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Trends in public assistance as reflected in periodical literature from 1962 - 1965

Ephraim Thomas Veals Jr

Atlanta University

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TRENDS IN PUBLIC ASSISTANCE
AS REFLECTED IN PERIODICAL LITERATURE
FROM 1962 – 1965

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

BY

EPHRAIM THOMAS VEALS, JR.

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Significance of the Study

Public assistance programs are, in essence, residual programs for persons whose maintenance needs are not being met through such arrangements as social security, pensions, unemployment compensation systems and the like. To be effective, public assistance must also offer other services to people it helps financially. Among these services are: help with problems of personal and family disorganization, cultural deprivation, physical, mental and vocational handicaps which in some way lessen their ability to meet their economic needs.

Therefore, public assistance programs must be multifaceted. They must offer help through existing programs as well as create new programs and services. James Dumpson, who was commissioner, New York City Department of Welfare until September 1965, states:

Public assistance programs will require new concepts and approaches, not only in new programs but in old ones as well. It will require action on many fronts.¹

This attitude has resulted in practitioners in both public

and private agencies offering ideas and sharing experiences as to how services and programs can be improved. Consequently, the emphases in public assistance literature undergo continuous changes. Some of the changes affect modifications in the programs, policies and procedures which were created to adjust socio-economic problems, or approaches to them.

One of the major changes in recent years, was the enactment of the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962 by the 87th Congress. Public assistance services have expanded with the passing of these amendments. As a result of the new amendments, there has been an increasing concern for the organization and implementation of new services and/or changes in policy. With greater federal participation in public welfare programs and increased concern for services and training has come the recognition that all state and local welfare agencies have a responsibility for the planning aspects in providing adequate services to public assistance recipients. Hence, there is considerable concern on the part of social workers and others involved in public assistance work for: (1) the integration of thinking among practitioners regarding the establishment of the kinds of services that will help people function within their capacity, and (2) the employment and training of the kind of personnel that can

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effectively assist people in working out day-to-day problems.\textsuperscript{3}

Public assistance programs encompass all kinds of people and all kinds of problems. Its programs are designed to deal with the human difficulties that come in the wake of a changing social and economic system. As individuals living through such changes, we all are aware of or know of human needs that are not being met—of families not adequately cared for, of continuing dependency, of broken homes and tragic waste in human lives. Nevertheless, public assistance programs have been a strong factor in supporting individual needs on a national level and are continually developing and broadening their goals. Public assistance is increasingly directed toward the prevention of problems, and toward helping people to make the best possible use of their inner resources and the resources to be found in their families and their communities. Agencies are becoming more and more concerned with the provisions of constructive services.\textsuperscript{4} Additional services and changes in old policies are being designed to prevent, or to lessen, the problems of financial need and the care of children. They help a family to stay together and attempt to show needy persons how to face the stresses of their economic and social situation. By providing people in


\textsuperscript{4}Ibid., pp. 2-40.
need with adequate material needs, housing and recreational opportunities, and by making use of their knowledge and skills in community living, public assistance services are showing people how to reach a happier and healthier old age. However, progress in public assistance awaits additional research, new amendments passed by legislative bodies, and publication of literature before more effective changes can be made to meet needs.  

Though the kind and extent of help offered by public assistance may vary throughout the country, financial aid and some services are available in every community. Public assistance workers form a sort of first line defense in the conservation of human resources. They provide the primary service—financial assistance—upon which all other services must be built. In the past, sometimes the focus on "maintaining eligibility," that is, the legal right to receive public assistance, has led to an over-emphasis on this point. Ella Cowgill, who has written several articles and booklets dealing with public assistance explains:

No person applying and claiming immediate need for assistance should be allowed to leave the intake interview feeling that his needs have not been fairly faced. His consent to the postponement of actual acceptance should be

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secured, if possible... A worker can often help applicants make some other plan or she may be able to refer them to some other agency that can assist them or find the social service their problem requires.

Another writer, Ruth Wilson, in discussing the public assistance worker's responsibility concerning eligibility states:

The social worker in a public assistance program has responsibility to determine the eligibility of the applicant and to assure that the recipient's needs are met within the framework of rules and regulations. The objective of the programs is to assist people to attain desirable goals of social and economic adjustment commensurate with the ability and capability.

Therefore, lay persons and personnel in both public and private agencies have expressed the need for effective services. Public assistance workers, social workers, administrators, supervisors, and field directors have expressed an interest in knowing the experiences, suggestions, procedures, and methods used by their colleagues that may be applicable to their agency's program.

Over the past few years, public assistance agencies on all levels have expressed more and more interest in their own

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efficiency. From indications of the periodical literature (Public Welfare, Social Casework, and Social Work) and textbooks, public assistance agencies are, at least, making an attempt to deal with other social problems of recipients in addition to financial assistance. Some recent agency experiments and demonstrations—such as, the use of homemakers by Mobilization for Youth, special social work units by New York City and Los Angeles Department of Welfare, and child care programs by Baltimore Department of Welfare—vividly illustrate the potential role of public assistance in providing services. These services are directed toward the preventive aspects and fulfillment of the purpose behind the services; namely, benefit to the individual, the community and country.  

With increasing recognition of the need to focus services on the family as a unit and to integrate financial assistance, payments for medical care, and other family social work services, progress is being made in implementing these services at federal, state, and local levels. In addition to the substantial help being given through the day-to-day activities of staff in providing financial help, some states have developed other programs such as, employment, nursing home,


child care, and homemaker services. Special projects in some agencies are demonstrating the potential values in providing appropriate services and the benefits of cooperative effort between public and voluntary agencies and other groups in the community.

Although emphasis on the broad rehabilitation potentials of the public assistance programs appears to be beginning to show results in many states, the periodical literature (Social Work, Social Casework, and Public Welfare) may indicate that heavy work loads, lack of professional training, and low assistance standards limit the extent to which the full objectives of the public assistance programs are being realized.

Purposes of the Study

Legislative bodies have continuously amended public assistance laws thereby stimulating increased planning by federal, state, and local agencies and other interested groups to: (1) coordinate medical, social, vocational, and other services with financial assistance, (2) provide a broad range of services to help needy persons to increase their capacity for self care or self support, and (3) maintain or strengthen family life.

Out of this continuous amending of public assistance laws and increased planning for services have developed the purposes for doing this study. This study attempts to answer

\[13\text{Ibid., pp. 158-65.}\]
this major question: What are the trends in public assistance in the areas of services, administration, training, and structure? Other purposes are to: (1) delineate selected subject areas, (2) present some changing concepts of public assistance concerning public relations and the social work process, and (3) reveal community concern for public assistance as a helping process.

In presenting the findings the writer hopes to augment the present perspective of the public assistance process and to indicate some criteria for analysis of current practice.

Method of Procedure

The articles read and analyzed for this study will be chosen from Social Casework, Social Work, and Public Welfare for the years 1962 through 1965. In addition, reading assignments from the course, Social Welfare Policy and Services, and the Social Work Yearbooks which include any references to trends in public assistance will be read.

Pertinent information from the articles read will be written on separate cards. A detailed content analysis will be made of all information chosen. The information will then be arranged in a topical classification which will enable the writer to review all references relating to any particular subject. The information will therefore be available both in original context and by subject classification.

Some of the actual text of this thesis may consist of quoted selections from selected articles. An effort will be
made to remain within the immediate content of the source materials, except for necessary connecting statements.

Scope and Limitations

The study is limited in that the articles will be selected primarily from Social Casework, Social Work and Public Welfare. These journals were chosen because they reflect current attitudes, experiences, feelings, techniques, and trends in social work, and because their articles are recognized as some of the most outstanding in the field.
CHAPTER II
NATURE AND STRUCTURE OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

A Process of Social Work

Inasmuch as public assistance is an art or a technique of assisting the needy and treating the socially or psychologically maladjusted, it possesses a number of facets. Public assistance, however, is not something that is the sole prerogative or responsibility of the executive of any agency; the activities of all the members of a public assistance staff, from the clerk to the director, are helping in character. Yet, the professional social work services are among the most important in any public assistance agency. Professional social work services are considered more essential now than they were in the past. It is no longer accepted that any normally intelligent person with good intentions can do public assistance work. 14

As a result of the need for professional social workers to offer public assistance services, it appears that public assistance has become further identified as a process of social work. This process also seems indicated in the defini-

tion of public assistance. In defining public assistance, Hilary Leyendecker states:

Public assistance is financial aid extended to needy people in their own homes or places of residence. It is an affirmation of the community's responsibility for meeting the needs of persons who lack sufficient resources for maintenance. In this country it is part of a developing system of social security designed to provide protection against distress caused by lack of income.\(^{15}\)

The California law states that the purpose of the public assistance program is:

...to provide for protection, care, and assistance to the people of the state in need thereof, and to promote the welfare, happiness, and give assistance to all its needy and distressed. It is the legislative intent that assistance shall be administered promptly and humanely, with due regard for the preservation of family life, and without discrimination on account of race, religion, or political affiliation; and that assistance shall be so administered as to encourage self-respect, self-reliance, and the desire to be a good citizen, useful to society.\(^{16}\)

To attain these goals or purposes it is essential that the social worker understand the psycho-socio-economic factors that affect persons seeking financial assistance. Some persons seeking financial aid will need it only temporarily following a critical situation; others are so damaged emotionally and physically that the attainment of the goal of self-maintenance and self-direction for them is in the future.


Public assistance practice for providing assistance may be examined in the light of its definition and goals, and in light of the definition of social work practice which states that social work practice is recognized by a constellation of values, purpose, sanction, knowledge, and method.\(^\text{17}\)

Pauline Bushey states that the values which underlie public assistance practice have been those to which the profession is committed:

\[\text{...right of self-determination, right to means of livelihood, society's obligation to provide opportunities for gaining means of livelihood and for maximizing self-potential, and the concept that family should not be broken for reasons of poverty alone.}\(\text{18}\)

The principles of cash payment and unrestricted use of payment flowed from these values. In addition, values concerning the individual's obligations to society have also been discussed limitedly in the literature.\(^\text{19}\)

The literature indicates that the purpose of the public assistance provisions was not explicitly written into the Social Security Act in 1935, but the act clearly provides income to those defined categories of individuals and families who have no, or insufficient, income from other sources.\(^\text{20}\)


\(^{19}\)Ibid., pp. 625-29.

\(^{20}\)Ibid., p. 628.
The purposes for the adult categories (Aid to the Blind, Aid to the Disabled, and Old Age Assistance) have been those of enabling individuals to remain in their own homes and to maintain their accustomed roles in family life. The Aid to Families with Dependent Children program was stated by the Bureau of Family Service to be:

Part of a broad plan of public services...to assure children opportunity to grow up in a family of their own relationship; have the economic support and services they need for health and development; receive an education that will help them to realize their capacities, and share in life of the neighborhood and community.21

The 1956 amendments to the Social Security Act altered the constellation of public assistance practice by specifying promotion of self-help, restoration of independence, and strengthening of family life as proposed by the programs; the 1962 and 1965 amendments further stressed preventive rehabilitative factors. Thus, social purposes were explicitly brought into substantial accord with those of social work.22

Prior to 1956, only public assistance practice for income provision was sanctioned by the act; with enactment of the 1956 and 1962 amendments, sanction was extended to practice purposefully directed toward goals similar to those of social work.23

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21Ibid., p. 601.
Knowledge essential to public assistance practice relating to social purposes is the same as that for social work practice in any setting, but it is supplemented with an additional body of knowledge about policies, procedures, and budgets to carry out the income maintenance function.\(^{24}\)

The method which characterized practice in providing assistance probably is more extensively controlled in public assistance than in any other setting. Principles which may influence practice in other settings have been made mandatory in public assistance practice. Judgment is removed from decision making by breaking the worker's task down into procedures which must be carried out according to rules.

Pauline Bushey states that "one dilemma which plagues public assistance is that between the principle of equitable treatment and recognition of reward as a motivator of behavior." The second, she states, "is that between the principles of equitable treatment and individualization."\(^{25}\) The way out of these dilemmas has usually been to add new policy statements as new situations arise.

In general, method in practice relating to assistance provision is characterized by fixed procedures; judgments and decision making involve not the client himself, but his circumstances in relation to policy. In marked contrast, method

\(^{24}\text{Ibid.}, \text{ pp. 602-7.}\)

\(^{25}\text{Ibid.}, \text{ p. 602.}\)
in professional practice is concerned with use of self, facilitation of change, and exercise of judgment. The difference between these two methods is significant. Conversely, social work is now designated as the method by which the social purposes of public assistance are to be approached. Practice in public assistance is thus characterized by concurrent use of two markedly dissimilar methods.

Today, the trend of public assistance seemingly concerns itself with two major tasks, differing markedly in essential respects but both sanctioned by the Social Security Act: (1) that of income maintenance, a practice with its own constellation of value, purpose, knowledge and method, and (2) that of social service which may be equated with social work—having its own constellation but differing markedly in essential respects.

The social work process would possibly be unstructured and unorganized without the efficiency of administrative structure. If this is so, administrative structure is an important element in the public assistance process.

Structure of Public Assistance

Public assistance administration—the processes necessary to translate the intent of the legislature into specific services to people is too complex a subject to receive adequate treatment here; therefore, this section shall confine itself

to some general aspects of administration and organization which are common to public assistance agencies.

The statutes which provide the legislative mandate for public assistance stipulate either directly or indirectly the structural framework within which service is to be rendered. Basically, public assistance is a state responsibility, but can be delegated to local government. Whether assistance is administered by a branch of local government or by a local branch of the state assistance agency, the Social Security Act required that there be some state supervision and financial participation for those assistance categories covered by the act. \(^{27}\) However, Arthur P. Miles states:

The local level is the most important in the administration of public welfare. It is the local unit where there is a face-to-face relationship with the client. The real service is thus rendered by the local unit. In a public assistance agency, for example, it is the case workers in the local unit who are the most important administrative officials, for they do most of the work in establishing eligibility and determining the amount of the grant. The service and the assistance are given through the case workers; and other activities, whether on a national, state, or local level, theoretically at least, exist to implement the case work services. \(^{28}\)

States differ, however, in the extent to which the administration of the various assistance categories is integrated; that is, in the extent to which the different programs are administered by the same agency, and perhaps the same worker.


Some states, for example, have a completely integrated program for only those categories for which there is federal reimbursement, general assistance being left entirely to the localities. In some states there may be variation even among the federally reimbursed categories.

Hilary Leyendecker, who writes a great deal concerning public assistance, explains:

These variations can be understood only in light of the social and political history of the respective states. Whether a state administered system is better than a state locally supervised system is not an issue of vital importance. What is important is the extent to which all the assistance programs are integrated, so that standards are substantially the same for all needy people, and so that people are not shunted from one agency to another because of different categorical eligibility requirements.

The size of the local operation unit, whether a branch of a state agency or an agency of local government, depends upon the geographic area served, the population of the area, the number of programs administered, and the incidence of need. In locally administered systems the area of operation is usually the county, less often, the city or township. In state administered systems the area of operation is usually the county or, in sparsely populated territory, a group of counties.

The functions of the local administrator vary, depending on the size of the agency, its structural and staff pattern,

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the service it provides, and whether it is a branch of local
government or a state assistance agency. The local adminis-
trator is distinguished from the supervisor in that the latter
is responsible for carrying out the social service functions
of the program, whereas the former is responsible for the
execution of the total program—planning, personnel, securing
and disbursing funds, fiscal and statistical controls, etc.

In locally administered systems the director may be responsible
for programs other than public assistance, such as child wel-
fare. In large multiple-function agencies the executive usu-
ally has a number of sub-administrators in charge of the vari-
ous programs or staff services, such as, director of public
assistance, director of child welfare, director of personnel,
etc.30

In state administered programs the director is a state
employee, although in some states he is appointed by a local
citizens' advisory board. This, however, is often a formality,
since he must be appointed from a civil service list. In
state supervised systems the local director is appointed by a
local policy making board, except in California, where he is
appointed by the county board of supervisors, and in New York
where the majority of local welfare commissioners are elected.
(In a few of the larger districts in New York, however, he is
appointed by the county or city executive, or by a local wel-

The authority of the local director is defined and circumscribed by the terms of the statutes, and by policy derived from such legislation by the state agency. Local policy making boards (which are also limited by such legislation) are technically the head of the local agency, while the director is responsible for executing the program. According to Ellen Winston, local directors and policy making boards may retain considerable discretion in the following areas:

1. Standards of assistance: Development of a specific definition of need; standards for the assistance budget—items to be included and the amount per item in relation to living standards and costs in the community; standards relating to the evaluation of resources. (The trend is that now the Federal Government is putting increasing pressure on the states to establish state standards of assistance.)

2. Personnel: Size of staff, job assignments, qualifications, compensation, other personnel policies, hiring and releasing.

3. Responsibility for decision: Authority to accept or reject applications for assistance, subject only to the rulings made by the state agency on cases in which there have been fair hearings.

Generally, local discretion in matters relating to assistance standards and to personnel is limited by minimum requirements imposed by the state. As the latter define more pre-

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31 Ibid., pp. 301-18.
32 Ibid., pp. 303-20.
cisely the minimum standards which local agencies must maintain, there is a corresponding decrease in the ability of the local agency to function freely as a branch of local government and to reflect prevailing local opinion. It is argued, therefore, that this trend, in effect, changes state supervised locally administered systems into state administered systems without legislative authorization. While there may be truth in this contention, it is hard to see what the alternative could be, if needy people are to receive equitable treatment regardless of where they live in the state. In a state in which seventy-five to eighty percent of local expenditures for public assistance are reimbursed by the state or federal government, it is difficult to justify a situation in which a needy person is denied assistance in one county; whereas, were he living in a neighboring county, under precisely the same circumstances he would be eligible for assistance. The establishment of minimum standards means uniformity in amounts of assistance. The minimum in monetary terms may vary from locality to locality in accordance with living costs and community standards.

However, the modern trend in public assistance administration has been to define, by means of written policy, the intent of the law and the rights and duties of applicants and

35 Ibid., pp. 183-84.
recipients. Its aim is to see that everyone in similar circumstances receives similar services dependent on their individual needs, and to help potential applicants understand the services the agency is authorized to provide. However, Arthur P. Miles points out that:

In theory, the more specifically policy defines the conditions and standard of service, the less extensive is the scope of decision and discretion of worker and supervisor and the greater is the likelihood of equality of treatment.36

But, in today's practice this is not necessarily the case. At any rate, with additional services being offered, and trained social workers making professional judgments and skillfully handling technical materials, public assistance is achieving fuller recognition as a process of social work.

CHAPTER III
TODAY'S DEMANDS ON PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

Services

The public assistance agency of today is called upon to offer a comprehensive program of public social services. Obviously, the objective of the agency is to develop the most effective program possible for serving the wide range of individuals and families who turn to public assistance agencies for help. To reach this objective, it appears that the agency must have as its central focus the coordination of all its discreet services to form an integrated program of public assistance. The national, state, and local governments have a role to play in implementing a philosophy of strengthening family life and protecting the welfare of children, regardless of financial need.

The periodical literature indicates surprising consistency in the findings of the many studies and demonstration projects conducted by federal, state, and local governments in addition to private organizations. Generally, the results seem very encouraging. Studies indicate that the majority of caseloads in agencies consist of the aged, and children and their mothers. Many of these persons could not be expected to work. The other caseloads represent mostly the blind, individuals with serious physical, emotional, and mental hand-
icaps, or those who lack appropriate job skills. There is a common idea that recipients do not want to work. However, studies reveal that they do want to find work and support themselves whenever they can. Norman Laurie sums up in an article that:

The nub of the trouble is not too much relief but not enough... The crying need, we submit, is a more compassionate understanding of the very real and serious plight of most families on relief rolls... more social workers, and high pay for qualified ones to reduce the rate of turnover, would raise relief costs at first, but might well reduce them in the long run.

If more agencies plan to employ professional staff to help families and individuals with their day-to-day problems, they first must provide adequate economic assistance. With some exceptions, the grants in many localities are below a minimum standard of health and decency. This is perhaps the most universal finding, although many agencies are taking steps to increase inadequate financial grants. In addition, agencies are also focusing on giving clients the responsibility of deciding how best to use their income. However, some recipients do need intensive help in income planning as well as other areas where there is disorganization.


Some writers have attempted to classify the problems and disorders of recipients found in public assistance caseloads. The findings seem similar, no matter what approach or set of definitions was used. The range includes:

...conditions caused by aging, physical incapacities, desertion, non-support, divorce, separation of children from families, frequent job dismissals, poor work records, lack of personal incentive, open conflict with employers, indebtedness due to inability to manage money or inadequate income, disturbances in family relationships, poor homemaking, neglect of children, mental illness and retardation, socially incompatible behavior, lack of responsibility, school failures, defiance of authority, adult crime, and juvenile delinquency.41

To cope with these problems, many special studies, projects, and demonstrations were undertaken and it appears that many are planned for the future.42 Some of these studies and projects, along with legislative enactments, have resulted in findings that will, or have affected program development.

One of the major developments has been a new approach to the applicant during the intake process. A basic principle around intake, which evolved with the creation of a national public assistance program three decades ago, is that an individual has a legal right to apply for public assistance. This principle has and is continuing to undergo a profound transition, and has set the pace for implementation of other services. In the early days of the administration of the legis-

42 Ibid., pp. 171-72.
lution, the effort to assure that people were not deprived of their rights resulted in a sterile, rigid focus on the eligibility of the applying individual, which occupied the complete attention of the public assistance worker. Little consideration was given to the circumstances producing the situation which resulted in the person's applying for aid, and no plan was made for dealing with the basic causes.\(^43\)

In the intervening period, new knowledge of human behavior and new findings in research have brought social workers and public assistance workers to the point where it is possible to look into causation and to try to intervene prior to breakdown.\(^44\) Better ways of reaching out to restore social functioning, if breakdown has already occurred, are now known—being practiced in some agencies and planned to become a part of practice in others. The trend in program development is no longer oriented to eligibility determination but is being oriented to the problem and the person.\(^45\) The indication is that now, whenever an individual contacts the agency, the worker focuses on the individual and his reason for making contact. Therefore, the intake worker's function is to involve the client in:

1. use of agency and community resources and services.


\(^{44}\) Ibid., pp. 270-74.

\(^{45}\) Ibid., pp. 271-74.
2. clarification of the client's and the agency's expectations.
3. exploration of the realistic factors of the situation.
4. considering how his own planning and activities may be channeled to alleviate the situation.46

In addition, the public assistance service most suitable to solving the problem is considered. The implementation of this process emphasizes from the start an effort to carefully diagnose the client's problem and the agency's concern for giving other services besides financial assistance.

Along with this new approach to intake has developed a number of new services for clients which some agencies have implemented and others are considering. In some agencies, special professional staff has provided direct social work services to special groups of clients, and in most instances these special caseloads are small. With smaller caseloads, workers have been able to locate many new resources, help fathers to develop closer association with their children, and unite many families. Parents are being helped to recognize and accept their roles in the home and community. These new services have also helped many families meet requirements necessary to become foster families.47

Currently, the physically ill and families receiving assistance under the category of Aid to Dependent Children

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are most often the focus of special social work attention. As more professional staff is hired, hopefully, more individuals and families will receive social work help.

Other agencies are attempting to employ enough social workers to supervise each unit of non-professional workers, so that all cases will be under the direct supervision of a professional worker.

To correct physical defects found among recipients, some public assistance agencies are establishing special medical and physical therapy programs. This has lead to the development of vocational education, vocational rehabilitation and employment services which can be used not only by clients with physical defects, but by all clients. 48

Training in many special skills is being provided by some public assistance agencies depending on the community's demand for labor. In addition, special job development programs are being worked out for adolescents. In some agencies, job training emphasis is sometimes placed on women whose children no longer need full-time care. In still other cases, agencies have helped arrange day care services for unmarried mothers while they were counseled and trained in job skills. 49

The literature indicates that there is a trend on the part of some agencies to make homemaker services a part of their program because it appears to be an effective helping

49 Ibid., pp. 97-137.
tool. A study conducted at the Los Angeles Department of Welfare indicates that the progress made by clients was not so much on the basis of the homemaker's skill and proficiency in homemaking and child care, but because of her intuitive ability. Giving the mothers and children in the families studied the kind of acceptance, respect, and understanding that in many cases they had not encountered before, proved to be a therapeutic device.\(^{50}\) A demonstration project by Mobilization for Youth in New York City indicated the same results. Moreover, homemaker services are being used to prevent out-of-home placement of children as well as adults.\(^{51}\)

Today, public assistance offers services in such a way as to, hopefully, strengthen individual and family living. Although public assistance cannot solve all social problems, the trend is to eliminate problems on an individualized basis.

People today may be especially vulnerable for many reasons—their age, race, physical or moral infirmities, lack of skills or education, distance from relatives and friends. But whatever their reasons are for needing public assistance help, the current feeling is that more services should be available. Furthermore, these services should be available equitably, humanely, and given in such a way as to protect the basic right of the individuals concerned.


\(^{51}\) Ibid., pp. 14-18.
Administration

Although the offering of services to people is the most important function of public assistance, good administrative skills are required to make services effective.

Public assistance administration at federal, state, and local levels has important roles in determining how the needs of recipients of public assistance are to be met. Administrative personnel see many problems which are unknown to others; they also see the gaps and failures of the past, the newly emerging problems of the future, and will repeatedly be called upon to shape programs through their advice, recommendations and in the wide range of their daily activities. In addition to executing current policies and developing staff to carry them out, welfare administrators have leadership responsibilities in coordinating programs, analyzing gaps, and mobilizing support for improving all social welfare programs. 52

The trend in public welfare programs is toward uniform federal legislation for all states. Yet, there continues to be wide differences in legal responsibilities and in the organization of state public welfare departments. These differences are attributable in major part to the following factors:

1. the historical events affecting the developments of individual states,

2. the extent to which various social welfare services are available through other agencies, both governmental and voluntary,
3. the philosophy of the individual states with regard to the division of responsibility between the state and its counties, and
4. the extent to which states are both willing and able to accept legal and financial responsibility for expanding services to individuals and families. 53

However, the federal government is continually working towards eliminating these differences.

In considering state welfare administration it is important to recognize that they are not only the administrators of the programs at the state level but also operate the state department of welfare. With greater emphasis on services and demonstration projects, seemingly, more states are developing closer administrative relationships with the federal government through cooperative programs. This relationship is extended to the local level since the state also supervises or directs administrative relationships with local welfare agencies and the federal government. 54 Hence, administration of public assistance programs today is complex and involves a broad gamut of administrative practice.

State administration has special responsibilities relating to legislative action and appropriation of funds. Today more states appear conscious of the importance establishing both long and short-run goals. State administrators are working

54 Ibid., pp. 65-70.
closer with legislators, helping draft bills, planning strategy, and preparing more reports for legislative committees. More and more legislators are seeking state administrators' help on how to accomplish what they have in mind. Often state health, education, and other departments have interest closely tied to public assistance, and there is indication that priorities are being jointly established. In addition, states are making stronger bids for backing by leadership from other fields, from molders of public opinion and from the press. In many instances in the past they have proved invaluable.55

Just as there is a wide range in organization and administration in programs of public welfare at the state level, so too there is considerable variation at the local level, whether the program is state administered or locally administered under state supervision. While the diversities in organization and financing may make administration of public welfare more complicated, they promote experimentation. This has led to increased emphasis on the skills required in large public assistance programs and generally promoted the advancement of social services under local governmental services.56

To be effective at the local level, an administrator must first of all have conviction that the job he is doing is important. It now appears that many localities are trying to appoint or employ people with this conviction and with a

genuine concern for people who are not able to work out their social problems without help. Local governments are beginning to appoint the kind of administrators who are able to:

1. understand the broad issues in their own and related programs, and
2. meet issues raised by critics rather than ignore critics and stay away from community contacts.57

Charline Birkins feels that is a good trend, as critics require answers and should be brought in where possible to seek solutions to existing problems.58 In addition, many local administrators are making effective use of local boards. They are also attempting to train their staff to make more effective use of agency and community resources.

There is also a trend toward involving the entire community in the solution of community problems, which is viewed by many writers as a wise decision. Generally then, today it can be said that the administrator's job is, in addition to offering financial assistance, one of developing and structuring programs and demonstration projects which lead to the offering of the kinds of services recipients need for solving their individual problems.

Training

To make demonstration projects a part of daily services and to implement newly structured programs, the staff must be adequately trained.

57 Ibid., pp. 183-84.
58 Ibid., pp. 182-84.
Training is a key element in providing the expanding services now incorporated in public assistance programs. Public assistance workers must be trained to serve clients effectively and to develop adequate community resources to meet the changing needs of a large segment of today's population. Since social service programs are so interrelated, it is also important that those responsible for staff training in public assistance should also be familiar with at least the essential elements of the different programs.

Training for the new role envisioned for the public assistance worker was clearly delineated in the 1962 Public Welfare Amendments. The shift is towards more services that enhance social functioning, enable individuals and families to function better in their various roles, and help them gain access to community resources. Also emphasized is the importance for the client of developing meaningful relationships with the worker and the agency. Out of this has come an increased need for professional and in-service training of public assistance workers.

**In-Service Training:** The state and local departments of welfare are guided in the development of their in-service training programs by this federal definition of training:

The term in-service...describes those activities designed to help staff learn in appropriate relationship to the nature of their specific jobs:

1. The meaning of agency objectives and philosophy.
2. The use of program and operational policies and procedures.
3. Concepts and methods of social work or other disciplines, such as medicine, psychiatry, and management (for those serving in these functions).

4. Background knowledge, such as child care and development and human relations.

5. Working relationships with other staff members in the unit, in the larger organization, and in the community.\(^{59}\)

In-service training thus provides learning opportunities for all staff at various phases of their experiences. The first opportunity is the initial orientation program that the worker participates in immediately after he is employed. Continued training follows thereafter in various forms.

For the purposes of this paper, the term, in-service training, is restricted to training for three major categories of public assistance staff for whom training is perceived to be crucial: (1) caseworkers (various titles, such as welfare worker, visitor, social investigator, and social worker designate staff members who carry caseloads), (2) line supervisors, and (3) county welfare directors.\(^{60}\)

The question is sometimes asked, what major assumptions underlie the educational goals of in-service training? In-service training hopes to offer caseworkers the knowledge that they cannot acquire through experience alone. To help caseworkers develop a range of skills required in their work, in-service training attempts to incorporate in their learning,


\(^{60}\)Ibid., pp. 201-26.
appropriate values and ethics that serve to guide their practice. In-service training is geared toward helping workers to achieve mastery so that they can establish "self rewarding sequences...the reward of deeper understanding is a more robust lure to effort than we have yet realized." One major reason for increased emphasis on in-service training is to involve the staff member so that he experiences the satisfaction of knowing within himself that he understands his work and can perform it competently. Moreover, training also provides workers with opportunity to learn to look at themselves. Additionally, it helps them to learn behavior that reflects agreement with the idea "that feelings are to be controlled, when, if expressed, others may suffer undeservedly." 

There is also increased emphasis on an in-service training program for supervisors because in-service training serves a number of purposes. It teaches them methods of facilitating the movement of workers toward independent practice. It gives them an opportunity to acquire new knowledge considered basic to understanding people in need of public welfare services. It helps them learn more about the nature of group interaction and group process which has a direct bearing on their work in

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62Ibid., pp. 116-47.  
supervising staff groups.

As of May, 1965 two states have developed training programs for county directors. In these two experiments staff members of the State Department of Social Welfare met in preliminary sessions to consider both program content and method. The program leaders worked with these staff members to evolve the most practical approach and design for the particular county directors to be trained. In the workshop that evolved, emphasis was placed on the changing role of the director, the decision making process, and principles and methods of community planning for resources. It appears that more states have plans to establish an in-service training program for their county directors.

There has been a marked increase in the number of county and local agencies that have been conducting formal in-service training programs. It appears to have developed from the increased emphasis on the kinds of services offered by public assistance agencies. In addition, some authorities feel it has developed from the need to change old patterns and to think more constructively in order to create new approaches to dealing with the problems of so many needing so much.

Professional: The public assistance agency's concern about how services are offered and the discipline involved in becoming a responsible representative of the agency has helped

64 Ibid., pp. 433-36.
65 Ibid., pp. 432-36.
many staff members recognized their need for professional education. To meet this need, agencies are either initiating or expanding work-study programs to provide opportunities for staff members to remain on the payroll while attending a graduate school of social work.  

Work-study programs have been effective in providing the agencies with professionally educated workers who have moved into supervisory positions. Many supervisors have been able to help agency-trained workers give services more effectively.  

Work-study leave for staff is receiving increasing support in public assistance agencies. Approximately 1,984 public assistance staff members were on leave in part-time, full-time, and work-study programs during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965. By June 30, 1966, the number is expected to increase to 2,478.  

There is also evidence that persons with masters degrees are leaving positions in governmental and voluntary agencies to accept staff development positions in public assistance that require a professional education. The writer observed that there were many public assistance agencies advertising for professional social workers in the May, 1966 personnel  

67 Ibid., pp. 601-6.  
68 Ibid., pp. 605-6.
information bulletin published by the National Association of Social Workers. The salaries offered were commensurate with other social work jobs. Continued intensive efforts are being made to send more persons to schools of social work as well as to recruit persons who have prepared for public assistance positions by attending graduate schools of social work.
CHAPTER IV

PREVALENT ISSUES RELATING TO PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

For a number of years citizens have complained about the services offered by public assistance. This writer's concern is with this question. What is public assistance doing to eliminate its poor image? To do this, two things must be done according to Joseph Hungate:

1. Public assistance must help the community to see the need for the particular service or function and the results to be expected.
2. It must demonstrate that the use of the public assistance organization is the most effective way to provide the service.69

The morale of staff members, the responsiveness of the organization to community needs, and the availability of members of the organization to serve as advisors or consultants to the community are crucial factors affecting public support. In fact, the agency's greatest asset in community relationships may be found in the relationships of individual staff members within the community rather than in the official pronouncements given to the public by the agency.

The value and essential nature of the public assistance function must be made clear to every citizen. The business organization and the industrial producer can limit their rela-

tionships to the specific segments of the public upon which they are dependent for profits; but the public welfare agency, as a governmental organization, must relate to every segment, because the support of public agencies via the tax dollar affects the entire citizenry. The public must be fully informed and helped to understand what the agency is doing, its goals, and the plans being formulated to cope with the needs of the future. The social purpose of welfare functions needs to be interpreted to the community.70

A public assistance client who is in need of welfare services is a member of the community. Interpreting and supporting his interests before the public and providing appropriate legal protection is a legitimate function of public assistance. The client has a right to expect that his interests should be represented by this agency.

Although broad public support is essential, it is also necessary for public assistance to mobilize the top leaders of the community to promote the public assistance program and serve as sponsors of welfare proposals. This responsibility may be skillfully handled by a public relations person. Without the support of top leadership, programs originating from lower administrative levels may not have enough prestige value to move forward.

Public Relations

The public relations function in public assistance in-

70 Ibid., pp. 129-35.
Eludes everything that helps or hinders programs being known, understood, liked, used, and supported. It includes developing sympathetic understanding of the needs and aspirations of the clients served by the agencies, as well as strengthening positive images of the agencies themselves and the people who staff them.\(^{71}\)

Publicity and interpretation have been a major role of the public relations personnel now in public assistance or public welfare agencies. Publicity conveys information and reports policy and program decisions to the public. Whereas, interpretation is usually applied to help educate the public.\(^{72}\) It appears effective when there is a continuous process relating policies, services, and actions to the individuals and families served by public assistance, and those persons whose support and understanding are required.

The growth of public assistance and public welfare programs in general has brought increased public attention to the field—not all of it favorable.\(^{73}\) Rapid social and economic changes, accompanied by family disorganization and breakdown, rise in public assistance cost, dependency, and

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unrevolved problems of poverty, require new evaluations of public assistance services and practices. However, dissatisfaction does exist with the efforts of some governmental supported programs to cope with these needs. Some of the criticism is viewed as insufficient acceptance and understanding of the broad purposes of public assistance and of the persons rendering service in the field.

The attacks upon public assistance together with a growing concern about school dropouts, family breakdown, and the like, have enabled public assistance personnel to more effectively interpret to key publics the relationships between needs and social problems, and between services and broad-scale reforms.

The expansion of the role of public relations in public assistance in the early 1960's brought about increased recognition of the need for tested data on which to build sound programs. During the early 1960's, public relations practitioners recognized the value of integrating some of the insights and techniques of social science to their practice. This helped to strengthen that part of their programs which seek to mold public attitudes and overcome resistance, hostility, and misunderstanding of public assistance.

Some of the periodical literature indicates that because

75 Joseph I. Hungate, Jr., Op. Cit., pp. 73-120
76 Ibid., pp. 111-20.
of the lack of acceptance and understanding, the key targets of public assistance interpretation in the sixties are making Americans aware of:

1. the significance of modern public assistance agencies,
2. their connection to a viable, healthy democratic society,
3. the importance of increased citizen participation and understanding in public assistance programs,
4. the unfavorable attitudes toward public assistance,
5. the important contribution social work is making to the field,
6. the importance of supporting the profession's efforts to improve its status, and
7. the increased need for additional social work staff.77

While more public assistance or public welfare agencies than ever before, particularly at the national level, employ full-time public relations persons, the number of such persons employed and the scope of responsibilities assigned to them seemingly have not been commensurate with the new demands and dimensions of the operating programs.78

The usual content of the public relations job in public assistance is:

1. ascertaining and analyzing community attitudes toward the programs,
2. selecting the specific publics to be reached,

3. formulating and producing in appropriate form the message to be conveyed to specific groups,
4. using mass media skillfully,
5. giving technical assistance to staff and board members in the preparation of spoken and written materials,
6. participating with other community agencies and civic groups in joint effort to tell the public assistance story, and
7. consulting with representatives of the mass media in use of public assistance materials.

Implementation of these tasks calls for specialized skills in writing, editing, design, production, and knowledge of communication techniques.

Some of the periodical literature seemingly concludes that standards are yet to be drafted as to desirable qualifications and training for public relations workers in public assistance or public welfare. The field has still to determine if it requires a professional social worker with specialized additional experience in public relations or a public relations expert with knowledge of and experience in public assistance or public welfare. Both are being utilized today. No school of social work today offers specialized training in public relations for public welfare and few incorporate in their curricula any formal courses in public relations. Yet, the trend appears to be toward increased use of public relations personnel in public assistance. Along with the apparent trend toward increased use of public relations personnel in public

assistance is the need for more involvement of citizens in public assistance programs.

Citizen Participation

As revealed by the Newburgh, New York welfare crisis, a Cook County, Illinois demonstration project in which a citizen's committee was appointed to look into so-called abuses in the Aid to Dependent Children Programs, and the New York State Moreland Commission of Citizens studying public welfare in 1963, there has been increased interest in citizen participation in public agency programs. The new interest is part of a new determination to educate citizen advisory committees and other volunteers to the goals, values, and purposes of public assistance programs. The aim is understanding of individualized services in the context of social needs.

It appears that awareness within the field of gaps in services and difficulties in communication heightened the interest in the two self-studies mentioned above regarding effectiveness in serving the recipient and reaching the community.

To be most effective, the citizen's involvement in public assistance programs should be at the level of the local community. Concern for local problems should be the locus for mobilizing this citizen participation. Citizen involvement in public assistance activities must be at a meaningful level;

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the citizen must be given a role in which he feels he is making a contribution and is supplementing an essential staff service. 82

Citizen participation may be considered in two broad areas:

1. Volunteers can assist the agency in making some phase of its work more effective.
2. Members of agency boards or advisory committees can help in determining policy objectives and in interpreting these objectives to the community, and as such can interpret programs to the broad citizenry and participate in community activities from the position of their agency affiliation. 83

In addition, volunteers, as part-time extensions of the agency staff, can:

1. provide supplementary services that would otherwise not be available;
2. enrich the agency's program by their knowledge and experience in areas of special interest;
3. provide resources, needed by the agency program, which may not be available within the legal boundaries of a governmental program;
4. contribute their knowledge and skills to help formulate policies and objectives in areas of special need within the community;
5. strengthen interagency relationships, especially when the volunteer maintains a service interest in some aspect of a program that involves several agencies; and
6. vitally link the citizens of the community and the services provided by the public assistance programs. 84

However, it is important that consideration be given to the

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83 Ibid., p. 114.
84 Ibid.
effect of the staff attitudes toward the utilization of volunteers for supplementary service.

Some approaches are making public assistance recipients and applicants visible to selected audiences. As Melvin A. Glasser states, "one smell of a slum is worth more than a bushel of statistic."65 'Come see for yourself' is the newest educational approach as agencies encourage selected groups to tour shelters for homeless children, homes for unwed mothers, poverty stricken neighbors and homes, and the like.

More and more it seems that public assistance personnel is agreeing that the most effective way to change negative attitudes toward public assistance clients and programs is to involve citizens in some direct way in the solution of crucial human problems. Social action may be the answer to this problem.

Social Action

Social action is the term commonly applied to this aspect of organized social activity directed toward shaping, modifying, or maintaining the social institutions and policies that collectively constitute the social environment. This can properly be regarded as one of the two interrelated aspects of the social service function which is defined as "organized activity that aims at helping toward a mutual adjustment of

individuals and their environment." Social action is concerned with the better adjustment of the social environment in order to meet the recognized needs of individuals and to facilitate those social relationships and adjustments necessary to its own best functioning.

Public assistance performs its function of mutual adjustment through the interaction of two kinds of activity. People tend to think of public assistance first in terms of the operating social programs that constitute its administrative task. Programs such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Aid to the Disabled, family counseling, institutional care, and programs for groups with special needs as well as the supportive or facilitating services by special social work units are the established mechanisms through which this responsibility is discharged. Of necessity, as these operating welfare programs have grown in scope and variety, they have absorbed a larger proportion of the time, energy, and thought of the professional social workers and others engaged in the field.

But existing programs, however well conceived and executed, cannot in themselves assure a healthy relationship between individuals and their social environment. Such a static

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concept of the public assistance function would be especially incompatible with a society like ours in which rapid social change creates progress simultaneously with new problems of social adjustment. Effective public assistance activity must, therefore, if it is to operate within the democratic framework, include a built-in dynamism for change. It must go beyond the mitigation of present social handicaps to its logical sequence, the better adaptation to changing needs and aspirations of all social policies and institutions, including but not limited to those falling within the operational scope of public assistance. This is the function of social action in public assistance.

Social action as an aspect of public assistance activity is only one of many factors that influence social change in a democratic society. The individuals and group activities of people in their various social roles—for example, voters, workers, employers, or parents—will all affect social developments in these respective areas of their lives. Social action as a public assistance function must therefore be defined within its own operational limits. In this context the public assistance function encompasses those efforts directed towards social change that result from a policy decision or activity undertaken by a public assistance agency or authority representing part or all of the public assistance field. 88

While social action in a public assistance setting logically takes its impetus from needs observed in the daily work of a public assistance agency, the literature indicates that its objectives do not necessarily lie within the field of public assistance operation. A major purpose of social action in public assistance is to prevent the needs for which public assistance provides amelioration. Operating public assistance programs provides the most sensitive possible instrument for spotting emerging needs and problems. Recurrent problems reveal in interviews, group activities, and community studies of public assistance agencies the frustrations and rebellions of young people who feel themselves rejected by society, the tragedies of family breakdown and child desertion, the isolation and sense of uselessness of the aged, the destructive impact of slum living, the pervasive desperation produced by discrimination tolerated too long; and others. Such problems are not simply personal handicaps to be mitigated but are symptoms of current or incipient maladjustment in the functioning of the social system that cries out for remedies and innovations going far beyond the normal scope of public assistance. In these situations public assistance affords the evidence of need but not necessarily the answers.

However, current lively interest in social action as an


aspect of the public assistance function appears clear. It seems clear from the degree to which public assistance agencies are structured to take such action and the extent of effective action that has been taken on current social issues.

The trend is toward public assistance agencies on national, state, and local levels equipping themselves for social action. They are doing this by: (1) adopting policy positions in this area, (2) forming committees or other mechanisms to formalize and effectuate such policy positions, (3) developing machinery to inform their constituencies of current issues and indicated action, (4) gathering factual or other material relating to such issues, and (5) presenting their views and experience to decision making bodies. Generally then, it seems that the federal, state and local governments have placed greater emphasis in their programs on determining: (1) the cause and effects of social problems, (2) the stimulus which results in problems, and (3) those activities which appear similar or related to goals of social action.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study was conducted for the purpose of ascertaining the trends in public assistance during the period, 1962 through 1965, as revealed in the periodical literature, Social Work, Social Casework, and Public Welfare journals. In addition, several chapters from reading assignments for the course, Social Welfare Policy and Services and the Social Work Yearbooks for 1961 and 1965 were used in the study.

This writer's interest in this study evolved from several concerns: (1) concern for the implementation of adequate services to help people work out their problems, (2) interest in new methods of administration, (3) changes in the structure within the public assistance setting as well as acceptance of public assistance as a process of social work, (4) interest in public assistance making greater use of public relations techniques in communicating its programs to the public, and (5) involvement of citizens by public assistance in the implementation of services. Additionally, the writer wondered if social action might be the answer to some of the queries stated above.

These conclusions were drawn from an analysis of the data:

1. Public assistance has been identified as a process of
social work, because its aims, method, purpose, knowledge, sanction, and philosophy are consistent with those of social work.

2. The structural form of public assistance appears to be changing. Generally speaking, the trend is toward more state responsibility for non-federal cost of public assistance. This, in turn, means a gradual shifting of administrative controls of public welfare services to the state, whereas previously the administration of these services was controlled by the local agency. Concurrently, there is the trend toward more comprehensive programs of public assistance services as state welfare agencies seek to provide a wider range of services needed by individuals and families who turn to public assistance services for help.

3. Between 1962 and 1965, in some locales, the number of Old Age Assistance cases increased, because of the increase in the minimum subsistence grants to people in this age bracket. Thus, more people have been able to qualify for Old Age Assistance funds.

4. The percentage of children who need aid because of the death of the breadwinner has declined sharply as a result of survivors' insurance benefits. At the same time, desertion or absence of parents for other reasons has been an increasing cause of need for assistance. Such changes, along with population and other trends, have resulted in Aid to Families with Dependent Children, replacing Old Age Assistance as the largest public assistance program in terms of
numbers of people served.

5. The general assistance program helps to meet the needs of staff people not covered by federally aided programs. The inadequacy or total lack of general assistance in many areas of the country continues to stimulate interest in the need to create another federal category to fill the gaps in the public assistance programs.

6. Although comprehensive reporting has not been initiated, there is much factual evidence of increased emphasis by state and local welfare agencies upon an increasing range of services other than the money payment for recipients of public assistance. These services include homemaker services, etc. Of equal significance are the expanding public social services available to individuals without financial need, especially children and the aged. Available services are protective, preventive, or rehabilitative in character, as the needs of the individual dictate.

7. Emphasis upon an expanding program of services is directly associated with the demand for more well trained social workers in public welfare agencies. Increasing attention to educational leave and in-service training programs is nationwide. Such activities are being focused on requirements of administrative and supervisory personnel as well as on staff in the various casework classifications.

8. Demonstration projects are proving valuable as integral parts of a comprehensive public assistance program.
They are pointing the way toward more effective use of staff with special skills, resulting in the development of new techniques for the so-called hard-core cases, and indicating the social and economic values of helping people to help themselves as far as possible.

9. With the welfare of millions of people involved and with increasing costs from public funds, concern is mounting for an adequate research program centered both on the basic causes of dependency and on more effective development and evaluation of current programs.

10. Widespread interest in public relations, with emphasis upon techniques for interpretation and recognition of the close relationship between public understanding and an adequate program of public welfare services, is developing. Through this interest and also as a result of the growing stress on community organization, public and voluntary agencies are increasingly clarifying their areas of responsibility and the opportunities for cooperative effort. This, in turn, leads to more effective utilization of existing resources, both public and voluntary.

11. Citizen participation was a major concern of public assistance administration. The necessity for increased citizen participation seemed to have been recognized by many authorities, and the literature appears to indicate wider use of citizen volunteers. This new interest in the use of citizen participation appears to have developed as a result of
public assistance personnel feeling that many citizen volunteers will inform other citizens in the community of the programs presently offered as well as proposed new programs for the community. Moreover, many volunteers are associated with other agencies which may lead to a closer coordination between public assistance agencies and other community agencies.

12. There is obvious evidence that public assistance agencies are developing practical policies of social action as a means of helping people solve problems which public assistance is not presently structured to handle, such as, reading problems, right to vote, racial prejudice and isolation, the sense of uselessness by the aged, and the destructive impact of slum living.

In analyzing the articles, the writer found that there was a good deal of repetition both in content and treatment. Additionally, there was also a limited amount of material available in the Social Work and Social Casework journals.

While much concern was evident in the various writers' attempts to define and delineate the content and process of public assistance, this writer felt a need for a great deal more research, demonstration projects, and study in public assistance which will assist people in solving their problems. Then too, more specific techniques await new research in solving some problems, other than financial, for people on public assistance.

Implications of discussions in the areas of public rela-
tions, citizen participation, and social action were judged by the writer as trends toward developing a more dynamic philosophy of public assistance programs.
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