THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL GROUP WORK IN THE UNITED STATES BETWEEN 1850 AND 1955

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ABSTRACT

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By

Kenneth Edward Reid

Social group work, a method of social work in which the group experience is utilized for the purpose of affecting the social functioning, growth, or change of group members developed from a diverse set of roots. These roots include the settlement movement, the recreation movement, the youth serving agencies, adult education, progressive education, social casework, and the social and medical sciences.

Unlike the social casework and community organization, there has been only limited effort to study the various roots of social group work. The studies that have been undertaken have been limited in their scope, tending to focus on some aspect of group work, such as the use of nonverbal methods in group work or the history of group work in a certain field, e.g., psychiatric hospitals.

It has been the aim of this research to study the historical development of social group work in the United States between 1850 and 1955. Three questions served as guides in collecting, evaluating, and synthesizing the significant writings and concepts related to group work. These are: (1) what has been the influence of the early

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emphasis on the small group as a means of socializing the individual? (2) what has been the influence of the concept of the group as a method of ameliorating maladaptive behavior? (3) what has been the concept of the group as a means of maintaining a democratic society?

The procedure used to answer these questions was the study of documents and literature pertaining to group work between 1850 and 1955. Primary sources include the Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, autobiographies of leaders in social welfare, early group work records, and professional literature from such fields as recreation, education, and the various youth serving organizations.

It is the conclusion of the study that social group work did not occur in a disjointed and fragmentary episode but in a cause and effect response to the working of an industrial society. Group work began at a time when there was rapid industrialization and heavy immigration to the United States. Organizations such as the settlements, the scouts and the Y's developed as a means of protecting the individual and in assisting him to reach a higher level of functioning.

Increasingly over the years it came to be recognized that the small group was important both in maintaining a democratic society and in the socialization of individuals. As a means of maintaining a democratic society, it was felt that by involving members in group action, they would become more knowledgeable and skilled as citizens. As a means of socialization, it was felt that an individual's development could be facilitated by training in social skills and by inculcating social values through guided group experiences.

By the 1940's the group began to be used as a means of ameliorating maladaptive behavior. This new approach placed the primary emphasis on the treatment of individuals who were classified as "deviant" by agents of society. In part this new conception of the group was motivated by social group works increasing linkages with social casework, and recognition during World War II that the group was a potential force in the treatment of medically ill and emotionally disturbed members of the armed forces.

Finally, it is concluded that an important element in the development of social group work in the United States between 1850 and 1955 are external factors such as the social, economic, and political climate of the period. Of particular significance for the growth of group work were: increased immigration, the First World War, the stock market crash, the 1929 Depression and World War II.

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Kenneth Edward Reid

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The history of social group work, one of the three major methods of social work is in part the history of social agencies in a changing society. With roots in such diverse areas as the settlement movement, the recreation movement, education, social reform, and the social sciences, it has evolved into an effective means of service for the purpose of effecting the social functioning, growth, and/or change of individuals in groups. Social group workers have been employed in a variety of settings such as schools, hospitals, residential treatment centers, and family service agencies.

Over the last fifty years as those working with groups have endeavored to establish a conceptual frame of reference for the practice of social group work, they have been hindered by the variety of usages of the words "group work." To some it has been a label for a catch-all of functions rather than a term to designate professional service with definite discrete meaning. More recently it has been used to describe (1) a job classification of workers, (2) a field of work, (3) a classification of agencies, (4) a philosophy or movement. Others have added the word "social" to indicate that social group work is a method used by social workers, professionally educated to use it as a specialized social service in a variety of settings.

Recently it has come to be recognized that there is no single model or approach but several. In the literature these various models have been referred to as the social change model, which has as its focus the use of groups as a way of maintaining a democratic society; the reciprocal model which is directed toward the partnership of the worker and clients as an interacting social system whose aims are mutually determined; the developmental model which views the group as a microcosism of society in which people help each other to grow and to develop; and the remedial model which aims at adjustment and the amelioration of maladaptive behavior.

Increasingly, social workers working with groups have raised questions as to the differences between the models, the rational for using one as opposed to the others, the relationship between the various models of social group work and other methods of social work, and the effectiveness of social group work in bringing about change in an individual. This study does not attempt to answer these questions. Rather, it stems from the recognition that such approaches as these do not occur suddenly or without cause. Social group work, like all of social work, has developed its current function, focus, purposes, and methodology as a result of social, economic and intellectual forces to which it has been subject. Over the years, social group work has taken different forms as it has been adapted to meet the needs of those using the method. The present form of social group work represents an effective tool that has been useful in meeting the needs of individuals working in and with groups in the recent past.

To understand why social group work has developed into its present form, how it has been modified to meet changing needs, and how and why it developed, one needs to trace the early roots of social group work. The material needed for such understanding, however, is scattered throughout the literature of various professions, often in obscure fragments and is therefore relatively unavailable for general use.[1] This historical examination of the relevant material in the professional literature has the purpose of making this knowledge available to those who desire a historical perspective on social group work.

The guiding question of the study has been: What factors have influenced the development of social group work from 1850 to 1955? In seeking developmental factors in the history of social group, three subsidiary questions have acted as further guides:

a) What has been the influence of the early emphasis on the small group as a means of socializing the individual?

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[1] Clara Kaiser, an early leader in social group work identified the following as being the most significant philosophical and scientific systems of thought that have given direction and content to the conceptual frame work of social group work. (1) The ethical, social and theistic beliefs embodied in the Judaeo Christian religions. (2) The humanitarian movement of the late 19th century which found expression in the settlement movement in England and the United States. (3) The educational philosophy of John Dewey and his followers who formulated the theories of progressive education. (4) The Theories of early sociologist interested in the relation of the individual to society such as Durkheim, Simmel, Cooley and Mead. (5) The democratic ethic as it permeates all forms of social relationships as expressed in the writings of Follett and Lindeman. (6) The psychoanalytic school of psychiatry. (7) Basic research in small groups by social scientists such as Lewin, Moreno, Mayo and Merton. Clara Kaiser, "The Social Group Work Process," in The Social Group Work Method in Social Work Education, Vol. XI (New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1959), p. 116.

b) What has been the influence of the concept of the group as a means of maintaining a democratic society?

c) What has been the influence of the concept of the group as a method of ameliorating maladaptive behavior?

Certain limitations are inherent in the study. The time span, beginning in 1850 was chosen because it approximated the beginning of the YMCA, the first group work agency in the United States. This choice of dates eliminates consideration of groups prior to 1850. The decision to end the study at the year 1955 was made as it coincided with the establishment of the National Association of Social Workers and formal recognition that social group work was part of social work. While this leaves a void of nine years between 1955 and the present, it would require a separate study to collect, evaluate and synthesize the voluminous and diverse information that has been published, or to adequately present the changes that have taken place in social group work during this period.

Another limitation has to do with fragmentary nature of the early roots of social group work and how the information is presented in the chapters. While many of the ideas and themes continue over a wide span of years, the basic information is presented in one chapter with subsequent information summarized in later chapters.

Since history is rarely neatly patterned and more often demonstrates uneven developments, cross currents, and conflicts which gradually become shaped into a discernable pattern, some framework or structure was necessary to guide the collection, evaluation, and synthesizing of the data. For this reason the following general method was used. A definition of social group work, given below,

was utilized as the present known result of the evolving continuum of social group work. The major components are those which the profession has found useful. How, when, and why each of these components came into use, and what social, economic, and intellectual forces influenced them, provided the guiding framework in searching the literature and determining the relevance of the data.

Definition of Social Group Work

Social group work is that method of social work in which the group experience is utilized by the worker as the primary medium of practice, for the purpose of affecting the social functioning, growth or change of the group members. The social group worker's practice includes a number of different activities depending on agency setting and job definition. The group worker's functions may include services to groups and individuals, administration, supervision, organization, program planning, and coordination, intake and group placement, record keeping and community and public relations. While all of these activities and others are considered aspects of social work practice, the social group work method may be distinguished as those specific activities of the worker interaction with the group or in behalf of the group in which the group experience is used for the benefit of the members.

The social group work method is used to maintain or improve the personal and social functioning of group members within a range of purposes. Groups may be served for corrective purposes when the problem is in the person of group members or in the social situation

or both, for prevention where group members are beginning to have difficulties, for normal growth purposes particularly at critical growth periods, for enhancement of the person and for the purpose of education and citizen participation.[2] Any group may be served for any one or all of these purposes simultaneously, and the purposes of the service may change through time but are related to the social functioning needs of the particular group members within their social context and within agency focus and goals.

Corrective Purposes:--In instances where there is or has been social or personal dysfunctioning or breakdown within individual members, or within their social situation, the group experience may be utilized to provide corrective experiences. In these instances something may have gone wrong or never developed within the person or within the social situation.[3]

Preventive Purposes:--In instances where individual group members or the group as-a-whole may exist in circumstances where there is danger of deterioration in personal or social functioning, the group experience may be used to maintain current level of functioning to prevent personal and social breakdown. Under these circumstances the group with the social group worker may provide a constructive program of mental health, provide alternatives from the surrounding delinquency or other social problems, present alternative

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[2]Margaret E. Hartford, Working Papers Toward a Frame of Reference For Social Group Work (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1963), p. 5.

[3]Ibid., p. 5.

values, provide motivation for change from prevailing cultural trends, or provide an opportunity for early detection of potential emotional problems and offer alternative resolution to personal pressures.[4]

Normal Social Growth:--The group experience guided by the worker may help to facilitate the normal social growth process and the extension of effective social functioning, particularly for people in stress periods. The social group worker through his interventions helps the group to provide preparation for the adaptation to new situations such as occur in migration or immigration, approach to marriage, or parenthood, growth into new age roles such as adolescence, young adulthood or old age.[5]

Personal Enhancement:--Through collective experience and interpersonal exchange the individual develops skills, expresses latent talent, fulfills potential growth and finds enrichment of life which could not be achieved as adequately through individual experience. Such groups would include some of the creative arts, interests, intellectual and philosophical discussions, or action groups in which the individual member grows and finds a fuller life experience through the group, not available to him through individual activities.[6]

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[4] Ibid., p. 5.

[5] Ibid., p. 6.

[6] Ibid., p. 6.

Citizenship Responsibility and Participation:--The social group worker guides the group toward experiences which provide for the members the incorporation of democratic values for themselves for the group as a whole, and for the wider society. The emphasis in this purpose is on the value development and change within the members that incorporates belief in rights and dignity of all human beings, not just practice in democratic procedures.[7]

Method

Within this framework, the literature related to social group was systematically reviewed. The problem of locating information on the early years of group work was complicated by several factors. First, despite early manifestations of the use of groups, few professional journals carried articles on it until the nineteen thirties. In 1935 the Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work published a number of papers on group work which was the first professional publication to do so. Second, because of the numerous roots of social group work, literature outside social work needed to be reviewed. This diffusion of material necessitated a page by page scanning of the literature pertaining to recreation movement, settlement movement, youth serving agencies and adult education.

The chapters have been divided into blocks of time varying from sixteen years to thirty-nine years and reflect changes in some aspects of the cultural context of the times. Chapter 2 covers the

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[7] Ibid., p. 6.

period between 1850 and 1899 and America's movement from a rural to an industrial society. The Charity Organization Society and the shift in the nation's attitude toward the poor are reviewed as a background requisite to tracing the development of the settlement movement, recreation movement and the youth serving agencies. Chapter 3 deals with the years between 1900 and 1919, when the United States entered World War I., and the influence of progressive education and adult education of group work. In Chapter 4 the effect of social science and the assumption by the federal government of social welfare services between 1920 and 1936 is examined. The period between 1937 to 1955 is the subject of Chapter 5. The final chapter gives a resume of the development of social group work.

Because of the importance of the social, political and economic factors of the time in the development of group work and social work, a brief statement regarding the American Scene is presented at the beginning of each chapter in an attempt to convey a sense and flavor of the time in which the developments of the particular period took place. These statements cannot, however, reflect the extent of the sweeping changes that took place during the various periods. It must be borne in mind that this was a period in which there were three major depressions, several recessions, the end of a civil war, two world wars and a "police action," all of which created heavy social stress. It was also a period in which the United States moved from being an agrarian society to one of the most industrialized nations in the world.

CHAPTER 2

A PATTERN OF PIECES

1860-1899

The American Scene

The forces that were responsible for the rapid development of industry in America during the post-Civil War years had been maturing for more than fifty years before the outbreak of the war. By the year 1860 the United States had entered a period of unprecedented expansion and had become one of the leading manufacturing nations in the world. The sewing machine had revolutionized the clothing industry; Colt revolvers were world famous; reapers were in use throughout the country; New Englanders were mass producing guns and watches with standardized parts; and American iron producers had begun to utilize the Bessmer Process.

Linked to manufacturing was an abundance of raw materials and a favorable market necessary for industrial expansion. Timber stands were still abundant and coal and iron ore seemed to exist in limitless quantities. The South produced more than enough cotton to supply the New England textile industry. There were vast deposits of oil to light the nation's lamps and in later years to propel its automobiles. Water power sites, which would eventually be used for generating electricity, dotted the American landscape.

When England had entered its period of rapid industrialization some fifty or more years earlier, factory owners had to sell the bulk of their goods abroad. Other European countries moving toward industrialization found that much of the world market had been pre-empted by the English. But the American manufacturer, located in the midst of an expanding home market could avoid international competition while he concentrated on fulfilling the needs of the American consumer.

During the last half of the eighteen hundreds, the population of the United States increased rapidly due mainly to immigration. The foreign-born population increased from 4,138,697 in 1860 to 9,249,560 in 1890 and to 13,345,545 in 1910.[1] In the years before 1865 most immigrants were from Germany, Ireland, Great Britain, and the Scandinavian countries. After 1865 they came primarily from Poland, Russia, Hungary, Turkey, Italy and the Balkans. Between 1880 and 1900 the majority of the immigrants were Jews from Eastern Europe who had been the victims of widespread discrimination in Czarist Russia.

Unlike many of their predecessors of the antebellum period, the immigrants after 1860 settled primarily in cities and became members of the industrial working class. Most lacked the attributes necessary for success in American industrial society except for a willingness to work. Without the skills and training needed for

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[1] U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957" (Washington D.C., 1960), pp. 56-59.

machine tending of a craft, they were compelled to work at menial jobs with low pay and poor working conditions. Many had arrived with only a few cents in their pocket and the clothes on their back, and had to take whatever type of work that was available. Their inability to understand English made them easy victims of unscrupulous employers and the strangeness of a new land with new customs made them too timid to protest when they were victimized. The combination of poverty and ignorance often drove the immigrant into the most hazardous work in American industry. A sizeable number of immigrants found work in such dangerous occupations as coal mining and steel making where their inability to read the warning signs prevented them from even achieving a minimum of physical security.

Though the immigrant was well received by the industrialist because of his work potential, he was met with suspicion and prejudice by American laborers. Native born workers usually viewed the immigrant as a threat to their security refusing him even a semblance of economic equality. Jobs that were thought of as being beneath an American were considered good enough for an immigrant. Some industries assigned different types of work to separate nationalities with the most recent arrivals occupying the least desirable positions.

A major philosophy which permeated big business, religion, and education was that of laissez faire which emphasized individualism. Based on the writings of Charles Darwin, it was tailored by Herbert Spencer to fit the needs of industrial capitalism. Spencer in his articles, lectures and books argued that Darwin's rules of natural selection applied not only to the beasts of the jungle but to all

individuals within society. Life was characterized by an unremitting struggle in which the weak fell by the wayside while the strong inevitably pushed forward. In spite of the fact that this appeared inhumane and cruel, there was nothing that could be done to alter it, for it was a law of nature that only the fittest survived. In short only the rich were fit, and their wealth was proof of their fitness.

The patness and easy generalizations of Spencer's theories appealed to businessmen and industrialists who no doubt wondered why they had been able to accumulate great fortunes in a few short years while others had no more than the clothes on their back. American businessmen such as Andrew Carnegie and J. Pierpoint Morgen, used Social Darwinism as a way of defending their control of American capitalism. Like Spencer, they argued that economic society and life in the jungle were both characterized by a fierce, never-ending struggle for survival and supremacy. Those who were best equipped by nature for the battle invariably emerged as victors.

Carnegie conceded that nature's law at times seemed harsh, but he insisted that all progress depended on the elimination of the unfit because it insured the survival of the fittest. If poverty were to be abolished, according to Carnegie, progress and development would cease. Attempts to organize to help others or form labor unions were futile, for they rested on the false assumption that economic life was controlled by man instead of by natural laws. Although it was true that unions did get an advance in wages it would have come

anyway by the natural laws of competition among the capitalists and without the loss of wages and suffering entailed by a strike or confrontation.[2]

Other businessmen maintained that moral consideration as well as natural and economic laws determined the distribution of wealth in American economic society. The moral law, similar in many ways to the teachings of Calvin, placed considerable emphasis on the Calvinistic doctrines of hard work, obedience and thrift as means of acquiring wealth. This was supported by many leaders within the church. The Right Reverend William Lawrence of Massachusetts noted: "a certain distrust on the part of the people as to the effect of material prosperity on their morality" and suggested that it would be well to "revise our inferences from history, experience and the Bible" and shed that subtle hypocracy that earthly riches are wrong but at the same time "work with all his might to earn a competence and a fortune if he can." Once having rid himself of such fake inferences and hypocracy, man may now recognize great building principles of his life. The first is his "devine nature to conquer nature, open up her resources, and harness them to his service." The second is that only to the man of morality will wealth come for "Godliness is in league with riches." This being the case he added,

> . . . we retain with an easier mind and clear conscience the problem of our twenty-five billion dollars in a decade, confident that our material possessions in the long run are favorable to morality.[3]

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[2]Harry J. Carman and Harold C. Syrett, A History of the American People, (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1955), p. 143.

[3]Sidney E. Mead, "American Protestantism Since the Civil War," XXXXVI, January, 1956, pp. 1-15.

While the philosophy of laissez faire generally prevailed throughout the entire period from the end of the Civil War to the close of the 19th century, there were strong attacks and eventually a successful assault upon its major tenets. Farmers and industrial workers grew increasingly unwilling to accept a concept of government's role that provided aid and comfort for business and industry while refusing any sort of regulation of its activities. Social and economic critics also argued that a theory of economic development that encouraged both the growth of monopoly and the consequent increase of economic power in the hands of the few was dangerous and destructive to a nation's well being.

In response to such pressure, a number of states enacted regulatory laws. The railways, one of the biggest offenders, challenged their constitutionality on the grounds that such legislation deprived them of their property as guaranteed by the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment which stated that no person (a corporation is a person in the eyes of the law) could be deprived of property without due process of law. The Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the new laws in the case of "Munn vs Illinois" in 1876 and stated that a legislature could in the exercise of its policy power may regulate any business "affected with a public interest."

It was soon to become apparent that state regulation of the railroad was ineffective. The local and state government were too much under the influence of the railroads and other business to make enforcement feasible. As a result, Congress felt compelled to act and passed the Interstate Commerce Act in 1887 which set up the

Interstate Commerce Commission to pass upon the reasonableness of rates applying to commerce among the states. Concurrently a comparable movement arose for control of the trust which led in 1890 to passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. It specifically declared that any combinations, trust or conspiracy in restraint of trade, so far as applied to commerce among the states were illegal and provided penalties for any infraction of the statute's provisions.

Charity Organization Society

During the eighteen seventies, the inadequacy and disorganization of public and private relief increasingly became apparent. Charitable bodies throughout the country incorporated the individualism of the industrial entreprenear who had grown wealthy in an expanding economy. Not infrequently a prosperous donor sought to express his particular philanthropy for any relief society that would accept his donation. As a result, there was much overlapping and waste in contrast to many unmet needs. Coupled with this was the strong conviction that pauperism indicated character deficiency and required the maximum of personal influence of the donor upon the recipient.

As a means of dealing with the problem, a number of cities decided to develop organizations similar to the Charity Organization Society which had been operating in England since 1869. The COS, as it was referred to, aimed at bringing about the coordination of the existing welfare services and agencies. While the granting of relief would continue to be the function of the existing agencies as it had

before, COS was to develop machinery and a technique whereby relief could be expeditiously and economically administered without duplication and competition.

The first American Charity Organization Society was founded in Buffalo in 1877 with the specific goal of avoiding the waste of funds and to become a center of intercommunication between the various charities. The Society stressed that there was to be no proselytism on the part of their agents, no interference with any existing societies, no relief given by the organization itself except in emergencies, that "there must be no sentiment in the matter," and above all, no exclusion of any person or body of persons on account of religious creed, politics or nationality. Within 10 years, twenty-five similar organizations were formed, all based on the following principles: (1) The Cooperation of all local charity agencies under a board of their representatives. (2) A central "confidential register" and investigation of the social conditions of every applicant by a "friendly visitor" in order to determine the need and the individual measures necessary in each case.

The founders of these societies were typically wealthy citizens who felt morally obligated to alleviate the suffering of the poor and to minimize the political unrest and political strife. The religious and political philosophy of the founders influenced the visitors. Poverty was felt to be caused by personal fault, idleness, mismanagement, drinking, negligence and vice. It was hoped that by giving friendly advice, by helping in procuring employment,

or by giving a loan, they could strengthen the "moral fiber" of the indigent and encourage them to become self supporting.

America's attitude towards poverty is illustrated by a report of the Massachusetts' Board of State Charities in 1866.

> In providing for the poor, the dependent and the vicious . . . we must bear in mind that they do not as yet form with us a well marked and persistant class, but a conventional, and perhaps only a temporary one. They do not differ from other men, except that taken as a whole, they inherited less favorable moral tendencies and less original vigor. Care should be taken that we do not, by our treatment, transform the conventional class into a real one and a persistent one.[4]

This attitude in part, was based on the traditional religious belief that poverty was a fortunate necessity which led the poor into paths of industry and the rich into acts of charity. On the other hand there was an equally powerful belief that America was the land of plenty and poverty was an unnecessary misfortune. There was work for all and any man who wanted work could find it. Therefore, poverty was the punishment meted out to the poor for their indolence, inefficiency or improvidence; or else it was to be interpreted in terms of heredity or degeneration.

However, this school of thought which placed such heavy emphasis upon individuality and all it implied was not accepted by everyone. By the last part of the nineteen hundreds there appeared a new trend of thought which highlighted what one of its adherents, Edward T. Devine, called:

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[4]Second Annual Report of Massachusetts Board of State Charities, January 1866, in Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Public Welfare Administration in the United States. Select Documents (Chicago, 1938), p. 305.

> . . . conscious social action, and which focused on the environment rather than the individual. It makes of charity a type of anticipatory justice which deals not only with individuals who suffer but with social conditions that tend to perpetuate crime, pauperism and degeneracy.[5]

This philosophy challenged the prevailing doctrine that poverty was due to character defects.

As the visitors became intimately acquainted with the conditions of "their families" they too began to question whether unhealthy neighborhoods and housing conditions prevented the maintenance of health and morals. Careful housekeeping and thrift, when wages were low, did not allow for adequate food or housing. In time of sickness or unemployment, families found themselves at the mercy of loan sharks who forced them further into debt by charging high interest rates.

In 1895 a member of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections told his fellow social workers that although helping individuals one by one was important, Charity Organization societies must do all they can "to abolish all conditions which depress, to promote measures which raise men and neighborhoods and communities,"[6] while the President of the Boston Associated Charities questioned whether the new Charity Organization movement had not been too interested in relieving single cases of distress without asking whether

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[5]Edward T. Devine, When Social Work Was Young (New York: Macmillian Co., 1939), p. 4.

[6]Jeffrey R. Brackett, "The Charity Organization Movement: Its Tendency and its Duty," Proceedings, 22nd National Conference of Charities and Correction (Boston, 1895), p. 84.

there were "prolific causes permanently at work" to create want, vice, crime, disease and death which should be removed.

> If such causes of pauperism exist, how vain to waste our energies on single cases of relief when society should aim at removing the prolific sources of all the woe.[7]

Various COS groups began to stress the need for social reform which would fundamentally change living and environmental conditions. Societies began promoting social legislation for the improvement of housing and of penal institutions, clearing of slums and treatment of tuberculosis which was wide spread among poverty stricken families. The Buffalo Society, for example, very early added to its work the maintenance of employment bureaus, wood yards, laundries, work rooms, special schools, wayfarers' lodges, loan societies, penny banks, fuel societies, creches, district nursing, sick diet kitchens and an emergency accident hospital.

By the turn of the century, in both England and America, men and women employed by charitable institutions began to consider their work as a profession in much the same way as other men regarded law, theology and medicine. Others argued that social work was synonymous with "friendly uplifting" requiring little more than true friendship, sympathy, pity, encouragement and a warm heart. The fact that many workers accepted payment often incurred the criticism of the rich. The willingness to work for nothing was considered the hall-mark of a sincere charity worker. As late as 1898 the Central

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[7]Robert Treat Paine, "Pauperism in Great Cities: Its Four Chief Causes," The Public Treatment of Pauperism, being a Report of the First Section of the International Congress of Charities, Corrections and Philanthropy, June 1893 (Baltimore, 1894), p. 35.

Council of the New York City COS announcing a six weeks' "Training School in Practical Charity," warned intending applicants not to be too interested in money.[8]

In spite of the negativism toward the paid worker, it was becoming obvious that there were not enough well-to-do and leisured individuals who were able to give their time to friendly visiting. In addition it was found that usually the paid agent did a better job then the volunteer. Mary Richmond, one of the early leaders in social work, discovered that in any unusually delicate or puzzling situation, the paid agent was much more adept and reliable. Near the end of the century, both volunteer and paid visitors began to express the need for deeper understanding of the behavior of individuals and of economic problems and asked for special training for social work. This served as a stimulus for the establishment of the Training School for Applied Philanthropy which organized the first social work courses in 1898 in New York City.

As the COS became better established, two conflicting tasks became apparent. They had been organized to achieve better coordination and organization of existing services and to improve the health and the social resources of the community. At the same time, vested interests among member agencies often resented recommendations for change of method of work, so that some societies were forced to establish divisions for service to families in need. These divisions

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[8]S. E. Tenney, "The Class for Study of the Friendly Visitors' Work," The Charities Review, II (November 1892 - June 1893), pp. 58-64.

conflicted with the activities of other relief societies which objected as COS had not been founded to set up rival organizations.

As a result, functions of COS were separated. The first place for this to occur was Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania where the organization split into a family welfare agency and an agency for the planned coordination of activities. Other cities followed this pattern with the development of Councils of Social Agencies as the coordinating and planning body and Associated Charities as a family welfare society.

The Settlement Movement

The prototype for settlement houses in America was Toynbee Hall which was established in 1885 in the east side of London by Samuel Barnett an Anglican minister. In 1883 the London Congregational Union published The Bitter Cry of Outcast London, an emotional account of the condition of the poor in East London and an appeal for funds to establish mission halls in the district. The report began on this challenging note:

> Whilst we have been building our churches and solacing ourselves with our religion, and dreaming that the millennium was coming, the poor have been growing poorer, the wretched more miserable, and the immoral more corrupt; the gulf has been daily widening which separates the lowest classes of the community from our churches and chapels, and from all decency.[9]

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[9]Bitter Cry of Outcast London: An Inquiry into Conditions of the Abject Poor (London: Congregational Union, 1883).

Barnett, along with his wife and others was stimulated to action because of the Bitter Cry. They converted the church rectory into a social center for the people of the community, and named the center after Arnold Toynbee who was, at that time, a tutor at Oxford. University men were invited to come to live with them in the belief that the men, hopefully imbued with the Christian ideal of social justice and humanitarianism, might live face to face with the actual conditions of crowded city life, study on the spot the evils and remedies, and ennoble the lives and improve the material conditions of the people.

The philosophy which lay behind the settlement movement was expressed by W. Moore Ede in 1896 in a discussion on the attitude the church should take toward problems of the city.

> The dwellers in the East End of our towns will not be converted by missionaries and tracts sent by dwellers in the West End. The dwellers in the West End must go to the dwellers in the East themselves, share with the East those pleasures which give interest and delight to the dwellers in the West, and make up the fullness of their life. When the dwellers in the West go thus to the dwellers in the East they will be themselves converted for they will have turned to Christ and accepted His yoke of personal service, and the dwellers in the East, recognizing the true helpfulness of the Christian life will be converted too.[10]

Important offerings of Toynbee Hall were clubs and groups which centered on such topics as life saving, carving, citizenship and literature. Canon Barnett was convinced that an individual, through the use of such groups could strengthen his capacity to

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[10]W. Moore Ede, "The Attitude of the Church to Some of the Social Problems of Town Life," From Charity to Social Work in England and the United States, Kathleen Woodroofe, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), p. 65.

make decisions and keep to them. The relationship between resident and member was dialectical with both giving and receiving.

> I should say that we learn much, we unlearn more. We have too . . . the opportunity not of merely enlarging our sympathies . . . but of building up a new system of relationship side by side with our old . . . forming around the hall a new world of student-friend and guest-friend, acting and reacting on one another by whose means refinement and knowledge may pass electrically as from friend to friend and not professionally from tutor to pupil.[11]

The first American settlement house was begun in 1886 with the establishment of the Neighborhood Guild under the leadership of Stanton Coit on the east side of New York City. After spending time with Canon Barnett in London, Coit returned home with the goal of developing a similar program in the United States. Because of a lack of funds and public support, he began meeting with a group of eighteen year old boys in the tenement apartment of an elderly blind apple woman. As new members were added, a basement of that tenement was rented for a club room. Possession of this additional space led to the establishment of a kindergarden and, within the year, a girls' club composed of young women between sixteen and twenty-two years of age. A year later five different clubs were holding meetings in the basement, and a federation of young people's club was organized taking on the name "Neighborhood Guild."

The settlement idea caught on quickly and a number of other settlement houses opened their doors. In their turn the Neighborhood Guild, (later known as the University Settlement), the College

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[11]Henrietta Barnett, Canon Barnett: His Life, Work and Friends, Vol I, (1919) p. 311.

Settlement in New York City, and Hull House in Chicago became the models for numerous other settlements in the United States during the nineties. The idea was so enthusiastically received that, within fifteen years after Stanton Coit had organized the Neighborhood Guild in New York, approximately one hundred settlement houses were operating in American cities.

The early settlements were located in crowded neighborhoods inhabited by immigrants. Most of the immigrants were forced to live in cluttered, fifth ridden tenements called by one observer a breeding place for vice, crime, and disease. Life in the dark, damp, buildings was made worse by overcrowding. Within the two or three rooms of the apartment there often lived a household composed of a husband, wife, children, plus other relatives and lodgers.

Sanitary facilities were limited and several families used a common sink and toilet. Bathtubs were a luxury which few tenement dwellers had an opportunity to enjoy. Even drinking water was scarce for the pressure was too low to lift the water above the first floor. While most immigrants found life in the New World, even under these conditions, sweeter than what they had known in the Old, sometimes they concluded as did one Rumanian immigrant

> This was the boasted American freedom and opportunity--the freedom for respectable citizens to sell cabbage from hideous carts, the opportunity to live in those monstrous dirty caves [tenements] that shut out the sunshine.[12]

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[12]Walter Trattner, From Poor Law to Welfare State: A History of Social Welfare in America (New York: The Free Press), 1974, p. 139.

In many ways, the early settlements were extensions of the personalities of persons who started them. The group of "settlers" was usually composed of the head resident, friends and acquaintances who shared similar interests and zeal for humanitarian experimentation.[13] Bremmer points out that the pioneers in the field were all young people born too late for Brook Farm and too early for Greenwich Village. Success in conventional business or professional careers and the achievement of assured social position offered less of a challenge to them than to the offspring of less fortunately endowed families. Instead, they found the call to altruistic service irresistible, and they gravitated toward poverty, a condition foreign to their personal experience.[14]

> Had they lived in a different age or in a different country, religion, politics, or even revolutionary intrigue might have been their me'tier. A significant number, in fact, had once planned to become missionaries in remote corners of the world and were only deflected from that aim by becoming aware of the opportunities for service in neglected areas of their own communities.[15]

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[13]Perhaps part of the motivation of the early settlement leaders was, as Kenneth E. Boulding has proposed, due to class guilt and class anxiety. They were moved to seek out those who were alienated from the main centers of American life by their poverty or immigrant origins because they themselves, members of the comfortable middle and professional classes, suffered a profound sense of alienation from a society which increasingly deferred to new centers of financial power and from a culture which denied to women the right to participate fully in the life of the community. Kenneth E. Boulding, "Alienation and Economic Development," (New York: National Federation of Settlements, 1958), pp. 61-71.

[14]Robert H. Bremmer, From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the United States (New York: New York University Press, 1964), p. 61.

[15]Alice Hamilton, Exploring the Dangerous Trades: The Autobiography of Alice Hamilton, MD. (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1943), p. 27.

Of the many pioneers, Jane Addams, founder of Hull House best exemplified the total commitment of settlement leaders to the welfare of others. In 1889 she, along with a friend Ellen Gates Starr, made a pilgrimage to see Toynbee Hall and to meet Canon Barnett. Upon returning home to Chicago, they began searching for a suitable house with a nearby field. They decided upon an old mansion on Halsted Street which had reached a low estate as a lodging house, in a neighborhood populated by Bohemians, Italians, Germans, Greeks, Poles, Russian Jews and Irish newcomers.

From the beginning they set out to share with their neighbors both their choicest possessions and the knowledge they had gained through experience and intellectual training. Reproductions of paintings were framed and lent to neighbors. Groups were formed to study art, literature and science. The first specially erected building included an art gallery, a studio, and a library. A series of parties and festivals commemorative of immigrant customs and traditions was arranged requiring tremendous sensitivity by the settlers because of the deep sense of national loyalty felt by the various groups.

Many of her friends and family questioned why she chose to live on Halsted Street when she could afford to live somewhere else. To Jane Addams it was natural that she and the Settlement should be there.

> If it is natural to feed the hungry and care for the sick, it is certainly natural to give pleasure to the young, comfort to the aged, and to minister to the deep-seated craving for social intercourse that all men feel. Whoever does it is rewarded by something which, if not gratitude, is at least

> spontaneous and vital and lacks that irksome sense of obligation with which a substantial benefit is too often acknowledged.[16]

Initially, the settlement leaders felt their major work was to be with young men and women in the community. However, they usually found that those most interested in using the facilities were young boys.

> Boys approaching adolescence welcomed so eagerly any overture that might be interpreted as friendly, followed up acquaintance with such unvarying persistence and teased with such winning good nature to be included in whatever good times were arranged, that they gained the freedom of the settlement almost against the underlying desires of residents.[17]

As soon as the boys were admitted to the house they were assigned to groups on an arbitrary basis by the residents. From the beginning these groups were kept small based on the conviction that it was better to know a few children well, than many superficially. The advantages of the small group under the guidance of leaders of character and ability had already been demonstrated by Protestant Sunday schools. Another reason, apart from any theory was that space was limited and meetings had to be held in the dining room, parlor or bedrooms of the house. This also resulted in the use of limited movement activities such as debating, table games, story telling, singing, conversation and the study of parliamentary law.

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[16]Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910), p. 111.

[17]Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy, The Settlement Horizon: A National Estimate (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1922), p. 73.

A question that plagued most of the early settlements was the desirability of boys bringing their friends to the club meetings. It was generally felt that allowing the members to choose other members would lead to the formation of gangs. As residents became more secure with their own position, they came to recognize that most boys in the larger cities belonged to gangs, not all gangs were bad, and a group already developed could be worked with and yield positive results.

Resourceful settlement workers began to recruit clubs and gangs by commissioning boys who appeared to have some leadership potential to begin their own groups or by offering directly the facilities of the settlement to gangs gathered from neighborhoods and street corners. The movement from a "gang to a club" it was felt, occurred when the members were able to agree upon rules of conduct. Woods and Kennedy note that efforts to live up to a standard written in a constitution and subscribed to, set in motion new and compelling influences.

> A little experience makes it evident that distinction within the group depends on effectiveness with one's fellows; that he who serves leads. The cost of untruthfulness, irresponsibility, and lack of application especially in others is seen in deeper blackness when silhouetted against group interest. The fact that the club is financially responsible for the actions of individual members creates a new attitude on the part of the majority toward wanton destruction. The weak are bolstered, the strong confirmed, and the rebellious coerced by the most telling force members know, the publicly expressed judgement of a group of their peers. In the club, the fact that the moral law represents the sole practicable scheme of human intercourse, finds demonstration in the understood terms of life itself.[18]

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[18] Ibid., p. 75.

Finding qualified leaders for clubs was often a difficult task for those responsible for club activities. It was generally felt that volunteers were more desirable for club leaders than paid workers as they best represented the settlement ideal of sharing and friendship. Many preferred club leaders that were "busy" rather than someone with "time on their hands" in that they would have a better sense of responsibility and better equipped to win the respect of the club members. It was also considered important that the leader be fond of people for their own sake, able to generate interest in activities, and capable of dealing resourcefully with new situations.[19]

Club directors prior to the turn of the century were usually men who by virtue of their physical strength, personal magnetism, and knowledge of activities were able to keep boys within bounds and to direct their desires. As clubs began to multiply and resources became more adequate, individuals in the field of social work came to be sought after. The club director needed to be acquainted with the findings of modern psychologic research and pedagogic experiment, able to apply the lessons of these sciences to group work for all ages and also to train staff assistants and volunteer associates who would carry out the programs. As part of the job he had to undertake a neighborhood census of group activities and resources and know where the various gangs were likely to be found "at almost any hour of the

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[19]Arthur Holden, The Settlement Idea: A Vision of Social Justice (New York: Macmillan Company, 1922), p. 67.

day or night."[20] He had to follow up younger boys who manifested signs of power to direct others, and discover the exceptional man who could play games, sing, perform on instruments, tell stories, make speeches, assume responsibility, organize group meetings and create public opinion; and, induce them to give regular or occasional service in the organized life of the neighborhood.

Girls and womens' clubs at the settlement house differed markedly from those for boys and men. Though called clubs, they were essentially classes with little or no emphasis on self government, rules of order and committee work. Attention, instead, was directed toward training for fundamental domestic activities such as child care, sewing, dress making and cooking.

This difference in the program occurred for several reasons. First, it was much more convenient to find teachers than group workers. To many adults, the lack of structure of the club was threatening. Second, girls were much more receptive to a class like structure. Boys, on the other hand, viewed the class structure as being too much like school and rebelled against any thing that resembled the classroom. Third, the settlement in its early stages was primarily a home and only secondarily a house. Residents found it difficult to tolerate the excessive wear and tear on household furnishings which was inevitable in boys club work. Finally, many of the early leaders in the settlement movement and the youth serving

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[20]The term "director" was used to designate the resident responsible for organized club work, while "leader" indicated the volunteer, resident or paid associate who met regularly with the club.

agencies believed that the "instinct" of club loyalty was much weaker in girls than in boys and their "natural sense of membership is not easily enlarged beyond the family."[21]

Some felt that the girls' and womens' groups should be a laboratory for assisting women to learn about business. Bernheimer and Cohen, in their early book on boys clubs argued that the fact that girls often lacked business sense was a reason for cultivating it in a club.

> The girls who acquire this business sense in their contacts with the business world show ability in their clubs to run the clubs. The school girl and the girl in other walks of life were somewhat at a disadvantage as compared with the business girl; much more when compared with the brother who imbibes ideas of organization from the associationships from early boyhood to which he naturally gravitates.[22]

Most of the direct services provided by settlement houses were through groups of various kinds. Addams, Coit, and other leaders became concerned with the commercial dance halls, "five cent theaters," houses of prostitution, and neighborhood saloons which were seen as vicious and corrupting influences on youth. The settlement answer to this situation was to offer decent and safe recreation programs. Playgrounds, gymnasiums and game rooms were opened while at the same time social action was undertaken to clean up commercial recreation and to provide public facilities.

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[21]Joseph Lee, Constructive and Preventive Philanthropy (New York: Macmillan Company, 1906), p. 25.

[22]Charles S. Bernheimer and Jacob M. Cohen, Boys' Clubs (Baltimore: Lord Baltimore Press, 1914), p. 83.

The social club often provided the impetus to vocational and educational ambition and helped many of the members to learn the new ways of an American community, often alien to their immigrant parents. At the same time, women's clubs helped the foreign born parents find the social life they missed after coming to America. Not all members of social clubs shared the same enthusiasm of the settlement house leaders for educational programs. Jane Addams cites one situation in which an earnest volunteer insisted on reading Antigone to her group and overhead one girl say, "Let her finish it so we can get on to the dancing."[23]

In addition to the social clubs, a number of other interest groups flourished. These were of several kinds, including classes in drama, music and the arts which were carried on at a very high level of performance. Lecture and discussion groups were also formed and dealt with such topics as John Dewey's lectures on social psychology, Plato, and the poems of Browning. One means of stimulating the interests of members was the reading of plays. Once the play was finished the worker would direct a discussion of the themes with which the play dealt.

Though groups were not used as a means of treatment in settlement houses until the middle nineteen forties, there is evidence to suggest that some leaders recognized the pressure of group dynamics on deviant behavior much earlier. Jane Addams wrote about a group

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[23]Addams, p. 34.

of young boys who were drug addicts and how the settlement house worker worked with them.

> It is doubtful whether these boys could ever have pulled through unless they had been allowed to keep together through the hospital and convalescing period, unless we had been able to utilize the gang spirit and to turn its collective forces towards overcoming the desire for the drugs.[24]

The Youth Serving Agencies

During the years between 1850 and 1900 "character building" organizations for boys and girls increased rapidly. This was due to the growing mechanization of industry which made necessary new interests to fill leisure time, and as a means of protection against the problems created by city life in a rising industrial society. Some focused on the multiple problems of immigrant families adjusting to a new world while others concentrated on the working and living conditions of youth.

These organizations included the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Catholic Boys Brigade, Young Women's Christian Association, Young Mens Christian Association, Young Women's Hebrew Association, Young Men's Hebrew Association, Boys Clubs, and 4-H Clubs. Among the activities usually provided by character-building agencies were: active sports i.e., football, volleyball, golf; outdoor life, i.e., camping, hiking, nature study; social contacts and group experiences, i.e., dances, parties, social club activities; training in new skills,

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[24]Jane Addams, The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets (New York: Macmillian Company, 1909), p. 66.

i.e., hand crafts, cooking, homemaking; community service projects, i.e., first aid, cultural improvement; and vocational classes and individual help, i.e., vocational classes, lectures, personal counseling.

Generally these organizations began as a local endeavor by a small number of middle class, educated citizens to deal with a particular group of children; and subsequently evolved into a national or international organization. In summarizing the tendencies in boy's work, Stone says that:

> The changes from local efforts at boys' work by a few interested men to nationalization and standization of boy organizations, from social saving to boy guidance in method, from the church to the school as an organizing center; the growing use of equipment whenever available for boys groups and the growing reliance on neighborhood and interest groups using the life situation of boys as the basis for program building; the efforts to eliminate friction, the growing interest of civic clubs in boys' work as a method of reducing the cost of crime in American life, and the growing interest in informal leisure time education for boys and girls and experimentation in the private practice of boys work, summarizes the major trends in boys' work.[25]

Once an interest in an activity was stimulated, the various organization used it to develop a variety of specific behavior patterns. Some stressed the development of loyalty, honor, physical fitness, social and racial consciousness, of love of country, class, party or sect; others had as a primary goal intellectual development or increasing appreciation of art, esthetics and nature. These aims

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[25]Walter L. Stone, The Development of Boys' Work in the United States (1835), p. 75. Quotation by Informal Education Service, cited by Martin H. Neumeyer and Esther S. Neumeyer, Leisure and Recreation (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1936), p. 331.

were often expressed in such generalizations as "character building," "development of personality," "good citizenship," and "control over nature."

Generally, boys' and girls' clubs evolved into two general types, the mass club and the small group. The mass club was a larger grouping of integral units in which a variety of activities could be undertaken simultaneously by different leaders. The club as a whole met frequently on the basis of some common interest which may have been nothing more than age grouping, time of meeting, or a purpose set by the sponsoring organization. The second type, the small group club carried on activities in which all of the members could participate in comparatively close association with one another.

Some organizations, such as the YMCA, started as a mass club but expanded into the extensive use of small groups. This was due to dissatisfaction with the failure of the departmentalized styled programs to give recognition to the life of the individual member as a part of a school, church, and community. In short, all members were seen as being alike with no differentiation for different life styles. McCaskill, reflecting on this issue felt that there was little carry over of what was learned in the building to other parts of the boys life and that the departmentalized organization made democracy and self government for boys a very difficult procedure. Often a small group of members, usually about fifty, "capture the leadership" of the organization and conduct it as a benevolent oligarchy in which the members have little or no voice.[26]

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[26]Joseph C. McCaskill, Theory and Practice of Group Work (New York: Association Press, 1930), p. 4.

Of the many youth serving agencies the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, Boy and Girl Scouts, the Boys Clubs and the Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Association had the most influence on the development of social group work.

Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations

The first of the group work agencies in the United States was the Boston's Young Men's Christian Association established in 1851 by a converted Baptist sea captain, T. V. Sullivan who while visiting London had been impressed by the London YMCA. Organized by George Williams in 1844 it had as its purpose the improvement of the mental, moral, and physical conditions of all young men of good character. Sullivan, with the help of the Protestant community, established a similar organization for young men who had come to Boston to work. Eventually it added the aim of helping boys meet the problems and conditions of present day life through groups which were organized within their own environment and neighborhood. These included Bible study classes, hobby and interest clubs, teams, school clubs (notably Hi-Y and Junior Hi-Y), church clubs, employed boys clubs and gang and neighborhood clubs.

The YMCA clubs were guided in their efforts to seek and to achieve desirable and social redirection from a Christian viewpoint among boys with whom they associated as well as self-development in desirable skills and habits of living in a Christian democracy. To a large extent the work was carried on by employed, trained boy's work secretaries, along with help from volunteer group leaders.

The evangelical emphasis of some of the local Associations frequently involved them in a variety of general religious and welfare work. Hopkins in his history of the YMCA movement has noted that in its first decades the organization functioned as a "sort of cooperating agency for the advancement of any good work that any good man thought ought to be prosecuted." As late as 1874 many local Associations had committees in charge of relief which had the task of distributing money and clothing to poor families.

While relief work ranked second only to the conversion of young men, it frequently came under fire by its board for its priorities. After such an attack the Chicago "Y" reported that it was fast becoming "a society for the improvement of the condition of the poor, physical[ly] and morally," and wished to impress on all concerned that "our mission is not only to relieve the suffering but to improve the morals of those who are aided by us."[27] Gradually, the YMCA began to limit its activities to work with young men and left the field of general philanthropy to other organizations.

The history of the YWCA in America parallels closely that of the YMCA in that it was based on an organization already established in England, concerned with the mental, spiritual, and physical well being of female youth. In 1858 the Ladies Christian Association was established in New York City with the goal of holding religious meetings among self supporting young women employed in mills and

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[27]Charles H. Hopkins, The History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America (New York: Association Press, 1951), pp. 189-190.

factories. The name, Young Women's Christian Association, was first used by the Boston Association, established in 1866.

Like its predecessors in England and New York City, it was concerned with the plight of the young women moving to the city in search of work. There were no agencies offering protection or advice of a Christian nature, so the Boston YWCA assumed the duty of seeking out young women taking up their residence in Boston, endeavored to bring them under moral and religious influences, by aiding them in selection of suitable boarding places and employment and by encouraging their attendance at some place of worship.[28]

Early Associations emphasized Christian motivation, both in the organization and in the type of work done. The following statement occurs in a summary report made in 1876.

> But above all, the great aim of the Associations is to win souls for Christ, and it is this object which occupies the best thoughts and noblest efforts of those engaged in the work. Yet of this part of the work, the results cannot be counted up. They will be known only on that day when the Searcher of all hearts shall say to those who have been faithful in the discharge of this duty, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethern, ye have done it unto me.[29]

It was only a short time before those women who had had their attention drawn in the first place to the needs of young working girls, realized

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[28]Elizabeth Wilson, Fifty Years of Association Work Among Young Women, 1866-1916 (New York: National Board of the Y.W.C.A., 1916), p. 31.

[29]J. P. Cattell, "Women's Christian Associations in America - Their Work and Its Results," Faith and Works, I (August, 1876), p. 4. Cited by Mary S. Sims, The Natural History of a Social Institution - the Young Women's Christian Association (New York: The Womans Press, 1936), p. 8.

the values and satisfactions in group organization as a way of service. By the end of the 1880's the Young Women's Christian Association had enlarged its function so that it not only provided a wide range of programs for girls living under their roof, but began to organize Christian women for service within the community. Local YWCA's organized homes for the aged, distributed flowers, fruit, and clothing in soldiers' homes, city prisons, workhouses, jails, orphan asylums, and hospitals. Religious services were conducted in hospitals, jails, and other institutions. Day nurseries, orphan asylums, and "retreats for sinful, sorrowing women," all made their appearance in various YWCA's.

The over-all program, especially in the last half of the 1800's, was adapted to meet the ever-widening professional and emotional interests of young women. Classes in penmanship, bookeeping, astronomy and physiology began in the 1860's, and the YWCA was the first organization in the country to offer sewing machine lessons in 1872. Stenography, china-painting, domestic science and cooking were added to the list of instructions offered by the mid-1880. To meet the increasing demand for general education, many Associations offered classes in a wide variety of subjects, with emphasis on their practical application to everyday living. The education process of the YWCA was to provide for individual development with emphasis on thinking, working and acting together.

Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts of America

The scouting idea originated in England in 1907. As an aftermath of the Boer War, General Baden-Powell having experimented with camping with boys for sometime, organized the Boy Scouts. The Girl Scouts of Great Britain developed shortly thereafter. The American organization of the Boy Scouts was founded in 1910 and the Girl Scouts in 1912, with the goal of supplementing existing institutions such as the home, the school, and the church by engaging boys and girls in outdoor games and activities of cultural value.

The purpose of the Boy Scouts from its inception has been to develop character and to train for citizenship by helping boys to do things for themselves, by training them in scoutcraft, by teaching them patriotism, courage, self-reliance, and developing in them strong bodies and physical fitness. This is epitomized in the "Scout Oath" in which the Scout promises on his honor to do his duty to God and his country, to obey the Scout law, to help others at all times, and to keep himself physically strong, mentally awake, and morally straight.

Over the years, the Scout program has received considerable criticism for being too militaristic and nationalistic. In that the founder and some of the early leaders were army officers, military regimentation was stressed. Others have maintained that belonging to the Scouts was too expensive. Though uniforms were not required, if the boy anticipated participation in all of the activities it was desirable that he have full equipment. Another

criticism has to do with the lack of flexibility in the program. Members pass from one rank to another by passing a series of tests. The program is prearranged and there is little opportunity for individualism in the initial ranks. This is in sharp contrast to the boys' work of the YMCA whose program is based upon the interests of the boys which are discovered through discussion and counseling.

The Girl Scouts, founded by Juliet Lowe was a replica of the Girl Guide Program in England. Organized in 1912, it provided constructive group experience which would grow with the needs and desires of its members and which would foster self-reliance, consideration for others, and a sense of social responsibility. Programs included homemaking, out of door activities, international friendship, arts and crafts, community life, dramatics, music and dancing. Similar to the Boy Scouts the members were placed in small groups called patrols and progress was made through the stages of tenderfoot, second-class, and first-class rank. Girls were encouraged to embark upon a new voyage of discovery so that they would broaden their interests. A number of proficiency projects were part of the program allowing for the development of special talents.

Boys' Clubs

The earliest of the Boys' Clubs were established as independent units by individuals or groups often unaware of similar undertaking in other communities. The first Club for boys that left a record to its work was established in Hartford in 1860 by three young women who, for a number of years supervised a self-governing

group of boys known as the "Dashaway Club." The members participated in such activities as games, music, dramatics and dancing. Atkinson and Vincent in their history of the Boys' Club note that financially the club was secure. When it disbanded during the Civil War it had a library fund of a thousand dollars which was donated to the Free Public Library.[30]

Of the organizations that have maintained uninterrupted service and the one known as the oldest is in Salem, Massachusetts, known since its beginning in 1869 as the "Salem Fraternity." In a report on its operation dated 1882, the following characteristics were listed: (1) The Club was centrally located. (2) Its equipment was practical and relatively inexpensive. The emphasis was upon light, warmth, and an atmosphere of cheerfulness and genial friendship. (3) The organization was non-sectarian. Its founders recognized the church and the religious life, but set themselves the task of doing the things "commonly left outside of church work." (5) They recognized that their task was distinctly a personality job, dependent for its success upon the attitudes and the character of its workers. (6) The organization was devoted entirely to boys.

Though the early leaders of the Boys' Club had the same humanitarian motives as leaders in other areas of social work, the founders of the Boys' Club were in one respect ahead of the thinking of their day. As zealous as any to care for the victims of bad social

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[30]R. K. Atkinson and George E. Vincent, The Boys' Club (New York: Association Press, 1939), p. 23.

conditions, they were more eager to learn and to put into operation the sort of preventive and constructive measures that have come to be a part of social planning and community organization. The idea of keeping boys off the streets, of protecting youth, of preventing mischief by giving boys something to do, and many other similar expressions of purpose indicate their constructive approach to the problem.

Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Association

The general purpose of these organizations was to promote the religious, intellectual, physical and social well being and development of Jews, especially young men and women. The activities offered to boys and girls included clubs, groups and mass activities such as music, drama, art, forums, lectures, and concerts; physical and health education, including gymnastics, athletics, swimming and dancing. A significant part of the program centered around religious services and holiday observances.

Summary

During the period from 1860 to 1899 group work was considered a means by which numbers of people could meet to find outlet for or to improve conditions in their lives. In contrast to the methodological and goal-oriented nature of early casework, group work was an opportunistic program with no acknowledged set of methods. Based in local neighborhoods with activities to meet local need, group works' major focus was on action with little thought given to theory.

The use of groups was highly visible in both settlement houses and in the youth serving agencies. The settlements, different than the Charity Organization Society, did not distinguish between giver and receiver. It was the belief of the early settlement leaders that the problems resided within the neighborhood or community, and not within the individual; rather the individual was seen as the victim of destructive social conditions and forces. It was assumed that the individual "victim" could be helped to bring about constructive change in his environment if he banded himself together with other "victims." This banding together was encouraged and supported by the settlers who became a part of the neighborhood.

Public recreation centers were non-existent and the settlement, in many neighborhoods, was the focal point for recreation. Besides gymnasiums, play grounds and game rooms, social clubs were introduced as a way of helping individuals make constructive use of their leisure time. Although these clubs were mainly social, they often provided impetus to vocational and educational ambition and helped many of the members to learn the new ways of the American community.

The youth serving agencies such as the Scouts and the Y's were stimulated by the growing mechanization of industry and thought of as a way to mold youth into productive citizens. Most of these organizations were geared to either boys or girls in pre-adolescence and early adolescence, and rewarded such personal virtues as honesty,

loyalty and integrity. Most of the youth serving agencies relied heavily on competitions and ritual to motivate the program.

The assumptions underlying the early work with groups was that there was a decrease in opportunity for satisfying social needs and a decrease in social control. These decreases, resulting in part from the change in family, neighborhood and village life, could be compensated by the conscious organization of groups about some selected interest. In the varied activities of group life there existed potentialities for the development of emotionally sound personalities and of satisfactory social relationships and the means for the passing on of social patterns.

While both the settlement and youth serving agencies employed some paid staff, from the onset they were almost exclusively dependent on volunteers. Generally these volunteer leaders were college educated, middle class adults, recognized as being of good character. It was hoped that these individuals, by the nature of their personalities and life style, would set examples that the members would emulate.

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This period ended with group work firmly entrenched in settlement houses and in youth serving agencies. In the following period, 1900 to 1919 group work would become linked to recreation and adult education and be affected by the social sciences and the progressive movement.

CHAPTER 3

CONSOLIDATION OF THE PATTERN

1900-1919

The American Scene

In the nineteen year period between the turn of the century and the end of World War I, Americans continued to experience, at an even more rapid rate, the social and economic changes begun the latter part of the previous century. Population concentration in the urban areas was fed by the persistence of the movement from farm to the city, augmented by fourteen million immigrants from Europe, most of whom arrived between 1900 and 1914. The social problems of the previous period were present in consistently growing magnitude: problems of poverty, disease, unemployment, child labor, slum housing, and dangerous working conditions. Economic problems were multiplying and the need for regulation of financing and banking, control of railroad rates and interstate trade was becoming apparent.

The number of people employed in manufacturing, mining, and construction doubled in the years between 1900 and 1914, a rate higher than for the population as a whole. But the growing demand for workers did not bring a corresponding improvement in the lives of the workers. Employers continued to economize on payrolls viewing labor as the most manageable cost of production. The work week

remained between fifty and sixty hours and the ten hour day was normal. Furthermore, long layoffs were usual so only the very fortunate worked every week of the year with annual earnings for factory workers averaging four hundred dollars.

More and more Americans began to discover the extent of poverty in their midst. With this came the recognition that wages of labor were inadequate to sustain a decent level of existence. Some families compensated by drawing on the labor of other members. Children took jobs as soon as they could and women willing to accept lower wages could sometimes get places when men could not. Some girls found a growing number of openings as typist in offices and behind the counters of shops but the largest demand was in factories. More often than not, the conditions under which the children worked was destructive to their health and well being. James Carey, commenting on child labor in 1904 related:

> Hundreds of small boys work for Mr. Borden, and many of them toil ten hours a day without a thread of clothing on their bodies. No one except employees is allowed to enter the works, and therefore when it was stated before a women's club in New York last week that naked babies were at work in the Fall River mills, much interest was aroused. . . . They worked in the big tanks called "lime keer," in the bleach house, packing the cloth into the vats. This lime keer holds 750 pieces of cloth, and it requires one hour and twenty minutes to fill it. During that time the lad must work inside, while his body is being soaked with whatever there is of chemicals which enter the process of bleaching, of which lime is a prominent factor. The naked bodies of the children are never dry, and the same chemicals which effect the bleaching process of the gray cloth naturally bleach the skin of the operator, and after coming out of the vats the boys show the effects in the whiteness of their skins which rivals the cotton cloth.[1]

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[1]James F. Carey, "The Child Labor Evil," Poverty (ed.) Robert Hunter, (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1907), p. 357.

While the problems of this period showed marked similarity to those of the previous period, there was strong desire for social, economic and political reform. Beginning in the closing decade of the nineteenth century, the reform movement burst into full flower after the turn of the century and continued until the entry of the United States into World War I. Known as the Progressive movement, it was a many sided attack upon the various abuses that had become glaring in the decades following the Civil War. While there was never a national organization to direct and co-ordinate the numerous campaigns, they nevertheless were bound together by a contagious enthusiasm for reform and an all out pervading optimism. The Progressives believed in political democracy, individual initiative, competitive capitalism and property rights, and felt that a moderate increase in the power of government provided the only means for preserving individual freedom. The growth of governmental authority was thought of as a means to an end and not an end in itself.

Man, according to the Progressives, was a rational creature who knew his own best interests. If given all the pertinent information regarding a problem, he was capable of weighing the facts and reaching a correct decision that would be in his own and society's best interest. Man, in short, was inherently progressive and barriers to progress were man-made obstacles and capable of being removed by man.

This faith in the judgment of the individual led the Progressives to a reaffirmation of the tenets of Jeffersonian democracy. Man was capable of governing himself and any alleged defects of

democratic government were thought of as corruptions rather than a weakness of the democratic process. The Progressives urged that all be allowed to participate directly in government and the differences between leaders and followers be eliminated so that the group would be essentially the same. They pressed for such reforms as direct election of senators, referendum, and recall, with the expectation that a government would evolve which was not influenced by wealth and that political machines would be reduced to a minimum.

Social Work in the Age of Reform

To the protest against the social evils of the period, social work added its voice in an effective manner. The day-by-day contact with the damaged society had placed social workers in a uniquely strategic position for they knew and had recorded the facts. Their first converts had been themselves as their repeated experience slowly had forced them to change earlier ideas that poverty was due to character defect and to see that man's socioeconomic environment could offer or deny opportunity for secure health, social living. The Charity Organization Society movement was also shifting from its earlier concentration on individual economic dependency and pauperism to a concern with the total family and its relationships.

Along with this new focus, social work had begun to develop its method with investigation at the core. The technique was not new, but it was being utilized with a new set of objectives and values. The goal was no longer the determination of the worthiness or the unworthiness of the individual but rather the gathering of

information about all facets of the condition of the family in order to help more effectively. With the needs more scientifically determined, it was then possible to utilize the necessary resources, including those of other agencies.

The shift in attitude toward aid to the poor resulted in the development of services for children and other dependents. Out of the first White House Conference in 1909 came a reaffirmation of the importance of home life to the child and the need for strengthening family life.

> Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. It is the great molding force of mind and character. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons.

With this principle as a guide, the states responded quickly to the recommendation of the Conference and beginning in 1911 enacted legislation providing the administration of "mother's aid" under local auspices. In addition, the federal government created the Children's Bureau in 1912 to study and report on conditions of children.[2]

An important development of the period was the increase in the number of training schools for social workers and the parallel development of professional self-consciousness. The term "agent," replaced around the turn of the century by "charity worker," had given way to the generic term "social worker." Subsequently, this title fell into disuse as special fields of social endeavor strove

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[2]Nathan Cohen, Social Work in the American Tradition (New York: Dryden Press, 1958), p. 117.

for identity, adopting such titles as "case worker," "family worker," children's worker," "settlement worker," and others.

Prior to 1900 social workers worked primarily in settlement houses, charity organization societies, and youth serving agencies. After 1900 there was a move into other settings such as hospitals, schools. In 1905 Massachusetts General Hospital introduced medical social work and a year later a social worker was hired for the psychopathic wards at Bellevue. A more formalized service was initiated at the Psychopathic Hospital in Boston in 1913, under the leadership of Mary C. Jarrett. Through this program the role of social worker in a psychiatric setting became clearly defined. Between 1906 and 1907 programs of school social work were introduced in Boston, Hartford, and New York under private agencies. In 1909 the first child guidance clinic was organized in Chicago. Known as the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute (renamed the Institute for Juvenile Research in 1917) members of the staff studied wards of the court and suggested methods for their mental and social adjustment.

In 1917 Mary Richmond published Social Diagnosis which was to serve as a framework for the diagnostic activities of the case-worker.[3] Richmond set forth a set of principles which defined the parameters of casework practice and the specific responsibilities of the social worker within them. She elevated the importance of interviewing, formerly carried out by social workers in a mechanized way.

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[3]Mary Richmond, Social Diagnosis (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1917).

She described the influences which she felt affected the nature of the interview, including the origin of the request, the setting of the kind of task at hand, and what was known about the client. Transcending the methodological importance of Richmond's work was her emphasis on a more humanistic "doing with" in contrast with the former style of "doing for."

Impact of the Social Science

Psychology

The influence of psychology was foreshadowed by early articles on the importance of the social worker studying the personality of the client. Bryce in 1888 pleaded for a more humane treatment of what he called "moral imbiciles," stressed the need for study of the mind along with the body and came to the conclusion that all the actions of man, physical, intellectual, and moral are the inevitable consequences of preceding circumstances and conditions which absolutely control and dominate him.[4]

After 1910, new influences from psychology began to make themselves felt. These were to result in a swing away from the socio-economic determinism of the previous era to the psychological determinism of the 1920's. The child guidance movement in the United States had taught social workers to recognize the importance of the family in molding the infant years, and even though there were times

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[4]P. Bryce, "Moral and Criminal Responsibility," Proceedings, 15th National Conference on Charities and Corrections (Buffalo, New York, 1888), p. 88.

when this knowledge was not adequate for complete understanding, it did form a base from which later psychologists were to work.

Psychology which was to supplant sociology and anthropology in feeding social work began to be differentiated into special areas such as educational, experimental, social, and abnormal psychology. The work of the French psychologist Alfred Binet and his collaborator T. Simon on mental tests in the first decade of the twentieth century found warm reception among American psychologist. Binet's conception of the growth of intelligence and mental age was later to be tested during World War I with the testing of approximately 2 million men.

At the turn of the century William James, a physician turned psychologist, was beginning to make his influence felt in American psychological circles. Interested in the learning process, it was his thinking that knowledge was not the end result of deductions from abstract or ideal systems. Rather, it came from experience and from the test of encounters with facts and events. The path to knowledge was always experimentation with the truth of a concept being gleaned from its consequences rather than from the extent to which it matched any abstract proposition. James's ideals, generally referred to as pragmatism exerted influence in many circles. Since the eighteenth century, practicality had been a popular test of knowledge among people who regarded religion as ethics, and education as a means of getting ahead. The pragmatic method was progressive in that it allowed for change and explained how it could

be used. Men need not be trapped by fatalistic determinism as they had the right to direct their development and future consciously.[5]

At the turn of the century John Dewey was beginning to make his influence felt in American psychological circles with the organization of the functional school of psychology at Chicago. Deeply interested in the application of psychology to human relations and learning, Dewey argued that individuals only learned through the process of experience. At approximately the same time G. Stanley Hall at Clark University began to work on genetic psychology and human development. This interest was to lead him to the recognition of individual differences and the influence of early childhood on later life. This new psychology, with its reformulation in dynamic terms, began to provide a methodology for studying and dealing with problems of the individual.

Sociology

By 1900 sociologists were busying themselves with the problems of human behavior and social causation. E. A. Ross became interested in the "social pressures" which operate within society to make the individual conform to the group norm.[6] Charles Horton Cooley, making the most significant contribution to the early development of small group theory, created the concept of the

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[5]William James, Pragmatism: The Will to Believe (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1931), p. 23.

[6]Edward Ross, Social Control: A Survey of the Foundations of Order (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1920).

"primary group" which he felt was responsible for the initial development of values and standards of behavior.[7] Cooley saw the small informal face-to-face groups, such as families, play groups as primary in that they provided for the members a sense of solidarity and mutual identification. He hypothesized that socialization in childhood which continues into adulthood takes place in primary group associations and that small groups influence the behavior, reinforce and stabilize it in wider relationships in adulthood.

George Herbert Mead, a contemporary of John Dewey was interested in the genesis of the self through gradually developing ability in childhood to take the role of the other and to visualize his own performance from the point of view of others.[8] According to Mead, the self arises through a series of communications, through the conversation of gestures between animals involving some sort of co-operative activity, through gestures and language of individuals and through children's activities of play and the game. Child play, at the level of simple role playing is the first step in the transformation from simple conversation of gestures, to the mature ability utilizing significant symbolism in interaction with others. Through his participation in organized games, in play and other organized activity the child learns to take the role of the participant and grasps the fact that the roles of others are interrelated. At the same time, he becomes aware what his own activity within the situation

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[7]Charles Horton Cooley, Social Organization (New York: Schooken, 1943).

[8]Anselm Strauss (ed.) George Herbert Mead on Social Psychology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 36.

looks like from the standpoint of others. This taking the related roles of all other participants rather than the role of just one other person he referred to as "generalized other," and was thought of as societies representative.[9]

In Europe, at approximately the same time several social scientists began to question whether or not a group was more than a sum of its parts. Heretofore, it was felt that only individual were real and groups and institutions were abstractions from individual organisms. Emil Durkheim and Georg Simmel were the most influential of this new group. Durkheim, a French sociologist, was concerned with characteristics of groups and those social and historical forces that brought them together and allowed them to operate. It was his belief that to understand a group, one needed to go beyond the personal attributes of the individual actors and look at the characteristics and structure of the group as a whole. Durkheim focused on such problems as the cohesion or lack of cohesion of specific religious groups and not the traits of individual believers. He showed that such group properties were independent of individual traits and must therefore be studied in their own right.[10]

Simmel, a German scientist, developed theoretical formulations regarding group size and the significance of numbers for group

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[9]Mead was active in the progressive education movement and was closely associated with Hull House in the early 1900's.

[10]Kurt H. Wolff, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, (ed. and trans.) (New York: The Free Press, 1950).

life. His conceptualization, including the nature of power alliances and the effect on interaction of various sizes of groups increased knowledge of the nature of the interacting process within the small group and the different nature of interaction resulting from change in group size. Simmel was able to highlight the sterility of psychological reductionism by demonstrating the influence of adding various new members to a group.[11]

The Recreation Movement

While the event generally accepted as distinctly marking the beginning of the recreation movement in the United States was the opening of the Sand Garden in Boston in 1885 there were a number of important antecedents. These include the initiation of organized sports, the formation of kindergartens, and the provision of parks by local governments. The movement for organized athletics, gymnastics and sports began with the establishment of an outdoor gymnasium in the Salem, Massachusetts, Latin School in 1821. A year later a gymnastic school was organized in the city of Boston and Harvard College established a gymnasium. Much of the early impetus came from German gymnastics and physical education leadership first by German visitors and later by immigrants.[12]

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[11]Lewis A. Coser, Masters of Sociological Thought, "Max Weber," (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1971), pp. 218-260).

[12]George Butler, Introduction to Community Recreation (New York: McGraw Hill, 1940), p. 60.

During the 1840's boating clubs were organized in Yale and Harvard and college baseball began to make its appearance a decade later. Traces of football are found during the sixties while at approximately the same time athletic associations began to be organized in various parts of the country. Decline in interest occurred between the intermittent efforts to establish gymnasiums and to promote organized sports.

Fredrick Froebel is credited with establishing the first kindergarten in 1840. Prior to that time there were few schools for children too young to enter regular schools. It was he who worked out the principles and methods of the kindergarten and gave the movement a start; placing emphasis on such activities as music, games, storytelling and play in general. Unfortunately, the kindergarten movement did not get fully under way in America until nearly thirty years later.

The purchase of a large tract of land by the City of New York, later known as Central Park, was also an important event in the development of the recreation movement.[13] Many cities followed New York's example in acquiring large parks, but for many years these properties were to be for rest and contemplation and not for recreation activity although horseback riding, boating, and picnicing were usually allowed. Parks were usually open space with little provision for services such as athletic fields and water sports. The "meadow"

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[13] Ibid., p. 63.

in Washington Park, Chicago, was opened for team games as early as 1876 but park officials did not provide systematic recreation. No instruction was provided, only policy supervision.

In 1885 a large sand pile was placed in the yard of the Children's Mission of Parmenter Street in Boston through the efforts of the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association. This was the direct result of a visit by Dr. Marie Zakrewska to Berlin where she observed a sand garden which had been established for the children of that city. The sand garden at the Children's Mission averaged 15 children a day for six weeks during the months of July and August.[14] In addition to playing in the sand, the children sang, listened to stories and marched about under the guidance of women who lived in the neighborhood with additional voluntary supervision by interested mothers.

This experiment was to continue through succeeding years and its success is indicated by the fact that in 1887 ten centers were operating with paid supervision. To many citizens living in Boston, playgrounds served as a way to deal with the rising tide of juvenile delinquency and gangs, and the problems associated with bad housing and the growth of tenement slum areas. In 1899 the city assumed some of the financial burden of the playgrounds and 3 out of 21 centers were designated for boys between twelve and fifteen years of age.[15]

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[14] Ibid., p. 61.

[15] Funds for operating the playgrounds were provided by the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association until 1899 when the city council of Boston appropriated 3,000 dollars toward meeting their cost.

The Boston achievement was not to be measured by local consequences in the New England area alone. New York, Philadelphia and Chicago reacted by building facilities similar to the Children's Mission sand garden. Generally the initiative and funds were provided by philanthropic individuals or social agencies, built on private property, then eventually taken over by the city and transferred to public areas. The early sand gardens were very simple, consisting of sand heaps together with swings, see-saws, and other simple playthings, which were located in densely populated sections of the city, equipped for outdoor activities, and open a few hours a day during the summer months for small children. The main idea behind them were to provide an environment that allowed for free and spontaneous play which would keep children off the streets.

In 1892 Jane Addams established a playground in connection with Hull House. Because it was more comprehensive in its equipment and program of activities than the earlier sand gardens, it was referred to as a "model" playground. It covered a wider area; had provision for handball, baseball and various other sports; and was supervised by a trained kindergarten leader and a policeman. Older children as well as those of preadolescent age were admitted and adults were allowed to come as observers.[16]

Other cities also took steps to acquire playgrounds, largely because of the insistence of social workers and influential citizens they were concerned with the influx of immigrants, the increase in

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[16] Ibid., p. 62.

factories, accompanied by the perils of child labor, unsanitary, unsafe working conditions, and the spread of commercialized amusement which was often associated with vice. In New York City a tract of two and five-eights acres, covered with five and six story tenements, was purchased in 1897 at a cost of eight thousand dollars after a most determined effort led by Jacob A. Riis. This land was later equipped with apparatus, wading pool, a place for games, a gymnasium and baths.[17]

The development of recreation and leisure time activities often came into direct conflict with Calvinistic ideals that glorified hard work and condemned leisure. Some questioned whether the new interest in playgrounds and play facilities was not the work of the devil. Increasingly, however, both individuals and the church began to recognize that a spiritual and moral growth of people could be strengthened through a wholesome and satisfying use of leisure. But, to be acceptable, it had to strengthen family life and enhance moral qualities. At the same time it should not be designed solely for pleasure or diversion or for the social and economic advancement of the individual.

By the early 1900's parks were beginning to be designed to serve persons of all ages with varied interests. In 1903, Chicago passed a bond issue for the acquisition and development of small recreation parks in the crowded neighborhoods of South Chicago and established a new standard in park and playground building. They

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[17] Ibid., p. 63.

provided an assembly hall with stage and dressing rooms, gymnasiums for men and women, shower and locker rooms, clubrooms, and a branch of the public library. Other facilities included outdoor swimming pools, wading pools, and band stands. The employment of trained leaders under a general director helped to make these playgrounds and neighborhood centers successful.

No concerted action was taken for the guidance of the wave of interest and the co-ordination of the various developments into a national movement until the organization in 1906 of the Playground Association of America later changed to the Playground and Recreation Association in America in 1911 (now called the National recreation Association). This organization was one of the most important factors in promoting the establishment of adequate playground systems for cities, towns and rural communities. The first officers of the Association included such leaders as Theodore Roosevelt, Jacob Riis, Luther H. Gulick and Jane Addams.

Paralleling the development of the parks was the social center movement which stressed the opening of school building for social, civic, and recreational use by the citizens. According to the traditional opinion, the school hours were to be used only for formal instruction of children. After the final bell rang, the building was to be locked up and the grounds deserted. The economy of opening these facilities to the public rather than spend money to duplicate them in special recreation buildings was apparent and many states prior to 1900 had passed laws permitting school buildings to be used as civic or social centers.

It was argued that if the definition of education was broad enough, it could include recreation. Perry, in listing the various types of activities carried on by community centers, found that a large proportion could be considered recreational in character. These included civic occasions, educational events, entertainments, handicraft, mental contests, neighborhood service, physical exercises, social occasions, club and society meetings and voluntary classes.[18]

The Adult Education Movement

Adult education in the United States had an important influence on group work. Based on the New England town meeting individuals gathered together regularly for discussion of common problems. From this evolved the first lyceum in Milbury, Massachusetts made up of farmers and merchants, "for the purpose of self culture, community instruction, and mutual discussion of common public interest." One of the early leaders Josiah Holbrook of Derby Connecticut a tireless and successful public lecturer on various branches of science wanted, according to his own statement "to improve conversation by introducing worthwhile topics into the daily intercourse of families, neighbors, and friends." He developed a full scale plan for the organization of an educational society which would reach every part of the nation.[19]

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[18]Aaron Perry, Recreation in the United States (New York: Harper and Row, 1937), p. 39.

[19]Handbook of Adult Education in the United States 1960, (Chicago: Adult Education of the U.S.A.), p. 10.

In 1831 a national organization, the National American Lyceum, was formed which adopted as its purpose the advancement of education, and the general diffusion of knowledge. The annual meetings were poorly attended and by 1839 the organization ceased to exist. However, the town and country lyceums continued to operate until about the time of the Civil War. Around 1869 the function of providing popular lectures for literary societies, women's clubs, and other groups began to be taken over by commercial speaker bureaus often called lyceum bureaus.[20]

The lyceum movement left several permanent deposits in the main stream of American culture and particularly of adult education.[21] It demonstrated the feasibility of an integrated national system of local groups organized primarily for adult educational purposes. It developed an educational technique, the lecture forum which was later to be adopted by university extension services.

A spin off of the lyceum movement was the Chautauqua Institution founded on the shore of Chautauqua Lake in New York in 1874 as a pan-denominational normal school for Sunday school teachers.[22] The idea became so popular it attracted other participants and began to broaden its program to include every aspect of culture. In 1878 the first integrated core program of adult education, the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle (CLSC) was

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid., p. 22.

organized. The program was made up of a four year core of home reading in history and literature carried on in connection with local reading circles. Concurrently, Chautauqua also developed a series of summer schools in language, liberal arts, speech, music and other disciplines.

A controversial issue in the eighteen hundreds was that of who should be educated. While there was little opposition to the idea of universal education, there was strong opposition to the idea of universal public education supported by taxation. The process by which the battle was won was essentially an adult education process, strongly flavored with social action. Public interest ran high and individuals were stimulated to study and discuss the issues throughout the activities of hundreds of schools, societies, lyceums, and educational associations.

As the battles began to be won and elementary and secondary schools were established, evening schools began to be formed. Some were set up for children who could not go to school during the day while others were a distinct school with a separate administrative unit. For the most part, they were established for working youth and the curriculum was a repetition of the regular academic courses given in the day time.

Educators, by the turn of the century, began to question the focus of adult education. Should the focus be on helping people to enjoy their leisure through literature, art, drama, music and interest groups, or should it be vocational education and self advancement with the goal of helping a person toward a more promising career.

By 1915 the majority of the students participating in adult education were seeking some form of self advancement. These included the person who had dropped out of school at an early age and found it desirable or necessary to make up school deficiencies, the foreign born responding to the pressure of Americanization campaigns, and those preparing for entrance or advancement into an occupation.

In review, adult education had five major functions. These include the remedial function, the occupational function, the relational function, and the liberal function and political function.[23] The remedial function was study undertaken to give a person of adult years whatever was needed to bring his educational experiences up to the minimum that was necessary for his life style. It included the ability to read and write, and for immigrants it included also a knowledge of spoken English and American citizenship. Training in homemaking and child care on an elementary basis and the simple rules of health were also considered remedial since grown citizens were presumed to have this knowledge. It was hoped that one of the outcomes would be the complete eradication of illiteracy from America.

The occupational function, perceived by many as being in the range of public education activity was seen as preparing individuals for advancement to another job of a different nature; for advancement on the job; for the industrial rehabilitation of the victim of machine unemployment; and for guidance in choosing or

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[23]Lyman Bryson, Adult Education (New York: American Book Co., 1936), pp. 29-47.

adjusting to an occupation. The typical student in the occupational school for older students were those who wished, by added labor in their free time, to equip themselves for advancement or for some more difficult job, and those who were unemployed because of mechanization.

The relational function included "parent education" and also self study designed to help persons better understand themselves and those around them. An example of the former was the parent-education movement which attempted through the use of specialist and lay leaders to bring the new scientific knowledge regarding the care and protection of children into use in the home. In the latter it was presumed that through discussion and lectures one could better one's adjustment in all contacts of life. Some communities instituted self improvement and family study groups.

The liberal function describes those activities undertaken chiefly for their own sake, for the pleasure that is in them. The "liberating" influence was expected to produce results beyond the satisfaction of achievement. In the pursuit of art or philosophy or science the student would find the enjoyment of effort. Much of this philosophy was tied to the recognition that there was going to be increased leisure time and citizens needed to be prepared.

The political function was predicated on the theory that direct political education was necessary and covered all those studies, practices, and experiences which men deliberately pursued to be better members of a community. This included not only the study of politics as a subject but all forms of training for political

action. Because of the complication and formidable quantity of public business, the average individual was seen as being both unequipped and ineffective in influencing government. However, it was felt that through active discussion of public business in public forums, using trustworthy information about public questions the individual citizen could have some influence.

Of these, the political function came closest to the philosophy of progressives seeking reform. It was not enough for individuals to vote in elections. Instead, it was felt, they should be involved in the decision making process at the grass roots level. Mary Parker Follett, one of the most influential thinkers of the period, wrote that the only way democracy would work was for individuals to organize themselves into neighborhood groups and to bring to the surface the needs, desires and aspirations of the people.[24] As a recognized political unit the neighborhood group had many advantages. First, it made possible the association of neighbors which meant fuller acquaintance and greater understanding among individuals. Second, it gave opportunity for constant and regular intercourse which would provide the individuals with knowledge of the techniques of association. Third, it would result in a fuller more varied life in that the participants would be involved with people different from those close to them. Too much congeniality, according to Follett, would result in a narrowness of thinking.

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[24]Mary Parker Follett, The New State (New York: Longmans, Green, 1920), p. 40.

A major goal of the neighborhood organization was the dismantling of the political party organization as a middle man between the individual and government. This would occur by "substituting real unity for the pseudo unity of the party." Also it would occur by evolving genuine leaders instead of bosses and by putting a responsible government in the place of the irresponsible party.

An important ingredient of adult education was the use of group process and the direct participation of the student in the learning experience. The teacher, according to Lindeman, was the group chairman who kept the discussion going, maintained its direction, enlisted active participation of all members, and pointed out discrepancies and relations. Different from the traditional teacher,

> . . . he no longer sets problems and then casts about with various kinds of bait until he gets back his preconceived answer; nor is he the oracle who supplied answers which students carry off in their notebooks; his function is not to profess but to evoke--to draw out, not pour in; he performs in various degrees the office of interlocutor (one who questions and interprets), prolocutor (one who brings all expressions before the group), coach (one who trains individuals for team-play), and strategist (one who organized parts into wholes and keeps the total action aligned with the group's purpose).

Whatever he brought to the group in the form of opinions, facts and experiences must be open to question and criticism on the same terms as the contributions of other participants.[25]

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[25]Edward Lindeman, The Meaning of Adult Education (New York: New Republic, Inc., 1926), pp. 50-55.

Summary

During this period that began with the turn of the century and ended with the conclusion of World War I, group work was to become closely associated with the recreation movement and adult education. Similar to the growth of the youth serving agencies, the growth of the recreation movement and adult education was directly related to the effects of industrialization. Bad housing conditions, the rising tide of juvenile delinquency, the increase in factories accompanied by the evils of child labor and unsanitary and unsafe working conditions, all pointed up the need for wholesome leisure time activities for children.

Recreation, with the establishment of the first playground in 1866 was gradually accepted as essential not only for children and youth but for all ages. Eventually, it was expanded to include, in addition to sports, such areas as music, drama, dancing and crafts. Recreation was also to move away from being a requirement for for so called underprivileged to an essential for all economic and social levels.

The field of adult education with roots in the lyceum movement and the Chautauqua Institution grew out of an interest in the enlargement of the personality and self improvement. By the beginning of World War I it came to be recognized that adult education had several functions which were remedial, occupational, relational, liberal, and political. An essential element of adult education was the decrease in authoritative teaching and the emphasis on expert

group leadership with active involvement by the participants. Leadership was not to be dictatorial but sensitive to the needs of those in the group.

Increasingly during this period the small group came to be recognized as having potential value for the members. First, the group was a way of training individuals in adaptive social skills in preparation for adulthood. By coming together with a trained leader, members could learn how to relate to each other, develop decision making skills, and learn certain values. Second, it was seen as a supplement to other relationships. The group, it was felt could provide certain kinds of group experience which gave support and enrichment to people whose other primary relations were not proving to be entirely satisfying. Finally, the group experience was seen as preparation for active citizenship in a democracy. By providing opportunities for self government, individuals were able to learn leadership skills, and gain experience in the democratic process.

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By 1919, the influence of the social sciences, recreation and adult education was being felt on group work. In the next period, 1920-1936, group work was to expand as a means of helping individuals become better citizens, develop as individuals, and resolve and prevent emotional problems.

CHAPTER 4

FORMULATION OF A METHOD

1920-1936

The American Scene

Perhaps no period in the history of the United States is filled with as marked contrasts as those years from 1920 to 1936. A substantial number of Americans came to believe that isolation was the only safe policy for their country. They rejected any new ties with the outside world and sought to dissolve existing connections. Yet the United States had inherited from the past continuing responsibilities abroad, and actual ties with the outer world did not simply dissolve. The change in the way in which Americans appraised their relations with other countries was linked to the spreading discontent within their own society. In earlier times, they had been confident about the excellence and durability of their own institutions, and nationalism had been compatible with involvement. Citizens of the United States had no doubt that their own democratic form of life was best not only for themselves but also for other people. The isolationism of the 1920's was, among other things, a sign of the loss of certainty about the basic features of American society.

An older order was passing. Industrialism, urbanization, and the mere increase in the magnitude of the numbers involved complicated all human relationships and led to the breakdown of the inherited systems of social control. Progressive reform measures solved some problems but also created new ones. The family, the church, and other community organizations adjusted painfully and not always adequately to the shifting needs of their members. The first decade was the era of the ticker-tapes and the speak-easy, of "flaming youth" and the automobile, when the ideal of the nation was a "chicken in every pot." In this brittle, somewhat manic, period there was little concern with values other than those symbolized by dollar signs or the resistance to old standards. During the 1920's, many of the population enjoyed an improved standard of living, improved health, and longer education. To all but the "intellectuals," and those working in settlement houses and with charity organization societies, the emotional hallmark of the time was optimism that the future held nothing but increased health, wealth, happiness, and continued growth.

This optimism came to an abrupt halt as the collapse of the stock market of October, 1929, ushered in the depression of the 1930's. The depression revealed the internal contradictions of the existing economic and social order and created a complex and interlocking set of problems which would occupy the United States in the decade that followed. Unemployment rose steadily until over fourteen million persons were out of work; the industrial plant stood idle much of the time; the farm situation deteriorated to the point of

chaos; and the banking system of the country neared collapse. Suffering was acute, as provision for financial assistance of the unemployed was totally inadequate in dealing with the size, intensity, and duration of the crisis.

Reform again came into major focus, and the last three years of the period saw the federal government assume major responsibility for public welfare with a multitude of programs designed to protect individuals and the national economy from the impact of this and future depressions. The program devised under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt started the process of reconsideration of the relationship of government to the economy and imbued the people with a sense of hope so that they could pass through the trial of the years after 1933 without succumbing to despair. This was an important achievement in a decade when other countries were surrendering their faith in democracy.

Social Casework

A major influence on social casework in the 1920's was the emergence and acceptance of Freudian theory. The experience of working with shell shocked patients in the war period strengthened an enthusiasm for psychiatry which provided what was needed to understand the inner person. Freudian psychology, to the average worker was a welcomed substitute for the sterile laboratory psychology that emphasized diagnosis, classification and intelligence tests. Within a short period of time, the profession made a radical shift from concern with environmental factors to preoccupation with the

intrapsychic. With this change came the addition of such words as "lidido," "ego," and "ambivalence" to the social caseworkers vocabulary. The concept of "relationship," as developed in psychoanalytic literature became part of the caseworker's stock-in-trade while "dynamic passivity" came to be the basic style.

While the new knowledge supported the prior acceptance and acclamation of Mary Richmond's book Social Diagnosis,[1] it drew attention away from the "social" and redirected it to the inner self. Focus became the individual and his personal conflicts rather than the various systems impinging upon his life.

The result of the Freudian influence was the reshaping of the role of the caseworker. In accordance with Freudian technique, the social worker departed from the stance of a doer, a provider of concrete services, to that of passive observer. With this change came the concept of a detached professional attitude with stress on the worker keeping his feelings and activities in abeyance. It also meant a different type of client. Using Freudian technique meant limiting services to those clients who could respond to the use of a less active approach and to those problems that did not require immediate action.

Freudian theory overshadowed all other approaches to social problems and orientations about behavior. By 1930, casework teaching staffs in schools of social work taught psychoanalytic principles as

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[1]Mary E. Richmond, Social Diagnosis (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1917).

a basis for casework practice and it was not unusual for both faculty and students to undergo psychoanalytic therapy as a part of their training. The outlets for this form of practice were expanded by the emergence of child guidance clinics and veterans' programs and by the development of psychiatric social work specialization.

Social Action During the Depression

Of the various group serving agencies, the settlements were the most active in providing direct service to families and in promoting social action. Settlement workers gathered special emergency funds to be given to families who did not qualify for regular relief or who could not wait for assistance from slow moving charity organizations. They gave lunch money and carfare so that children could go to school, paid back rent to forestall or postpone eviction, and provided free nursery care and milk for infants.

Similar to the others, Chicago Commons settlement was deeply involved in encouraging social action to improve the living conditions of the unemployed workers. Where once, brief months or years earlier various ethnic groups used the halls of the Chicago Commons settlement for education or recreational activities such as citizenship classes, dances and folk celebrations; Italians, Poles, Greeks and Mexicans began to assemble in 1930 to study the depression. Discussion and debate covered many topics including the need for work relief through public works, the need for state and federal assistance to cash relief funds, and the need to develop security through old age pensions and unemployment insurance. Out of the discussions

grew, in 1932, a city wide workers' Committee on Unemployment composed of fifty local units, twenty-two of which were settlement based and led, with a membership of over twenty thousand. Lea Taylor, daughter of the director Graham Taylor, reported to the National Federation of Settlements at the end of the year:

> The men are developing initiative and responsibility through serving on committees and delegate bodies. They have organized self-help projects and have sought direct contact with legislators interested in relief measures.[2]

One of the major accomplishments of this organization was to organize a protest march on the Chicago City Hall to make known their problems.

Just as the settlements in Chicago were at the vanguard of social protest, settlements elsewhere were moving toward direct political action. They argued to whoever would listen that families were being disrupted by the economic problems and that the social services generally available to help them were breaking down under the impact of overwhelming need. They demanded that an immediate program of public relief be set up for meeting the basic needs of food, clothing and shelter for the millions of unemployed. They urged that work relief programs be established so that individuals would again be able to be self-supporting. Finally, they pushed for institutionalized assistance programs, sponsored by the federal government, to guard against loss of income because of death or retirement.

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[2]Lea Taylor to Board of Directors, National Federation of Settlements (December 10, 1932) National Federation of Settlements Archieves, New York City.

The influence of the early settlements was to be even more fully felt in the period of the New Deal. As Schlesinger reports:

> Hull House, Henry Street, the Consumers' League and the other organizations educated a whole generation in social responsibility. Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Herbert Lehman, and Adolf A. Berle, Jr., all worked at Henry Street; Frances Perkins, Gerald Swope, and Charles A Beard at Hull House (where John Dewey was an early member of the board of trustees); Sidney Hillman at both Hull House and Henry Street House; Joseph Eastman at Robert A. Wood's South End House in Boston; an Iowa boy coming East from Grinnell College in 1912 went to work at Christadora House on the lower East Side of New York; his name Harry Hopkins. Through Belle Moskowitz the social work ethos infected Alfred E. Smith; through Frances Perkins and others, Robert F. Wagner; through Eleanor Roosevelt, active in the Women's Trade Union League and a friend of Florence Kelley's and Lillian Wald's, Franklin Roosevelt.
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> And for all the appearances of innocence and defenselessness, the social workers apparatus wielded power. "One could not overestimate," observed Wagner, "the central part played by social workers in bringing before their representatives in Congress and state legislatures the present and insistent problems of modern-day life." The subtle and persistent saintliness of the social workers was in the end more deadly than all the bluster of business. Theirs was the implacability of gentleness.[3]

Some case workers, along with settlement leaders began working with progressive leaders such as Robert Lafollette, Jacob Riis, and Theodore Roosevelt in bringing about changes in government. They advocated for strict regulation or prohibition of child labor. They lobbied for the regulation of sanitation and housing. They joined the crusade for women's suffrage. They pushed for the government to assume responsibility for the care of dependent citizens. They also took up the plea for the establishment of industrial

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[3]Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Roosevelt: The Crisis of the Old Order, 1919-1933 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957), p. 25.

standards for decent wages, and of the right of labor to organize and bargain effectively.

Progressive Education

A significant development in the field of education during the 1920's was the expansion of the average school's curriculum. The first eight grades of public schools, which had at one time taught little beyond the three "R's," enlarged their curricula to such an extent that by 1930 the typical elementary school offering included as many as thirty different subjects. There was a corresponding increase of courses in the high schools. Since large numbers of the children were drawn from every background and represented different degrees of intelligence, considerable emphasis was placed on practical subjects. Boys were taught machine shop practices and woodworking; girls attended classes in sewing and cooking; all could study typing, stenography, and bookkeeping.

Curriculum changes were sometimes accompanied by new teaching methods reflecting the philosophy of progressive education. Learning by rote and complete reliance on textbooks gave way to an emphasis upon individual differences among students and an attempt to make learning an exciting experience rather than a series of dreary, unconnected tasks. Severe classroom discipline was abandoned for a more informal attitude based on the assumption that interested pupils seldom present behavior problems. Efforts were also made to integrate subjects, and frequent use was made of available library resources.

The philosophy of progressive education, based on the writings of Dewey and Kilpatrick, was received with great interest by those working in leisure time agencies and settlement houses. They were well aware of the shortcomings of traditional educational methods which they considered outdated. Writing in 1902, Jane Addams attacked educators for their failure to prepare students for social relations.

> The educators should certainly conserve the learning and training necessary for the successful individual and family life, but should add to that a preparation for the enlarged social efforts which our increasing democracy requires. The democratic ideal demands of the school that it shall give the child's own activities a social value; that it shall teach him to direct his own activities and adjust them to those of other people. We are not willing that thousands of industrial workers shall put all of their activity and toil into services from which the community as a whole reaps the benefits, while their mental conceptions and code of morals are narrow and untouched by any uplift which the consciousness of social value might give them.[4]

However, in spite of this concern, the early group work movement inherited a traditional educational philosophy and teaching techniques. Most group work practice was based on the assumption that the elements constituting "character" could be taught in the same way English, arithmetic, and social studies were taught. As schools began to consider critically their methods of educating children, group workers began also to question their methods. Some of the practices which came under question were: the use of formulas, the emphasis on specific learning, the regimentation of boys' and

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[4]Jane Addams, Democracy and Social Ethics (New York: MacMillan Co., 1902).

girls' organizations, many of the traditional club forms in institutions as well as the extensive devotion to competitive athletics, and the faith that play on playgrounds, more than any other significant part of a child's life, prevented delinquency and "built character."

A major factor in group work's new interest in progressive education were the writings of Grace Coyle, which had been strongly influenced by John Dewey. In discussing the evolution of structure, Coyle utilized Dewey's definition of structure.

> The structure of organized groups consist of the agreed upon instruments through which the group puts its purpose into action. They take the form of written constitutions and established precedents. Their apparent stability is, in fact, an illusion produced by the more swiftly moving processes that go on, by, and through them. They, too, change and shift as the group creates, uses and modifies them for its purposes.[5]

This concept came, as Coyle declared, "directly from John Dewey's Experience and Nature."[6]

Leadership was also viewed in light of Dewey's philosophy. In any organization there exists the "necessity for the investiture of certain individuals with a public character, a responsibility for these common consequences of weal and woe for all participants." Then quoting Dewey she wrote: "The ultimate source of authority will

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[5]Grace L. Coyle, Social Process in Organized Groups (New York: Richard R. Smith, 1930), p. 5.

[6]John Dewey, Experience and Nature (Chicago: Open Court Pub. Co., 1925)

determine the direction of its flow. Most of our organizations reflect the common democratic mores . . . ."[7] She concludes this discussion by stating that

> . . . psychological reactions of a most complex sort are constantly remaking both leaders and group together by their reciprocal stimulus and response. Out of that reaction group morale and decisions are born and group functions performed.[8]

By the mid-thirties, it was recognized that a reformulation of group work was necessary and the methods and philosophy of progressive education were not only most compatible, but had the most to offer. Bowman prophetically saw the change occurring in four areas.

> First, integration. Emphasis in group work will be placed, I believe, more on the relation the work bears to the problems of the individual, his place in society, his combination of interests. There will be fewer clubs organized each for a special purpose, such as sewing, dramatics, athletics, or debating but more clubs or groups which engage in various activities, perhaps now under the guidance of one expert and later under another in another subject, but always with the help of a continuing group leader. . . . Second, . . . A group will get together for as long a period as there is interest and profit in the members remaining together. Members of new members will be by vote based on whether the candidate is interested and can contribute to the activity. . . . There will be less competition and fewer inter-institutional athletic contests . . . .
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> Third, leaders. It seems to one watching developments in progressive education that success has attended the sort of leadership implied in the forgoing paragraphs. To the extent that such is the case, it may be inferred that group leaders of the future will be required to understand psychology. The practice of putting a person in charge of a group only or mainly because he knows some special subject will grow less. . . . It will be out of place for a leader

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[7] Coyle, Ibid., p. 105.

[8] Coyle, Ibid., p. 126.

> to take pride in "being good" to his group in any paternalistic way. Affection for one's charges will be a part of group leadership, but the aim will be to adjust them emotionally to their associates in successive undertakings. The emphasis will be more upon the interaction of the members than upon direct leadership.
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> Fourth, in the large social implications, the teacher or leader in progressive education lays emphasis on no pattern as such. . . . (It is more important that the individual learns to cooperate with others in various active spontaneous original and adaptable ways for various ends.) Group experience and not a preimposed or preconceived notion of order is the aim.[9]

In 1938 a book entitled New Trends in Group Work was published based on the writing of group workers using progressive education methods and of leaders of the progressive education movement.[10] At least half of the chapters dealt specifically with group work as education and a significant number with group work as progressive education. Common to the various authors was the belief that group work had accepted a task that was educational in nature and related to development of personality through group experience.

Small Group Theory

Until the mid-1930's, social group work's theoretical orientation came almost exclusively from progressive education and the social psychology of Cooley. After that, however, practitioners and faculty teaching group work and recreation skills began to look

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[9]LeRoy L. Bowman, "Application of Progressive Education to Group Work," in Joshua Lieberman, ed. New Trends in Group Work (New York: Association Press, 1939), p. 118.

[10]Joshua Lieberman, ed., New Trends in Group Work (New York: Association Press, 1939).

to other sources for knowledge regarding groups. One such source was the University of Iowa and the work of Kurt Lewin and Ronald Lippitt. They and others had set up a series of experimental studies on the effects of certain types of leadership on group structure and on the member's behavior. The researchers compared three types of leadership: democratic, autocratic, and laissez faire by having adult leaders behave in a prescribed fashion. It was their general conclusion that there was greater originality, group-mindedness and more friendliness in democratic groups, and more hostility, aggression, scapegoating, and discontent in laissez faire and autocratic groups.[11] Although the results of their studies influenced the leadership styles of club leaders and youth group leaders, the research was to come under attack by social work leaders for experimenting with human emotions. Had there been more receptivity at the time to experimental methods of research, the results of these studies might have had more influence on the use of groups in social work.[12]

Another source of knowledge came out of the research of J. L. Moreno, an Austrian psychiatrist and his associate Helen Jennings. During World War I, Moreno had administrative responsibilities for a camp of displaced persons in Austria. It came to his attention that the adjustment of individuals in the camp

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[11]Kurt Lewin, Ronald Lippitt, R. White, "Patterns of Aggressive Behavior in Experimentally Created 'Social Climates,'" Journal of Social Psychology, XX, 1939.

[12]Margaret E. Hartford, Groups in Social Work (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), p. 14.

seemed to be better when they were allowed to form their own groups. Later while associated with a reform school in the United States, he undertook to check this observation out through more systematic research. With the use of a simple questionnaire he measured the interpersonal relations of people by the choice they registered of desirable partners for work and play in particular activities.[13] This data concerning "who chooses who" was converted into a "sociogram" or picture in which individuals were represented by circles and choices by lines. It became apparent that through this subjective technique, valuable information about interpersonal attraction and repulsion among collections of people. Study of such sociograms revealed that some groups were more tightly knit than others, that individuals varied in their social expansiveness and in the choices they received, and that cliques formed on the basis of characteristics such as age, sex, and race. Group workers used sociometry as a means of determining the interpersonal process going on within a group at a given time. In addition it was to draw attention to such features of groups as social position, patterns of friendship, sub-group formation, and, more generally, informal group structure.

Those social workers working with delinquents and gang groups were influenced by social psychologists such as Clifford Shaw,

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[13]J. L. Moreno, Who Shall Survive (Washington D.C.: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co., 1934).

F. Thrasher, and William Whyte. Shaw, author of The Jack Rollers,[14] and Thrasher, who wrote The Gang,[15] were employed by the University of Chicago and associated with the Institute of Juvenile Research to study the internal workings of autonomous street gangs. One result of their work was the modification of professional work with autonomous groups, especially in settlements and youth organizations. Whyte examined the informal and formal social organization of the Italian community of Boston. By spending time with the members as a participant observer, he was able to gather information of the effects of group life both on the individual participant and the social structure of the community. In his book, Street Corner Society,[16] Whyte discussed his findings with special attention to such dynamics as cohesion, interaction, structure, leadership, and status.

Muzafer Sherif pioneered in research on the "autokinetic effect," or the phenomenon of a still light giving the appearance of moving when viewed in a dark room when the viewer had no point of reference in which to measure its location.[17] When estimates were made as to the amount of movement in the presence of several people,

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[14]Clifford Shaw, The Jack Roller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930).

[15]Frederic Thrasher, The Gang (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927).

[16]William Foote Whyte, Street Corner Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934).

[17]Muzafer Sherif, The Psychology of Social Norms (New York: Harper and Row, 1936).

the judgments of the observers were influenced by each other and converged toward a mean. Sherif's influence was seen in group work in the recognition that the influence of the group was a powerful force in changing individuals' attitudes and utilized in inter-cultural relations.

Education for Group Work

The first sequence of graduate courses on group work were offered by The School of Applied Social Sciences at Western Reserve University in 1923. Prior to this date, those interested in receiving education and experience in group work were directed to agencies working with groups such as social settlements, recreation centers, and play grounds, and to courses offered on play ground management and recreation. Schools of social work, while desirous of students having experiences with groups, generally considered group work as something that could not or should not be taught in a university setting. This is illustrated in a report on social work education written in 1915.

> Of these three general types of clinical activities (case work, group work, and community organization) social work with groups is the most elementary. It demands sufficient skill to justify the requirement of practice work under supervision, but it approximates so closely the non-professional activities in the social work field with which students are usually familiar, that they find little difficulty in adjusting themselves to the groups assigned to them . . . . The experience of schools of social work . . . indicates that group work possesses too little educational value to be given much emphasis . . . . With few exceptions, clinical work with groups will have a very small place in professional courses except in so far as it fits into activities in connection

with training in community organization (i.e., social settlements, community centers, play ground associations).[18]

In the years before social group work became a course or a curriculum in a school of social work, it was viewed customarily in terms of its setting rather than its methodology or its practice, and those working with groups were identified with the agency in which they were associated. For example, those individuals working in settlement houses were "settlement workers," while those working in YMCA's were "Y" secretaries. With the establishment of the National Recreation Association in 1906, the titles "playground director" and "recreation worker" came to have recognition. In the same year, the New York School of Philanthropy offered a course of study that prepared students for positions as head workers, and assistants in social settlements and other social and religious organizations. By 1913 a full course of study for playground and recreation workers was instituted.[19] Similarly, the St. Louis School of Social Economy, in 1911, offered a one semester course titled, "Gymnastics in Athletics, Games and Folk Dances" followed by the course "Neighborhood and Group Work." In the latter, focus was on training students to work with groups in settlements and social centers.

One of the major precursors to social group work education was the recreation curriculum directed by Neva Boyd at the Chicago

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[18]Education For Social Work, Reprinted from the Report of the Commissioner of Education For the Year Ended June 30, 1915 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1915), pp. 345-348.

[19]Elizabeth G. Meier, History of the New York School of Social Work (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), p. 23.

School of Civics and Philanthropy.[20] A kindergarten teacher by training, Miss Boyd was thoroughly convinced that the spirit of any group came from the interaction of its members, and it was this spirit which provided substance from which the group derived lasting benefits from their experiences together. If a worker was to be effective, it was essential that he know how to help a group develop its own program rather than to superimpose a series of activities unrelated to the cultural milieu of the members of the group. According to Miss Boyd, it was the role of the worker to help the group develop its "natural spirit" rather than fitting the members into a predetermined system.

A statement published in 1922 about the functions, qualifications and training of social group workers summarizes the need and opportunities for social group work training which existed just prior to the formal institution of the first group work course.

> The group worker must understand the psychology of the group, must be able to conduct the kinds of activities which groups can do and enjoy doing, and must have that identifiable 'group leadership' quality which can make an often haphazard collection of individuals a live, coherent group. It is hard to define these qualities, hard to isolate the technique, yet there is a skill which grows with practice, which has been acquired under certain conditions, and without which a successfully, constructively active group cannot be conducted.
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> As has been suggested, much of the group work lies in the field of leisure-time activities, where it benefits the individuals through recreation, self-expression, physical development, mental improvement and character building. The group worker must therefore have special equipment, such as

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[20]Paul Simon, Play and Game Theory in Group Work: A Collection of Papers by Neva Leona Boyd (Chicago: University of Illinois, 1971), pp. 1-19.

> ability to direct activities, teach games, lead group singing, coach dramatics or teach handicrafts. He may, however, only organize clubs and stimulate them to activity; they themselves can conduct . . . .
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> Training for the group work technique has not yet been well-developed. Besides entering the work through study in the training schools for social workers, there is the possibility of apprenticeship training. There are few opportunities in settlements for resident positions which offer definite training and in addition provide board and room. However, because of the small number of these training opportunities and because most of the paid positions in group work require more maturity and life experience than the person just graduated from college possesses, many positions are filled by people from other fields of social work who have demonstrated as volunteers a capacity for group leadership.[21]

Similar to other universities during the 1920's, the first course on group work offered by Western Reserve University was intended to afford training for positions of playground director. For an academic year, a range of field experiences "under supervision" was offered with students placed in such agencies as social settlements, the Department of Public Welfare, and the Humane Society. In addition to field practice, students were required to take such courses as "Normal Demands of Childhood," and "The Philosophy, History, Theory and Practice of Play."[22]

In 1923 the Cleveland Girl's Council, a coordinating agency of girls' organizations, pressed the School of Applied Social Sciences at Western Reserve University to develop a course in group service.

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[21] Social Work: An Outline of Its Professional Aspects (New York: American Association of Social Workers, 1922), pp. 13-15.

[22] School of Applied Social Sciences: A Graduate Professional School of Western Reserve University in the City of Cleveland, 1916-1917, Western Reserve University Annual, p. 31. Catalogue p. 31.

The course was to provide training for men and women interested in working with groups in the Cleveland area. In the fall of that year a training course in group service work was offered. By design it set out to

> . . . train workers in the principles and methods of dealing with groups through club and class leadership, through promotion of activities and administrative work in social settlements, community centers, young men's and young women's organizations whose purposes are to give direction to the lives of their members through their group associations.[23]

A growing concern in the 1920's among those practitioners working with groups was how to provide continuity of service when there was staff turnover. Linked to this was the desire for teaching records, similar to the ones already in use by caseworkers, to teach group work. Under the guidance of Clara Kaiser, a number of Western Reserve's faculty began to meet periodically with several group leaders to develop a system of recording. By 1930 a set of records was published "for the use and criticism of teacher and group workers."[24] The records were samples from recent student social workers in field placement at the University Neighborhood Center, a university teaching center, from 1926 to 1930. Through the records, Kaiser attempted to develop a form of recording which would describe

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[23]Sara Maloney, Development of Group Work Education in Social Work Schools in U.S. (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, School of Applied Social Science, Western Reserve University, 1963), p. 114.

[24]Clara A. Kaiser, The Group Records of Four Clubs at the University Neighborhood Centers (School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, copyright 1930).

the important facts in the organization and development of a given group.

Concurrent to the study and use of records conducted at the Neighborhood Center was the research on group behavior held at a camp outside Cleveland. Referred to as the Wawokiye Camp Experiment, fifty-one different boys were given a camping experience with the goal of doing research on group work and gaining new insights into the problems of boys. The findings of the research published by Wilber Newsteller, the director of Camp Wawokiye, Marc Feldstein and Theodore Newcomb in 1938 dealt with the concepts of bond, interaction, and status and demonstrated that the needs of individuals could be fulfilled and people could grow individually through group associations.[25] The research served to focus attention more sharply on the individual in the group, his adjustment to the social situation and the group worker's role in relation to the individual members. With this delineation, work with small, stable groups, more than ever, was seen as a way of realizing the larger goal of a more democratic, humanitarian society for all people. The major contribution of Newsteller's work was the demonstration that experimental research could be done in "natural settings" and that phenomena of groups could be studied and documented.

The introduction of a social group work sequence into the curricula of an increasing number of schools, after the example of

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[25]Wilber I. Newstetter, Marc J. Feldstein and Theodore M. Newcomb, Group Adjustment: A Study in Experimental Sociology (Cleveland: School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, 1937).

Western Reserve University, was thought by many as premature in the light of the prevalent state of knowledge of social group work as a method in social work. As late as 1934, Philip Klein said, without expectation of contradiction, that of the four "technological divisions of social work, only social casework had received "reasonably adequate discussion in the professional literature." Group work, preventive and educational work, and community organization, on the other hand,

> . . . although clearly differentiated in practice, in the distribution of personnel in the curriculum provisions of professional schools and in meetings, conferences, special associations and committees, still lack comprehensive formulation.[26]

In spite of this concern, there was a steady growth of group work courses in schools of social work. The Committee on Current Practices and Problems in Professional Education of the American Association for the Study of Group Work, which made a study of available training programs in 1938, found that thirty-three schools were offering at least one or two graduate courses in social group work. In twenty-three of these schools, the courses were taken in conjunction with supervised field work practice.[27]

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[26]Philip Klein, "Social Work," The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, ed. by Edwin R. A. Seligman, (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934), Vol. 14, p. 169.

[27]Ann Elizabeth Neely, "Current Practices and Problems in Professional Education for Group Work," Main Currents in Group Work Thought: Proceedings of the A.A.S.G.W 1940, ed. by Harry K. Eby, (New York: American Association for the Study of Group Work, Association Press, 1941), p. 58.

Movements in Search of a Method

By the year 1920, the settlement movement was thirty years old and recognized as being part of the urban scene. Public recreation, after the establishment of the first playground in 1885, had won wide recognition in World War I as an essential service and was making steady progress. The adult education movement was developing into a regular part of the public school system, and the public library. Of the youth serving agencies, the YMHA's and the YWHA's, the YMCA's and the YWCA's were all organized national movements with considerable staff. Although most of the early pioneers had died, their administrators were well established and their staffs were growing.

Volunteers were an important part of the organizations; increasingly however, agencies began to employ professional workers. Professional and inservice training of some sort was beginning in many agencies; experience was accumulating; national conferences were stimulating technical discussions. The consciousness of common problems and the clarifying of the issues as met in daily practice had created among professional workers a "felt need."

In reflecting on the changing perspectives on groups and the need for better trained workers, Coyle wrote:

> It is no accident that when our movements--settlements, public recreation, YMHA's, YWHA's, YMCA's and YWCA's--began to concern themselves with methods, that concern inevitably leads them into questions about human relations. It turns up at that point for the same reason that similar concerns in worker's education, management, education lead to the same question. The wider reasons for this lie in our social scene. Urban living, mechanized industry,

> mass commercialized recreation, impersonal education--all the more determining aspects of life--act to squeeze out the essential human response, the intimate relation of one person to his own immediate group. Social relations, natural and inevitable in the small town of our forefathers, must be consciously preserved in our society. The need of human beings for a rich fare of human contacts and responses in a real element in all of our groups, clubrooms and classrooms, recreation centers and playgrounds. The doors of our agencies have stood open now for fifty to sixty years. As we have worked within those clubrooms we have been forced to recognize that, when certain people acted as leaders, the groups were not only more fun for the participants but that more people got more out of them. When others led them, the groups were arid, mechanical, sometimes sentimental, occasionally, actually demoralizing.[28]

Most of the workers were college trained and some of them had training in schools of social work. As these workers came to know each other, there was a ferment of discussion around two major discoveries. First, it was discovered that workers in a variety of agencies had a great deal in common and that the major component of that common experience lay in their experience with groups. Out of this came the widespread use of the term social group work, and the development in a number of cities of interest groups focused on work with groups. The second discovery was that what was common to all the groups was that in addition to the activities in which the group engaged, they involved a network of relationships between the members and the worker, between the group as a whole and the agency and neighborhood in which it lived. This combination of relationships was called the group process, and the realization produced the search for deeper insights into these relationships, the attempt to

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[28]Grace Coyle, Group Experience and Democratic Values (New York: The Womens Press, 1947), p. 62.

describe them and to understand their dynamics. Commenting on this Coyle wrote,

> It was for those involved in this search a period of excitement and ferment, of social discovery and of deepened insight as we tried to clarify both our philosophy and its aims and values and our methods of dealing with groups. It is perhaps sufficient to say . . . that by 1935 enough people in cities and agencies across the country had become involved that there inevitably began a period of formulation.[29]

Thus, it was no surprise that Margaretta Williamson found in her study the Social Worker in Group Work,[30] published in 1929, that while there was not a clearly defined homogeneous form because of divergence in method and motive, there was "evidence of a growing awareness of common professional ground--a recognition of a similar philosophy, a convergence of training and technique, some interchange of personnel, and a tendency toward exchange of experience . . . ." She went on to say:

> Workers are seeking the development of the individual to his fullest capacity and encouraging more satisfactory relations between the individual and his environment . . . . Group work concerns itself with service toward individuals in a group, brought together through common interests and guided by means of suitable and congenial activities toward a well rounded life for the individual; and for the group, a cooperative spirit and acceptance of social responsibility.
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> Group work undertakes to guide the group life . . . maintain[ing] that normal and satisfying group activities tend to develop in the individual a richer personality that is emotionally sound and effective in its adjustment to other people . . . [and] that group life is the means of passing on the social patterns, customs and conventions by which society is organized. The group director is trained in activities and processes thought to be developmental to

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[29] Ibid., p. 65.

[30] Margaretta Williamson, Social Worker in Group Work (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1928).

> those with whom he is dealing. He meets leisure-time needs by socially minded leadership. He seeks to direct activity into constructive channels . . . . He desires the individual to experience situations calling for character-forming decisions . . . . He lays a foundation for responsible citizenship by encouraging participation in self-regulatory groups. He cultivates the friendship of the individual and seeks to share his problems and achievements . . . .[31]

Due, to a large degree, to the development of group work curricula in schools of social work, questions began to be raised as to whether the base was in the area of education, recreation, or social work. Social casework had gone through a similar struggle and it was strongly felt by many caseworkers that anything lacking psychological dynamic grounding was not appropriate for the social work profession. Others, such as Mary Richmond, felt that casework and group work were closely related. At the National Conference of Social Work in 1920 she presented the following:

> This brings me to the only point upon which I can attempt to dwell at all, to a tendency in modern casework which I seem to have noted with great pleasure. It is one which is full of promises, I believe, for the future of social treatment. I refer to the new tendency to view our clients from the angle of what might be termed small group psychology.
>
> Halfway between the minute analysis of the individual situation with which we are all familiar in casework and the kind of sixth sense of neighborhood standards and backgrounds which is developed in a good social settlement there is a field as yet almost unexplored.[32]

In spite of these remarks, there is little evidence to suggest that there was participation by social caseworkers in the process

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[31] Ibid., p. 7.

[32] Mary Richmond, "Some Next Steps in Social Treatment," reprint in The Long View (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930), pp. 487-488.

of social change, other than on an individual-by-individual basis. This emphasis upon the individual and consequent refusal to face social and economic facts reflected the social worker's new preoccupation with psychiatry and psychoanalysis and also the conservative and economic climate of the post-war years. The conviction, deeply rooted in the soil of American individualism, that moral inadequacy lay at the root of most problems of poverty and dependency was now reinforced by an over-emphasis upon psychological inadequacy.

Those social workers working with groups often found greater camaraderie with members of other disciplines than with members of their own profession. The common denominator for all who called themselves "group worker" was a conviction of the value of group work as a medium for individual development and about the need to study the dynamics of interaction in order to teach what group work was and the skill necessary to its performance.

Those working with groups felt the need to share ideas, beliefs, and experiences with others working with groups. In November of 1933, this urge found expression in the Ligonier Conference on group work held in Ligonier, Pennsylvania. During the conference, committees were organized for the purpose of examining research techniques for group work, training processes, formulation of standards, and the examination of recent factors of social change which had implications for group work. One important result of this two day meeting was the Association for the Study of Group Work which was founded in 1936.

The 1935 National Conference of Social Work

Prior to 1935, there had been no formal papers dealing with group work presented at the National Conference of Social Work. A number of the individuals who had been present at the Ligonier Conference petitioned the Conference for a social group work section to be instituted at the 1935 meeting to be held in Montreal. This was granted and papers on group work were called for, both from educators and practitioners. The topics of those papers accepted for presentation centered around such issues as defining group work, working with those who had special needs, the contribution of research and community studies to group work, and coordination of group work agencies, especially as it related to public and private agencies.

Of those papers presented at the Conference, a paper delivered by Grace L. Coyle provided a significant achievement for this initial meeting. It was the only presentation to receive the Pugsley Award. This honor gave reflected recognition to social group work and to the School of Applied Social Science at Western Reserve where Miss Coyle had been a faculty member for less than nine months.[33]

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[33]Mary E. Hurlbutt, Chairman, "The Pugsley Award," Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1935), p. vii. "The Editorial Committee was unanimous in judging Dr. Coyle's paper on 'Group Work and Social Change' to have made the most important contribution to the subject of social work at the conference of 1935. Dr. Coyle discusses the group process as a 'significant mode of social action in the contemporary world. Social participation today requires not simply relation to the state but an assumption of responsibility to various group relations. Hence, the opportunity of group work as an

W. I. Newstetter delivered the first paper to the section with the question, "What is Social Group Work?"[34] pointing up the necessity of distinguishing between group work as a field, group work as a process, and group work techniques. Newstetter defined group work as a "process" that focused on the "development and adjustment of an individual through voluntary group association and the use of this association as a means of furthering desirable social ends." These other social ends included cooperation, social legislation, peace, a planned economy, social attitudes, and love of country.

Newstetter forcasted that the day would come when curricula in schools of social work would be changed because the objectives of casework, group work and community organization would be nearly identical and it would be discovered that the techniques of the three models had many similarities. He acknowledged that his definition of group work set it apart from casework, which focused primarily on the individual in a one-to-one relationship. He called attention to the new experimental efforts in casework such as dealing with families as a group over a period of time. Newstetter declared:

> The acceptance of group workers into the fraternity of social work bears testimony to the broadening base of social work

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educational force for social change. The theme is handled creatively, so that it becomes directly applicable to practice, and is at the same time, serenely rooted in a wider cultural perspective.'"

[34]W. I. Newstetter, "What Is Social Group Work," in Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1935 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935), p. 291.

> and an emphasis on generic concepts. It can be partially explained by the need felt by caseworkers for more adequate treatment resources. It is being increasingly recognized that both caseworkers and group workers have much to give each other, and that generic social work can only be achieved to the extent that the contributions of both are focused upon problems demanding application of both methods.[35]

Roy Sorenson, noting the relatively few differences between group work and casework predicted their emergence into an integrated method.

> The group worker is talking about individualizing the program, recognizing the uniqueness of personality, and understanding more about the social history and family of group members with socilization needs. The concept of 'guidance' has developed within group work agencies to the extent that a literature, personnel and conference structure has appeared. The Boston Y.W.C.A. has four trained interviewers, an education guidance person, a vocational guidance person and a social psychiatric worker to provide individualized services to those who come for group activity.[36]

Caseworkers, according to Sorenson, were recognizing the possibilities of the group as part of casework process, with the group used as a means of treating some types of personality adjustment. However, group work was at the stage of elaboration critically in need of definitions, terminology, record forms and professional recognition.[37]

Two of the papers dealt with the use of groups as a vehicle for the treatment of physical and mental illness. Anne Smith reported on her work with children in a medical hospital. It was her

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[35] Ibid., p. 299.

[36] Roy Sorenson, "Case Work Integration: Its Implication for Community Planning," in Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1935 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935), p. 311.

[37] Ibid., p. 313.

observation that many of the children viewed their illness as punishment for something they had done. Through the use of groups, a climate of trust and reassurance was developed. "Like a stranger in a foreign land who suddenly hears his own language, the child reaches out to play as an assurance of friendliness in a bewildering situation."[38]

The importance of play was also emphasized by Neva Boyd in a paper on the use of groups in the treatment of the mentally ill, delinquent girls, and the retarded. Goals in these experiments centered on helping children and adults experience the opportunity of planning their own leisure time; encouraging initiative rather than superimposing ideas; minimizing rivalry and competition between groups and group members; and introducing

> . . . activities which hold the greatest possibilities for growth and directing them in such a way that the potentialities of the individual, however limited, are called into action [so that] a fuller utilization of the individual's powers may be accomplished, and a more harmonious life achieved.[39]

While the majority of papers presented stressed the need for group workers to direct their efforts toward the same objective as caseworkers, there was a small minority which argued that group

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[38]Anne Smith, "Group Play in a Hospital Environment," in Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1935 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935), p. 346.

[39]Neva Boyd, "Group Work Experiments in State Institutions in Illinois," in Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1935 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935), p. 340.

work should not align itself with social work. Bowman, identifying himself as a social worker opened his paper with the challenge:

> This paper will not be pleasing to those who think that group work is primarily social work; or that it is a new field that needs the techniques the people have previously acquired; or that it opens up areas for social workers in which they can extend their usefulness without laboriously learning new ways; or that it neatly supplements case work and combined with the latter, gives an easy comfortable way of encompassing mentally the whole field of organized effort to serve people.[40]

Bowman went on to say that group work was not a job of rehabilitation nor a service to those who asked for help, nor a social service like casework. Rather, group work was a social mechanism perfectly competent people utilize to achieve their own ends. To the extent that it was used by social workers to serve groups of underprivileged persons or those who were physically or mentally ill, it was merely an adaptation.[41]

Arthur Swift, Director of Field Work at Union Seminary, questioned the tendency to think that anyone could lead a club, maintaining that without adequately trained and professionally competent leaders, group work could not come into its own. While recognizing the value of the volunteer leader in certain situations, he believed that professionally competent leaders should carry the major responsibility for group work. He discussed as essentials of training in group work:

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[40] LeRoy E. Bowman, "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Group Work in America," in Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1935 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935), p. 382.

[41] Ibid., p. 386.

> Field work is the observation and leadership of groups under skilled supervision, supplemented by discussions and lectures dealing with the place of group work in the field of social work and of social history, the underlaying philosophy of group work, the contributions to it of sociology and of psychology, educational, social, and individual, the place of group work in a program of social action, and the acquiring of skills in the conduct of group programs.[42]

A reoccurring theme that ran through the section was the use of groups as a way of strengthening democracy, a concern to become more frequently articulated as events in Europe spread to America, fostering fascist and communist ideologies under the guise of providing a quick solution to complex social problems. Grace Coyle's paper "Group Work and Social Change," best exemplified this position.[43] She urged the participants to examine the quality of the group effort which they were providing. Did it allow for democratic participation or, instead, foster a "dependency upon authoritative leadership." To Coyle, it was the responsibility of group work to transmit cultural heritage to individuals and for its reevaluation at those points in which it is not adequate to meet the new circumstances of a rapidly changing time. The group worker could contribute in several ways.

> (1) In the first place he can encourage and develop social interests within his own groups. This takes skill and insight, but it can be done. This will often culminate in the group participating in social action as it sees fit.

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[42]Arthur Swift, "The Essential for Group Leadership," in Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1935 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935), p. 365.

[43]Grace Coyle, "Group Work and Social Change," in Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1935 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935), p. 393.

> The educational process in this line cannot stop short of experience in social action if it is to be effective. (2) He can help members of this agency, as they mature, to find their place in the organized life of the community, in those social action groups through which their collective interests are finding expression. (3) He can see that provision is made in the agency for the free discussion of the basic economic and social conflicts which are so crucial to adequate solution of the present crisis.[44]

Group Work for Theraputic Ends

The first documented utilization of group work for theraputic purposes was begun in 1918 when the Chicago State Hospital for the mentally ill established an experimental recreation program.[45] The work was directed by Viggo Bovbjberg, a man trained in Denmark in gymnastics, two women trained in recreation, and a second man trained on the job. The choice of activities was determined by the recreation staff after consultation with the ward physician. While wards of patients averaging about nine hundred were selected with a whole range of psychiatric disturbances represented, it was found by the workers that gymnastic exercises were valuable in working with both "excitable" and extremely apathetic patients. The patients were brought to an improvised gymnasium in groups of approximately sixty and given a forty-five minute period of marching to piano music and easily executed exercises. Once it was felt the patients could handle this type of activity, they were advanced into more complex patterns of activities such as games and group dances.

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[44] Ibid., p. 404.

[45] Boyd, p. 339.

Those with special skills were asked to assist the workers. For example, those patients who were able to play the piano were invited to play for the marching while more stable patients were used to set the pattern for those who tended to wander out of line. It was believed that if the severely ill patients watched the worker as well as the more stable patients, they would be influenced to participate. None, it was reported, was ever coerced but all the patients were encouraged to participate.[46]

Another early experiment in group work was carried on at the Geneva Training School for Girls, a reform school for delinquent girls in Illinois. In 1932 the school employed a group worker to work with the girls with the goal of giving them an opportunity to plan their leisure time.[47] According to Boyd, the program:

> . . . as ultimately evolved by the girls and the group worker created an unprecedented esprit de corps and culminated in a satisfying climax on the last night when all the girls gathered around the campus and entertained each other with activities especially prepared for the occasion, closing the program by singing in unison songs familiar to them all. Good will and joy prevailed, at least temporarily, throughout the group. The whole project was safeguarded against rivalry and competition; no mention was made of one cottage excelling another, no prizes were offered, and no special privileges given to the 'good' girls or withheld from the 'bad' ones. This intensive experience in cooperative planning required considerable organization of the cottage groups and made a good beginning in co-ordinating the girls into working units easily made permanent.[48]

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[46] Ibid., p. 341.

[47] Ibid., p. 343.

[48] Ibid., p. 341.

The units evolved into clubs and the group worker met with the girls regularly for the purpose of facilitating rather than restricting their freedom or superimposing her ideas upon them. Although the worker's principal function was the establishment of recreation, the very nature of the activity forced the girls to deal with behavior problems arising among the various members. During one of the meetings, the group worker was asked not to attend the meeting. Another staff member, curious about this, inquired into the reason for this and was told that "one of the girls had done something too bad for her to know about it, and they were taking it up in the club to see what ought to be done."[49]

During the summer of 1929 the Illinois Institute of Juvenile Research introduced a program into the Lincoln Illinois State School and Colony, an institution for the retarded. The project had the twofold purpose of creating happier conditions for the children and carrying on research having to do with the treatment of mental defectives. It was the feeling of those in the project that recreation for mentally retarded children did more than merely occupy their time. By selecting those activities which held the greatest possibility for growth and directing them in such a way that the potentialities of the individual are called into action, a fuller utilization of the individual's powers could be accomplished and a more harmonious, constructive social life achieved. It was the conclusion of the researcher that the children quarreled less, played more happily

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[49] Ibid., p. 342.

and resourcefully together undirected, worked more willingly, attempted to escape from the institution less frequently, and were less destructive of the clothes and equipment furnished by the institution.[50]

Summary

During the years between 1920 and 1936, group work made greater strides than in any other period of its history. In this sixteen-year span it was to evolve from being a collection of patterns to that of becoming a recognized method of helping linked to social work. Those working with groups began to write of their experiences and communication between group workers in various fields began to occur.

Progressive education and the writings of John Dewey had significant influence on group work during the 1920's and 1930's. With its emphasis on learning by participation and the use of the small group as means of learning, it offered an effective way of working with children. The emphasis upon interest as the necessary foundation for learning, upon creative rather than imitative experience, and the developing of social attitudes illuminated the value of informal education within leisure time settings.

Small group research also began to have impact on work with groups. Moreover, this research began to document clearly the characteristics and phenomena that group workers suspected to be

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[50] Ibid., p. 343.

present within groups. Social scientists such as Lewin, Lippitt, Moreno, and Shaw with their interest in face-to-face groups and in interpersonal relations contributed to a more penetrating analysis of the group behavior in which group leaders were working.

By the early 1920's, Western Reserve University was offering a sequence of group work course. Prior to this time, those classes offered that related to working with groups were focused on preparing participants for specific jobs in the community such as YMCA secretary or settlement director. With the development of the sequence, the scope was broadened to cover work with groups in various settings.

In spite of the fact that group work was closely linked to the recreation movement, adult education, and the youth serving agencies, by the 1935 National Conference of Social Work it began to be seriously considered a part of social work. With few exceptions, the paper presented at this historic conference affirmed the similarities between the values and goals of social work and group work, and supported a closer relationship.

In the early days group work was not geared toward individuals with specific problems. Group members were helped toward desirable social adjustment through the use of experiences that were essentially educative. Those individuals with severe emotional problems who joined the group were incorporated as much as possible along with the other members or referred to a casework agency or psychiatric clinic. By the 1930's the group work method began to be used with juvenile delinquents, the mentally ill, and the mentally

retarded. Initially, emphasis was on the result of the activity on the life and behavior of the participant. Only in later years was there to be conscious use of group relations for treatment.

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This period ended with group work being used as a means of socializing the individual, of maintaining a democratic society, and for the first time as a way of ameliorating maladaptive behavior. In the following period, 1937-1955, the three approaches were to become consolidated and group work was to become entrenched as a part of the social work profession.

CHAPTER 5

EXPANSION AND PROFESSIONALISM

1937-1955

The American Scene

By 1937, the United States was slowly emerging from the depths of the Depression. Forces leading to another European war were gathering almost unnoticed by Americans deeply concerned with their own economic problems, trusting in the protection of their nation's geographic location, and psychologically committed to staying out of future European involvements. As the foreign situation worsened, the domestic economy began to improve, stimulated in part by the war and the defense demands on the nation's industrial capacity. By 1941, the isolationist philosophy came to an abrupt end with the bombing of Pearl Harbor by the Japanese.

Unemployment, the key problem of the thirties, faded into the background. Labor scarcity now became the problem. Industrial and agricultural production demanded all the manpower that could be spared from the armed services, and war prosperity replaced the earlier depressed economy. The additional manpower came from the normal growth of the population, employment of older men, women previously housewives, and young people of school age not formally seeking employment. Increased population movement to industrial

centers resulted in crowded housing conditions and disruption of previous living patterns. Together, these accumulated tensions contributed to individual, family, and community changes as well as broader societal changes.

The importance of mental health was brought into focus by the number of men rejected or discharged from the armed forces because of emotional problems. If more than a million and a half men were rejected because of neuropsychiatric difficulty, many asked, what similar problems existed in civilian life? It was quite evident that more services would have to be developed that allowed for working with larger numbers of people than was possible through individual psychotherapy.

As the war came to an end in 1945, the nation was faced with the change of a society based on a war economy to one based on peace. The country had to deal with the return of millions of troops, the need for more domestic goods, and America's new position in foreign affairs in which it now found itself. In addition to these, it had to handle the guilt and fear over the use of atomic weapons and had to live with the tensions of a "cold war." Indications that changes in the social and economic patterns were being effected could be seen in the high mobility of the population and the increased number of women in the labor force. Large social problems were apparent in the lack of adequate housing, the high divorce rate, and increased rates of juvenile and adult crimes.

Another significant change became apparent in the 1950's, as primarily middle-class groups began moving from large metropolitan

areas to the suburbs. They were often replaced in the metropolitan areas by lower economic groups compelled to live in blighted slum areas and left with a need for increased social services. One result of this was an increase in racial tensions, with a greater demand for better schools and services by the nonwhite population.

Developments in Social Work

With the development of the public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act, there was a great demand for personnel to administer the programs. Trained social workers were usually placed in supervisory or training positions; however, they were available for only a limited number of the thousands of positions. Social workers who functioned in clinical settings as psychiatric social workers found their jobs in jeopardy because of the reallocation of funds to positions in public assistance agencies. The private agencies with their meager budgets had little to offer in the way of environmental help and found it necessary to become skilled in the art of listening.

The demands for social workers for war services followed quickly, and again trained caseworkers tended to be placed in leadership positions to guide untrained workers in the administration of services. These workers and those they had supervised provided services in several areas: services centering around the soldier and his family, such as counseling and determining facts about dependency; services involving the broad field of postwar construction; and the continuation of day-to-day services which had become

an integral part of most communities. In the latter, the disruption of family life, increase in divorces, and increase in the number of unwed mothers provided for a more-than-average load for casework services.

Two major trends in the content of social casework became visible during this period. The first derived its philosophy and method from the theory of personality which was developed by Sigmund Freud and his followers, and applied the principles of "dynamic psychiatry" to the casework approach. Conscious as well as unconscious influences were regarded as determining human values and self-control. Diagnostic casework accepted personality organization as a composite of differentiated and interacting elements which reacted on each other but which were also influenced by the people in one's environment and by the social and economic conditions in which one lived.

The second major trend was toward the functional approach, based on the writings of Otto Rank, and centered around the assumption of an organizing force, the "will" in human personality. Functional casework referred to its function as the "helping process" and did not use the diagnostic term "treatment." In this process the client directed himself toward a change of attitude while the functional caseworker helped him to release and redirect his energies toward self-responsibility and self-acceptance.

In 1947, a committee of the Family Service Association was formed to clarify the similarities and differences of the two schools of thought. The committee reported in 1950 that "because of the

nature and profundity of the differences in philosophy, purpose and method, the committee is in agreement that the two orientations could not be reconciled." The members of the committee expressed the opinion that the experience in working together had been productive because of the greater knowledge gained about each approach.[1]

Beginning of a Professional Organization

The National Conference of Social Work in 1935 and 1936 drew together people of diverse backgrounds, whose common interest in work with small groups provided the base for continuing association. By the end of the 1936 meeting held in Atlantic City, a group of educators and practitioners were welded together into an organization to foster the education for the practice of group work through the production of literature on practice, and the establishing of local study groups in various cities in the United States and Canada. The American Association for the study of Group Work (AASGW) was formed, with membership open to anyone interested in group work as "an emerging profession."[2]

The AASGW, in keeping with its purpose, published reports of local study groups and the proceedings of annual meetings. In 1938, a collection of papers written by educators and practitioners

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[1] A Comparison of Diagnosis and Functional Casework Concepts (New York: Family Service Association of America, 1950), p. 3.

[2] Group Work, 1939 (New York: Association Press, 1939), back cover.

for professional meetings was drawn together into a single volume entitled New Trends in Group Work.[3] A year later, a bimonthly pamphlet called The Group in Education-Recreation-Social Work began to be published. These publications reflected the wide divergency of individuals interested in group work with articles written by educators, theologians, and recreation workers, as well as social workers.

With this wide divergency of individuals came continued confusion as to exactly what profession group work belonged. It was certainly in its various aspects a theraputic tool, a reform movement, an educational method, a field of service, a small part of the recreation movement, and closely akin to the methods and values of social welfare agencies. To some people it was none of these, but instead something quite new with an identity of its own. To these people it was viewed as a unique and highly refined skill limited to the worker functioning in small groups of people in intimate psychological interaction, with the goal of helping the group members to work together on solving common problems. Many of the early theory builders in group work felt that it had an identity all its own and that a distinct profession could be established. Others felt that it would be more advantageous to wait before making a premature or exclusive identification with one or another field of service. In 1938, Charles Hedley wrote:

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[3]Joshua Leiberman (ed.), New Trends in Group Work (New York: Association Press, 1938).

> It seems quite clear that we are not yet in the position to decide definitely on this question of the professional classification of informal ingroup educational recreation work. Whether we have an independent profession or a substantial segment of an existing profession remains to be determined. Just as a scientist would not want to restrict his participation to a single scientific society, so group work educators presumably would not want to identify themselves solely with one professional organization or to isolate themselves from any professional organization which operates within the area of their social knowledge.[4]

One year later, Hugh Hartshorne, reporting as chairman of the Commission on the Objectives of Group Work of the American Association for the Study of Group Work, said, "It is probably fortunate that the notion of group work has not settled back into a new educational stereotype." Later, he went on to say that group work had no objectives of its own but represented the increasing sensitivity of agencies to the conditions under which social skills and attitudes needed in a democracy may be expected to develop.[5]

In 1940, William Kilpatrick, in his book Group Education for a Democracy, stressed the generic aspects of group work for education:

> The author takes responsibility here for stating his personal opinion assisted at points by publications of the Association, that group work is a highly new interest, whether this goes on in school classes or in recreation and other informal education. This group work is, however, not to be thought of as a separate field of work but rather as a method to be used in all kinds of educational endeavor. "Group work" in this sense is just

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[4]Charles Hedley, et al., A Professional Outlook on Group Education (New York: Association Press, 1938), p. 47.

[5]Hugh Hartshorne, "Objectives of Group Work," in Group Work, 1939 (New York: Association Press, 1939), p. 39.

> now more or less of a movement, and as such deserves support and success. But its success will be achieved when and to the degree that effective working in groups has established itself as an essential part of any adequate education of youth, however and wherever conducted.[6]

It was Kilpatrick's thinking that group work should be identified with the profession of education. He felt that although it had many linkages with social work, a formalization of the relationship would stunt the growth and usage of group work.

Search for a Definition

During the war years, the controversy over the nature and definition of group work continued. While there were some who agreed with Hedley that it was too early to decide definitely where group work belonged, there were others who saw group work as a social movement which would make the world safe for democracy and still others who ventured the opinion that the AASGW was still "too immature as an organization and too underdeveloped in its body of knowledge to have much to offer to society."[7]

Coyle, elaborating on this last point, wrote:

> In recent years there has been an unfortunate tendency to make pronouncements on the war and postwar world as if group workers had special expertness which qualified them to speak. It is essential if the organization is not to get lost in the bog of diffused and futile good intentions to make a few distinctions. It is well to get clear that

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[6] W. H. Kilpatrick, Group Education for a Democracy (New York: Association Press, 1940).

[7] Grace Coyle, Group Experience and Democratic Values (New York: Woman's Press, 1947), p. 95.

> group work is not synonymous with recreation, nor with general democratic advance.[8]

In 1940, in a pamphlet entitled Group Work: Roots and Branches, Charles Hendry defined group work as a method and process in informal education and recreation, using voluntary association in small groups, with individualization related to identification with the group, with interaction among members and the leader, for the expression and stimulation of interests, and leadership sensitive to personal and social values.[9] In the same pamphelt, Clara Kaiser referred to the immediate need of clarifying the professional content of the job so that there would be derived a means of transfer of professional experience from one type of organization to another.[10] In another article in the same pamphlet, Coyle stressed the importance of making social action an integral part of the function of group work.

In the National Conference of Social Work in 1942, Gertrude Wilson emphasized the use of group work to change values of individuals and society as a whole. It was her belief that group work was a process through which group life was influenced by a worker who directs the process toward the accomplishment of a social goal conceived in a democratic philosophy. Group work, according to Wilson, was threefold: (1) it was developmental, as it provided for

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Group Work: Roots and Branches (1940), "Social Work Today."

[10] Ibid.

normal social growth; (2) it was protective or corrective in that it could be offered to people who do not have groups; and (3) it was an instrument for achievement of socially desirable ends. By understanding the personality of each member, the worker influenced the process within the group and the members were helped by participation in the process to use the group for their own growth and development.[11]

Separation of Group Work and Recreation

As group work in the mid-1940's moved closer to social work, many began to raise questions as to the relationship of group work to recreation. In the group-work section meeting of the 1946 National Conference of Social Work, G. Ott Romney delivered a paper, "The Field of Recreation," which was followed by a companion paper by Grace Coyle, "Group Work in Recreation." Romney spoke of recreation as an end in its own right, and

> . . . as a definable, distinguishable, identifiable something [that] suffers from inaccurate and fragmentary interpretation. It is frequently confused with its dividends (as in health, education therapy, democracy, character building and physical conditioning) and with its methods (as in social group work) . . . . Recreation includes everything the individual chooses to do in his own time for the gratification of the doing . . . .[12]

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[11]Gertrude Wilson, "Human Needs Pertinent to Group Work Services," Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work, 1942 (New York: Columbia University Press).

[12]G. Ott Romney, "The Field of Recreation," Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1947 (New York: Columbia University Press), p. 196.

Coyle took this distinction a step further with the following statement on social group work as a method:

> Social group work arose out of an increasing awareness that in the recreation-education activities which went on in groups there were obviously two dimensions--activity including games, discussion, hikes or artistic enterprises on one hand, and on the other, the interplay of personalities that creates the group process. To concentrate on one without recognizing and dealing with the other is like playing the piano with one hand only. Program and relationships are inextricably intertwined. Social group method developed as we began to see that the understanding and the use of the human relations involved were as important as the understanding and use of various types of program.[13]

A year later, Coyle wrote that group work has a significant contribution to make to recreation's function of providing enjoyable experiences. First, group work could contribute by assisting individuals to develop more enjoyable human relations. Second, group work could help individuals who were unable to help themselves because of some kind of personal difficulties. Finally, group work could contribute to the significant by-products of recreation by assisting individuals to vitalize interest and improve skills.[14]

Group Work as Part of Social Work

By 1946, the alignment with social work was becoming more pronounced when the name "American Association for the Study of

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[13]Grace Coyle, "Group Work in Recreation," Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1947 (New York: Columbia University Press).

[14]Grace Coyle, "Group Work: A Method in Recreation," The Group, April 1947.

Group Work" was changed to "American Association of Group Workers." The reconstructed association was described as "an organization of professional workers" joined with the Group Work Section of the National Conference of Social Work to develop professional standards in group work.[15] During the 1946 meeting of the American Association of Group Work, a significant number of papers were given by social workers. Three papers in particular stated unequivocally that group work was a social work method. Nathan Cohen said that, to discuss the topic "Body of Knowledge and Skills Basic to Group Work," he had to do it from the premise that group work is "an integral part of the social work family."[16]

Grace Coyle, drawing attention to the question of professional "belonging," said that group workers

> . . . must . . . it seems, be either educators or social workers. When a problem persists for so long among intelligent people, as of course we are, it is usually a proof that we are trying to solve it by a wrong set of assumptions. It is not an either-or proposition, and we shall never solve it by organizing teams and instituting a tug of war. Like all persistent problems, it has its accreation of the irrational--old loyalties and prejudices, an occasional vested interest and a considerable admixture of misinformation or once good information now obsolescent.[17]

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[15]Helen Rowe, "Report of the Central Committee," in Toward Professional Standards, compiled by AAGW (New York: Association Press, 1947), p. 169

[16]Nathan E. Cohen, "Body of Knowledge Basic to Group Work," in Toward Professional Standards, compiled by AAGW (New York: Association Press, 1947), p. 8.

[17]Grace Coyle, "On Becoming Professional," in Toward Professional Standards, compiled by AAGW (New York: Association Press, 1947), p. 1.

According to Coyle, although group work as a method developed in the recreation and informal education agencies, it was increasingly being used in social-work-oriented agencies with other functions such as children's institutions, hospitals, and churches.

Declaring that group work did come within the scope of the social work profession, Coyle expressed the hope that

> . . . the emerging definition of social work may define it as involving the conscious use of social relations in performing certain community functions, such as child welfare, family welfare, or health services, recreation and informal education. Casework, group, and community organization have this common factor, that they are all based on understanding human relations. While the specific relations used in each are different, the underlying philosophy and approach are the same; a respect for personality and a belief in democracy. This we share with case workers and expert community organization people. It is for this reason that I believe group work as a method falls within the larger scope of social work as a method [sic] and as defined above.[18]

Gertrude Wilson viewed group work as a basic method of the profession of social work and not a field, a movement, or an agency. Calling attention to the difficulty in delineating content for professional education when the professional identification was so uncertain, she felt a great deal had been accomplished in the past decade. Wilson expressed hope that

> . . . by the end of another decade group workers will have settled these basic problems, and that they will be absorbed in advanced research in knowledge and skill in practice that will make the group-work method more effective in helping individuals and groups to create a better world for all mankind.[19]

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[18] Ibid., p. 19.

[19] Gertrude Wilson, "Trends in Professional Education," in Toward Professional Standards, compiled by AAGW (New York: Association Press, 1947), p. 33.

In 1949, after several years of study, an AAGW committee under the chairmanship of Grace Coyle produced a report entitled "Definition of the Function of the Group Worker." This statement was adopted by the AAGW and became the official description of the function of the professional group worker:

> The group worker enables various types of groups to function in such a way that both group interaction and program activities contribute to the growth of the individual and the achievement of desirable social goals.
>
> The objectives of the group worker include provision for personal growth according to individual capacity and need, the adjustment of the individual to other persons, to groups and to society, and the motivation of the individual toward the improvement of society; the recognition by the individual of his own rights, abilities, and differences of others.
>
> Through his participation the group worker aims to effect the group process so that decisions come about as a result of knowledge and a sharing and integration of ideas, experiences and knowledge, rather than as a result of domination from within or without the group.
>
> Through experience he aims to produce those relations with other groups and the wider community which contribute to responsible citizenship, mutual understanding between cultural, religious, economic or special groupings in the community, and a participation in the constant improvement of our society toward democratic goals.
>
> The guiding purpose behind such leadership rests upon the common assumptions of a democratic society; namely, the opportunity for each individual to fulfill his capacities in freedom, to respect and appreciate others and to assume his social responsibility in maintaining and constantly improving our democratic society.
>
> Underlying the practice of group work is a knowledge of individual and group behavior and of social conditions and community relations which is based on modern social sciences.
>
> On the basis of this knowledge the group worker contributes to the group in which he works a skill in leadership which enables the members to use their capacities to the full and to create socially constructive group activities.
>
> He is aware of both program activities and of the interplay of personalities within the group and between the group and its surrounding community.

> According to the interests and needs of each, he assists them to get from the group experience the satisfactions provided by the program activities, the enjoyment and personal growth available through the social relations, and the opportunity to participate as a responsible citizen.
>
> The group worker makes conscious use of his relation to the group, his knowledge of program as a tool and his understanding of the individual and of the group process, and recognizes his responsibility both to individuals and groups with whom he works and the larger social values he represents.[20]

Although the statement is seen as being more specific about goals and purposes desired than about systematic ways by which they can be accomplished, it identified three components of method more clearly than had previous statements: specifically, (1) the interaction between group members and between workers and members; (2) the use of program as a tool; and (3) the interrelatedness of individuals and the community or larger social body in which humans and the group operate.

Industrialization and Human Relations

As in previous periods, there were individuals who were concerned with the problems caused by the workings of an industrial society. Of these, Elton Mayo, a Harvard professor, had the most effect on those practicing social work and group work. Influenced by Robert Parker, Clifford Shaw, and the writings of Emil Durkheim, he viewed the large industrial community as being the major factor in an increased rate of suicides, the high number of divorces, and the growing problem of juvenile delinquency. As countries became

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[20]American Association of Group Work, "Definition of the Function of the Group Worker," mimeo, 1949.

industrialized, the people became susceptible to unhappy and "obsessive personal preoccupation" because of a lack of social function and the lost desire to cooperate with other groups.

Mayo's writings on small work groups were based on his research on the Hawthorne Plant of the Western Electric Company. From this study came the conclusion that work output was a function of the degree of work satisfaction, which in turn depended upon the informal social pattern of the work group. By individuals belonging to small groups and influencing the outcome of the groups' behavior, they functioned at a higher level.

The task of restoration was to be the work of the industrial managers who up until that time had done little more than to create a sense of futility. Mayo's confidence in the ability of this group was based on the Hawthorne studies and the positive effects of a human relations approach to workers. He assumed that managers could organize production with a minimum exercise of authority and a maximum attention to the individual's work satisfaction.

The social dislocations of the time were, according to Mayo, producing a lack of opportunities for many individuals to acquire the social skills in the ordinary course of the maturing process or to find satisfactory personal relations. Unless this lack of "social skills" could be compensated for, the very survival of industrial civilization was threatened.[21]

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[21]Elton Mayo, The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization (Andover: Andover Press, 1945).

Influence of the War on Group Work

The war years had a strong impact on the development of group work in the United States. The advent of the Nazis highlighted the importance of citizen participation in a democratic society. Edward C. Lindeman, in 1939, wrote:

> The roots of a democratic culture do not lie in theories and conceptions, but rather in conduct, in experience and its satisfactions. If these roots do not strike deep into the "soil" of human personality, they will be easily destroyed by their external enemies, or they will wither away and die for want of nutrients and exercise. Whenever in history the people have thought and felt and lived democracy, there has been cast upon human experience a sharp luminosity. Fears were dispelled and hopes renewed and whenever, in history, tyranny and despotism have succeeded to power, human experience has been shadowed by suspicion, anger, and bitterness.[22]

The lessons of fascist Germany served to underscore the need for increased participation in community life, of strength that grows in the individual and in the group from working together, and the need for intelligent leadership in all strata of the population and in all groups. With this came the recognition that group association could be extremely powerful and dangerous if not used with caution. It taught group workers, who at times had thought of group activities as having a value in themselves, that these activities too could be used to enslave youth as well as to help them freely participate in society. It forced them to look deeper into human

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[22]Edward C. Lindeman, "The Roots of Democratic Culture," The Group (National Association for the Study of Group Work, 1939).

movements to learn about the unique forces within each individual and not to rely alone on programs and group process.[23]

Group work was also influenced by refugees from central European countries, many of whom came with a combined tradition of psychoanalytic thinking and group experience that had been of deep significance to them. Having grown up in an authoritarian family culture, they realized the significance of voluntary group participation to individual development. Psychoanalysis had neither the dramatic nor the exclusive impact on them that it frequently had on the person reared in a highly individualistic and puritan culture such as America during the 1940's. Differing from their American counterparts, who viewed analytic therapy as a panacea, most of the middle Europeans saw it as one type of treatment along with many others. In addition, these immigrants had their own painful experiences in Nazi Germany and Austria, which increased their interest in human relations.[24]

To many, group work offered more than a means of keeping democracy alive; it was a way to achieve the therapeutic goals of

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[23]Gisela Konopka, Social Group Work: A Helping Process (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1963), p. 8.

[24]Gisela Konopka, an outstanding leader in the field of group work, notes: "For myself, if I represent at all--at least in some ways--this group of immigrants, I must say that my first encounter with social group work in 1941 was a revelation. Having just come from a society that seemed to present an inescapable gulf between the individual and the group--which insisted that the individual be sacrificed to the interests of the group--I found the concept of individualization in and through the group exhilarating." Ibid., p. 9.

mental hygiene. Sally Bright, in a paper entitled "Letting the Public in on Group Work Objectives," wrote:

> True, the settlement house group may not be able to affect the Turkey and Greece situation directly; but a democratic nation is the sum total of democratic neighborhoods and communities and what you are doing in group work is to give people a chance to practice the method of democracy in their own backyards. And from a mental hygiene point of view in a frustrated nation, you are receiving the frustration of the citizen who can't make himself heard in the neighborhood. It is a thrilling thing to realize, then, that if the citizen can be heard in all the neighborhoods, his collective voice will, in the end, have global carrying power.[25]

Special services of a recreational and counseling nature for men in the armed forces were carried out through the Red Cross, through its military and naval posts, stations, camps, and hospitals. Another major project was the work in the hospitals, where recreation programs had to be adapted to the physical and emotional conditions of the patients. While this adaptation was not difficult, it pointed up the fact to Red Cross leaders that their teachers, recreation and physical education personnel did not have the essential knowledge to assist the returning injured serviceman in dealing with social problems which interfered with his rehabilitation. These injured servicemen were initially considered "normal" people who were rendered helpless, and sometimes hopeless, because of the environmental factors at war. The adaptation also brought into focus the use of groups as a means of helping. Many of those working with servicemen came to realize that it was helpful for the men to be

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[25]Sally Bright, "Letting the Public in on Group Work Objectives," The Group (October, 1948).

able to discuss their difficulties with the social worker on the ward, where they were receiving treatment and could turn to their "buddies" for support and mutual interchange in surroundings familiar to them.[26]

Group Dynamics and Social Group Work

Group workers were significantly influenced by Kurt Lewin and his research into group dynamics and human relations. Lewin, a German psychologist known for his work in field theory, visited America on a lecture tour shortly before World War II. Once out of Germany, he accepted a visiting professorship at Harvard for a short time and, while there, met Lawrence Hall, who was teaching group work at Springfield College and who provided Lewin with his first introduction to the small-group field.

Lewin's interest in group dynamics grew, in part, from his observation of Nazi Germany, which stimulated a deep interest in such problems as the reeducation of the Hitler youth and the changing of anti-Semetic attitudes. His interest in the effects of the social climate on individual attitudes[27] led him into research on various forms of leadership. During the war he studied changing attitudes toward food and attempted, through group methods, to persuade people to increase their intake of such available foods as brains and

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[26]Based on personal correspondence from Miss Claire Lustman, March 5, 1974.

[27]Along with Ronald Lippitt and R. K. White.

kidney. While the results of these studies influenced the leadership styles and the group structure and the group structure utilized in club leadership, criticism was expressed by many social work leaders that human emotions should not be the subject of experimentation. The very valuable results of these and later studies by these men had less effect on the use of groups in social work than they might had there been more receptivity at the time to experimental methods of inquiry.[28]

Along with several associates, Lewin went on to establish the Research Center for Group Dynamics at M.I.T., which was later transferred to the University of Michigan. In the summer of 1947, the year of Lewin's death, the first National Training Laboratory in Group Development was held at Gould Academy, in Bethel, Maine. A central feature of the Laboratory was "basic skill training," in which an observer reported on group processes at set intervals. The skills to be achieved were intended to help an individual function in the role of "change agent." A change agent was thought of as instrumental in facilitating communication and useful feedback among participants. He was also to be a paragon who had awareness of the need for change, was able to diagnose the probelms involved, and could plan for change, implement the plans, and evaluate the

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[28]Margaret Hartford, Groups in Social Work (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), p. 15.

results. To become an effective change agent, it was believed necessary to understand the dynamics of groups.[29,30]

While Lewin was not directly involved in the National Training Laboratory, his philosophy and the results of his research were a part of the organization. This is illustrated by the general attitude that behavior and long-term beliefs could be changed when individuals were able to examine them closely and conclude they were unsatisfactory. Methods of changing attitudes or retaining them were effective, therefore, if the individuals were provided with opportunities for discovering the negative effects these behaviors had upon themselves and others. Only when the person could see himself as others perceived him would his attitudes and subsequent behavior change.

The contribution of Lewin and his associates to the development of group theory have been tremendous both as it relates to the experimental groups and in real-life groups pursuing long-term tasks. At the same time, there has been resistance to their contributions. This resistance was due in part to the Gestalt base. There has also been the objection that findings from research on experimental groups or aggregates may not be applicable to treatment groups.[31]

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[29]Miriam R. Ephraim, "Introduction," The Group, X, 2 (January, 1948), p. 3.

[30]Leland P. Bradford, "Human Relations Training at the First National Training Laboratory in Group Development," The Group, X, 2 (January, 1948), p. 4.

[31]Hartford, loc. cit.

A Change of Focus

By World War II, there was evidence to suggest that group work was beginning to change its emphasis from social action and preparation of group members for social responsibility to problems of individual adjustment. In 1940, Ray Johns made the following observations:

> Relating young people to social change is apparently difficult to accomplish. The close identification of agency financing with conservative community interests, combined with the problems of discovering specific enterprises in which young people can participate and which contribute toward needed social change, makes participation far less effective than Grace Coyle's challenging Pugsley Award paper suggests may some day be possible.[32]

> In one Eastern city, 538 persons, many of them active in group work programs have already been identified as revealing personality difficulties. Two functions for agencies doing group work are suggested: (1) early recognition by staff and volunteer workers of incipient personality problems and quick referral for proper social treatment through well-established social work channels; and (2) treatment as an important part of the social work program of service for some problem cases.[33]

In schools of social work, group work students were being prepared for professional practice rather than for professional responsibilities. Like casework students, they were becoming skillful in the diagnosis which the workers meet in day-to-day practice, but they were not being prepared to speak with knowledge and understanding of the wider social issues involved or with authority on

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[32]Ray Johns, "An Examination of Group Work's Practices," Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1940 (New York: Columbia University Press), p. 560.

[33]Ibid., p. 557.

possible courses of action and development for society as a whole.[34]

By the 1950's, many questioned whether the "social" was being lost in social group work. At the 1952 Conference of Social Work, two papers urged workers not to limit the practice of group work to the narrow confines of individual adjustment and interaction within the group. William Bruckner said there was not enough work being done in the social change aspect of social group work.[35] Clara Kaiser stated that social purposes needed further emphasis and urged workers to work within the limits of the 1949 definition.[36] This same note was sounded again in 1955, when Nathan Cohen said that group work practice might become too technical and lose its historical roots and its ethical commitment. He said, "Group work as a method or process cannot operate in a vacuum, but must be within the present social scene."[37] Cohen stated that group work must develop ethics and keep its democratic goals.

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[34]Nathan Cohen, Social Work in the American Tradition (New York: The Dryden Press, 1958), p. 192.

[35]William Bruckner, "Group Work Commitment to Social Responsibility," Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1952 (New York: Columbia University Press), p. 52.

[36]Clara Kaiser, "Social Group Work Practice and Social Responsibility," Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1952 (New York: Columbia University Press), p. 58.

[37]Nathan E. Cohen, "Implications of the Present Scene for Social Group Work Practice," Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1955 (New York: Columbia University Press), p. 103.

Groups in Therapeutic Settings

The military provided psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers opportunities to communicate with each other and to work together. It also forced the various professionals to devise new ways of cutting down traditional detailed case histories, paper work, and waiting lists. One of the ways of achieving this was through group psychotherapy, which had been used before the war to treat children. William Menninger, reflecting on social workers using group psychotherapy in the armed services, said that it had good potentialities for the civilian scene and saw a role for the social worker in using it. He went on to say that social workers in the Army had the opportunity to participate in a program of prevention and in active treatment programs--in both, they were concerned with groups of individuals--and that the practice of group psychotherapy was far more extensive than individual psychotherapy. In many instances, the social worker had the major responsibility for conducting the group.[38]

Although this was met with interest by many social workers, group workers in the more traditional fields of informal education and recreation felt it would only detract from group work's tasks of citizen action and service to normal youth. It also brought into focus the question of whether group work with emotionally ill

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[38]William C. Menninger, "Psychiatric Social Work in the Army and Its Implications for Civilian Social Work," Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1945 (New York: Columbia University Press), p. 13.

individuals was group therapy. Fritz Redl, calling attention to the problem of terminology between groups for educational and clinical purposes, wrote:

> I find many people calling "educational value" what others would claim as "group therapy," and the other way around. . . . By "educational," I mean all those cases where an existing growth trend is helped to develop without anything being "wrong" to begin with. The term "clinical" refers to all attempts at doing some sort of a "repair job." Among these are cases where rather far-gone disturbances are attacked and elaborate processes are installed to bring about the repair. These more elaborate and noticeably complex forms of clinical work, I refer to as "therapy."[39]

By 1949, a committee of the American Association of Group Work had begun working on the relationship of group work to treatment. The Committee defined therapeutic group work as "the use of the group work method in working with groups of patients in a psychiatric setting." Similar to general group work, therapeutic group work focused on helping the individual move toward health and emotional adjustment. The role of the worker and the type of group, however, were different. The general group worker, according to the Committee, moved from the central role as soon as possible, enabling the group to determine its own goals and leadership. The psychiatric group worker was the central figure in the group, often assuming the role of mother or father figure. The group worker in the general setting worked with formed or natural groups, while the psychiatric group worker worked with specifically formed groups.

> In general group work the agency determines groupings in relation to social goals and the individual preferences.

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[39]Fritz Redl, "Diagnostic Group Work," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XIV (January, 1944), pp. 53-67.

> In psychiatric group work, grouping is an important factor in helping the individual. The agency [hospital or child guidance clinic] determines and controls groupings on the basis of individual therapy needs only.[40]

Both types of group work had "knowledge needed" in common. In each, it was considered important to have understanding and skill in working with individuals in groups. In addition, both were concerned with recognition of sickness and strength in the individual.

Another contribution to group work's move toward treatment of emotionally ill individuals was contained in the writings of S. R. Slavson, who was employed as a group therapist with the Jewish Board of Guardians of New York. Slavson classified his work as "activity group therapy," which he differentiated from "interview group therapy" because of its almost-absence of discussion and the emphasis on physical and manual activity and interplay of group members. Activity group therapy also differed from social group work in its stress on the involvement of the individual as opposed to concern with the totality of the group process. The therapist's role was that of a neutral person who stayed in the background, allowing the acting out of hostilities in a permissive environment.[41]

Child guidance

Fritz Redl, in 1942, while a faculty member at the School of Social Work at Wayne University in Detroit, initiated a project

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[40]Gisela Konopka, "Similarities and Differences Between Group Work and Group Therapy," Report of the Group Therapy Committee, American Association of Group Workers (mimeo, ST-451-8).

[41]S. R. Slavson, Introduction to Group Therapy (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1943).

in various agencies in the community for small groups of emotionally disturbed children who needed more specialized service than the more traditional agencies could provide.[42] Called the Detroit Project, it had as its aim the provision of diagnostic services through the use of groups led by trained group workers. The purpose of the Project was based in part on the limitations that had been revealed in gathering diagnostic data through the use of interviews. According to Redl, diagnostic study in the group avoided artificiality and treatment consciousness usually associated with therapy. It also provided first-hand knowledge as to symptoms and the child's behavior under stress.

At the same time, it was felt that using the group for treatment and diagnostic purposes had certain limitations. According to Redl, little was actually known as to what groups were best for what children, and this lack of knowledge often resulted in negative results for both the child and the group. Some children opened up and expressed themselves more freely, while others "snapped shut like clams."[43]

In 1938, the faculty of the University of Pittsburgh began to explore with the Pittsburgh Child Guidance Center the possibility of setting up a demonstration project using the group work method. After two years of discussion, a plan for using the Center

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[42]The Detroit Project was a joint enterprise of the Wayne University School of Social Work, the Consultation Bureau, and the Jewish Social Service Bureau.

[43]Ibid., p. 66.

for a graduate student was finalized. By the mid-1940's, group work services were an integral part of the Child Guidance Center's program. Konopka, using the terms "group therapy" and "psychiatric group work" interchangeably, wrote that the use of group work in a child guidance setting such as at the Center provided an opportunity for the child to test out reality in a safe environment. Hostility, for example, usually played out through symbolism in individual interviews either by talking or with play materials, was acted out in the group by real fights. Also, children with strong sibling rivalry, having to share the worker with other members of the group, were able to work out some of their feelings in the group.[44]

With increased acceptance of the group work method as a means of working with disturbed children, other facilities and settings began to seriously consider the use of groups as a means of treatment. In 1947, the Toronto Big Brother Movement conducted a three-week camp, for children considered by the agency's psychiatrist and other staff to be too disturbed to cope with regular camp programs. As it came to be recognized that the camp experience could have therapeutic benefits, less emphasis was placed on activities and greater emphasis was placed on individual needs and attitudes. It was the thinking of the staff, in their assessment of the camp program, that a relatively permissive setting such as

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[44]Gisela Konopka, "Therapy Through Group Work," in Toward Professional Standards, compiled by AAGW (New York: Association Press, 1947), p. 140.

a camp allowed for certain behaviors to come to the surface that might be concealed in a more controlled setting.[45]

Psychiatric and general hospitals

In 1945, the State Hospital for the Mentally Ill in Cleveland began using a part-time group worker who was employed at a nearby settlement house. Initially, there were many questions as to why he was there and what he was to do. Typical of many group workers in the 1940's, he knew little about mental illness and hospital settings. Time had to be spent becoming acclimated to the setting and learning about hospital procedures and methods of working as a member of a team including other professional disciplines. Raymond Fisher, reflecting on his experience, notes:

> We had to have enough experience with patients so that we ourselves could be comfortable in our relationships with them before we could proceed further. We counted on the fact that our basic concepts in working with people would be sound and applicable in this setting too, and indeed before too long, found they were. We, of course, recognized that there would have to be adaptations in how to apply these concepts to these specialized settings to meet the particular needs of the emotionally disturbed individuals, but we were encouraged by the psychiatrists in our work and we learned as we went along.[46]

The Menninger Clinic at Topeka, Kansas, a private psychiatric hospital, began operating an outpatient club after a group of patients requested that a club of this nature be formed. Initially,

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[45]Gordon J. Aldridge, "Program in a Camp for Emotionally Disturbed Boys," The Group, XIV, 2 (December, 1953), p. 13.

[46]Raymond Fisher, "Contributions of Group Work in Psychiatric Hospitals," The Group, XII, 1 (November, 1949), p. 3.

a caseworker served as staff person with the group; however, in 1949, a trained social group worker was employed to assume responsibility for the outpatient club. The club was successful and in a short time became accepted by the clinic staff as an important vehicle in assisting patients to return to the community. Three years later, another social group worker was hired to develop groups inside the hospital so as to enhance the patient's functioning in the treatment program. Eventually, a patient government was formed along with small interest groups.[47]

The Aspinwall V.A. Hospital served as a placement for University of Pittsburgh students during World War II. By 1949, the program had expanded, and students were working with both physically and mentally ill patients in the hospital. Groups were formed around specific problems such as epilepsy, sclerosis, heart disease, and diabetes. In addition, groups were established for geriatric patients and those planning on leaving the hospital. The groups were engaged in a variety of activities ranging from discussions and outside speakers to games, music, crafts, and recreational trips. Concerted effort was made to integrate the program with total hospital treatment. This was evidenced by having

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[47]Based on personal correspondence between Miss Minnie M. Harlow (Chief Group Worker, the Menninger Foundation, Topeka, Kansas) and the author, January 30, 1974. According to Miss Harlow, Drs. Karl and William Menninger became interested in the use of groups in psychiatric settings through their acquaintance with Gertrude Wilson and Gladys Ryland, who had a group of students at the Winter V.A. Hospital, in Topeka, during the summers of 1947 and 1948.

physicians make all the referrals, by organization of groups along diagnostic lines to correspond with the administrative line structure of the hospital, and by the high ration of concurrent casework services.[48]

The growing interest in the use of the group and group workers for treatment is evident in the articles published in professional journals and the papers presented at national and regional conferences in the 1950's. It is also indicated by the statistics of several studies on group-work graduates during this period. "The figures serve to confirm the fact," wrote Grace Coyle, "that there is a trend for group work to spread especially into group living situations where treatment is recognized as a social work function."[49] The study by W. L. Kindelsperger and others, of the employment characteristics of the group-work graduates for the years 1950, 1951, and 1952, shows that 14.9 percent of the graduates were employed in what are termed "nontraditional settings."[50]

A study by Charles Levy, of the graduates from group work programs during the years 1953 and 1954, reveals that out of a sample of 79 graduates employed in group work settings, 62 were in the so-called traditional settings and 17 were employed in "specialized settings"--i.e., psychiatric hospitals and clinics,

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[48]Claire R. Lustman, "Group Work within a Medical Setting" (paper presented at the National Conference of Social Work, Atlantic City, New Jersey, May, 1950).

[49]Grace Coyle, "Social Group Work," Social Work Yearbook, 1954, XII (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954), p. 483.

[50]Ibid.

residential treatment institutions and other agencies not primarily identified with the use of the group work method, or only recently established to render group work service to special groups such as street gangs, physically or emotionally handicapped children, and other similar agencies.[51]

Another study, conducted for the Council on Social Work Education by Gladys Ryland, also dealt with the characteristics and employment responsibility of graduates for the 1953-54 period. Miss Ryland's study discloses that 31 out of 90 group work graduates, or 25.6 percent, accepted positions in special settings. A further analysis of the titles and responsibilities of these 31 graduates divided them into two groups. One group of 21 was deemed as practicing social group work, and the other 10 had responsibilities or titles indicating functions other than social group work.[52]

Formation of the National Association of Social Workers

Professional organizations of social workers had been in existence since 1918, when the American Association of Hospital Social Workers was founded (later to become the American Association of Medical Social Workers). It was followed a year later by the National Association of School Social Workers. In 1921, the American

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[51]Charles S. Levy, "From Education to Practice in Social Group Work," Journal of Jewish Communal Service (Winter, 1958), p. 175.

[52]Gladys Ryland, Employment Responsibilities of Social Group Work Graduates (New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1958), p. 4.

Association of Social Workers, which succeeded the National Social Workers Exchange, became the largest single organization in the field of social work. By 1946, when the American Association of Group Workers was formed, there was a growing effort to shift attention from the specializations that had divided the social work field to the identification of a common core that would bring unification.

To this end, a committee on inter-association structure, called the Temporary Inter-Association Council of Social Work (TIAC), was organized in 1949 to develop a plan for promoting closer cooperative relationships among the social-work professional membership associations. The Council studied the various objectives, programs, and procedures of the five associations in addition to areas of cooperation. Their deliberations caused them to realize that they had a great deal in common and that there was a base for a single professional association.

In spite of the apparent advantages of being directly related to the profession of social work, not all group workers were in favor of the merger. To some it meant selling out on group work's original task of working with normal individuals so as to help them develop to the fullest extent possible their social capacities and potentialities. To others it meant joining a profession that had little interest in social reform or in helping communities take responsibility for their own development through community action. In 1952, however, the American Association of Group Workers voted overwhelmingly to participate in the program

to combine the seven social-work professional organizations into one social work organization. The move was a final step in social work identification, which resulted in the formation of the National Association of Social Workers in 1955.

Summary

During the years between 1937 and 1955, group work practice moved from many directions toward becoming an integral part of the social work profession. In addition to its former functions relative to democratic participation, education, and socialization, practice with groups expanded to include therapeutic aims. With this expansion came a proliferation of literature regarding the use of groups.

The 1935 and 1936 section meetings of the National Conference of Social Work had drawn together individuals involved in a variety of recreational, educational, and social service activities with interests and concerns in common. By 1937, small study groups began springing up throughout the country so that group workers could share ideas, knowledge, and experiences. Books began to be written on group work, and a journal relevant to the various fields and settings was published.

With this growth came the question of where professional group work belonged. Was it education, recreation, social work, or perhaps something uniquely different? It was recognized, however, that there was a need, before answering that question, for an agreed-upon definition as to what group work was and the function

of the group worker as he worked with different types of groups. Grace Coyle and G. Ott Romney helped to resolve part of the problem in their analysis of the similarities and differences between group work and recreation. By 1946, the question as to what profession group work belonged was no longer an issue, for the American Association of Group Workers became a part of the National Conference of Social Work.

The war was an important influence on group work development. First, it brought group workers in contact with other professionals such as the psychiatrist and psychologist. Second, the war drew attention to the positive and negative effects of certain types of leadership on groups. Third, group workers came to recognize that the group work method need not be limited to "normal" people, but could be used with those who were physically and/or mentally ill.

Also during this period, group dynamics came to be a part of group work, due mainly to the efforts of Kurt Lewin and his followers. Lewin was able to demonstrate that certain things occurred in groups which not only could be measured, but could be influenced by the worker in the group. The group was a dynamic system made up of various forces and elements.

Of the many changes that occurred, the most significant was evolution of group work into therapeutic and clinical settings. Group work, it was recognized, could be a useful tool in the treatment of these individuals suffering from illness whether physical or mental. By 1950, group workers were employed in child guidance

clinics, mental hospitals, medical hospitals, and residential centers for emotionally disturbed children.

In 1955, the National Association of Social Workers came into existence; it was to represent all of the fields of social work. Group work at that time, along with six other autonomous organizations, officially became part of the profession of social work.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY

The objective of this study has been to study the relevant literature of social work, the youth-serving agencies, the settlement houses, leisure-time agencies, and the social and medical sciences in order to obtain the requisite information regarding the question: What factors influenced the development of social group work from 1850 to 1955?

In seeking developmental factors on the history of group work, three subsidiary questions have acted as further guides:

1. What has been the influence of the early emphasis on the small group as a means of socializing the individual?

2. What has been the influence of the concept of the group as a means of maintaining a democratic society?

3. What has been the influence of the concept of the group as a method of ameliorating maladaptive behavior?

Similar to casework, social group work was practiced long before it was defined. In the United States, it developed out of a recognition that the group was a viable means for socializing the individual, maintaining a democratic society, and ameliorating maladaptive behavior. This did not occur in a vacuum, but as a response to gaps created by the uneven paces of technological

development and by the breakdown of those devices and controls for the realization of personality that were automatically supplied by the customs of an earlier and more stable society.

Work with groups began during the pre-Civil War era, at a time when America was entering the Industrial Revolution and dedicated to the development of its vast economic and industrial power. This was a period when the frontiers were everywhere--geographic, social and industrial--and the heroes were the empire builders and self-made men. The mood of the country was materialistic and expansionistic, with "change" and "growth" the bywords.

The Industrial Revolution brought far-reaching social and cultural changes to American cities. Cities grew at a phenomenal rate and were subject to the many dislocations caused by economic expansion. To the cities came many new ethnic groups, which, uprooted from long-familiar surroundings, confronted one another with deep mistrust. The individualism and self-reliance which had prevailed in the earlier America gave way to interdependence and the need for greater social regulation in newer America.

The philosophy of Charles Darwin, as interpreted by Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner, provided the intellectual base for the new competitive order. The Darwinian theory, according to its proponents, demonstrated that those who survived were the fittest. Translated into economic and social terms, this assumption brought science to the support of predatory capitalism and justified poverty and slums. These conditions, it was argued, were natural for the unfit, who, by lack of thrift and industrious habits, had

not survived the economic struggle. Any governmental effort to relieve poverty was a perversion of the law of nature.

It was in their social context that the first leisure-time agencies took form and function in America. In their beginnings, they were adaptations of services already developed in England. The YMCA appeared first, followed by the YWCA, the Scouts, the Boy's Clubs, and the YMHA's and the YWHA's. In many respects they were protective associations, created as a response to city life in an industrial and urbanized society. These organizations ranged themselves against the mobility and rootlessness, delinquency and crime, and the inability of a transient and disorganized population to take action in its own behalf. The major thrust of these early group-serving agencies was toward the normal, rather than the maladjusted, and stressed development of the "whole" person.

Another important root was the settlement movement, which was copied after settlements already functioning in England. In contrast to the methodological and case-oriented nature of casework, group work in the settlements was considered something that a large number of people could benefit from, to enjoy their leisure and improve their lives. The small group was a means of recreation, learning, and social action.

At approximately the same time, the Charity Organization Societies (COS) were being organized and social casework was developing. The difference in function of the settlement and the COS resulted in different approaches to individuals in need. The handling of relief in the COS led to the investigation of a

person's needs, resources, and worthiness to receive aid. The settlements viewed the recipients of their services as neighbors and set themselves firmly against attitudes of condescension in their relations with the poor and sought to break down the undemocratic cleavage between social classes.

The youth-serving agencies, the social settlements, the adult education movement, the recreation movement, and eventually progressive education all assumed a stance of social responsibility in a competitive order and a personal and cultural identity in an impersonal culture. They stressed the need for individualizing, for collective security, and for the equalization of political and economic power. Common to all of these movements and agencies were two important themes. First, the group was seen as a means of socializing the individual. Second, the group was seen as a means of maintaining a democratic society.

The use of the small group as a potent force in the socialization of the individual was most obvious in the "character-building" programs, where desirable personal characteristics were set forth in slogans, awards, and rituals and in a variety of inducements. Honesty, loyalty, patriotism, courtesy, reverence, graciousness, dependability, health of body, mind, and spirit were set forth in alluring pledges and reinforced in impressive ceremonies.

In later years there was less emphasis on the use of slogans and virtue and a move toward concepts such as social adjustment, security of personality, capacity for self-maintenance, acceptance of responsibility, and emotional security. These newer objectives grew

out of an increasing understanding of the dynamics of personality and behavior as gleaned by the social and medical sciences, and from the experiences and observations of group workers in various agencies. Most notable of these were the writings of Cooley, Mead, Simmel, Durkheim, and Dewey. Their contributions brought about more than a change in words; it directed the group worker away from symptomatic behavior to a deeper appreciation and understanding of personality in action.

With this change came a new way of utilizing activities and program. Heretofore, group workers had thought of activities as something used as ends in themselves. Sports, aesthetic pursuits, social recreation, etc., were for enjoyment and were vehicles for making use of one's leisure time. By the 1930's, there was the realization that it was not the activity nor the subject alone that was important, but also the human relations in which the activity was set. The experience in and through the group began to emerge as a significant part of the group work process.

The use of the group as a means of socialization of the individual continued into the 1950's and was most observable in such youth developmental agencies as the Y's and the Scouts, where the primary objective is that of socialization. It was felt in these agencies that group experience benefited the individual by developing potentialities that might not otherwise achieve fulfillment. The theme of socialization of the individual also insured the preservation of social values dominant within the culture and enhanced the human resources of a democratic society.

The concept of the group as a means of maintaining a democratic society is closely intertwined with the use of the group as a means of socialization. Group work from the beginning was interested in the use of group experience as a preparation for responsible participation in the democratic process. This interest manifested itself in several ways. First, it was thought that experience in the small, intimate, self-governing group found in a club would provide experience in the development of common goals and the creation and acceptance of self-imposed authority in the acquisition of leadership skills. Secondly, it was felt that if the worker introduced social issues as discussion topics during group sessions, members could discuss the issues and be better informed. Thirdly, the group was seen as a way to deal with neighborhood tensions, especially in interracial or interethnic group situations.

For those concerned by the emergence of a mass society and the problems of urbanization, as were Follett, Lindeman, and Mayo, the group could be used to conserve humanistic values. Small groups, within or linked to larger social units, were viewed as providing opportunities for collective decision making and individual participation. Also, the individual, through the group, would have a vehicle for articulating his concerns and decentralizing the decision-making process.

Despite the fact that the concept of the group as a means of maintaining a democratic society was one of the major tenets of early group work, its importance has declined over the years. In

the 1949 "Definition of the Function of the Group Worker," there are several phrases referring to the worker directing his energies toward the improvement of society. By 1962, however, this idea was more muted and no longer central. In "Frame of Reference for Social Group Work Practice," there is only one leading reference to "group life as experience in developing a sense of responsibility for active citizenship, and for improving the nature of participation in social action."

Still, practitioners in settlement houses and other agencies directly concerned with disadvantaged segments of the urban population prized the concept very highly. By the 1950's, the definition of "community" had been expanded to include mental hospitals, treatment facilities, and correctional institutions. Social group workers in these settings stressed client participation in decision making, the development of leadership skills on the part of the client, and social action as a way of bringing about change.

Until the late thirties, there was general agreement that the chief aim of group work was the development and adjustment of the individual through voluntary group association and activity. Such development was seen as occurring, with the assistance of a trained worker, primarily out of the interplay of personalities in group situations and out of the activities which made up the program. The objective was the development of socially desirable attitudes within the individual. "Socially desirable" was understood to cover a wide range, from the development of tolerance of people from other

cultural backgrounds to the promotion of socialization within the community.

By 1938, there began to be discussions as to whether or not group work should be aimed at individuals requiring corrective or therapeutic treatment. Many argued that group work should be mainly concerned with education and prevention rather than with therapeutic goals. World War II in many ways settled the issue. Group work began to be used in military and veterans' hospitals and, soon after, became a part of the services of child guidance clinics, state hospitals, and private hospitals. Initially, the worker was part of the treatment team in which his observations of the client's behavior were used for diagnostic purposes. As workers became more skilled, and through the writings of Redl, Lewin, Moreno, and Konopka, their roles changed from being gatherers of information to therapists.

Despite the influences from such roots as recreation, education, and the youth-serving agencies, the historical impetus of group work was toward an identification with social work as a profession and with social welfare as a field of service. By their very nature, group workers reflected concern with social conditions and their effects on people. Even though they drew inspiration from educational theory, psychiatric learnings, and small group research, these developments were seen by many as instruments to be used in achieving social objectives.

The fact that a substantial number of the early group-work programs were sponsored and financed by many of the same funding

sources as social casework programs also served to draw group work toward social work. The relationship between these various efforts took on greater importance and meaning during the 1929 Depression, as they came together around common problems and clientele. It was recognized by each that the other had valuable knowledge and skill that could be used to reduce suffering and meet human needs.

The alliance of group work with social work soon began to have implications for both parties. It served to expand the scope of social work itself, bringing it back to the earlier and broader conception of its role and function. It brought sociological thinking into a profession that had almost totally come to view man and human behavior in individualistic terms. It brought to social work a recognition of its lack of commitment to social reform. Finally, it reintroduced to social work the "normal" client, something that had become completely antipathetic to the development of social work as a therapeutic profession.

For group work, it gave professional identification and status to a collection of individuals of various backgrounds working in diverse fields. It gave promise of a clearer and more distinct sense of function and focus, something that many group workers lacked. The merger also led to a more conscious method of working, supervising, and recording, and it stimulated a greater awareness of basic concepts of human behavior.

From a negative standpoint, group work quickly embraced, as had casework before it, the Freudian explanation of human behavior to the exclusion of other explanations and approaches.

The alliance lessened much of the spirit of inquiry that had been a part of early group work. Perhaps most significant was a decrease in the emphasis that group workers placed on social action. Ironically, while group work was to make social action more visible within the profession of social work, group workers generally became less involved in social action.

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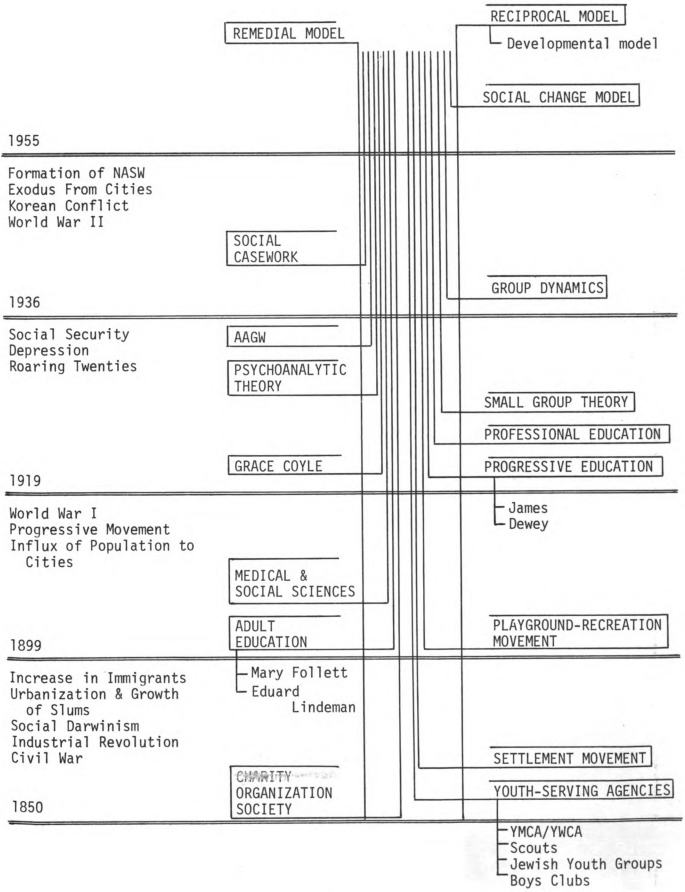
APPENDIX

APPENDIX

DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL WORK IN THE UNITED STATES



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