suffers less threat to his security in familiar surroundings.
2. When foster family day care is planned the home should be licensed, thus assuring adequate standards of care for the child. Licensing of foster homes is a child welfare responsibility. See SDPA Manual VI, Section 500, 562.1, 570. (Full-time foster care is a negation of the basic purpose of ADC and is not considered here.)
3. Group day care used should be licensed by the state Child Welfare Services Unit or operated by another governmental agency or church. Good group care offers a child opportunity for social experience and facilities for learning and play often lacking in his own home.

However, some children are unable to use group care for the full length of the working day because of emotional disturbance or limited physical or nervous energy. The needs and capacity of the individual child must be studied carefully. Often even well-adjusted youngsters find the new experience difficult for a few weeks. During this time he needs extra understanding and reassurance. See SDPA "Rules and Regulations for Licensing Group Day Care Services for Children."

4. Regardless of type of care selected (relative or other person) this person taking care of children should be one who likes and enjoys children, understands their individual needs and is able to meet their demands for affection and physical care appropriately. She must be of good health and character, mature enough to assume the responsibility involved. She must guard against usurping parental rights and affection but work with the child's parent in providing care for the child. To be safe, well cared for and loved is a necessity for the normal development of children.
5. The child himself must be adequately prepared for both the caretaker's absence and for his own new experience. Lifelong damage to the child can result from sudden, unexplained uprooting and changes. (A short trial experience or visits with the caretaker present can help the child adjust to the new plan of care whether in his own home, day care home or day care group. Packing his own bag of clothes for the day or a well-loved toy taken along can alleviate some of the feeling of loss and uncertainty any such move means for a child of any age.) The younger he is the more reassurance he will need as to the caretaker's return. He may cry when she tells him goodbye but the harm to him is far worse when she slips away without him knowing. Loss of his parents is a child's worst fear.
6. The question as to whether an older child needs adult care or supervision during working hours of the person responsible for him depends on the child, the parent, the home and neighborhood situation, the amount of time, the time of day, etc. All of these must be considered together as part of a total in a decision, remembering that lack of parental guidance and supervision is a common cause of child misbehavior. In any case, a child left to his own resources should have someone he knows to whom he can "report" his whereabouts and who is available to call on in case of emergencies.

7. Provision for child care for working mothers must include emergency arrangements in case of illness of the child or of the person caring for him. The caretaker should provide the person caring for the children with instructions to meet emergencies and method of notifying the caretaker of what has been done. If the caretaker cannot be reached by phone there should be someone authorized to act for her in case of emergency.
8. To be suitable a child care plan should provide continuity and consistency of care by the same person or facility throughout the caretaker's employment. Frequent changes in child care plans or persons are harmful to the child. They may also jeopardize the caretaker's employment.
9. Physical accessibility is a factor in any care outside of the child's own home. Transportation must be available to get the child there and back. Costs of this in time, money, and energy are important. Problems of exposure in bad weather or when child is ill must be faced.
10. Employment requiring the caretaker to "live in" with or without their children is detrimental to family life and would not generally be considered practical. Similarly, for the preservation of family life, the caretaker needs to be available to children during at least part of their waking hours and during the time periods of special importance to various age groups (e.g. bed-time for little ones, evening date hours for adolescents, dinner meal hour for all ages.)
11. Although the worker will help with information and counsel toward the decision, final choice of the particular child care plan lies with the caretaker. However, the worker undoubtedly will need to give more help to some parents than others in making a wise plan for child care. It is essential that the caretaker approve the plan for without her approval neither the caretaker nor the child can make constructive use of the experience.

"Caretaker" as used in this material refers to the needy father and/or mother or other relative carrying parental responsibility for the children who are included in the ADC grant.

State Department of Public Assistance. Public Assistance Laws of the State of Washington. Olympia, 1957.

Section 74.12.240 RCW. "Services provided to help attain maximum self-support and independence of parents or relatives. The department is authorized to provide such social and related services as are reasonably necessary to encourage the care of dependent children in their own homes or in the homes of relatives, to help maintain and strengthen family life and to help such parents or relatives to attain maximum self-support and personal independence consistent with the maintenance of continuing parental care and protection. In the provision of such services, maximum utilization of other agencies providing similar or related services shall be affected."

SDPA Memorandum No. 59-34, "Public Assistance Legislation", May 11, 1959 - Excerpt. "PROVIDED, That no payments of aid to dependent children assistance shall be made from this appropriation on behalf of an employable parent or relative with whom the child lives unless the director of public assistance determines that the employment of the parent or relative with whom the child lives would result in danger and/or substantial impairment to the physical or mental well-being of the child."

SDPA Manual II, Sec. 418.11, "Definition of Unemployable person." Under this provision one of the four conditions which causes a person to be classified as unemployable is point 2 which states: "His (her) absence from the home to seek or perform regular employment would not be practical because of the lack of his (her) service, supervision, or care would result in damage and/or impairment to the physical or mental well-being of a minor child or would cause undue hardship on all members of the assistance unit."

State Department of Public Assistance. Public Assistance Laws of the State of Washington. Olympia, 1957.

Section 74.12.130 RCW. "Child Welfare Services. The department shall:

(1) Cooperate with the federal government, its agencies or instrumentalities, in developing, administering, and supervising a plan for establishing, extending aid to, and strengthening services for the protection and care of homeless, dependent, and neglected children, and children in danger of becoming delinquent;

(2) Accept custody of children and provide for the care of children in need of protective services, directly or through its agents, following, in general, the policy of using properly approved private agency services for the actual care and supervision of such children insofar as they are available, paying for care of such dependent children as are accepted by the department as eligible for support at a reasonable rate established by the department; and

(3) Receive and expend all funds made available by the federal government, the state or its political subdivisions for such purposes."

APPENDIX C

CASE HISTORIES

M.E., a young mother of 23 with two children ages four and five, was determined to be employable and deleted from the ADC grant on September 1, 1959. She herself had been a child who received ADC. She was separated from the father of her children and had received ADC for them for eleven months. Although \$100 per month support was ordered by court, no payment was received after January 1959.

She had eleven grades of school and had waitress and food packing experience about a year and a half ago. She found employment within one month's time after deletion, but this was short-term and part-time work--the record does not indicate what kind of work it was. Employment had been discussed with her prior to the deletion. Eight months after she was deleted, her needs were restored to the grant. She had developed serious organic problems during this eight-month period.

This mother gave superior physical care to her children and worried considerably about them when she was at work. The record did not show what actual arrangements had been made for the care of her children. The caseworker had referred her to the state vocational rehabilitation program for Licensed Practical Nurse training, but she was unable to complete this due to her health problems. Her case was finally closed effective November 1, 1961 when she got full-time employment--type unknown.

Mrs. E. had lived in the county for 10 years and had adequate housing in a neighborhood in which she had lived for about one year. She had had only the one marriage.

* * *

S.M. had lived her whole life in the same neighborhood. She was a high school graduate, 20 years old and had worked as a PBX operator before her marriage. Her single marriage produced one child who in July 1959 was one year old. The marriage ended in divorce, and the father made no contribution to the support of the child. Shelter was being provided by relatives. She declared herself active in a local church. She had a health problem.

Assistance had been opened for 10 months. Employment had been discussed with Mrs. M. at the time of application, but she had not received written notification of her removal and there had been no contacts immediately prior to removal.

Mrs. M. found employment within one month's time after she was deleted on July 1, 1959. One month later her case was closed. Her child care arrangements were unknown.

* * *

D.J., a high school graduate with two children ages two and three, was one of the first to be removed from ADC grants in July. She had never worked before, but considered herself as having some skill in typing. She found employment within one month's time but was restored to program six months later when she reported she had become pregnant. The father of her two children was in the penitentiary. There had been a divorce previously. She continued to receive assistance until September 1960 at which time she married the father of her last child which had been relinquished for adoption at birth.

The record did not state the nature of her employment for the six months, but she reported total earnings of \$107 for that period--it was part-time employment. Although employment had been discussed with her at a previous time, it was never discussed in terms of the July 1959 law change. She was not sent written notification prior to her deletion.

The record did not indicate any participation in community activities, nor did it indicate how long she had lived in her present neighborhood. She was, however, a lifetime resident of 25 years in the county. Her housing was reported as being adequate and there appeared to be no health problems in this family. This family had received ADC for one year and two months.

* * *

The solution of K.B., a 55-year-old woman, thrice married and with one 10-year-old child, was to go to work after only one month out of the grant. Her employer was her "boy friend" and her occupation was never known. She was separated from the father of the child, and he contributed no support.

She had resided in the county for two years but had been known to the state program for more than ten years both in the Child Welfare and Public Assistance programs. Employment was explored with her on several occasions prior to her removal. She had not been employed for more than 12 years in the past, and her former work had been that of dishwasher and waitress. Her education was unknown. She declared health problems. Her child manifested behavior problems. Housing was considered adequate. A relative who shared the home with her provided child care. In September of 1961 she was restored to the grant, and a short time later contact was lost with her.

* * *

On August 1, 1959, P.E. was deleted from the ADC grant. Thirty-eight years old, one marriage, three children, and a divorce, this mother entered the work world as a baby sitter on a part-time basis within one month after her removal. Her oldest daughter was married and out of the home. She received \$25 per month support from her ex-husband for their 14-year-old daughter. Her two-year-old daughter was illegitimate; and, although the caseworker was aware of this child, she was never included in the assistance grant.

Mrs. E's tenure on ADC was a brief five months before she was deleted. The July 1 law change was discussed in interview prior to her removal and she was notified in writing. Although many years ago she had experience as a waitress, she attempted to meet her needs and those of her youngest child by baby sitting, the earnings from which were never ample enough to meet the grant deficit. The record did not indicate her educational status, so it is difficult to ascertain her potential for vocational training; however, training was never discussed with her. She continued supporting her family in this way until July 1960, when the caseworker terminated ADC on the basis that this mother did not comply with agency policy. She had apparently obtained a better job in June 1960 and would not tell the caseworker what and where it was, nor the amount she would be earning.

The family apparently had no health problems, nor was there any indication of negative behavior patterns for the children. She did express concern over child care arrangements while employed, but nothing was recorded regarding what actual arrangements were made. She had lived in the county for two years and one year in the neighborhood. Her housing would be considered adequate. No mention was made of her involvement or non-involvement in community activities.

* * *

Having received ADC continuously for two years and 10 months, this 44-year-old mother of four children was considered employable and deleted from the grant effective July 1. She had one marriage which ended in divorce. Mrs. S. had previous work experience as a waitress, but this was some 12 years ago.

There was no personal interview regarding her being considered employable, but this was discussed by telephone and confirmed by letter prior to her deletion. Child care provisions were not discussed, but since the age range of the children is from eight to 17, caseworker may have assumed that the older child could be responsible for their supervision after school.

It was two months before she found employment--full time --and the nature of the job was not inquired into. There was no support being paid by the father, so her earnings must cover all needs.

Her educational status was never determined, but certain elements of the performance of this family seem to indicate stability. There are no known negative behavior problems evidenced by the children and the family enjoys good health. It is not known to what extent she and the children involve themselves in community activities, but she has lived in the county for more than 16 years and in the same neighborhood for more than 10 years. One would question the adequacy of the housing since this family of five were living in two rooms.

* * *

O.M. was removed from the grant on July 1--she was considered employable. She was informed of this by letter prior to her deletion. She had three children ranging from seven to 11 years of age--all children are in school. Her one marriage ended in divorce and she receives \$100 per month support on a rather intermittent basis.

This 32-year-old mother had been receiving assistance for 11 months when her case was closed on September 1, 1959. The closing was at her request because she found employment. She had had previous experience as an elevator operator and receptionist, but the record did not indicate what this employment was. The record did not indicate how long ago this past experience was.

Mrs. M. showed a history of stability having lived in King County all her life, was active in community work as a "school room mother," and did get 11 grades of school. The

record indicated no behavior problems of her children and all in the family had good health. Housing was reported as being adequate.

Employment had never been discussed with Mrs. M. nor had provisions for child care--the reader assumes that the caseworker assumed that with all of the children being in school this loomed as no problem.

* * *

After considerable discussion centered on employment potential this 23-year-old mother of a four-year-old was considered employable and deleted from the grant effective October 1, 1959. She found employment two months later. M.S. had received only three months' assistance before the time of her removal.

She had child care available from a relative and possessed some work skills. Although it had been six years ago that she had worked (when she was 17) as a clerk in a jewelry store, she felt she would like to return to work. Previous to her clerking experience she had done factory work. Mrs. S. completed eight grades of school.

She was divorced from the father of her two children--this was her only marriage. No support was received from the father.

Little background information was secured from her, and the established casework goal seemed to be almost exclusively that of re-employment. No health problems were reported and her housing seemed adequate. She had lived in the county and the neighborhood for a year and a half. No information was available on her involvement in community activities.

* * *

This 34-year-old mother with one 14-year-old girl was married once and divorced in the same year--her husband died shortly afterwards. F.P. was removed as employable on July 1, 1959 and found full-time employment in July. Her grant was terminated effective August, but her daughter's needs were restored in December, since her employment lasted only six days. She eventually found full-time employment in July 1960 and the grant was terminated.

The caseworker had discussed employment consistently over the years. They had discussed this in interview immediately prior to the July 1, 1959 action. The caseworker referred her to the state program for vocational rehabilitation; she never seemed able to reach the point of following through on this. Child care had been discussed and she had a relative who could provide the necessary supervision for the girl after school.

No negative behavior patterns in the girl had ever emerged and both she and the girl had good health--Mrs. P. did have an overweight problem. She participated regularly in activities outside her home--she taught Bible class and belonged to a community club. Of the eleven years she had lived in the county ten have been spent in the same neighborhood. Housing for this family was reported as being adequate.

It had been more than 10 years since she had been employed and this had been in production line work--soldering radio circuits. Her formal education stopped at the ninth grade.

* * *

Having received ADC for her four children for a continuous period of three years and nine months, this 35-year-old mother was deleted as employable effective October 1, 1959. Her children ranged in age from eight to 13. There was no indication of negative behavior patterns. M.V. had her marital ups and downs through three marriages and was in a divorced status at the time of the action.

Although the record carried no reference to the amount of education she possessed, she did have work skills. She had been trained as a licensed practical nurse under the state program for vocational rehabilitation. She had also had work experience as a theater usher and factory worker as recently as two and one-half years ago.

She and the caseworker had discussed her employment potential during several interviews prior to the October action. After being deleted she found full-time employment as an L.P.N. within a month's time. She earned a total of \$98 for part of a month's work, but was restored to grant when her health became affected. There was no support being paid by any of the three fathers; her last husband was in the penitentiary.

On March 1, 1960, assistance was terminated because of her remarriage. She and her new husband applied for assistance

approximately six months later primarily for medical care. The case was again closed on November 1, 1960, when she returned to full-time employment as an L.P.N. Throughout the agency's contacts with her child care resources were never discussed.

This family had adequate housing in a public housing project where they had lived for nearly three years. She had resided in this county for more than 10 years.

* * *

Legal action against W.L. was started after she was deleted from the grant on July 1, 1959. There seemed to be evidence that Mrs. L. had been working as a waitress, off and on, while receiving assistance--she did not report her earnings to the department. There were also indications that a man was living with her.

The grant for the needs of her five children, ranging in age from four to 11, was continued until she gained full-time employment on October 1, 1960. Mrs. L. had been on ADC for one year and eight months prior to the July action. Although she had found work within one month after her deletion, it was part time and never met the deficit resulting from her removal.

Because of the pending fraud action, her employment potential in relation to the law change was never discussed with her, nor was she given written explanation. She was contacted by telephone relative to the deletion quite some time afterwards.

The caseworker did know of her child care arrangements, since a sister had been secured. No negative behavior patterns in her children had emerged and they were in good health. Mrs. L. had varicose veins.

The amount of education this 29-year-old woman had was unknown, but the record refers to her obvious intelligence. She had been married once and divorced. This man was the father of all the children--he has never supported. It was reported that she was very active in her church and in P.T.A. Housing was reported as being adequate, but had lived in the neighborhood for less than one year. She had 19 years' residence in the county.

* * *

J.S., 39 years old, was thought to be paranoid, with much functional illness. She had never married, and the father of her 12-year-old daughter did not support nor had he any contact with the family.

Mrs. S's last employment had ended nine months before. It had been a clerical position. Her educational standing was unknown. She had been receiving assistance for seven months at the time of her removal from the grant in July 1959. Emergency assistance was not given to compensate for the reduction in the grant during the two-month interval between removal and her re-employment. She remained off assistance until January 1961. She then received assistance for six months more until her child was placed in foster care. Mrs. S. was judged psychotic and committed to a mental institution.

Mrs. S. had been active in politics at one time. Her child exhibited no known behavior problems. Her child caring arrangements were never discussed with her. Mrs. S. had lived in the community for seven years. Housing was adequate.

* * *

S.E., 25 years old and with three children whose ages ranged from three to six, went to work less than a month after her removal from the grant in August 1959. Relative to employment, she received much support and preparation from her public assistance worker. Also she was concurrently keeping appointments at Family Society. Her home was licensed for day care and her initial efforts in employment were to give care to children in her home. She later went to work outside the home and her grant was closed in November 1959. She clerked in a bank.

Her single marriage ended in divorce. She received \$100 per month support from her former husband only intermittently. She had been receiving assistance for one year and nine months though there had been one short-term contact with the department previous to this. Her last employment had ended seven years before and this had been in clerical work. She had had high school (12 years) and business college education. She provided adequate substitute care for her children.

Mrs. E. reported a health problem for herself and one of her children. She was born in this city and had lived in what was then her neighborhood for four years. She was active in church and Y.W.C.A. Her housing was considered adequate.

* * *

S.I. went to work almost immediately following her removal from the grant. Unfortunately, she interpreted the fact of her removal from the grant as a release from any obligation to report income to the department. After all, she reasoned, she was not receiving assistance any longer, only the children. Since her earnings would have substantially offset the need of the children, as well as meeting Mrs. I's need, she was overpaid a large amount of assistance until her employment was discovered seven months later.

S.I. was 23 years old with one child one year old. The father was separated from the family because of confinement in a mental institution. The mother was very fearful of her husband, and he later escaped from the institution. Assistance had been opened for the first time one year and two months previously. Mrs. I. had had ten years of schooling, and immediately prior to receiving assistance she had been employed as an elevator operator.

Mrs. I. had lived in the community for three years and in her immediate neighborhood for only three months. She professed no interest in religion or community activities. The child care arrangements she made while working were never discussed. Housing was considered adequate. Mrs. I. was never restored to the grant before her termination eight months after her removal. No health or behavior problems had ever been reported.

* * *

J.A. was 34 years old with three children ranging in age from six to 15. She was last employed the summer before her removal at berry picking. She had been a member of the Womens Army Corps immediately following World War II. She had also worked as a welder and as a waitress. Twice married and divorced, her oldest child was illegitimate. Her first husband was the father of the other two and he contributed \$35 per month in support. Mrs. A. also received Social Security benefits from the deceased father of the first child. There were no known behavior problems with the children, and Mrs. A's status in matters of health was unknown.

She had lived in the community for 17 years and in the immediate neighborhood for only three months. Housing was considered inadequate in that she had only two rooms to accommodate four people including a teen-age child.

J.A.'s assistance had been opened only nine months when she was removed. She had been a recipient of ADC as a child in

her mother's grant. Mrs. A. requested termination two months after her deletion from the grant. She had located employment in another state. Her plan was to have her oldest daughter care for the younger children while she was at work.

* * *

M.U.'s decision was timely. She coincidentally announced her intention to go to work about the time of the recertification of grants in the early summer of 1959. Her many workers in the past, however, had discussed employment with her to a considerable extent. Mrs. U. was a 28-year-old mother of six. Her children ranged in age from five months to nine years. When she went to work, she arranged for the children to be cared for in her own home by a non-relative. She had received assistance continuously for four years and three months though she was first known to the agency two years before the most recent commencement of assistance.

Mrs. U. was twice married and twice divorced. She was not married to the father of her two youngest children, but she ultimately did marry him. None of the fathers supported, though the father of the oldest children had given a lump sum settlement for their support three years previously. She declared health problems.

Mrs. U. had been employed for a year and four months in factory work which had ended immediately prior to her receiving assistance. She went back to factory work and met her own needs for approximately another 16 months. She was then restored to the grant when her employment ended and her case was closed seven months after that when she married the father of her youngest children. She had lived in the community for ten years and in the immediate neighborhood for one year. She declared a religious activity. There were no reported behavior problems, but at one time the children were taken into custody by the police and the Juvenile Court when Mrs. U. was unable to make a plan for child care while hospitalized for pregnancy.

Housing was adequate. During the two months following her removal from the grant no emergent provision was made for Mrs. U's needs.

* * *

P.T. was 50 with one child age 14. She began receiving assistance a year and one month prior to her removal from the grant. This was only shortly after the death of her husband. She had first been known to the agency 14 years previously. Her assistance supplemented a small social security benefit.

She had had only one marriage and her child was legitimate. Very little was known about Mrs. T. Data on her educational background, vocational skill, employment history, community activity and the child care arrangements she made were never recorded in the record.

She remained out of the grant for two months on a substantially reduced income until she found full-time employment. No behavior problems were recorded, but Mrs. T. reported health problems.

Housing was adequate. She had lived in the same neighborhood and in the county for more than 10 years. The requirement for her to seek employment were discussed with her by means of a home visit and later confirmed by letter.

* * *

T. J. was 25 with one child nine years of age. She was divorced from Mr. T. who was not the father of her child although she was married to him at the time the child was born. There was no paternal support. She had been married only once.

Mrs. J. went to work full time one month after her removal from the grant. Her education was unknown, but nearly three years before she had worked as a waitress. She had also done day work. Her first contact with the department was two years previously, and she received assistance continuously since then.

Mrs. J. had declared a health problem. There was no known negative behavior on the part of her child. Her child care arrangements were never known.

Mrs. J's housing was adequate. She had lived in the county three years and seven months, and in the neighborhood for the same length of time. It was not known if she engaged in any community or religious activities.

* * *