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Theory and Practice of

SOCIAL CASE WORK

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SOCIAL CASE WORK

By GORDON HAMILTON



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PREFACE

THE CHANGES in social case work during the last twenty years, within which span the use of mental hygiene principles, the expansion of the public welfare services, newer applications from the various sciences to the problems of human needs, developments from the field of labor relations, have all surged forward together, make the presentation of a new book timely. This book does not pretend to offer a wholly new interpretation of social case work, but does attempt to analyze and reconcile some of the more significant elements of theory and practice today. Social case work has gone through a period of consolidation and synthesis with findings which bear on its generic aspects. It is currently being refocused in terms of a functional division of labor, responsive to technological, governmental, and cultural changes. In Chapters I–X consideration is given chiefly to the generic aspects, and in Chapters XI–XIV to the functional adaptions of social case work.

Of the two ways of using case material—to describe the case and elicit its theoretical conclusions, or to state the theory and document it with case material—the latter device, in the main, has been chosen. While in one sense the theory of social process is always in conflict with the theory of social causation and social change, this book attempts to show both flow and cross section. Continuity of thought and feeling exist even when not apparent, and discontinuous pieces of case material can thus indicate the purpose of the whole. One factor in the selection of case material, other than its typical character, has been sufficiently full recording so that the student may see the "anatomy" of the cases discussed. Although material has been drawn from a number of sources, from clinics, court and hospital as well as social work agencies per se, most of the illustrations have been

taken from the social agency, both public and private, since therein one tends to find the clearest examples of social work purpose.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to the following agencies, which have permitted the use of their record material: The Institute of Family Service of the Charity Organization Society (now the Community Service Society); the Department of Public Welfare; the Family Court; the Jewish Board of Guardians; the Jewish Family Welfare Society; the Jewish Social Service Association; the Neurological Institute—all of Greater New York City; also the Children's Aid Society and the Delaware County Committee Children's Aid Society, of Pennsylvania; the Department of Public Welfare of New Rochelle, N. Y.; the Barnard Free Skin and Cancer Hospital of St. Louis.

My most sincere thanks are due the individual case workers whose contributions have made this book possible. I regret that my original intention to identify the various practitioners by name did not prove to be feasible.

I wish also to express deep appreciation for the criticisms and suggestions of the following persons who read all or part of the manuscript: Ruth Z. S. Mann, Lucille N. Austin, Clara A. Kaiser, Eleanor Neustaedter, Dorothy Hutchinson, and other members of the Faculty of the New York School of Social Work; also to Drs. John A. P. Millett, Lillian Malcove, and Dr. and Mrs. Howard W. Potter. Special recognition is made to Anna Kempshall, who not only gave most illuminating help throughout the whole undertaking, but collaborated in writing the last chapter. To my secretary, Carol White, I am indebted for most painstaking and competent assistance in the preparation of this volume.

GORDON HAMILTON

New York City,
January, 1940.

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Theory and Practice of

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Chapter I

SCOPE AND PURPOSE OF SOCIAL WORK

Objectives of Social Work

THE FIRST THING that anyone wants to know about a subject is its definition, but definitions often have little meaning until one has some comprehension of the larger area within which a part is to be described. A definition of social case work is not easily grasped until one has a picture of social work as a whole. This is particularly important since many people have imagined that social case work and social work are coextensive, which they are not. Since social work itself cannot be understood without a knowledge of its characteristic problems, objectives, and methods, these will first be given consideration.

What kinds of problems and needs then are within the field of social work, and through what methods does social work organize itself to deal with them? Since any profession must be a learned profession, what must students learn in order to be competent social workers? If one should examine the reports through a ten year period of the National Conference of Social Work, or the biennial publications of the Social Work Year Book[1] one would see recurrent topics which suggest a main focus for social work. Looked at problem fashion, these topics appear something like this: poverty, unemployment, transiency and foreignness, illness, broken homes, physical or mental handicaps and old age, industrial injuries and inadequate wages, limited recreation, poor housing, and problems of behavior. Looked at in terms of services mobilized to meet these needs we find such descriptions as family and child welfare, public assistance, social insurance, health and legal services, vocational rehabilitation, aid to travelers, resettlement, services for the crippled and dis-

[1] See Russell Sage Foundation publications.

its meaning from the practice of *medicine* and, despite the importance of finance and business methods in the large-scale relief transactions, the public assistance agency should derive its meaning from the practice of *social welfare*. Social workers are found today in courts, schools, churches, employment offices, but they also man and operate welfare agencies organized wholly under social work auspices. It is true that social institutions will change with changing structures, but the idea of a self-liquidating profession of welfare has never seemed realistically possible. Health, legal, and educational institutions also, with time, markedly change and overlap, but do not thereby become self-liquidating. Certainly there is today increasing clarity as to purpose, and increasing integration of many fragmentary welfare activities in broad functional services which can be described.

Professional education for social work is, therefore, designed to equip its practitioners to deal with problems of welfare, including broadly, standards of living and social relationships. This means that it must utilize knowledge derived from other professions, notably the social aspects of medicine, law, psychiatry, and must also draw heavily on the social sciences, political science, economics and labor, sociology, anthropology, psychology. It is beginning to have its own distinctive subject matter, such as family and child welfare; it is beginning to have its own methodology, and it is beginning to contribute the fruits of its own research. Complex as the subject matter is, social work today is not a welter of activities. Potentially responsive to each phase of social living it cannot shift with every wind of doctrine, though it must always be aware of and sensitive to new trends and problems. If it specializes—and it must specialize in order to add to the content of knowledge—it is because it is concerned with significant and relevant problems in its own area. If it generalizes—and it must generalize because a purely pragmatic and expedient methodology will not serve—there must be well considered hypotheses based on substantial data derived from both social values and science, or else social work

fight every inch of their way, and one can expect no easier road for social welfare. So long as one thinks of welfare as the facile benevolence of friends and passers-by, so long as it is a tool of authoritarian government, whether industrial or political, it will not stir much opposition, but in so far as it is the expression of free men creating the conditions of their own well-being, its slow progress will be attended by plenty of dust and heat.

In short, everyone wants social welfare until one sees what it means to socialize our inner drives and our real wants, to accept ourselves and not only our neighbors but those "out groups" which comprise other nationalities, races, and classes. The social worker has been accused of many things, and of some of them justly. Depending on who does the name calling he is palliative or red, angel or obstructionist; he serves a charity either "scrimped and iced," or extravagant and wanton. Yet the plain truth remains that he is committed to try to plan a world in which social and economic security and social relationships are as complete and satisfying as possible. Social work is concerned with dependencies, anxieties, aggressions, and hostilities, at once in their practical and intimate personal expressions, and it is no wonder that the course of progress is slow, hesitating, vacillating, and often blocked altogether. Yet there can be no manner of doubt that if these objectives of welfare in its broadest sense are not gradually achieved, civilization will fail with them.

There are two schools of thought as to the future of social work. One sees it as a social component in medicine, industry, law, education, and the like, but without a separate identity. This would assume social workers but not a definable field of social practice. The other sees it, as the writer does, as a gradually expanding and deepening profession with its own body of transmissible subject matter, its own fields of characteristic operation and usefulness, and its own disciplines and methods. In a great hospital there are doctors, nurses, technicians, social workers; and in public assistance there are social workers, accountants, clerks, and so forth. The hospital, however, derives

its meaning from the practice of *medicine* and, despite the importance of finance and business methods in the large-scale relief transactions, the public assistance agency should derive its meaning from the practice of *social welfare*. Social workers are found today in courts, schools, churches, employment offices, but they also man and operate welfare agencies organized wholly under social work auspices. It is true that social institutions will change with changing structures, but the idea of a self-liquidating profession of welfare has never seemed realistically possible. Health, legal, and educational institutions also, with time, markedly change and overlap, but do not thereby become self-liquidating. Certainly there is today increasing clarity as to purpose, and increasing integration of many fragmentary welfare activities in broad functional services which can be described.

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policies and practices will be merely those of appeasement instead of problem-solving.

Methods of Social Work

In organizing itself to play a professional role in forwarding the objectives of a health-and-decency standard of living and of satisfying human relationships, social work has come to identify four main methods of approach. There are mass needs and mass solutions, community needs and community solutions, group needs and group solutions, individual needs and individual solutions. The whole concerted movement toward the solution of mass problems in welfare is sometimes called social reform and, more recently, "social action." The other three approaches are called respectively "social welfare planning," or "community organization"; "social group work;" and "social case work."[2] All include social research.

Social action is by no means the exclusive prerogative of social work. Social action rests, in the main, on the techniques of public education and propaganda, social legislation and cooperative and collective enterprises.[3] When the social worker turns to the forces of community or government to achieve his objectives, rather than relying on individual initiative or voluntary group processes, we think of this as social action. Social workers have long been engaged in the struggle to improve housing, reform prisons, institutions and courts. Leaders have been vigorous campaigners for social security in the form of aid to dependent children, the aged, the blind, and for the extension of public health. Although social workers have always supported the movements for workmen's compensation, abolition of child labor and other protective legislation, it is only recently that any great number of social workers have allied themselves directly with the objectives of trade unionism and labor. In the

[2] Looked at from the point of view of social process we find social case work, social group work, social welfare planning, and social action; looked at from the point of view of occupational fields, an accepted grouping might be social case work, social group work, social administration, and social welfare planning.

[3] See Fitch, "Social Action," *Social Work Year Book, 1939*, p. 398.

present stage of development it would be true to say that social workers see social action equally in terms of health, labor and industry, public assistance, recreation and social education, the prevention of delinquency and allied programs. Social action may be thought of as an occupational field, as in associations for social legislation, or it may be thought of as an essential counterpart of all community organization, social group work or social case work programs.

Social Welfare Planning

Social welfare planning is concerned with organizing social agencies and activities. Until the last decade community organization had been thought of largely as dealing with private or voluntary agencies, developing, as its technique, cooperative machinery, surveys, and studies; changing patterns so as better to fit resources to needs or to create new resources; approaching social education through interpretation, and so on. Today community organization is as much concerned with public as with private functions. It must study the whole field of expanding human needs and forecast as well as interpret trends. Coordination of agency programs must include tax-supported and voluntary relationships. Programs for economic assistance and leisure-time activities are far-reaching, the former are now almost entirely public, the latter—or certain large-scale aspects of the latter, such as parks and playgrounds—are in the hands of public commissioners. Recreation, like housing, lies within the broad field of "welfare," although many professions must cooperate in furthering its objectives. Technique in community organization is being constantly modified by these and other developments, although the essential basis of fact finding, of assigning priorities, and of eliciting full participation from the citizens who alike receive the benefits and pay the bills, remains the same.

Certain functions, such as assistance and protection, rest squarely on tax-supported agencies supplemented by voluntary ones, while others may be in large part approached through

voluntary efforts, supplemented by public agencies. In some periods there will be joint enterprises. The consent and participation of the citizen in all types of enterprise is vital in welfare, as it is in the older aspects of government. It is in large part to secure his intelligent and informed participation through social agencies that community organization strives. It is important, however, to emphasize again the fact that the basis of understanding and support in social welfare planning must be steadily broadened if it is to be truly representative of the whole community. The cooperative efforts not of the well-to-do alone but of trade unions, religious and special-interest groups, client organizations, and the like, will be needed. Nevertheless it would be proper also to assume, if social work is developing soundly and wisely, that a considerable proportion of the measurements, techniques, and social controls will evolve from those professional disciplines which are primarily directed to the study and treatment of human needs and of social relationships.

Social Group Work[4]

Because social welfare planning rests quite as much on the intelligent functioning of groups as of individuals, and because group experience is a way of meeting needs and developing healthy interests and the contributions of individuals, social group work has come to have an increasingly well-defined place as a basic method in social work. Most group work has developed in what are commonly thought of as "leisure time activities," such as have been undertaken by settlements, churches, scouts, and youth organizations. Group experience

[4] Among the several definitions of group work one notices a trend toward emphasizing the educational aspects of social group work. Thus Newstetter ("What Is Social Group Work?" *National Conference of Social Work, 1935*, p. 291) stresses "the development and social adjustment of an individual through voluntary group association, and the use of this association as a means of furthering other socially desirable ends"; and Coyle ("The Goup Work Method," *Social Work Year Book, 1937*, p. 461) says: "Social group work is an educational process carried on usually in voluntary groups during leisure time with the assistance of a group leader. It aims at the development of persons through the interplay of personalities in group situations, and at the creation of such group situations as provide for integrated, cooperative group action for common ends."

can develop capacities for participation, for acceptance of others, for leadership, for personality development. The myth used to obtain that group workers were interested only in "normal" people, and case workers in "abnormal"—the basis for this being the fact that the child who was having difficulty with his social relationships would probably show these difficulties in the organized group, and perhaps there being rejected would become the "client" of case work. The same child might be having difficulty with his family or in school, but the school is less free to reject the aberrant individual than is the voluntary group, and the family does not turn against its own except in extreme circumstances, the strength of the family being, as the witticism goes, that it is so uncongenial.

Group work today, however, is developing skill not only with the person for whom group experience is relatively easy and congenial, for whom education through group action can be readily experienced, but for the less typical person who nevertheless can be helped to utilize group associations more profitably. These aspects of case and group work process lie so close together in their educational and therapeutic aims that a separate chapter[5] will be devoted to the subject. In still another sense group work method is not only basic but spreads its concepts and techniques through other fields. For instance, in the educational use of committees and conferences much can be learned through group work disciplines. Creative community programs derive in part from creative group processes, and indeed effective social action, already discussed, will come through mobilizing the leadership of participant groups, rather than through the leadership of single individuals. In the give and take of the socialized group, where the majority rules but the minority is respected and integration of ideas is the optimal result, progressive education becomes a reality. Social group work and social case work, in fact, together with social research, are the basic processes in community organization technique, out of which, in turn, spring welfare planning and action.

[5] See Chapter X. "The Use of Group Process in Treatment."

Social group work is an educational process which is concerned no less with developing leadership ability and cooperation than with building on the interests of the group for a social purpose. Experience in democratic participation in voluntary association is an essential technique not only in releasing the energies of a community, but in political and labor units. In fact, the mass powers of great states will inevitably lead to bureaucracy unless local community opinion and participation can be mobilized through socialized group processes. It is the essence of social group work, unlike that of a lobby, that its efforts at self-realization and achievement include a contribution to the social life experience of all concerned.

Social Case Work

It now becomes possible to arrive at a definition of social case work without confusing it with the total process of social work. Some of the criticism leveled at case workers in the past has been because the part was mistaken for the whole. Case work, like group work, is indispensable as a foundation for social planning and social action; it has the same philosophy but it has not the same techniques. Mary Richmond, who gave us some of our deepest insights into the nature of social work, provided the best definitions of case work. The most famous one is: "Social case work consists of those processes which develop personality through adjustments consciously effected, individual by individual, between men and their social environment."[6] But the one which many of her students have preferred is: "Social case work may be defined as the art of doing different things for and with different people by cooperating with them to achieve at one and the same time their own and society's betterment."[7]

[6] *What Is Social Case Work*, p. 98.

[7] Richmond, *The Long View*, p. 374. A more recent definition stressing function is that of de Schweinitz, "Can We Define Social Case Work?" *Midmonthly Survey*, Feb., 1939, p. 39. Case work consists of "those processes involved in giving services, financial assistance or personal counsel to individuals by representatives of social agencies, according to policies established, and with consideration of individual need."

Case work is recognizable, according to the Richmond description, by its aim of social betterment and its method of differential treatment. Case work is concerned with the release of resources in the immediate environment and capacities in the individual which may give him a fuller and more satisfying life both economic and personal. Case work is to community organization what clock making is to construction engineering. The case worker deals with people and situations one by one. The case worker is a retailer, not a wholesaler. The great social movements can serve us only if the individual is not repressed and forgotten. As between social action and social case work there can be no "either or" but always a two-way process. Integration takes place only on the basis of differentiated function. We impinge on reality in many ways, but not the least through the single concrete human situation. In fact there is no substitute whatever for knowing people one by one, because people do not live by averages but by their own private visions of reality. There would be little social progress indeed if all people were case-minded or were mass-minded. In welfare agencies, as "business" administrators taught us occasionally to our cost, it was possible to forget that the program was for the benefit of the client. It sometimes seemed as if the program existed for the benefit of the accountant or the auditor or the statistician. So, too, the individual as a person can be almost overlooked in the routines of a big hospital. Whether one is thinking of federal or state or local controls, or the management of a single agency, the principle of *enabling* is always sounder than the principle of executive administration. The strongest programs are built up, not handed down. The truth is that we know, or can know, more about human beings than about almost anything else, yet many programs are put together with the individual reaction left out altogether.

It is easy to underestimate the importance of what case workers know—just homes and parents and children, and people at work and play and school—because everyone has these experiences; but to have experiences is not necessarily to be aware

of them in all their implications, and certainly having them does not necessarily translate them into the warp and woof of social programs. The case work situation is the slide which must be put under the microscope.[8] In case work situations, one by one, can be found nodes of a complete educational process. Social action at its heart has a still small voice, taught in the inflections of patient, accurate case work observations. Just as the individual is the touchstone of the family, so the family is the touchstone of the community, and so outward into national and international fellowship. Society would wage no wars if it really remembered the individual and his family group. It is said that the atom has in it such energy that if exploded the power would suffice for the purposes of industry. In the same way the unit personality has the power to socialize the community, for quality of attainment rests ultimately on the development of individual personality. So case work makes no apology for being interested in the child at home or under foster care, in the troubled adolescent, the transplanted alien, the disabled worker or housewife, but at the same time it makes no pretense that treating cases one by one is a substitute for changing the broad environmental systems which may fundamentally cause the unadjustment. The idea that case work is always trying to convey is that differences and unlikenesses must be considered in forming the pattern and in changing the pattern. Anyone who has worked with a state administration knows how impatient some officials get because each city and county not only wants to be a little different but actually *is* a little different from the others. It would be cheap and convenient if cities were all alike and states all alike and human beings all alike, just as it would be cheap and convenient if human beings didn't want a hand in their own destinies. In all the wrangling about majorities and minorities one may forget that a case work answer may be better than either. For the people who carry their heads in the air often have never learned to put their ears to the ground.

[8] See the writer's "Contribution of Social Case Work to Modern Life," *Family Life Today*, p. 205, *et seq.*

There is always a polarity in social planning—to look at society from the basis of the whole and from the basis of the individual. Social institutions must be based on relevant inter-connections, which means that the properties of the things themselves must be understood. It is equally fallacious to think one can solve the problems of the social order by the case method, or to think that one can solve individual problems with mass formulas. The case method addresses itself to individual adjustments and solutions, that the meaning of these cases taken one by one may prove to be of far-reaching significance.

Dr. Kardiner has made an interesting analysis of the kind of "stresses which move to economic action."[9] They are those, he says, "which have to do largely with the command, control, or exploitation of external sources of instinct gratification.... These are external needs which cannot be vicariously gratified," and "require control of the external environment in a rational way .... Each culture has its own values, necessities and defenses .... Other stresses lead us to more personal search and action." Social workers are beginning to see more clearly a differential approach to those economic needs which require control of the environment in a rational way, and those needs which in any economic system will require an individualized or so-called case approach. This does not mean that one can divide cases into pure "unemployment" and "personality" cases, but that causes of unadjustment which are broadly economic will be seen as such, while stresses which lead to "more personal search and action," whether or not the economic factor is involved, come within the case work objective. Both case and group workers, in fact, treat many people whose problems of social relationships have nothing whatever to do with their financial status.

It would be quite impractical for the purposes of this book to try to trace the development of the case work concept in all its ramifications. In part, at least, it derives from the religious

[9] Kardiner, "Influence of Culture on Behavior," *Social Work Today*, Feb., 1937, p. 11, *et seq.*

tenet with which all democratic processes are impregnated—namely, the worth of the human soul or the significance of the individual in society. Modern Western civilization has been built upon such essential ideas as social justice, the scientific search for truth or knowledge, social security—and not least—the importance of human personality. Great cultures, such as the Hebrew and the Roman, have historically emphasized ideals and systems of social justice; such as the Greek, love of truth and freedom of thought and expression; such as the Christian, love of one's neighbor and the value of the soul. While no one culture is responsible for the development of each single emphasis, democratic society has assimilated all so fully that social work can hardly be understood except against this background. The fact that social justice, for instance, has been so incompletely realized to date and has been developed more along lines of legal than of economic justice, does not alter its significance as a main objective of civilization. The element which brings it peculiarly within the democratic meaning, however, is its concern with individual needs, rights, and liberties. For belief in the inherent worth of the individual is the focus of several cardinal principles: equality of opportunity, the rights of minorities, the right of free expression. Democratic government means essentially self-government, and self-government is impossible unless one concedes that the individual is the best judge of his own interests; and that free assemblage, collective bargaining, and other participation for social ends are meaningless except the participation is that of free men. It is only if the individual is respected and allowed to develop through education, science, and free institutions that he is capable of creating the conditions under which he lives. That he does participate fully in his own socialization is the central assumption of case work.

Now, as always, there are two fundamental approaches to social problems: through external structural reorganization, and through the socializing of the individual and the group by educational processes. It is encouraging that case and group

work, developing the same concepts as to the interdependence of the individual and society, and the importance of self-motivated activity of the person and the group, are at last drawing together to affect the dynamics of social action. Social work, like case work itself, needs more unification. It is not only clients who must be active in solving their own problems if they are to grow; social workers must develop a democratic method which releases activity in themselves and their fellows. If self-regard and self-esteem are normal personal incentives, so too is love of one's neighbor a normal incentive in group behavior. Too often clamorous raising of voices in public protest is assumed to be social action. Professional social action must rest solidly on knowledge of subject matter, on professional practices and disciplines which enable us to see the relation of these objectives to other objectives; and finally it should mean the release of individual energies less complicated with hostility and aggression and so more susceptible to cooperative social practices. To this last, case work makes its unique contribution.

Chapter II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CASE WORK IDEA

THE FOCUS of charity throughout the centuries has always been that of services or care given by an individual to an individual. The real meaning of charity,[1] of not seeking one's own, being not easily provoked, thinking no evil, being kind and long-suffering, suggests, as always, the indispensable elements in relating oneself constructively to other human beings, especially those in distress.

Some Historical Perspectives

Historically, charity and philanthropy have always been concerned with religious, educational, and personality-building activities, as well as with the relief of destitution. Hospitals and orphanages, nursing, assistance for the handicapped, organizations for the preservation or development of character, "rescue" work of all kinds, have stemmed from constructive disciplines and impulses. That these impulses were also, no doubt, often based on guilt as a reaction to exploitation and aggression does not change their social value. The specific association of relief giving with the idea of charity is of long duration. The trend cannot be fully understood without considering the cultural and economic conditions within which it was set and without seeing why the poor and dependent in American life, like certain alien groups, were not considered as worthy as the well-to-do or at least independent citizen.[2] One must turn to the social sciences

[1] Corinthians I, XIII.

[2] For the historical setting of poor relief and allied programs, students should consult such an indispensable text as the Webbs' *English Local Government*, which is fully documented. Watson's *Charity Organization Movement in the United States* has an excellent chapter on foreign antecedents of charity. See also Warner & Queen's *American Charities and Social Work, Part I;* Bruno, *The Theory of Social*

and to history for the deeper explanation of social trends, to which this book can only allude.

Far-reaching changes in economic life such as the world is now experiencing must always mean a redefinition and re-adaptation of much in social work.[3] The true meaning of "charity" as "love," or of "philanthropy" as "love of men," has often been obscured by practices which have associated these attitudes with the giver rather than the recipient, with the owning rather than the laboring classes. The essence of charity is reciprocity and must imply that every individual will have his assets realized and capitalized in a common purpose. The spread of democracy first through political and then through economic and social institutions should mean a quality of human behavior and not that all human values are to be reduced to quantitative levels. Self-determination and self-realization, quite as much as cooperation, remain the foundations of any democratic society.

The individualization of social case problems began almost wholly with individualizing persons in the relief situation. The work of St. Vincent de Paul in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and of Ozanam in the nineteenth through the art of friendly visiting helped to individualize people at home; the German systems of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, directed perhaps more to the control of mendicancy than to the study of individuals, nevertheless yielded data on social conditions and on behavior. Edward Denison, Sir Charles Loch, Octavia Hill, to name only a few of the English leaders, developed

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Work, Part IV; and Millspaugh, *Public Welfare Organization, Chapter XII.* For an interesting analysis of economic motivation from a case work point of view, see Reynolds, "Rethinking Social Case Work."

[3] Professor Waller, in "Social Problems and the Mores," makes an interesting distinction between what he calls "organizational" and "humanitarian" mores, saying of the latter (p. 925): "Probably the humanitarian impulse has always existed, but it has apparently attained group-wide expression at a relatively late period in our history, following the breakdown of primary group society. Social problems in the modern sense did not exist when every primary group cared for its own helpless and unfortunate. Social problems as we know them are a phenomenon of secondary group society, in which the primary group is no longer willing and able to take care of its members."

to a high point the theory and practice of personal service, personal responsibility, and careful study of each case. In our own times Mary Richmond set out the first rational and systematic approach to the analysis of individual social situations.

The Webbs, like other reformers, had reproached the early case workers, not without justification, for taking too negative an attitude toward the reconstruction of the social order. They were interested in large projects and environmental shifts which might act as preventives of destitution. They saw the case work idea as narrowly related to relief-giving and did not envisage its wider application. Professional people who habitually practice the clinical and case-by-case method do tend, no doubt, to resist attempts to segregate and classify problems. They know so well that each case is different that it is always an intellectual effort for them to look at types and think in categories; conversely, those who habitually are engaged in social-reform activities are often impatient of the slowing down that individual consideration inevitably entails. Nevertheless, intelligent social action always necessitates both classification and individuation, whether in health, labor, or welfare programs.

As we shall see in discussing diagnosis in social case work, there must always be problem classification before there can be research, just as there has to be case insight before there can be treatment of patients. Case work and collective action can be equally dangerous if viewed as the only method of social problem solving.[4] One may isolate and the other overwhelm the individual. This is only to say that if the modern physician must be both clinically and public-health-minded, so the modern case worker must also be a social worker. The profession is not case work but social work. Social work is itself distinguishing techniques of social action derived in part from the techniques of group or case work, and perhaps the more farsighted realize

[4] Parts of the discussion in this chapter have been abridged from articles by the writer under the titles of "Basic Concepts in Social Case Work," and "Case Work in Old Age Assistance."

that the substitution of programs of action for everything else we have learned or can learn about human needs will not advance our culture so surely as a program in which comprehensive planning, social controls, scientific research, and the homely wisdom of studying particular case situations will all find their place. Some of the leaders of our own time are still critical of case workers because of their interest in personal as well as environmental causes of distress. These leaders are satisfied only with an explanation which finds all causes of distress in the economic structure, and think the case worker wishes to find all the explanation in the deficiencies of the individual. This is as if we were to keep up a fruitless bickering as to which is the more important, heredity or environment; or self-determination or social control. At times the case worker has overstressed internal causes of unadjustment, but he knows well enough that to understand a single set of relationships will take him not only very far afield, but also very close home again. He knows well enough that growth depends first of all on securing the means of subsistence, then on opportunity, but finally on facing immediate reality and working not only against limitations but with and within them.

The "Fields" and "Generic Case Work"

While it is true that much of the case work knowledge and skill that is now available grew out of individualizing human beings in the poverty situation and through the study of relief, much also essential to practice grew out of the study of dependent children. Both types of activity made important contributions to the understanding of family life.[5] In fact, one might say that the two techniques around which the case work idea to date has most developed are those of relief-giving and child placing. In these two fields, family and child welfare, the social worker may really be said to be the "expert," for in the use of relief to

[5] Contributions from such fields as medical and psychiatric social work, while no less important, are less indigenous to social work soil. Throughout this book "public assistance" is regarded as a version of family case work.

maintain the home the case worker must come to understand the wage-earning, supporting, child-caring, and home-management functions and, whenever there are children, inevitably he must come to see the child in the home and the effects of parental and sibling experience. The case worker, using institutions and foster parents in child placing, just as inevitably must come to see not only the child himself but the effects of parental experience in the child's use of foster-care experience. Around both approaches accessory services of day nurseries, visiting housekeepers, home economists, and so forth, have been developed and utilized. As the social case work idea became part of one institution after another—court, hospital, school—fresh knowledge and skill were added, deepened, and broadened. Thus when the possibility of judicial discretion to suspend sentence reached the court system, *circa* 1899, through the children's court and the probation officer, case workers began to take an interest in possible new meanings for the protective function. Notions that families must be "supervised" merely because they were receiving a family allowance have been gradually receding in public assistance in favor of a democratic case work approach. This should not be taken to mean that eligibility would not be properly reviewed or social services made available, but that the recipients of public assistance are not thereby deprived of their normal status of self-direction. Medical social work since its inception in this country in 1905 has been helping workers in the whole field to understand more clearly the meaning of illness in social handicaps and disabilities; the patient's anxiety about illness; his occasional neurotic use of it to dominate family life; supporting or obstructionist parts that relatives may play in helping the patient and his group adjust wisely to handicaps and to substitute constructive attitudes for overprotection or irritation—all this has been made available to social workers dealing with health problems. Psychiatric social work, emerging in 1918 and related to the newly established mental hygiene movement, was to become an im-

portant element in the child guidance demonstration program of the twenties, from there spreading to all fields. Increasingly, those working with behavior problems of children had begun to see the whole child in whole situations. The social environment, particularly early home and parental environment, came to be thought of as significantly determinant of behavior. Up to this period physical rather than emotional or ideational environment had been stressed in protective work. Although "impairment of morals" had been a matter of concern to protective agencies, cleanliness had been the chief criterion of "morality." That being an unwanted or rejected child might be profoundly significant has been a belated recognition derived from sustained observation of child behavior. The factor-by-factor analysis of home situations by family, children's, and psychiatric case workers has contributed indispensable data to present knowledge of the "anatomy" of home life.

Another important set of concepts, as the case work idea developed, was carried over into the large tax-supported agencies. Case workers, trained under private or voluntary auspices and drafted during the depression by the hundreds into the emergency relief administrations, were at first bewildered and overwhelmed by the problem of mass case loads. What possible use they thought, could be made of skill in individualizing, with cues of applicants stretching for blocks or crowding waiting rooms? The fallacy of relief as a "business"[6] then arose in the minds of officials, because it was thought that the methods of car loadings and shoe production could be immediately transferred to the care of human beings in distress. Social workers, resisting this notion, sometimes fell into the opposite error of assuming that an immense array of social services would be necessary to counteract the effect of routine and inadequate relief policies. What emerged, however, in the most efficient public

[6] See Pray, "New Emphases in Education for Public School Work," *Method and Skill in Public Assistance*, p. 94: "It is clear that the subjects of administration are services, not elements of an organization nor wheels in a mechanism. The objects of administration are the protection and assistance of human individuals, not the management of items of statistics, or pins on a map, or lines on a chart."

assistance units were new skills and techniques in which large-scale administration and reasonable individualization were found not incompatible. Case workers have learned what to depersonalize, like eligibility data, and what to personalize, like the attitudes of a client toward relief. For the meaning of the relief situation, like the meaning of illness in a health problem, lies in its emotional and social results. To devise objective tests of eligibility, rather than judgments as to "worthiness" of the client; to elicit participation in the establishing of eligibility; to learn to appraise rights as well as needs; and to release capacities for self-direction and self-organization, even under the relentless pressures of unemployment and destitution, were a challenge which served to increase and not to diminish case work skill.

Although the fields of case work are usually thought of as family, children's, psychiatric, medical social, probation, parole, and visiting teaching, the fields are also thought of as being divided into public and private, sectarian and nonsectarian areas. But the essentials of family and children's, of medical or psychiatric case work are the same whether practiced in tax-supported or voluntary agencies. Case work under public auspices, because of the legal basis and the necessity for a somewhat rigid framework of regulations, is usually less flexible and experimental than that under private auspices, as public schools may tend to larger classes and somewhat more routine instruction than private schools. In any event, almost all rural welfare work is under public auspices, so that the difference between work done under public auspices lies in the administrative elements, not in the professional content and quality. Basically, too, Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant social work are alike, and the case work has certainly differed professionally in no demonstrably significant ways.[7] Jewish social work, perhaps because of its relation to immigrant and refugee groups, has al-

[7] See articles in the *Social Work Year Book*, 1939, under "Jewish Social Work," "Catholic Social Work," and "Protestant Social Work," for discussion and bibliographies.

ways stressed concepts and practices of mutual aid. One might say that Catholic charities have always stressed problems of conduct and of character and therefore have been especially interested in programs of child care, probation, and the like, but, whatever philosophical emphasis or religious motivation, technically the practice of case work between sectarian and nonsectarian agencies is similar.

Although originally it was assumed that each problem, unmarried motherhood, or poverty, or dependent and neglected children, represented a special "field" with special approaches and skill, professional training soon began to introduce common knowledge, philosophy, and techniques, which increased the mobility of workers moving from one field to another. Relief giving, child-placing, and child guidance were seen to call for specialized disciplines, but not for special sets of case work ideas. Fundamental case work concepts are always subject to adaptation, whether for rural case work, for medical social work, for family case work, or for relief administration in the public field.We no longer speak as though private and public case work were unrelated, or assume that rural case work cannot be learned. Recent experiments in rural social work have shown very clearly that urban case workers with a capacity for adaptation can be just as successful as those born or brought up on the farm. As the problems with which social case work is dealing are modified by cultural factors, so case work, in turn, must modify its own approach in terms of cultural and administrative conditions.

No one has to demonstrate any longer that case work is a common body of knowledge and skill within the frame of social work.[8] The traditional fields of practice—family, child welfare, child guidance, and so on, have become more and more integrated. Work with families inevitably includes children, adults, adolescents, young married couples, the aged; none of these can be isolated, because of the nature of social relationships themselves. From time to time a function administratively carried in

[8] See *Social Case Work Generic and Specific, A Report of the Milford Conference.*

one "field" may be shifted over into another. In Denmark, for instance, much of the work that is administered in this country by social workers attached to courts is done under the more flexible child welfare auspices. In this country the greater part of so-called "protective" work may slowly shift itself in the direction of family welfare, child welfare, and the public schools and away from court and correctional emphases.

The methods in all forms of public assistance are similar; the objectives of family and child caring work are practically identical, but case work cannot apply new ideas wholesale. We should follow the progress of experiment and research in various types of agencies without being irritated or confused or imitative. It is only the amateur who thinks that unless he is doing "the latest thing" he is not doing case work. The latest thing may be quite wrong and the creative professional worker will be the first to admit it. Tested and sifted knowledge is a slow and painful result, neither lightly achieved nor easily assimilated. Meanwhile, basic assumptions and common principles act as unifying and integrating forces in the practice of generic case work. The hypotheses that problems are both individual and social, that the family is of peculiar importance in understanding the individual, that self-awareness and self-determination are fundamental, and that the treatment relationship carries particular significance because of the nature of social work itself will now be examined in more detail.

Basic Principles of Case Work

Central in any discussion is the understanding that problems are both individual and social, that a case is always a complex of inner and outer factors. We know that there are unmanageable factors in the environment and that no case work approach will make them more manageable. Broad-scale environmental reorganization alone will bring them to terms. On the other hand, the typical case situation is that of a person in conflict with environmental factors, or with a deficiency which must be compensated for by community resources; or again, the case work

situation is one in which the conflict has been to some degree internalized so that the client is in some conflict with himself as well as with society. Human rights imply definition, classification, and common treatment: human needs imply individualization, within the broader classifications, and differential treatment. The case work idea is now, however, fortunately no longer circumscribed by the practices of relief giving, but may be utilized whenever people have impaired capacity to organize the ordinary affairs of life or lack satisfactions in their ordinary social relationships. The idea that we are concerned with social reality and social adjustment is fundamental, although our sense of social and individual conflicts changes and indeed has, within recent years, been changing with considerable rapidity. Society is inseparable from the individuals who compose it; the more an individual develops capacities, the more truly he tends to find social expression for these capacities. Both anthropology and psychiatry have thrown much light on the factors involved in adequate personal adjustment. As Benedict expresses it, "Just as those are favored whose congenial responses are closest to that behavior which characterizes their society, so those are disoriented whose congenial responses fall in that arc of behavior which is not capitalized by their culture." [9] The person whose "congenial drives" are not provided for in his culture is in a bad way, and if what he wants to do is strongly disapproved by society he may be in a very bad way indeed.

One of the things which the rural social worker learns early is that public opinion and community pressures are forces to be reckoned with in small towns and villages, to a degree quite unlike that obtaining in the urban center. It is impossible to understand the nature of either dependency or delinquency without reference to its cultural background, as well as to its economic stresses. Men are born into organized social groups, but they have specific ways of behaving. The outer world imposes rules and regulations, but the individual meets them with a total but unique reponse of the whole organism. People not only differ

[9] Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, p. 258.

psychologically but also in the kinds of things which give them satisfaction. Anxiety, distress, and incapacity are always personal[10] and can best be understood through the individualized approach. Any really helpful relationship must be an individualized one. How can this be reconciled with the fact that social causality is extremely complex and that to know a single social situation fully is practically impossible? One clue is found in the fact that despite the complexity of the organism, its function may be relatively simple. It is possible to know something about society in general, but it is even more possible to understand how the individual is utilizing or reacting to his social situation. If it be true that behavior is purposive, then how the individual behaves is at least one key to understanding him, even in a complex situation.

Case work has always been concerned with the family as the primary social unit within which concepts are formed which, in our culture, have a profound bearing on social adjustment. This concern is still justified. We can hardly understand socially acceptable or unacceptable behavior without full understanding of parental roles. But neither can we really comprehend these parental roles without a wide comprehension of the world we live in, and this is imperative for anyone who undertakes case work. Earlier case work concepts had placed the family as "the unit of work" in the sense of giving services to the whole family. This is not the present concept. The individual, too, is the "unit of work," and so is the group, but the role of the family is immensely important in understanding both the individual and the larger group. The first understanding of the family was of its economic function in terms of wage-earning, supporting, and home-making activities. Subsequent study has tended to reveal more of the affectional and relationship aspects which are also of such profound significance. Today the family does not maintain itself so closely as an economic and physical unit as it did in the preceding century. That social workers do not feel a com-

[10] Horney and others discuss group anxiety and aggression as accepted phenomena.

pulsion to keep all kinds of families together through assistance and conservation services does not mean that there is any less recognition of the importance of the family or of the fact that it is the natural place for the nurture and development of children. It is still the best place to learn to accept oneself and others and to work out problems of aggression, rivalry, dependency, and submission. It is still the best place to come to understand some of those deep and relatively inaccessible impulses out of which society is largely shaped. The family may no longer be the place where economics begin, but it is certainly the place where feelings begin.

What case workers are coming better to understand are some of the factors which condition the movement toward integration and separation in family life. This movement may be either relatively normal or pathological. In the normal course of development the child, through identification and simultaneously through increasing the psychological "distance" between the self and the objects, especially persons, around him, moves healthily out of the "undifferentiated unity," to use a current phrase, of parent-child relationships. In so far as he is able to free himself to love and to recognize others as distinct personalities, he is thereby more capable of relating himself to others on a social level. Aside from homes, broken in the external sense by death or enforced separation, one of the commonest problems in case work arises through a deviation in the integration-separation movement.[11] We are familiar with conflicts among second-generation children of immigrants; we see the deviations among parents who turn to family or children's or guidance clinics, because they dominate and overprotect or reject their children, consciously, but more often unconsciously. We see, even in such otherwise constructive programs as public assistance, that in certain cases the relief throws a sort of ring around the family group which makes the differentiating movement apparently harder to achieve. Incidentally the second-generation children in assistance families may one day be an im-

[11] See pp. 193, 319, for case illustrations, and further discussion.

portant topic for research. The social case worker in all fields is in a strategic position to aid in the family growth process, helping children and parents to find themselves and, when there are these deviations of extreme overprotection or rejection or dependency, to help furnish substitute experiences. In fact this concept of freedom to grow and to become an individual, as an essential element in creating a democratic society, is at the root of the case work emphasis on the client's right to self-determination and self-development.

That a client has a right to be himself, to make his own decisions, and to work out his own problems, is an extension of the deeply rooted case work belief in self-help. Earlier concepts of self-help, like those of the role of the family, were however, almost wholly economic. It was thought that the client should mobilize, in so far as he was able, his own resources, his work capacity, and the resources of family and community, and help was chiefly directed to eliciting this sort of activity from him. Better understanding of the use of a treatment relationship has refocused the same idea, now also in the emotional sphere. The social worker does not believe in rugged, but in socialized individualism. From the theory of growth given above, one must infer that self-awareness, or finding oneself, and being able to relate oneself to society are two ends of the same process. When behavior is controlled by external authority we seem to get submission and the totalitarian ideal; when behavior follows its own uncontrolled impulses we get a sort of individualism or anarchy; but if the person in utilizing fully opportunities for development forms the habit of respecting "otherness," we seem to have a sound foundation for reciprocally creative relationships.

Medicine has for years been teaching diabetics to handle their own treatment, and the medical interpretation is directed to teaching patients how to live within their disability, not merely to follow medical orders. Inexperienced workers frequently find it hard to believe that clients in an unjust economic order or in depriving individual circumstances can do anything to solve their own practical situations. Likewise if clients have a serious

disability due to illness it may seem a completely frustrating experience. Hardest of all is it to understand that a person to "make good" psychologically must be allowed not only to make good by his own efforts, but to make good in his own way.

There has been an interesting development, as we have said, in the administration of public welfare in the degree to which the applicant is nowadays encouraged toward a frank participation in establishing his own eligibility and doing as much in the presentation of his claim as possible. Here, as in the most psychological area, the case work is less coercive and more businesslike, at once both more reticent and more understanding. Whenever we have to act for people, and we do sometimes, this calls for wisdom, skill, and courage, but usually we do not have to act for people; we do not often have to investigate without consent; nor arrange things behind people's backs; nor coax and persuade them into decisions they can quite well make for themselves. It is to be hoped that society itself will achieve a wider and deeper liberty, based on more security, more cooperation, and less competition, so that the client's choices will be less determined by anxieties and frustrations—but the choices will remain his, not ours. It goes without saying that not all clients are equally capable of self-direction, and the obligation of society to protect and, when necessary, to control remains. As society comes to recognize more responsibility for the welfare of its members, this can be sound only so long as individuals also feel responsibility to engage in active struggle for the kind of world they are willing to live in. Self-determination may be individual or group or collective—it is a healthy sign that client organizations have grown up to participate in the welfare program, just as collective bargaining is a healthy sign for labor and industry. The normal motive of self-interest can be developed through educational processes into the equally normal assumption of social responsibility.

All the foregoing brings us to a consideration as to why the treatment relationship should be given so serious a weighting in

case work practice. The idea that the personal relationship of worker and client is important in helping people to help themselves is one of the oldest in case work. We were all brought up on the familiar phrase "not alms but a friend," and this is just as true as it always has been, the differences lying in what is believed to be involved in that relationship. What, in fact, is a professional friend? Clients tend to bring into the case work relationship feelings and attitudes and behavior which they have experienced with others. The family is important because the person tends to carry into the outer world attitudes built up in parental settings, and the case work relationship is important because the client will probably react with us in ways characteristic of attitudes learned at home and conditioned by other life situations. This tendency of behavior to "run true to form," as the sporting page would put it, or true to formation, as the psychologist would put it, does make the worker-client relationship a more central point of interest than would appear superficially. It has always been recognized that certain kinds of personalities seem to be intuitively helpful; other personalities, quite as well-meaning, can prove dangerous or harmful in intimate human relationships. Students beginning case work may be astonished to find how often they themselves project into family case treatment biases arising out of their own parental relationships and experiences. For the worker, just like the child in the household, may be so guilty about his own parental feelings that he opposes a family plan for separation, or tends to approve only such filial attitudes, no matter how much resentment they conceal, as make a virtue of devotion or self-sacrifice. He, too, has to learn on a professional level to accept others as distinct personalities, with their own right of self-realization and determination, and this becomes particularly significant in the case work relationship.

In working through to attitudes that are neither moralistic nor coercive, the worker must first be able to understand himself, his own emotional drives and impulses, before he can truly accept the bad feelings, aggression, or even love and gratitude

in others. Case workers move from intolerance of certain forms of conduct to tolerance, and finally toward understanding, which is neither tolerance nor intolerance. This attitude of detachment is one of the products of the widespread scientific development of the nineteenth century and is not, as we sometimes imagine, wholly an innovation of psychiatry. Nevertheless it is psychiatry and more particularly some of the findings of psychoanalysis as to unconscious motivations which have helped workers to understand their own impulses to save or to punish, to indulge or to deprive. Some of the things which affect worker-client relationship are recognized to be the following: that insights and self-awareness are prerequisite in a professional use of relationship; that acceptance of one's self is important in being able to accept others; that an ability to live with one's self or one's feelings is important in being able to understand the feelings of others. Only if we understand to some extent our own motivation can we leave the client free to establish himself securely first with us and thus again with others. Social workers, when caricatured on the stage or in books, are apt to be described as either sentimental or hard-boiled. The best case worker is neither; he will be of little use to clients unless he has a real interest in them—cares about them—but he can never be helpful if he exploits this interest in curiosity or a desire to manage people, or in a need to have them love him for what he does for them. If we must resist impulses to threaten or to punish, or to grant or to withhold favors, how much harder to see that each individual must make his own solution, not in the sense that he is master of his fate and captain of his soul in a reckless defiance of external reality, but because his goals and life objectives are *unique for him.* People tend to think that their internalized conflicts are very private, that this is an area of self-determination to which they must not admit another person. They may ask for help fairly easily with "real" problems and less easily with emotional problems, unless they can project their difficulties on some external factor like loss of a job or a problem child. Most of us have a constitutional dislike of being

rescued. The parable of the ingratitude of the drowning man toward his rescuer has deep psychological truth. The case worker's reticence in interviewing—miscalled passivity, but actually a greater control by the worker of his own curiosity and impulse to save—may permit a healing self-knowledge in the client to be activated. We do know that the client's sense of being understood is not in itself going to remove his difficulties, but it does make it more possible for him to turn from talking only about *things* to talking about feelings, even those inner and most protected feelings about himself and others, the recognition of which may help him to meet the difficulty.

There is still another philosophical justification for the attention given to the treatment relationship. Henri Bergson was not the first to point out, although he perhaps expressed the idea with the greatest clarity, that it is very difficult and perhaps impossible to become aware of the nature of organic reality, or what the social worker would call the "reality situation," without entering into it, directly experiencing it, and, he would say, "interpreting it through sympathy." While the social worker who relies wholly on intuition to understand another person may be lost in mysticism, it is possible also to overestimate the purely intellectual approach to life as yielding real meanings. This truth the social case worker learns the moment he tries to "treat" another human being. The highly intellectualized person may make a good research worker but rarely a good clinician, because the intellectual quality itself inhibits him from a direct experiencing of relationship which is his surest touch with living reality.

Chapter III

THE UNITY OF THE CASE WORK PROCESS

BEFORE WE ANALYZE in detail the basic methods or processes in social case work, we must be clear as to the nature of the social case itself. In the first place, a social case is not determined by the kind of client—a family, a child, a sick person, or an adolescent; nor can it be determined by the kind of problem—an economic problem, or a behavior problem. A social case is a "living event"[1] within which there are always economic, physical, mental, emotional, and social factors in varying proportions. A social case is always composed of internal and external, or environmental, factors. We do not deal with people in a physical sense or with environment in a physical sense, but we treat people who have not only social experiences but also feelings about their experiences. So when we think of a social case we must always consider it in terms of both inner and outer interacting factors. Sometimes people fancy that a social case in a psychiatric clinic and a social case in public assistance can have little in common, but this is not true. Fundamentally all social cases have "inner" and "outer" characteristics, and consist of person and situation, of objective reality, and the meaning of this reality to the one who experiences it.

It is not easy to know about another human being. People are complex, and when they come to us they may have lived a long time and much has been woven into their lives which we can never fully understand. We know that they are the products of heredity and environment and that constitutional elements and early surroundings will have affected their dispositions and partially determined their responses. Yet this knowledge does not, in itself, help us to "size them up." Two persons with the same low income will seem to have, measured in a material way, the same deprivations, but actually one will feel and act quite differ-

[1] See Dollard, *Criteria for the Life History*, p. 26, *et seq.*

ently about the problem from the other. Two unmarried mothers may be facing about the same economic and cultural difficulties, yet they will react in totally unlike ways. It is hard enough to appraise the external social situation accurately without the additional responsibility for understanding something of the elusive inner life of the applicant. If social work is at a disadvantage in that all human relationships are intangible, invisible, complex, and because people feel strongly about them, it has the advantage that clients can talk and that we can learn to listen. Access to social resources makes it possible for the worker to offer concrete assistance, and knowledge of psychological subject matter enables him to offer assistance which is just as real, if less concrete, in helping the client to clarify the problem in such a way that he can do something about it if he wishes.

Continuity of Study, Diagnosis, and Treatment

Social case workers describe the steps taken in identifying with the client; in accepting him as a person; in analyzing and clarifying the situation; and in trying to elicit or to supply what will help the client to make the most of himself and his resources by such terms as "study" or "investigation," "diagnosis" or "interpretation," "service" or "treatment." Logically we should study, diagnose, and treat in that order; actually these steps are not performed in logical sequence but weave in and out, often paralleling one another. While we are asking a person about his situation we are also trying to establish a relationship with him—in a sense we are "treating" him—and later, when we are doing something with or for him, he may be bringing out quite new values in the situation so that we are studying it afresh. Intellectually the steps are distinguishable; in life the case work process flows along in one single, comprehensive movement or unity. We make a tentative diagnosis at the outset; we "treat" in some fashion right away. Our minds go on drawing inferences; we are engaged in study as long as we know the client.

The case work process is set in motion whenever someone

becomes conscious that he has a social need and that he must have help with it. All indecision is a "search for a way to act." Once the client has decided to act, his purposes become pointed and unified, sufficiently at least to make him go to inquire about help. Perhaps he has thought of help only in material terms: "I need money for rent," he says to himself, or "I want to send my little boy to camp," or "I need a job," or "I cannot manage my children any longer." Probably he has vacillated, too, about where to go, since social agencies as yet do not have as clear a status as that of the church or of the public school. Certainly he will be mildly apprehensive or actually fearful of his reception. He may be angry at the way life has treated him; he may feel humiliated that he couldn't work out a solution for himself, but at least he will have done something about the problem by going. It is sometimes thought that the self-sufficient person who struggles grimly on by himself without asking for aid is a nobler character, but going for help may be quite as often an act of strength as of weakness. The test of character lies not in whether or not a person seeks assistance in a difficulty or a dilemma, but in what a person does with the assistance when he gets it.

Now when the applicant has betaken himself, to use the strong old verb, to the office, a kind of sifting must take place. The applicant makes the request, some one must talk with him, see what the general nature of the trouble is, and whether it is one that can be treated here. If not, he has to be referred to the appropriate agency. This preliminary step is usually called "application." In a hospital the administrative or agency side of application is referred to as "admitting," in a social work agency as "intake." It is not usual to count a case as a "case" for statistical purposes until after this intake, or sifting process, has been completed. In the public assistance field, as in others, "intake" has the objective of determining the question of "presumptive eligibility." [2] All that is meant is that through the initial inquiry, by means of one or more interviews, it is apparent that the client's need is one which may effectively—and legally, if a pub-

[2] See p. 78.

lic agency—be served by the agency concerned. The worker must help clarify the nature of the situation which brings the person to a particular agency, what the person wants to do about his problem, or what he wants us to do about it, and whether it lies within our function to care for the request. The worker makes also some preliminary estimate of the person's ability to deal with it—that is, whether he has any ability to use what the agency has to give in solving his problem. Perhaps it is not very serious and perhaps the client withdraws his application after discussion. Intake has more of a tentative diagnostic implication than anything else, and it is common for agencies to place experienced and competent workers to handle applications, because thereby so much time, energy, and emotion can be saved.

If the sifting process results in the case being accepted by the first agency rather than being referred to another, further study or investigation will probably be necessary. Such study may be carried on by means of repeated interviews with the client, or it may be effected in part through home visits and the use of references and collateral sources of information. In this way we can see what problems are involved in the presenting situation, and which of them must be worked through in order to meet the need the client has outlined. Sometimes the need is quite simple and obvious and can be met directly on the basis of the worker's immediate recognition, with or without "diagnosis." A man once consulted a famous surgeon about a swelling in his ankle. The surgeon said, "This is a very familiar condition, but unfortunately we do not know what causes it" (the patient's face fell), "but fortunately we *do* know how to treat it, and if you do as I tell you, you'll be well in a week." The patient followed directions and got well. Case work, too, fortunately can treat problems that it does not fully understand. Although many needs are obvious, simple, and practical, and can be dealt with, most, perhaps, are not. The purpose of further observation and study is quite as much to tell us what not to do, what to leave alone, as to tell us what to do. Certain case workers believe that too much emphasis has been given to the problem as-

pect of the total process and would see in intake chiefly the opportunity, through defining the agency's service, to stimulate the client to move toward some mitigation of the difficulty he presents. These case workers would keep focusing the case throughout on the way the client is seeking out of his difficulty. While there should be no incompatibility between the diagnostic process which assumes that needs can be objectively understood, and the evaluation of the client's ability to work on his problem, current practice will be found to stress one aspect and to minimize the other. At its best, case work will strike a balance between the problem solving and the mobilizing of "latent impulse" approaches.

Meanwhile treatment, as will be shown later, starts at the outset. We treat persons, not problems, so while we are trying to understand (diagnose) the nature of the problem, we are also trying to understand what sort of person has the problem. The moment we establish contact with a client we are really engaged in a sort of treatment, and as long as our professional relationship holds there is present an element of treatment. Some people go further, saying that the use of the case work relationship in itself is the treatment—that is, that this relationship is the central "helping process" and that all other phases may be described in terms of this alone. Dr. Dunbar speaks of a "relational action in living bodies which, while producing changes in the bodies, at the same time leaves the individuality of these not only identifiable and unimpaired, but even improved relative to their former states."[3] This is true of social as well as of bodily relationships.

We shall first demonstrate a case which, in one interview, shows how the processes of study, diagnosis, and treatment flow together in one comprehensive and continuous movement. We can see involved in this movement acceptance of the person making application; observation of behavior and listening to the story—a part of social study; stimulating of the client to push toward a solution of the problem; and the offering of the con-

[3] Dunbar, *Emotions and Bodily Changes*, p. 8.

crete services of the agency to this end. The diagnostic thinking which accompanied the interview must here be inferred, since the case worker has not recorded it.

The Schwartz Case[4]

Mrs. Schwartz is a small young woman. Her appearance was untidy and showed little evidence of effort to make herself attractive. Her eyes appeared nearsighted through rather thick glasses.

She began by speaking of herself and her baby. (a) She had been working until just before Christmas. Now her money has given out, has already had to borrow $3. ("That may not seem much, but it is to me, because I don't like to borrow money.") Owes $1 on last week's rent, and has not paid any rent this week. It is due again on 1-15, and landlady keeps asking her for money. (b) She came here because her friend, Mrs. James, told her we sometimes helped people in need of money. Mrs. James had charge of the lampshade cleaning department at the Peerless Laundry. Mrs. Schwartz worked in her department. Now Mrs. James is trying to break away and establish her own business. If she succeeds Mrs. Schwartz will have plenty of work with her, and can get along fine.

She had not mentioned her husband and I asked about him. (c) With barely perceptible hesitation, she said he had gone to Arizona a couple of months ago. He had a siege of bronchial pneumonia which left him run down. His doctor told him he would get better in Arizona. He is better and has found a job on a ranch and makes enough to maintain himself, but has not been able to send her anything. They talked it over and decided he had better go. He was not strong enough to hold a job here and they were using up their savings fast. They divided their remaining money and the plan was that she was to apply to Home Relief after he had gone. But she didn't because she got the job in the laundry. Now she will have to apply to Home Relief, but she came here because she had to have help right away.

The trouble is she is afraid she is pregnant and won't be able to work for awhile. I asked if her husband had known this when he left. (d) She said no, and she doesn't think she will tell him. She will ask

[4] From a Family Service Agency. The reader will notice that some of the interviews are written in the first and others in the third person. Some readers may attach great importance to this, as if the person used in some way reflected a type of case work or a school of thought. The writer, believing that this is more a matter of agency convention than of anything else has here, as in other respects, edited the original material as little as possible, except that identifying data are changed throughout.

the doctor who attends her to have the baby adopted before she sees it and gets to love it. They can't afford to have a child now. She can't afford to have Ben even. People have wanted to adopt him. She couldn't give him up because her own parents did that to her and she has minded it so much. She was placed at six months in an institution in Pennsylvania. When she was 11 or 12 she began to wonder about her parents. She felt miserable and unhappy sometimes, even though it was a nice institution and people were kind to her. She wouldn't want her baby to feel that way. She can't understand how her parents could give her up if she was anywhere near as pretty and lovable as her baby (affectionately).

(e) She thinks she could give up the new baby only if she never sees it. I said she would have plenty of time to think over what she wanted to do about the baby. I asked her if Mrs. James had told her that people come to this office to talk over various kinds of troubles, such as the one she had been telling me about. She was in a tough spot, having a baby when her husband was away. She said yes, she can't help worrying, even though she is a person who is used to being on her own. She's had to make her own way since she left the orphanage and it's made her pretty independent. I asked her if she had anyone with whom she could talk things over. No, there is no one. Bob, her husband, has several good friends "who would do anything for him" but she doesn't feel she knows them well enough to go to them. (f) She thinks she needs someone to talk to, "things pile up inside of you." She's glad to know she can come here.

(g) I asked a question or so about her husband going away and she said things hadn't been going very well. Too much worry about money and illness, and they began to get on each other's nerves. They decided maybe it was best to have a rest from each other for awhile. I asked how long he planned to stay away. She doesn't know; in fact, sometimes she doesn't care if he never comes back. Their big trouble is that he likes to command. He's German and thinks the man's word should be law. She's had too much freedom and independence since she's been on her own to take that very easily. And yet she is fond of him, too, and he is fond of her and there are times when she hopes they can work things out. Returning to the subject of her pregnancy, she said she will go to a hospital soon. But first she has to think of this baby she already has. He has to be fed.

(h) Up to now she had told her story easily, but with a curious absence of affect except when she was talking about her baby and her parents giving her up. I had an impression that she was holding something back, but got no feeling that the story she was telling was not

true. The details she gave were convincing and real. When I returned from a telephone call she said she had been thinking it over and wanted to tell me the truth. She thought she would feel better if she did. Besides, she wouldn't want me to find out things "through an investigation" which she hadn't told me herself. "You've been decent to me and I can't lie to you." With much difficulty she said she and Bob were not married. Once she got this out she was able to go on more easily and poured out her story in a flood of words.

(1) She is married to Fred Wales, whom she met and married in 1936. He is Ben's father. They didn't get along well together and she left him in the summer of 1937. Their quarrels were mostly about his business partner, Harry———. At first I understood her to say that she was crazy about Harry but when I asked her about it she said Fred was crazy about him and too much under his influence. After she had left the first time she decided to go back and make another try. She returned to find that Fred had moved in with Harry. Harry was planning to be married and Fred persuaded her that the four of them live together. It didn't work out ("two families can't live under the same roof") and she left again. She got a job for a couple of months and began to live with Bob Schwartz. She supposes they were just a couple of lonely people and their loneliness drove them to each other. They were frank with each other. He told her he was married and separated from his wife. She told him about Fred. When she knew she was pregnant she told Bob and they tried to plan together what to do about it. She thought Fred should be responsible for the baby since it was his baby, but he had dropped out of sight. She made sure he knew about the baby, by leaving messages with his friends. After she couldn't find Fred, Bob was offered a job in Schenectady and he said he would take her with him. She can never get over loving Bob for his generosity and kindness to her, and for loving Ben as much as he does. He adores Ben. Bob's family has been nice to her too. His sister came to see her in Schenectady and helped her make arrangements for having the baby in a hospital. His mother has been to see her and knows all about her and Bob. His father doesn't know. He is a stern man and wouldn't understand. Bob's father is retired on a pension and he and his wife spend their winters in Florida. Bob's mother comes to see her whenever she goes through New York.

They stayed in Schenectady until Bob's job ended. The baby was registered as Schwartz because they didn't have a chance to explain to the doctor.

Something she said about recent months made me wonder if Mr. Schwartz had gone to Arizona two months ago. I asked if he had. She

said no, he is still at home but is planning to go today or tomorrow. He has been offered a job as a chauffeur which gives him his living expenses and a little extra. He is planning to pay a few debts, save toward a divorce and hopes to help her some later. With a few more questions about their plans she said for a month they had been thinking of separating. Three weeks ago she ran into Fred on the street. He tried to follow her but she dodged him. If he found out about her and Bob it would be hard to get the divorce she wants. Also Bob's wife doesn't know about them and if she found out Bob would have trouble getting a divorce. It seemed safer to separate now until they could get their divorces. They plan to get married as soon as possible.

(j) She loves him and she thinks he loves her. I asked again if Mr. Schwartz knew about her pregnancy. She showed some confusion here when she said again she would not tell him about the baby but would have it adopted. When I reminded her she had said she planned to see him from time to time, she said he would have to know about it, of course. She added adoption would hurt him. He loves children and that's one reason he separated from his wife. She refused to have any.

(k) I said she had a great many things to consider. About her need for money, I said we could help her for a time and that she would need to think about what was involved in applying for public assistance. We could talk about this more when she next comes in. She said if Bob had to "be dragged into it" she would not go for public assistance. She can't get him into trouble when he has been so swell to her and Ben. She will tell them about Fred but not about Bob. She wouldn't do anything to put Bob in a bad light. After they separate he might fall in love with another girl and want to marry her. She hopes this won't happen, because she loves him and wants to marry him herself. But it may happen and she wouldn't want him to have "any kind of record against him."

She looked thoughtful and said she doesn't know what Bob will think about her having told all of this. He may be angry. He knew she was coming here but thought she was going to tell a made-up story. She's glad she told it. She feels relieved now. She hopes he will understand.

(l) I wondered what she thought of Mr. Schwartz being offered a chance to come in here too. After all, there are two of them involved in this problem. She thought she would ask him. The worst that can happen is that he would say no. She would talk to him tonight and she might telephone to me the next day. As she left she said she hoped she could "bring Bob in." Relief as follows: $7 rent for one week, $3 for food.

In order to understand the "anatomy" of this interview more precisely, it may be dissected on a line-by-line basis as follows:

(a) "She began by speaking of herself and her baby." It is always important to notice what people talk first about, because more often than not the tension preceding application does concentrate in the area of their greatest emotional concern, and so they are apt to give us some clue to this quite early in the interview.

(b) "We sometimes helped people in need of money." Her request is about an obvious, practical, external need, the usual basis of a social work application. It is generally easier to ask for concrete things.

(c) and (d) It is usually good to get some facts early in the interview. It makes for an honest and secure relationship with the case worker which is indispensable to treatment. Here the worker helps her clarify the social situation further and especially in (d) she gives the worker some idea about how she feels toward the experience. She seems to be an affectionate person. The feeling tone is always important.

(e) and (f) The next paragraph is interesting because it is clear that the worker is beginning to sense that there is more than meets the eye. Notice how she reassures the client that it is all right to talk about various kinds of troubles, and how she accepts her feeling that it was hard having a baby with her husband away. Not "there are plenty of agencies who will help you keep your baby if you want it," which would have forced her in one direction, but only agreement that she was in a "tough spot." Notice how this recognition and acceptance gets the response. "She's glad to know she can come here." A treatment relationship (contact) is established.

(g) Further clarification of the situation and the persons in it leads to (h), in which the relationship strengthens with the client's desire to tell the truth. All treatment rests on there being integrity and sincerity between client and worker. Unless a basis of mutual confidence is established no real movement can take place. The next few paragraphs (i) show the situation further clarified by the spontaneous giving of history.

In (j) the worker's question is directed toward getting a clearer idea of the client's capacity to deal with the painful part of her problems on a reality basis. She seems able to face it. "Yes, he would have to know about it."

In (k) the worker then moves to the request the client originally made and responds to that. This could have been done earlier or delayed a little as here. She can be given some money right away; at the same time she is offered a chance to go further if she wants to, but the money is not made conditional upon her returning with or without Bob. The agency evidently relies on the diagnostic skill of an experienced worker to determine whether to give or to delay the relief until further study is possible. In a public assistance type of agency relief could not usually be given without establishing eligibility—a delicate matter in this case because of the question of paternity and support. Had the client sought out the public agency, however, the explanation and handling of next steps in eligibility could have been as simple and frank as what was actually done. The principles followed would have been the same, although if the regulations as to support were rigid, the woman would have had to face a difficult decision immediately.

(l) "She said she hoped she could bring Bob in." Another important aspect of treatment—the first being the establishing of a relationship which permits treatment—is contained in this sentence. The client is willing to do something herself about her problem—to take hold and work on it. This does not always happen at the first interview, but until it happens treatment is always handicapped and may be impossible. We see here that Mrs. Schwartz has an impulse to use what the agency has to give.

One point about the unity of the case work process should be reemphasized, namely, its basically similar method. Application, study, diagnosis, and treatment have common features irrespective of functional adaptations. There are problems in establishing contact with a delinquent in a probation setting, for instance, because the delinquent is not so apt to ask for help. In trying to establish a relationship, the worker finds his client in retreat, as

it were. With some, a contact of any kind is very difficult. The worker has to overtake him, walk along with him, and then somehow turn about and come back together with him. This is only to say that the client is more wary, doesn't believe he is being accepted; and he therefore needs more reassurance that the worker will not criticize or blame him or retaliate for his hostile attitude. In public welfare an objective social study will be undertaken before regular assistance will be authorized. Work with young children often involves a type of play interview to establish contact, which one would not use with an adult, and so on through many variations. But the fields of case work draw on the same community resources, the same professional ethics, the same subject matter of psychology, economics, labor, psychiatry, medicine, law, sociology, and anthropology, and the like, for their scientific principles; they employ the same techniques of interviewing, observation, interpretation, and accept the same basic concepts. Specialization, as we see it in social work today, is largely administrative or functional adaptation and not specialized subject matter. While case workers employed in a hospital will absorb medical or psychiatric information, and workers in a court will come to know legal procedure, and in public assistance more of settlement or eligibility procedures, all workers must know about social disability and handicap, about budgeting, the use of relief, and of foster care, the nature of legal process and labor relations. Mass case loads impose certain limitations, just as a rural county will not offer city resources, but the case worker who has a firm grasp of case work principles and methods will adapt his practices to diverse conditions. Pain and illness, anxiety and poverty, speak a universal language. Love and hate, success and failure, security and insecurity, are culturally conditioned, but at bottom are intimate personal experiences.

Although the motif, or principal theme, of any case is usually announced in the initial request, the presenting situation on application may seem less intricate than it later turns out to be. Other themes may emerge which wind in and out of the origi-

nal problem, yet one does not have to follow all the leads which the complexity of the social situation may introduce—indeed treating the immediate presenting problem may affect the total configuration. But one may, and often does have to consider whether the original theme *can* be treated without reference to these complicating factors. We give the complaint or request our wholehearted attention because this is what the client has come to us about—what he would be paying us to treat if we were charging him a fee; but we must be prepared for the fact that we may have to consider problems at the edge or at the bottom of the whole morass of difficulty before we are done. Sometimes one cannot treat the central trouble at all and can only relieve minor irritants. These interlaced difficulties do not always reveal themselves at once, but may emerge slowly. The following case illustrates these emerging interrelated motifs. The themes will be in some associative or organic relation to each other because of the nature of the life process itself.

The Kroll Case[5]

In September Mrs. Kroll applied to a family agency for assistance in finding work. She had landed in this country recently, her husband remaining behind in England. Mrs. Kroll had with her William, a 15-year-old boy, and a little girl, Elaine, aged 6. The first phase (motif) is of a woman living with her two children in a furnished room with fast dwindling resources, waiting to hear from her husband. Mrs. Kroll told her story quite volubly. . . .

When Mrs. Kroll paused worker asked why it was that Mrs. Kroll had not gone with Mr. Kroll when he left for London. Mrs. Kroll explained that when Mr. Kroll had gone to London he was supposed to have gone there only temporarily while working for the German Film Company. He had not known how things would work out and so had suggested that Mrs. Kroll remain. Mrs. Kroll could live much more cheaply in Berlin than she ever could in London because living expenses in London were very high. His position in London was precarious because not only was it difficult to secure jobs because of present financial conditions, but also because he was a foreigner.

[5] This illustration from a Family Service Agency has been partly summarized by the writer, but with excerpts from the original text. This was before the refugee emigrations from Germany.

Although Mrs. Kroll had a father and stepmother living in the middle West she did not want to appeal to them, and thought she could get work on the eastern seaboard while waiting for her husband to join her. She had never worked in Germany because they were comfortably off. It was enough for her to take care of her children and the house.

(a) Her boy wants to work, and Mrs. Kroll would be willing for him to work, too, but she doesn't know what he can do. Worker remarked that since he is only 15 it would be difficult for him to get employment because he is under age. Mrs. Kroll asked about this and worker explained the necessity for getting working papers, the age limit for these, and the conditions of industry at the present time. Mrs. Kroll stated that he is so eager to do something, because he, too, is worried about their precarious situation. He constantly tells his mother that they must do something before their money gives out. He went to the *American* the other day and inquired about the possibility of getting a newsstand, but you have to pay much more than $100. Perhaps there was some other work she could do.

Her boy is of high-school age. He would like to go to high school if he could. He was in the first year high in Germany. He wants very much to work and to help her out. He makes her feel even more nervous than she feels herself at times. He constantly tells her that the money will soon be gone and that they will have nothing, that they must find something to do now that she has the money. This makes her quite upset. Worker remarked that this probably is the first time she has had to face such a difficulty, and Mrs. Kroll stated that it really is, even though she has had a difficult time for the past few years. She has had to face difficulties before, but not of the same sort. She has had to reduce her standards considerably, but she has been able to manage to do this. However, she has been completely upset ever since coming to this country. She then said perhaps it will not be necessary to do anything, since she may get a letter from her husband at any time. Worker said she was doing something very wise about it and that our vocational counselor might advise her about suitable work. She was pleased with the suggestion. . . .

In a second interview the types of work Mrs. Kroll might be able to do were discussed. At this time she said she had decided to sell her jewels while they were abroad and her husband in London. Her husband had written her not to sell the jewels, that he would see if they could not find some way out of their situation. She then wrote her husband that it was too late. She had already sold her jewels and had the money, and before it was gone felt they had to do something. She wrote

him they had to get together. She was going to take a boat to America with her children and she was going to get passage for him. He was to join her on the boat. She received a letter before she left saying that he felt she did not have sufficient money for them all, but for her to go on with the children to America alone. At least she "could go in comfort with them." It would be much easier for them in America. Mrs. Kroll had then written to him that in that case she would join him in London, but his reply was that things were "in the air" in London. The thing that he had wanted and had been interested in, in London, had not turned out, so he was going to Paris. And (b) then Mrs. Kroll said in a desperate and intense manner that after all she could not follow her husband all over England. She had to do something and so had come to the United States. When worker wondered whether Mrs. Kroll had thought of what this might mean Mrs. Kroll immediately said, yes, she had thought about this often. She had started to cry. She said that she had thought of this often, and thought it a little queer that Mr. Kroll had been away so long. He could have come to see her sometime. She said that at one time she thought there was something wrong and she had written to Mr. Kroll asking him if he had had another attraction. Mrs. Kroll continued to cry as she said this. Mr. Kroll had written back to her saying that she was foolish to think this, that it was difficult for him to come.

Mrs. Kroll stopped crying abruptly and started to speak about her boy. She is a little bit concerned about him because he has not yet registered in school. When he was in Germany he had gone to high school and she thinks that he has had the equivalent of a half a year here. She is not sure about this. Would it be possible to secure vocational guidance for her boy? She has been so much encouraged by the attitude taken at a vocational adjustment service that she feels there is much to gain if this could be secured for William. He has never had any particular desires regarding his educational interest. As far as she knows, the only thing that he has been tremendously interested in has been aeroplanes. Some day, he has told her, he has the ambition of owning an airport. She does not think he is particularly interested in it from the mechanical or engineering point of view. Worker promised to see what could be done. Her boy, she said, had been very much of a help to her during her difficult time in Germany. She doesn't know what she would have done if it had not been for William. Often when they did not have any money he would offer to go and sell furniture for her, and if it had not been for him she would have had a rather hard time in managing. He had been rather shy at first, but he had gotten over it and had assumed a great deal of responsibility. Even here, she

said, he has assumed much responsibility for the family. Sometimes he said to her Mr. Kroll is no good, because he had gone away and had left them in a mess. He knows how she feels about it. (c) Sometimes he doesn't talk to her at all about the father. Suddenly Mrs. Kroll became defensive of Mr. Kroll. She said that she realized that it must have been difficult for Mr. Kroll too. She knows that he tried his best. He was a good worker and he did everything he could. If he could have made things easier for Mrs. Kroll he would have done so. She then smiled and said that Mr. Kroll was a queer person. He was temperamental. He can't keep money. He used to make good money but he never kept it. He never looked towards the future. He was always a particular person and must have the best of everything. If Mr. Kroll had come with them she doesn't know what they would have done, because she did not have very much money. She had to preserve the money she had so she had come third class. This would have been beneath Mr. Kroll. She goes out to the park with the children and tries to get out as much as possible. It is rather difficult for her little girl, who is used to playing out-of-doors all the time. Of course it is different in New York than it was in Germany and Elaine is not able to get out as much as Mrs. Kroll would like her to. Elaine is already losing some of the color she has had in her cheeks, and her mother wants as much as possible to see if she cannot keep her outside.

William was then sent to the vocational service for tests and recommendations. His intelligence level, when ascertained, seemed to warrant placing him in a rapid advance school. By October, a month after the application, Mrs. Kroll had been placed as matron in a hotel. The wages were low, $45 a month, but there was opportunity for advancement, and a small scholarship was being arranged for William. About this time William came to the office of his own accord.

He was a tall, blond-haired boy with a very self-possessed, self-assured manner. He spoke with a somewhat sophisticated, superior manner. He used an excellent and extensive vocabulary, and gave the impression of having considerable background. He was very polite toward worker in his manner. He immediately took control of the interview and spoke quite spontaneously and with much feeling throughout. He said that he wanted to tell worker that his mother had gotten a job. William said with a great deal of emphasis that it is very hard on his mother to have to work this way. She has never worked before. In Germany they used to have an eight-room apartment, two servants. It is difficult for her to get adjusted to this kind of situation. She has to work seven days a week from nine to five, sometimes to six. She comes home so tired that she can but drop in a chair. She is not used to this

kind of work, and William does not like to see her working so hard. She will break under it in a month. She cannot keep up this strain. Suddenly he said with a great deal of emphasis (d) "That's my father's fault anyway. He ran out on us." He then said that his mother had heard from Paris that they cannot locate Mr. Kroll. They are not so careful in France as they are in Germany. Anyway he feels his father probably is somewhere and could get in touch with them. He just doesn't want to. He could have been rich several times over. He was never satisfied. Again he said with much emphasis that it was all his father's fault. He had run out on them. He used to dislike his father when they had a difficult time in Germany. For two years they had been hard up, but now he hates his father. Things needn't have been the way they were now. His father could have been rich several times over. He does not mean that they would necessarily be wealthy, but it needn't have been this way. They needn't have been left with nothing. His father used to send them six pounds every other week. That had been inadequate. Gradually this had come less and less often. His mother had to give up her eight-room apartment; she had to give up the maids she had had; she had to move to a smaller apartment, and then to another small one, and before long she could not even pay her rent. He knows that maybe his father was out of work, but he could have sent them more. His father was not the kind that would go about without any pocket money, and pocket money to his father was a pretty big amount. Every time they wrote to their father and wanted to join him, he always said there was something in the air in Paris. He did not believe it. They could not pursue Mr. Kroll all over the continent. They had to do something. His father could have done more for them. He could do something for them now. He knows how much it costs to go to England and to Paris. His father had money enough for trips like that. He had money enough to send them something. He always wanted more, and then he said hastily and angrily that he had not always done things which were on the level, too. That was the whole trouble, and then when things became too hot for him he ran out on them. He always did that. "But of course (e) you're not interested in what I'm telling you. Give me the address of a day nursery." It was for this reason that he had come in to see worker today. His mother had investigated the kindergarten in their neighborhood, but had found that this was full and that they could not accept any more children. He said that his sister drives him crazy when he is at home. He cannot care for her because he needs all of his time in the afternoon and in the evening to study. For two years he has not been able to go to school. He has lost the swing of work, and now had to get into the

swing again. It is because he finds it so difficult to get into the swing of school work again that they need a nursery, and wondered if we could help with this. Worker stated we would be glad to give him an address, and that we thought we could help with some of the other family things that were bothering him. He seemed a little easier.

He then went back to a discussion of their own situation. He said he would like to do something to help his mother out. They cannot go on this way. Their income is going to be inadequate. He wanted a job, even if he could get one just for Saturdays. At present he feels he cannot undertake an afternoon job because it takes him such a long time to study. Two years is an awfully long time to be out of school. That was his father's fault, too. He had to leave school because his mother didn't have the money to pay the tuition. In two years' time you forget the detailed matter. You learn to apply the details you have learned in a general, practical way, and you forget how much time needs to be spent on studying details, and details that do not seem to be very important. It is this that is so difficult for him at the present time. He thinks that soon he will get back into the swing of it and will not have to spend so much time. Then he thinks he will be ready to take an afternoon job. Worker said that working on a scholarship was a way of helping his mother out. He smiled at that but returned to Elaine. She always gets into difficulties she is not supposed to get into. She does things she knows very well she is not supposed to do. He said with a great deal of wisdom that she is just like her father, just like him all over. He always did what he wasn't supposed to do, too.

In the next interview with the mother the worker asked how the nursery had seemed. The response was revealing. Mrs. Kroll had not yet had a chance to go to the nursery to see what it was like. William, however, had gone. He seemed to feel that it is a nice place. William is assuming a lot of responsibility, but he is the only one left who can do it. The nursery wants health certificate, birth certificate, vaccination certificate. She has these from her passport and wondered if these would be sufficient. Worker thought so. She said they also wanted to see her, but Mrs. Kroll doesn't know whether she can arrange it.(f) She gets home so late in the evening that she is afraid she cannot manage to see them. Worker said that sometimes nurseries close later in the evening because working people cannot come early. Suggested that Mrs. Kroll might go someday after work and see what she could arrange. If she finds that she cannot see them she might let worker know. Perhaps we could see the nursery and discuss things with them. Mrs. Kroll said she would be grateful if this arrangement could be made.

In the next interview with William, who had called to get the allowance which had been given to supplement the low wages earned by Mrs. Kroll, his family situation was again discussed. Worker asked William his feelings about joining in some activity and he stated quite emphatically that he was not interested in it at the present time. There was too much he had to do. He was not quite yet adjusted to the pressure in the school. They expected a great deal of you and William wants first to be able to see how he can get along here before he gets interested in anything else. He thought that by next term he might join one of the basketball teams. He would like to do this. It would please him very much, but he feels that it is too late to do it this term. Besides, by next term perhaps things will be a little easier. The most difficult subject is English. When he studied in Germany they were rather lax about things like grammar and spelling, and for this reason he finds it difficult to get along in the subject. He smiled reminiscently and said that he can remember that he used to have quite a hard time. He used to have to bargain with his father. He would have crying spells when he was unable to learn a subject or study, and he remembers how he made a bargain with his father that if he made a certain grade his father would give him some money as bonus. In case he went below this point, William would have to give his father a certain amount of money. But it was very rare that William had to give his father the money. (g) He made quite a good bit of money in this manner. He had had an allowance of his own, but he had enjoyed receiving the money as a result of making good in his work. He mentioned again how he used to have such severe crying spells because he was unable to do his work well. He said that after he was ten years old he realized the "error of his ways" and he changed his attitude toward his work. Worker wondered how William had gotten along with his father. William shook his head and said he had not gotten along well with his father at all. His father used to jump on him for many things. He used to beat him. His father was a typical Prussian. He felt that all children were to be seen and not heard. He never had a chance to say anything at all. If he did his father jumped on him. If he had to say so himself he was not the kind that needed to be disciplined in that way. He knows that if his father had talked to him he would have changed in anything that he had done wrong, but his father would never realize this. His father had always treated him cruelly. His father was too hard. He wasn't the kind that needed that sort of treatment. Elaine, he said, is perhaps the one who needs that kind of treatment. She needs to be told where she can get off. Elaine has been causing them considerable trouble. She has developed a hacking cough. He thinks that Elaine does

it just out of spite. She knows that she keeps Mrs. Kroll up all night. His mother has to work hard and then cannot get any sleep. Oh yes, it would do Elaine good to get some of his father's treatment. She needs that. William then said that he was trying to make things easier for his mother. He wants to get her an American iron. She has a German one. It is not quite so efficient and makes things more difficult for Mrs. Kroll. He does not know how he is going to get the money, but he plans to do it some way. . . .

In an interview with the mother following this, Mrs. Kroll started to speak about William, and worker remarked that William feels pretty strongly about his father. Mrs. Kroll said yes, they had never gotten along. Mr. Kroll is a hard person. He never liked to hear a word from anyone. When they used to talk at the table and William would join in, Mr. Kroll had never liked it. He had wanted William to keep quiet. Mrs. Kroll, on the other hand, had always felt that it was good for William to express himself, to learn how to talk, and to tell how he felt about things. She said that this was especially true of William, since he had always been a clever child for his age. She paused for a moment and then said that she thinks the whole difficulty was that he was jealous of William. He had always felt that Mrs. Kroll was giving the children too much time. That she was not allowing enough time for him. Mrs. Kroll shook her head emphatically and said that that was not true. She had always tried her best to give as much time to Mr. Kroll as she possibly could. One of the reasons she had maids in the house to take care of the children was so she could devote all of her time to Mr. Kroll, but he was never satisfied. (h) He always felt as if Mrs. Kroll was giving too much time to William. She said that Mr. Kroll felt differently about Elaine.

When William was born Mrs. Kroll had a very difficult time. She had almost died and Mr. Kroll had gone through hell practically throughout the time that the birth occurred. Mrs. Kroll had suffered so much and had been so ill that Mr. Kroll had never wanted her to go through another experience like that. Mrs. Kroll herself had always wanted another child. She felt it would be unfair to William for him to grow up alone. However, when they came to Germany, friends began to talk to them about the fact that they had only one child. They kept telling Mr. Kroll that after all, the first child was the most difficult and that this would not mean that Mrs. Kroll would have a hard time the second time. Mrs. Kroll wanted another child badly and so finally Mr. Kroll had given in. Mrs. Kroll sighed and said "they say that children are supposed to bring parents together," but this had never been true in Mrs. Kroll's case. She said that really the children

were the basis of their difficulty. They disagreed so entirely about the children, about their training, that it always created quarrels between them, and of course, he was always jealous. He wanted her always just to himself and felt that the children were taking too much of her time, and too much of her interest, but Mrs. Kroll said again that this had never been true. William, she said, never knew what to expect from Mr. Kroll. She is different, she said. William knows that when she says something, she means it. Whether this be something pleasant or something unpleasant, does not matter. William knows where he stands with her. It is hard enough without having parents shifting from one position to another. It is easier for him to get what is right and what is wrong, to know what to expect of them when she sticks to a point that she has made. William is not so concerned about her disciplining of him when it is necessary. He knows what it means and usually will change his ways.

(i) Elaine is different from William. She is more difficult to control. She is most worried regarding Elaine's health. She said that Elaine has a very bad cough. She understands from Elaine that they are giving her some medicine at the nursery. Elaine is a restless sleeper and it makes it difficult for them all. Elaine is getting excellent care at the nursery and Mrs. Kroll feels that this is the most satisfactory solution for the care of the child. She thinks that she will go to the nursery about Elaine's health. Elaine tells her that they are examined frequently. Things are a little easier for William now that he does not have to take care of Elaine. He is finding it a little easier at school, too. Elaine has always had a tendency to be cross-eyed. The first nurse she ever had for Elaine was a person who was rather difficult and had believed in exercise for very young children; when Elaine was very small she used to hold her upside down and shake her as one means of strengthening the child. Somehow this seemed to have affected Elaine's eyesight, and ever since then she has been cross-eyed. Whenever Elaine gets excited or upset her eyes become crossed. She knows that there is a physician in connection with the nursery and wonders if he could not examine Elaine if we asked him. Worker said we would be glad to visit the nursery and discuss a thorough examination. She knows that exercise must have been a good thing for the child, but too much is too much. Elaine, she said, still likes to stand on her head and do all kinds of tricks. Elaine misses her nurse very much. The other day when Mrs. Kroll was working around Elaine told Mrs. Kroll that it is too bad they do not have the maid they had before. She had looked at Mrs. Kroll and had remarked that wouldn't it be nice if one could go to sleep and dream back to the days when things were nice. Mrs. Kroll

laughed and said she thought it was very clever of Elaine to have thought of dreaming backwards. (j) Worker asked if perhaps the child was not happy, but Mrs. Kroll did not respond to this. . . .

William had called at the office to get relief. Worker wondered how Mrs. Kroll felt about this. Mrs. Kroll stated that William used to be very sensitive, but he is not so sensitive about this subject as he was. He seems able to accept it a little more. He had a little difficulty at school yesterday. She said that he is unable to get along with his English teacher. Some boy had been talking about the Coliseum and the bull fight they had there. This seemed to strike William funny and for some reason he burst into laughter. The teacher had become terribly angry with him and told him to leave the room. Sometime later he called William back and throughout the rest of the period had poked fun at him. William had felt happy because the rest of the class had not joined in the laughter. She said that she thinks the English teacher is too much like William's father for William to know what to do. He is kind one moment and severe the next. Worker mentioned that perhaps William would have to work through his own difficulties with his father before he can know how to handle this type of situation. Mrs. Kroll seemed to be taken aback by this. She looked at worker and said maybe so. He has thought of going to another teacher in the school who seems to be very sympathetic and interested, and to tell him about the teacher's attitude. She thought that William would be able to talk to him about it. Worker said that if William could build up a relationship with a man interested in him it might be a constructive thing for him.

In a later interview she again compared the children. William was getting along finely. The situation with William and his English teacher had cleared up. He had been very nice to him ever since and William is quite happy about the whole situation. One day he had William write out his composition on the board. He had commended William very highly for it. William had felt that somehow his commendation had been one way of apologizing to him. William, she said, does not fool himself. He knows when he does something well and when he does not, and she had been told that William felt he had not merited the high praise he had received. She said that William works terribly hard, that he does not have any illusions. One thing, however, that distresses her is that William seems to work so terribly hard over all things. He is not good in drawing. He will spend hours drawing and redrawing. He is never satisfied with what he has done. Mrs. Kroll has told him that after all drawing is a minor subject, that there is no necessity for him to work so hard over it. There is no need for his be-

ing anxious. All that is required is that he pass in it and he need not bother about anything else. But William tells her that if he does not work hard he cannot know that he will pass. Maybe he will "flunk." Mrs. Kroll agreed that she does not want him to fail, that that would be too bad, but she still feels that it is not necessary for him to attach so much importance to such a subject. It would have been much better if he had spent some of that time in recreation. He is, however, beginning to get more interested in such things as recreation. There is a wrestlers' team which he is planning to join, which is being organized in the school. They have asked William to join and he is planning to do this on Saturday. He is very happy about it. But she does wish that William would not be so anxious about some of these minor subjects. Worker wondered whether they had expected a great deal of William before. She said that yes, Mr. Kroll had. Mr. Kroll had always wanted William to do absolutely the best. She explained that William used to be very sensitive and very easily hurt. He used to be so hurt that he was unable to do something that he would start to cry. He was so anxious about doing it perfectly that he would get so nervous and wrought up and excitable that he couldn't do it at all and would burst into tears. Mr. Kroll had talked to William and had told him that he need not worry about making perfect grades in everything; that if he got over a certain rating Mr. Kroll would pay him. If he got below it he would pay Mr. Kroll, and somehow this seemed to ease considerable anxiety in William. From that time on he did well. He had always done well before, but he had been so terribly anxious that he had not really been able to work. Sometimes he would win as much as ten marks in a week from Mr. Kroll. This had given him considerable pleasure. He used to have an allowance any way, but he got more pleasure out of the little money he earned in that way than otherwise.

She said that Elaine is entirely different from William. (k) She does not get anxious about anything. She doesn't mind if Mrs. Kroll scolds her. It just rolls off her like water off a duck's back. She has no concern about it at all. If Mrs. Kroll scolds her Elaine looks at her and says, why worry, everything will be all right. It is the same attitude she has toward doing things. She is not concerned if she does not do them well. She said that Elaine could do with a little of the discipline that Mr. Kroll used to enforce. Of course, she feels that even though Mr. Kroll was attached to Elaine he would have a difficult problem with her because she is difficult to control. At the present time Elaine is again suffering from a bad cold. They have had a bad week because of Elaine. She went on to say that she was kept up practically all last night by Elaine. Elaine has been used to sleeping in a bed by herself.

She falls asleep quite easily, but as soon as Mrs. Kroll gets in bed it seems to disturb Elaine. She wakes up and begins to cough. She gets whiny. Last night Mrs. Kroll thought the best solution of the problem was to sit up. This has happened several times. She said the first time it happened this week she had pulled out the extension on William's bed. William had been sleeping on the double mattress since the mattress is not a very good one. Mrs. Kroll had not wanted to wake him and had lain down on the extension without any mattress or covers. She had awakened with a very severe cold and has been feeling badly ever since.

An interview with Elaine will round out the picture for us.

(l) Worker visited the day nursery to call for Elaine, having previously made an appointment at the clinic with Mrs. Kroll's consent. Elaine was waiting for worker. She was dressed at the time. She is a very pleasant looking, bright appearing child. She was not at all shy or backward throughout the time she was with worker and talked quite spontaneously. While on the way to the clinic Elaine talked a good deal about the nursery and her play there. She liked the nursery and the children and was really having a very good time. She mentioned that she missed having a yard to play in. In Germany they used to have a large yard she could play in. She had enjoyed it very much. Suddenly she said she had dreamed about Germany. She had dreamed of a garden with roses, such beautiful roses and such a beautiful place to play in. She had almost thought it was real. Sometimes she wakes up in the middle of the night and thinks that it is real. When she talks about it her mother tells her it isn't. It is hard for her sometimes to know when it's real and when it isn't when she dreams like that. She misses having a yard to play in. She used to have gymnastic bars. She doesn't have these now. She liked playing with them before. She described at great length some of the things that she had been able to do on the bars.

She went on to say that she had dreamed of William, too, the other day. William usually calls for her at the nursery. This time she dreamed that she waited at the nursery for William and he didn't come. Someone took her to a corner, she doesn't know who, and she waited again, but no one came for her. She then found herself outside of her home, and the strangest thing about it was that William wasn't there. She lived there with her mother; William didn't. He lived somewhere else. She waited for him but he didn't come, and finally someone came and took her into her own house, but William didn't live there. Worker asked Elaine whether she was sorry that William hadn't lived there. She said no, she wasn't sorry. She was just puzzled as to why William didn't come for her. . . .

In the above case we see a financial social problem tied in to a complicated set of parent-child and sibling difficulties, in which the objective role of wage earner cannot be determined without thinking what will be happening to William in the process; and in which the close tie of deserted wife and adolescent son is excluding the little girl. So the case work process is unified in these several diagnostic foci and working on any one of these problem themes with the Krolls may change the whole configuration. During the three months from which these record excerpts have been taken, study and treatment run a sort of parallel course. A self-directing woman is assisted at her request with vocational guidance, employment, relief, day nursery care. An anxious and overdriven boy is assisted with a scholarship and turned in the direction of group interests and recreation. Meanwhile, through the interviews held with mother and son, the family relationship becomes abundantly clear. Attention to one or two points may be given in detail.

(a) Almost at once in Mrs. Kroll's application for advice about employment, she announced her central anxiety—her son, who is pushing himself as rapidly as possible to take over the father's role of wage earner and protector. She does not see this as a problem but as an evidence of character in the boy. She is defensive about her husband and although in (b) she allows some of her doubt to come to the surface, she pushes it down again. One might ask why the worker did not comment here on the marital situation. Although, in a sense, both Mrs. Kroll and William talked freely enough, neither was ready to face his or her feelings at this time. During this stage the worker helps with practical things and listens quietly to the rest so that neither will feel exposed or cornered by unwary admissions. Mrs. Kroll (c) finds it hard even to face William's dislike of his father and becomes protective. William (d) puts all the blame on his father and Elaine. Superficially he appears self-righteous and self-satisfied, but underneath he feels inferior and anxious. His (e) angry and sarcastic comment to the worker is because of his fear and guilt over the sentiments he has been expressing and,

although he is a little reassured by the worker's quiet acceptance he has to go on with his criticism of Elaine. Since his mother rejects her he can reject her too without so much conflict. This rejection of the mother's becomes clear in her finding no time even to go to the day nursery (f) and in her comparison of the children, (h), (i), (k) William representing all the good and Elaine all the bad side of her difficulties. In (g) William again speaks with great hostility of his father and Elaine but he is still projecting all the troubles and offering few openings toward himself. When he says "he wasn't the kind that needed that sort of treatment," a comment—"and what sort of treatment do you think you need?" might have focused the situation a little earlier for William but it might also have been premature. In (j) and in the following paragraph we see how little ready Mrs. Kroll was to have the problem focused unless in terms acceptable to her. (l) In the phantasy of little children, actuality, day and night dreaming are often confused. Here Elaine tells us in a child's way how much of an odd one in the household she feels. While it would have been theoretically desirable to let Mrs. Kroll take the responsibility for Elaine's health, nevertheless, since she is both practically unable and psychologically unwilling to do much about it, the worker moves into making arrangements.

In all the foregoing, treatment remains on a practical level while the clients are gaining enough security to take responsibility for the more uncomfortable psychological aspects. The second phase, in which Mrs. Kroll becomes able to discuss her rejection of Elaine, and William to want to be a little freer from his mother, as well as to face his conflict about his father, is too gradual a development for reproduction. The material shown suggests traces of a somewhat "passive" treatment approach, which was partly a product of the times,[6] although the kind of emotional involvement would also justify the slow tempo here used.

[6] In the early thirties, as a reaction to an over-vigorous period, case workers were learning a more reticent interviewing technique. Another approach in the

The two illustrations cited show study, diagnosis, and treatment as they occur coincidentally in the natural movement of a case, each problem as it arises demanding its own point of view. In the ensuing chapters we shall examine each step in turn, cross-section fashion. One must always remember, however, that the arbitrary division of the process into steps is an intellectual device to help us comprehend the nature of the total process. While to live is always more important than to know, we must become conscious of our processes through discontinuous thinking as well as through intuitional identification with a case "in pure duration" as the ordinary chronological case narrative gives it.

Kroll case might have been to study the psychological elements by interviews directed actively towards the client's reactions to work, the scholarship, relief, the necessity for health care, and so forth. The purpose in citing this case is to illustrate the interweaving of various themes in a complex situation—not to discuss differential treatment possibilities in interviewing technique.

Chapter IV

APPLICATION AND INTAKE

WE HAVE SPOKEN of the social case as consisting of inner and outer factors, of person and situation, but that is only a way of expressing how it looks to us as practitioners. People need food, shelter, clothing, safety, in order to survive; and they also need affection and success, some capacity to love and be loved, to have security and also opportunities for growth and development, in order to have satisfying lives. When a person is ill, or if he wants to build a house, he may handle it himself, but if too serious or too difficult he may employ a doctor for the one and an architect for the other. These professions are well established and their functions are quite clear to the man in the street. Social work is not so well established, although it is already well understood in the field of economic or material need, fairly well understood in its ability to offer social and recreational opportunity, fairly well understood in its health services, and beginning to be understood in its interest in family and social relationships. So the mother who wants to send her child to the country, or the boy who wants a place to play basketball or study wood carving, or the family that must have relief, or the parents of a child who is showing behavior difficulties, will be apt to seek a social work agency, public or private. Psychiatrists in guidance clinics get many of these last, but in volume nothing like so many as social workers in courts, family and children's agencies.

In all walks of life, not merely with the less well-to-do, most people find it easier to ask for help with concrete things—for advice about definite steps. Thus, out of all the complex factors, they tend to focus the problem for us. People do speak about generalized unhappiness, it is true—the adolescent who is unhappy is simply engulfed in unhappiness; but most people pin their difficulties to something pretty definite before they ask for help

from another person. Some people ask for help easily, with others it comes hard; but whether hard or easy, to ask at all the person must be in a dilemma or predicament which he no longer feels he can solve single-handed.

Attitudes in Seeking Assistance

If you question a young college graduate about how he felt in applying for a job, or a patient how he felt in going to an unfamiliar clinic, you will find that each has had some of the same feelings. There is probably a period of fear, worry, or increased tension about the problem, a struggle to make up the mind to do something about it, uncertainty and fear of the unknown agency, or shop, or institution. The applicant may be uncertain as to whether this is the best place to go to. He often minimizes himself a little. "I guess he'll think I'm not experienced enough for his job," or "maybe the doctor will think I'm making a fuss about nothing," softening an expected rejection. Or perhaps he puts it to himself another way: "This job is really beneath me, but I need the money badly," or "I'm afraid the doctor will find me worse than I imagine." He may be afraid, that is, that he has too much of a problem, or too little of a problem, or that people will blame or reproach him, and sometimes he feels he must justify himself in his own eyes because he anticipates rejection or lack of appreciation. Sometimes this fear of rejection is so intense that he has worked up reasons beforehand to let himself down easily, "My qualifications are first rate, but probably they're looking for an entirely different training." The same kind of feelings are involved in applying to a social work agency, with the added possibility that our culture may have placed such a stigma on the kind of need, as in illegitimacy or destitution, that shame and humiliation may be acute. When applicants reach the office they may be further frightened by unfamiliar surroundings and procedures, disconcerted by indifferent attitudes on the part of attendants, which make them feel small and therefore resentful. Impersonal techniques are also frightening. A woman in a big medical center, who had just been assured that her trouble was

minor but had also been routinely referred to "diagnostic clinic," heard only the phrase "diagnostic clinic" and came up to the social worker in a panic of apprehension as to what was to happen next.

All this emotion surges on *beneath the surface*. What the interviewer sees is a person who may appear shy, or inarticulate, or restless, or haughty, or who shows an injured dignity, or who may be aggressive and threatening and demanding. Sometimes he seems nervous and confused, and cannot readily tell what his trouble is, and sometimes he appears to have a chip on his shoulder and not to want to give the necessary information. The intuitive interviewer, like a good hostess, may recognize the feelings of insecurity, anxiety, and irritability under the ostensible behavior, and find ways of putting the client at his ease. But most case workers have to *learn* the meaning of these attitudes and develop skill in reducing the fear, in restoring the damaged self-esteem, by giving the applicant undivided attention, privacy, and help in discussing the topic of greatest interest to him—namely his situation and need. It is not usually necessary to "make conversation," although all skillful interviewers learn little devices of word and gesture to help particularly timid and nervous applicants feel comfortable.

Case work has always recognized the importance of the application process, although the earlier case work did not emphasize, because it was not prepared to interpret, the emotional undercurrents. Just as the teacher who is not conversant with mental hygiene is apt to value the good, timid, obedient child, as against the unruly and aggressive, so the unskilled interviewer may be misled by his liking for the respectful, appreciative applicant, and disconcerted, if not antagonized, by the touchy, demanding, ungrateful, or sarcastic one. The skilled interviewer knows that the applicant tends to displace his feelings about other social relationships on to the application experience so that much can be learned through attention to it.

Objectives of the Application Process

There have been some changes in emphasis between 1920 and 1940 due in part to increased understanding of the meaning of behavior. In *Social Diagnosis* the "first interview" was described as affording an opportunity for a full and patient hearing and for getting something of the client's attitude toward life. Mary Richmond knew that the tonic influence of an understanding spirit could help develop self-direction and self-reliance.[1] But although she did not think that the first interview should carry the weight of getting a large amount of factual information, she did see it chiefly as laying the foundation for a later social inquiry. Interviews can be wrecked on the Scylla of covering too much factual ground, or the Charybdis of such sympathetic listening that the client says "No one has ever really understood my problem before." The overfactual interview can effectively screen us off from any real understanding of the person, just as encouragement of the pouring out of the heart can obscure the real situation and at the same time set up one of the most unmanageable of relationships. Young workers, uncomfortable with emotions, may barricade themselves with facts; or, unhandy with facts, may be tempted to plunge into long discussion of the emotions. While case workers during the twenties were assimilating the truth that the meaning of the experience to the person was as important as the objective experience itself, they embarked on a course of saying little except "how do you feel about it?" or "it must be hard for you," or "we can discuss this further." The ideas back of this practice were sound enough, but the technique led straight into difficult emotional material, and since the relationship, where so little was given, could hold only if the client's emotional needs were great, the relationship itself became complicated. Some workers now manage the problem by definitely outlining the relationship,[2] limiting the goals, holding to a restricted function and a specific service, almost

[1] Richmond, *Social Diagnosis*, p. 114.

[2] See *Journal of Social Work Process*, Vol. I.

contractually given. All workers find their controls in keeping a steady touch with social reality, as well as with its meaning for the individual. Most workers would agree that in application we *notice and accept*, rather than *explore* the client's feeling, initiate a friendly, working—rather than an intensive—relationship, clarify the situation only sufficiently to see if it is appropriate for us, find out what the applicant has done about it, and what he wants to do or wants us to do about it, and give him some idea of our probable role. Application interviews should create a condition of mutual confidence, allow for a tentative diagnosis of the area of the difficulty, and a preliminary estimate of the client's and the agency's capacity to deal with it. When all is said, there is no one way of interviewing applicants, but we shall give illustrations showing several of the points already discussed.

The first example shows clearly tension, inadequacy, and anxiety, expressing themselves through overt attitudes of self-justification and aggression. Notice how the acceptance of these feelings by the worker leads to the establishing of a relationship, or "contact" as it is sometimes called.

The Arnold Case[3]

Mr. Arnold came for his appointment promptly. He was unshaven and carelessly dressed. His face wore an expression of deep resentment. I felt that he was very tense and troubled. He asked if I knew what he had told the receptionist and proceeded to repeat everything he told her. He said that things were even worse than when he came here yesterday, because he was going to be put out on the street tomorrow morning. He had received an eviction notice. He went on in a great deal of detail to tell me how he got into this situation. It was all the fault of the foreman on the job, who discriminated against him because he was leader in the union. When the case came up in court, this foreman said that there had not been an accident. But Mr. Arnold said he could produce enough witnesses. Everyone with whom he has talked has told him that he has a good case. He struck with his fist at his stomach as he told me that he is wearing a cast. He was in the hospital from the middle of April until May 10. The foreman has a nerve

[3] From a Family Service Agency.

saying that there was no accident. He won't be able to go back to work for maybe six months, and even after that, he does not know whether he will be able to do his regular work. His voice grew louder as he told me all of this, and as he finished he was standing up and shouting. He could prove this to me if I wanted him to. I could get in touch with the hospital and with the home relief where he had been turned down. Can't they realize that he is the sort of person who would not come for help if he did not need it? I said that I thought there was some way I could help him work out this situation. He sat down at that. He began to tell me how he had gone everywhere before he came here. He has exhausted all borrowing capacity. He has pawned clothing, and he pulled from his pocket tickets to show me. I said that he seemed to have had to prove everything to a number of people. He said he could prove everything that he had said was true. I said that it must have been hard for him to come to us. He said it was terrible. He had never had to take anything from anybody before. Then he went on to build up the picture of his former comfortable circumstances. He had owned a house which was lost by a foreclosure. He had given a great deal of money to charity. I said that it was hard when one had always been in a giving position to have to take help. He seemed to notice me for the first time at this point. He said he hoped that what he had been saying about agencies and other people was something that I did not think applied to me. No one seemed to understand how awful it was for him to be in this position. He had never talked with anyone as he was doing now. Often he has wanted to ask his wife what she is thinking, but she sits there and does not say anything. He thinks she realizes that he cannot work now, and that he wants to provide for his family. I said that he apparently was wondering what I was thinking about him. He stated that nobody believed that he could not stand what was happening, and he would much rather be working and taking care of his family.

I suggested that we might talk about his present situation. I realized that he must feel that he was pushed into coming here by the fact that he has an eviction. He said he hated to go to the relief office because he had been turned away when he went yesterday. But then he thought a moment, and said, maybe he had not explained fully to them. He said if I was sure that they did meet such situations he would go there. I assured him that they did.

Mr. Arnold then said that he did not know what he would have done if he had not come here. He wants to thank me for listening to him as I had done. Sometimes he has just thought that he would go mad. He has wondered what was the use of going on living. But then, he thinks of

his three children and his wife. He has such a lovely, devoted wife, and such beautiful, bright children. He cannot bear seeing them suffer the way they have. I said that he had done something about it by coming here. He seemed to relax somewhat after this, and said maybe this was the place where he could talk over plans for the future. Everything seemed to have been going to pieces until now. I said that this was the place, if he would want to come. He said he would like to think about that, and I suggested that after he had, he might call me, and I would be glad to arrange for an appointment. Then, hesitatingly, he said there was something he would like to ask me. He has not had a meal for two days, but has been living on dry bread and coffee. He would not mind, but he cannot bear to see his children go without food. I said that I could give him $2 to last him until tomorrow when he was going to the home relief. He said he does not know what has happened to him. He had never been able to ask for money before. He expects to get his compensation in a few weeks. But he said, that won't solve his problem entirely, because he has to think of what will happen after he is well enough to go back to work. He gets terribly frightened when he thinks of that time. He is so afraid that he will not be able to do his old work, and that would mean starting all over again learning something. I said that if he decided that he would want to talk those things over with the worker here, he would have an opportunity to see what would be best. As he left my room he said he does not know what happened to him today, but he is glad he came because he feels as if there is a load off his chest.

In a beginning contact it is important to think whose problem the applicant is really presenting. Did Mr. Arnold want help for himself in changing the situation or was he putting it all off on his family or an unkind world? In this instance the worker commented in another place in the record that Mr. Arnold appeared to be an intelligent, capable person. With his accident he saw everything going to pieces and he did not seem able to take hold of anything. It is always important when we find the applicant upset or disorganized to try to estimate as early as possible whether the response is a chronic one or due to a temporary or immediate situation. Much of Mr. Arnold's feeling seemed to center around having been pushed into a receiving position, when he had always been the giving person. He seemed to have projected the responsibility for this on the whole world. The

worker could not know at this point whether this was characteristic or not. Mr. Arnold was apparently feeling a deep sense of inadequacy, around which were all the fear, tenseness, and anger which he had shown in the interview. As to whether the applicant was able to take hold of any part of his problem, the experience of coming and of working on the eviction situation seemed to have given Mr. Arnold some feeling of being able to do things again. Even his being able to ask for relief, thus availing himself of one of the agency's services, may have been a constructive effort for this man. Whether Mr. Arnold's story is objectively true can be determined later. It is probably true for him. He can be, as here, accepted as a person, and his feelings as real feelings, without having his story accepted as fact. Notice how the "acceptance" is related to establishing a contact. With a less defensive person further factual clarification would have been appropriate. A factual basis is always important.

Activity and Passivity

Case work has always emphasized the principles of self-direction and self-help. As a reaction to being overmanaging, overactive in getting history, asking too many questions, interpreting too much, there was a phase of extremely "passive" technique in which the client was allowed to struggle into his story with little if any help. The case records of this period indicate that interviews were full of long pauses which the worker would not break and, while this often did have the effect of putting a certain pressure on the client to bring out what was really on his mind or to show the worker areas of resistance or "blocking," it frequently did not give the client enough support. The client has a certain expectancy and need for response, which is very real. Another problem in the very passive technique, like that of premature interpretation, is that it tends to make the client go below the surface at a time when he may not be ready to do so. Silence may be an effective means—even an aggressive technique—to get the client to unlock his heart, and whether he does it voluntarily or involuntarily, it is likely to involve the

worker in an emotionally charged relationship. People, too, can be made to feel insecure by prolonged silence and lack of response, unless the contact is a strong and old one. Anyone who has sat next to a silent dinner partner knows a feeling of compulsion and pressure. Case workers know the sensation well and often find themselves tempted to break in on the slow or inarticulate client because of their own need to be helpful, rather than because the client should be assisted to express what he is seeking. Quick guesses and clever deductions, like leading questions, are often barriers to understanding. Unless students start with a natural love for people, a curiosity about them, and a sincere desire to help them, they probably never will be good case workers, but their whole professional discipline must teach them to abstain, to listen, to leave off meddling, and they must have learned to listen fully and tranquilly before they can be active again in terms of what the client needs and not of what the case worker wants. One swings around a whole circle here; just as it can be said that nobody is fit to use authority until he has stopped wanting it, so activity can be used helpfully only after one no longer has the compulsion to rush in. Once free enough to listen, the case worker can aid the client in all sorts of ways in getting his story told.

There is no formula for the degree and kind of activity in interviewing at any stage. Naturally circumstances alter cases. We shall next examine two contrasting interviews which have this in common, that each from the point of view of the applicant was an intermediate step on the way somewhere else. In the first case the applicant for Old Age Assistance tried out her problem on a private agency; in the second case a boy was using a guidance agency as a means to get into a boys' club.

The Wilson Case[4]

Mrs. Wilson at office telling secretary that she would like to see someone for advice.

Worker met Mrs. Wilson, introduced herself, and apologized for

[4] From a Family Service Agency.

having her wait. Mrs. Wilson smiled warmly and said that she did not mind waiting. She was alert and vivacious in her manner. She was neatly dressed in dark clothes. She showed pride about her personal appearance. She talked in a low, well-modulated tone, and in a confidential manner. She introduced the subject by announcing her age, sixty-six, and said she applied for an old age allowance when she read in the papers that the age requirement has changed, and she was eligible. Mrs. Wilson said proudly that she had lived in this country forty-five years and that she is a citizen. She had brought all the affidavits to the public welfare office, but now was troubled about a letter she received, advising her to present proof of residence, with a suggestion that Mrs. Wilson may bring past rent receipts, correspondence, or statements from the gas and electric company. She said, with a worried expression, that this was what concerned her most. She can prove her residence because she lived in Philadelphia 45 years. She had a charge account at Wanamaker's for many years though she had no chance to use it in the past two years. She had other proof of her residence. But she could not bring them gas and electric bills, and they might turn down her application. She needs this pension. She never needed help before. Mrs. Wilson went on to say that at one time she conducted a furnished-room house; at another time she took in boarders for whom she prepared lunches and dinners. She described the home she had, which seemed of fairly high standards. She was engaged in this capacity only in the last few years, since her husband died. With some feeling Mrs. Wilson stated it was too bad. He was a good man. She added that she was lonesome and after a year or so she remarried. She lived with this man a short time only. He wasn't the right person for her, so she separated from him and obtained a divorce. She took in boarders and enjoyed her work. One of the boarders, a man a few years younger than she, asked her to marry him. Mrs. Wilson leaned closer to us and said that we understood that she married only for companionship and she didn't feel like going through another court procedure, so she obtained only a religious marriage. She did not bother about legal documents. She did not care about it. In her application to the Old Age Security, she had explained that she was a widow, that her present husband was a boarder. She also told them about the divorce. Mrs. Wilson explained that the gas and electric bills were listed under her husband's name and that the investigator from the Old Age Association would question her about it. What should she do? Worker explained the conditions under which old age assistance was given and that nothing would be done without her help in determining eligibility.

Mrs. Wilson produced the various documents and displayed them on the desk. She looked absorbed and serious and said she wouldn't care if she didn't need the old age pension. Her husband doesn't earn enough. He is a peddler. He barely makes enough for himself. He can stay with his son. She wouldn't want him to leave her. "You know how it is, not that I need him as a husband." Mrs. Wilson again turned to us and asked what could she do to get the pension. We suggested that Mrs. Wilson must have given this a great deal of thought, and had she, herself, come to any decision about it? Mrs. Wilson said that she thought of explaining how the bills happened to be in the boarder's name. We remarked that the bills were not in Mrs. Wilson's way since she had already told us that her landlord and neighbors had volunteered to give her letters stating how long they have known of her living in the building, and that her rent receipts were in her own name. Mrs. Wilson said that she was worried about the fact that she lied to the Old Age Division. When the investigator comes she'll have to tell about the boarder not being her husband. She turned to us and pleadingly asked whether it was all right for her to "lie to the city." We remarked that we were really sorry that we could not advise her about this. Mrs. Wilson smiled and said she understood.We couldn't tell her to go ahead and lie. We made no reply. Mrs. Wilson repeated, as if to herself, that she wanted the pension, that she needed it, and that she felt funny about deceiving the city, and it may come out. She repeated that we knew why she wouldn't bother about legal marriage. We nodded. Mrs. Wilson's face lit up as if in sudden inspiration. When the investigator comes on Monday, if Mrs. Wilson decides to explain everything to her, what can they do to her? Her husband cannot support her. She has worked hard enough. She is a citizen and is entitled to the pension. Why shouldn't they give it to her? What can they do to her? Mrs. Wilson continued with a light, whimsical smile on her face. All they can do is say that I live in sin. They will give me the pension. Mrs. Wilson reiterated that she had better tell them the truth, and when at the door, she repeated in a soft tone of voice, as if whispering to us, "They can only say that I live in sin." Mrs. Wilson said that she had nothing to fear and we agreed with her, and expressed hope that she would have no difficulty in getting the pension.

Mrs. Wilson thanked worker for her kindness and she repeated that she really needed advice this time. We assured her that we were very glad to see her and that we were glad she came.

The worker says little in above interview, partly because the woman is a self-reliant person who is headed in the direction

which will get her out of her difficulty, and partly because in a conflict of this sort taking sides with the woman's conscience or against it will not help her make up her mind. Young workers are sometimes tempted to reassure about a specific status before it is established. Thus, "I am sure you will be eligible for old age assistance," instead of explaining, as the case worker did here, the conditions of eligibility in which the woman's marital status would not be relevant. Note also that the worker agreed that the woman had nothing to fear, rather than committing the public agency to a course of action. It is true that the case worker could easily have given the woman more support, but that would have tended to tighten the relationship at this end, whereas the relationship should be firmly established between the case worker in the public agency and the applicant. Case workers sometimes make the mistake of being too "understanding" and even indulgent, when they are not going on with the case. The applicant here feels that she has been given valuable advice, yet is free to move along to a solution of her problem.

One has to be sure what one is reassuring before one interferes. The case worker who says to the applicant, "I think you have been wonderfully courageous about your troubles, and I am sure you will win out," doesn't help the person who, under a compensatory brave front is feeling small and helpless and tired of trying to be brave. Likewise if one says to a lad who has been committing quite antisocial gang acts—"I know you are the sort who wants to do right," the boy is effectively stopped from telling us how badly he behaves or sometimes wants to behave. It isn't easy to live up to people's good opinion of us and it is no easier to live up to the case worker's. Part of all treatment is a greater acceptance of our "real selves" as well as of a real world. But it is the make-believe self or some role assumed by the self that is often put forward when one is in difficulty. Reassurance in early contact should, in general, limit itself to letting the applicant know of our sympathy, interest, and willingness to help in his efforts to resolve his difficulties.

As a contrast to the foregoing, the next example is a first inter-

view of active intervention on the part of the case worker, who cut through the boy's aggressive attitudes which were a shield for his anxiety. The probabilities are that the intake worker would have had one and only one opportunity to reach this boy. Otherwise, no doubt, the approach would have been much more deliberate.

The Newman Case

This was an eighteen-year-old boy referred by the vocational adviser to an agency dealing with adolescents. The school had said that he was unhappy at home and wanted to leave. He was very bright. He never smiled, had no friends, and always had a chip on his shoulder.

John at the office. He was a boy of medium height, fairly stocky, with light brown heavy hair. He had an intelligent face but it was quite impassive; he had a rather surprisingly deep voice, quite gruff, and very calm, although the worker felt at times that this calmness was achieved with a great deal of effort. He was resistive throughout the interview; at some points he was definitely suspicious and hostile. Although at points in the interview he became very angry, shouting, at other times his manner was quite formal and very impersonal.

He had been sent here by Miss Chase of his high school, who had told him that before he could be placed in the Residence Club, he must make application through this organization. He wants to leave home and go to the club because he will be much nearer to museums, free concerts, and free WPA[6] plays. The worker discussed the club with him, indicating the connection between the club and our organization, the type of help we gave to boys who had various difficulties, and suggested that his desire to leave home might be motivated by the existence of problems there and his desire to get away from them. The worker suggested that it was probably very hard for John to discuss these problems but that an understanding of them was necessary in terms of possible helpfulness to him. After a little hesitation, John replied gruffly that he did have trouble at home, that there was conflict with his father, who wanted him to get out. He has not discussed leaving home with his mother, but he feels that she would welcome his leaving home because she always bears the brunt of the conflict between the father and himself. If he were out of the home, things would be very much easier for his mother. (a) He has had trouble with his father ever since he can remember. His mother told him that his father

[5] From a Child Guidance Agency.

[6] For WPA read Works Progress Administration.

was always that way, even before John was born, so that he is not completely to blame for the trouble. Both John and his father have very bad tempers, neither one of them can control them, and they clash constantly. He felt, therefore, that it would be best for him to leave home, so that he could follow his own interests at the club and there would be no further disturbing elements at home.

Worker discussed his desire to go to the club, indicating that it would be necessary for him to have a job unless there was someone who could pay for his room and board. John replied that if he needed a job the plan was out for the time being. He then asked in greater detail about the boys there, did they all have to go through this organization? Explained to John again the connection between the residence club and our organization. John replied that he could see now that the club was a place for charitable cases who had investigators who went around snooping into their business. (b) He does not need anyone to snoop into his business, he does not need anybody's help, he can take care of himself. Worker suggested that up to a certain point he could no doubt, take care of himself, he had demonstrated this in terms of trying to meet his own problem by leaving home. However, beyond that point it might be very difficult for him to work through his situation alone. We were not interested nor curious about his business except as it affected him, made him unhappy, and prevented him from making the best possible adjustment, and indicated an interest in helping him work through his feelings, as well as his practical situation. The boy continued to be resistive, he did not see how he could be helped. Worker then talked casually with him about school, when he had graduated, what he had done, and so forth. He said in a rather friendly manner that he had graduated last January, had worked for his father for one week, had had a very bad blow-up with him, and had left him. His father had a paper stand. He knows now that he will have to find a job for himself, that he and his father simply cannot get along together under the same roof, particularly in the same job. He had thought to go to college, but of course that is out of the question for the time being. He had not made the average, having failed in mathematics. He is making up mathematics now and is surprised to find it quite simple. He was interested in industrial chemistry; he had thought of research chemistry but has come to the conclusion that he does not have an original mind and therefore could not make a contribution in research chemistry. He then talked about securing a job. He feels that he can plug around until he gets a job earning about $10 a week. On that he will be able to manage somehow. He would like to set aside as much money as possible so that he can go to night school.

He asked about recreational facilities at the club; those were discussed. John said that he did not know whether he would be interested in these activities. He did not want to be forced to join them. There was something else he did not understand. Miss Chase had told him that the Board at the club reviews all admissions; why was that done? This was explained to him in terms of determining to what extent the club might help each individual boy, in terms of his problems and needs. John could not understand how a Board could pass on applications when they did not know the boys. Worker said for that reason boys were referred to us. At this point worker indicated quite directly that although John did not have to come here for help she would like to see him get help, since he was quite unhappy. He paused and then stated that Miss Chase had told him that he ought to go to the club where he would find friends and where he could be more gregarious, that he ought to be more gregarious. (c) Why should he be gregarious, John demanded? Worker said, smiling, "is it always so important to be gregarious?" If John is happier living with himself, if he does not like people, if his best adjustment is in staying by himself, then nobody should try to interfere. John fairly shouted, "That is not so, I like people." Worker asked why, if he likes people, does he not find friends? John replied that he does not get along with people because he is shy and afraid that they will not like him; for that reason he fears to approach them.

He then stated defiantly that he is not a delinquent, why should he come here? Worker asked him to explain what he meant by this. He replied that his mother had read in the newspapers that our organization was a place for delinquents with criminal tendencies. Worker explained that we also helped young people who are withdrawn and shy. John stated with some feeling that his mother had said that we would send investigators around to the home, snooping into their private business. Worker told the boy that we sent no one into the home, that boys and girls were seen here at the office, that parents were seen here, and that homes were not visited unless the children and the parents made the request. John seemed to accept this explanation and suddenly said that he did not know exactly what to do; what did worker advise him to do? Worker told him that he ought to come here, that he needed someone who was really interested in him, to whom he could talk, someone who would be a real friend to him. He was entitled to the support of such a relationship. It was very difficult for him to go along without someone who would give him friendship and understanding; that he, like anyone else, needed someone who would not let him down.

After some hesitation John stated that he thought he might try it for a while. He really did not need help in finding a job, he could figure that out for himself, but he thought he might try help with "the other things." Worker told John that we would be very much interested in giving him this help but suggested that he go home, discuss the situation with his mother, tell her about us, and return to the agency the following week.

John returned a week later. He appeared to be quite depressed. There were deep rings under his eyes which were bloodshot and very heavy. His defiant manner in the previous interview had disappeared and he gave the impression of being a very disturbed boy. He talked in a low monotonous voice as though he had little energy.

John had not told his mother about our organization. He felt that it would be better for her not to know because she would have told him not to come here. In addition, it would place him in an embarrassing position if his mother knew that he was coming here, inasmuch as he had never discussed any problems with her, and she would not be able to understand on what basis he would be coming here. Worker told John that if he did not want his mother to be seen that was up to him. Suggested that sometimes it is very helpful to see the parents when we are interested in a boy or girl but that the parents were never seen unless it was with the consent and understanding of the person involved. When worker informed John that his own worker would get in touch with him very soon, he asked who his worker would be and how soon he would be able to see him. Worker then introduced him to his case worker.

John accepted a program of regular appointments with a case worker and made really remarkable headway with his problems.

(a) At the end of this paragraph we have seen that John admits that he has had some part in the home difficulties, which is hopeful at the start, being evidence that he assumes some responsibility for the situation. The defensiveness and anger which he shows against (b) "investigators"—the intake worker—who "snoop into his business" are a natural reaction to the approach which rubs a hidden and very sore spot. John is a withdrawn boy with deep-rooted fears—who does not easily relate himself to others so that the case worker must go out to him. Anger and critical reactions are not necessarily an indication that the applicant is rejecting help. In fact, quite the opposite, as here, may

be true. In (c) the worker again touches the area of great anxiety—John's withdrawal and fear of "gregariousness"—but on the other hand the boy's need of help was even greater than his fear of being helped and he was probably unaware, until directly approached, that such an agency as this was set up to assist him. Another worker might have let it go with a gentle comment such as "this gregarious idea worries you," and the defensive reaction might have been lessened. There is no rule for the degree of activity. The printed text, however, makes almost any interview seem more intellectualized and aggressive than in the hands of a warmly sympathetic person it actually is. We can assume from the outcome that John responded to the worker's reaching that part of him which was well enough to use the services, once he understood what was being offered him, and that the response was made possible by the genuine sympathy with his suffering.

Young workers are apt to think of situations, especially when they involve practical resourcelessness, as emergencies. There are, of course, emergencies, but in most applications the matter is more likely to be urgent, in the sense that something should be done, than emergent, in the sense that something must be done instantly. When emergencies do occur, the case worker who has been in the habit of stopping to think and finding out what the client has done or wants done, is more likely to take time to do the right thing.

A man being discharged when he was still quite weak after a serious illness was referred late in the afternoon to a case worker. He gave a most dramatic and pitiful account of his troubles. He had been living with his sister and they both were working. He had developed this present illness which had used up all his savings. His sister had also, at the same time, become ill with appendicitis, and while he was in this hospital she had been rushed to another for an operation; and while they both were in the hospital the apartment house where they lived together had burned down. The case worker, appalled, said, "Well, we can send you to one of our convalescent shelters. I'll call up and see if there is room." She came back in a minute and said, "They are all full. Would you object to such and such a place? It's pretty late

to make arrangements tonight." The client said, "No, madam." The case worker arranged for his care in another shelter and sent him off with $5.00 in a taxi. The next week another worker saw him by chance in the follow-up clinic. "How did you like X House?" she asked conversationally. The man hesitated, "Please, madam, I do not like to tell you—that worker she was so kind." "Was it as bad as all that? I'm sure we'd like to know about it." "Oh, no, madam, but you see I did not go there." "You didn't go there? I thought your house had burned down!" "You see, madam," said the man apologetically, "I do not like any of those institution places." "What on earth did you do?" Still more apologetically, "I went to my brother's, madam, but the other worker was so kind, I did not like to tell her that I did not want to go to her place."

It is possible to do too much and to act too quickly, just as it is possible to reassure too much, or interpret too much, or precipitate too much. It is in so-called "emergencies" that the temptation to take away the problem from the client is greatest; just as when emotional needs are great the applicant may project them upon the unwary worker because the needs are so appealing. Yet the experienced case worker who has learned not to play Providence will be able to take responsibility for quick decisive action or vigorous emotional support when necessary. When applicants are ill or very frightened or otherwise incapacitated we must take active responsibility until they are well enough to take the problem back and themselves go on with it.

"*Presumptive Eligibility*"

While all application interviews are a joint enterprise in which worker and client try to determine whether the service asked for can be appropriately given, the public welfare agency, or the state hospital, or other unit, may have to get a considerable amount of information in order to establish what is termed "presumptive eligibility." If this sifting is not done at intake the investigator is unnecessarily burdened with cases. In public assistance the intake process has at least two recognizable movements: sifting, the purpose of which is to redirect those who clearly are in the wrong place for what they need; and the appli-

cation interview or interviews, in which documentary proofs of eligibility may be furnished, requirements explained, and need discussed, usually in connection with an application blank. These two movements may be combined in the duties of a single interviewer in a small agency; or, in a large agency, with several interviewers following definitely articulated steps, such as sifting and application, with supplementary employment referrals, and clearance with a resource consultant on insurance, property, or the like. It is conceded that reception, sifting, clearance, and intake itself should involve as few interviewers as possible, so that the applicant need not repeat identifying or eligibility information and can feel early that he is being individualized as a person.

Illustration of a typical public assistance intake is difficult unless one knows how the division of labor is accomplished. A pair of application interviews from two quite dissimilar units will yield a few common procedures.

The Dodge Case[7]

Mrs. Dodge in, accompanied by her husband. He is of medium height and slender, and has a boyish expression. His suit, the coat and pants of which did not match, was worn. When Mr. Dodge seemed nervous and waited for worker to speak, the latter told him that she was glad he had come. She explained that it would be easier for the department to help him plan for the family with both Mr. and Mrs. Dodge present. He then, without hesitancy, recounted his efforts to find work. He stated that he had contacted agencies in New York City for work and that friends were making an effort to get a position for him. He pointed out that inasmuch as his was a specialized type of work it was difficult for him to obtain employment. When questioned about the nature of the work he expected to obtain through Mr. Grymes, Mr. Dodge said that Mr. Grymes was a trustee for the stock holders of several small, inactive corporations. Mr. Grymes was expecting to make a survey of these businesses for purposes of estimating the assets and reorganization and he had promised Mr. Dodge work in this connection. Mr. Dodge had no objection to our seeing Mr. Grymes and gave the address.

[7] From a Public Assistance Agency. A preliminary brief interview had been held with Mrs. Dodge. This included the giving of some identifying data and explanation of the requirements of the department. An application blank had been filled in.

Worker then asked how large an income Mr. Dodge had received while working for Mr. Rowe. Mr. Dodge stated that in 1936 he had had an income of from $5,000 to $6,000. When worker remarked he had earned a good salary Mr. Dodge said that if it were not for that fact he would not have been able to manage up to now. He was not limiting himself to one type of work; the problem today is to create a job for oneself, but at the present time the prospect is discouraging.

Before moving to Wilmington Avenue Mrs. Dodge had suggested to Mr. Dodge that he go to live with his father, at 62 Burns Avenue, Astoria, and take Genevieve with him. "But they are practically starving themselves." Mr. Dodge, Sr., who worked for the People's Savings Bank, receives $100 per month. He owns his home and if it were not for the fact that his children help him, they could not manage. Mrs. Dodge, Sr. is his second wife and complains about helping his children as she has several of her own who are unmarried. Worker asked what plans Mr. Dodge had for his family. He shrugged his shoulders and said that he had no income and could not possibly take care of them. He had been opposed to Mrs. Dodge's going to live with her mother but she thought it might work out, though it was their last resort. They had borrowed from the finance company three months before the lease expired because Mr. Dodge had expected a large income from the invention on which he has been working for the past two years.

At this point Mrs. Dodge interrupted. She said that she wished to explain the situation more clearly. She then went on to say that as long as she could remember she had had a miserable home life. Her mother drank to excess and she could never tell when she would burst out and give vent to her temper. Believing that their present financial condition would be only temporary, she thought that she and Genevieve could tolerate the situation for a short time and so both went to live with Mrs. Conant, Mrs. Dodge's mother. However, on the Sunday following their arrival, Mrs. Conant, in an intoxicated condition, threatened to put Mrs. Dodge out, telling her that as she had a husband he should take care of his family. She expressed a willingness to take care of Genevieve for a short time, and under the circumstances Mrs. Dodge thought it would be better for her to leave her mother's home until she could find a job and provide for Genevieve herself. When the situation became unbearable for Genevieve she took a room for $6 a week on Myrtle Avenue, where she is now living. When asked if Mr. Dodge were friendly with his mother-in-law, Mr. Dodge replied that Mrs. Conant has had no use for him for the past fifteen years. Mr. Dodge thought it was probably because Mrs. Conant was unwilling

to have her daughter leave her that she objected to Mr. Dodge. Mr. Dodge said he had a better relationship with Mr. Conant, but that Mrs. Conant had him "under her thumb." Obviously he could not go to live with her, and his parents are also in straitened circumstances so he thought it would be more satisfactory to live with his uncle, Mr. Jarvis. The latter, however, has a limited income and it would therefore be impossible for the whole family to live there. Mr. Dodge added that the whole arrangement had been Mrs. Dodge's idea and it seemed the most satisfactory solution at the time. If the department would assist Mrs. Dodge and Genevieve temporarily he would be free to find work and provide for them.

Asked about unemployment insurance benefits, Mr. Dodge doubted if he would be eligible as he has not contributed toward the fund. He said he would, however, follow worker's suggestion and register at the State Employment Office today. Mrs. Dodge will also apply there for work at the same time.

Mrs. Dodge said that she had answered advertisements in the hope of getting work and thought she had written some pretty clever letters, but so far she has had no replies. When asked the type of employment she was hoping to obtain, Mrs. Dodge replied that she had had some experience as a reception clerk, typist, and doctor's assistant. She attended high school for two years and was married at the age of eighteen. Shortly after her marriage she was employed as a reception clerk and typist for four or five months. She then worked for two months as head of a file department at $18 a week, and for one month as nurse and secretary to Dr. Sullivan at $20 a week. She said she would even accept sales work although she was in poor health, as she had worked in this capacity for a liquor store three years ago, until the firm discontinued business. (See application blank.)

When the matter of the car was brought up, Mr. Dodge hesitated about submitting the driving license and registration plates. He explained that Riveredge was inaccessible to trains and buses and he would therefore need the car, which is a 1933 Essex, to look for work. His uncle was kind enough to supply the gasoline and it was no expense to him. Worker explained that since this was a regulation of the department, assistance could not be extended until it had been complied with. Mr. Dodge then asked if the department would object to his selling the car, but on second thought added that in that event, since it had been mortgaged, it would be necessary for him to use the money to pay off the loan to the finance company, and in that case he would realize no benefit from such a procedure. At this point Mrs. Dodge interrupted to discuss the matter further with Mr. Dodge. She

advised Mr. Dodge to coöperate with the department, mentioning that the finance company might get a judgment against Mr. Dodge in which case it might interfere with his getting a good job. Mr. Dodge then agreed to mail the license plates, registration slip, and his driving license to the department if it would assist in obtaining help for his wife and daughter. Worker agreed that the requirement was extremely hard for people who used their cars to go to work.

Mr. and Mrs. Dodge were referred to the Resource Department to sign a bank and insurance statement.

Mrs. Dodge told worker before leaving that she could manage for a few days longer without help, but was worried about the rent for the following week. She was advised to discuss this matter with the district worker when she called at her home.

Later: The Utility Lighting Company informs us that the family have had service at 29 Sheridan Street from November, 1936, to September 15, 1938.

The interviewer here in the license episode has to explain a restrictive requirement—which may or may not seem reasonable to the applicant—that is, the worker accepts responsibility for a denying or limiting aspect of this agency's function, but recognizes the frustrated feeling of the applicant. Limitations, flexible or arbitrary, exist in varying degrees in all agencies. If regulations are too depriving perhaps they may be changed through appropriate staff and executive action, but until the worker is able to face pressures and rigidities as part of his job he will not be free to help angry, or resentful, or critical applicants. In the second case the worker again accepting responsibility, explains frankly the investigation requirement.

The White Case[8]

Interviewed Mr. White, twenty-eight-year-old married man, who is requesting assistance for himself, his wife, 23 years old, and their two-year-old daughter. Mr. White is an electrician by trade and his last steady job was with Egmonts, where he earned $25 a week from September, 1933, to March, 1936. He was unable to give any steady record of employment since that date and told the interviewer that he had managed on odd jobs obtained here and there by contact

[8] From a Public Assistance Agency. Exact names and addresses omitted in text were supplied freely throughout the interview by the applicant.

with rooming houses and apartment houses, where electrical jobs were necessary. He was asked to name specifically some of the odd jobs that he had secured and he mentioned a job on April 10, on which he earned $18; another where he earned $16 on April 12, 1938, and on the last job he earned $14. Since these jobs were only recently secured the interviewer questioned Mr. White as to the difficulty now in maintaining himself and maintaining himself a year or two ago. He had some savings when his last steady job ended and he had exhausted these savings during the intervals of unemployment. He also said that in times past it was easier to obtain odd jobs than he had discovered it to be in the past few months.

At the present time he, his wife, and child are living in a furnished room in a house which is run by his wife's cousin. He and his wife have lived there since their marriage and have always paid $5 weekly for their room. This is a furnished-room house of which Mrs. Ferenzi is the lessee. He has paid no rent to her since April 1, 1938, and is actually eight months in arrears. He has not spoken to her for six months owing to his own financial predicament and because she is impatient with him. He has managed only to provide food for himself, his wife, and the baby on his earnings at odd jobs. The situation has grown increasingly worse and he feels that she will soon put them out of the house unless he can make some payment. His wife's cousin is dependent on her earnings from renting rooms for her own maintenance and since she has found this insufficient she has also undertaken boarding one child, for which she receives $5 weekly.

Worker asked about other relatives. His mother lives at Freeport, Indiana, with her second husband, sixty-five years old. Mr. White said he had not lived with his mother since he was about 15 years of age and that she was not in a position to assist him nor had she ever done so.

For proof of residence, Mr. White showed the interviewer a letter dated 5-27-37 addressed to him, another letter on 2-21-38 at the same address, and his notice of rights[9] on 5-17-38 at the same address, and library card showing frequent dates during 1937 and 1938. Other proof, he indicated, could be shown when the investigator called at the home. The interviewer learned that Mr. White received notice of rights indicating ineligibility, as he had not worked for an employer subject to the law. Mr. White stated that the person for whom he had worked did not have more than three employees.

In regard to resources Mr. White formerly had a savings account and he stated it never exceeded $90. This was closed in October, 1936. He did not have his bank book with him and could not give the account

[9] Unemployment Compensation.

number. In regard to insurance he stated that there is none in force at the present time, but that he did carry a policy on his own life, premiums on which were $7.38 monthly, for a period of about five months in 1932. He stated that he was forced to drop it since his earnings were insufficient.

Mr. White considers his debt to his wife's cousin for rent $135. He stated that he owes the grocer $23 and he has not been back for further credit since he must pay something on the bill before it would be granted to him. He also owes John Doe $46. This has been borrowed in small sums from time to time. He mentioned friends who had helped him in the past year. These young men live in the same house where Mr. White has his room and have assisted in some small manner. He does not feel greatly indebted to them. Worker pointed out that Mr. White's work for two years was through odd jobs, and explained that we would need more definite information with reference to these odd jobs, and some explanation of why he could not continue to manage on these earnings. Mr. White stated that he had a very good explanation to offer but that he had not expected to tell this to the relief authorities. He was not a licensed electrician, did not belong to a union, and actually should not be doing the various jobs which he had undertaken. About three weeks ago he did a job for a Mr. Smith. He was called down to the Municipal Building and informed that if he continued to practice without a license that he would be fined or thrown into prison. He said that he had taken this job as he had done his others and at the same time informed the employer that he was not a licensed electrician. He had not been paid for this work and his employer would have to have a licensed electrician come in, inspect his work, and if there were defects correct them. He will not be paid until this has been done. He had expected to make $21 on that particular job, but his earnings would be dependent on how much the licensed electrician was paid, since it would be deducted from his earnings. This was the explanation of his application for relief; that if he could continue to get odd jobs without any fear of consequences he would do so, but that now he was afraid to go on with the work. The interviewer pointed out that he had mentioned his last employment was on 5-20-38. This occurred after he had received the warning three weeks ago. Mr. White said that he was forced to do it in order to provide food for his family, but that he could not continue and he requested assistance until such time as he could get work in some other line. He did not have any hope of obtaining an electrician's license, as he knew many electricians who paid as high as $1,000 in order to get one. He said he was very much in need of help at this time. Interviewer told him we would

need to verify the information given, and that a worker would call at his home to discuss the situation further. Mr. White accepted this explanation saying that it would be "O.K."

Notice how the question as to how the client had managed clarified the picture. It is always useful to ascertain why a person comes to us for help. In the White case there was a precipitating incident, understanding which threw a good deal of light on the problem. In the next illustration, the precipitating incident is obvious. But whether obvious or subtle, the factors which bear on the client's decision to come are important in appraising his readiness or resistance to the agency experience.

The Blake Case[10]

The county institution had agreed to place Russell Blake through the private agency and had previously sent a summary. The mother, who was unmarried, was anxious for a placement as soon as possible so that she could go to work:

Mother brought in by Miss Brown of county office. Talked with mother alone. I had to take most of the responsibility for starting the interview. Told mother that I understood from Miss Brown that she was considering placing her baby with us. She immediately agreed. Still she did not ask any specific questions or volunteer anything regarding any feeling she might have about this plan. I asked if she understood what arrangements we made for children, and that I was not sure just how much Miss Brown had talked to her about this. She said she thought she did know something about it, but she was interested in hearing more. I gave her a brief description of placement arrangements in general, bringing in our work in visiting the home and the purpose of that. She said she had known we kept in touch with the homes. The manner in which she said this indicated some understanding that this was a protection to the child. I then asked her if she thought that she would be likely to visit very often. She said oh yes, she would want to keep in touch with her baby. I said that I thought that was something we would want to work together on to some extent, that, for instance, we felt it was better to have some regular plan for visiting, particularly when a parent expected to be visiting fairly frequently. There was another thing that we might want to talk about a little—we had found

[10] From a Child Placing Agency.

it worked much better for the child to have been in the home for a while before the parent visited. I gave her a brief explanation of why we felt this way. She said that she could see that. I had mentioned two weeks as being a good time to elapse before a visit. This seemed a long time to her, in fact weekly visits seemed infrequent to her. She did not stress this point, but only mentioned it. However, I felt this was the first time that she had given any indication of beginning to understand anything of what placement would mean, the separation, and having other people in on this plan for the baby. In this explanation of the reason for regularity in visiting, which brought in the foster mother, she seemed to begin to think about what it would mean to have a child related to a foster mother. I encouraged quite a bit of discussion about this and the question of visiting because it seemed the one way in which she could get hold of something fairly concrete as an illustration of what is involved in placing a child in a foster home. She said she certainly would not want her child not to know his own mother. The tone of her voice, more than any specific thing that she said, indicated dislike about this arrangement.

I asked her whether she had thought about how long she might like to leave her baby with us. She said that she had not, that she certainly would like to have him some time. She then asked how she could get him and whether there would be any difficulty. I explained that we would take him only on the basis that she had asked us to do so, and that when she was prepared to care for him the thing for her to do would simply be to get in touch with us and the child could go directly from us to her. She was vague about our agency in this regard, and I illustrated the difference between arrangements with us and any sort of legal arrangement. She seemed to be quite satisfied on this score.

In discussing foster homes I had talked about the payment of board to foster mothers, and after we had finished with the discussion regarding how she could get the baby when she wanted him, she mentioned the board. She said she wanted to pay for him as soon as she could. I told her that $6 would be the rate. She went on to talk about what sort of work she expects to get. She is a waitress and has already been looking for a job and has one in view. She expects, however, to go to the shore this summer where she can make more than she could around the city. She said that it was possible to make around $25 a week down there. She said she had made as low as $10, however. I then discussed the support agreement with her, showed her the form, and left her with it for a few minutes. When I came back, I asked her whether she thought she would be able to pay as much as $6 and she said that she thought she could. She did take responsibility for volunteering to pay

the $6 when she is working, unless her wages fall very low. She thought that $10 a week was a pretty low wage. I said that of course if she was out of work for any length of time and her wages were low, that would affect the amount she would be able to pay. I explained as simply as I could the basis on which the County Commissioners pay board for children, and the arrangement the agency has with them. At one point she said, "Now, I mentioned $25 a week, but I'm not at all sure I can make that all the time," and later indicated she could not make it all the year round. However, she did not seem to be relating $6 definitely to a $25-a-week wage. She said that she would rather have a definite amount set and know she could have that much, but she did not want the full responsibility of deciding how much she would be able to pay. She wanted to pay by the week. I told her that I thought that would be a good plan, that we would be sending her bills showing just where she stood in payments, but not as often as once a week, though I agreed with her that paying once a week seemed a good plan. She wanted to know whether this included clothing. I told her that it would not, but that if she could pay that much we would be able to take care of clothing, except as she wished to buy things for the baby. With the $6 a week, we would take the main responsibility.

I had mentioned medical care in the explanation of how we care for children. At this point I went into this a little more in detail, telling her about clinic and the use of private physicians in emergencies. I then showed her the blank giving permission for medical care, and explained that, telling her that if an operation did seem necessary we would get in touch with her anyway but that we liked to have this in case of an emergency when it might be impossible to reach her. She seemed to be interested in this aspect of care, and signed the blank without any hesitation.

She asked when I thought we would be ready to take the baby and I told her we could do that this week. She then thought for a moment, "Then I won't see the home before the baby goes into it?" I said no, that this was one of the spots where she would have to trust us. She smiled and said, "Well, I guess that's all right, I guess you couldn't have all the parents look over all the homes before the children are placed." I agreed with her, and said that we did put a great deal of thought and care into the choice of a home for a child, that we knew what was available to us and tried to pick the best home for a particular child. She said, "Well, I guess that's your job." I told her that if, after she visited and got acquainted with the foster mother, she had any questions she wished to discuss with us, we would always be glad to see her. I then suggested that after we took the baby she write us

and tell us when she thought she would like to visit, and we would at that time make arrangements with foster mother and send her the address and directions for reaching the home. As she was leaving, she said, "Then I'm to get in touch with you after the baby goes?" I said yes. I did not get a very definite impression as to just how much of a wrench this will be for her, though at this point she expects to keep in pretty close touch with the baby. I felt that her questioning about plans for visiting, and wondering whether she could see the home before the baby was placed, indicated her desire to take more responsibility in this plan than she has evidently done before.

The practices and requirements of the private agency here are made just as clear as in the public assistance interviews preceding. The support agreement, like the application blank, often helps to clarify to the client the responsibilities on both sides and sometimes stimulates him to a more active coming to terms with the necessary steps. The careful explanation of what the agency could or could not do seemed to awaken real interest and effort in Miss Blake, a person described by the county office as being erratic, casual about the baby, and not too much to be depended upon. Note how the applicant's use of the agencies' services is made the theme in evaluating her capacity to deal with her problem. Not only at application but in all study and treatment ensuing, the client's own feeling about his situation, his version of it, his readiness or unreadiness, or degree of ability to deal with it, retain the central emphasis. Other evidence and criteria which help in understanding the kind and extent of need, variously described as the gathering of social history, investigation —or most commonly the social study process—will now be explored.

Chapter V

METHODS OF SOCIAL CASE STUDY

IN ONE SENSE the intake or "admitting" process may be thought of as the first step in social study, especially if the case is taken under care rather than referred elsewhere; but in another sense the intake interview or interviews are in the nature of preliminary diagnosis and evaluation.[1] At intake we define the type of need and evaluate our ability to treat it, as well as the client's ability to use the agency to which he has applied.

Sources of Understanding

Interviews analysed in the last chapter will have suggested the fact that interviewing is a central technique or tool in social case study. In all the professions which deal primarily with human beings the interview becomes a highly developed art. In social work, interviewing, together with observation, must be relied upon to provide our most significant case data. A well-trained eye and ear can become astonishingly accurate, not only in noting significances in the objective situation, but also in catching the inflections of the emotional tone itself. Another tool of which much use is made in study is the record or document. Most institutions, public or private, keep records of their contacts, these varying from the sparse vital statistics form or the symbols and graphs of the medical chart to the full record kept by social case agencies. The complexity of case situations and the intangibility of problems in human relationships mean that one cannot easily recapture events from memory alone.

In case work we are not yet able to rely for diagnosis on objective tests and measurements. Considerable research work has been done in psychological laboratories on attitude tests,[2] but

[1] See Chapter VII.

[2] It is possible that more immediate help to case workers might be devised from test material adapted from applications of the Rorschach test than from the social

even if these could be standardized it is not yet clear how useful they would be for treatment of the person in trouble. Questionnaire methods have been devised for testing social attitudes, for example, race prejudice in college students; and tests of parental attitudes toward stealing, lying, disobedience in children show some interesting trends, but the results so far chiefly point to further research and to use for educational objectives rather than for understanding the individual. No mechanical instrument has yet been invented to measure the extent of sibling rivalry or hypertension in marital relations. The case worker must find his data through observation, interviews, and records.

We may, perhaps, note one exception to the lack of objective measurements in case work, and that is the tool of the budget. The technique is borrowed from the field of home economics but it is now naturalized to social work. As an accurate measure of need, budgetary method is quite limited in its present application, but at least it is an enormous advance from per-capita allowances, relief scales, or the purely subjective judgment of the investigator. Cost of living studies[3] are now regularly made, which furnish accurate data on the prices of food, clothing, rent, light, heat, and household supplies. Nutritionists have computed the approximate amount of food required according to age, sex, occupation, and physical condition. While still imperfect, these objective measurements of subsistence needs are far more reliable in estimating need than the guess-work method. Variable needs, such as medical care, replacement of essential household equip-

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psychological laboratory, but comment would be premature. For suggestive material on teachers' attitudes toward behavior problem children, see Wickman's *Teachers and Behavior Problems*. The data, while of interest, do not indicate any immediate values for ordinary social case study and treatment. Tests for ascendancy, submission, extraversion or introversion, and the like, are still in the research phase—application has not yet been fully made.

[3] See studies made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Bureau of Home Economists, and studies by family social work home economists, such as Guilford and Addiss, in bibliography. One reason that budgets do not seem an accurate measure of need is that in so few agencies are even subsistence items properly allowed for. When necessary items are not covered the family will usually take the money from the food allowance. It is a gain to make out budgets as blue prints even if one does not always succeed in getting the necessary appropriations right away

ment, and the like, cannot be measured in quite the same way—although expenses incident to work or illness or education are measurable to some degree; and no one has devised measurements for differential standards of living—whether, for instance, it is more important for the carpenter to buy a low priced car or to send his boy to high school, these involving value judgments.

Case workers utilize experts in other fields to supplement their own inquiries and to come to a more accurate understanding of the client. The case worker must know not only where, but when to turn to the expert. Social workers used to carry most of their clients off routinely for clinical examinations, including Wassermann tests and I.Q.s, and annoy hospitals with thousands of ill-considered requests for old and useless medical reports but, as knowledge and skill have increased, selectivity obtains here, as in the use of social history, or visiting liable relatives, or any other potentially informative source. The value of periodic health examinations for everyone is unquestionable, but not as a requirement of all social case study.

Before child placing, a thorough physical and mental examination is usually undertaken, although child placing agencies today do not use these medical examinations in so rigid a way as formerly and often wait till the child feels secure in his new setting. At one time routine examination of all applicants for mothers' allowance was practised, in order to be sure that the mother was "physically and mentally fit" to have charge of her children, but this stereotyped procedure is not now prevalent. Many old age assistance cases need medical attention and should be given it, but the paternalistic regimen which once obtained in a few places of requiring physical examinations of all old persons as a prerequisite to "eligibility" has fortunately been discontinued. When physical disability is a part of legal eligibility, as in aid to the blind, or certain classes of incapacity under the aid to dependent children program, medical diagnosis is obviously essential. In child guidance clinics with a research purpose it has been customary for the child to have full medical, psychological, and psychiatric, as well as social study, but practice tends

to increasing flexibility. The use of a "battery" of examinations and tests, if used at all, must be guided by the nature of the problem, the wishes of the client, the responsibility to be discharged by the agency, the preventive value, and the availability of resources. At one time, before the unity of the case work process was fully grasped, it was thought that there could be agencies doing nothing but investigation, or nothing but diagnosis. The giving of tests should always be related to the treatment purpose, and not serve, as it regrettably sometimes does, as an escape from the taking of responsibility for treatment.

Discrimination in terms of the actual problem to be treated is essential. We do not need a pediatric history of the client in order to enter him in a home for the aged, and we do not need to subject a client to an exhaustive check up unless his symptoms and complaints warrant it. A person who would test low in a psychometric examination may be socially entirely competent to earn a living, and manage very well in non-competitive situations. Social workers, however, need careful and full educational disciplines in order to recognize what diagnosis lies within and what without their professional competence. Being expert in social work does not mean a smattering of professional knowledge in other fields. The pharmacopeia of the case worker includes expert knowledge of community resources and how to use them. There is no truer sign of professional maturity than knowing where one's own boundaries lie. Nevertheless, as case workers achieve greater security in their own observations, they will be less tempted to scurry around or route their clients hastily about in search of oracles. The better the case worker's training, the more deliberate, sparing, and intelligent will be his use of experts. It is not an accident that case workers no longer rush every difficult case off to a psychiatrist. They are treating difficult cases with cooler judgment, tilting less at windmills, and trying to do the homely, sensible things, since the amount of time and energy expended by case workers should be in inverse proportion to the neurotic involvement. In certain severe cases not only must the diagnosis be made by physician or psy-

chiatrist, but the treatment must remain in his hands; in others the competent social case worker, after consultation with a psychiatrist or physician, may be able to carry out whatever social treatment needs or can be done.

The methods of social case study, then, include, in various combinations, interviews with the client and those who know him; observations of attitudes and behavior in the face-to-face relationship; or, observations of family interaction at home, teacher-pupil interaction in the schoolroom or the client's behavior in other group situations; the use of documents and of experts in other fields. Especially in the beginning of a treatment process it is important to accumulate enough factual material to facilitate our understanding of the present situation and the person who is caught in it. These basic methods are sometimes found woven into patterns such as "the eligibility study,"[4] but in general social studies are flexibly conceived, according to the indications of the case. Because interviewing is so widely conceded to be the most used of all the tools, we shall devote space to more detailed consideration.

Interviewing

Interviewing is by no means the prerogative solely of social case work. College deans, traveling salesmen, vocational counselors, personnel workers, journalists, and clergymen have many interviewing principles in common. Nevertheless, the interview as employed by a professional person in the attempt to help someone else has objectives which are not precisely those of learning "how to win friends and influence people," nor is it always for fact-finding purposes alone, nor yet to persuade people to buy things nor to do things which are against their better judgment. The interview *can* motivate, *can* teach, *can* secure information, *can* help people to bring out things which are bothering them. The interview is one of the best ways of getting a chance to observe behavior. It is a good way to get facts about a particular set of circumstances; it is almost the only way to come

[4] See p. 104.

to understand attitudes and feelings—the unique reaction of the individual to his situation. The interview, whether in the office, or in a home visit, or in group process, affords an excellent opportunity for participant observation. Interviews are not always reliable, but training and experience can markedly improve reliability. Those who make studies or surveys discover quickly what the case worker also learns quickly, that interviews repeated with the same person have a reliability value that the single interview can never have. Because case work deals with inner as well as outer factors, the person's ability to talk about his feelings as well as about the more objective facts of his situation, heightens the importance of the interview. Although any given interview may have the purpose of securing information or of clarifying a topic by discussion, the case work interview has the constant feature of being designed, broadly speaking, for therapeutic ends. This sets it apart from questionnaire or research methods, from mere social conversation, from police inquiries to fix blame, or from high-pressure salesmanship. It would be hard for the case worker to differentiate what he learns through the ear and what through the eye during an interview. Although one can observe without interviewing, one rarely interviews without observing. Much emotional need is unconscious, but the client admits us to at least a partial understanding of his emotional problems by his tone, his attitudes, his behavior, by what he tells us in so many words, and by his silences.

Just as in a picture the spacing of the composition may reveal its most poignant significances, so not only the client's rush of words, but his restlessness, tensions, and pauses may offer clues to places where the narrative hurts. The trained ear and eye can often detect in abrupt changes of the subject, in insistence on intellectual discussions, in falterings and stops, when there is a sore spot which the client is avoiding. Not all of these manifestations mean evasion, or "resistance," as it is called. Again the trained ear has to distinguish blockings in the interview which may be due to language difficulty, fatigue, or other natural causes, from

those which are due to fear, shame, and reluctance. Nevertheless, it is not necessary that the client should tell us everything; it is necessary for him to tell us only those things which, however painful, we need to know in order to help him. The young worker, uncertain as to what facts he really needs to have, may fall into the frying pan or into the fire; he may be unwilling to ask anything or hear anything for fear of intrusion; or he may persuade the client to lay aside defenses which the client should preserve for his own inner poise. We must remember that no topic is universally painful to people. All of us have in our lives experiences and ideas and feelings which we think must seem dreadful to others because they seem dreadful to us, but which may turn out to be entirely mild and commonplace to the listener. But in those instances where there is a strong cultural taboo, the non-censorious attitude of the case worker is a helpful factor in relaxing tensions and letting the client give us necessary, but no more than necessary, information.

One other point, discussed elsewhere,[5] may be emphasized here. In noticing such behavior as silences, trains of thought, and so on, workers have sometimes leaned too heavily on the client's association of ideas as yielding important clues to feeling. The conditions of the ordinary case work interview do not offer very favorable opportunity for the use of free association, either in the psychoanalytical or the laboratory sense. To listen to the "heart beats," the emotional undertones, one has to develop not only infinite patience in listening to the natural flow of the narrative but, like the doctor, a sort of *percussion* technique. One does not use an instrument or tap with the finger, but one does "tap" gently nevertheless.

Some case workers choose to consider as "social study" only the more formal types of investigation, such as the eligibility or pre-parole investigation, or the formal work up for the consulting clinic—such investigations as are largely based on environmental data and careful descriptions of observed behavior. They would consider studies conducted through direct interviews as

[5] See pp. 68–78, and 135, 285 for discussion of activity in the interview.

more closely allied to treatment. All study is for the purpose of diagnosis and treatment, and the information obtained through the interview is not only a guide to further study, if indicated, but is study. The personal and environmental picture, the past experiences, and the client's feelings about his experiences are no less "social" in meaning when derived from the client than from the home visit, employer, or other sources. The writer, then, regards both the direct and the indirect approach, both personal interview and environmental contact, as integral parts of social study. In the following case, although the method is chiefly that of the direct interview, a collateral source is also utilized, in this instance through correspondence.

The Sokousky Case

Miss Sokousky opened the interview herself, asking whether we had learned from Miss Wilson what "her trouble" was. Miss Wilson had told us something about it. Miss Sokousky said that she could not tell us how worried she has been, thinking about her brothers and sisters in Indianapolis. She knows that half the trouble is with herself (a) in that she does not know what it would be advisable to do. She feels if she can only find out exactly what the situation is in Indianapolis it may help her make up her mind. She feels as if something must be done for her younger brothers and sisters but she does not see what earthly good it would do for her to go out to Indiana herself. (b) It seems that that would only make matters worse. The neighborhood in which their home is situated is not particularly helpful for young boys and girls who are growing up without parental guidance. She herself had been very unhappy at home. Her older sister, Theisa, aged twenty-three, ran away and is now in a convent. Jim, age nineteen, is the only one who is working. He is away a great part of the day. John, seventeen, is in his last year in high school; Florence, thirteen, goes to high school and is really the head of the house.

Miss Sokousky said that she has learned from neighbors that Florence stays out until all hours of the night. (c) In addition to this she has also learned that two girls have been raped and have been forced into marriages; one of them happened to be a friend of Florence's. She therefore is very worried as to what is happening to Florence. Margaret, aged eleven, Agnes, aged nine, and Henry, aged seven, are the three children about whom she is the most concerned. They are young and

[6] From a Family Service Agency.

she feels they are not getting the proper care. She knows that Margaret and Henry have always been very undernourished and she has heard that they look worse than ever now. She feels that in a way it is up to her to go home to take care of them. Her mother is away in a Tb sanatorium and actually there is no one left to take care of the children.

Tears came to Miss Sokousky's eyes and she said that of course she must tell worker that the center of the whole problem is her father's drinking. (d) It is the thing which made her so unhappy and she has understood that recently he has been arrested two or three times because of being drunk. She knows what it is like when he is drunk. He becomes very brutal, he swears, he "wallops the kids," and becomes almost like a maniac. She knows that he is not responsible for what he does when he is under the influence of liquor but it is perfectly terrible to be with him. That is the reason she decided to leave home; she could not bear it any longer with him. She felt very badly about going. She told her mother and talked it all over with her mother before she left. Her mother could understand why Miss Sokousky wanted to leave but she herself never made very many protests over the father's habits. Miss Sokousky asked if we knew anything about the Polish race. Her mother had come to this country with the idea of marrying her father. She felt that because she had taken him to be her husband she would have to submit to whatever was "her lot."

She sometimes told Miss Sokousky that as the wife of her husband she probably deserved the treatment that he gave her. She did not know why she deserved it, but there must be some reason behind it; perhaps she had been guilty of some sin that she did not know about. It was the religious and philosophical way that her mother had been brought up to look upon her lot as one which had been determined and which could not be changed. But she could not look at it in this way. She could not herself stand it to be always fighting. She was the one who always answered back and naturally she got into all kinds of difficulties, but she never realized that her sister Theisa was also suffering. Theisa was always so quiet.

Ever since Miss Sokousky has been thirteen years old her father accused her of "bad things." (e) In answer to our question she said he always thought she had been going out with men. When she came home at eleven o'clock he would immediately ask her where she had been and what bad things she had been up to. He didn't do it only to her, he did it to Theisa too. As soon as the girls became older he made all kind of accusations against them. It almost killed Miss Sokousky. She did not even understand at first what it was he was talking about, but she soon learned. She was horrified. She denied it, and the more she denied

it the more accusatory he became. On the other hand she could not keep quiet as her mother always pleaded with her to do. She did not think it was fair for her father to make these kinds of statements. She always had felt that Theisa was not troubled by the accusations, which he also made against her. It was a great surprise after Miss Sokousky had left home for her to learn that Theisa had gone away from home secretly. Miss Soukosky had at least talked it over with her mother and had told her exactly what she was planning to do.

Now Miss Sokousky realizes that probably the other children, especially Florence and Margaret, are going to go through the same thing that she and Theisa did. Also from all the reports she has had she thinks that things must be almost bedlam with the mother away. It was always bad enough with her mother present, but she cannot imagine what it is like now.

(f) Worker asked Miss Sokousky where she obtained most of her information. She stated that one friend of hers lived across the road, Mrs. Wm. Moore. Mrs. Moore has always been a very good friend of Miss Sokousky's. Ever since she had been away she had been in correspondence with Mrs. Moore and she felt that the latter always kept an eye out for her younger brothers and sisters. Mrs. Moore thinks that things have just gone from bad to worse and has urged Miss Sokousky to come home and see if there is anything which she could do about it. Miss Sokousky said if she felt she could go home and just take care of the children without having her father there she would gladly do it, or if she felt that she were earning enough money in the city here so that the children could come and stay with her, she would be only too happy to have them do it. But what she cannot see is what good it would do for her to go home and live in the same house with her father.

(g) Worker asked if Miss Sokousky's father had always been a drinking man. Ever since she could remember. She remembers her father coming in from town one night and breaking every single dish in the house. He just threw them up against the wall. She saw him grab her mother and remembers with what horror she screeched. As soon as she yelled he came after her and she ran away and trembled for almost two days following this. Miss Sokousky said the funniest part of it was that her father was so very changeable. When he was sober there was no kinder man on earth. He always brought them candy and little toys which he happened to see in the five and ten, or wherever he was. Actually her father in days gone by made fairly good money.

He came to this country as a rancher and did homesteading. Then he moved to Indianapolis. His drinking always lost him his job. He would become irresponsible; he would not finish the job which he had under-

taken. On the other hand, his ability was such that he would often be reemployed. Naturally, since the depression the jobs had not been so plentiful and men who were as undependable as her father had been cut out. "For all I know the family may be on relief. I don't see how they are managing."

She stated how from time to time she sent home clothing for the children. She wouldn't send money to the family because she knew the father would take it and spend it on drink. Furthermore, if she went home at the present time things would be even worse than they are now. Of course it is greatly against the custom of the Polish nation for girls to leave home. It is immediately concluded that any girl who does live away from home is doing it with only one purpose in mind. Miss Sokousky left home six years ago. She has been back twice since then; once she was there for only a few days and the second time she stayed there for four weeks and that was two years ago. She said, "I'll never forget it." After one week she was ready to leave again. Her father, of course, continually passed remarks—asked how she was making out, if she didn't have quite a good business with a lot of men, and so forth.

If she could expect some coöperation from her relatives she might write to them and ask them what they thought about the present situation. She knows, though, that if she wrote them they would only come back and tell her that she ought to be home, that she doesn't care anything for her family or she never would have left in the first place.

In her family there were always children and more children. She can not help feeling now that it was all her father's fault. She is old enough now to realize what it probably meant to her mother but she did not realize then. She will, however, never forget the time when her younger brother was born. She described this very vividly and seemed almost to be living through the horror of it as she told worker.

(h) All these thoughts come to her in the middle of the night as she tries to figure out some way of meeting this present situation. She just cannot face going back and living with her father again. She has made the break and she is oh, so happy since she did make it. To be sure, she had a very hard time when she first left home. She has worked in all different kinds of places. She went with this friend of hers who was a milliner. They went from city to city, some of the time this friend getting a job and sometimes Miss Sokousky getting a job. She has done all kinds of things—waited on tables, worked in stores, been chambermaid, and so on.

If she went out for just a short time to see if there was anything she could do to straighten the matter out, it would be necessary for her to

give up this job at the Excelsior Insurance Co. and she knows from experience that it would be practically impossible for her to get a similar kind of work. That is the thing that bothers her at the present time. Recently she has been making more mistakes and she knows it is chiefly because she has all these worries on her mind. It would be terrible for her to lose the job, as the girl before her did, because so many mistakes were made. She has a nice little room by herself. She comes home at night and she is able to pick up a book and read if she cares to.

(i) She always did like school, but she can remember also as a child playing truant. She got into quite a bit of difficulty with this once but it was at a time when her father was brought up before court. He had been taken to jail on several occasions because he was drunk. Every time that he did this his name appeared in the paper. Miss Sokousky described how perfectly ashamed she felt, how she thought that everybody was looking at her and saying "That's Sokousky's daughter." She walked miles away from her section of the city so that she would not be recognized by strangers even on the street. Sometimes when she went to school after her father had been drinking she would think the teachers were just looking right through her. Also the children frequently passed remarks, "Has your father been drunk again?" She was so ashamed and it hurt her so much. It is part of this feeling now which accounts for her being so worried about the children at home. Perhaps they, too, are going through the very same experience and they don't have their mother there to come home to. They might get so disgusted that they really would get into trouble of some kind. She wouldn't be at all surprised.

Probably none of them has a very good impression of what she is like. The younger children have probably never heard anyone but her father and her uncles talk about her, in a very disparaging tone. (j) She wonders how much good it would do for her to go there and take charge of them if they did not respect her. She shrugged her shoulders and said of course that was only a very small part of it. Frankly she had to admit that she did not like to leave New York either. If she could go home and just look things over and then decide it would be different, but she does not think she can risk that. She held her head—"Oh, I don't know what I think! I don't know what I want to do!" Worker said we could see that there were many conflicts that might face her and perhaps we could help her with them. Miss Sokousky asked if it were possible to have the home investigated and see if the children could be placed. Worker said that something could be done about having the home looked into. We wondered, however, if she thought that her mother or her brothers or older sisters would feel that there was any

difficulty. We gathered from what she had told us her father would probably not feel as though there was. She laughed and said that worker had sized her father up exactly. She said that he would tell anybody who came in that things were absolutely perfect.

In answer to our question she said that she thought her mother would be willing to have a placement made, as she would be the one to realize that things were probably pretty bad at home. She did not think that any of her uncles would approve of the plan very much, especially if they knew it had been instigated by her.

(k) She then asked what we thought we might do. Worker said that we could write to a social agency in Indianapolis and ask their opinion. It was rather difficult for us to say whether an investigation would be made or what procedure would be used. Miss Sokousky said that this would help very much. She does feel that if she could only have some information which would help her make a wise decision, it would be all that she could ask.

Worker said that Miss Sokousky certainly did have a very difficult problem and a very hard decision to make. She probably had turned it over in her mind several times and there were a great many feelings, as she had said today, which entered into her whole attitude. Miss Sokousky said that she had never spoken to anybody about it at all except to Miss Wilson the other day, and more recently to this friend of hers. She cannot get over the feeling that she had even as a little girl; it was something dreadful to have a father who acted in this way.

She supposes he can't help it, he says that he can't. He says that his drinking to him is like her books are to her—she likes them and that is why she reads them; he likes liquor to drink and that is why he drinks it. (l) She questioned, "And what can you argue back?" Worker said that we felt there was a very good reason for her considering the matter before she did take any steps one way or the other about giving up her job or making a move to go home, as there were a great many things that she would want to clear up, both in regard to the actual situation and also in regard to some of the feelings which she herself had about it.

She thanked us and said it had been so very helpful to find somebody like worker who was able to listen and to see her point of view. She said it was much easier, too, talking to someone who was not living with you, or who was not any particular friend of yours. She had understood that whatever she told here was very confidential. Worker assured her that (m) the information she had given us was indeed most confidential except of course as we had to use it with some other agency. We felt if there was anything in particular that she did not want us

to write to them that she might tell us. Miss Sokousky asked if the other agency was like this one and we replied that it was the same kind. She replied that as a matter of fact she had not told us anything that she would not just as soon have known there. She would rather that her personal friends did not find out about everything, as she still cannot help feeling somewhat ashamed about the whole matter. . . .

Here we have opened up for us through the client's eyes, a social situation in which the mother is ill, the father drinks, and the children are more or less unhappy. This picture is later objectively confirmed to some degree by the correspondence alluded to in the latter part of the interview, but even were it not so we get a significant version from the client. Notice where in (a) she immediately places the problem as half with herself, how right away in (b) we get the conflict that something must be done, but she doesn't see what good it would do for her to go. She has both a sense of responsibility and of guilt interwoven with her anxiety. (c) suggests that her interest in the children may not be wholly solicitude. In (d) she brings out her hate of her father. In (e) she brings up a sexual theme and we wonder if her conscience, as well as her father, did not do some of the accusing, for Theisa, she says, was not troubled by the accusations. In (f) we have the reiterated conflict of duty and repulsion. From (g) on we get more of a picture of the home and her father's behavior, but with an undercurrent which shows that she is drawn to her father in spite of what she says. In (h) we see her struggle in trying to meet the situation, which finally propells her into seeking help, and (i) gives a significant bit of history in her relations with her father. From (j) we have clarification of possible next steps, and the care taken in (k) and (m) to have her understand the nature of the inquiry. In (l) recognition is given to the inner and outer factors in the situation. Note, however, how the worker wisely follows the thread of the external social situation, rather than responds to the deeper notes of anxiety and ambivalence. Urging her to talk about these complicated feelings prematurely might have resulted in fear, guilt, and withdrawal. We shall allude to this case again, but for the

moment we can let this stand as showing how interviews can reveal not only attitudes toward life, and motivation through the giving of social data, but a clear picture of a situation as seen by the client. Miss Soukousky, although with some insight, is not aware of all that she reveals.

Home Study and Reference Visits[7]

In the above illustration the home visit is made through an out-of-town inquiry. In many instances an interview with a client in the home may help us understand his circumstances in a way that an office setting does not admit of. It is fortunate that interviews are possible with others as well as with the client. Men live in a social world—they have homes; they go to school and to church; they are sick in hospitals; they have employers and friends, and neighbors and relatives. There are difficulties in having interviews about people, just as there are difficulties in having interviews with people, and the difficulties are not by any means all in the factor of reliability. Anyone who has had a school acquaintance and goes home with him to spend the holidays knows what a new impression one is apt to get of one's friend. It is not always necessary to make home visits, but for certain objectives there is no real substitute for seeing a person at home.[8] As always, the nature of the problem and the type of client condition the selection of methods of study. For instance, it is more essential to observe home conditions with a chronically ill patient or a young child than in the case of a self-directing adult with a marital problem. Prior to discharge from an institution, particularly an institution for delinquents, it is customary to observe the kind of home environment and associations which the client will have. In placing a child, the prospec-

[7] Consultation by visit, letter, or telephone, to churches, schools, hospitals, employers, trade unions, courts, social agencies, relatives, banks, are often called collateral visits, or colloquially, "collaterals." See examples on p. 128 and p. 238.

[8] For a clarifying discussion, from a medical point of view, of the value of observation of patients in their normal social settings, see G. Canby Robinson's *The Patient as a Person*, p. 390, *et seq.* If a rounded approach to the problems of social incapacity is important for the physician, how much more should the social worker maintain a differential but also rounded set of techniques in environmental study.

tive home will be carefully studied and evaluated. In granting relief a private agency will have more latitude about the appropriateness and timing of a home visit than will the public. In short, the type of social study in each case will depend in some measure upon agency function as well as upon inherent features.

In public assistance, home visits are usually required under the regulations. Home visits may be embarrassing to clients, since neighbors can almost always "spot" the investigator. It is not possible to avoid this embarrassment altogether, although fortunately the stigma on receiving relief has been much reduced. Explanation to the client as to the reason for the visit and, whenever practicable, getting the client to invite one and set the time, mitigates the discomfort. In the course of events the visit of the investigator will come to carry no more stigma than that of doctor, or county agent, or trained nurse. Beginning workers tend to make too many hasty and unplanned home visits either in a first or a follow-up investigation, confusing effort with effectiveness. At one time even in private agencies the practice of visiting every month was common. The purpose here was less that of study than to see if the family was getting along. But indeed such routine follow up seldom has justification, either in public or in private agencies. There was a time when case workers had to examine every phase of the client's relationships—home, school, employment, church denomination, social life; then, as a reaction, they tried to conduct studies entirely by the device of the office interview. Neither extreme was successful. Selection as among direct interviews with the client; collateral sources, whether contact with the client group or with experts, or through correspondence and records, is desirable.

Eligibility Study

In eligibility studies[9] and reinvestigations, there is inevitably more required pattern, but there is always, nevertheless, some

[9] For a discussion of environmental social investigation see Richmond's *Social Diagnosis*, wherein the nature of evidence and the use of collateral sources are fully and clearly expounded. The modern eligibility study is really a variant of the method there described.

rational variation. The eligibility study in public assistance rests as all case work studies must, on a sturdy, direct relationship with the client and his family; but since the law requires that he shall be "in need," the interview is not the only, and not always the best method of appraising his resources. Public assistance is not considered as a permanent source of income, unrelated to the person's ability for self-support or self-maintenance. Certain methods are pretty well standardized for the social eligibility study, and understood by worker and client alike. The very fact that the methods are objective and impartial, like an income-tax return or a credit investigation, makes this easier to tolerate. The commonest devices lie in the use of an application blank, proof of residence and settlement, home visits, resource clearances, the use of a budget, and a payroll or employment check. The social service exchange is routinely used. Eligibility data connected with age, residence, citizenship, degree of blindness, even marital status, though calling for ingenuity, patience, tolerance, and care, do not usually require so much skill and social judgment as the establishment of need.[10] We should never be apologetic about eligibility. All agencies have admission requirements. If they are not just, right, nor efficient in operation, we should try to get them changed, but an eligibility study well done is a challenging and even a fascinating task. Accuracy, imagination, resourcefulness, genuine love for people, and a deep understanding of human behavior are all likely to be called into play. Covering a clearly defined area, whether of financial need or development history for a child guidance clinic, does not mean that the client must be treated impersonally or routinely, or that his participation should not be courteously elicited. While there is always a danger that any pattern may be followed so meticulously that one cannot see the client for the procedures the trouble is not with the pattern but with the worker. In the early days of social work, investigations did not sufficiently invite

[10] There is a trend at this time to try to take "need" out of the requirements for eligibility in old age assistance, but whatever the trend toward pensions, whenever *need* is an eligibility requirement the investigation of it is a highly skilled operation.

the client's participation; visits were made and reports obtained without his knowledge. Social study nowadays employs a straightforward explanation to the client of what we have to know in order to help him, and what methods we will use to verify necessary points. Even when seeking confidential information from other social agency records, it is better, whenever practicable, for the client to know about it, if for no other reason than that the information obtained is then so much easier to use. But the deeper reason is an ethical one. There are always exceptions to the general policy of full participation and consent from the client as to the steps taken on his behalf. Thus when one is dealing with very sick, mentally disturbed, or incompetent persons, it may be better to make certain inquiries quietly so as not to upset them. And there are exceptions also in protective actions when children are endangered, or in extreme cases of delinquency, or when people are definitely exploiting the relief situation. Case workers occasionally have to resort to prosecution or forcible commitment, or "detective" methods in such instances, as a form of control, but this is not within the ordinary scope and meaning of "case work," and often such duties are carried by special investigators, or workers with assigned protective or restitution functions.

In most agencies with relatively set conditions of eligibility for admission, such as an institution or a public assistance structure, application blanks are standardizing and timesaving. Their very impersonality seems to suggest to the client impartial and fair examination. The application blank does not in any sense take the place of the client's own story at intake, but its questions do serve as a guide by which he can come to understand the terms of eligibility for relief, since he thus knows the definite points which the administrative agency must cover. Every item on an application blank should be designed to identify the client and to clarify his eligibility status. Residence for longer or shorter periods is usually required by law, and therefore acceptable proof of residence must be presented by the client.[11]

[11] Acceptable documentary evidence of age, residence, or citizenship will be

Home visits are sometimes specified under the law and sometimes not, but the number and timing should be a matter of regulation and not of law, with sufficient discretion allowed the workers in the operating agency. In large administrative agencies, resource consultants may be employed to clear and appraise property, insurance, and other liquid assets. The use of the asset is, however, always within the budgeting function of the case worker. Although need is in some places gauged against a fixed monthly sum, the budget deficiency method is gaining ground and is a far more accurate measure of need. The "pay roll check" may be carried out by a clerk, but the obtaining of employment references and the estimating of work ability is a highly individualized and skilled piece of study. The question of interviewing legally liable relatives is a delicate one, and the older practice of doing this in a routine way, frequently without the client's knowledge or consent, is giving place to a thoughtful discussion with the client of key relatives, and a selective and discriminating use of them. In most forms of public assistance, but especially where there are employable persons, it is assumed that the investigation is fairly continuous or, at least in conditions of chronic need, regular—as every three or six months. How people are managing or have managed is a good question in any form of social study, but in the economic area it carries a double significance. There must always be a sound factual basis for giving relief, as for any other form of treatment.

A short summary will show a common version of the necessity to review need from time to time, and to be objective and frank with clients.

The Vollo Case[12]

Mr. and Mrs. Vollo, one adult son and a minor daughter, had been receiving assistance since 1934. Prior to that time, from 1931 to April, 1934, the family had been living on Mr. Vollo's earnings from work

found in public assistance manuals, city or state, and also in Young's *Case Workers' Desk Manual.*

[12] From a Public Assistance Agency. For WPA, read Works Progress Administration.

relief. From 1934 to 1937 the only contact with the Relief Bureau had been in visits to determine eligibility for continuation of work relief. In December, 1937, they returned to the bureau because of a dismissal from WPA, and received full home relief until May, 1938, at which time the son, Roger, was assigned to WPA, and the worker advised the family that they could be eligible for supplementary assistance if they wished. They reapplied and were accepted for supplementation. There was no discussion with the family as to how they had managed from 1931 until 1937 on the work relief income and why, at this time, they found it necessary to receive supplementary assistance. There was no information in the record concerning Mr. Vollo's previous means of maintaining the family except that he had been a laborer in the building industry and had worked irregularly. A new worker was assigned to the case and visited for the first time. The father was not at home and the 14-year-old daughter interpreted for the mother, who spoke very poor English. The child was obviously uneasy when the worker questioned her about her father. During the interview Mr. Vollo came into the home and the worker noticed that his face and hands were quite dirty and that his general appearance indicated that he had been engaged in some work. Mr. and Mrs. Vollo conversed with each other in Italian before the worker was introduced, and Mr. Vollo explained to the worker that he had been down getting some fresh air. As the interview progressed, however, the worker discussed with Mr. Vollo how they had managed when he had been on work relief, and learned that the son had done some junk peddling. The interview revealed that Mr. Vollo had taken up this work when the son was assigned to WPA. He said that his income was irregular and there was no way of verifying it. The worker, however, pointed out that it was customary for junk peddlers to sell the material which they had collected to the same junk dealers, and that very often these dealers loaned pushcarts to the junk men. When Mr. Vollo realized that the worker was conversant with conditions in this line, he agreed that there was some regularity to the income which he made, and agreed also that that was how they had managed during the years when their only other income was from work relief. The worker said that were she to continue assistance to the family it would be necessary for us to know the names of the dealers to whom Mr. Vollo sold junk, and to verify through them the amount he had earned each week for the past few months. Mr. Vollo was able to see the reasonableness of this and concluded by saying that he knew they might have managed without the supplementary assistance, but they had been in such need of clothing and were in debt and therefore had "accepted the former worker's suggestion" about continuing relief to the family.

Here we have a case where there was no deliberate or intentional fraud, and where the earnings were on a very marginal level, but here also we find that the original worker's inability to relate past maintenance to present need, taking responsibility away from the client, and the failure to explain the eligibility requirements of the department had to be rectified sooner or later.

Social Service Exchange and Out-of-Town Inquiry

Special sorts of collateral investigation are suggested both by the use of the social service exchange and by out-of-town inquiries illustrated in the Sokousky case.[13] The fact that social needs are so complex means that probably more than one agency may be treating the family at the same time. A case worker's professional relation may be a part of a larger social welfare interest. All agencies not only keep a master index of cases known to them, but use selectively a central clearing bureau, social service exchange or index, which is a function of a welfare council and should be supported by both public and private sources.[14] Exchanges were developed in the charity organization movement in the twentieth century to prevent duplication in relief. Exchanges may be city, county, or state-wide. Exchanges do not, as is sometimes incorrectly supposed, keep records of cases, but only identifying information, names, ages, addresses of families, with the name and dates of contact of the agency registering. While relief agencies, for obvious reasons, tend to clear 100 percent of these cases, other case work agencies make a more selective use of clearing, and register with the exchange only such cases as seem to have a number of interacting social problems. The follow up and request for reports of agencies found registered in the exchange should also be on a selective basis, in terms of the purpose of the inquiry, the dates of registration, and so on. Shotgun methods of inquiry, like complete follow-up, are rarely necessary.

[13] See p. 96.

[14] King, "Social Service Exchanges," with bibliography, *Social Work Year Book, 1939*, p. 422.

Resort to out-of-town inquiries (colloquially O.T.I.), like all collaterals, is best when selective. Most social work agencies are willing to make visits for other accredited agencies, so far as their resources permit. It is not wise to try to find out either through the routine follow up of social service exchange clearings or through forwarding agencies something which with a little time and patience one could learn from the family itself. Before asking for an investigation or a report, one should always consider whether it need be done at all, whether it should be done now, and what presentation will save the correspondent unnecessary trouble. Early practices, in public assistance, of writing to all legally liable relatives, like the routine interviews already noted, meant such a waste of everyone's time to little purpose, that the practice is growing of selecting key relatives and writing a careful letter either directly to them or to the forwarding agency. The more carefully timed and selected, the better the results obtained.

In writing to an out-of-town agency or to an agency known through the social service exchange clearing, it is well to follow the same principles. Agency A should always give as its reason for making the request its role in the case—what it is doing for the client. It should then give as much of the situation or case data as will make the request clear to the correspondent. Obviously if agency B does *not* know the family, more case data will be necessary on which to base the requested interview than if agency B already has a contact with the family. The case data may or may not be interpreted, depending on the function of the agency and the kind of request. Agency A may then ask a few pertinent, specific questions, although a long list of questions will be unnecessary if its role and purpose have been made clear. Finally, it is consistent with good practice to include what the client knows as to the purpose of the correspondence. For instance, a children's agency writing to find out if a grandmother might be a suitable guardian for the children, would take pains to say, "In our contacts with the children's father he has always been reticent about the reason for his estrangement from his own fam-

ily, but since his illness has become anxious that we should write on the children's behalf although he does not want his mother to take them from a sense of duty. He is willing that you should make use of the following circumstances in your discussion . . . ." This is to emphasize again that the client's participation in the use of collateral information is always important. It is necessary when treating runaway minor children to communicate with parents, whether the child consents or not, but an explanation should be made to the child. It is almost always better to tell a child in advance that you want to visit his school. In the next chapter we shall continue the discussion of the special problems in social study, especially the question of history taking.

Chapter VI

THE PURPOSE AND USE OF SOCIAL HISTORY

THE PHILOSOPHY AND TECHNIQUE of history taking has always been much discussed, and practice swings between an over and underemphasis upon it. Knowledge of a person's early experience, family and group associations, and general mode of life is generally conceded to be important in order to understand him. We know that people, even in telling their own story, tend to disguise their real feelings and do not always give an accurate account of themselves—though they usually believe what they are telling us to be true, and it is important because it is true for them. We know also that information obtained from others may be biased and its acquisition difficult to explain to the client later. Nevertheless, the objective of social study and history taking is to get as clear a picture of the external, real social situation as possible, and also the client's personal view of it.

The Art of History Taking

Social history is important because life is not a matter of disjointed and fragmentary episodes, but a combining process[1] in which cause-and-effect relationship may be found. Dr. Adolph Meyer, however, always cautioned medical and social work students alike against the dangers of routine history taking, reminding us of the importance of the "complaint"—the immediate situation for which the patient was seeking help. He put the "complaint" in the center of his interest because he said that it was always "in the center of the interest of the patient." In

[1] In *Doctor and Social Worker*, p 29, Dr. Cabot opposed the "catastrophic" or "accident" with the historic point of view, pointing out that the supposed accident "belongs in a long sequence, a chain of events, so that it is impossible to understand or to help it without knowledge, as extensive as our time and wisdom will allow."

remembering that the person has accumulated experience through facing one situation after another, one must not overlook that most significant situation which brought him to us—that situation in which he is now seeking help. A weakness in much of the history in social work practice has always lain in its incomplete picture of cultural conditioning. The powerful role of the family has been appreciated in all case work, and especially with the added psychiatric insistence of recent times, but the modification of the family rôle itself through culture has been usually too little understood. Professor Dollard's statement that we should always think of the cultural "group plus one"[2]—the *one* being our client—is an arresting one. As anthropological material becomes better adapted to social work practices, concepts of the cultural group will become clearer. The child guidance movement of the twenties, with its central purpose of modifying behavior, stressed the psychogenetic approach—the early developmental years. During the thirties a reaction by case workers to pattern histories set in, partly because of the heavy case loads of the depression, when people had little time or energy to look beyond the stark realities of the unemployment situation, partly as a reaction to the rigid historical inquiry of the earlier decade, and partly because of clearer insights as to the relation between history and treatment. The arbitrary schematic histories, the purpose of which clients did not understand, not only often proved quite unreliable because the client's feeling was so little recognized, but actually inhibited the beginning of a treatment relationship.[3] Whenever a careful, thorough history is needed,

[2] See Dollard, *Criteria for the Life History*, p. 8. His discussion of how the individual comes to have an organized and systematized social life seems particularly relevant to a case worker.

[3] See Virginia Robinson, *A Changing Psychology in Social Work Case*, p. 138: "This inquiry, if pursued in behalf of history for its own sake, often assumes control of the treatment relationship, introduces into it factors which confuse the client's own motives, or drives the relationship too quickly into a level too intimate for treatment. If it be granted that therapy not history for its own sake is the excuse for the case worker's intrusion into the lives of other human beings, then we must examine the first contacts from the angle of the treatment relationship which is being created there and determine each move by our judgment of its effect upon this relationship as a criterion."

if the client understands the reason for giving it and can therefore participate in the process, and if the case worker has developed skill in starting from the place where the client is, not forcing the tempo, following sensitively the feeling tones, then the treatment relationship need not be adversely affected.

The writer believes that part of the discipline in achieving a "social level of perception,"[4] lies in practice in the art of history taking. Just as it is difficult to write a good short record before one has learned how to write a good long one, so it is true that students who have not learned to cover patiently and accurately the details of the economic picture,[5] developmental and early childhood material, a work history, a health history, a history of family and other natural group associations, are poorly equipped to evaluate social experiences when the client gives these piecemeal. The student whose professional education has specialized in psychiatric and psychological disciplines and who has a real understanding of the motivation of behavior and attitudes, may at the same time have been too little in touch with social and economic realities. The student who can budget with skill and accuracy and knows labor conditions well, may not understand the development of personality. Familiarity with norms, both in the areas of standards of living and personal and cultural behavior, must underlie any real skill in the eclectic taking of history. It is therefore as important for the student to master outlines for history, charting the main courses of social functioning, as for the biologist to know the blood stream. That he may rarely in practice need to obtain a thorough history or a complete social study in no wise changes his fundamental knowledge. Patterns for history belong under the blotter or more truly at the back of the head, but not in the interview. Categories

[4] See Chapter VII, "Diagnosis and Evaluation."

[5] It is not necessary to illustrate a full social history, since there are now publications which give extensive case material. See problem children series, Commonwealth Fund publications, and *Child Guidance Cases*, and for discussion of psychogenetic history, Lee and Kenworthy, *Mental Hygiene and Social Work*. See also *Social Case Records* by Dixon and Browning, pp. 260, *et seq.*, and for eligibility report and reinvestigation, p. 289, *et seq.*

lead to conformity and rigidity only if we try to push things into them. The doctor who concluded his lectures with the remark, "Now, gentlemen, you know all about cardiac disease, and now you will never see cardiac disease," was reminding his medical students that they would be treating persons, not problem entities.

The two emphases, then, of the situation and history are not incompatible. We do not have to pull things up by the roots each time to assure ourselves that growing things *have* roots, nor do we have to deny the existence of norms because it is true that each case is different and must be individualized. There would, the writer believes, be general agreement on the following points; that we always start with the complaint—the situation which the client brings—and take such history then or thereafter as may seem relevant to what must be understood. The amount of objective social data needed varies directly with the amount of active interference called for and the difficulty of arriving at a diagnosis. Pattern studies, such as the eligibility study, are necessary because in relief the agency makes an overt intervention into the social function of self-maintenance and self-support. Pre-parole and pre-placement studies assume a kind of purpose which is unlike the responsibility generally taken in child guidance. There is equal professional responsibility in each instance, but the intervention is of another nature.

History for Diagnosis

Another point is that careful history taking—and this must never be construed to mean getting great masses of data from the resisting or nonresisting client—may be essential to a diagnostic conclusion and may keep one from getting involved in premature, or wrong treatment. People who contend that history if routinely taken doesn't help much in treatment, which is often true, rarely bring out the other truth, that history often keeps one wisely *away from treatment*. The keener the diagnostic sense, the more relevant and economical will be all history taking and social study. In history we should always move from

top to bottom or from *now* to what happened to bring "now" about, and not begin with the lives of the grandparents in the style of "once upon a time." It is often easier to get history of an appropriate type from a parent about a child—what precipitated the behavior, why did it start, against what was it directed, how did the parent handle it, and so on—than to get history from an adult helpfully about himself. With the adult, history is more apt to be a spontaneous reaction which the client gives at his own pace and, except for very practical and obvious matters, it is likely that the history which comes more slowly will be more reliable and more useful diagnostically.[6] The adult, however, is usually quite willing to give us the history of the immediate situation with which he is asking help; for instance, a work history if unemployed, a health history if ill, marital history if seeking support or a separation, and so on, and this it is almost always essential to get early and clearly. This "intimate history of the onset," as Dr. Hugh Auchincloss always calls it, of the trouble is essential to preliminary diagnosis—just as knowing how the client himself managed his situation before he came to us gives us a significant clue to his capacity or incapacity to function now. The ability of the client to give relevant history—or the parent of a problem child, or the relative of a mentally sick person—is an important clue as to whether he can assume further responsibility. The giving of history is a way some clients take to establish themselves with the agency. Sometimes the overready giving of history is the client's way to avoid dealing with his immediate situation. While facts and history are important in themselves, the method of taking the history, recognizing the value to the individual of his assuming the responsibility of giving it, is perhaps even more important. The way, too, that the client manages his end of the history taking experience may be

[6] In July, 1937, the writer ("Basic Concepts in Social Case Work", *The Family*) said: "Case workers have not as yet, and perhaps never will have, in the ordinary case work situation, any appropriate technic for dealing with deep-rooted unconscious material, so that we see history taking, whether gained from the client's own story or supported by outside study, as a selective, controlled process, pointing itself not toward understanding and handling everything, but only toward social diagnosis and appropriate social treatment."

a clue to how far he accepts the agency's services and what he is going to do with them. One of the greatest skills lies in knowing when and how to stop in history taking, as in other things.

Observation in Child Study

Interviews with children, for obvious reasons, are only incidentally concerned with "history," and many interviews with young children combine some features of a play or observational type with the purpose, not of treatment, but as an aid to diagnosis. An illustration of this sort of interview, combined with collateral study, will show its importance, like history taking, for diagnosis. Although case workers perhaps more commonly observe children in their natural settings of home, school or playground, office interviews and the study homes used by children's agencies do afford partially controlled environments. The objective is not to interpret the child's play phantasies, which is the function of the psychiatrist, but to come to understand the child's behavior through sources other than the parents' story of it—in the following case to help determine whether or not the child should be referred immediately to a psychiatrist.

The Romano Case[7]

Manuel's mother was referred to a family agency by a summer play school because this boy was said to be unmanageable and extremely excitable. The first phase of study was four interviews with the mother. Contact with her had proved difficult because of a language handicap. Mrs. Romano came to this country from Puerto Rico in 1925 and married Mr. Romano, a painter, in 1928, in Louisville, Ky. Mr. Romano was many years younger than she. Manuel was then six.

The welfare department had helped from 3-1-32 until Mr. Romano was put on city work relief in 1933. He was laid off on 5-5-34 and family returned to the relief office. On 7-30-34 Mr. Romano left. Since then Mrs. Romano had been getting home relief for herself and Man-

[7] From a Family Service Agency. Many case work agencies use play rooms for their child clients. There is a wide range in appropriate uses of play experience without confusing it with "play therapy"—a specialized psychiatric treatment which cannot be here discussed.

uel with the exception of four months in 1936 when she worked in a candy factory. From a brief contact with a neighboring agency in 1931 we know that Mr. Romano was out of work for three or four months, during the time Mrs. Romano was carrying Manuel. He got a job as a painter about a month before Manuel was born, and held this job until Manuel was five months old. At the time of the desertion Manuel was three. His father was said to be living now with a woman in Chile, South America. Although Mr. Romano left over three years ago, Mrs. Romano did not believe until recently that he would not return to her. He continued to write to her at intervals. Recently he sent back to her pictures of her and Manuel and said he wanted nothing more to do with her. Mrs. Romano was considerably upset by this letter. She suggested in various ways that Manuel was like his father, but did not elaborate on this. After Mr. Romano left, Mrs. Romano and Manuel lived in furnished rooms, moving frequently from one to another. From September to December, 1936, she lived with her brother, who has twelve children. She moved away because of discord in this family. Within the last year she persuaded the relief office to help her take an apartment. She rented out a room to a friend with a small baby. She said the apartment was small, dark, and airless. Manuel had a separate room.

The mother described Manuel as unmanageable and said he would not listen to her. He runs away from her constantly. She always has to run after him. He doesn't want to go to the park with her. He runs away from the park and plays on the streets with older boys. He tries to be tough like them. He pretends to smoke "to make her angry." He began to be "bad" after his father left her in 1934. He had obeyed his father but would not obey her. Mrs. Romano stressed how much he loved his father, and says he talks about him frequently. He calls her vile names. It is impossible for her to do anything with him and he will grow up to be a gangster. She has heard that all gansters were like Manuel in their youth. She has tried to discipline him on the basis of personal appeal, "do this for Mama." She punishes him by sending him to bed. Without much conviction she said she didn't beat him very much. Doesn't think it a good thing to beat children. Although Manuel was excluded from play school in July, Mrs. Romano did not seem concerned about how it would affect the boy to be sent away, but only that she would now have to take care of him all day long. On the basis of her resentment she was willing to bring Manuel to the office with the vague purpose of relieving her own discomfort by getting him help, preferably away from her.

His behavior was said to be always unmanageable and rebellious. He struck children and teachers, ran screaming and yelling in halls,

and could not be induced to participate in any activities. If approached he would threaten to kill everybody. His conduct was so extreme that after several weeks the play school decided they could not keep him. His I.Q. was 86 on the Stanford-Binet scale. A report then obtained from summer camp was to the same effect. He seemed unhappy in camp, did not take part in any camp activities. After some weeks he tried to run away (taking three other children with him) because "he was afraid his mother was dead." He had to be sent home because of the disturbance he caused.

In September he started in first grade at public school. After a week or so he was excluded because of extremely unruly and wild behavior. The assistant principal and teacher reported that it was impossible to have any discipline in a schoolroom with Manuel there. He ran around wildly, was very aggressive toward other children, and also incited them to disobedience. He did not seem to mind any punishment he got.

The case worker learned also that his relations at home were no better and that the mother constantly emphasized the fact of his badness and seemed anxious to get rid of him. It also appeared that prior to coming to this agency the mother had made several attempts to place Manuel.

Manuel is a well developed, rather good-looking boy, tall for his age. When case worker called him into the interviewing room he was playing by himself in the play room and his mother was sitting in the waiting room. We asked him to come with us. He followed without hesitation and without the slightest sign of fear. We suggested he take one of the games with him and he chose a game consisting of a cork plate, hammer, and little pieces of colored wood and nails. (He was not too disorganized to start playing constructively.) As soon as he was seated he took up this game and worked on it with remarkable skill. He was friendly and smiled at case worker, saying that he liked that game, and he was building something. We asked him what he was building and he said he was building a truck. We asked him whether he would like to be a truck driver and he said with enthusiasm, yes. Then he hesitated awhile and said he thought he would rather be a fireman. He had to wait until he was big though. We said that that was true and that he would go to school to learn a lot of things. He knew that. He started school this summer. (a) We asked him how he liked it and he said he didn't. When we asked why he shrugged his shoulders. We asked if he liked the other children. He did not answer but wondered whether his mother was waiting for him. We assured him that she was, but suggested that he could look for himself. He did that and came back immediately and said, "She is still here," but added sadly, "my father's dead."

Then he corrected himself and said he wasn't dead, but he was away in South America. Would he like to be with him? He nodded and said his mother had told him his father would come back and they would all live together. Throughout the conversation he was hammering and concentrated intently on putting the pieces of wood together. He did not seem the least bit troubled about why he was in the interviewing room, was matter of fact and unconcerned. He included case worker in the game, gave her nails to hold, and then bought them from her. He counted the nails he wanted to have and was absolutely correct in that. He seemed delighted with the game and said again he liked it here. He wondered whether case worker couldn't come home with him. We said we could not today but we could some other day. We would visit him. He said it was nice and quiet in here and the case worker let him alone. (b) We wondered whether other people do not let him alone and he said with feeling, "No, my mother yells at me all the time." Why did she do that? He did not answer but went on with the game. He asked if we would come with him, that there was room enough at home for case worker. We promised we would come and see him some day.

There was a noise outside and a child's voice. He opened the door, looked out, and said it was a little boy. Then he closed the door, took up the game, but seemed less concentrated upon it. He said that case worker might like to play with the little boy too. This boy was about three years old and much smaller than Manuel. We said we were playing with Manuel now, but if he wanted the little boy to come in it would be all right. He could do whatever he wanted to. He said quickly that case worker might like the little boy better than we liked him. We shook our head and said that we did not because we did not know this other little boy at all, and liked Manuel. In spite of the reassurance he looked at us very suspiciously and seemed irritated. Then he went out of the room and brought in the little boy, who had another toy. He took the boy's toy away and played with it, but did not show much aggression. His face darkened though. The other boy was peaceful and didn't mind having his toy taken away. He talked in a friendly way to Manuel. Manuel didn't pay much attention to him, but suddenly seemed angry and pushed the little boy out of the room. The boy was astonished and peeped through the door, but Manuel pushed again against the door and case worker did not interfere. Manuel had closed the door and was alone with case worker again. His expression had changed completely. He did not talk to case worker for a while, but went on playing with the game, hammering violently. We remarked that now we were alone again and we didn't have to have any other

little boys in if Manuel did not want to. He took the hammer, swung it toward case worker and said, "I hate you, I hate you." Then he showed almost manic behavior, breaking the little pieces of wood, hammering the cork plate. The pieces flew around and he said that he was going to kill case worker and he was going to kill everybody. He ran around in the interviewing room, throwing things on the floor and nearly breaking the telephone. He showed case worker his tongue several times and called her vulgar names, mostly with sexual meanings. We were sitting quietly at the desk and were writing. He took our pencil, threw it away, and said with a frightened expression, "Why can't you leave me alone? Why can't you leave me alone? Shut up, shut up, shut up!" though we hadn't said a word.

He began to curse and said it was the most terrible place he had ever seen and that he hated the room. We told him that he wouldn't have to stay here, that he could go to his mother and go home any time he wanted to. He said he didn't want to have case worker come with him. We said he could go alone and he began to quiet down a little and sat back in his chair, hammering furiously on the wood and breaking the pieces. We asked what he would do today when he went home. Would he play with the other boys in the park? He seemed quite calm again and said he didn't know, but on Sunday he would go to the beach. Did he like to go to the beach? At first he said yes, then he said, no, he didn't like to go into the water. Again with a raised voice he screamed, "I hate the water, I hate the big waves!" He made a movement with his hand indicating that he wanted to kill the wave. "I hate them because I am so afraid of them. They push me down and my mother makes me go into it." We said we could understand that he doesn't like that, many boys like Manuel and boys much bigger than he do not like to go into the waves. Manuel had been in the interviewing room for about an hour when we suggested that he go out and see where his mother was. He became quite friendly again and coaxed us not to send him away yet. He tried out this game and another, wanting us to count with him again, and we allowed him to do so for a few minutes, when we had to bring the interview to a close and took him out to his mother. He shook hands in a friendly way with case worker and we said he could come back if he wanted to and he said that he would.

In a second interview, we get much the same picture:

. . . He asked immediately for a pad and pencil, saying that he wanted to show case worker what he could write. He wanted to be a school boy. Then he started to telephone again, which the case worker let him do. He yelled into the telephone that he wanted the police station. Case worker pretended to be a policeman and asked what he wanted.

He said with tears in his eyes, "Send all the policemen in the world to the school and kill everybody in the school because they say that I am a bad boy." Case worker, as a policeman, asked him why they thought he was a bad boy and he answered that he had to fight with the other boys but they were worse than he was. We told him that we would go and talk to the teachers and see whether they wouldn't take him back in school. We asked whether he would like to go and he said that he wanted to. Then he became very mad again, ran out of the office, went into the other offices, picked up the telephones and yelled into them that he wanted a policeman. He then wanted case worker to go immediately to the school. We said we would do that as soon as possible and that he could come to see us again next week . . . .

The observance of behavior in these two interviews shows an anxious, destructive, and thoroughly disturbed little boy, who was thereafter immediately referred to a psychiatric clinic. One might have taken this step on the history given by the mother or through the collateral sources which confirmed the picture of restless and aggressive behavior. The fact that the behavior is so unremitting—occurs everywhere, home, camp, school—suggests a more pathological condition than if it were found only at home, for instance. However, the illustration merely serves to show a device in social study, used by competent case workers and also by group workers, of approaching social diagnosis through participant observation as a supplement to history.

As an incidental point, note how in the "interview" the case worker wisely refrains from any interpretation of behavior to the child. Even with much more normal children, interpretation must be sparingly used and then only by highly trained workers. Here we see the rising tide of anxiety getting quite out of control; as Manuel becomes destructive he fears retaliation for his acts and thoughts[8]—no less so because of the worker's quiet. A criticism of the handling might be that in (a) and (b), for instance, the case worker unnecessarily touches on the area of anxiety, thus arousing the storm that is brewing. If the worker were going on in a treatment relationship, this would be less justifiable than when, as here, the purpose is mainly diagnostic,

[8] See p. 339 *et seq.*

the extreme reaction confirming the history given previously.

The next case shows a flexible work up with a mother and adolescent daughter, aged twelve, in which the history taking and clarification of the social situation follows an easy pace.

The Stout Case[9]

Mrs. Stout is a small woman who wears thick-lensed glasses. She was tastefully dressed. She was a little ill at ease at first and opened the interview by asking what we wanted to know about Jane. Case worker said we understood she had been worried about Jane and we wondered if she could tell us something about the situation. Mrs. Stout said she had tried everything she knew of with Jane, adding, "Of course, I'm no angel." The whole trouble is that Jane has gotten so interested in boys. She seems to have no other interest and spends all of her time either hanging around the street or listening to love stories on the radio. Part of her interest may be due to the influence of the neighborhood. Unfortunately they are not able to afford to live in a better neighborhood and she feels that many of the children who live around there are quite unsupervised. She has heard so many disturbing stories of what happens to young children in New York. She has tried to interest Jane in other things, but without much success. She wondered if we knew of some recreational facilities which might keep Jane better occupied. Case worker asked if Jane was interested in some program of supervised recreation. Mrs. Stout said that she did not know, but she wished she could meet "a better class of children." She wishes, too, that Jane would take more interest in her school work. Mrs. Stout has talked with the teacher and she knows that Jane has never been a behavior problem in school. All of her teachers have found her quite easy to get along with, though she does not do well in her work. Mrs. Stout thinks that if she could get her mind off boys and study more she would do better. She goes to junior high school at P.S. Number 6, though she is in a retarded class and actually is doing only sixth grade work. Mrs. Stout has talked with Jane's teacher and understands that she has a rather low I.Q., but she feels that if Jane really applied herself she could do better. Mrs. Stout said she did not expect her to do anything brilliant, but she did want her to grow up to be a good, stable sort of girl.

She has tried and tried to talk to Jane, she has explained to her that going out with boys is something she should wait for until she is older,

[9] From a Family Service Agency, the case having been referred there by the teacher whom Mrs. Stout had been besieging about Jane.

but she does not seem to have any influence with her. Jane is interested in one particular boy who is about a year or so older than she is. Mrs. Stout had thought of going to his mother and talking with her about it, but then she thought his mother might resent this and this might make the situation even worse. Each summer for the past four years she has saved up enough money to send Jane away to camp for a month. Jane has got along well at camp and has seemed to enjoy it. Mrs. Stout had hoped that being away at camp would take Jane's mind off the boys, but this has not been the case. She said last summer Jane had written to her from camp only once, while she had written several letters to her boy friends. She is also worried about a little girl friend of Jane's. This girl's mother works and she is left unsupervised. She does not know that there is anything wrong with the girl, but it worries her because Jane and this girl sit in this girl's apartment and listen to the radio for long hours. She again said she wished she could get Jane into a better neighborhood. Mrs. Stout said she really wanted to prevent anything unfortunate from happening to Jane. She feels that her interest in boys is so unwholesome. For example, she found a note in one of her school books from another little girl saying "Keep your hands off my man." She thought this was extremely vulgar and she was shocked at the idea of such young children writing notes like this. Jane has always seemed quite unapproachable. She said in a disappointed way that she had always told Jane that she would be glad to answer any questions that she had on this subject; she wants her to have a wholesome attitude toward sex. Case worker said that this was natural and asked how Jane got along at home. Mrs. Stout said this was also a problem. She is quite sullen and irritable and disobedient. Mrs. Stout said she knew there were too many adults in the home and that this was one reason she had thought of placement for Jane. Mrs. Stout and the children live with her parents. Her father is an invalid but despite his illness he is always agreeable and pleasant. Her mother is not well either and has heart trouble. Her parents are supported by her two sisters. In addition, one of Mrs. Stout's sisters lives in the home. She is a trained nurse and is only there occasionally to sleep or have a meal with them. Jane refuses to obey her grandmother or her aunt and talks back to her grandfather, though they all try to be kind to her. Mrs. Stout is the only one who can manage Jane and then she can do it only by being very firm with her. Case worker asked about Phyllis and Mrs. Stout said that she was quite different from Jane. She smiled and said they had no trouble with Phyllis at all. Jane gets along all right with Phyllis as long as she can boss her. She and Mr. Stout are separated and she thinks that this is part of the difficulty. They were separated six years ago, and Jane took

this quite hard as she was very attached to her father. Phyllis did not seem to mind so much, as she was younger. Mrs. Stout said that it was a case of really having to separate. She tried in every way she knew to make a go of things. She thinks that if Mr. Stout took more interest in the children Jane would be happier. She has tried to get him to come to see Jane and to take an interest in her, but without much success. She feels that Jane would be more content if he did this. She has told Jane that if she thought it would make her happier she could go to live with her father, but Jane says that she does not want to as she knows that her father does not care anything for her. Mr. Stout boards with some people in Westchester and even if he did take Jane Mrs. Stout does not know how he would manage to look after her. Mrs. Stout was somewhat defensive in talking of her separation from her husband, saying she knew it was hard on the children, but there had been nothing else for her to do. She said that she had thought of taking a small place alone with the children and she had looked for such a place, but they were all so expensive. She feels she must continue to stay with her parents as Mr. Stout's support is irregular and she would have nothing to fall back on in times when he failed to support.

She spoke of how sullen and disagreeable Jane always seemed. Nothing seems to please her. (a) She realizes that Jane may be unhappy but it seems impossible to find out what is bothering her. She has tried every method with her. She has tried to talk with her and reason with her but Jane fails to respond to this. She has told Jane that anything she could buy her that would make her happier she would try to get her. Jane will seem pleased by something new for a while and then will lose interest. Jane has nicer clothes than most children, but this does not seem to please her especially. Mrs. Stout gave her dancing lessons for a while but this did not seem to mean much to Jane. She has tried to interest her in a number of things but without much success. She asked Jane if she would be interested in taking piano lessons as she thought if she would she would make a great effort to give them to her, but Jane did not seem at all interested in this. Mrs. Stout explained that while Jane's interest in boys is a fairly recent thing she has always been a sullen and irritable child. When she was a small baby if she could not have her way she would lie on the floor and scream and kick. Mrs. Stout said that she supposed she gave in to her too much and spoiled her, but it was hard not to do it, living in the household with her parents and so many adults. She has always hoped that Jane's disposition might improve, but when she began to show such an interest in boys she became really worried about her. The fact that she is at

a loss as to how to handle this situation makes it all the more disturbing to her. Case worker said perhaps we could do something to help her in the handling although it might take time. What had been her ideas in placing Jane? Mrs. Stout said well, of course she couldn't afford very much. She would not wish Jane to be placed in any institution for delinquent girls and she would be afraid that she would just learn more bad things in such a place. She had in mind something like a boarding school. Case worker explained that there were certain difficulties in finding such a place, but if she felt it was the only thing to be done we would be glad to try to help with such plans. Mrs. Stout said even if this should seem inadvisable she thought that a change of schools or even a private school would be desirable.

Mrs. Stout again brought up the question of recreational facilities and her desire that Jane should do something constructive. Case worker told Mrs. Stout we would be glad to advise her about recreation but we thought it might be helpful to know more about the things she really is interested in. Case worker asked if she would like to have someone here talk with Jane. We felt that if we could know Jane herself it might help us in planning with Mrs. Stout for her. Mrs. Stout at first said she did not think it would do much good. (b) She thought it would be very difficult to talk with Jane as she is so sullen. She said a little defensively that the whole trouble was that they lived in such a bad neighborhood. She wishes that she could get Jane in with a nicer group of children. She later said she supposed there were good children and bad children in every neighborhood, but Jane seemed to pick out the worst ones. (c) Mrs. Stout said perhaps it would help if we talked with Jane, then we might find out what it was that was really bothering her. Mrs. Stout said that she sometimes wondered what had made her fail with Jane. Case worker told Mrs. Stout that there were a number of things which might have contributed, that Mrs. Stout herself had told us of a number of good reasons for Jane's difficulties. Mrs. Stout thought we might be interested in talking with the school since they could give us more information about Jane and how she got along there. Case worker agreed that this was a good idea. (d) Case worker said we would consider having Jane see another worker who could talk with her about her difficulties. Mrs. Stout said it might be better if Jane saw us since she had explained things to us and another worker might not understand them as she had explained them to us. Case worker said we would tell another worker about what Mrs. Stout felt the difficulty to be. Mrs. Stout said she was afraid that Jane would be resentful of her bringing her in here. There was some discussion of this and Mrs. Stout said that Jane knew that she had been disturbed about her be-

havior and that she had been considering the possibility of placement. Case worker suggested that since Jane did know this, she might explain to Jane that she was to see someone here in order to give her an opportunity to express her own point of view about things. It was for this reason we had suggested that Jane see another worker, since she might feel freer to tell her own ideas to someone who had no connection with her family. Mrs. Stout said she realized that Jane might be suspicious of someone who she felt might tell on her or discipline her. Mrs. Stout said that she would have to bring Jane each time as she did not permit her to go any distance by herself. Case worker told Mrs. Stout that after we had talked with the school we would get in touch with her about an appointment with Jane.

We said we were interested in helping both of them. Mrs. Stout accepted this and said that if we felt this was a better arrangement, she thought we probably knew best. Mrs. Stout said that she hoped after seeing Jane we would be able to tell her wherein she had failed. She had tried everything that she knew and perhaps now we could tell her wherein she had made her mistake. Case worker said we knew it was a hard thing for a person to have to ask for help with her child, but that because a child was difficult did not necessarily indicate that the parents had failed. Mrs. Stout said she would like to take any suggestion that we could make. Clark

(a) As we have indicated earlier, the way the applicant has managed his problem in the past, just as the responsibility he is now taking in bringing it to an agency, giving history and so on, are important in evaluating the client's ability to use the agency service. When, evidently in response to an unrecorded question, Mrs. Stout describes her methods with Jane, they are not punitive as in the Gonzales case.[10] There is some affection which can be built on here. In (b) and (c) we see Mrs. Stout coming to face the difficult necessity of letting Jane come in to see a case worker—often a threatening step to the parent.

There is no formula (d) in these double client cases as to whether to use one worker or two. Generally speaking, one can say if two workers, whether in the same or in separate agencies, are to be used,[11] there should be more than one distinct focus

[10] See p. 193.

[11] Cf. the Tomasulo case, p. 322, where a public and a private agency are cooperating.

for treatment. In cases of marital discord or parent child conflict, one consideration is whether the outlook is for separation or for reconciliation—in the latter instance it is often easier to have one worker for both. This cannot be taken as a generalization, however, since in order to get people "untangled" for later possible reconciliation it is sometimes better for each to have his own worker. A good deal of experimentation is now going on and it is premature to say what sorts of problems in relationship can best be worked out one way or the other. An important consideration, shown in this case, is whether the "complainant" is taking some responsibility for the trouble. If so, it is often sound to work along with this client, gradually bringing the other client in. In the above material Mrs. Stout's opening remark that she herself was "no angel," and her later comments that she "wondered what had made her fail with Jane," and that she "would like to take any suggestions" made the use of a second worker here somewhat questionable, at least at the point where she was introduced and before Mrs. Stout felt wholly secure.

Further interviews with the mother are omitted here and the next steps will show a visit to the school and two interviews by the second worker with Jane.

Visited Public School[12] Number 6 and talked to classroom teacher of 6B Opportunity Class. This is a class for retarded children and though the children in it think that they are the first year of high school they are doing the work of the sixth grade. The day we were in Jane was at home ill, but it was agreed that no mention would be made of the visit until we could tell Jane herself. The teacher gave a most enthusiastic report of Jane as far as her personality went. She is one of the best liked children in the class, which is apparent through her being made class president for the third consecutive year. She is an ideal president in the eyes of the children, is liked by all of them; not so ideal for the teacher, though, because she is not strict enough. The teacher was very astonished that I should inquire about Jane because she is one of the very few children she has had who don't present a problem at all. She is a gay, popular girl, who is interested in her work, and only because of her low IQ is retarded in school. She is a much better type of

[12] This illustrates a typical "collateral" visit, as described in the last chapter, p. 103, as a common ingredient in social study.

child than most of the children in her class, is always very neatly dressed, very willing to help and to cooperate, and never truanting or causing any other trouble. For that reason she will try to get her back to the regular class where she will be with a different type of child. When I wondered whether that would not tax her ability too much because of her low IQ, and probably discourage her, the teacher thought it wouldn't in the case of Jane because she was the type of girl who could be carried along with other children; but of course it would mean that she would have to repeat the first junior high school grade because the work she is doing now is really grammar school work. This will be not so much a difficulty with Jane, but with her mother, who seems to be a very ambitious parent and probably would not want her to repeat a class. She asked whether I could help the mother to see that this would be to the advantage of Jane, and I promised that I would make an attempt in that direction. I was shown Jane's record card, which indicated that in 1937, when individual IQ was taken, she had had an IQ of 74. In 1932, when the family lived in Brooklyn, Jane had had an IQ of 106, but it could not be determined whether this IQ was a group or individual IQ.

Mrs. Stout and Jane in office by appointment. I introduced myself to them. When I asked Jane to come into the interviewing room Mrs. Stout wanted to come in. As a matter of course I suggested that it probably would be better if I saw just Jane and that Miss Clark would be glad to see Mrs. Stout meanwhile. She agreed but with some hesitation. (e)

Jane, who followed me to the interviewing room without enthusiasm but willingly, is an attractive-looking child, rather younger than her age, well dressed. She had a sullen and bored expression on her face, somehow unhappy. She was resentful and apparently had decided not to say anything but yes or no. I said that I was glad to see her and shook hands with her. She seemed astonished at that but gave me her hand. Her whole attitude fitted rather her mother's description of her than the teacher's. I said that I happened to go quite often to her school and that one day I saw her teacher and her class room. It was a day when she was sick at home. I had wondered how she looked, and she looked exactly as I had imagined her because her teacher described her a little to me and told me that she was a nice looking girl. She smiled a little and I said that the teacher also told me that she was the president of her class, and that that was pretty much of an honor, wasn't it? She nodded and then said that it was a lot of work though, too, but she didn't mind. I thought that it probably would be a lot of work. It showed, too, that the other girls must like her and the way she acted as president, because otherwise they wouldn't have elected her for three

times in succession. She said that she thought that the girls liked her and they were all right. I said that just as I had thought about what kind of a girl she was and how she would look, she must have thought about me and wondered what I would be like. She shook her head.

(f) I said that she probably hadn't liked the idea of coming in here and was afraid of what I wanted to see her for and what kind of person I might be. She seemed a little more relaxed at this point, a little less sullen. I asked whether her mother had talked with her about why she came in here. She said no, her mother hadn't told her anything. And she hadn't asked us for any reason herself? She only shook her head. I said that things were not going so well at home. She nodded that that was true. I said that her mother had not talked to me about that, but to somebody else in this office, but that I wanted to know what she thought about the whole thing, why she thought that things were not going so well at home, and what she thought could be done about it. I always thought that if things were not going so well between people each of them had a different point of view for the reason why they weren't, and therefore I would like to talk with her about it. I also said that she probably felt that whatever she told me I would repeat to her mother. I promised that I wouldn't; that whatever she told me would be confidential, but that I could imagine that she wouldn't believe me right away. I was, after all, a stranger, and she didn't know whether I would keep my promise. She nodded quickly and said yes, somebody hadn't kept her promise once, and then she said it was a teacher. She had told her something she didn't want her mother to know. I said that for that reason I could understand that she wouldn't trust me, but probably she would if she knew me a little longer. She nodded. Though she did not say anything, there was a definite response in her whole manner. I said I wouldn't trust everybody immediately either, they would have to prove to me that they were trustworthy first. She pondered over that a little, and after some thinking said that her mother did not like her—did not like her as much as she liked Phyllis, her younger sister. (g) I asked why she thought she did not like her. She shrugged, saying she did not know; she only knew that she didn't like her. Did she feel that her mother treated Phyllis differently than she treated her? She nodded, yes, that was it. In what way did she treat her differently? Did she give Phyllis things she didn't give to Jane? No, she did not do that, she was very fair toward them. Did she take Phyllis to the movies and leave Jane at home? No, she didn't do that either. Did she hug and kiss Phyllis more than she did Jane? She nodded and said that that was just it. She always took Phyllis on her lap and kissed her and was sweet with her. I said that it hurt her when her mother did that; did she never

kiss her? Oh yes, she sometimes did, but only at night and only when she, Jane, went to her and kissed her and then when she and Phyllis were quarreling about something, her mother always said that Phyllis was right and Jane was wrong. I asked whether they quarreled a lot, and she said no, they didn't. Phyllis was all right, only she didn't want to have her tagging after her all the time. I said that little sisters often were a nuisance and she agreed whole-heartedly with me, even smiling a little for the first time. I said that it was only natural for sisters to have arguments together and fights now and then, but she did not answer that. I said that's why she felt that her mother does not love her so much as she does Phyllis. Doesn't she think probably that she fondles her more because Phyllis is so much younger and therefore she treats her more like a baby? She shook her head, saying no, her mother never had treated her as she treats Phyllis now.

(h) Worker asked whether she thought that something could be done about it. She again was much interested, said she thought that the best thing would be for her to go away from home to a school because she was not happy at home and she thought that in a school it would be nice. Her mother had told her several times that she would have to go to a school one of these days, but she did not mind that at all. She wished she could go very soon. The trouble is that schools are too expensive. Her mother tells her that she has not enough money and has to look around for a cheap school. I asked what she thought such a school was like and she said that she had heard they had a lot of fun there, that there were a lot of girls, and when she would be away in school she wouldn't have to come home every day and that's what she would like, because she was not happy at home. She did not cry when she said this, but was very sad. I asked whether Phyllis felt about this the same way; would she also like to go away from home? She shook her head no, Phyllis didn't, why should she? Her mother likes her. She only doesn't like Jane. To my question she said she wouldn't mind being separated from Phyllis but she would like to see her once in a while. She added that she would like to see her mother once in a while, too. I asked about her father, did she think he preferred Phyllis to her too? She shook her head and said, "You know, my father does not live with us; he lives in Westchester and only comes to see us once in a while." The last time he came to see her was on Christmas. She gave him a present and so did Phyllis. She also got a present from both her mother and her father. She spoke very matter-of-factly about her father, saying that they all lived together when they were in Chicago. I asked whether she liked living in Chicago. She said she did like it better in Chicago. She knew more people then. Asked whether she had friends in

New York too, she said that she had, and then added with a slight tone of contempt, just girl friends. Would she like to have boy friends? She nodded and said that her mother didn't want her to have any. Had she had a boy friend already? She nodded again and said that his name was Alfred and he was a nice boy. I asked what they did together and said they probably had a lot of fun, more than she had with the girls. She nodded and said that they went to shows once in a while, but the last time he took her she had to take Phyllis with her and Phyllis told her mother, and then her mother became very excited and didn't allow her to see him again. I asked her whether she liked to go to shows and she said yes, once in a while, but not very much. She rather liked bicycling and basket ball. Without being questioned she said what she really liked was to be in camp. I said that she thought school was much like camp. Yes, she thought so. It was Church Camp, and they still had a club where they meet once in a while. She said she also liked it in school a whole lot. She would like to be in school much longer than she really is; she doesn't like to go home in the afternoon very much. I asked whether she couldn't play outside after school with her friends. She said her mother didn't want her to. I talked a little about clubs, told her something about the different activities they had, and wondered whether she would like to join such a club. She said that she would, but that she was a member of the Girl Scouts. They always meet on Tuesday. She would like to belong to another club though, too. I said I could find out more about clubs when I got to know her better and found out exactly what she was most interested in. I said that I would like to know her better and I probably could help her not only about clubs but also with the things she is bothered about at home. I asked whether she would like to come back to talk a little more about these things with me. I assured her again that I would not talk to her mother about what she had told me, unless she asked me to. She nodded. (i) I asked whether she felt that she could come alone, or whether her mother should come with her. She thought she could come alone, but then decided that the next time she would probably want her mother to come with her, and after that she would know the way and could come alone. She never is allowed to go anywhere alone. I said that I thought she was a big girl and could go very easily alone. She nodded but said that this time she would rather like her mother to come with her. She seemed quite relieved when the interview was over. When I said smilingly that she was glad it was over she nodded, also smiling. I said would she be as afraid to come in the next time as she was today? She said that she was not afraid, only worried, and now she wouldn't be any more. I went out with her after I had agreed with her

on an appointment, saying that I didn't want to make it on Tuesday as she had her Scout meeting then. I told Mrs. Stout in Jane's presence about the appointment time. She agreed to come with Jane, saying that she assumed Miss Clark would get in touch with her. I assured her that she would.

(j) Later: Jane came in with her mother, who did not try to come with us into the interviewing room as she did the first time. She only greeted me in a friendly way. Jane's expression had completely changed. She beamed at me, shaking my hand; no trace of her former sullenness could be observed throughout the interview, which was intentionally brief. I said that I was glad to see her again and she said in a low voice that she was glad too. I said that during the last week she probably had thought about the talk we had had together and that she probably had wondered about whether she had told me too much. She may have wished that she had not talked the way she did. She only shook her head with a great smile, then said that she had not been worried about that at all. I said that she probably had talked to me as she had not talked to many people before. She nodded and said that she never before had talked to anybody like that, and then added very shyly that it had made her feel good. I said that it probably had made her feel easier to talk about the things that must have been worrying her for a long time and that was why I liked to talk with her, because I liked to make it easier for her. She was worried about how things had been going at home. She probably would like it to change and I would like to help her in this. I asked how things had been going at home this week, and she said that they were fine, they were much better than ever before. She hadn't had any fight with her mother. I asked why she thought they had changed so much. She did not know, but then said that it was so peaceful at home because Phyllis was not around. She has been with her aunt nearly all week and always when she is away things are much better. I said that Phyllis bothered her when she was around, and Jane complained that she was such a nuisance. She wanted to be wherever she was—she never left her alone. This came out stronger than in the first interview. And then when Phyllis was not there the others at home were much nicer with her. She also can stay up at night a little longer when Phyllis is not around because Phyllis is younger than she and she has to go to bed when Phyllis goes to bed. She thinks it unfair. I asked who played more with her at home when Phyllis wasn't around? It was not so much her mother. Her mother had a little work these days and was not home much either, but she liked to play with her grandfather. She likes him best of anybody in her whole family. He always is nice with her even if the others scold her and don't care much about her.

Jane, who did not, as in the first interview, wait all the time for my direction, asked whether I had found out about a club for her, and I told her about the Center. She was quite eager to look at it and to find out whether she wanted to join. I told her that she could make up her mind, after she had seen it, whether she wanted to join or not. I told her about the different groups where there were boys and girls together, and some where there were only girls. I mentioned that I thought it probably would be more fun to join a group where there were boys and girls, and I hoped that she would be able to join such a group. She looked a little startled at me, then she smiled again and said that she would like to be in such a group too. She then looked a little worried and I thought that she probably thought about her mother and that she wouldn't want her to be in such a group. She said she did. I said that there were some groups where there were only girls because there were things which only girls liked to do, like sewing and weaving, but there were other things, like singing and playing games, which were much more fun if boys and girls did them together. With a little laugh, she said it was funny that she liked to do just exactly the same things her father liked to do, and Phyllis liked to do the same things her mother liked to do. I asked what the other things were she liked to do that her father also liked. She likes sports a lot and Phyllis doesn't; her father does too. He has gone skating with her. Her mother never has. I said then she must feel more alike with her father than with her mother and she agreed to that. People always say that she looks like him. Does that please her? Yes, especially since her father is tall and she is going to be tall too. She wouldn't like to be as short as her mother is. (Mrs. Stout is exceptionally short.) She is not the tallest in the class though, because there are many girls who are much older than she is and they are naturally taller. In an interested way, she talked about an incident in the class where she, as the class president, had to tell the teacher about a much older girl who had not behaved right in her absence. She did not like to do that very much. That is why she does not like to be president too much, that is, telling on other girls, and the teacher is angry with her, though, if she doesn't do it since that is what she is there for. I thought that would be a difficult job, that it would be hard to be always fair to everybody, and it was probably especially hard to tell on somebody who was her friend.

There was some discussion of finding out about the YWCA and their club, so that Jane could decide which one she would like to join after she had looked at them both. I told her that I could come with her to introduce her to the counselors there or that she could go alone and make herself acquainted. She wished that I could go with her and I

agreed that I would like to do it very much. We could decide the next time and where we wanted to go first. She asked whether she couldn't come by herself the next time, and I said that I thought she could, but that she probably should ask her mother.

(k) We went out together to the waiting room and I told Mrs. Stout that I had suggested that Jane come in again next week. Mrs. Stout agreed immediately that it would be perfectly all right to let her come by herself since "she had other things to do." Jane seemed to be glad that she could come alone.

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Note, as method in history taking how the movement is always from immediate situation to background or from top to bottom as it were. Some case workers would say that history in this illustration is more allied to treatment than to social study. It is idle perhaps to classify it arbitrarily. On the one hand it shows significant reactions of the clients and gives some useful side lights; on the other hand it is quite actively handled in a treatment sense, especially in the interviews with Jane. The questions are not structural nor patternized but grow out of the immediate leads offered by the mother first, and then by the girl herself. While simple, natural approaches are first utilized, the material discussed is always emotionally real to Jane, and not intellectualized. Note how in (f) and (g) in this interview, the active questioning approach probably helps this girl to talk about her feelings. With a protective and defensive child like Manuel Romano, each question will be a threat. Here the questions make it easier for Jane to bring up her complaints without a load of guilt for telling on the other person. Jane (h) and (i), like her mother, is interested in doing something about it. The first time "she will come with her mother, but the next time she will come alone." In (j) the mother, too, is more able to accept the separation, but it will be important for her to have a feeling of participation with the second worker throughout the course of treatment, and in (k) we see the worker taking pains to tell Mrs. Stout that she had suggested another visit. This would naturally be easier for the mother to accept than if Jane sought the appointment.

There is all the difference between getting history in a logical way and getting it in a responsive way: for instance, a woman, talking about her domestic situation, referred to herself and her husband as being quite happy and having made a good many plans when they were married. Worker A, following the logical track, might ask about her marriage and acquaintance with her husband before that, and the client might say they had known each other almost seven years before their marriage in 1936; that they had met when working together in a restaurant, and so on. Worker B, however, following the emotional tone, might say, "What sort of plans?" and thereby bring out her frustration in not having been able to have a baby. Or again, a man is saying irritably that his wife is constantly attempting to pick fights and to hurt or annoy him. "Why do you think she does that?" asks the interviewer, and gets a vital bit of history.

These very simple examples, which look so easy, of following closely what a client is telling us, show a technique almost as difficult as listening to the beat of a heart. Any case worker will admit, if he is honest, how hard it is to learn to catch the overtones and *to respond to them*. The natural tendency is to cut across with ideas of our own, or intellectual discussion, especially since in social conversation most people have the habit of thinking of what they are going to say next rather than really listening. Nevertheless, the art of taking histories is bound up in this ability to relate the question to the significant theme in what the client has been telling us.

To sum up one or two points on the study process: it is always useful in an early interview to introduce ourself and our agency so as to establish our position. This helps the client to see what and why we need to know the things that we shall ask. Next, by asking relevant and, for the most part, "responsive" questions, we enable the client to understand why we are asking. People rarely mind pertinent and do mind impertinent questions. That is to say, the questions should be obviously related to the problem. Saying in one form or another, "Yes, I think I can help you with these things," if the request is an appropriate one,

helps to establish a basis for pertinent questions. Giving one's reason for asking a difficult question also may make it easier for the client to answer it. The case worker, for the most part, must keep control of the interview, not only in order to clarify the situation as rapidly as possible, but because it is not fair to let people run on to little purpose. This does not mean interrupting or putting words in the client's mouth, but keeping to the topic, helping him to supplement it whenever necessary, but not encouraging him to chat about the universe, which is likely to be only a form of resistance. This is especially true if the story is not reliable. It is always hard to get back, once an untrue version has been given and accepted, and we must be careful lest, through interest in the picturesque or by being taken in, we do not lead people on in their phantasies. On the other hand, that does not mean that we should puncture or deflate a story with reality testing, but that we should try to get a few straightforward facts early and to keep the client from building up a false front if we can, not disturbing, however, his defenses, prematurely.

Recognition of the fact that a client has an organic and systematized social life, and knowledge of its general structure and elements, should not prevent us from following the clues in the presenting situation. We are always interested in the client's version of what he thinks has happened to him. Both from his point of view and objectively we need to know what precipitated the presenting problem—the "intimate history of onset," with whatever background material may later prove necessary. While in one sense the spontaneous history offered from time to time by a client is easier to make use of in treatment, getting a certain amount of history early is important in showing us how not to get involved in treatment or in the wrong sort of treatment. We must learn to work from situation to background and from top to bottom, but the quantity, tempo, and quality of material will vary with each case. We should always remember that the *giving* of social history is as important for the client or client group as the *taking* of history is for the case worker.

It is not possible to insure that either collateral study or direct

history from the client will be a painless experience for the applicant. Some people are sensitive about their income and others about their love affairs. Almost everyone has things in his current social experience which he is reticent or ashamed about. He doesn't always care to face it himself, let alone having other people see him as he is. There will therefore be resistances, whether the client is telling his own story or whether he is letting us inquire about him. These resistances can be met and reduced, although we cannot avoid some discomfort at some time in almost every case, if we take scrupulous care to explore only what is pertinent and necessary to a solution of the problem the client brings us, and if we share responsibility with him at every step for what needs to be said or done. The greatest resistance may reside in the worker, for if the case worker feels any sense that to understand another person's problem is impertinent, then a professional relationship is impossible. Said the dwarf in Hans Andersen, "something human is dearer to me than the wealth of all the world." The case worker must achieve within himself a deep tolerance for all experience, or a wall will lie between him and the things he feels judgmental about. Above all things the case worker must have a love of his fellow men, for only if he loves and accepts people as they are can he help them to accept themselves and their experiences. "The good physician,' said Richard Peabody, "knows his patients through and through, and his knowledge is dearly bought.... One of the essential qualities of the clinician is interest in humanity, for the secret of the care of the patient is in caring for the patient."[13] The case worker has something deeper still to learn about his own resistances which is that only as he accepts himself and is at peace with his own nature can he accept and tolerate other people.

[13] Peabody, *The Care of the Patient.*

Chapter VII

DIAGNOSIS AND EVALUATION

MOST SOCIAL WORKERS use the term "social diagnosis" to describe their interpretation of cases. We must realize that diagnostic thinking, or the drawing of purposive inferences, begins with the first interviews and observations, and continues throughout the case. All diagnostic skill rests on knowing what to look for, what to disregard, and how to review our findings in the light of subsequent data. No interpretation of the living human event can be final, no diagnosis can be complete.

Diagnosis as a "Social Perception"

In order to know what to look for, in order to use a "social level of perception,"[1] the student must have learned a considerable body of fact about social functioning in a normative sense. He must know something of work life and working conditions, of parental and sibling experience, of education and play and worship, of the function of supporting or being supported by others, of neighbors and friends and group associations. Unless his professional education gives him this basic subject matter, his case work is merely a handicraft resting largely on intuition and opportunism. Without a body of professional knowledge he cannot take an intelligent history, as we have already seen, and without this he certainly cannot make useful, accurate diagnoses. The diagnostic process assumes, as the social study process assumes, that social needs can be described and understood in some measure.

Case work today has substantial content derived from social science subject matter and, although the application of these sciences is still more of an art than a science, we need not assume that case work is purely a trial and error effort. While it has not

[1] See Dollard's *Criteria for the Life History*, p. 19, for his use of the term "social level of perception."

yet, and perhaps never will have, so exact an anatomy and physiology as underlie medicine, a considerable amount of charting has been done in the realm of personality and social forces, against which individual life histories can be studied. In an ultimate sense the human being is unknowable, but diagnosis is not concerned with ultimates but with practical working hypotheses. Within the last twenty years study of emotional or inner factors, as expressed through attitudes, behavior, and conversation, has brought into case work a better understanding of the person who has the problem as well as of the problem itself. Understanding what a person feels about his situation and what he wants to do to correct it, what he wants to become, is as important as understanding causal factors in the socio-economic environment. How is it that when we encourage the client to tell his own story and give its meaning for him, this is not "diagnosis"? His life experience has a configuration for him as well as for us, and it is to his own view of his situation that he habitually reacts. There is no reason why we should not call the client's subjective version of the situation "diagnosis," except that it is confusing to use the same term for the wholly introspective process. It is always important to find out what a person thinks is wrong with him, for this is part of the total meaning, but it is not necessarily the meaning discernible by trained social perception. When the client gives the meaning the situation holds for him, this is really the starting point for the treatment process. The meaning which we, as practitioners, derive from the incidents, history, and behavior, however, we call "diagnostic thinking," and in its formulated statement, social diagnosis.

In other words, no matter what his life history objectively is, or what he feels subjectively about it, we, as case workers, have to try to elicit a fuller meaning—make some sense out of the elements he presents. Sometimes we do little except confirm the client's interpretation. "I am," he says, "a case of involuntary unemployment." After studying his situation with him we may agree to just that. On the other hand, we may see his case as involuntary unemployment complicated by an occupational handi-

cap, or we may see his case as one in which he is constantly getting himself into difficulties with his employers and fellow workers so that there is a *voluntary* element in his getting himself discharged.

The case worker, moreover, has another hurdle to surmount, in that he must recognize his own subjectivity, prejudices, and biases. Learning to interpret involves not only understanding the client's feelings but one's own—one's own, that is, as distinct from the client's. A baby at first is unable to tell what is part of himself and what is part of actuality or objective reality. Gradually he learns that his toe belongs to him and other things belong outside of himself. Many children (in the growing up process) dissociate themselves slowly from the world around them. In much the same way the beginning case worker confuses his own feelings with the client's. He attributes to or projects upon the client, fear, guilt, gratitude, or what not, because he thinks this is the way everyone must feel under such circumstances since he himself feels so. Gradually the case worker learns to be sensitive to what the client feels or might feel. Thus he can identify with someone in trouble but still keep a balance, not be swept by his feeling, or he will be pulled into an unconstructive overidentification. He cannot permit himself to live through the client's experience—but he can understand his pain. There is a vast difference between being sensitive about oneself and being intuitional toward others. Most people whom we think of as having clinical aptitude have a striking capacity for direct apperception in emotional and sensory areas. At any rate, case workers have to come to terms with their own emotional experiences before they are free to interpret emotional factors in a truly social perception.

Every diagnosis is a kind of configuration, or Gestalt,[2] which derives its meaning as a whole from the fact that as practitioners we are going to do something with it, i.e., to treat it. The total situation has an individuality for a case worker which is not the

[2] See Koehler, *The Mentality of Apes*, Chapter VIII, for discussion of Gestalten; and also *Gestalt Psychology*, p. 192, *et seq.*, by the same author.

same as that for a lawyer, or a plumber, or a detective. If we perceive social reality, it is as a grouping, a design for living, with qualities of its own, each case being unique. The total configuration is made up of the individual interacting with his environment, figure, and setting—a whole of interdependent parts. The "social level of perception" never contemplates a single entity. The personality always reacts to a series of stimulating situations and to the impact of a total culture. The personality also reacts to inner urges as well as to external stimuli, so that social diagnosis is concerned with the whole social situation, inner as well as outer. The indispensable element in the configuration which makes it a case for the social worker and not typically for the priest nor the psychoanalyst is that there must be a real social problem and not merely the client's own private rendering of conflict or unadjustment. That is, when the conflict is predominantly intrapsychic, that is, referable to the psyche or conscience alone, it is not characteristically within our diagnostic configuration as social workers.

As knowledge increases, practitioners experimenting with this or that new approach often seem to be fixated at a given level. When social studies were being worked out, case workers carried on so much investigation that they scarcely got around to treatment. In the twenties case workers became so interested in the psychogenetic causes of difficulty that long histories were a major activity and often the treatment did not progress, stagnating in a dead center of diagnosis. It remains true, however, that there is nothing more important for a professional case worker than to achieve sound diagnostic habits. Knowledge and skill in the social diagnostic process include familiarity with the interaction of inner and outer experience and, in addition, certain definite concepts and relationships such as fact and inference, or findings and interpretation; the theory of causality; case definition and classification; the diagnostic as distinguished from the evaluation and from the treatment processes.

Findings and Interpretation

A complete definition of a case is scarcely possible and it can never be final. It is perhaps best to think of the explanation arising from complicated case data as a diagnostic hypothesis or supposition. A good diagnostic hypothesis helps to explain phenomena and in a limited way to predict, and it should be suggestive for treatment. In any diagnostic process there is a continuous search for significance, whether within the scope of the single interview or through a review of all the observations at hand. Those facts which seem to carry most significance for understanding the problem or the person are often called "findings." Sometimes people write down their findings, sometimes they carry them in their heads, but before drawing inferences they go through a process of selecting, weighing, and giving special attention to certain data as against other data.

From a long history we may cull the following data. Findings on Nicky Gregorius:

> The family income is $12 a week, earned by the seventeen-year-old son for a family of four. The father has recently been deported. The mother has chronic multiple arthritis with almost total incapacity. A thirteen-year-old girl does most of the cooking and housework. Nicky, aged seven, is not his mother's favorite, and she rarely shows him affection. Two months after his father's deportation Nicky began teasing and hitting the children at school, fighting with his sister, and breaking things about the house. Physical examination of the children showed them underweight and undernourished.

Findings can be focused or arranged in several ways, depending in part on what we are being asked to do about the case. As a matter of fact, these findings have already been selected with an eye on Nicky, who is the "patient." If the family had been referred for home relief, the history would have been more concerned with economic and eligibility material, residence, and so forth, the findings would have reflected this significance, and consequently the diagnosis, when made, would be accented to that end. Taking the above findings as given and drawing the inference, we might arrive at the following:

Interpretive, or diagnostic statement.—Nicky, an undernourished and neglected child, is showing aggressive behavior which, deriving in part from his being unwanted and rejected, is now accentuated by the additional deprivation involved in the loss of his father. The home setting is one of general financial strain, together with impairment of the mother's child-caring and home-making roles. Nicky's jealousy of his sister may be explained by the marked approval now given her by the mother for her household activities.

Interviews are sometimes recorded in a way to show what amounts to findings. In the above case, during a long observational trip with Nicky, the worker thought it important to record a single incident:

While having chocolate, which he asked for (on the two trips we noted his request for food, he frequently not eating what he had ordered), Nicky said, "The chocolate is too hot; perhaps if it is too hot the whole inside will burn up," nodding seriously, "and the whole skin will come out." "It is true sometimes food is too hot and might burn and be uncomfortable, but it is not as bad as all that. It is good to be careful." We volunteered to taste his with our spoon. With fear in his voice he said, "Oh no, you mustn't. I will get your disease—or you get mine." We explained our spoon was unused—his chocolate was—there was not much danger. "Are you often afraid of disease?" "No, but you must wash everything and never, never touch anything—now that is real."

The case worker has not here recorded her inferences, but the selection suggests that significances lie around Nicky's preoccupation with food ideas and fear of disease. No doubt the inferences were deliberately withheld until further check was possible, probably with the help of a psychiatrist. Findings are the raw material of diagnosis but they are not diagnosis. Fact and inference are not the same. It is important to be able to distinguish facts from diagnosis, just as it is important to distinguish diagnosis from treatment. Workers sometimes think that because diagnosis is made for the *purpose of* treatment, and because in case records diagnosis and treatment plans often are linked together, the intellectual processes are the same. A little reflection and practice should clarify this not uncommon confusion.

While in a logical way one would say that first one gathers

data, then derives from these data certain significant items (findings), which when configurated give one the meaning (diagnosis) of a case, actually the inferential process is continuous and one can see fragmentary diagnostic thinking related to an incident, an interview, or even a piece of behavior or attitude within a single episode. For example:

A man twenty-eight years old called at the office to ask for supplementation of his WPA[3] wages. After a long discussion focused chiefly around the man's work history, which had been spasmodic, Mr. Long remarked that he had never prepared himself for a trade and had no special skills. His father had made good money in the shoe business and Mr. Long had never realized he had to work, since he "could always go to the old man for money." When the worker suggested vocational guidance and possible training opportunities, Mr. Long voiced interest but added at once, "Will you support me while I am training?" The worker commented in the record ("diagnostic thinking" or "impression"): While this was a natural question, it seemed as if he was always thinking in terms of additional relief instead of ways to becoming self-supporting.

Diagnostic thinking or comment may be directly related to immediately observed data. It would be dangerous for the inexperienced worker to make the inference here noted, but a case worker who has interviewed hundreds of applicants requesting supplementation of wages has become able to draw shrewd and quite accurate inferences about clients' attitudes toward relief and other types of aid. The experienced worker, nevertheless, does not go by these diagnostic hypotheses, but checks and rechecks early impressions by later ones.

Descriptive and Causal Definitions

In social phenomena cause and effect relationships are so complex that even less than in physical phenomena is it possible to establish exact causal sequences. It is helpful to define even on a superficial level, however, obvious if partial connections—i.e., this family is in need because the wage earner is unemployed, or this girl does not enjoy parties because her sister gets all the at-

[3] Works Progress Administration.

tention, or this child is truanting from school because his program is unsuited to his capacities. Social diagnoses are commonly of a descriptive sort, indicating these interrelations even when it is known or suspected that additional factors must be operating. Causality can be indicated only in approximate, not absolute terms. One could say, for instance, going backward in time sequence, that this child's aggressive behavior was due in part to his rejection by his mother, and her not wanting him was because the pregnancy interfered with her stage life, and *her* need to go on the stage was determined by—and so on indefinitely. Causality of this type is suggested in social histories, but historical causality is like an inverted pyramid—the situation is represented by the apex, and the nearer we get to the base of the pyramid the more causes appear. In the same way, if we search for causes sociologically instead of psychogenetically we get quickly into remote and extremely complicated causation. This man is in need because he is unemployed; he is unemployed because of overproduction in his line of work; the overproduction is caused by—well, no two economic experts will agree beyond that point. By causality, then, we mean merely that the factors are found operating together in a given situation. Sometimes an illusion of causality is created by using psychological concepts; thus a worker might say quite simply and descriptively:

This is the case of an unattached girl, estranged from her family, now in conflict about returning to look after her younger brothers and sister, who are neglected because the father is alcoholic and abusive.

Or:

This is the case of an unattached girl estranged from her family. Her conflict over her responsibility toward the younger children may be really a reflection of her jealousy of them and her anxiety and guilt over mixed feelings of love and hate toward her father.

The latter statement would appear to be more "diagnostic," although it is not necessarily more useful or more "causal" because the weighting is psychological. Ideally, as we have said, diagnosis should interpret inner as well as outer factors, but actually practical descriptive definitions showing socio-economic setting and interacting disabilities or behavior are quite satisfac-

tory for that large part of case work which is practical and executive.[4] To reverse the proverb, we do not want the mouse to labor diagnostically and bring forth a mountain, when a simple explanation will serve all necessary objectives.

Case and Class

Everyone who thinks at all must classify in one way or another. We cannot go out to dinner without thinking whether it is a *formal* or an *informal* dinner, since the classification will suggest how we are to dress. In the same way the classification "unemployment," or "sibling rivalry," or "unattached and homeless" or "neglect" helps workers to think more clearly. Any study or court records will show, however, that the classification "neglect" is inaccurately and loosely used, so that one might be tempted to say that classification may be inhibiting to precise thinking. Rather is it true that classification is indispensable to thought. Classification is an essential part of the diagnostic process, its validity depending on the noting of real and not chance resemblances. Classification is a key to meaning. Complete diagnosis also requires definition within the class, showing the identifiable factors. Students who have learned that each case is different often forget that they know it is different because of conscious or unconscious classification. Both definition and classification, therefore, are involved in all diagnostic thinking. Case workers tend to have a resistance to making case definitions and even more to classification. Because every case is a dynamic living event, they would rather set down partial diagnostic thinking or comment related to an interview than come to grips with the case as a whole, and would usually rather make a diagnostic statement[5] than attempt to classify the case in any categorical scheme. Generally speaking, too, they underestimate the value of the simple descriptive sort of diagnostic statement, and rouse themselves to diagnostic effort only if they are approach-

[4] See next chapter.

[5] For a discussion with illustrations of findings, diagnostic statement, and classification, see the writer's, *Social Case Recording*, Chapter IV.

ing an interpretation of symptomatic behavior. The best advice for anyone wishing to acquire a diagnostic habit is to practice making simple descriptive, as well as more complicated explanations, and to classify all one's case load according to the best available diagnostic scheme.

Interpretation to the Client

Sometimes the case worker's diagnostic thinking can be inferred from what is said to the client. These interpretations to the client should be regarded as the *use* of diagnosis, or as a form of *treatment*. To illustrate first with the social diagnosis based on the case as a whole:

This is the case of a young girl burdened with three dependents, whose family tension has been increased by the establishment of a joint household with a married sister. Crowded quarters, lack of privacy, and financial strain have produced frictions and a sense of social frustration, in that she feels her chances of meeting men and marrying are diminishing. Her accumulated hostility is of a rebellious nature—a protest toward an inhibiting outer world.

Next notice the use of diagnostic thinking in interpretations to the client as treatment.[6]

Laura, an attractive girl, appears tense and uncomfortable. She speaks of the bad weather. Worker says, "*It must have been hard for you to come here today.*" Laura says she dreads returning home at night because of the constant quarreling that goes on all the time. She feels her anxiety is affecting her work, as she is unable to concentrate because of all this worrying. She just cannot make her income stretch over all the family's needs. Worker says *she quite understands how Laura must resent all the responsibility she is forced to take....*

Laura says that since she was thirteen she has worked on Saturdays, during school vacations in the summer. She had had to work because her father never had an adequate income. The $100 monthly that she earns would be quite sufficient for her if she did not have the responsibility for these other people. *Worker says she must feel angry and frustrated, working so long and having so little real life of her own.*

The interpretation here is, perhaps, merely to recognize feeling. The first sentence "appears tense and uncomfortable" is a

[6] See p. 222 for use of diagnosis in interpretation to the client.

bit of interpretive comment on a descriptive level. During the whole interview Laura insisted, in quick succession, on having her income supplemented for an indefinite time, on herself having a separate apartment, on special diets for each member of the family, on not looking for an apartment until she knew exactly what the agency would do, and on fixing very special times for her appointments. The worker in recording the interview adds occasional running diagnostic comments, such as "Laura shows reluctance to face the business at hand by evading practical discussion of the budget," her "tendency to set conditions," her "characteristic response being resistance quickly translated into resentment." Then going a little deeper: "This girl's resentment of the support function may be based on repressed anger toward her father, whose death has forced her into a masculine role which she rejects." It is not likely that any part of the last diagnostic comment would be interpreted to this resistive girl. The case worker is aware of some of the unconscious motivation, but direct interpretation would, perhaps, only be undertaken by a psychiatrist.[7]

For further variations and combinations of the diagnostic theme, we will next show findings, diagnostic comment, and use of diagnostic thinking in treatment (interpretation to the client) in the case of a young child.

Lucy,[8] a seven year-old girl, now in the psychology clinic of a hospital. She is an only child and was a premature baby. Before the age of two, the patient had had three eye operations for congenital cataract, with subsequent limited vision, and two other hospital admissions for illness. By six she was in sight conservation class, where she showed quarrelsome, noisy, restless, disobedient behavior, and was frequently threatened, in consequence, with expulsion. The father is authoritative, critical, punishing, and sometimes indulgent. The mother wavers between overconcern and overprotection, and punishment and severe threats. On psychometric examination Lucy was found slightly above average intelligence.

The first excerpt shows interpretive but scarcely diagnostic writing.

[7] See p. 341, n.

[8] From a Psychiatric Clinic. The excerpts are from three separate interviews.

While I was talking with Mrs. D., Lucy came into the room. She was obviously impatient at our conversation. She tried to attract first my interest, then her mother's. She begged me to go back into the bedroom to sing a few songs. I stopped to talk to her, and she seemed to want to hold me as long as possible. She asked when I would come again. Told her next week. She asked if I would bring her anything. I said I did not have anything to bring. Couldn't I give her anything? she asked. She smiled shyly at this; I could see my remark had registered. When she persisted that I give her something I said with a smile that when I left I might give her a kiss. She smiled at this, and let me talk for some time to her mother. But Lucy was very soon again trying to divert us. I suggested to Mrs. D. that I had to go now. She insisted upon talking very rapidly about her difficulties, so that I could not leave at once. Lucy, meanwhile, was trying several different methods to attract attention. She shouted, she threatened, she cajoled. Finally, when neither her mother nor I responded to these efforts Lucy flung herself down on the floor. Mrs. D. looked at me in despair as she accompanied me to the door.

The case worker then concluded with a frankly diagnostic comment:

Patient was reluctant to end the interview, and tried to prevent worker from talking with mother. Here patient is asking for limitless love in order to supply the deep, long-denied need in her. And here also is a deliberate conscious use by patient of aggression to gain her ends.

The next interview contains more diagnostic comment, from which the following is a representative example:

When I said "Hello," she (patient) seemed conflicted between her wish to acknowledge my greeting and her need to dominate. She stood some distance away and demanded, aggressively, "You said you would sing songs today." I told her I certainly remembered my promise, that I had come expressly for this purpose. She seemed a little embarrassed, possibly by my direct show of friendliness. She insisted I come into the bedroom at once in order to sing.

Her aggressive pattern now begins to relate itself to worker. Wanting love, patient still fears to give up her defenses. This balancing of positive against negative impulses becomes apparent at once.

The last excerpt shows diagnostic comment and interpretation to the client:

As I removed my coat she pointed to the bright green sweater I was wearing and said, "Nice." I could see she was conscious of her own appearance. She wore a new dress and her hair had been carefully curled. I exclaimed how pretty she looked, what lovely curls, etc. She smiled with embarrassment, turning away, again as if it were difficult for her to accept my steady good will toward her. A moment later she ran to me and said, directly, in a loud voice, though still smiling, "Do you know why I fell down on the floor last week, you remember?" I said, "Yes, I remember. Why did you?" "Because I wanted you to hear what I was saying," with an air of triumph. I said, "You were mad, weren't you?"[9] She laughed and agreed.

In this incident, she begins to reach out for approval, after her display of hostile, aggressive behavior.

Note that the interpretation is of material of which the child is fully aware. "You were mad, weren't you?" Case work interpretation to children is always sparsely used and then, to be safe, on the more obvious levels. Although the worker must be aware of unconscious motivation, whether with children or adults, it is not within his competence to treat problems in the deeper layers of the unconscious.[10]

Situation and Person

Trends in case work, as we have said, have come to emphasize not only the diagnosis of the social situation or the problem material, but the effort to try to understand the person who has the problem. In early contacts with an individual or a family we obtain a kind of situational, descriptive diagnosis. Our impressions of the person who has the problem are gained chiefly from observing his reactions and comments on the situation he presents. As the case unfolds, the person in the piece becomes clear-

[9] For further examples of interpretation to the client, see the Guthrie and Barger cases in Chapter IX.

[10] Case workers must sometimes bring to the attention of the client ideas and feelings, whether acceptable or not, of which he is unaware. These ideas and feelings are in the antechamber of the mind or, as Freud calls it, the "pre-conscious." Such thoughts can become conscious in appropriate circumstances. The case worker may deal with readily accessible memories and feelings about which the client may have resistances; he does not, however, have access to or try to treat problems and feelings lying deep in the true unconscious, for which analytic procedure would be necessary.

er. This characterizing of the person is, perhaps, not a part of diagnosis proper, although it is an essential part of the whole process of deriving meaning. The inexperienced investigator, or layman, sees persons perhaps as types—a "high type Italian," "a self-made type," "a hard-boiled type," and so on—such characterizations showing more of the subjective feeling of the observer than giving us an actual character drawing. The psychiatrist or psychoanalyst, at the other extreme, will have diagnostic constructions—such as a "paranoid personality," or "anal character," —based on definitive theory and practice. Sometimes a quite detailed interpretation of personality will be made in the emotional sphere, comparable with the intellectual diagnosis derived from a psychometric examination. Such diagnostic approach to personality as a clinical picture may be seen in the following interpretations by a psychiatrist:[11]

This is an unusually gifted girl, with a keen sensibility and some originality in her fancy. She has already reached her social adjustment in so far as she has accepted her feminine role. Her sensuality, which is strong, is no matter of guilty feeling, but is, on the contrary, a way of stressing her artistic sensibility. She is also a selfish, vain and exhibitionist girl. She knows that she is bright and clever and wants to make anyone know it. She is not well-trained for hard work; and since she is quick in learning and everything appears easy to her, she is superficial, and certainly more bright than efficient. But nevertheless she is definitely superior to the average. No real deep problem is to be found, as she is resolving her infantile complexes in an artistic mood....

A boy nine years old, with average intelligence and a very keen sensibility. He lacks a real family, a comprehension in people surrounding him; he wants to be confident, while on the contrary he gets accustomed to keeping all his feelings inside. The misunderstanding of his surrounding people is the cause of his suffering and his desire to escape, anyhow, to find something new, different from what he has had till now. At the same time he loves this family that does not understand him, and this is the cause of new pain. In other conditions he would have been a pet boy, from whom everything would have been obtained by the means of caresses. If put in those conditions, he may resolve

[11] The pieces of interpretive writing are derived from the Rorschach test. It depends on their use, whether one would relate them more to the process of diagnosis or to evaluation.

all his actual problems, as nothing wrong exists in him apart from this longing for familial affection . . . .

A selfish girl, cool-hearted and stiff in her attitude toward the world. She is stubborn as a child who wants to succeed in the fulfillment of all her caprices. At the moment she feels very unhappy and has only the idea of escaping; but really she has no plans and her attitude of revolt lacks aim. Puberty is extremely painful, as every sexual feeling is inseparable from a meaning of guiltiness; nevertheless her nature is too strong to be easily defeated. What bothers her more is the feeling of her weakness. Her intelligence is better than one would guess from her behavior; she is wasting her intelligence by her attitude of distrust and hate against the world, which originated from her unsatisfied pride and her need of commanding. This is leading her to miss the contacts with reality, or at least to reduce them to the trivial daily life. All this complex of childish reactions is twisted with some very deep and grievous feeling; she really wants to escape from herself, and not from her society, and she realizes it is not possible . . . .

The case worker does not make clinical pictures as in the above, but he is nevertheless constantly thinking in personality terms, such as the following:

As Billy has been very much protected by his mother it has been difficult to step from a dependent role. He imagines himself a leader in all his play activities and in this way derives satisfaction. Torn between a desire to go back to the role of the care-free school boy and a desire to be the breadwinner and head of the family, Billy is an extremely conflicted boy who is becoming more and more vague as to where he is heading.

Some workers, instead of trying to interpret the person in the situation—the typical diagnostic cross section, try to interpret the way the person is meeting the situation. To the writer it seems confusing to call this latter "diagnosis." When the interpretation is directed not to defining the problem but to analyzing how the person is meeting his problem, this would appear to be evaluation rather than diagnosis. The emphasis on the assets, the potential strengths, of the client in taking the step of helping himself by seeking help has been, perhaps, a useful corrective to the tendency to become preoccupied with the problem material; but we should recognize that the evaluation of a client's potentialities to help himself in a treatment relationship is not the same as

the diagnostic process. Diagnostic and evaluation skills are equally indispensable in the "unity of the case work process."

Evaluation

In the next illustration we shall show a factual summary, followed by social or situation type of diagnosis, and then by two evaluations showing more of the personalities.

The Monte Case[12]

Father, Dan, thirty-one years old. Mother, Louise, twenty-six years old, Czecho-Slovakian. Married, 6-28-27. Child: Sarah, born 12-19-27.

The Montes were referred to the Children's Court. Mrs. Monte was working as a waitress in a restaurant, living alone. Mr. Monte, who was also working, and Sarah, lived with Mr. Monte's parents. Mr. Monte was refusing to let Mrs. Monte see Sarah, but agreed finally, without court action, to let Mrs. Monte see her one day a week, and referral to us was made for further study.

The Montes knew each other about two years before, having met through a girl friend of Mrs. Monte's with whom Mr. Monte first went. Mrs. Monte was three months pregnant before marriage. She speaks little about this. Mr. Monte claims that she got him drunk and tricked him into marrying her, that she even made him lie to the priest about her pregnancy, and that his father had offered him money to go away rather than marry her. Both claimed that neither of the families knew of the pregnancy at the time of the marriage. After marriage the Monte's lived for about a month with Mr. Monte's family. Mrs. Monte was very unhappy here. She felt Mr. Monte's mother tried to cause difficulty between them, would be nice when Mr. Monte was mad at her, and cross with her when she and Mr. Monte were friendly. Mrs. Monte visited her own mother daily and the Monte, Sr. family objected to this. At Mrs. Monte's insistence Mr. Monte agreed to try living with Mrs. Monte's family. This arrangement lasted only a short time also because Mr. Monte disliked her parents and claimed that Mrs. Monte's mother should pay Mrs. Monte for the housework she did there. They finally got a place of their own. Mr. Monte was sup-

[12] From a Family Service Agency. This case has been rearranged and summarized to illustrate one aspect of the diagnostic and evaluation approach. Actually the case was unfolding, as in interviews shown elsewhere, with situation, interpretation, and evaluation of the client's way of meeting the situation proceeding concurrently.

posedly working in the mines at night during this time. Mr. Monte complained that Mrs. Monte could not keep house and did not feed him properly. Sarah was born in Mrs. Monte's own home, a midwife attending. The birth occurred without difficulty. About six months after Sarah's birth, and shortly after Mr. Monte's family had come to New York, Mr. Monte left to follow them here, his departure being based on the fact that Mrs. Monte was not taking care of him as she should. Mrs. Monte, Sr. said he came to get away from her family. It is not clear how much time elapsed before Mr. Monte finally wrote to Mrs. Monte to come. When she did, she discovered that he had no work and they had to live with his family here. He had trouble finding employment and she thought it best to get work herself, obtaining the job she holds at the present time. Again at her insistence they finally got a place of their own after Mr. Monte secured work. They could have lived on what Mr. Monte was earning, but Mrs. Monte's salary provided a little better apartment, more furniture, and other extras which Mrs. Monte felt Mr. Monte insisted upon, though they could not really afford them. They arranged for Sarah to be taken care of by Mr. Monte's mother when they were away during the day, Mr. Monte taking her there when he started to work in the afternoon and Mrs. Monte calling for her at night on the way home from work. This arrangement evidently worked out fairly satisfactorily until Sarah started going to school, when they felt it was bad to wake her up late at night to take her home. It was also hard for Mrs. Monte, who then had to get up early the next morning to take her to school. They finally decided to leave Sarah with Mr. Monte's mother all of the time. A few times, usually in the summer, Sarah was taken to Pennsylvania to stay with Mrs. Monte's family. Mr. Monte objected to this plan violently, saying that Mrs. Monte's home was not a fit place for Sarah because of her father's drinking. Again it is not entirely clear, but there were evidently two or three short periods of separation between 1929 and the present, when they would give up housekeeping and Mr. Monte would go to his family. The return together seemed instigated by Mr. Monte, and agreed to by Mrs. Monte "for Sarah's sake."

In December, 1935, Mrs. Monte's mother became very ill and had to have an operation. Sarah had been living there since the previous summer. Mrs. Monte went home for a month. Mr. Monte visited for a few days at Christmas. He accused Mrs. Monte of having intercourse with her father because her father could not have it with his wife. Mrs. Monte did nothing about it at this time, but when they returned to New York, bringing Sarah with them because Mr. Monte refused to allow her to stay there, Mrs. Monte decided to leave him.

The separation was planned and Mrs. Monte agreed to let Sarah go with Mr. Monte, feeling that she would get better physical care there than Mrs. Monte could supply when she was working, and that Mr. Monte would never allow her to have Sarah anyway. For a short time Mr. Monte allowed Mrs. Monte to see Sarah in the afternoons after school and to take her out occasionally all day. In the spring of 1936 Mr. Monte took Sarah to his married sister's on Long Island. Mrs. Monte felt they were planning to leave Sarah out there so that she could not see her at all, and at this time went to the Children's Court.

The Montes have no definite financial arrangement about Sarah. Mr. Monte says he pays his mother for his own board but that Mrs. Monte, Sr. is willing to keep Sarah without charge. For any big items such as a coat, Mr. and Mrs. Monte usually split the price. Mrs. Monte wants to buy things for Sarah, but Mr. Monte accuses her of being unwilling to buy anything really useful and says that what she does buy is always the wrong size.

Sarah has been seen, with the hope of determining what kind of effect the present arrangement, as well as Mr. Monte's behavior, is having on her. She is tall for her age and pretty, with dark curly hair. She was extremely shy at first, said almost nothing, seemed uncertain of why she came. Mrs. Monte was anxious for us to see Sarah, but felt she would not "talk." Whenever anyone tried to question her she said "Skip it," or changed the subject. Mr. Monte wanted us to see Sarah to ask her which parent she preferred. Mr. Monte has brought her in, not "trusting" her to Mrs. Monte.

In two later interviews she has been more easy but gave the impression of being somewhat tired and languid, almost as if depressed. She played a little with the paper dolls and emphasized what she did with her mother, what her mother gave her for Christmas, etc., saying almost nothing about her father. She calls her uncles brothers. A school visit indicated satisfactory achievement and no apparent difficulties. She is taking tap dancing lessons after school, which both Mr. and Mrs Monte attend.

Diagnostic statement.[13]—This is the case of a young couple intermittently separated after a forced marriage. Unemployment and the economic strains of living with in-laws increase the friction. Moreover, the man seems tied to his mother as a source of assistance and moral support. Because of unemployment and low income, the wife assumes a wage-earning role and she apparently is a poor housekeeper and manager.

[13] This interpretation and those following should not be taken as absolute or final, but are only to show the cross-section diagnostic as distinguished from the dynamic evaluation type of thinking.

The child is a pawn in the struggle between the parents, and her relinquishment by the mother to the paternal grandmother may be a partial rejection.

Mr. Monte.—Mr. Monte was born in a small mining town just two miles from Mrs. Monte's birthplace. Mr. Monte was the oldest of eight children, six boys and two girls. His father has always been a tailor. Mr. Monte is said to have worked in the mines in Pennsylvania, but it would seem that he has spent most of his time at home with his mother; he speaks of having learned from her how to keep house well, etc. His family is also well spoken of in the community. When business became poor in 1927 his family came to New York City and Mr. Monte, Sr. had a tailor shop here. The two daughters are married and it is not clear what the other boys do. Mr. Monte works nights as a utility man in a medical arts building.

Mr. Monte is a meticulous dresser. His hands are white, effeminate-looking, with long, slender fingers. He shows little emotion in talking and there is a touch of hardness in his voice and mannerisms. Mr. Monte used interviews with us to criticize Mrs. Monte. He responds almost none at all to interest in himself. He accused Mrs. Monte of having been unfaithful the whole time they were married and of being for that reason anxious that he work at night rather than during the day. He claimed that one of the reasons she called him a "sissy" when he wanted to take up beauty culture was because she wanted her nights free. When he decided to take up photography she left him. He felt sure she was no good, even before marriage, but he "was too dumb to be suspicious then."

He was taking this course in photography to better himself since the present job paid too little. He was very busy, saw his own family very little, and in addition to taking Sarah to dancing class, saw her only on his night off when he took her to the movies. He felt that Mrs. Monte was complaining now because she discovered Mr. Monte and Sarah could get along without her. He was willing that Sarah should see Mrs. Monte once a week, though he could not understand why she was so interested now when she had not been previously, and wondered who would be responsible if Mrs. Monte should jump into the river or throw Sarah in. If she wanted to see Sarah why didn't she see her at home where someone could listen to what she was saying to "my daughter," instead of always taking her to movies and restaurants and feeding her the wrong things?

He claimed that she had infected him with syphilis four years previously, that she was diseased now because she had blind boils on her face and that her boy friend was also diseased, and that she had

infected Sarah by kissing her on the mouth. It must be syphilis because that's the kind of girl she is. Mrs. Monte had an abortion about two years ago. Even Mrs. Monte's own sister, after Sarah was born, wrote a letter to Mr. Monte saying "God knows how many fathers Sarah has." It was the second abortion that Mrs. Monte had. He took the blame for the first one, he's not going to run away from anything, but this other abortion happened while Mrs. Monte was away and he knew he wasn't responsible.

Nothing Mrs. Monte ever did was right. He'd like to be rid of her; she's around his neck this way and he'd be better off without her. Mr. Monte talked about a divorce but decided against it because "Why should I set her free, just so that she could go ahead with her plans?" Besides, he'd never shirk responsibility. He always said that she'd have to be the one to leave him if they were going to separate, but now he doesn't want Mrs. Monte seeing the baby, it's bad for her. Mr. Monte's mother has done everything she could to help; kept the baby although she wanted Mrs. Monte to take her.

The only thing Mr. Monte could say, when they were home that time, was that it looked as if her father wanted to be in Mr. Monte's place. Once too, when her brother was visiting she insisted upon sleeping with him rather than Mr. Monte. There must be something wrong with a married woman who sleeps with her brother. He doesn't want her back now. "I'd have a lot of doctor bills. Let the boy friend cure her."

Mrs. Monte never wanted to take care of Sarah—that's why he can't understand her wanting to see her now. Mr. Monte used to care for her most of the time when she was a baby and now he and his mother do it. She couldn't even buy the right sized clothes for Sarah, she could not sew or cook. She had agreed to give Sarah up because she didn't want to have to bother with her. After Sarah had been out for a day with Mrs. Monte she would come home dirty and ragged. If she caught a cold it was due to Mrs. Monte's carelessness. Once when Sarah was sick Mrs. Monte finally came down to see her, bringing with her one of her cheap friends from the restaurant. When they saw her at the door Mr. Monte said to his mother that if she didn't have enough sense to come alone in a situation like this they should not let her in, so his mother didn't. Then Mrs. Monte blamed his mother but his mother never does anything unless he tells her to.

On the home visit, when Mr. Monte was refusing to let Mrs. Monte see Sarah again, we found Mrs. Monte, Sr. corroborating Mr. Monte's statements. Our impression was that the home atmosphere was a very satisfying one to Mr. Monte. His mother emphasized the fact that a

child should be cared for by its own mother, yet also spoke of loving Sarah as her own child and wanting to keep her.

Evaluation of Mr. Monte.[14] Mr. Monte is taking very little responsibility for the failure of the marriage. He appears to be a self-centered person who projects all the blame upon others, instead of trying to work things out. He is just another child who wants to be taken care of by his mother, and would need a maternal wife, which Mrs. Monte emphatically is not. He has a sense of inadequacy and fear of a rival, which makes him suspicious and jealous. Now he seems greatly detached. His role with his little girl has been a maternal one. With his inferiority feelings and effeminate make-up he may want a wife more as proof of his own masculine respectability than on the basis of affection.

Mrs. Monte.—Mrs. Monte was born in a small mining town in Pennsylvania. She is one of eight children, the fourth oldest. Her father was a miner. Mrs. Monte stopped her schooling during the first year of high school because she didn't like it very well. Her father had opened a grocery store at this time, and she wanted to work there. The family seemed to be well known and respected in the community, although her father was said to drink. Mrs. Monte spoke very warmly of her family and somewhat defensively of her father. She thought she was closer to her mother, as all girls usually are. She also spoke of great pleasure and excitement whenever there was a new baby. Her father and mother were interested in their children, anxious for them to get an education and to be independent financially. Her oldest brother was killed in a motorcycle accident several years ago; a younger brother joined the Army and was away from home a great deal. An older sister was married, living near the parents. Her family were willing to help financially whenever she needed it and at present seemed fairly well off.

Mrs. Monte is a very attractive young woman who dresses well. She talks quite easily, with a good deal of feeling. She felt that Mr. Monte's mother was the most responsible for the Montes' difficulty. She knew mothers sometimes did have strong attachments for their eldest sons. Mr. Monte's mother was jealous of Mrs. Monte and tried to get Sarah away from her, having Sarah call her "Mom," giving her better presents than Mrs. Monte. Mrs. Monte felt that Mr. Monte was under his mother's influence and acted as he did because of his mother, telling of a three-day period when the Montes were very happy together because Mr. Monte thought his mother didn't love him

[14] See n. p. 156. Diagnosis answers the question "What is the matter?"; evaluation, "How well does he or can he get along?"

any more and was therefore more fond of Mrs. Monte. Mr. Monte's father now sided with the rest of the family, but he used to like Mrs. Monte very much because she spoke Slavic with him. Mr. Monte's mother and all of his brothers and sisters blamed Mrs. Monte for every thing and gave her no recognition for all the things she had done to help them. The whole trouble was that Mr. Monte's mother was jealous. She wanted Sarah for herself. Mrs. Monte couldn't understand that when her mother-in-law had five other sons. Sarah called her youngest uncle brother, which Mrs. Monte felt was due to Mr. Monte's parents' teaching. She would never think of it herself. She didn't know why his mother was that way. Mrs. Monte hoped that she was happy now. She really never hated anyone as she hates her mother-in-law. She's always told Mr. Monte that it wasn't his fault but his mother's. She blames everything on his mother, everything; she's always talking against Mrs. Monte. She always seemed happiest when they were separated. Mr. Monte says that his mother tells him that she wants them back together but Mrs. Monte doesn't believe it.

Mr. Monte talks about Mrs. Monte's family all the time and says that her father drinks; that her home is not a good place to take the baby. She does not know why Mr. Monte should say those things. He has known her family for years. Mrs. Monte admits her father does take a drink now and then, but so does everyone else. He has never really been drunk. They own their own home in Pennsylvania. Her family is as good as any family. Mr. Monte and his mother always objected to her visiting her own mother. Why shouldn't she, after doing the work around the house? She thinks it's natural to want to see one's own mother, but he and his mother thought every time she went she was up to something bad. "He was always at my house. That's why I can't understand why he says such things about my family now. My family was good enough for him then. We were very good friends before we were married. He used to think that nothing was too good for me; he was very kind. Then after we got married everything changed. We went to live with his family and that caused all sorts of trouble. I guess it always does, it's always said to." Mrs. Monte felt one of the reasons she couldn't take Sarah home for summer vacation was because of the things Mr. Monte had told the adjustment bureau about her home. Mrs. Monte never says things against his family—and she could tell plenty. Her parents were always interested in their children, ambitious for them. Mr. Monte's parents made their children give up school to go to work.

Mr. Monte accuses Mrs. Monte of sex delinquency, of being a "bum," and a whore, of not being a good mother to the baby. He

thinks that Mrs. Monte cannot get along without intercourse because he thinks he cannot get along without it. She always tried to be nice about it. She always wanted things to go smoothly. She didn't like courts or anything like that, wanted things settled quietly, but felt you couldn't treat a person like Mr. Monte that way. During the first part of the agency's contact Mr. Monte telephoned her frequently at the restaurant where she worked, calling her names and getting her very much upset, so much so that she fainted in the telephone booth and was afraid she was going to lose her job. He's been trailing her, too, on subways and street cars wherever she went; she had to look back all the time. If she met anybody, whether woman or man, he would think she was doing bad things. He must have a dirty mind or he wouldn't think of all these things. Mrs. Monte can't be losing her job but she is so nervous and upset that she drops dishes and doesn't get orders straight. He told her that she looks as if she were diseased. She told him that he was the reason she looked so badly, she can't sleep. She's never had such bad circles under her eyes before. He follows her everywhere, calls her up, or, if not coming himself, he sends his brother. One night he dragged Sarah up to the apartment in the rain to watch for her. Mrs. Monte noticed them following her when she was going home from work. She stayed at the window of the apartment waiting for Mr. Monte to come up. He didn't come. She felt now that it was impossible to get along with Mr. Monte. She wanted to be able to see Sarah once a week and occasionally after school, and to be free from Mr. Monte's "pestering" but she didn't think Mr. Monte could ever be different and there was no use trying to go back. Mr. Monte mentioned the possibility of divorce to her but said he couldn't afford it. Previously she had wanted to get one and he refused to let her; he wants to make her out bad or not let her go.

When we asked about Mrs. Monte's taking Sarah herself, Mrs. Monte said she didn't see how she could make any other plan about Sarah. She gets good physical care with Mr. Monte's mother, Mrs. Monte admits that. Mrs. Monte could not stay at home herself because she has to work. Mr. Monte has said he'd rather go to jail than give her any money. Mr. Monte would also "pester" her if she had Sarah. He threatened Sarah by saying her mother would put her in an institution if she went with her, so that Sarah would say she didn't want to live with her mother but only wanted to see her one day a week. Mrs. Monte wishes she could have had Sarah to show her what it was like to have a mother. She knows it's not good for Sarah this way. Mr. Monte tried to get her to call Mrs. Monte "Louise" instead of mother, saying in front of Sarah that she's too much of a "bum" to

be Sarah's mother. Mrs. Monte speaks very warmly and positively of Sarah, tells of her "tomboy" activities—she's the best skater on the block—and of the things she and Sarah do together. Sarah loves dolls and Mrs. Monte buys her one now and then, but Sarah is very good about not asking for anything.

Mrs. Monte was upset by the way Mr. Monte was following her around, etc. and worried about the effect on Sarah, mentioning Sarah's nervousness when going home after a day with her, knowing she would be questioned by Mr. Monte, etc. She was disgusted with Mr. Monte for letting Sarah know about court. Mrs. Monte talked freely with us, looked to us somewhat at first for some definite action concerning Mr. Monte, seemed somewhat upset when this was not forthcoming, but on the whole has seemed to accept our interest in knowing her. She went home for vacation, after only three contacts, wanting to take Sarah with her as she always had before. Mr. Monte refused and she let it go. She remained six instead of three weeks because she got the grippe just as she was to return.

In the fall when Sarah started school the question of how Mrs. Monte was to see Sarah arose again. At this time we visited Mr. Monte's mother, found her a rather limited person, though an excellent housekeeper. All six of the boys were at home. Mrs. Monte, Sr. cried as she talked of Mrs. Monte's not taking care of "my son," feeding him "greasy soup," etc. She told, with evident pleasure, of Mrs. Monte's activities, being seen with other men, keeping bad company. All of Mrs. Monte, Sr.'s children were good and she wanted Mr. Monte to have a good life too, felt Mrs. Monte should go back to him to supply this. She felt children should be with their own mothers, wanted Mrs. Monte to have Sarah, but only on condition that she stay home to care for her, and not place her in an institution as Mrs. Monte, Sr. was sure she would do now. This interview was a rather difficult one, owing to the children's coming home for lunch. We sensed some warmth toward the children.

We arranged with Mr. Monte for Mrs. Monte to see Sarah one day a week and once or twice in the afternoons. Mrs. Monte usually takes Sarah shopping or to the movies. She would like to help Sarah with her studies but would have to do it in Mr. Monte's home and listen to the things his family say about her. Mrs. Monte seemed to get a good deal of satisfaction out of her work, was well liked by her employer. She seemed to have many social contacts. She was satisfied as long as she was allowed to see Sarah once a week without any difficulty, and in the last few months Mr. Monte's activities concerning her have fallen off. At Christmas he did suggest it was about time she went

home again to "fix up her father," but this was the only statement he had made against her recently. She has been coming in to see us about every two weeks, and we have not attempted any intensive treatment with her. Recently we tried to explore further her feeling about Sarah. We brought up some discussion about her being "soft," and feeling that she must "stand for" all the accusations made by Mr. Monte, and that she could not take Sarah herself because her husband's remarks made her uncomfortable. Her response so far to this has been that she doesn't want any trouble for Sarah's sake and that she doesn't have a temper—her father always did say she differed from the others in the family. We also tried to indicate our understanding of Mr. Monte's behavior, that in our contact with him we'd noticed many of the things she'd mentioned, and we could see that she was up against a difficult person, who perhaps should not be held entirely responsible for what he did. We knew if she could come to understand his behavior a little she might be freer to accept him and herself as different sorts of people, but she showed no interest in this and never was able to go beyond thinking that he was "crazy."

Evaluation of Mrs. Monte.—The cultural picture might permit early sex behavior without much guilt, and one gets some feeling that she may take this as a matter of course, which also fits in with her rather masculine role. She seems to want the child occasionally, but not to take full responsibility for her nurture. She is not very maternal—liking Sarah most as a little pal—but neither is she rejecting. She is interested in her work and her social contacts and is rather casual about her domestic relations. She seems to have a strong feeling that people are against her. Her dislike of her own mother is displaced on the mother-in-law, toward whom she shows strong resentment. Her husband may be identified with her father. She tends to be defensive and tries to put the worker in the role of judge. Like her husband, she shows little insight or desire to work the problem through.

The evaluations of both Mr. and Mrs. Monte are made in the light of implied treatment objectives. This is not "diagnosis" in the conventional sense. One is here really appraising the parents capacity to rebuild their family—to do something about their home and child, more than defining the problem as such.

We shall be less confused if we think of personality evaluations or characterization as usually related to treatability and treatment. When we characterize we do not estimate personality in the ethical sense of how "good" a person is, or how "fine"

or "ignoble" his attitudes, but in his capacity to perform certain functions, for example, the support role, the marital role, the filial or parental role. Although such judgments seem arbitrary, they are inescapable if one is to treat within the field of human conduct and relationships.[15] We must know not only from what limitations but to what ends capacities and energies are to be released.

Some workers focus their evaluation of the person quite sharply on what the person is doing in the interview during "the helping process,"[16] what he is ready to do or not do. Thus in the case of a young woman, separated from her husband, applying for relief, the record carries running evaluation to this effect:

In Mrs. Crane's application I saw a certain fear of loss of self in her need to present herself as a writer and a person of distinction.... Aside from the one indication that she was afraid that things might not continue to go on as they had in the past, Mrs. Crane did not express any of her fear. I felt this was implicit in her taking control of the interview in such an anxious way from the beginning. She was quite dominant, not permitting me to say anything without giving it some twist which left her in control of herself.... On the whole I was impressed by Mrs. Crane as a dominant and competing person who was willing to do anything in order to have things her own way, that is, to maintain her own feeling of independence. She could not bear my being in the giving role and had to reverse things by studying and interpreting what I did and said, telling me about it before I had a chance to tell her anything. Similarly, in taking money, she had to stress repayment.... I felt that a good deal of this struggle was in terms of maintaining independence of her husband....

Although the evaluations summarized in the Monte case have been derived from interviews and collateral visits, and make use

[15] Students practicing diagnosis are often confused trying to sort out a "difficulty" from a "liability." and a "cause" from either. They may be helped if they abandon schematic designs, not trying to assign a specific cause for each difficulty, but making a configuration, in a simple flexible diagnostic statement, of those problem factors which seem to hang together in time and space. One should also remember that "assets and liabilities" are not part of this descriptive definition, but are the raw material of evaluation for the purpose of treatment. Assets and liabilities may be of physical or external nature or they may lie within the personality of the client, or both.

[16] For an example of this type of evaluation, refer back to the Blake case, p. 85.

of history, and in the Crane case are derived solely from worker-client reactions in the interview, one can see that both are directed toward implied treatment ends. Since social work utilizes so much this estimate of the person as an essential part of the meaning of the case, it is important to understand the clinical picture in relation to *specific social* ends. If one were to express this in a sort of mathematical formula, one might say that diagnosis is to situation as evaluation both of person and resources is to treatment.

Reflective thinking, therefore, always involves for the case worker not only the descriptive and defining process which we call diagnosis, but consideration of treatment ends and possibilities which must include the appraisal of resources and the evaluation of the client as a person. All character is to the practitioner "acceptable," but within any given cultural framework certain character trends will appear more favorable to social adjustment than others. Personality is a social activity rather than a thing and, although the set of limits and rules which the world has imposed seem very confusing, there is still a good deal of agreement on essential values. It has been said that civilization has "gone off the gold standard" because the Ten Commandments are not taken so seriously in the culture of today; but civilization must always have its "gold standard," and experience continues to teach that some acts are "better" than others, and that the fundamental and enduring assumptions of mankind must be moral and social. We shall discuss treatment and treatability in the ensuing chapters.

Chapter VIII

METHOD AND OBJECTIVES OF TREATMENT

AS WE HAVE REPEATEDLY INDICATED throughout these chapters, agreement is general that treatment begins at the first contact and that it is coextensive with study and diagnosis. Diagnostic inferences may follow or arise from all observed data, but they are not ends in themselves, they are to aid us in the direction of treatment. Nevertheless, treatment is not the same as study or interpretation of data, so that we may think of it separately as well as in the continuum of a total case work process.

Terminology

The terminology found in this connection is not always precise. "Treatment" is the word most commonly used, but as variants one finds case work "services" and "therapy," the latter being offered occasionally with a specific meaning but more often quite loosely as a general equivalent for treatment. Up to the twenties the investigation process in social case work had been developed far beyond the understanding of what might constitute treatment. Early case records, *circa* 1912-16, show the phrase "action taken" instead of treatment, thus reflecting the active and somewhat managing approach of the times. The treatment plan was decided upon by case committees whose resolutions, taken from the minutes, would be incorporated in the case record. For example:

Nov. 26, '15. Case before Evening Committee for discussion. It was voted to have Mrs. Young go to hospital for confinement; keep up budget system; give advice and friendly visits; watch Mr. Young while his wife is away; gradually lessen supervision.[1]

[1] From the *Charity Organization Bulletin*, "Case History Series," p. 93.

Although the word treatment does appear early in the literature,[2] it is used in the dictionary sense of expressing, as in art, or discussing, as in a treatise, and least frequently with signification of behaving toward someone, although it is, perhaps, the last which is closest to present-day concepts. Some people in the public welfare field prefer to continue the word "service,"[3] thinking that "treatment" is too clinical a concept for popular acceptance today. In so far as public assistance concerns itself with need, so long as rehabilitation and prevention lie within the welfare function, "treatment" to the writer seems as suitable as any for the inclusive term, and it will be so employed in the ensuing discussion. The furnishing of services, no matter how practical and simple, will be considered as one kind of treatment, just as prescribing bicarbonate of soda or aspirin lies within medical treatment quite as much as a difficult therapeutic regime.

Social Objectives of Treatment

To understand treatment we must remind ourselves what a social case is. Our individuation or particularization must cover not only the person himself but the environment with which he is interacting. Our case always envisages person, behavior, and social setting, which includes other persons. Therefore, treatment in some way must contemplate all these factors. Also, treatment considers situations as wholes, as living human events, in which emotional, mental, physical, economic, and social factors interact in varying proportions. A medical worker does not deal with a physical problem alone, a relief worker with an economic problem, a psychiatric worker with an emotional problem, an X worker with an X problem; but every social case worker does treat organic situations in which numerous factors operate.

This does not mean, however, that in each case the worker

[2] See Chapter II.

[3] In many private agencies, statistical cards carry on the face identifying data, and on the reverse two columns, one of problems and the other of "services rendered," again showing the interchangeability of the term with treatment.

will offer an omnibus of services—so many economic, so many mental, so many health; but the coloring of the treatment will, in part, rest on the preponderance of factors in any given situation. Important as it is to know enough of clinical entities to understand the person in the situation, because we treat persons not problems, we must remember that for the case worker the *social situation is always specified or implied in treatment.* The person is always a socially functioning person; the personality problem is a psycho-social, cultural, personality problem. Case work treatment seeks to release capacities for self-direction and social functioning within the person and to discover resources within his environment. While increased understanding and acceptance by the client of himself is always a goal of direct treatment, changes in situation may also effect changes in feeling and attitude so that the client can relate himself more successfully to his associates.

Long-tested experience of the human race has demonstrated that there are two main ways in which people can be helpful to one another: through concrete services, and through direct personal contact and influence. The child and adolescent do form their ideals through identifications. The adult can be sustained and, to a degree at least, stimulated to change through constructive relationships. Social case work does not in general contemplate fundamental personality reconstruction; but through direct therapeutic influences, as well as through release of environmental pressures, modification of attitudes and behavior may be possible. Some people speak of this behavior as *conduct*, thus distinguishing it from involuntary or automatic or unconscious behavior. If we think always of *social* behavior we shall be expressing the same idea, for it is only conscious and controllable behavior with which the social worker is concerned. Case work is less often able to free its clients from disabilities than to help them live within their disabilities through social compensations. Case work under favorable circumstances can mitigate or even prevent some of the crippling effects of deprivations or pathological exposures, especially in family life,

which plays such a peculiar conditioning role in our culture.

Another way of expressing the objectives of social treatment would be to say that the case worker is interested in preventing social breakdown, in conserving strengths, in restoring social function, in making life more comfortable or compensating, in creating opportunities for growth and development, and in increasing the capacity for self-direction and social contribution. A person's ability to maintain himself depends on his constitutional equipment, his desires, his self-awareness, and the resources and opportunities available to him. This means that all treatment, to be helpful, must be individualized. Blanket and form prescriptions, without knowledge of person, behavior reaction, and situation, have little value. Needs may, causally speaking, be largely environmental and social, or largely physical and emotional, but usually they will be mixed, so that we should realize that all treatment must be differential[4] and selective. Just as family case workers had to learn not to give money for vague psychiatric purposes, so case workers everywhere have had to learn that they deal with specific requests and related problems, and not with generalized and diffused misery. To do some little thing which seems to be relevant to the client's purposes for himself, is better than to try to do everything.

Types of Treatment

One of the first attempts to describe treatment methods was Porter R. Lee's "executive and leadership" classification.[5] The first of these two concepts, which has been less modified in practice than the second, is referred to by many case workers as "environmental manipulation." The writer prefers to confine

[4] See classification by Lowry, "The Client's Needs as the Basis for Differential Approach in Treatment," *Differential Approach in Case Work Treatment*, p. 5.

[5] Lee (*Social Work as Cause and Function*, p. 113) said: the "executive aspect of social treatment, because it involves chiefly the discovery of a particular resource and arranges for its use," and "the leadership aspect of treatment, because it involves primarily not the use of other resources but the influence of the personality of the worker." It is as well to remember the word *aspect* since treatment is rarely all one thing or all the other.

the term executive treatment to the objectives of meeting deficiencies or lacks with social resources and simple modifications of program. A large part of all social treatment is concerned with these activities or services. Giving relief or offering shelter or procuring legal aid or medical care, or arranging for camps or convalescent opportunities, are within this tangible, practical activity. The case worker's function is to put the client in touch with community resources and to help him as much as is necessary to use them. The reverse of this is to help to remove obstacles or irritants from the client's environment.[6] Frequently the client knows what he wants but doesn't know where or how to get it; occasionally he only vaguely knows what he wants, and the lack must be clarified with him; occasionally, though not often, he is too handicapped to act for himself, and the worker must act on his behalf. Sometimes the client must be referred elsewhere. But since resources are not the property of the worker or of the client, but are the common stock of the social program of the community, it does not alter the character of the service. It is a professional obligation either to serve him oneself or to send him where he will be best served, either by tax-supported or voluntary agencies. The worker has to have a precise and thorough knowledge of community resources, to use them selectively and economically; otherwise clients are passed along and shuttled about with no one taking responsibility for their needs. What brings all these enabling services within the social case method are the degree to which the helping relationship individualizes the client as a person; the ability to understand the nature of the problem brought; and the leaving of as much independence and responsibility as possible with the client, so that he can continue to put something into the solution of the problem he has brought to us. Even in simple situations a great deal of diagnostic skill is called for,

[6] An excellent classification and discussion of "executive" and "leadership" treatment by other names, from a medical social focus, will be found in Thornton, *The Social Component in Medical Care*. There a description of measures undertaken to remedy unfavorable social factors—"to control environment" (Chapter VII), and "to influence conduct" (Chapter VIII), pp. 220-77 is given.

because not only are all needs unique, but they are not always what they seem. People may displace on unemployment or an operation or a request for institutional care, emotional needs and conflicts. There are many pitfalls because if they ask for a job and they mean a job, they will not thank us for a deep exploration of their emotional needs. If, on the other hand, they ask for a job and we do not know that they are too proud to ask for relief, they will rightly think us obtuse; and if they ask for a job and are really trying to tell us about their sense of discomfort and failure, and we do not catch their overtones, we have given a stone for bread. When a man says, "I do not know whether to take out my small insurance in favor of my wife or my mother," he may need only a little practical advice; or he may be saying, as in the Peters case, following, "I am all mixed up in my feelings because of the pull between my mother and my wife. Please help me with them."

Besides understanding diagnostically to what extent this is a practical problem and to what extent the client has projected his other problems on the external and obvious need, the worker has to estimate the degree of self-help which is possible. Not everyone is equally capable of self-help, and the amount we must do for people is directly inverse to what they can do for themselves. The very young, the sick, the feeble-minded, need more care, protection, suggestion, and active interference than the more self-directing. Even so, the trained case worker does not assume that the client is helpless in the face of his difficulties, or that there is no part of them that he can continue to manage, but he tries to stimulate him to think and act for himself—to make his own decisions. The idea of self-help was first construed largely in its economic application. Later the construction was more psychological, but at bottom the concept is identical and is fundamental in relation to the case worker's executive skill in helping the client to use social resources in working through his difficulties.

Resource Adjustment

Special problems in the mobilizing of resources arise in connection with public assistance. It is assumed under the terms of eligibility[7] that the client's realizable assets in savings, property, insurance, and the like, must be utilized before public funds are given. This is consistent with the principle of self-maintenance, but difficulties in practice may come from two extreme points of view. One, if the worker, according to his social philosophy, resenting the economic system and the usually inadequate rate of relief, is reluctant to use the client's resources at all, and so overlooks their existence; the other, if because of a depriving attitude toward those in need he turns to arbitrary, harsh, and coercive pressure methods to cash in on the assets.

Resource adjustment can, however, be accomplished in such a way as to work no special hardship upon the client, and indeed in skilled hands insurance and property adjustments can be genuine services. Insurance adjustments, in fact, could be beneficial to many people not actually in need. Through the judicious use of liquidated insurance savings, families may be made partially or temporarily self-supporting. Case work considerations, such as cooperative analysis of the values of the policies and full discussion with the client of the circumstances, obtain here as always. Rigid regulations requiring the liquidation of all assets are costly to everyone concerned, as most enlightened administrations have come to see. There should be flexibility and allowance for individual case decisions, as in ill health or old age; or when need is temporary the decision should be made in the light of usual income and normal earning power, with as little dislocation of proper coverage as possible. Small resources that cannot be liquidated without unreasonable loss, should not be liquidated.

In public assistance several regulations and practices about resources have proved equally difficult. One is the question of job refusal. In most localities ability to support oneself is con-

[7] See p. 104.

sidered a potential resource and therefore part of eligibility. Older coercive practices here are being slowly modified, both by enlightened labor and case work thinking. In the first place, the client will not be ineligible to receive relief because of strike or lockout. In the second place, the client will not be required to work under unfair conditions of hours or pay or personnel practices. In short, the case worker respects fair labor practices as conditioning the use of the "ability to work" asset. Next, if the refusal seems to be due to physical or emotional, rather than industrial factors, careful medical or psychiatric diagnosis is usually indicated. Again we see the case worker's understanding of economic and social reality on the one hand, and of disability and the meaning of behavior on the other, together making for a flexible and constructive use of an otherwise arbitary set of regulations. Interpretation to the client of the agency's policies and procedures, respect for the client's integrity as a worker, and understanding of him as a person, can make this use of resources a highly skilled and constructive service to client and community alike. Even when a plea for assistance must be denied, the client's integrity and self-respect need not be damaged if he is made to understand the basis of the decision.

Another highly developed aspect of social judgment is involved in the liability to support feature of domestic relations. One cannot always decide, without appraising the ability to support of a legally liable person, whether or not income is to be supplied a family. Whether a parent can pay for his placed-out child, or a working youth contribute toward the support of his parents is not always easy to determine. Experience in public assistance has shown that pressure tactics as regards the support function may increase the difficulty without materially increasing the assistance. Although the court has a function here, as in other overt behavior problems, the case worker should be able to distinguish and individualize those conflict situations which can be worked out constructively toward producing resources, from those which call for legal adjudica-

tion or are best left alone. These intricate judgments in family economics may therefore be bound up with what might appear to the inexperienced as simple matters of mobilizing resources or offering services.

Direct and Indirect Treatment

By these terms case workers mean to indicate whether the course of treatment is largely through the person to his situation or through the situation to the person. Direct treatment involves working with the individual through what is usually called the worker-client relationship. Direct treatment is also referred to as counseling and therapy.[8] Environmental manipulation may mean only the supplying of resources, but may also indicate shifts in the environment to reduce pressures or for the purpose of change or growth. To effect a change, either direct, face-to-face treatment may be used, or indirect. Indirect treatment, or environmental manipulation, means working through the situation and through other people with whom the client may interact. Progressive education makes much of the experience as constituting the learning focus for the individual. Indirect treatment in social case work involves arranging programs, as with a handicapped person, for whom competitive situations are to be avoided; modifying attitudes, as when one interprets a child's behavior to parents or teachers, or the behavior of an alcoholic to his family; providing new stimuli, outlets, or opportunities to persons. Foster care is a good example of indirect treatment, although considerable direct treatment may be carried on with the child who is to be placed.[9] Any prolonged course of treatment will usually make use of both direct and indirect treatment, probably with one method predominating.

We shall next show a case summary in which the main treatment approach, both with man and woman, is through repeated interviews. There were one or two home visits, some concrete

[8] For a special use of the term "therapy," see p. 191, n. and also Chapter XIV.

[9] When, through the interview, one helps the client to modify his own environment, the writer would call this direct treatment.

services, and relief used as a service, but the gains were made, on the whole, by a direct treatment approach.

The Peters Case[10]

The Peters had three children, Margaret, age six, Johnny, age three, Eddie, age one. Bruce, a fifteen-year old son of Mrs. Peters, born before her marriage, was in a convent about an hour's ride from New York. Mr. Peters' mother, Mrs. Norman, and an epileptic son by her second marriage, James Norman, age nineteen, have lived with the Peters ever since their marriage seven years ago. Mrs. Norman is an embittered, slovenly woman, who had always dominated her son and had no intention of changing her behavior toward him. Mr. Peters' complete earnings were turned over to her. She managed the money, planned the meals, and kept complete charge of the housework so that Mrs. Peters had no place in her own home. Mrs. Norman objected if Mr. and Mrs. Peters went out in the evenings; she did not want the children to have playmates and she did not permit visitors to come to the house. As a result the family became an isolated group, forced into ever-closer contacts with one another so that even small disagreements were magnified. (a) Mrs. Norman had a violent temper when crossed. When angry she repeatedly threatened to leave, but she took no step in this direction. She lost no time in reporting to Mr. Peters if she disliked anything his wife had done. He usually backed up his mother, but he was more unhappy in doing this than Mrs. Peters realized. He had obeyed his mother all his life and was still very much like a small boy in relation to her. As a result he did not have the courage to oppose her in anything. Moreover, even though she irritated him at times, he did love her and depended on her. He once said to the worker with considerable pleasure, "I'm still her baby. She worries more about me than the children." Despite this Mr. Peters also felt very real love for his wife and children. Consequently, when difficulties arose at home his feelings pulled him in two directions. In his indecision and lack of self-confidence he sided with the more forceful of the two women who were close to him, but he was frequently unhappy in doing this. Mrs

[10] From a Family Service Agency. Unlike most of the illustrative material, the Peters case is a summary condensed from a long record. The interview given on page 181 with Mr. Peters is an acual transcript from the record, but for the sake of brevity the summary form has been adopted elsewhere to show, and at the same time partially to evaluate the course of treatment as a whole. The summarized form is apt to give the impression that the worker has "lined up the case" for the client instead of—as is the purpose here—for the reader. Reference to the verbatim interview shows a sensitive, not a managing case worker.

Peters, however, did not realize his inner distress. She noticed only his behavior and it seemed to her that her husband and mother-in-law formed a team against her. She saw no way out of the situation and, while acutely unhappy, made practically no stand against her mother-in-law....

Another complication lay in Mrs. Peters' past life experience. She had always been accustomed to doing as others instructed and so she had gained little self-confidence and no notion of how to plan for herself. She was brought up in an orphanage where she was happy, but quite protected and used to following a set routine. Bruce was born only a few years after she left there. After his birth she lived for eight years at the Home for Infants, doing some work there to support herself and Bruce. She said, "The Sisters loved me to death, and comforted me." She was happy there as she had been at the orphanage, but again she had no opportunity to make decisions for herself. When she left to marry Mr. Peters she was elated at the thought of having for the first time a home of her own. It was not until her return from the honeymoon that she learned that Mrs. Norman was to live with them. There followed dreary years during which Mrs. Peters accepted her difficulties much as she had accepted the happier plans made for her at the Home for Infants. The one plan that she did make and carry out (but only with the help of the visiting nurse) was to place Bruce in the convent where he now is. She did this because Mrs. Norman and Mr. Peters were so critical and harsh with him that he was becoming sullen and miserable. Afterwards she felt that, in her own words, she had "sacrificed him." She had no spending money of her own and if she wanted to write Bruce she must ask her mother-in-law for the postage. She had bought no clothing since her marriage and was dressed in hand-downs from her sister. She looked dowdy and she knew it, but she had lost interest in her appearance. Despite the fact that she had no share in the home she had gradually pawned her few treasured possessions (table linen, an electric iron, and her engagement ring) to meet gas bills, etc. She had replaced the ring with one from Woolworth's and was fearful that Mr. Peters would find out about it and be angry. She spent her day taking the children to the park, regardless of the weather, so that they would be away from James. People who knew her said that, although she was an affectionate woman, she had lost even the capacity to enjoy her children and was instead just carrying out a duty with them.

(b) These were some of the difficulties that would have to be met in attempting to help the Peters, but there were also some factors that would be helpful. Both Mr. and Mrs. Peters were affectionate

people—genuinely interested in their children, all of whom were winning youngsters who very evidently felt confidence in the love of their parents. Mrs. Peters, despite her deep hurt with her husband, showed no need to belittle him and actually felt pleasure in things that added to his self-confidence and self-esteem. In regard to Mr. Peters, his deep feeling of responsibility for his family was something on which to build.

There were other considerations which might have been serious stumbling blocks. One did not know whether Mr. Peters had failed to take the reins of responsibility at home merely because he had never had an opportunity to do so, or because he was so timid that he would never be capable of this. One did not know whether he would be interested in more responsibility or could find any pleasure or pride in being the head of the house. One was uncertain whether he could ever find his way out of the conflicting loyalties he felt toward his wife and his mother. There was also the question whether his mother would cling to him so that he would never become a self-directing person. One questioned whether Mrs. Peters had the capacity to become more of a person in her own home....

Since Mr. Peters had been unwilling to make application for home relief, we decided not to try to see him until we knew a little better why he had objected. (c) Then, since Mrs. Peters believed her husband and mother-in-law formed a team against her, she might feel that we too were against her if we attempted to see him before she had gained confidence in our interest in her. So for the first three months we saw only Mrs. Peters, who came to the office for weekly interviews. Her anxiety about the money continued for some time to be the thing she talked of most, but she was as vague and contradictory about their income and expenditures as she had been in the first interview. Part of this was undoubtedly due to the fact that neither Mr. Peters nor Mrs. Norman gave her much opportunity to know the facts. But there was also some deliberate untruthfulness. When we questioned more specifically, Mrs. Peters merely became involved in further contradictions. We realized that she must become more sure of us before she dared be frank....

(d) At the same time we made every effort to get to know Mrs. Peters better and to convince her of our interest in her as a person. Since in her past contacts with other agencies she had become accustomed to a good many questions and suggestions, we decided temporarily to leave conversation in interviews pretty much to her initiative, so that she would get the feeling that she could be herself. This was a new experience for her. She commented once that she had cried all the

time when she was first married, but that just caused more trouble and so she had learned to keep everything in. The worker said that keeping things in frequently made things more difficult—sometimes it helped to discuss one's feelings and try to understand them. (e) Whenever Mrs. Peters gave us opportunities we showed our understanding of her feelings by commenting that she must have felt hurt or angry about the things that occurred. This encouraged her to talk more of her inner feelings as well as of things that occurred. At times, when she said she cared only about the children, we said that she cared about herself too, and that we were interested in the situation as it affected her. Occasionally when she requested clothing for the children, we inquired about the condition of her own wardrobe. She became friendly and confidential in her manner with the worker, but she seemed to think of interviews merely as pleasant visits, rather than as a means of helping her to change things at home. In the second month she said, "I'm getting to look forward to our hour. It makes a nice change." One thing had, however, been gained. She was no longer preoccupied with the financial strain and when she did mention it she no longer felt it necessary to make the budget look worse than it actually was.

(f) One day Mrs. Peters asked if we could visit her at home. We did so. Mrs. Norman and the children were present, and conversation was rather superficial. In the next office interview Mrs. Peters said that she had felt very blue after our visit as she had hoped that we would do something to get James out of the house. We replied that we could understand she was disappointed that more hadn't come of it. We pointed out to her that because of Mrs. Norman's attitude, other agencies had been unsuccessful in trying to force James out of the house, so we doubted whether we could act directly, and perhaps some of the action would have to come from Mrs. Peters herself. We said that this seemed difficult to her now because she was mixed up in her feelings about things at home and so she found it hard to know how she would handle them. For a number of interviews after this, Mrs. Peters seemed quite depressed. We realized that she felt resentful toward the worker for suggesting that she do something of which she felt incapable. We knew that it would give her more confidence if she could see that we did not blame her for her feelings toward us. Consequently, we sometimes commented that we understood that she felt disappointed in us and that it seemed to her we were not helping in the way she wanted. At other times we attempted to get her to think more about her lack of aggressiveness and the reasons for this. When she told of quarrels during which she failed to talk back, we said that she felt like it but was afraid. Mrs. Peters replied that part of the trouble

was that she had never been used to standing up for herself. In one interview we pointed out that she felt angry as well as hurt about the things at home, but she was afraid of her own angry feelings, and so tried to act as if she didn't have any feelings at all. In the next interview Mrs. Peters stated that as she left the office she found herself wondering why she didn't speak up more when Mrs. Norman was rude. She began trying this a little and found that "it seemed to come out all right." This in itself gave her more courage and the worker's interest in hearing what she had accomplished gave her the feeling that she had some backing in working on her difficult situation.

As Mrs. Peters gained better understanding of herself, she also began to think more about her husband's feelings. She had originally noticed only the fact that he failed to take her part. Now she began to see that he couldn't because he was even more timid and fearful than she. The worker encouraged further discussion of this, because it was felt that only as Mrs. Peters understood the causes of his behavior could she overcome her deep hurt and resentment. Had we tried to do this at the beginning she would have felt that our sympathies were with him rather than with her. One day Mrs. Peters said, "I think it would help him to talk personally with you about his private feelings like I do. It might give him more confidence." A little later she, on her own initiative, brought him in for an interview . . . .

Then followed a series of interviews with Mr. Peters. The subjects discussed were, in the main, practical business matters involving insurance policies, payments on a truck, and so on, although there was some careful discussion with him, whenever possible, of his own role in the family. Meanwhile, interviews with Mrs. Peters were continued weekly so that she would not feel insecure nor neglected.

(g) We talked with her frequently about planning to help Mr. Peters to stand on his own feet. We felt it important to do this, so that she would not feel hurt by Mr. Peters' instructions to her, nor pushed out as far as the contact with us was concerned. We tried to make it a plan concocted by her and the worker and to suggest ways in which Mr. Peters could help in the carrying out of this plan. As a result Mrs. Peters was pleased rather than offended when her husband "bossed" her, as she felt that this represented the thing she herself was working toward. She also thought up ways of increasing his friendliness for and confidence in the worker. She would suggest that he talk over with us small difficulties that came up and she would discuss these with us ahead of time so that when he began in a halting way we knew what he was trying to get at and could help him to express himself.

(h) In addition to talking with Mrs. Peters about her husband, we

continued to discuss her own feelings about the home situation and the reasons for the lack of self-confidence which made it so difficult for her to take a definite stand. She became better able to meet the daily things that came up at home. On one occasion she said, "My backbone seems to be coming up in front for a change." Another time she said that she used to have no feelings, but now she had more feeling and felt happier at the same time. We said that she had feelings before but had been afraid of them. Once after a quarrel at home during which Mrs. Peters had spoken up, she commented to us that she didn't always want to be fighting either. We said that as she became more sure of herself she would find ways of getting more of what she wanted without fighting. We suggested that her husband did tend to lean on people and as she became more certain he would more and more accept her. She answered, "I've been thinking that if I did more of the home duties which are my duties, I might get my rightful place there." She began doing some of the marketing. In April she came in announcing triumphantly that she, rather than Mrs. Norman, was now managing the household money . . . .

In the next few weeks Mrs. Norman made various attempts to regain her former position of authority, but Mr. and Mrs. Peters stood their ground. Mrs. Norman refused to speak to or have anything to do with other members of the family. In the middle of May Mrs. Peters telephoned excitedly that Mrs. Norman was leaving them and had already sent out her trunk. She and James moved to a furnished room where they have remained ever since. Mrs. Norman told the Peters in leaving that since they didn't have the gumption to tell her she wasn't wanted, she had decided to take the step for herself. It seems probable that she had hoped the threat of leaving would bring the family to terms, as it had in the past. Then when this was not effective, she in her bitterness saw nothing to do but make good her threat. Mrs. Peters was ecstatic in her next interview with us. She spoke with high hopes of her plans for social outings, moving to a new apartment, etc. We realized that Mrs. Norman's leaving was just a beginning and that many difficulties would come up as the Peters attempted for the first time really to lead their own lives. We felt that if Mrs. Peters were somewhat prepared for these difficulties they would be less discouraging to her, and we also wanted to avoid such complete acceptance of her optimistic picture that she would feel ashamed to tell us when there were difficulties. So at the end of the interview we said that it was fun caring for your own home but there would be times when the housework seemed difficult and tiring, and there would be other times when the changes Mrs. Peters hoped for would seem to

come slowly. We would be interested to talk with her about the difficult as well as the pleasant times.

There was another problem that we saw at this time. Would Mr. Peters be able to get along without his mother? He still had a good deal of his former conflicting loyalties for his wife and his mother; he knew that his wife had really been the cause of his mother's leaving, and to quite an extent he blamed himself for not having backed up his mother. This self-blame was intensified by the fact that Mrs. Peters in her glee assumed that he felt as she did, and she spoke to him a good bit about how fortunate they were to be rid of Mrs. Norman, who had always made trouble. We talked with her quite frankly about the mixed feelings that it would be natural for Mr. Peters to have. We suggested that he would need a good deal of mothering from her and would perhaps want to talk about his loneliness without having Mrs. Peters make criticisms of his mother. Mrs. Peters, being an affectionate woman, was able to understand this. She suggested to him that he take the children to call on his mother and she did other little things which kept him from feeling that there had been a definite break. It was also fortunate that Mr. Peters had now gained enough confidence in us so that he could tell of his distress, and this seemed to relieve him a good deal. He spoke of his hope that his mother would soon return. We did not directly argue this with him, but we did speak of the unfortunate influence James had had on the children. Mr. Peters realized this himself and as time went on and he found that his wife gave him none of the petty nagging he had had from his mother, he began to like the new arrangement . . . .

A fully reproduced interview will give a clearer picture of Mr. Peter's conflict at this time, after his mother had left the house.

Mr. Peters at district office. He looks quite badly. (i) Although his manner is quiet we get the impression that he is very much upset. His hands open and close almost convulsively as he tells us that he hasn't seen his mother since she left. Last night she sent word by Margaret that she wanted to see Mr. Peters on the street corner at 6 o'clock. Mr. Peters didn't get back until 6·30 and there was no sign of his mother anywhere around, although he looked all over. We say that he was disappointed. Mr. Peters replies that he thinks his mother is getting along all right but he did want to find her to notify her of the death of a friend. Mr. Peters went to the wake a few days ago. He couldn't even afford to send a bunch of flowers. He speaks with a great deal of feeling of the fact that his name was not one of those

read out as giving flowers. We say that this bothered him. Mr. Peters replies that he told one of the sons afterwards that he was going to have a mass said for the dead woman. The son said he was glad Mr. Peters had not sent flowers. It was a ridiculous waste of money. We say that this is true but Mr. Peters did feel uncomfortable about it. Mr. Peters replies that he wouldn't have minded so much if the others at the wake could have known that he was going to pay for a mass. Mr. Peters himself paid $20 for a wreath for his sister. Mr. Peters would really have liked to send flowers to this woman who died recently because she was almost like his own mother. Mr. Peters felt so cheap not having his name read. This has been a terrible week. Everything has gone wrong. He only made $16 last week. The other two children have measles now and are much sicker than Margaret was. Mr. Peters had only one hour's sleep last night because he and his wife were up with the children so much.

Mr. Peters' eyes fill and he looks like a small boy who is near tears but does not want to break down. He shifts constantly from discussion of finances to his mother and the children's illness. His distress about the children's illness seems extreme. In discussion of his mother he swings between comments to the effect that this won't last and she will be back with them soon, and that since she took this step herself she can just work it out. We say that Mr. Peters misses her. He replies that having all the care of the house is too much for his wife. It handicaps her when the children are ill. She isn't making any complaints though and is taking good care of the children. We say that Mrs. Peters is able to do it, but Mr. Peters does miss his mother. Mr. Peters replies that he can see his wife is capable of doing it. He speaks with enthusiasm of the delicious meat course she served for dinner one day, and her delight when he took a second helping. She always watches to see how much he eats and feels badly if he doesn't take a lot. We say that she does like to please the head of the house. He again speaks of his mother, saying that he would just like to know that she is getting along all right. We ask how Mr. Peters would feel about her applying to Home Relief. He says thoughtfully that he imagines that is the best thing to do. He denies our comment that perhaps the thought of this bothers him. He shows a great deal of feeling about the fact that all their neighbors knew Mrs. Norman had planned to leave and about his embarrassment in telling them that he couldn't find his mother for the funeral. Mrs. Peters heard from the neighbors several weeks ago that Mrs. Norman was planning to pull out. She informed her husband of this, but he didn't believe it and paid no attention. Then one morning just as he was shaving, Mrs. Peters came in and told him that an

express man had called for the mother's trunk. We say that it hurt him that his mother did it this way. Mr. Peters replies, "She wouldn't even use me for an express man. That's all right with me though. It saved me some work." His mother has always been funny. She didn't even want to live with the Peters when they were first married, but Mr. Peters made her. He didn't tell her ahead of time that he was planning to marry or that would have made trouble. He just walked in an hour before the ceremony and announced that he was stepping off. At one point he referred to the fact that his mother would have been too tied down if she had lived alone with James, "but now she has tied herself." This leads to some discussion, which we initiate, of the fact that James did make things difficult for the children at home. Mr. Peters seems to agree with this, and in further discussion we get the impression that he is more accepting of the fact that his mother is out of the home permanently. He would just like to be able to see her once in a while and to know that she is all right. He explains that this Saturday he is painting over his mother's room for Margaret. We say that we think this is a nice use to make of his mother's room.

To take up the summary again:

One source of deep concern to him was the question of how his mother would manage. (j) We explained how she could make application to Home Relief Bureau and we gave her a card of introduction, but the Home Relief Bureau was doubtful about giving separate relief to a woman who had lived with her son for so long. We arranged a conference with them, explaining why we considered separate homes so important. Home Relief Bureau then accepted Mrs. Norman's application. So Mr. Peters now knows that his mother is provided for. He drops in to see her occasionally and she sometimes visits the Peters in the evenings. Mrs. Peters is able to be friendly with her and occasionally invites her to dinner....

(k) In a number of practical ways we helped the Peters as current difficulties arose. In the summer Mr. Peters had an accident with his truck and knocked down an elderly man. Although Mr. Peters was in no way responsible the man started suit and there was danger that unless Mr. Peters defended himself his driver's license would be revoked. We referred him to an agency through which he was given the free services of a lawyer, who succeeded in having the proceedings dropped.

The children have had some illnesses, during which we called in the visiting nurse and once sent in a doctor. This summer Mrs. Peters hesitantly asked if it would be possible for her and the children to have a vacation; Mr. Peters seemed as eager as she was for them to have "the first break in eight years." We felt that the change would

be good for them, and so Mrs. Peters and the children were sent for two weeks to Shelbourne House. There was the danger that during their absence Mr. Peters would become lonely and tend to lean again upon his mother. He, however, solved this himself by using the time to repaint the apartment, which the landlord had said could not be redecorated unless the rent were raised. We had for some time before the vacation known that Mrs. Peters had not been well since the birth of the last baby, but during the period when Mrs. Norman was living with them, Mrs. Peters was more concerned about the home difficulties than about her health. Later, when the home became really her own, she was too happy and excited to have a physical examination. We were able, however, to insist on this as part of the preparation for going away, and after her return we attempted to interest her in continuing clinic care at Bradford Hospital. When Mrs. Peters was in bed with grippe for several weeks, Mrs. Norman began coming in to help with the housework and there was danger that she would once more take complete charge. To forestall this, a free visiting housekeeper was secured, who came in for six hours each day. There was an added advantage to this. Mrs. Peters, although now deeply interested in her home, was a rather inefficient housewife. The housekeeper, who was immaculate and meticulous, set her a good example and stimulated her interest in working out a more definite routine. The illness had another result. Mr. Peters temporarily took over most of the care of the children. They were unusually attractive, winning youngsters, but Mrs. Peters was so lenient with them that they were inclined to be obstreperous. There was nothing seriously bad in their behavior but it was establishing poor habits for the future. When Mr. Peters took charge he insisted on regular hours for sleeping and eating. He was pleased when we discussed with him the importance of a father in training children and we suggested that he might help his wife in this. Despite this, he was so fond of the children that he found it as difficult as Mrs. Peters did to insist on obedience. If they showed signs of crying he relented immediately. We have continued to discuss this with both parents and we have recently secured for them some simple pamphlets giving child training suggestions. Both Mr. and Mrs. Peters seem to look on this as a project of some importance and they are planning to go over the pamphlets together and with the worker....

The financial situation remained a problem and Mr. Peters still tried to avoid thinking much about it. We were insistent, however, that he and his wife continue to go over budget lists together and we discussed these with him in nearly every interview. One day he com-

mented, "Going over these lists with the wife is putting some sense into my head." As it became increasingly clear to him that the truck was not earning as much as was needed at home, we began to ask how he got new customers and what rates enabled him to make a profit. We found that Mr. Peters undercut his competitors to such an extent that frequently, after the cost of gasoline and an assistant had been deducted, he had no profit left. In regard to getting new customers, he said in a rather puzzled way that you just had to wait until an old customer recommended you to someone else. We suggested that maybe he would be able to think of ways of making the truck more profitable. He appeared nonplussed but we took it up in other interviews—attempting always to appeal to his pride and stimulate his interest, rather than criticizing his present business methods. At the same time we discontinued giving any money to Mrs. Peters for even personal things. She was now sufficiently secure with us so that she was not hurt by this and could understand that it would be helpful to Mr. Peters if she went directly to him for her extra as well as her household needs. He, we felt, had overcome his fear of being a failure sufficiently so that he could bear to face the total cost of supporting a family. Gradually Mr. Peters did begin to think of ways of collecting back bills and getting additional money from people who had underpaid him. He reported each success with pride and this seemed to encourage him to further efforts and his earnings gradually increased. Two months ago he announced that he had on his own initiative secured a new customer —a rug dealer—who could be counted on for $8 to $10 a week.

(l) However, as Mr. Peters' earnings increased we were faced with a new problem in the giving of relief. Mrs. Peters, having overcome her tendency to accept whatever life brought her, was asking him for more and more things and was running the house on an ever-higher weekly budget. Mr. Peters, who had always taken pleasure in giving things to his family, was doubly anxious to do so now that he really felt himself to be the head of the house. Since he could not possibly earn money for everything Mrs. Peters wanted, he asked us for it, and our relief increased almost as much as his earnings had. We gave what he asked for a time, as we felt that the attitudes of both Mr. and Mrs. Peters were signs of a worth while change which should be encouraged for the time being, but with the aim of having the family stand on its own feet. We suggested that Mr. Peters give his wife a definite weekly allowance to cover the weekly household expenses, that Mr. Peters attend to the rent and utilities, and that when clothing or house furnishings were needed, they talk these over together and decide on the basis of his earnings whether they could afford them.

Both partners expressed interest in this plan but delayed instituting it. When they did start Mr. Peters' relief requests remained as high as before. Gradually we learned that they were really not following the allowance system. Some weeks Mrs. Peters ran short and was given additional money by her husband. Other weeks he put all his earnings in a box from which Mrs. Peters helped herself as needed. When we attempted to discuss this with Mr. Peters he told us helplessly that his wife said she couldn't manage on less. When we discussed it with her she said the same thing . . . .

We pointed out that Mr. Peters was now earning more than he had in the past—that the difficulty seemed to be that the home expenses had gone up at the same time. We then talked this over with Mr. Peters in the same way. To avoid frightening them, we told both partners that we could continue helping for a month's time, but were discussing the termination with them now so that they could make advance plans. (m) Despite this, Mrs. Peters seemed hurt with us as well as with her husband. We said to her that, quite aside from the question of the money, it hurt to have us stop helping because it seemed as if we were losing interest and were being critical of her. Mrs. Peters at first denied this, then smiled a bit and said that we understood her in this as we had in other things. The next week she came in beaming. She was glad it had happened. She and Mr. Peters had talked it over together, were making their plans for the time when we should stop helping, and were confident that they would be able to manage. Mr. Peters seemed equally pleased when he came in for his interview and reported the same thing . . . . Since Thanksgiving we have given relief only once, for the renewal of Mr. Peters' truck insurance and license plates. Mr. Peters paid part of the cost himself and was keenly disappointed when he had to ask us for the balance. He had planned to do it entirely unaided and the only thing that spoiled his plan was an injury to his arm which made him unable to work. This incident gave us an opportunity to talk with Mr. Peters about the advisability of having some savings to fall back on in an emergency. Mr. Peters seemed to consider this pretty difficult and we let it drop temporarily. In March, however, Mrs. Peters said she had a secret to show us. It was a savings bank in which Mr. Peters had deposited $1 to which he had added $2 more the following week.

(a), (b), *et seq.* This case in the series of interviews with Mr. and Mrs. Peters shows direct treatment which one might describe as lying midway between a sustaining type of treatment and educational counseling. It also shows in the paragraphs (k),

et seq., indirect or environmental treatment. Of the two clients, Mr. Peters seemed the more complex because his deep tie to his mother had engendered conflicts in his adult family support role. Mrs. Peters, whose dependency was in part attributable to her training, had a good reality sense to which one could appeal.

(c), (d.) In double patient cases, husband and wife, parent-child, and so forth, there is always a complicated technical version of worker-client relationship. Here the case worker probably is wise in deciding to delay seeing the husband, since Mrs. Peters shows some capacity to use the relationship to work on her problem. On the other hand, if the client seems to be able to function only as complainant, with a punitive attitude toward the other, then it is often advisable to see the other person as soon as it can be arranged.

It is important in all case work to have an adequate factual basis for treatment and a sincere working relationship. When the client does not tell the truth (c), (e) it is important to create a feeling of security in the relationship, or reality testing may be too frightening. The worker should continue to display interest in the reality situation and in this case, because Mrs. Peters' evasions were on a reality, self-interest basis, it would have been safe to use a frank approach earlier. In cases where the client's evasions are rationalizations, where the client puts up a facade or false front or indulges in out-and-out phantasy, the question of reality testing is much more delicate and the worker-client relationship has to be strong enough to bear the results of handling these defenses. Note the acceptance of her as a person and of her real feelings non-judgmentally—Mrs. Peters would have thought it not quite right to admit her self-interest. Note also how in this case money to Mrs. Peters was a symbol of regard and approval which she needed, not so much to meet her bills, but in order to help her take her own part.

(f) The degree of self-help and self-direction possible varies with the individual in a given case, but the insistence of case work upon the principle rests on the sound intuition that some capacity for self-direction and choice is latent in everyone.

Those who believe in an absolute determinism of environment would reject this view, but the philosophy and technique of case work continue to postulate it. Although there are exceptions, as when one must actively interfere on behalf of a mentally or physically incapacitated person, or a child who is in danger, the client's concern to do his part in his problem is an indispensable element in treatment. Phrases in common use are evidence of this concept.[11] "You cannot take the problem away from the patient." "Can you make a client take treatment?" "You cannot impose help on another person." "Effective change depends on the client's willingness to change." "The client is more ready to ask for help with his inner problems as he realizes that the case worker is not going to threaten, approve, rescue, or overwhelm him." "The client must take responsibility for his own part in the treatment process." There is realization, too, that the worker may take over the problem to the extent necessary, with the probability that the client will take it back as he becomes able to do so. The appraisal and handling of Mrs. Peters' capacity for self-help is an interesting discussion point in this case.

(g), (h) Again in these double patient cases one sees the importance of getting the parent, or in this case the wife, to cooperate in the treatment of the other person. Note that the interpretation here, as throughout the case, remains on an immediate conscious level of explaining overt behavior only.

(i) In the reproduced interview with Mr. Peters one sees his feeling about his mother clearly. Note that the worker wisely refrains from an interpretation to Mr. Peters as to why he felt so distressed about not being able to send flowers to the funeral of a friend's mother. The motives are too deep in the unconscious for Mr. Peters to be able to tolerate discussion of them.

(j) A piece of environmental manipulation, which, because of its objective, goes beyond the mere mobilizing of a resource, occurs here. In (k) one finds a number of examples of such indirect treatment.

[11] See articles by Day, Lowry, Marcus, Millar, Robinson, and Taft, cited in bibliography, for discussion from which the above statements have been paraphrased.

(l) One criticism of this case should be that the terms on which the agency was helping, and the time limit for relief were not made clear sufficiently early. While terms and time limit do not have to be absolute and are subject to review, it is usually better to have them quite clearly stated. While not all workers agree in detail on the philosophy of setting limits, there is considerable agreement as to the practical value whether in public assistance, private family case work, or any other case work, of having the conditions set out, with plans for review, reinvestigation, or what not, definitely understood in advance. Giving Mr. Peters money on a non-realistic basis may have slowed down the progress.[12]

(m) As this again alludes to Mrs. Peters' use of the worker-client relationship, and since this is the central emphasis of all direct treatment, we may cover this in more general comment.

Worker-Client Relationship

When we say that treatment begins in the first moment of contact, "contact" is used in a special sense. Meeting and talking with a person does not necessarily touch him. A relationship is not necessarily established. Treatment starts with contact only when mutual confidence is established, only when the client accepts your interest in him and conversely feels an interest in you. When the applicant—a tense, possibly defensive, and certainly anxious individual—arrives, it is first important to gain his confidence through sympathy, respect, recognition of him as a person. There are always some elements of identification in this process, as well as some elements of objective detachment. If, and only if, some sort of rapport is established, he becomes your client. The relationship holds, sometimes negatively, sometimes positively, so long as treatment goes on. The case worker must be able to tolerate, understand, and in a limited way handle not only feelings of dependency, love, and gratitude,

[12] As public assistance agencies grasp this idea, periodic reinvestigations, now administered *to* rather than planned in advance *with* the client, will be more constructive.

but negative feelings, dislike and anger; but for the most part the case worker plays the part of the "good" friend or parent to the anxious, depressed, or frustrated individual. All human relationships imply a bond, but in any treatment relationship there is a strong affective bond. Moreover, all relationship has to have a reason for being. Unless the worker is prepared to put something into the relationship on behalf of his agency, there is little sense in mere contact. Professional relationships are not merely friendly relationships. Contact is not for the sake of contact. Agencies have programs, resources and limitations—in short, functions—so that the relationship will be used by both worker and client with some reference to what the agency is equipped to do.

One question commonly asked is whether all case work presupposes this treatment sort of relationship. At its deepest level, no doubt, the case work relationship takes on some of the same aspects which psychoanalysts call transference, although in the case work relationship the reactivation of past feelings is not the focus. There is no doubt that some of the client's feelings and emotional disturbances do become displaced upon or appear within the worker-client relationship. The extent to which the client will make use of this relationship depends upon the kind and quality of the emotional need and its place in the harmony of the personality. By no means all case work situations imply or call for strong worker-client relations. Suppose an applicant comes in for public assistance. He is, let us say, a normally self-directing human being, his needs are practical, his cooperation excellent, he wants little except the service of relief income. Is a treatment relationship to be here presumed? In so far as the case worker is able to create a comfortable atmosphere in which the client feels accepted, his need recognized as *his* need, in so far as his right to manage his own affairs is respected and his energies not dissipated in self-justification, a sense of failure, or a struggle of wills, he will probably experience a version of a professional relationship. What conditions the use of the relationship is the client's emotional

need and the function of the agency. If the client has little need of it there will be little use of a treatment relationship. The difference is quantitative rather than qualitative. Agency function also conditions the client's use of relationship, since necessary restrictions affect the degree to which one can put oneself at the disposal of clients. In all direct treatment and counseling, the relationship of worker and client is accented.) Some workers interpret the social situation and the client's feeling toward it and toward the worker; others confine their interpretation chiefly to what is brought by the client into the worker-client relationship and concentrate upon what is happening there[13]—on what use the client is making of the agency's offering. In the latter approach attention is chiefly given to the shifts in the interview which indicate shifts in the client's feeling. It is assumed from this standpoint that interpreting the client's purposes in using the agency is more efficacious than interpreting other aspects of his problem, and that through such interpretation the client arrives at self-understanding. Within this concept the agency's function is used definitely and consistently to help the client in his acceptance of himself. The writer, however, believes that case workers must also take responsibility for knowing the nature of social needs so as to help the client not only to self-acceptance but also to a fuller life in a real world.

[13] The therapeutic experience in this approach is thought of "as an effort on the patient's part, with the help of the therapist, to achieve a clearer definition and acceptance of himself and of the therapeutic situation as a will problem at every step." See Taft, *Journal of Social Work Process*, pp. 14, *et seq.* Relationship therapy as described by Robinson, Taft, and others came to be defined until in the *Journal* distinctions between therapist and case worker were carefully drawn. Thus "a therapist cannot be protected from his patient and his own individual responsibility for what he does in the relationship. The case worker's responsibility. . .must first of all be to the agency and its function." That is to say, in the therapeutic situation the patient is to be given whatever he needs; in the case work situation the helping process is characterized by "moderate reality" and a choice is left with the client whether to meet agency limitations or to find for himself other solutions. Though case work is thought to be basically identical, or at least overlapping with therapy, the movement takes place around the worker's role as defined by agency function, rather than the personal use of the therapist.

Chapter IX

ADJUSTMENT AND TREATABILITY

The Concept of Adjustment

IN BOTH direct and indirect treatment the idea of adjustment becomes particularly relevant. Critics of social case work suspect in the word "adjustment" an attempt to make the client accept, in the sense of acquiescence, a harsh, depriving, and unjust society. This is not true. The case worker may, however, help the client sort out what is real in the external world, whether he or anyone else chooses to acquiesce in it or not. The point will be easier to understand if we do not think first of economic situations, but of other sorts of situations, as of a child, let us say, in an unfavorable parental setting. The case worker will probably approach this first through indirect treatment, will try to modify parental attitudes and behavior toward the child. If successful in this, pressures are reduced, the child behaves better, and perhaps nothing further need be done. If the parental incapacities are too great, or the rejection of the child too deep-seated, some form of foster care, either substitute parents or an institution may be tried, to insure for the child a favorable environment.

Sometimes this radical change of setting will work out very well and the child will make a happy "adjustment," but this is not always to be expected. If a child has been subjected to a harsh or depriving environment with which he is in conflict, if the struggle has remained with the outside environment, shifting the factors and reducing the pressures may enable him to take care of it;[1] but if the deprivations have set up a conflict within the child himself, because of his own angry, retaliating, and anxious feelings, shifting the external factors will not help him much. The case worker may then have to try, through direct

[1] See Chapter XII, "Family and Child Welfare."

treatment, contacts to modify these feelings. When the individual, whether child or adult, cannot seem to accept himself or others, when his social behavior and performance are affected, when his feelings are complicated and confused, or contradictory, such treatment is usually indicated. In difficult cases of deep conflict or of unconscious neurotic strivings, a psychiatrist will have to be called in, but, if the problem is not too diffused nor the struggle too severe nor of too long duration, the trained case worker can sometimes help the child through direct treatment to deal with his family or foster family environment more successfully.

It will be clear that these considerations obtain also in the economic social situation. When the need is external and the struggle one of making a living against unfavorable circumstances, there is no problem of "adjustment" which a job or assistance may not satisfy; but if the struggle with a hostile world has been internalized—even though the difficulty seems to be displaced on unemployment or other concrete situations—a job will not necessarily remove the dependency nor relief income cure the anxiety. The mere mobilizing of resources can be said to effect "adjustments", but when one says an "unadjusted" client, one means that some change in personality or at least in the client's personal orientation to life may be involved in the treatment. Personality adjustments may be attempted through direct or through indirect environmental treatment, or through a combination of both, the fundamental conditions being that the client wishes to change himself and that he can actively assist in whatever course of treatment will help him to change.

In the next case we shall consider what the nature of the "adjustment" might be and through what means it might be approached. The application is from a woman who wants to have her eleven-year-old boy placed.

The Gonzales Case[2]

Mrs. Gonzales in office by appointment. She is rather a hard and tense appearing person. She spoke seriously and in a concerned way.

[2] From a Family Service agency.

Throughout the interview her fingers played nervously with her gloves and bag. She seemed to be anxious for case worker to understand the situation completely. She said that the other day she went to the Family Court because she wanted Tony, her oldest boy, placed. She can't manage him any longer. She saw a very nice lady, who, after talking with her and with Tony, told her that she did not feel it would be the right thing for her to place Tony away from her. Tony was young and needed her care, and it would perhaps be better to find out the cause of Tony's behavior, and in this way we might be able to change him, rather than have him placed away from home. I asked what she thought of that. She smiled a little and then said she could understand what Mrs. Royce meant. She could understand it "step by step," but just the same,she does not feel that it will help any. She thinks the only thing that will help is his being away from home for a time, so that he will learn to obey. He certainly does not obey her. Then, if his behavior has improved, she would like to have him back. I asked what the difficulty was and could she tell us a little more about it.

She said quickly that he seemed to be a good boy and she thought that he was not really bad. He has no difficulty outside the house. He is liked in school and gets along quite nicely. Last year he had to repeat a class because he did not do his home work, but this year he is getting along. He got his report card yesterday and he received Bs in all subjects, but in his behavior he had B plus. He is well liked in the church and he has a lot of friends who like him too. All the trouble is at home.

(a) All the trouble is with her. He hates her and he tells her so. She began to cry and buried her head in her hands. I said that that hurt her. She does not know what she can do about it. Everything he does at home is just to show her that he hates her. He does not want to eat. He is terribly underweight, but she thinks sometimes he would like to eat but he doesn't want to because he wants her to worry. He wants everything for himself. He hits his younger brother and sister and takes everything away from them. If they are sitting at table, he takes everything away from the other children, although he doesn't want to eat this, or he spits his food into the other plates. He wants just the pieces which are not given to him, and though she tries to give the best to him he does not appreciate it at all, and wants only what the others have. He puts his legs on the table. He has good table manners if he wants, but he just behaves that way to show her he can do whatever he wants to do. When he comes home he would not think of hanging his coat on a hanger, but just throws it on the floor. He has a bad influence on the other children, because now Salvatore is starting to imitate him

and does not do what she tells him, though she is still able to manage Salvatore. When she wants Tony to stay at home he runs out on the street, and if she wants him to be on the street he comes home. He always tells her, "You are not a good mother. I don't like you. I want to be away from you. I hate you." If she tells him that he should come home at about seven or eight at night, he does not do it, but comes home much later. If she wants him to go to bed he deliberately walks outside of the house, stays out five minutes, and then comes back to go to bed, just to show her that he can do whatever he wants to. I asked what Mrs. Gonzales did when Tony behaved like this. Well, she has tried all different kinds of methods. At first she slapped him, then tried to be strict with him and punish him, but this has no effect whatsoever. Now she doesn't do anything any more. She shrugged her shoulders, resignedly. What can she do? Whatever she does has no effect on him. Sometimes she tries not to notice him at all and not to see him do all these things, hoping if she doesn't pay any attention to him he will not act this way, but it doesn't make any difference. When they all go into a subway, for instance, Tony goes away from her, into another car, and she always has a difficult time to see that he gets out at the right station. The other children stay with her, except Tony, who wants to show that he does not want to be near her. There are many, many other incidents she could tell me about. All of them show the same thing, that he dislikes her, wants to be away from her, and wants to be independent. (b) I said again that this would be a painful situation for a mother.

After a pause she said I must not think she sees only his bad side. He has many good points. She also knows it is not entirely his fault that he is like that. I asked what she meant by that. Well, he can do many nice things. He draws very nicely and enjoys it very much. He belongs to a church club and all of them are very fond of him and think he has a great deal of talent. There are many little things he needs, things she is unable to give him. He needs so much note paper, crayons, etc. and whenever he asks her for it she has to say no. Of course that makes him bitter too. Besides that he is a very neat boy. He wants to have everything nicely arranged in drawers, wants a desk for himself and some space where he can do his home work as well as his drawings.

She can't give him all these things because she is so poor. Her financial circumstances are most unfortunate. When I showed interest in that she explained that they had been on relief for a long time and she doesn't know whether I know how little one gets on relief. Anyhow it is just enough to cover the bare living necessities. She very often

hasn't enough to buy clothing for the children. She does not mind for herself, but the children have to go to school and she wants them to look nice. She can never think of buying anything extra for any of the children. The others do not say much and are not so much interested in these things as Tony is. She does not blame him for being dissatisfied with conditions. She is dissatisfied herself. When I asked how long she had been on relief she said that she could not remember, but she thought it was since 1931. (c) Then her husband was still with her. He had had work in factories, but when the factories closed down he lost his job and never was able to find anything again. This wore him down a good deal. He hated to sit around in the house doing nothing. He never thought of doing anything for her by helping her in her work. Puerto Rican men are not like that. He never thought of helping her with the washing, and never did any of the heavy housework for her, though he had nothing on earth to do. He became so nervous sitting around the house that he decided to leave her. He could not stand it any longer. I wondered whether this was the main reason for leaving her. She shook her head. With bitterness she said she was glad he left. She couldn't have stood it a moment longer. They really agreed on his leaving her. He was a terrible man. He had a terrible temper. He often hit her and the children, and also used to break the furniture. Sometimes she thought he must be sick and "not right in his brain." He also took sides against her whenever he could. When she scolded Tony for something he had done or didn't want to do, Mr. Gonzales used to say, "You are a real stepmother to Tony," not because he liked Tony but just to make it harder for her. This, of course, spoiled Tony terribly, because whatever she said, her husband was against it, scolded her for what she told him, and let Tony do whatever he wanted. It would have been all right if he had talked it over with her so the child could not hear, but he always tried to make it as hard as possible for her. It certainly was no way of helping Tony, because all that happened was that Tony was spoiled. His father was very often disgusted with him, but he never could see that it was all his own doing. I asked what relationship Tony had toward his father. She said quickly that he disliked his father just as much as he disliked her now. He never had any love for his parents. He really doesn't love anybody. Perhaps he is fond of his friends, but he doesn't love them. He is so terribly cold. He never wanted to be handled like other children nor to be kissed. Salvatore, for instance, is just the opposite. If he forgets to kiss his mother good night, the next morning he goes to her and tells her that now he must have two kisses, because he didn't kiss her good night when he went to bed. Tony would never say a thing like that. He al-

ways ran away as soon as somebody wanted to coddle him or showed any fondness. Of course she knows that people are different and she can't expect him to be as affectionate as the other children. He is really a very quiet boy, but recently he has started to behave just like his father, throwing things around and getting mad. That is not in his nature. She thinks he is just trying to imitate his father and she is afraid he will become just like him. We wondered whether Mrs. Gonzales used to tell him that. She never has talked to him about it. He has seen his father strike her, so he has acquired the same habit. Tony is really very much like herself. He is quiet, not excitable and nervous. Salvatore is really more like her husband, a very wild child, but he is warm, friendly, and affectionate. That makes all the difference in the world. Tony really hates everybody, especially his brother and sister. He is so terribly jealous. He has said quite often, "Oh, I wish I had no brother and no sister. It would be much better if I was alone with you." (d) I asked whether she felt it showed hatred of her when he wanted to be alone with her. Couldn't it be that he wanted her to himself because he loved her so much? She shook her head. She never could believe that. If so, he would show her in many different ways that he loved her, and he would not behave the way he does. We asked whether he always behaved like this or whether his behavior became worse gradually. She thought a little while and then said that he really had always been like that. He was never affectionate. He never wanted her to kiss him. Of course he couldn't run out of the house by himself and didn't dare to show his will too strongly when he was four or five, the way he does now. He was quite wild when he was a little boy, but he calmed down as soon as he went to school. When he came home he always said he had no home work to do and didn't care or pay attention to what she told him, just shrugged his shoulders. He didn't do any work so he failed. This year he is much better in his school work. I wondered whether she thought his behavior has changed in any way since Mr. Gonzales left. It has not. It has been gradually getting worse all the time. There was nothing sudden about it after Mr. Gonzales left.

I asked how Mrs. Gonzales felt about Mr. Gonzales leaving. She is glad that he left and she feels better since then. It may make things harder but then he may not have found a job yet and she couldn't go on any longer the way they were. She was afraid of him and his temper. She had no more love for him left. She was so proud of Tony. He was the oldest boy and she always told him, "Tony, you have to help me with the younger children. You should be a good example for them." He certainly dashed all her hopes. She tried to suppress her tears when

she said that and that she was no longer able to manage him. I said things had been very difficult for Mrs. Gonzales, that we would be glad to help her with her problem. She thinks the only way we could help her would be by sending Tony away to a family where he will learn nice manners. She doesn't want him in an institution. She wants him in a place where he will have love, and also where he can learn to appreciate her, and to obey her. Didn't I also think that that would be the best thing? I said that it might be best but that we had not seen Tony, that we would like to try to understand both Mrs. Gonzales and Tony, and then discuss it further with Mrs. Gonzales. She said, "So you want to see Tony too?" I said I should like to, if she would like to have me. She said hurriedly that after Mrs. Royce had seen Tony she said he was such a charming boy. I said, "You are perhaps afraid that I would say the same thing, and would feel there is nothing the matter with Tony." She smiled and said that that was what everybody thought. In church they all like him and in school they like him. Also, Mrs. Royce likes him. They all try to give him a good talking to, but that never has any effect. He tries his best to get away from her because he hates her so, and he will be only too glad to be sent away. I said that was just what I should like to understand more. Perhaps then we could find a way that would make it easier for her as well as for Tony. I asked how she thought Tony felt about the situation. She doesn't think he is happy. She has the impression that he is unhappy. Of course it is his own doing. If he didn't behave as he does, he wouldn't have to feel so badly. Would he mind coming to see me, I asked? Certainly not. He always likes to talk to anybody. He will think that he is coming to see the case worker in order to be sent away and he certainly will do anything to help that along. She will bring him in.

When Mrs. Gonzales left she thanked me for my interest, and she hoped we could help her. I said this was a difficult problem and that she must understand that it would take some time before things changed, that Tony has behaved in this way for a long time, and she should not expect any immediate change. Mrs. Gonzales seemed to understand that and said she never thought a month or so could help very much. She thinks it would take a very long time and can understand that, but still believes a change may come only through placement.

Mrs. Gonzales and Tony in office. After some general conversation Tony was seen. He is a rather short, dark-haired boy, neatly dressed. His face is pale yellow in color, and there are dark circles under his eyes. He was friendly and outgoing throughout the interview and it was often felt that there was real concern and suffering behind

his words. He followed me willingly into the interviewing room, and when I told him my name, he said he was eleven years old. "My brother is ten." I said he was rather tall for his age. He thinks so too. There are some in his class who are taller and some who are shorter. His brother is very much shorter. He showed height of about three feet. I said that his brother was very much shorter than he was and he said he was. Of course he is younger, too. He is in a lower grade, too. He is only in 4A and Tony is in 5B. "I'm not very smart in school but I get along. Last year I had to repeat a class. The teacher was not very nice." Now he has a much nicer teacher, and he doesn't think that he is going to fail this term. With a smile he said that his brother isn't so hot either. He had to repeat twice and he may not be able to get promoted this term. "My brother is funny. He really is crazy." I asked why he thought he was crazy and he said he jumped around so much. He doesn't think of anything but playing. I asked what Tony thought about so seriously and he answered hurriedly, "I think about my stamp collection day and night." When I showed interest in that he began to talk at some length about the stamps, showing quite a bit of knowledge about the different countries and the values of stamps. I thought I had a new stamp at home which might interest him and he became quite enthusiastic. Here he said it was quite difficult for him to collect stamps because he had no place where he could put his things. He hasn't even a drawer for himself where he can keep his things. He has to put everything on top of the drawers—his stamp book and his pencils and papers. He is very interested in painting, too and he does that at the church club. If only he could have more room at home, a place where he could do his home work and where he could keep his things, he would be much happier. I said he was not happy? He slowly shook his head. His mother is unfair. That's what it is. She does not like him. She also does not like Nina, at least not very much, though she is very smart. She is the smartest in the family. She never had to repeat a class, and she is quick in learning everything. She knows Spanish and English. (e) Just the same his mother does not like her. She likes only Salvatore. I asked why he thought so and he said, "It's like this. I'm sitting at my table doing my home work. My mother is at the neighbor's next door. The door is open. My brother comes and says, 'Want to pick a fight?' I say 'no.' He begins to wiggle my chair. I can't stand for that, can I? So I begin to get up and there is a fight. Then my mother comes in. She does not even wait to hear who started the fight, but begins to whip me. She whips me terribly—every day at least ten times. Her whipping makes me weak. That's why I'm so weak. That's how it all begins." Whenever his mother comes in and

sees a fight, she never stops to ask who started the fight or whose fault it was, she just whips him. I asked how about Nina? Does she whip her too? He shook his head. No, she doesn't do that, but she doesn't like her very much either. And how about him? Doesn't she like Nina? He said she is all right but she takes his things and plays with them. He can't stand for that. She mixes them all up and breaks his pencils. Salvatore is worse though. He always wants to fight. We asked who was stronger and he said he, of course. He is much older, but he is very weak. If his mother would only not whip him so much, then everything would be all right. "You know what it is? My mother grew up in Puerto Rico. There they do not know how to bring up children. They are brought up in a different way. If my mother, now, were an American woman, she would punish me but she would never whip me." What kind of punishment did he think she should give him? Well, there are many different punishments. She could take his food away, or she could send him to bed, or could tell him that he was not supposed to go downstairs and play. I said, "So you think that sometimes you should be punished?" He nodded. Of course. Every boy has to be punished sometimes if he does things he should not do, but he does not want to be whipped. (f) He gets so weak that he can't eat. For instance, the other day he could not even get breakfast. The food his mother cooks is no good. She doesn't give him what he wants to have. She doesn't give him a room for himself. It was different in the apartment where they lived before. They were not so crowded, and he had a room to himself. She is always talking about going back to the other apartment, but she will never do that. I asked what he thought her reason was, and he said that he knew she was poor. He sighed and I said it was hard to be poor, wasn't it? Yes, it was. His mother couldn't give him the things he needed. But she gives things to Salvatore and not to him. She always tells him she has no money, but she takes Salvatore with her to the movies. If she had no money how could she go with him to the movies? She wouldn't have the money to buy even two tickets. "She never takes you to the movies?" He said no. "She doesn't take me nor does she take Nina. She only takes Salvatore." Tony likes the movies. He likes to go to shows and he likes to go to church. He likes to go to the club and he likes to go to school. "Only you don't like to be at home?" No, that was not so. He would like to be at home, but everything "in reason." What does he mean by "in reason"? Well, he wants to be allowed to go out on the street and play with the other boys sometimes, and he wants to work and play at home and to be undisturbed. I said that the other children disturbed him, and when he nodded I said that he might like to be alone

at home, without the others. He looked at me in surprise. He thinks he will join the Marines. Then he will see every country, but he has to have four years of high school for that. Then, after he has seen the world he will come back to his mother. What is he going to be then, I asked? He said in an excited voice that he was going to be an artist. He is going to make an oil painting very soon at the church. He is going to church three times a week, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday. I said that today he couldn't go to the church because I had wanted to see him. He said that was so, but there were three other days in the week when he didn't go to church. Can't he come then and see case worker? I said that I certainly could arrange that and he could come in on Monday. A choice between Monday and Thursday was given to him and he wanted to come on Monday.

He began to talk of his mother again. He said there was another thing he thought was unfair of her. She doesn't want him to have any friends, and nobody to think any good of him. She goes around and tells stories to everyone about how bad he is. He minds that very much. He has an aunt who lives in the Bronx, who has some boys. These boys think he is terrible and therefore hate him. They are nice boys though. He likes them and he would like to be friends with them, but his mother doesn't want him to. The aunt is nice too, and sometimes he tells her a little bit of his side of it and about his mother. She also talks to other people in the house about him, so that they think he is terrible, but they know about the whippings. How does she whip him, I asked? He said with an electric cord, and often with an iron rod. That hurts most. For every little thing he gets a whipping. The others do not. I asked about his father. Did he whip him too? He nodded. Not as hard, though, as his mother does. He was kinder. He hasn't seen him for a long time—not since Christmas.

I had to end the interview and Tony asked spontaneously whether he could come in again. I said I would like to see him and talk things over further with him. He said that he would bring his stamp collection the next time and he also would like to show us one of his paintings. I should be glad to see these things, and I would try not to forget to bring him the stamp.

(g) Case worker discussed with Mrs. Gonzales and Tony how Tony would come the next time, whether Mrs. Gonzales thought she had to accompany him. She seemed hesitant. Tony said quickly and eagerly that he knew how to change on the subway from a local to an express and he could find his way to the office easily by himself. I said I thought that too and Mrs. Gonzales seemed quite willing to consent, though she looked a little suspicious. Tony seemed delighted when it was agreed that he would come in by himself the next time.

Tony had his stamp collection with him next time he came. He was early for his appointment. He displayed the stamps with great pride. He showed a surprising amount of knowledge about them and also seemed to know quite a bit of the history of the different countries. Case worker gave Tony a few stamps and he was delighted. The greater part of the interview was taken up in discussing stamps and the way he went about getting more. He "swapped" with other boys when he had duplicates, etc. I asked whether he had friends who were collectors too and he said most of them were. But they don't only collect stamps. They also like to play baseball; so does he. There is one woman in the house who is also collecting stamps and she has a big collection. The book costs more than $2. When he has money he is going to buy a big stamp collection. I asked who had given him this one and he said, well, he made a few pennies chopping wood. The book was $1. Then he said rather unwillingly that 75 cents was given him by his mother. I said that sometimes she did give him things, didn't she? Yes, she did, but she gave much more to Salvatore and Nina than she gave to him. He listed all the toys Salvatore got, while he didn't get anything. Today, for instance, before he came over here, he found Nina playing with his stamps and this made him mad. He hit her. What did his mother do? She didn't even ask who had done something wrong. She just hit him. I asked whether he ever allowed his sister and brother to play with him and he said he did not. He doesn't want to play with them, because they don't understand how to play. They are too young and dumb. Does he ever play with their things? No, he doesn't. He could, perhaps, if he wanted to, but he is not interested in the kind of toys they have. His mother had given him two drawers lately. The upper drawer and the lower one of the chest, but it didn't do any good because he had no key. If he could lock his toys in, neither Salvatore nor Nina could play with them. Of course he could have keys made but that costs money. His mother is always talking about moving to another apartment. Now she says she will move at Easter time, but he is sure she won't do it. She just talks about it. She has been talking about it for more than a year.

In a low voice he said suddenly, "My mother wants me to be away from home. She wants to place me somewhere. She says that I'm a bad boy. Sometimes she has also talked about placing Salvatore, but I know that she doesn't want to place him. She only wants to place me. She hasn't talked about Salvatore any more." I said it would be hard for him to be away from home. He nodded. He doesn't want to go. He wants to stay with his mother. But his mother doesn't like him. She wants to be rid of him. Why does he think she wants to be rid of him?

Well, he thinks she does not like children. She does not understand children. He said again what he had said last week, that in Puerto Rico they do not know how to bring up children. She likes only Salvatore, and she doesn't like him. (h) She doesn't understand him. She has said quite often herself that children make her nervous. She does not know how to take proper care of them. She doesn't even know how to cook for them. He doesn't get the proper food. That is why he is so weak. He is so weak that his brother can give him a licking. We asked when he gave him a licking. He said the last few days. He did not want to fight with him. Last week was better at home than it has ever been before. His mother didn't hit him as much as she did before, but it was only because he was so good and not because his mother didn't want to hit him. His mother just doesn't want to please him. She doesn't want to satisfy him. He again spoke of the food. Salvatore becomes stronger all the time. I asked whether Salvatore ate more than he did and he said yes, he did. But his mother's food was no good. Nobody could get strong on it. I asked how it happened that Salvatore got strong on it, and not he. "Salvatore may like this kind of food, but I don't. She doesn't know how to prepare it." . . . .

He has had a nice week altogether. He went to the church club and did some drawings and started his oil painting. He showed case worker a picture he has drawn of a vase with flowers, which apparently was a copy of another picture. He said he had a small one and enlarged it. This showed talent but no originality. He likes to draw flowers. Flowers and ships are what he likes to draw best . . . .

A long conversation about his interests followed.

This led to talk about camp. Every summer he goes to camp. He is sent away by the church. He likes it very much. He wanted to tell case worker more about it. I said I would be glad to see him again. He asked if he could come back the same day next week. He said he found his way very nicely by himself. He has a nickel to go home with. He showed this to me.

(a) "All the trouble is with her."[3] If Mrs. Gonzales means by this that she feels responsible for Tony's difficulties, it suggests insight which would be hopeful for a change on her part, but if, as the context indicates, she is projecting all her anger on Tony the prospect of helping the mother is dimmer. It is Tony—not she—who says she is not a good mother; Tony who hates her; Tony who wants to be rid of her.

[3] Compare attitude of the mother in the Stout case, on p. 123.

(b) Worker accepts her feeling, which makes it possible for her to go on with her condemnation. When she brings out his good points it is only as a preliminary to the dark picture to follow.

(c) The frustrated woman emerges more clearly. Her husband was no good, no men (Puerto Ricans) are any good, Tony, who is just like his father, is no good. When the case worker (d) asks if some of his behavior does not suggest that he loves her she denies it emphatically. She is desperately afraid case worker will find some good in Tony and thus confront her with her rejection of him. Tony, when seen, is unhappy and feels discriminated against. He is hurt and jealous. He thinks he should be punished, but his mother's punishment "makes him weak."

(e), (f), (h) He shows some quite disturbed symptoms, such as "weakness" and not being able to eat. There is a slight indication that Tony's conflicts are working themselves up into a neurotic anxiety. In (g) compare Mrs. Gonzales' attitude with that of Mrs. Stout earlier, to see the resistance to treatment for her child. In the next interview the mother expresses her rejection of the boy even more frankly. She can't see why he should come to the office. She thinks the important thing is for her to know where to place him. She doesn't think it does any good for the case worker to see him. At home he is as bad as ever. She wishes the case worker to come to the house to see how terrible he is, so as not to be taken in. The worker has to express a good deal of understanding of her side of it before being able to go ahead with either mother or Tony. At one point in the interview the mother says, speaking of her husband:

"I'm glad he's out. He was no help; he just made the situation worse. I threw him out." In the same tone she went on: "I can't do the same thing with the children. I can't just throw them out. I'm considered responsible for them; I am their mother." After a pause during which she seemed to be trying to check herself she burst out, "not that I want to throw them out!"

To attempt direct treatment with the mother in the expecta-

tion of modifying her attitudes is impracticable because she shows no signs of wanting it. A light contact, if she permits it, might be maintained, in the hope that one could do something to help her with the less rejected children and in case Tony could be returned later. Direct treatment of the child while at home is impossible because the mother's suspicion and resentment would be increased. The trouble is concentrated at home. Tony does behave well and have good contacts everywhere else. But since the mother has no awareness that she is a factor in his problem and does not want treatment, there seems little to be done except move the child into a healthier setting, since Tony's frustrations are already driving him into complicated reactions. He is a very painstaking boy, already much preoccupied with his difficulties. His conflicts are becoming internalized. A supportive contact in the new environment will be kept with Tony, but it will not be the intensive one shown in the interviews, since it will be necessary for him to put down fresh roots in his new setting.

It is possible that a sustained relationship with Mrs. Gonzales might bring her to the point of some insight, but it is more likely that she would withdraw from any treatment relationship because she would not want to change. The outlook for Tony is uncertain, since one would not yet know how well he could handle a more accepting environment. Unfortunately we cannot procure for him what he wants—to have his own mother love him. A cottage institution rather than foster parents was selected for Tony, since at his age a seriously rejected child is apt to have a good deal of trouble in establishing new stable affectional relations with a substitute parent.

Some case workers would contend that this case would inevitably be different if the mother had gone to a child placing agency. This assumes that functional lines in a given community are definitely and permanently drawn, and this leads to a second assumption, namely, that the client's choice of agency means that he is already "tipped in the direction" of a course of action typically represented by that agency function. While

there is some truth in this latter point, the writer believes that social case functions cannot be or even should not be entirely separated and unique; and that much of the segmental division between so-called family and children's work[4] is historical and arbitrary, rather than truly "functional." Mrs. Gonzales first turned to the Children's Court thinking, no doubt, that this agency would place her child. The second agency to which she applied—a family service agency—did not take the position that their only function was in keeping homes together and that they must therefore refer her to still a third agency, but went through with the treatment which was clearly indicated, in this instance steps preliminary to placement. The cooperation of a child placing agency was later invited on a flexible and smooth interchange. Obviously two workers in the same agency, or two processes in the same agency, could give the same combined results as agencies geographically or administratively separate which have a cooperative relationship. Some clients, even more than Mrs. Gonzales, serve notice on us early and insistently that they do not want to change. In the case of Mrs. Clark, who applied for help with her sick daughter, the first three interviews are full of expressions which suggest that although she asks for help she doesn't want help, i. e., with herself, and does not propose to do anything on her side.

The Clark Case[5]

Mrs. Clark at office. She is a short, slight woman of thirty-five, careworn and highly tense. Throughout her conversation one felt the great effort she was exerting to refrain from crying, and several times she broke into tears in a restrained manner. She continuously tore at a handkerchief until it was in shreds.

Her conversation began with, "I won't take up your time. All I want is help for my very sick daughter." She is a widow, whose husband died six years ago, leaving her with two children, Elizabeth, now eleven years old, and Jane, seven. She was living in Connecticut at the time, and managed to keep the children with her for three years, living on a widow's pension. Four years ago she placed the children in the

[4]See Chapter XII for a further discussion of this topic.

[5]From a Children's Agency.

Castle Hill Orphanage, Newtown, Conn. Worker asked whether she had lived there and Mrs. Clark explained, "Yes, Castle Hill—Blue Hill —West Hill—it's all the same." She cried as she explained that Jane had contracted infantile paralysis shortly after her admission to the home, and was unable to use either arm. She was sent by the Orphanage to the Lillian Lane Home at Newtown. Unable to talk further because of her weeping, Mrs. Clark produced a letter from Mrs. Jackson, Superintendent of the Orphanage, dated September 15. The contents were to the effect that the Ladies' Aid of Long County, and the Club, who were together paying $42 for the child's care, owed a bill of $72 to the Lillian Lane Home, which they were unable to pay. Also an additional fee of $12 a month was being added to the bill because of pool treatments and physiotherapy for Jane.

She had no relatives to whom to turn, as her husband's brother and sister-in-law in Castle Hill were unable to help her, and she was estranged from her only sister in Boston. Her parents were in Europe, and were poor. She indicated that her relationship with them, too, was not a friendly one. "After all, I'm not the oldest child, so why should they care for me?"

She had come to the city after having placed the children in the Home four years ago, in the hope of finding work and making social contacts. She had at that time hoped to establish a home for the children here. She was living in a furnished room and working irregularly as a finisher at men's clothing, earning barely enough to meet her needs. When worker asked whether it was still her hope to reestablish a home for the children, Mrs. Clark said angrily, "Why should I? Elizabeth is all right where she is. After all, she's no better than the other children there. And Jane—." She wept as she said that it would be impossible for her to undertake the care of the child.

Worker remarked that her life must be a very difficult one. She seemed very nervous. Mrs. Clark remarked angrily that she hadn't come to ask for anything for herself. She was "all alone in the world," and friendless. But she could get along. She had had to take a great deal from people already. Since she had had to ask for help she had been regarded as a nobody, and perhaps she was. It was Jane for whom she wanted help.... Here followed a discussion of the children's present circumstances.

Mrs. Clark cried, and when she regained her composure said with finality that she could not have Jane with her. She had no place to keep her, as she was living in a very small furnished room. Worker asked whether she had no friends who might help her, and Mrs. Clark, rising, said, "It's no use. I have nobody." Worker assured her that we

would help her as much as possible, but that it would be necessary first for us to know what she would like to do, and since it might take some time for her to clarify this, we would, in the meantime, inquire as to possibilities for Jane's placement in Boston. We were also interested in helping her, as an individual, apart from Jane. Mrs. Clark thanked us for our interest in Jane but as for her, she admonished worker, "Forget about me."

We see here a woman who has great need, but also great anxiety and hostility. It is always important to notice toward what hostility seems to be directed. Here it is directed against the experience of asking for help. She won't "take up your time," all she wants is help for her daughter. Why should anyone care for her? She hasn't come to ask for anything for herself. "She has had to take a great deal from people since she asked." She feels unloved and unwanted—is a "nobody," and her exit line in the first interview is, "Forget about me." The same emotional tone governs the next interview.

"She apologized for taking the worker's time." "She was imposing and had no right to do so." "She had been subjected to so much that nothing mattered any more." "She had neither the patience nor the ability for retraining." When the worker asked why she assumed that she lacked the ability, Mrs. Clark, dismissing the subject, said: "Well, that's the way I am, and there's no use talking further about it."

Subsequent developments in this case quickly confirmed the evaluation that Mrs. Clark was a dependent woman who exploited her relations with people to gain her own ends. She constantly increased her demands without changing any part of her early attitude, and continued to project her whole need and problem upon the worker. Her behavior was too satisfactory to her to give up.

When we say that effective change depends on the client's willingness to change and that this change may be effected through the client's use of the relationship to clarify his own feelings, or through his interaction with an environmental situation in which some factors can be shifted, we must remind ourselves that personality change is by no means the sole objective of treatment, that carrying on simple supportive treatment

through resources, reduction of environmental pressures, and a friendly sustaining relationship may be the wise as well as the only practicable course. That treatability is at best a relative concept is too obvious for extended comment. Treatment is always limited by the client's capacities and wishes, by community facilities, and not least, perhaps, by the development of the profession itself and by the degree of skill of the individual practitioner. There are few things which case work knows how to cure, although there are a considerable number of situations in which adjustment can be at least partially realized.

In estimating treatability in the field of behavior, we should always consider pervasiveness and duration, as well as the attitude of the person toward his problem. Whether the problem is one of drinking or of stealing, of dependency, or irritability, one wants to know how long it has gone on, specifically in what setting it arises, toward whom the attitude or behavior seems to be directed, what the client or other people have done to handle it, what satisfactions the client seems to get out of it. Maladjustments, including quite regressive behavior, can be useful adaptations for the personality. As we have shown earlier, the client's use of the treatment relationship is a guide to the degree of his will to change.

The Use of Interpretation

One of the interesting technical questions in the adjustment process is the nature and place of interpretation. The use of the skilled art of listening—and fortunately the fact that we can listen and to some degree understand, does not necessarily mean that we have to do something about all we hear—is part of direct treatment. Often the wisest course is to refrain from doing anything except to listen and to decide what not to do. Beyond this there is a wide range of explanation, counseling, discussion, suggestion, and, when appropriate, interpretation of the issues and, more sparingly, interpretation of the person to himself. The worker may explain to a client the function of the agency, or the rules governing the establishing of eligibility; or

he may describe and interpret a camp program, or an institution or community resource. To *tell* somebody something calls for little skill, to *interpret* to an anxious client even a quite obvious resource like a convalescent home means knowing your resource and understanding your client's reaction to and use of the explanation. Medical social workers achieve a high degree of skill in interpreting the nature of the disability and the requirements of the therapeutic regime to the patient, to the patient's family or group, and to other social workers. To many people chronic illness brings not only specific disabilities in social function, which can be accepted and dealt with better if fully understood, but also a painful sense of difference and inferiority, which interpretation may help to minimize.

When Mr. Agnew was thirty-two he developed diabetes. His history showed lack of stability in his home life, irregularity of working hours, overindulgent living and eating, drinking, and late poker. His disability being interpreted, he accepted restrictions and continued for over fourteen years with a mild handicap within which he could function well. Then he had a paralytic stroke, following temporary unemployment. With the help of the social case worker he got light work in an architect's office. Interpretation had to be made both to the patient and to the prospective employer. His first response to illness had been fear of approaching death. Here interpretation had been handled chiefly by the physician, with assistance from the case worker, who also helped the family to a constructive attitude. After six years an infection of the foot led to amputation. At this misfortune the hitherto self-directing patient became discouraged and dependent, with enfeebled body responses. Hemiplegia, which had affected the left side, made manipulation of the artificial leg difficult. After further interpretation and education in walking he was able to use the workshop for the handicapped. Family meals continued to be planned to suit the patient's diet, and the family attitudes were kept by the case worker at a reinforcing level. The slope in this case was inevitably downhill, but the steady interpretation of capacities and limitations was no doubt a factor in conserving strengths as long as possible.[6]

The worker must know the nature and extent of the handicap, must understand the regimen for diet, drugs, appliances, as well as some of the complications of the illness, must know the res-

[6] From a Medical Social Department.

ponse of the patient to his limitations and estimate whether he can form the necessary habits. In all this the case worker is dependent upon the guidance of the physician, and in effective medical social or psychiatric social treatment team play between doctor and social case worker is always to be presumed.

Interpretation of handicaps and practical problems is an everyday responsibility of the case worker. Interpretation of behavior and attitudes, while calling for essential knowledge and skill, is on especially delicate ground because behavior and attitudes are highly charged with emotion. It takes two to make an interpretation, one to speak and one to listen. Children are past masters at shrugging off interpretations they do not wish to hear, as any conscientious parent struggling to impart sex information has discovered. It is particularly important not to try to interpret feelings of which the client is unconscious. Thus in the Sokousky case[7] the worker was careful not to say, "You are feeling guilty not only because you hate your father, but because you love your father," or "Your anxiety and responsibility about the younger children are partly because you are jealous of their being at home and perhaps want them punished as you have been punished." People often cannot bear to look at their innermost feelings like this. They must feel very secure with you first, and you must be very sure you are right, and even then you can rarely tell all you see without disaster. It is a curious psychological fact that we rarely mind criticism unless the criticism is a true one. Young workers, as they become aware of people's unconscious motives, are apt to make the mistake of rash interpretation, much as children work off part of their hostility to one another by playing the game of "Truth."

In the following case, interpretation lies in that very difficult area of explaining to a child that her foster parents are not her own.

[7] See p. 96.

The Guthrie Case[8]

Mr. and Mrs. Guthrie, a couple in their early forties, had two foster children, Marjorie, eleven, and Jack, six. Recently Marjorie, who had always been a popular and attractive child, had become tense and irritable. She wasn't truthful about little things and had become careless and uncooperative in the home. Mrs. Guthrie suspected that Marjorie had discovered a diary which showed that the child had been adopted. The Guthries had always been anxious lest the children should find out that they were not the natural parents. They had been very unhappy over not having children and never could bear to tell them. They were now planning to adopt them legally and feared that the children might discover the truth during the adoption procedure. Meanwhile, because of Mrs. Guthrie's concern over Marjorie's behavior she had asked the case worker to "talk to her" at the office . . . .

Marjorie was wearing a nice-looking, dark blue snow suit. The moment she sat down in the chair in our office her eyes filled with tears. We were sorry we had not been able to see her last week, and wondered how she was feeling. She said she was all right except that when she sits down to talk to us, she doesn't know why she feels like weeping. She then quickly said that everything was all right. She didn't have anything particular to tell us. We thought she really had something very important she was keeping to herself and it was hard for her to believe she could trust us. We could understand that, but we did want her to know that we knew there was something very important. Perhaps sometime later she would feel differently. Marjorie interrupted us to say she had thought it over and had decided she could trust us. As she talked her mouth went so dry that one could hear as she attempted moistening her mouth. She was quite pale and looked at her hands as she very carefully gave us the facts. Her mother had sent her to her bedroom to get some collars and cuffs. She saw—then Marjorie paused as though she couldn't find the right words. She said it wasn't a book and we suggested perhaps it was a diary, and she quickly said, oh no, if it was a diary and said so, she wouldn't have opened it. It wasn't locked and she opened the book. Her mother let her read things in her room. She read the first sentence—that her mother took a red-headed baby, ten days old. Then she couldn't read any more. Marjorie began to sob as she talked. We asked how she felt. Marjorie thought for a moment and then said it was as though everything was cut from under her. For three days she didn't know what she was doing. That's why she likes to keep active, so she wouldn't think. Sometimes when she

[8] From a Family Service Agency.

was alone inside she would run out to her father and get him to talk about anything so that she wouldn't think. We asked what else came into her mind. She thought for a moment and then said she had heard over the radio that a grown woman had gone—Marjorie paused for the word and then said "crazy," changing it to say she was upset when she learned she had been adopted when she was a child and wasn't the real child of her parents. Marjorie looked at us, tears streaming down her face, and asked in a pleading voice whether it wasn't best that she knew now when she was young. We asked if she felt as though she were crazy right after she had read the diary. She nodded her head and said she didn't know what she was doing.

She then asked us again whether it wasn't better that she knew now that she was young. We reassured her and said there was no question that she should know, and one didn't go crazy over such things, that it was hard now on her but she would feel very much better. She said she felt better already. We asked what else had come into her mind. She thought about institutions and then began to weep. She thought that no institution would be as nice as a home of one's own. We asked if she ever had any thought about an institution in relation to herself. She smiled and said, oh no, she never did. Then too, she thought about Jack. She again began to weep. She said she really should be much better to him and love him more, because after all they are more like sister and brother now. She said did we know what she means? Before it wasn't as if they were sister and brother, but now it is. We said we could understand that. She knows that he had a different mother and that they come from different families, but still it is different now. We asked if she had heard any discussion about Jack. She said she hadn't heard very much. She knew Jack's mother and had wondered about her. She said very quickly that of course she knew she was adopted because her father had money when she was young. Then with a half laugh she said she supposed she was, but after all she hadn't seen the papers. We asked how long she had known about this, when did she first begin to suspect. She thought about a year ago. She didn't know what happened but one time she wanted to ask her mother but couldn't get to it. Something stopped her. She particularly became uneasy when people would say "you don't look at all like your mother." Marjorie's mouth trembled as she said this. We asked how she had thought children took after their parents. We wondered if she had ever noticed that a good many children didn't physically take after their parents, but were like them in personality because they were imitating, as children do. She laughed and said yes, people said she took after her father because she has some of his same mannerisms. Marjorie smiled happily at this.

After she read the diary, one time she found that she almost had to tell her mother and would have, she believes, if a friend hadn't called for her. What will she say now to her mother when she asks about her interview here? We asked what she wanted to tell her. She doesn't want to tell her. Marjorie almost pleaded with us. She will tell her sometime, but she can't tell her now. We said it wasn't necessary, if she didn't want to. Everything she told us was confidential. Marjorie insisted that her mother would ask her. We then said that of course her mother also knew that Marjorie's interviews with us were confidential; in fact, before we began to see Marjorie we told her mother that we were going to have these interviews and that they would be confidential. Marjorie sighed with relief. Since that was understood it was all right and her mother wouldn't trouble her. She found it more difficult to talk to her mother than to her father....

Marjorie in office promptly. We asked how she was feeling and she said she was all right. We wondered if during the week she hadn't been a little sorry that she told us. She smiled a little and said she had. We asked what she had thought about. She wonders whether it would not be better to keep those things to herself; then she would be the only one who knew. We questioned whether it wasn't too much to carry around all by oneself, whether she didn't feel so much better for having told us, and wouldn't feel still better if her parents knew. She said that was so. She did feel so much better than she has ever felt. However, she didn't want to tell her mother. It was hard for her to tell her. We agreed that was so and therefore maybe she would like us to help her. Maybe we could tell them together. She quickly nodded her head and said she would like that. We said we would talk about this more and arrange it. We asked if there was anything she thought of during the week that troubled her. She said she didn't think too much about the whole matter except once in a while, and then it quickly slipped her mind again....Later she said she wished we would tell her mother....

Mrs. Guthrie in office. She was under some stress and it was indicated by her tenseness and the trembling of her voice as she asked whether Marjorie knew. We said there were things Marjorie wanted us to tell her. Mrs. Guthrie said Marjorie was very difficult to handle. She was afraid she wasn't very truthful either. For example, Mrs. Guthrie will have her clothes all set out for her and a new pair of stockings, but she will deliberately put on a pair that has holes in them. When Mrs. Guthrie points that out to her she says nobody can see because she pulls down the stocking into the shoe and the holes are not seen. We said Marjorie was having a difficult time and undoubtedly

was making it difficult for every one else, particularly her mother. We assured Mrs. Guthrie that she had done a very fine job with Marjorie and perhaps for the next few weeks if she would just go out of her way to reassure Marjorie of her affection it might be helpful. We thought some of these things that Marjorie did would disappear sooner or later. We pointed out that she was going into her adolescence. Mrs. Guthrie seemed relieved by our reassurance. She was worried that we might think she had not done a very good job by Marjorie in bringingher up the way she did.

We then discussed the fact with Mrs. Guthrie that Marjorie knew. Mrs. Guthrie became quite upset, wept, and wanted to know what Marjorie said, how she took it. We said she was naturally quite upset, chiefly because she began to wonder if her mother really loved her. We thought because Mrs. Guthrie had given so much affection to Marjorie this attitude of Marjorie's could easily be changed, once Mrs. Guthrie and Marjorie talked things over. Mrs. Guthrie was very sympathetic with Marjorie and appreciated how painful this could be to her. She readily realized that the thing to do was to talk it over with Marjorie. It was obvious that Mrs. Guthrie was very anxious as to how this could be done and when we suggested we might come to the house and have Mr. and Mrs. Guthrie and Marjorie discuss it briefly with us she very quickly agreed. One thing that troubles her about Marjorie is that she isn't interested in babies or any of her dolls. Mrs. Guthrie spoke of her love of dolls, even to this day. Before she took Marjorie she used to have beautiful dolls. Some friends, knowing of her liking of babies' clothes, gave her a lovely collection of baby clothes. When she got Marjorie she gave them all to her to wear.

She spoke of her desire to adopt the children so that she could be free to go where she wants to. She would like to see her mother and take the children with her, particularly Marjorie.

Mrs. Guthrie stated that her husband did not know Marjorie had read the diary. He has always been against having the children ever know. She doesn't think he is correct in this way of thinking, but that is the way he is and he won't discuss it. We pointed out that if the children are to be adopted they would have to know, since they would be brought to court. She realizes it is necessary, but he is so fond of the children that he can't bear to let them know he is not their father. She would like us to handle this with him. We suggested she talk the matter over and that they both come in and we would discuss the problem of talking things over with Marjorie. If Mr. Guthrie couldn't come in at that time we would make another appointment with him, because it was important that we discuss it thoroughly with him too, before

any arrangements are made. She thought he could arrange his business so that he could come in....

Mr. and Mrs. Guthrie in district office. Mrs. Guthrie came in with us first. She almost trembled with nervousness. After some discussion around the fact that this was a momentous decision on her part to talk to Marjorie, we discussed the things that it would be most important to say at such a time. Mrs. Guthrie laughed and said that her mind was in such a whirl that she couldn't think straight at all. There is no question at all in her mind that she wants to adopt the children, and she looked at us when we questioned her about this as though to ask how could we possibly believe she wouldn't want to adopt them. We asked this question because Mrs. Guthrie said that if she had known it was going to be so complicated she might never have taken the children. We discussed whether there weren't some unnecessary obstacles put in the way. She said she was all ready to adopt Marjorie when the latter was four years old, but then was told she would have to advertise and perhaps Marjorie's mother would show up. When she went to the attorney two years ago she was again frightened off from going through with it because she was told she didn't have enough money and the children might be taken away from her. Maybe she allowed herself to be dissuaded too easily. We thought it was important to make the definite decision that she was going through with trying to have the children adopted. She said there was no question about it and that was what she and Mr. Guthrie were most eager for. We said it was important to let Marjorie know, first, that she loved her, but because she found it difficult to let Marjorie know she didn't give birth to her, she didn't go through with the final adoption; that Mrs. Guthrie thought now that was an error and as quickly as possible she was going formally to adopt Marjorie. Mrs. Guthrie could see the value of saying these things. She hopes she will be able to say them to her and won't be too emotional about it. She will surely try....

We asked Mrs. Guthrie if she had spoken to her husband about this. She said he didn't know why he had to come to the office. She couldn't possibly tell him. Mrs. Guthrie pleaded with us not to ask her to do that. We said we would talk to him. She waited for her husband in the waiting room.

Mr. Guthrie came into the interviewing room and said he didn't know why we wanted to see him this morning. We broached the subject by telling him we understood he was very eager to adopt the children as quickly as possible. He said that was absolutely so, and he would do anything necessary in order to hasten it. We wondered how he would talk to Marjorie about her adoption. He said it puzzled him

and worried him. He has never wanted to tell the children they weren't really his. We asked if he had any suspicion that Marjorie knew. He said once in a while he wondered about it, but he had no reason to believe she did know—did we know anything different from that? Mr. Guthrie became a bit agitated. In talking of the children his tone of voice and manner was gentle and quite different than when he is discussing business. He has a great affection for the children, as was indicated by the things he said about them. We told Mr. Guthrie that Marjorie knew and Mr. Guthrie was quite startled, wondering how she found out. We said she had had some suspicion for about a year, and this suspicion was verified by something she read in her mother's diary. He doesn't like the children to go messing through his drawers, but she lets them go through hers. She should have known better than to leave the diary about so the child could get it. Of course the house is so small it is difficult to keep children out of one's personal things. Mr. Guthrie had a struggle to believe the child really knew. He still was struggling with the thought that he didn't want to tell her. We had to remind him repeatedly that this decision was out of his hands; the child knew, and it was only a question whether he was going to let her know that he knew. He finally could see the point. He said she was troubled by the fact that people would say she didn't look like her mother or father because of the color of her hair. We told him how we had discussed this with Marjorie and he was greatly pleased. He laughed as he said she did have some of his mannerisms and that Jack did too. He told us that she was particularly anxious and tense recently, but he thought perhaps it was because Mrs. Guthrie was a little bit severe with her. He must be frank that he does everything he can for the children and tries to deny them nothing. He wants to make them happy. Maybe if they were really his he would be less lenient. He is afraid. He said that after all, Jack is a very good kid, but he did say some things at times that frightened him. We learned that Jack goes around stating that some day he might run away. He does that when something is denied him. Mr. Guthrie laughed and said that Jack was quite fresh at times, he shouted around the place and acted as though he was the big boss. He assured us very hastily that it was nothing serious. He would never dream of telling Jack, because then maybe Jack would take it into his head to run away. He said he wouldn't want naturally to discuss adoption in relation to Jack now. He could do that at a later date. We told Mr. Guthrie that we thought he did very well with the children, that Marjorie was very devoted to him and that the chief fear a girl like Marjorie would have when she learned that her mother did not give birth to her was whether or not her parents loved

her. Mr. Guthrie could see that, and could see it would be important to let Marjorie know, so that she could be reassured. Mr. Guthrie was quite shaken about the whole matter, and it was with difficulty that he kept himself from weeping ....

We agreed to come to their house about two thirty some afternoon, a half hour before Marjorie would return from school, to talk things over. When Marjorie came home we would take a walk with her and then return for a few minutes to discuss the thing openly. Marjorie would want to know that he loved her; that he was going to adopt her as quickly as possible, and that in a sense it was an error on his part that he hadn't done so more quickly. He asked if it was a good idea to let a child know that he made an error, that maybe it really wasn't an error. His wife kept saying that it was dangerous to go ahead, whenever he tried to press for adoption. She thought that perhaps when they were old enough to decide for themselves, there would be no question that the children would want them. We said that whatever the reason was, as far as the child was concerned it would be difficult to understand that her parents hadn't done it earlier, and for the child's sake it would have been preferable; in that sense it was an error. We wondered whether it wasn't helpful sometimes for a child to know the parents are not infallible and that though they tried to do everything they could for the sake of the child, sometimes they are wrong. He could see that. Marjorie could readily understand that parents could make an error, on the basis that they tried to protect the child; in the long run they weren't protecting the child. In other words, in order to have Marjorie adopted it would, he said, have been necessary to tell her because she would have to go before the judge, and the real error was that they didn't want to face the fact that she had to know ....

Visited the home.[9] Discussed with Mr. and Mrs. Guthrie plans for talking the situation over this afternoon with Marjorie. They said they were ready to go ahead with it.

At this point Marjorie came in. She was pleased to see us. We greeted her with the statement that we weren't able to see her the next day and therefore had decided to come down and visit, and perhaps she would take us for a little walk and then we could come back. We hoped she didn't have anything else she wanted to do. She said no, it was all right; she was glad to see us. After she had washed up and changed into her dress coat we went out. Marjorie thought she would like to show us her school. As we walked we talked about the purpose of our visit. We explained we had come over because we thought Mar-

[9] For another approach to facing reality, although in a less complicated set of relationships, see home visit on p. 238.

jorie wanted us to let her parents know all about the things she had been telling us, and we thought it was just as well that we did it as quickly as possible. Marjorie agreed. She became a little pale. We said there was one thing she had mentioned that we thought might trouble her and which we wanted to explain. In a way she was right, that when her parents took her she was only ten days old, that from that day on she was theirs and they in a real sense had adopted her, but legally they had not—not because they didn't want to, but because in order to do so they would have to tell her how she came to them. Because they couldn't bear telling her—she could understand that they didn't want to have her know that, because she was really their child—they were never able to arrange finally the legal aspects of adoption. We explained that she would have had to appear, as she will now, before a judge; a nice, kind old man who will have to see her and complete the adoption. Marjorie looked at us and said "oh," and seemed quite relieved, as was indicated by her smile and her exclamation. She could understand; she hadn't known that in order to adopt a child one had to go to court to have the judge see the child. We explained that of course Jack wasn't adopted legally either, and again Marjorie smiled and said of course not. We asked if she thought Jack knew. She hastily said no. She thinks he is too small to know anything about these things, and she never told him. She didn't think he suspected. We said naturally she was the oldest and quite able to understand, and that's why we were talking to her this way . . . .

We asked if she felt she would like to go into the house now and talk things over with her parents. She said she would. When we came in Marjorie took off her things and sat down. She was quite pale and nervous. Mrs. Guthrie sat near the window looking out and crying. She called in Mr. Guthrie. He leaned on a table. We sat on the couch. Mr. Guthrie looked as though he were going to weep and kept swallowing all the time. We waited, then Mr. Guthrie said, "Well, how do you feel?" Marjorie nodded her head and said "all right." She began to cry. Mrs. Guthrie was too upset to say anything. He then told Marjorie that she could see her parents couldn't talk at this moment because they were upset about the whole matter just as she was. They wanted her to know that they loved her. They also wanted her to know that no matter what she did even when she was naughty they still loved her, and they were going to adopt her legally as soon as possible. After all, her parents had had her since she was born. Marjorie was the least upset of the three and nodded her head reassuringly at her father, who looked at her most anxiously. We then stood up and said we would leave. Mr. Guthrie quickly said he would go with us

and take us to the station. Mrs. Guthrie stayed behind to talk with Marjorie.

Mr. Guthrie insisted upon taking us all the way back to the office. He said it made him feel better. He knows he is going to feel much better later because it is all over with. He still is a bit shaky about it all. He doesn't know how to thank us; we were like a "dear, dear friend." He still can't get over how it was that Marjorie told us, when she never intimated anything to him. We pointed out how difficult he found it, an adult, to talk to a child about the subject that was so fraught with feeling for both of them and how much more difficult it would be for a child to take the responsibility of bringing it up to the father. We said Marjorie would not have told us if we hadn't already known; we suspected long ago and thought it would be inevitable that a child would somewhere learn about it. We took the opportunity to explain again that this was one function of the agency and that social workers are particularly trained to understand such emotional matters. Mr. Guthrie said with a great deal of admiration that it would need someone to take responsibility to bring the matter up, and perhaps it was inevitable that an outsider was the only one who could do it. We said if he had been unable to tell Marjorie that he knew something was troubling her, she undoubtedly would have told him because she was able to tell him a great many things. He said that was so but he never could have done it. It was just as impossible as he doesn't know what. He is greatly relieved. If we had told him what he would have to go through, he doesn't know whether he could have done it. We laughingly said that it wasn't too easy for us either.

Marjorie could accept the fact that the parents delayed adopting her because they didn't want to tell her she was not their own. Marjorie had rationalized and intellectualized much of her feeling so that it was necessary to leave these defenses alone. Although worker was well aware of the meaning of some of Mrs. Guthrie's ambivalent and negative feelings toward adoption—these feelings relating to an early traumatic experience with her own mother—no attempt was made to interpret them, as they would have been too disturbing. Interpretation throughout was kept on a simple, practical level.

In this case, although the foster relationships were long established, the mother still had reservations about adoption. In reality she had never quite accepted these as her children. If one were thinking only of the mother's problem it might be that one

would want to be surer that she could relate herself more closely to these children before going on with the adoption. Indeed one might say that the whole activity of the case worker should have been directed toward getting the parents to face the fact of whether they wanted the children enough to tell them about the adoption and the corollary that, if they could not do this alone, they were not strong enough to have the children. But this assumes too black-and-white a position about self-direction. The child psychiatrist, who was consulted, thought there were sufficient assets for the adoption; the children's needs were real; their affections deeply engaged, and even through the mother's ambivalence and childishness there were evidences of great warmth and affection. The father was devoted to them. Any course of action other than adoption had less to commend it. (Some of this reasoning is lost in the much-cut illustration.) It is quite true, granting that these parents would need unusual support, that support could have been given in a number of ways unlike the one chosen by the case worker. Nevertheless, since the woman had a pretty deep-seated neurosis for which she was not ready to use a psychiatrist, in the interest of the children the case worker had been advised to play an active role. The difficult next step in interpretation—namely, how to explain to Marjorie her own parents—is too long for discussion here.

Another type of interpretation highly developed in children's agencies is finding ways of making real to the child the institution or home to which he is going, including, for special situations, an actual visit. This is more appropriate usually with older children. Not only will foster parents, other children in the family, types of neighborhood, pets, and so forth, be described in a way to make it easier for the child to identify himself with these strangers—the foster father has red hair just like Jimmy's, or they like dogs, too, and have a bull terrier pup—but if the case worker has given support during the pre-placement time, the child is likely to be secure enough to ask questions about the new place to which he is going. If the child is allowed to visit it is not for the purpose of leaving the decision with him,

but to enlist his participation in solving his problem, and his reactions will need further careful discussion by the case worker afterwards.

Interpretation can thus be of a social sort, although the psychological facts must always be understood, or it can be used in appropriate emotional material bearing on a social problem. The case worker can usually respond safely to expressed feelings or those which lie near the surface, whenever the worker-client relationship is secure enough. In the case of Lucy, age seven, cited below[10], as the relationship strengthened it was possible, since the child was more than half aware, to interpret a little bit of the disturbance and aggression engendered by the frustrating hospital experience. Two excerpts from the interview series will show this type of interpretation, addressed to overt behavior manifestations.

Abruptly Lucy challenged me with, "Have you a candy store?" I said, no. "Have you an automobile?" she continued. I said, no, why? "If you had an automobile, would you give me a ride?" I reassured her. She persisted, "Any place I want to go?" I said, yes. Where did she want to go? Lucy seemed unprepared to answer. Evidently her need for nearness to me and for something positive from me was more important than the outcome of her fantasy as resolved in an automobile ride.... She reverted at once to her primary purpose, which was apparently to test me. "Do you go to other little girls?" she asked. I said, "Sometimes, but not now. Now I come to see only you." She said, rather coldly, "Suppose I move out?" I suggested that I could find out were she lived and come if she wanted me to. Lucy said, still in a detached, casual way (as if afraid to give too much), "My mother could tell you when she goes to the hospital." I agreed with this....

She spoke then about not liking to go to bed. "Do you have dreams when you sleep?" She answered, no, but added, "Sometimes." Lucy immediately went off into a long string of incoherent words and sounds. She produced these noisily, and with considerable aggression and agitation. I asked, "Are you angry?" She replied, with a gay smile, "No, I just want to talk for fun. I want to be a midget." More incoherent sounds followed. To my question "Why a midget?" she said, "Just for fun," then, "I make teasing. You can't stop me." I felt we were touching a source of some of Lucy's antisocial behavior. I said,

[10] From a Psychiatric Clinic. See also p. 149.

"That's how you get even with people, isn't it?" Lucy responded readily, "Yes, they start up with me." I said, "Then you get angry?" Lucy replied with strong feeling, "Sure, I sock them in the eyes, I throw them on the floor, they get black and blue. They can't start up with me." She paused belligerently, and I asked, "What else makes you angry"? Lucy said, "If they hit me, or throw things on me." With evident enjoyment she went on, "I like it when they start up with me. I get a hammer, and an ice pick, and I split their heads open. I'm tough." She looked to me for approbation. I said, "You want to be tough, don't you? In case they start up?" "Yes," Lucy replied intensely, "They can be in the hospital with their eyes." I said, "You're angry because you had to be in the hospital with your eyes?" She again went off into incoherent sounds that seemed to help to relieve her tension.

It is not possible in a book like this to cover many of the technical problems in case work interpretation.[11] There is no rule as to whether or when this type of activity is appropriate. Most case workers would agree that it is possible to interpret attitudes and feelings which the client brings forward of which he is already aware or half aware—always realizing that actions and feelings determined by unconscious motivation may have to be let alone. The wise case worker is cautious about knowing too much or too soon, and interpreting too deeply or too early, if the client doesn't himself want to face, or wish us to understand, the meaning of what he is telling us. Any interpretation may make him feel as if he were getting caught. While in many instances one can count on the client's dismissing the explanation if it doesn't suit him, premature reality testing is dangerous, especially when the client is projecting his difficulties upon other people and things. But by the same token a skilled case worker can assist the client with less serious versions of intrapsychic conflicts, when the client is able to bring them to the surface and willing to take responsibility for them in relation to some part of his social functioning.

Although the following interviews show the sort of interpretation which is admittedly part of a physician's task, in certain hospitals the responsibility of working through the patient's fears is shared fully with the medical social worker. The case

[11] See also use of interpretation in agency function, p. 281.

worker who spends sufficient time in coming to understand what is really troubling the patient most about his operation or disability or social situation is in turn in a strategic position to help in interpretation and adjustment with the patient group, employer, and so on.

The Barger Case[12]

This patient was referred to a case worker in the gynecological clinic for assistance in arranging treatment for carcinoma of the cervix. Mrs. Barger is to receive a course of X-ray, following which decision will be made about further steps. The patient is a rather obese, plain woman, neatly dressed, friendly and outgoing. At first her attitude is nonchalant and she gives the impression of being entirely free from anxiety. Worker begins interview with a brief explanation that there is additional routine information the hospital would like to have about her in order to be able to keep in touch with her through the subsequent years. She answers questions almost flippantly until the worker inquires how long she has been feeling badly and how she happened to come to this particular hospital. Almost immediately her manner changes and she becomes quite emotional as she relates the experiences which led to her arrival in the clinic this afternoon. Last July she began to have a vaginal discharge for the first time in her life. This was distressing to her because she had always dreaded having a body odor of any kind. (a) She stresses the importance of cleanliness to her throughout life. After the discharge began she started taking douches in an effort to cure herself. She says she kept postponing a trip to the doctor because of the expense and the fact that she thought surely she would soon be well. Finally, she decided to consult her family doctor who gave her a careful pelvic examination and told her frankly that she had cancer and needed immediate treatment. "I never had such a shock in my life. It never occurred to me that I might have cancer. I never thought of getting such a thing wrong with me." She came to the hospital as fast as she could get here and then learned that the clinic would not meet until afternoon. "I was just as cold as ice all over and shaking from head to foot." She decided to go home and come back later. Worker comments that it was unfortunate she had to make a second trip, to which she responds: "Oh, that didn't matter. I would have done anything just to get somebody to do something for me." Then this afternoon she was told again that she had cancer. Mrs. Barger is crying freely and wiping her eyes in a futile effort to control her tears.

[12] From a Medical Social Department.

She says she has always kept her body clean and she can't imagine how she could have cancer. "It's always seemed like such a filthy disease. I'm sure I'm a clean person." (b) Worker gives a brief explanation that the doctor has recommended X-ray treatment for her, in order to arrest the discharge and "clean up" any infection and inflammation which may be surrounding the tumor in her cervix which is giving the trouble. (c) There is a good chance that these treatments may give her immediate relief from the discharge which is so objectionable to her. After the X-ray treatment is completed the doctors will reexamine her and determine whether she should have an operation or be given radium. The patient listens attentively to this explanation and then comments: "Well, I'm glad you can do something for me anyway." The remaining questions on the follow-up card are then filled in, and when worker inquires about the members of her immediate family group, patient begins to cry and says she doesn't know how she can tell them about the day's experiences. Worker comments that perhaps they will be able to help her. She responds immediately and emphatically, "No, my husband isn't a bit of good to me in things like this. I've always said that I would probably have to bury myself when I die." She has to assume full responsibility for the management of the home and his income. "He's a good enough husband, you know, but he just isn't a hand to help out with things like this." Then her conversation turns to her two children and she says that she "just must get well for their sake." Patient then becomes remorseful because she has been such "a baby," dries her eyes, powders her face, and asks when the doctor wants her to begin her treatment. She is told to return the following morning, which she agrees to do quite eagerly . . . .

Patient says today that she has been wanting to talk with worker "for a long time," but just couldn't find her. She seems to be in a very tense, anxious state, and seeking desperately for any kind of reassurance about her condition, entering into quite a discussion of her resentment because no one, except worker, has been willing to tell her anything. She is glad they told her that she had cancer, although she has talked with a lot of patients who don't know what is the matter with them. She thinks it is much better to know exactly what is wrong. However, there are two things she would like to know in order to rest easier. She would like to know definitely what the doctors are planning to do next to her, and she would like to know exactly when her cancer began. She says, "I feel if I have already had it a year it might prove that I would live longer because it would show that I'm big and strong and could stand it better than most people." Then follows a very long discussion about the fact that she heard someone in

the clinic say that for a very long time before they knew they had a cancer, they suffered from neuritis. The woman who told her had cancer of the breast and neuritis in the shoulder, but she thinks that her case might be similar because before she knew she had cancer she had "neuritis pains" in her knees and legs. "Do you think that could have been my cancer coming on?" Worker explains that it is not possible to tell just when her trouble began. Patient sighs heavily and comments: "That's the trouble about cancer. When you find out you've got it, it's too late to do anything about it." (d) Worker explains that the doctors do feel that she can be helped by treatment, even though she does have cancer. Patient replies promptly: "Well, I'm thankful to hear you say something can be done. Having this disease makes me feel inferior." Then she talks about the two douches she takes daily and describes her frantic efforts to scrub and sterilize the bathtub afterwards. She is really frightened about other people using the same tub, although she has been told that cancer is not catching. At the time of her first examination she was too frightened to answer the doctor's questions correctly and did not tell him that cancer does run in her family. Her own grandmother and an aunt died from it. Patient says she would rather have an operation than any other kind of treatment—"I want them to cut it all out of me." (e) Worker encourages patient to talk more about her feeling of having something "bad" inside of her. She explains that cancer and syphilis seem a lot alike to her, only there isn't any "disgrace about cancer because you can cure that all right." There is a lot of discussion about how she feels and the fact that she has been nauseated since beginning X-ray treatment. "That's because they stirred that thing up, I guess." (f) Worker explains that many patients do have nausea and that it is caused by the fact that the body has to throw off some extra toxins and waste products which are created by treating the cancer. Patient comments, "It does help me to have you explain things like that. I just go pretty near crazy when nobody will tell me anything." Worker offers to be of further assistance at any time and patient says that she will come to see worker often because "I have plenty on my mind to worry me." In the meantime, she says, she will go on with her treatments and just keep "wondering what is coming next." Worker agrees that this is hard for her but that it seems unavoidable because no one can tell until after it is known how she will respond to X-ray. Patient says that she realizes that "all cases are different but she hopes she is not "too different from everybody else you have treated."...

Patient stops in to see worker while in clinic for an examination. She again expresses hope that an operation will be advised because

she would like "to have it all cut right out of me." Very abruptly she puts her hand on worker's knee and says, "Honest truth, do you think I'm getting along all right?" Worker replies that she seems to be looking well and inquires, 'How do you feel you are getting along"? She sticks out her tongue and says she has a terrible taste in her mouth, which makes "her wonder." She has had severe attacks of nausea. Worker comments that these are both by-products of X-ray treatment and inquires: "How are the symptoms that troubled you in the first place?" (g) Patient's face lights up immediately as she replies, "Oh, you mean the discharge? That's almost gone completely. That tickles me most to death." Mrs. Barger admits that she has been terribly frightened by a broadcast from Mexico which advised against X-ray treatment. The case worker discusses this and other misleading impressions which the patient had received from reading, and comments reassuringly on her continuing with the hospital in spite of her misgivings. (h) She says that the patient's own ideas about cancer are important because they are making her nervous and anxious, and explains again that both the X-ray and radium treatments are designed to retard the growth and activity of the cancer and that she will continue to see signs of improvement.

Later the patient shows her pamphlets in which places were marked about the dangers of X-ray treatment. The worker tries to assuage the patient's fears aroused by this type of literature, but without much effect.

Later: Patient comes back following her examination in gynecological clinic. She seats herself in chair, sighs heavily, and says accusingly to worker: "You knew all of the time I wasn't going to get operated on, didn't you?" Worker replies that she has not yet heard the doctor's recommendations and that she has been as much in the dark as patient. Patient laughs unbelievingly and says: "Sure enough? I just made up my mind you have known all the time and were just trying to keep my spirits up. Tell me the truth now, how many times can I have radium?" Worker explains that will depend upon the number of hours the radium is left in her cervix, since it is the total amount of radiation which is important and not the number of treatments. Patient says: "Do you think they'll use it all up on me the first time? I'm scared to death that this thing will come back on me and you folks won't be able to do anything to stop it." The worker replies that it is only natural that patient should be frightened after reading the terrible descriptions in the pamphlet. (i) The worker also comments that the thing which she is actually afraid of is death itself, and not any specific form of treatment. The patient agrees emphatically with this. "Everything I've ever had

in my life has gone hard with me, and I'm sure this would too." Then she tells about a siege of blood poisoning in the leg which was nearly fatal, and also about another occasion in which she nearly developed lockjaw, following the extraction of a tooth. Her mind is filled constantly with ideas of what is going to happen to her. "I feel my abdomen all the time and it doesn't feel different, but I know there's something in there because I feel it when I stoop over or try to move around. It's just like a big hard lump. (j) And when these doctors go probing on the inside of me I get pains that make me think I am in labor." Worker comments that there is a lot of pain connected with cancer and that many of the symptoms of which patient complains are present in all cancer patients. However, Mrs. Barger seems to have even more discomfort and anxiety than most patients. This seems to be caused by certain ideas or pictures she carries about in her mind. Some of these ideas are accurate—cancer is a lump and it does grow and get larger, and it does cause pain, but there are other ideas she has which need to be untangled and straightened out. The worker is always willing to talk with her about anything she wishes, even the ideas which seem queerest. (k) Since patient has asked her to do so, worker will always be absolutely frank in sharing any information with her which she may have about her actual condition or plans for treatment. Patient interrupts to say that she feels worker is the only one who knows just how scared she is and she did trust her until the matter of the operation came up. Worker agrees that she is justified in being angry if she feels she has been deceived. She sighs and says: "I told the doctor just how I felt about the operation, but he said I was too far along for that. Then the lady who gave me my appointment said they weren't going to operate on me because my stomach was too fat. I hardly know whom to believe." Worker comments that both statements were correct and offers a simple explanation as to the difficulty which fatty tissue would present in any operative procedure.

The case worker saw Mrs. Barger on three successive days after her radium treatment, listening to her expressions of anxiety and apprehension and explaining the common features of the discomfort which she was experiencing. In the fourth interview Mrs. Barger discusses her conceptions of the radium capsules quite simply and without especial affect. (l) Then patient asks whether she is going to continue to feel better. Before worker answers she says: "You know you said yourself that when all of this is over I'm going to feel fine?" Worker agrees that this is what we all hope for, but that there may be discouraging days before that time comes. Patient sighs and says that she feels the worst is over and she is certainly grateful to the hospital.

In the above illustration there were several medical problems, preparation for the X-ray treatment, explanation of symptoms and reactions which the patient did not understand, and also the necessity of dealing with the traumatic results of exposure to false advertisements about cancer cures. As in other forms of illness the patient may translate the disease process in terms of his own phantasies. This is especially true in carcinoma because of the organs typically threatened. It is clear that Mrs. Barger had displaced deep conflicts upon her condition as in (a), (e), (j) and elsewhere. The case worker's role is not to puncture or to deflate these phantasies, or even to explore, and least of all to interpret them to the patient, but to accept and help reconcile the subjective ideas with the scientific "reality" with which Mrs. Barger is being met in the hospital setting. The medical approach, with its microscopic examinations, X-ray, and so on, frequently causes tension to mount. Acceptance of the "funny" ideas (k) which patients are ashamed to admit having, and at the same time explanation of medical procedures as in (b), (e), (f) and (h), often, as here, relax the tension and help bridge the gap between the phantasy and the reality.

The case worker, giving whatever reassurance is possible, is careful to give only justifiable reassurance, (c) and (d), as for instance, that the X-ray (b) will relieve the discharge, thus pointing to a concrete bit of help within the all-enveloping fears. In most hospitals the traditional atmosphere of blanket reassurance is often alarming to the individual, who feels himself threatened in a special way (f) *et seq.* The social case worker, by patient listening and individualized interpretation, (h) is in a strategic position to meet the diffused fears and resentments which helplessness and uncertainty engender.

In (g) and (l) we see Mrs. Barger reaching a point where she can in part reassure herself although in (l) the worker paves the way for some disappointment, an essential precaution if the patient's confidence is to be held. Mrs. Barger, like other anxious people, has to go through a phase of articulating many fears and phobias around such ideas as cleanliness (b), "some-

thing bad" (e) inside of her, or projection of her fears upon other people—she "must get well for the sake of the children," before she can admit openly her great fear of death which the worker (i) meets without evasion.

We see here how the case worker, by encouraging the clients to bring out all their ideas and cultural superstitions about the problem or disease, by giving factual information, not minimizing fears, always being sensible of the patients' subjective version of the experience, can use interpretation to effect adjustment and strengthen the determination to go through with even very difficult treatment. It is interesting to observe how often a person will move through a phase of ostensible information seeking to face his basic problem if, and only if, the case worker is sensitive to the anxiety which motivates the request for information. All of us have, expressed or unexpressed, a feeling of the terms on which we are willing to be helped. The case worker who senses this only as a sort of challenge to control the situation is less helpful than the one who, understanding the usefulness of these resistances in the economy of the personality, interprets actual procedures in such a way that it is easier for the client to come to terms with them.

Authority and Reality

There are several points about which there is apt to be confusion as to the nature and use of authority in the adjustment process. By authority is commonly meant power to command or to enforce obedience, or prestige to influence people to follow, to believe, or to have confidence in one's judgment. In case work we think of a range of activities, suggestion, persuasion, encouragement, advice, and so on, as versions of "authority." The first confusion arises as between reality and authority. By reality, or actuality, one means that a thing exists in fact. People not only develop widely divergent character patterns as to their acceptance of reality, but there seems to be a constitutional factor involved as well. Even very small children show marked differences in their acceptance of the real

world outside them. The client has to accept economic pressures and medical procedures and cultural determinants as real, before he can effectively either acquiesce or rebel. All agencies, banks, public assistance offices, business houses, churches, as well as medical and social agencies, work within certain administrative and technical limitations. These are real, and whether we like them or not is another matter. Students who do not approve of the existing social order and who think it should be changed, have to be helped to sort out what they think is *right* from what *exists*, whether right or not, as objective reality. The case worker is actually quite often engaged in a process of trying to help the client accept his disability or his circumstances or the agency as real. Sometimes people who pride themselves on refusing to accept authority are merely refusing to reckon with the world as a fact. Others, made overanxious by inner tensions, cannot face it at all without help. Case workers start from a basic assumption that a sense of reality is socially valuable, but though one may recognize limitations or use limitations to help the client to work through his problem, it is never valid in case work to manufacture limitations. In fact, for obvious reasons, it is not necessary. Moreover, accepting social conditions as real does not mean accepting them as inevitable, because social conditions are modifiable through individual or collective effort. To be able to judge rationally the circumstances of life and to regulate one's actions does not imply blind acceptance of fate, since circumstances can often be altered.

As soon as one is clear about true limitations, one is in a better position to understand the nature and use of authority. The case worker's attempt to help clients to accept reality has nothing to do with his use of authority as such. When the case worker does have to use personal authority, he learns to use it in a special way. First of all he learns how seldom in case work does one have to use authority in the sense of being authoritative. It is better not to use the pressures of prestige or agency powers to get a client to do something, if one can help the

client without this sort of authority. As we saw in the last case illustration, workers are no longer trying to make patients do things because "the doctor says so," but to help them understand the reality issues involved. If authority is used at all, it should be because the other person needs it, and not because the worker enjoys power. So long as the case worker has any desire or drive to make clients do things, he is not competent to use authority wisely. "To persuade him to his goals, not ours" is another way of saying the same thing. The case work use of authority rests on psychological understanding of the client's tendencies. When pressures are used without these insights, although clients may succumb, they will often retaliate by evasion, aggression, passive resistance, or a most disconcerting dependency.

Once the worker has given up his own need to be authoritative, he is in a favorable position to use reassurance, interpretation, advice, persuasion, and suggestion on a diagnostic basis whenever necessary. Acceptance by the client of suggestion or advice usually depends on his wish to fall into childhood conditions of being cared for or instructed. We can't make people take advice or suggestion against their will. In illness people often regress temporarily to their childhood status of dependency, and therefore may need active direction and suggestion. Patient, reiterated suggestion and approval are often helpful in teaching feeble-minded persons how to perform simple acts. In short, there is a proper field for a discriminating kind of authority-of-the-person, with the objective of influencing someone's behavior or habits. What is striking, however, is how seldom it is wise or necessary to employ this authority-of-the-person, and how often, by contrast, it is wise and necessary to explain the "authority" of limitations and the reality of the objective situation. The case worker accepts the client's feelings as real, but he also accepts society as real, and he can frequently help the client achieve a better balance between inner and outer factors through this dual acceptance and without persuasion of any sort.

The delinquent[13] represents a peculiarly difficult problem in "authority," since typically he has a weak conscience, strong inner drives, and a poor acceptance of reality. He acts out his conflicts, believing, since he minimizes reality, that he will not be caught. Treatment is difficult because his experience of a punishing authority makes him doubt our acceptance of him as a person, and his disregard of a limiting reality makes it hard to help him in environmental adjustments. Increased demands through personal prestige and authority will not assist him to face reality. "The gate of authority" is important in the development of character. Too much educational pressure may make one crawl under it, too little may make one jump it, while the right amount enables one to unlatch the gate and walk through it. There must always be emotional gratifications and restrictions. Social behavior is a complicated adaptation of gratification and renunciation. Since the delinquent tends to project his own conflicts upon his environment, the social environment seems to him more than normally harsh and depriving, so that in treatment he needs often more rather than less acceptance, more rather than less tolerance, more help in meeting reality and creating more favorable environments, and less personal authority than the average client. Obviously the case work approach indicated here is suitable only in mild forms of delinquency, mainly environmental in causality. True delinquency often needs restraint and authoritative coercion, and the psychiatrist has to carry any direct treatment involved.

This leads us to an observation on "supportive" or sustaining treatment, when no other "adjustment" is possible. When a real problem is severe but not overwhelming, and the client is able to seek and to use help, the case worker who understands the nature of emotional needs sufficiently can give the client security and positive help along various lines; and there may well be a minimizing of feelings of failure, guilt, and self-blame, and the client may achieve a greater freedom in accepting the inevitable limitations and in gaining substitute satisfactions.

[13] See discussion of delinquency on p. 339.

But sometimes the treatment can be little more than standing by. Sometimes case work can offer only a warmly sustaining professional relationship for long periods. Sometimes it makes use of environmental resources and opportunities; although the success of treatment always depends on a fine understanding and quiet acceptance of the client. This type of treatment, however, is full of pitfalls for the unwary, because the needs are so appealing and the danger of being pulled over into a client's problem is great. Much of what used to be called "intensive treatment" has been found to be the case worker's plunge into the boundless sea of human difficulty and his unintentional reinforcement of the client's patterns. These cases, with their strong emotional component, are intriguing, but experience and diagnostic training enable case workers, seeing the deeper problems, to abstain from probing, and to be content with a steady, quiet, and unobtrusive support. More than usually, in sustaining treatment one must accept the client as he is without expecting change, and less than ever may one take over the problem. For if one does, it is then the client who may take over the "authority" and try to force the case worker into meeting limitless demands. But even chronically ill or neurotic persons may be able to use practical social services and thus compensate for their disabilities or overcome obstacles in the environment.

Chapter X

THE USE OF GROUP PROCESS IN TREATMENT

THE UNDERSTANDING of the individual and of his social development inevitably progress together. Group workers have been slowly discovering the importance of the case method and case workers of the group method. Case work and group work, like education, have moved from authoritative and "top-down" disciplines to fresh orientation as to how the individual really learns, grows, and becomes socialized. Early group work offered clubs and classes, swimming pools and shop work, boy scout troops and summer camps as "commodities," just as early case work dispensed relief, convalescent and health care, home economics, and procured I. Q.'s as "commodities." The idea of the reciprocal nature of all social work relationships—of give and take between teacher and pupil, case worker and client, club and leader—has stimulated new techniques and new ways for case workers and group workers to think about interaction. Respect for personality, whether in the one to one relationship, or the one to several, or to the group as a whole, means giving up manipulation and indoctrination in favor of letting emotions and ideas be expressed. The case worker typically releases tensions through the one to one relationship and through family interaction; the group worker releases tensions and drives through larger group interaction, but there is much common ground. Both are concerned with the individual's development from narcissism, or self-centeredness, as it is more usually termed, to social attitudes and interests. Not everyone must be gregarious—many creative artists have little social tolerance and should have their own solitariness—but the ordinary range of happy and useful living depends on comfortable and constructive ways of relating ourselves with

our fellows. Children and young people need a reasonable amount of inhibition, but not too much—if the impulses completely master the individual there is unsocial behavior, and if the impulses are too much denied or repressed there is also unsocial or possibly neurotic behavior. Everyone needs affection, acceptance, and recognition in his family, in school, on the playground, in his daily work. Only so can he give readily affection, tolerance, and recognition to others. What case workers are beginning to understand is how groups other than the family can assist in the socializing process, although the family remains the primary influence.

Group Process in the Family

The concept of "the family as the unit of work" meant to the early case worker doing services for all the family, from parents to baby. Relief, helping papa to a job, mama to a budget, teeth for grandpapa, camp for Johnny, tonsils out for Marie, clothing for everyone, was the pattern. This was in part because the family worker was usually called in by the breakdown of the wage earner through illness and unemployment. The economic disability affected everyone, and by a natural association of ideas, housing and health care, advice and opportunities, were lavishly extended—perhaps the more so because the money allowance was often so meager. These mobilized community resources compensated in part for deficiencies in income. Such social services are naturally helpful and appropriate, but the method has been modified in several important aspects. The services are more selective and are not superimposed. They are given in response to what the family itself wants, and in cooperation with what it can do for itself and through its own membership. A by-product of furnishing income and other assistance in the home has been a better understanding of the family as a group.

Early technique, experimenting through the interview, made it obligatory for one to see the wage earner husband when the wife applied for assistance. This practice is still often sound,

when not arbitrarily enforced. While the reason for this was to insure the man's taking responsibility for support, actually it taught the interviewer a good deal, not only about the effect of economic tensions on the married partners themselves, but about the support role in the family. The effect of non-support and financial strains on children, and their reactions to them was also observed. Family conclaves have sometimes been successfully used to discuss a budget and resource plan with the contributing members. Workers in rural communities, and indeed in any public assistance agency, know how effective a discussion of support problems can be, with the family assembled in full strength. Given an understanding of the cultural influences and of the specific family patterns operating, in favorable situations difficulties can be resolved and reponsibilities shared, whereas interviews with single members of a group could not have achieved the same results. Nor is the family conference held always with the objective of increased support. Sometimes an old person's or mother's security allowance needs to be protected from raids upon it, and group discussion will show ways of making the budget equitable to all concerned. When several forms of relief or income are available to the same household, the family session is especially clarifying.

The family group interaction is essential in learning to know children. The psychological expert, meeting troubled children and obdurate parents only in the office, often sees parents as background, and all too frequently as negative background for the child. The case worker may fall into this pattern and be by just so much less effective with the family group. Little can be done unless parents see themselves as having a part in the child's disturbed behavior and unless they are concerned to try to change, but in coming to a diagnostic conclusion, participant observation of home life may reveal strengths and liabilities sometimes hidden in the office interview. Learning to see a child in a family, however, is hard, since the group may obscure as well as precipitate individual reactions. In any family, just as in the classroom or the club, one or two individuals may domi-

nate the scene. Often an invalid or the "good child," or the "black sheep" takes the center of the stage. As in any other form of group, one wants to develop flexible leadership, some give and take, and not the unremitting control of one person.

An illustration of a visit to a family will show a version of the group process typical in home settings, the case worker assuming from the start that the children can play a role in making decisions and meeting a difficult reality experience.

The Kane Case[1]

Mr. Kane wanted a placement for his two children, Edward, thirteen, and Wilma, twelve. His wife was in a state hospital. In the office interview the case worker commented that the father could not give a clear picture of either child, although he showed that he was proud of Wilma's ability to take care of herself. The case worker arranged that she would go to the home and he agreed to prepare the children for the visit and to be there himself. An excerpt from the conclusion of the office interview is interesting, incidentally, in its interpretation of the pending separation.

We talked about what this plan would mean for the children. I initiated this, but he picked it up. I said he would probably want to be visiting them and he said yes, if it was permitted. Somehow I got a feeling that perhaps he was thinking of this as a pretty final parting with the children, and I asked him whether he had thought about how long he might be wanting us to keep them, and he said he guessed it would be best for them to stay right on. Part of this came up in connection with my talk about foster families and their meaning to children. I had mentioned that sometimes children stay right on with them, and sometimes they go back to their parents when they get older. Though I was not asking him for it at this time, he did say he thought it would be best for them to stay right on. I said that that was less likely to happen when children were this age at the time of placement, that usually they did keep their ties to parents and when they got to be around sixteen or seventeen began thinking about going to the parents again. I feel that the role of parent, so far as children depending upon him is concerned, is a little new to Mr. Kane. I imagine he has depended upon his mother a lot, and that she symbolizes parent to him . . . .

Called at the home and talked with Mr. Kane and the children.

[1] From a Child Placing Agency. See Chapter V on Methods of Social Study, p.

Both Wilma and Edward were there and had been expecting me. Mr. Kane explained that he had told them about my coming. We all went into the living room and sat down, Wilma sitting on the edge of her chair with her feet drawn up, very interested in what I might have to say, Edward slumped back in his chair, seeming rather shy and quite passive.

Mr. Kane began by mentioning that he had talked with the worker in the county office (responsible for board investigation) and she had seemed quite interested and had promised to go ahead immediately with her investigation. He did not pursue this particularly, and I turned to Wilma and said I imagined she was pretty interested to know what we were like, and she smiled and said yes. I said I knew her father had told her something about the arrangements we made for boys and girls; that is, we found family homes for them where they would be a part of the family. Wilma was leaning forward very interested. I said that after a boy or girl went to a home, we came to see them fairly often to see how they were getting along, and we got clothing for them. I said her father would no doubt be coming to see them too. She said, "Would we have to work?" When she asked this it did not seem to me she was feeling too much fear about this, but was to some extent enjoying the self-importance of having this discussed with her. I said that we would be paying her board and she would not have to work for that. However, I wondered if she had been accustomed to doing any work while living here with her father and grandmother. She said, "Oh, I help with the dishes and do dusting and things like that." I said I thought it would be about like that in the new home she would be going to. It would not be as though she were just visiting there or boarding like a grown-up might board somewhere, she would really be just one of the family and would do the things that they were accustomed to doing. She seemed satisfied with that. I said there were probably other questions they would want to ask me and turned to Edward, trying to include him as much as possible. He rather shifted, a bit embarrassed, but did not offer anything. Wilma said, "Well, there is one thing I want to know. Would my family be able to give me things for Christmas?" I laughed and said yes indeed. She heaved a sigh, leaning back as though that was something off her mind. She then wanted to know whether or not there would be other children in the family. I said I was not sure, I had not yet decided on a definite home for her or Edward. I wanted to talk with them first. I asked her how she would feel about having other children in the home, again making an attempt to include Edward. Wilma answered, saying she did not mind, then said she liked little children. I said it might be that

at first they would go to a home to stay temporarily until they had gotten better acquainted with us, and we had had more time to find a place we thought would be best for them to live in more permanently. Wilma did not seem particularly interested in that. During all this Edward did not seem to be sulking but I got the impression he was not used to having the center of the stage. However, he was interested in our talk. Finally I turned to him and asked him if he had thought anything about where he might like to live, whether in the town or in the country. He said he thought he would like to live on a farm. I said we would keep that in mind, but I did not think it would be possible for us to find a farm for him immediately.

Wilma thought of another question. She wanted to know whether or not they would be allowed to visit their relatives. I said I thought they could, that that was something we would want to decide on later, after they got more settled. I thought after going to a home they would want to wait a while until they got more used to it. I felt that these specific things Wilma was asking perhaps did not have so much importance by themselves, but it did seem to me she was trying to find out just how much she was going to be separated or cut off from her family and present situation. I said I thought going to a new place would be pretty hard for them, and that at first it would seem strange. I referred to Edward's interest in a farm and asked Wilma how she would feel about going on a farm in the country. She did not know and I said I imagined they had been thinking of going to a home together, and I thought that was certainly what would happen at first, but I wondered if they had thought at all of the possibility of going to different homes. Edward spoke up at this point, saying it did not make any difference to him. Wilma put in that she guessed whatever we decided would be all right.

I said that when boys and girls were first coming to us, they usually went into our clinic and had a physical examination. I explained a little bit about the clinic and the doctor. Wilma grumbled at this saying, she hated physical examinations. I said she had probably had some at school and she said yes, and I said that this would be somewhat similar to that and mentioned a few things that the doctor would do.

I told Mr. Kane I was going away for the week of the nineteenth and would not be back until the following Monday. He said, "Well, now just what do things depend on now?" I said since he had felt he needed some help with the board, it seemed to me the next thing was hearing what the county office would be able to do. He then mentioned plans for the children and said that they were going to begin painting and papering the house and they just had to get out of there. He was

not quite sure what he could do. Finally said he guessed maybe Wilma could go to one of her aunts. He was not so sure about Edward. He seemed to be wanting me to make some suggestion, but I did not. I felt that it would be very much better for the children not to come to us at all until the arrangments had been really straightened out, because it seemed to me during this visit that Mr. Kane was taking more responsibility than he had when I saw him in the office. He told me that he had four days' work last week, and he thought that things were going to be a little better than he had thought when he talked with me at first. From what he had told me about the family, and the general impression I had gotten about his relationship with them, I felt it was very possible for him to make some temporary plan for the children."

The old evasion of sending the child out of earshot with a meaningless errand has been abandoned in favor of frank inclusion of the children. Even little children can face things and take responsibility if they are allowed to. Note how the worker does not ignore the painful feelings and fears and prepares the children for the uncomfortable incident of the physical examination. It is probable that the group process here does several things: it locates and clarifies the problem through discussion; it permits expression of opinions; it dissipates the anxiety for each child because the situation is shared with the other, as well as with the worker; and the participation releases ability to move toward action.

In certain cultural settings the absoluteness of parental authority creates a real problem for second-generation children. Here the case workers may play an extremely significant part, just as the group leader does, in shifting the balance to more democratic procedures in the family setting. The worker with family groups, especially a worker with foster families, has to develop a light touch, not a heavy hand. For it is easy to come between parent and child and so threaten the parent. If one forms too direct or intensive a bond with the child, it may well separate him from the most important persons in his natural group. This neutrality of the case worker in the family, and his acceptance of all members—spouse, parent, child, siblings—is a basic social technique which is somewhat different from the

patient approach. The group process elements in it are obvious. In a worker-client relationship the problem of "acceptance" is relatively uncomplicated; with a double patient—husband-wife, parent-child—"acceptance" has to be nicely balanced and controlled so as to minimize a sense of discrimination, partisanship, and the like. The problem is especially delicate in the group work situation. In all variants there are perhaps several basic concepts: acceptance of the client's feeling with understanding and tolerance, encouragement of participant activity, and recognition that it must express itself in a setting of social reality, whether family, group, or world at large.

Use of Other Group Process

Except for conferences with the family or social agencies or client pressure groups,[2] the case worker's use of group process is typically an indirect one, i. e., he uses agencies set up for that purpose. As we have seen in discussing services, the case worker utilizes as a form of treatment all the ordinary community resources, from "Ys" in the city to 4H clubs in the rural districts, on behalf of his clients. The objective may be a simple meeting of a lack or a need, or be educational in its character. In this country adult education has been less developed than youth service organization, and case workers have been slow to turn to forums, orchestras, and other educational and recreational activities to assist the client in his growth or development. Settlements, perhaps, have been most identified with adult education, and it is there that clients have usually been referred. The spread of federal "white collar" projects, workers' education, parent education, and the like, suggests new opportunities. In the large proportion of cases, community resources for group participation, whether occupational, educational, or recreational, are made available merely by introducing clients to them. Many clients are self-directing and

[2] Workers in public assistance have had to develop new skills in meeting organizations of clients, or unemployed workers, or other groups. For services as treatment see Chapter VIII.

little guidance is indicated either by case worker or group worker. Just as most families can manage their aid to dependent children allowances and ask for only occasional other case work services, so many families use these organized resources much as they use self-organized sewing circles or Thursday discussion clubs or athletic teams, with a minimum of consciousness of "goals" or group process. Group, like family relationships, are essentially *natural*, but this discussion is not considering the group sociologically, but only from the limited angle of a treatment setting, or as an active treatment process in case work.

In so far, however, as group work has become a part of social work practice, there is the tendency more and more to use the group work process educationally. It is closely allied with the aims and methods of progressive education, but is directed especially to the development of socialized personality. Group experience can develop cooperation, self-reliance, and integration, in so far as its programs are not rigid or imposed from without. Group work process is increasingly geared to these conscious developmental processes, so that the case worker is assured that the camp, the club, the gymnasium, will encourage initiative and participation—will provide stimuli to growth and change. Groups are also much more thoughtfully related, just as case work is, to an intelligent consideration of age levels. What one expects of a nursery school in socializing the youngster is quite different from what the Boy Scout troop or the adolescent's club will attempt. A boy or girl during prepuberty identifies with the Scout leader or teacher as parental surrogate, and almost casually takes over aspects of his role, in a way that the adolescent, breaking away from parental authority, would not normally do. We are all familiar with the noisy, dirty, and greedy urchin as found in Booth Tarkington's stories who becomes quite suddenly the adolescent who washes, brushes his hair, and sits around in hammocks with girls. The role of the leader must vary with the psychosexual development of the

child. These trends in modern group work lead easily to consideration of the therapeutic use of the group.

Group Experience as Treatment

Just as we have seen that the group can be used as a social outlet or, better still, an educational opportunity in sharing life situations, so we see that it can be used in an interesting way for actual treatment of the unadjusted person, that is, to effect change and growth for people who are having difficulty with their social relationships. At one time the aggressive, or the shy, withdrawn child, could make little use of the settlement because he did not fit in easily anywhere. That, in fact, *was* his problem, so that if he got himself there, or if the case worker helped to get him there, he could not relate himself successfully to the other children. Such children quickly excluded themselves or were excluded. What case and group workers now understand is that such a child has already been frustrated or hurt in his primary group experience, the family. What they also understand is that he can, in many instances, be helped to a better adjustment through group process, as well as through family modifications and direct treatment interviews. In fact, when parents are inaccessible to case work, they may occasionally be more able to accept a group placement, which seems less threatening to parental prestige than to allow the child to be seen in the office by the worker. When parents are accessible they may, through quite chance observations during group interaction, especially with younger children, notice unexpectedly self-reliant behavior of their overprotected child, which encourages the parent to release the child from dependency. They may also notice, both from the attitude of the group worker and through direct observation, the noncensorious tolerance of "bad" behavior, and so relax a little of their own rigidity and repressive tactics. As a version of home experiences extended through these mild activities, the group can prove educational to the parent as well as helpful to the child.

In healthy growth, drives should not be repressed, but man-

aged and utilized in acceptable ways. One way to learn how to manage drives and unsocial impulses is provided by the educationally controlled group. The problem child has often a strong inferiority sense or a weak ego. The natural group may on a purely competitive basis make him feel more inferior. In the controlled group the leader, like the case worker, can offer steady support and acceptance, which enables the child better to meet his fellows. While the natural gang often serves a useful purpose as the outlet of the aggressive impulses, not all children are strong enough to use this successfully, and in the therapeutic group work process the leader can supply a non-authoritative, quasi-parental relationship which is reassuring and steadying. The somewhat "diluted" parental role may be easier for the aggressively reacting boy or girl to accept.

The children's placing field has gone through an interesting comparable cycle in regard to group relationships. At one time the problem child was sent to group life in the institution, and the blue-eyed, good child, was placed. This placing of the socially attractive child was partly a practical solution when free homes were used and little board paid. Later it was realized that it was the "normal" child who could handle easily group life pressures, and the problem child who often needed the individualized support of the foster family, which would be subsidized and could learn to meet these difficult children. Later still it was realized that for some deeply rejected problem children the use of foster parents was almost impossible because the rejected child clings to his own parents, no matter how unkind, and the more ideal the foster parents, the more conflicts may be aroused. For some such children, as well as for handicapped children, the use of an institution, with its diluted pressures on intimate relationships whether parental or sibling, may be easier to tolerate. In short, the ability to use parental and family experience and the ability to use group experience can only be understood together, and the treatment of the child in the home, in the foster home, and in the institutional group can effectively supplement one another.

Group Therapy[3]

Although in nursery schools, especially in England, progressive educators, social workers, teachers, and psychologists have been experimenting with the group as treatment for the individual, the close interaction of case and group method is a quite recent development in social work. The following case will show the effect of cooperative case and group work treatment of a problem boy.

The Andrew Case[4]

Andrew, aged thirteen and a half years, was referred to the Child Guidance Department in January by his mother who was at a loss to know what to do with him because of his inability to make friends and his poor school adjustment. Andrew was withdrawn and unaggressive. He cried easily when derided by his classmates, who nicknamed him Beatrice because he was so self-effacing. All efforts to enroll him in clubs had been futile—he either refused to go or would remain alone, owing to his inability to mix with the others. To compensate for his deficiencies, Andrew spent much of his time in elaborate fantasies of making electrical and chemical discoveries.

Part of Andrew's difficulties lay in his odd physical appearance, as his head was large in proportion to his body. His shyness grew out of the strict, repressive Germanic home atmosphere. . . . A period of case work treatment modified some of the home severity, and direct treatment of the boy himself gave him enough security to improve his re-

[3] One of the earliest exponents of "group therapy"—in fact the invention of the phrase, as well as the special character of the project is attributed to him—is Dr. S. R. Slavson at the Jewish Board of Guardians in New York. The chief characteristic of group therapy, as Dr. Slavson describes it, lies in its similarity to the family. Its aim is to create and stimulate relationships that would approximate as far as possible those of an ideal family. He states the main principles of "group therapy" as follows: "Every child needs the security of unconditioned love from his parents and other adults who play a significant role in his life." "The ego and sense of self-worth which are frequently crushed in problem must be built up." "Every child needs some genuine interest to occupy his leisure time." "In Group Therapy we provide activities in the constructional, plastic, graphic, and other arts and occupations." "The fourth and last value of Group Therapy in rebuilding distorted personality lies in the opportunity it presents for a significant experience in group relations." See this author's articles: "Personality Qualifications for Workers in Group Therapy," *Proceedings of National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare*, 1937, p. 154, and "The Group in Development and in Therapy," *National Conference of Social Work*, 1938, p. 339.

[4] From a Child Guidance Agency.

lations with other children, but as he was still lonely and without steady friends it was thought best to refer him to group therapy.

The following excerpts were taken from the group record:

First impression of Andrew: Of the whole group, Andrew was the most poorly dressed, and seemed backward and ill at ease in the group games. He seemed to enjoy the simple games which he could play by himself or with one boy.... Andrew is the only boy who calls the worker by his last name. At other times he calls him "Mr. John." He has difficulty working with materials and often appears ill at ease.... Seems afraid of one of the very active boys....

Andrew derived much pleasure from a clay model he made and was anxious for approval from the other boys. When several of the boys engaged in a fight, Andrew did not participate.... Andrew engaged in a fight with another boy. Andrew "roughed up" a new member by lassoing him with a rope. Later he got into a scrap with another boy and said he would fight him any time.... Andrew proved annoying to some of the boys by playing his harmonica. As a result he had a fight with one of the boys.... Andrew displayed very spirited behavior. He came shrieking into the meeting room and playfully snatched one of the boy's hats. Later he settled down to work on materials.... Andrew had a fight with one of the boys. While he fights strongly, it is never viciously. He spent much time "kidding" with the boys.... On the whole, Andrew has adjusted fairly well to the boys in the group, having made several friends. He has not, however, been able to take the work with the materials, has started many types of work, but has not completed many. He seems to enjoy games....

Later still, the case worker who had been seeing the boy in the office commented: There seems to have been some improvement, in that Andrew is much freer and more out-going. In the weekly interviews he talks spontaneously. He is now able to bring out resentment against his mother and family. His relationship with other boys... seems to have improved... but he is essentially not accepted as yet. The children in school no longer tease him.... He is quite interested and active in the therapy group, attends meetings regularly and enjoys them. He has also joined the Boy Scouts and the Young Men's Hebrew Association, and within these organized groups he seems to be able to establish a relationship with other boys and to find a place for himself. He seems to be more interested in real things than in his inventions. He has also improved in his school work....

Note how aggression is released in the group experience, and how there is little attempt to arbitrate quarrels, the theory being

that noncritical acceptance of the behavior will help the child work through repressed hostilities. The amount and kind of aggression[5] which can be permitted in a group experience varies. In general, freedom to handle situations leads to disorderliness, which in turn, under skilled guidance, leads to inner controls and integrated creative activities. In both case work and group work process there will be a testing by the child of the worker, which is primarily for the purpose of finding out whether the worker can really accept his bad behavior and bad feelings without retaliation. In the case work situation the worker may, if the aggression is too violent, have to limit the destructive behavior, or, in child placing, move the child;[6] in the group work situation, some of the controls will be supplied by the group itself, although controls beyond that may have to be sparingly used.

Another case will show strikingly the working out of some problems of sibling rivalry in a group experience:

The Fine Case[7]

Nina, aged twelve, was referred by her school to the Child Guidance Department as she was regarded as "queer." She seemed under much tension in school, was afraid to mingle with other children, would hide in closets, and had many fears. At home she was fearful of her parents, who were known to beat her severely, felt unloved by parents and siblings, was afraid of the dark, and had developed a fear of being followed and attacked by men.

The family consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Fine, an older sister, Reba, aged twenty, an unmarried mother; a brother, aged sixteen; Nina, and her sister Margaret, aged ten. The family was on home relief, and Mr. Fine was an irritable, depressed individual, keenly sensitive to their economic deprivations. The mother was nervous, had her own personality problems, and was distraught by Nina's behavior. There was much quarreling between the parents over the children, and constant fear that Nina would disgrace the family as did her sister. Nina's unhappiness was accentuated by frequent quarrels with her sister.

[5] See Aichhorn, *Wayward Youth*, for discussion of this subject.

[6] The number of replacements of difficult children bear eloquent testimony to the nature of their problem.

[7] From a Child Guidance Agency.

Nina masturbated and was teaching these habits to her younger sister, Margaret. Nina also was enuretic and her mother treated her harshly about the habit. As case work treatment progressed, Nina was able to discuss her fears, coupled with her desire to be loved. She became freer in discussing her sexual difficulties, and her desire to desist.

With the gradual freeing of some of her emotional disturbances, Nina became able to discuss her desire to mingle with other children, and her desire to be considered pretty and to be popular with boys. After nine months of intensive case work treatment, Nina, together with her sister Margaret, for whom the mother had requested individual treatment, were referred to "group therapy." It was felt that a controlled group experience might be sufficient for Margaret, and that enrollment in the same group might assist the sisters in working through their sibling rivalry.

The following excerpts are an integration of both case and group material:

Nina and Margaret attended their first club meeting. Their rivalry was immediately apparent. Nina constantly told Margaret to stop talking and showing off. She called her a pest and clearly indicated her annoyance in the presence of the other girls....

Both girls were attending meetings quite regularly. Nina and Margaret quarrel constantly. Margaret is shy and hovers around Nina, who frequently slaps her when she becomes annoyed and calls her "dumb" and "dopey." Margaret seems to take the slapping for granted and never hits back....

Nina brought out much hostility to case worker about Margaret and revealed her jealousy of her father's partiality for her.... Nina was not seen by case worker for almost two months. During this period her group attendance continued to be quite regular. However, Nina seemed conflicted about not going to see her worker. In the group Nina continued to quarrel with Margaret and to dominate her, but got on better with the other children.

Case worker discussed situation with mother. Because of Nina's improvement, it was felt that individual contacts were no longer necessary. However, Mrs. Fine wanted worker to see Nina occasionally as the need arose, so this was arranged for.... Nina discussed with case worker her jealousy that Margaret is her father's favorite. To "get even" with Margaret, Nina reported to her mother that Margaret had misbehaved in the group, so that Margaret would be punished....

For the first time, Nina attended the group meeting without Margaret, who was ill. Heretofore, Nina would not travel any place alone.

... Nina has become extremely friendly with one of the girls and has let up in her domination of Margaret, partially owing to her absorption in her new friendship....

Nina's conflicts in her loyalty to group leader and case worker have become an issue. When she sees the worker she doesn't attend the group meetings and vice versa.... Case worker today helped Nina to clarify her feelings of divided loyalty between case worker and group leader, in an effort to minimize Nina's conflicts and help her to understand herself better....

As a result of worker's discussion with Nina about her guilt and divided loyalty, Nina began coming regularly again. Nina seemed to become much more mature and showed development of insight into her problems. She was proud of "growing up," her fears began to diminish, and she became more secure in her ability to go places alone, such as to the case worker's office and to the club. Nina expressed confidence in her own progress, her pride in her achievement of traveling alone. She expressed anger with herself because she still bites her nails, but thought she could conquer it as she has her bed wetting....

Camp reported that Nina was cooperative, mixed well, and made friends.... Group leader reported Nina's and Margaret's attendance as being quite regular. Nina continues to dominate Margaret but their quarrels are less frequent. There is no longer an external antagonism between Nina and Margaret. Fighting and slapping have practically disappeared. They now "fool with one another" or make fun of the other without any prolonged affect....

Nina's case closed. It was felt that she no longer required individual treatment. She seemed to have worked out a fairly good relationship in the home and on the outside, and to have matured in her relationship to Margaret.

Both group and case worker realized the hunger for love and recognition which carried this child into antisocial behavior. The case worker, perhaps, was more concerned with expressions of anxiety, guilt, and remorse; the group worker with aggression and domination. Each, however, offered the child the reassurance of a steady toleration and affection. At first she had said to the case worker frequently, "I wish I had another mother. I wish you were my mother." Later, with more understanding she was able to say, "I love my mother, but it is because she was so unhappy about Reba that she is strict with me." Once when she spoke of her enuresis as a "babyish

habit," the case worker told her that she was right in calling it that, and perhaps she wanted in a way to be a baby, but as she took a more grown-up point of view the bed wetting would stop. This helped her. In the same noncritical manner comments on her attitude in the group situation, after attachments were strong, also helped her. For instance, when, in her desire to dominate everyone Nina tried to force the leader to do something which she had refused to do, the worker said without censure, "Yes, I know you like to make people do things", there was distinct improvement. In this case the group gave a girl security and recognition by which she capitalized her leadership abilities. The sibling rivalry was worked through realistically in the same group, although in many cases where there is sibling domination, separate groups are used. Here the competitive situation, in an absence of praise or blame, was modified by the presence of others under the unobtrusive and "accepting" guidance of the group leader.

The use of the group therapeutically has also been found significantly helpful with handicapped and feeble-minded children, spastics, and others. Common parental attitudes of overprotection or rejection may be aggravated by such handicaps, and again the group can be a more neutral medium than the family for relieving some of the pressures. The competitive situation is reduced, mutual aid finds a natural setting, inferiorities are minimized. At its most successful level, the child should be able to move on with his new securities in relationship to less protected situations, and the parent use at home the gains made in the group. The essence of the therapeutic use of the group is to discontinue segregation as soon as the child develops capacity to relate himself to others in a non-sheltered environment. In cases of severe handicap, however, just as with disabling illness, the child or the adult may have to accept varying degrees of permanent dependency in sheltered surroundings.

The Use of Camps

Fresh air camps have been developing, much as other forms

of group work, along the lines already indicated, that is, from wholesale recreational "commodities," to educational, and when needed, to therapeutic processes, and the interaction between case and group workers is becoming effective.

The Peter Cork Case[8]

Peter was showing childish behavior, enuresis, and withdrawal. After some preliminary case work contacts, he was sent to camp.

Peter was a physically well-developed and bright boy. He had an IQ of 130, which suggests superior intelligence. His behavior, however, was in a great many respects infantile. He did not like to get up in the morning, dawdled in dressing and eating, was constantly tardy at school, wet his clothing and bed, and showed other childlike behavior. Peter lived with his parents and two siblings. His father was an invalid and spent considerable time away from home in the hospital. His mother was described as a "nervous, intelligent young woman." Peter seemed fond of his father. There was continuous friction between Peter and his mother, on whom he was very dependent. He resented her demands that he accept a responsible role in the family and reacted with defiance and on the level of a much younger child. Mrs. Cork rationalized her demands by saying that since Peter was a bright boy he should be more mature than other children of his age. Mrs. Cork's treatment of Peter may have been closely associated with the invalidism of Mr. Cork. The smaller children in the home made Peter wish that he were not so smart, and that he were a baby, rather than as grown as he was. He fought and quarreled with them.

Peter had not been able to develop friends among other children. He fought with them and would attack bigger boys if they angered him. Teachers found Peter inattentive and his "naughty" behavior disturbed them.

The family situation in which Peter found himself seemed to be very confusing and upsetting to him. Because of the great demands which his mother made on him, Peter felt rejected and not free to grow. While he liked his father and suggested that he would like to be like him, he apparently had some fear about his father's invalidism and a fear that he might grow up to be like him.

[8] From a Child Guidance Agency record in which the camp reports have been integrated.

His siblings were a constant threat to him and possibly a reminder of his own happier days. This gave the boy very little opportunity for satisfying and growth-producing experience within the home There had been a carry over from this situation into the relationships outside of the home. In the schoolroom he was unable to meet the demands made of him. Because he had not been able to relate himself to other children of his own age, he was in a situation of conflict in his play relationships and other relationships with children.

Peter found camp troublesome from the very first day. For two days he showed the most difficult behavior of perhaps any child in camp. He got into an almost countless number of fights with his bunkmates, had temper tantrums, struck the counselor, and threw dirt in his face. He refused to cooperate in any way or to participate responsibly in the activities of the group. During clean-up he was put outside of the bunk and kept there because he was so disturbing to the group. At night he persisted in annoying his bunkmates and keeping them awake. During these days the counselor had been extremely patient and quite passive, and the boy went to great lengths to test the counselor and to see if this were real.

The camp fire provided the medium for Peter to make bids for attention before a large audience, and possibly to attack and further test his counselor. Peter made ridiculing comments while the counselor told a story, and interrupted him to have the Indians in the story swoop down on the counselor. Once he became silent, the leader invited him to participate in the story-telling, and Peter proceeded to "stick all the spears into the leader and roast him." Following camp fire the leader walked back with only Peter. The leader praised Peter for his story-telling ability and told him how much he had enjoyed it and invited him to write it up for the newspaper.

In other camp relationships Peter continued to show his conflicts and difficulties, but in the music shop we saw the picture of Peter behaving like a different child. He suggested capacity for relating to other children and assuming responsibility.

The music counselor found Peter very pleasant, quiet, efficient, and really helpful with the other boys. He had no inclination to fight there. His attendance was good. It was also noticed that Peter had rather unusual mechanical ability and this provided an area where he could readily get satisfaction. In this group he also got a lot of attention and approval from the leader. This activity also did not require Peter to relate himself closely to others. Here he could work on crafts at his own level of ability and rate of speed.

Peter did not make friends with other campers, but this seemed

understandable in the light of his own development. There was progress in his taking more responsibility for getting dressed; he did not dawdle at the table. It was evident throughout the experience that he was constantly begging for attention and fighting to get it if necessary. One of the most important developments was the boy's growing insight into his own problem. During one of the discussions with a counselor he commented on his own infantile behavior and related this to his father's being an invalid.

We get the picture of a boy who goes from one unhappy situation to another. Where he has been met with understanding and sympathy we find that the boy has been able to relate himself well. Thus it has been in his relationship with the case worker, but other group experiences were indicated, such as camp could provide. There Peter seems on one hand to have been hard pressed by the intensity of the group situation; on the other hand he discovered an adult who was not "hollering on him" nor making unusual demands of him. We see the counselor giving this deprived and hostile boy special attention, placing value on the boy's achievements, and offering him further recognition by inviting him to write the story for the newspaper. The method here is comparable to what has already been described as "group therapy." The counselor makes possible a new kind of relationship with adults not quite so charged as the home experience or even the case work interview, since here the boy shares the experience with other children. Note how the boy is individualized within the group and how through identification and admiration he may begin to develop inner controls, even though he does not yet relate himself successfully to his own contemporaries.

Two case work agencies report their use of camp experience for problem children, with illustrations as follows:

William Dix, aged twelve, was failing at school. He had had a birth injury, with long childhood illnesses. He had always been overprotected by his mother. He had never had a satisfactory relationship with his father nor other men adults, with whom he always developed a rivalry situation. Sent to camp, he chose first cooking and solitary sports. While he was away in camp and things were easier at home,

William's needs and interests were interpreted regularly to the parents. William went on with the "Y" after his camp experience and began to make really social contacts. Coincident with his ability to relate himself to the boys and the leader, there was improvement at school and some release of dependency on his mother.

Elsie Evans, aged thirteen, was unable to make social contacts. The parents were considering separation and the child was over-serious and withdrawn. At camp she rejected the leaders' interest at first, and then identified with them against the group. She was critical, dominating, and intellectually superior. When she failed to gain a following she withdrew. She became interested in the boys at camp and a little more acceptable to the group. On her return she was able to assist her mother for the first time with household tasks. There was coincident treatment by a psychiatrist, who commented on the evidence of socialization.

Olga Harris, aged fourteen, was demanding and attention-getting. Her father had deserted; her mother was inconsistent, and Olga herself was somewhat rejected. The atmosphere in the home was of nagging, quarreling, and hysterics. In camp when Olga refused to cooperate she was ignored by the leader and came around. As she found the group liked her better when she was pleasant, she began to behave. In the case work contacts the mother was able to follow the interests built up in camp and this was a bond to draw Olga and herself together, which the child needed very much. On the whole the interests developed at camp seemed to have a very good effect on her home problems.

A soft answer can turn away wrath and, in the vicious circle of frustration-aggression, steady and friendly acceptance is a major tool for case and group process alike. Therefore it is to be expected that the selection and use of camps and other opportunities by case workers will be much more diagnostic and that there will be a sharing of treatment objectives with the group work agency from the start.

What we have come to see is that understanding group process, beyond that of the primary family experience, is important in many forms of case work treatment. Conversely, one can hardly understand a child's use of the group without understanding the primary family experience. A child may be helped to establish more satisfactory relationships within the home through the parental attitudes or through direct case work, but

may also be helped through other environmental adjustments. The group often helps the boy and the girl to see that attitudes they believed directed solely against themselves are more generalized. Whether in the interview or in the group, the social worker has learned not to interrupt play activities without good reason, and still less to puncture play phantasies. The child's play, like the expressed feelings of the adult, is respected and accepted as important for him. Both in the case and the group process the individual is left the greatest amount of freedom possible to take responsibility for life situations, so that he in turn can share life situations constructively with others.

Chapter XI

FIELD AND FUNCTION

WE HAVE EMPHASIZED hitherto the generic character of social case work, how study, diagnosis, and treatment are recognizably the same in the so-called fields of practice; but someone will ask: "Is it really true? In work with transients where I have so many short contacts, isn't it really different? Isn't home finding a special technique? Can you honestly say that case work *is* being done in the public assistance agency, with its rigid eligibility and high case loads? Isn't there something essentially dissimilar in public and private case work?"—and so on. The answer is that administrative settings *do* condition practice in several important ways, and that within case work practice there are highly developed techniques, notably such as those involved in relief giving and child placing, which carry considerable specialized knowledge; but it is also evident that agency structures and functions may be traditionally set and little responsive to changes in professional knowledge or broad redirection of community policy. Institutions which should be developing as infirmaries, may persist as homes for the aged. Unmarried mothers may remain segregated in one department or agency long after it is clear that they should, like other mothers, be treated differentially with assistance funds, or child placing, or institutional care, depending on the circumstances. Courts may be furnishing aid for crippled children, a function which lies properly in some fresh integration of children's and medical social work. Humane societies for the prevention of cruelty to children may operate as isolated agencies, with only a prosecuting function to justify their existence. Long after the continuity of the case work process has been accepted by practitioners, children's work may continue in segmental fashion with separate intake, placement, and after-care agencies. Sometimes it is contended that function is conditioned

by having a special class of clients, such as veterans—that "veterans' problems are different"—but this is an illusion. Different functions are not established merely because one is dealing with white-collar workers, or unskilled workers, or "respectable" widows, or veterans, or any classification based on superficial social distinctions. Classification has no significance unless real resemblances have been noted and grouped. Structures, too, may become antiquated or even vestigial remains, their functions having become unnecessary or artificial.

The Significance of Function

No one can set down a design for permanent structures in a shifting cultural scene. Function must alter with new problems, new needs, new facilities, new technical and scientific knowledge. There is no doubt that the emphasis in America given to the child away from home was in part conditioned by the lack of adequate economic provision for children at home. The great slogan of 1909, "no child should be removed from the home because of poverty alone," could not be translated into reality until the provisions of the Social Security Act made care for children on a large scale possible. Child welfare services are closely related to the maintenance of children at home, as well as to the care of children away from home.

If the cultural idea, which now supports the family as socially valuable, were radically changed, at once the pattern of much of social welfare would shift; if concepts of the socialized state should come entirely to replace instead of to supplement concepts of self-maintenance, or collectivism replace democracy, new techniques would have to be found for the development of the individual. Therefore our attempt to clarify the meaning of some of the significant trends of contemporary structures and functions must be grasped in its theoretical aspects, rather than accepted as an explanation of an agency found in a given community today. For one characteristic of social movements, aside from their fluidity, is the variety of drifts and tendencies even within quite small geographic areas.

Often there is more variation among agencies supposed to be in the same "field" than among agencies supposed to lie in different sectors. What we mean by function is appropriate, cooperative, and integrated division of labor, based on an understanding of the welfare structure as a whole. It is important not to underemphasize or overemphasize function: if function is vague and diffuse, both worker and client will be confused in their objectives; if function is inflexible, arbitrary or captious, sporadic efforts to compensate for its rigidities will start up in the community. In the public welfare agency administrative costs mount if parallel departmental or categorical structures persist when integration is called for. From time to time, in a growing profession, reorganization of structures is indicated, with resulting redefinition of function.[1]

Stages in Functional Development

Agencies, like biological organisms, often start with undifferentiated functions. Primitive agency structures are of two kinds: the agency that is set up for a special purpose without much relation to anything in the case work process, such as a milk fund or a shoe fund; or an agency set up with a great number of diversified services, little related to one another and to other community agencies, but covering wide areas of service. The old family agencies of the nineteenth century were of this latter type, that is, doing a little bit of everything, combining most kinds of social work, as it were, under one administration. Thus one family agency, starting a century ago, carried a program of relief, nutrition, day nurseries, convalescent homes,

[1] For an interesting discussion of functional limitations, see articles in periodicals, and especially Taft's "The Relation of Function to Process in Social Case Work," *Journal of Social Work Process*, 1937, p. 8: "Certainly function is never completely static or inflexible, certainly it alters over a period of time in terms of changing social conditions or should alter, but relatively, it is the known factor. . . . The worker sets up the conditions as found in his agency function and procedure; the client representing the unknown natural forces, reacts to the limitation as well as to the possible fulfillment inherent in the function, over a period of testing it out. He tries to accept, to reject, to attempt to control, or to modify that function until he finally comes to terms with it enough to define or discover what he wants, if anything, from this situation."

health services, sheltered workshops, a home for the aged; and, when the appropriate era rolled around, it added a mental hygiene clinic. Other family agencies of a slightly later period carried, along with their family work, housing and court reform activities, legal aid, social service exchanges, early experiments in work relief, such as wood yards and laundries, and even schools of social work. A large children's agency had a grouping of convalescent homes, day nurseries, foster care service, children's centers, homes for unattached boys, and so forth. These multiple services were not then focused, as is the medical work of a medical center today, from the basis of an integrated, well-knit program for the care of the patient. Departments in these multiple service agencies had little relation to one another. Workers had little or no professional training, for professional training began in a very small way, as late as 1898, in one of these family agencies.[2] These same pioneer agencies however, not only laid the groundwork for the modern case work movement, but promoted community education and stimulated preventive programs in most of the significant fields now embraced under the term of welfare today.

The early children's aid societies, by the end of the century, were not only stressing the needs of individual children, but thinking in terms of broad programs of child protection. In the child-placing field the pattern was perhaps less diffuse than in the family agencies, the line going from orphan asylums through indenture to foster care, and finally toward a unification of these separate and frequently narrow approaches. Gradually, that is, the omniferous services of the family agency began to clarify and integrate, and the segmental emphasis of the chil-

2 The New York School of Philanthropy, now the New York School of Social Work, established in 1898 as a department of the New York Charity Organization Society as a six weeks' summer course, by 1904 had become a full-fledged school. Other early schools in Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, and St. Louis also provided the greater part of their field work training in the family societies because of the size of these agencies, the variety of their programs, and their early interest in training. By the twenties field work was being offered in a wide range of case work fields, including probation, visiting teaching, child guidance clinics, medical social work, and public welfare.

dren's agency to configurate and focus. Some of the services in the large agencies moved out from the family nest, to become independent agencies. Other services, such as social service exchanges, information bureaus, and bureaus which made inventories of social and health resources, became common operations of a welfare council. As structure and function develop, interdependent or cooperative enterprises in the community arise. Division of labor becomes possible only with a clear sense of the total needs and the related parts of the total necessary service, with each separate agency accepting responsibility for distinctive lines of practice.

During these stages of development, as is natural, confusions arise whenever important functions are shifted or new structures created. One such shift has been in the rapid expansion of the public welfare services; another in the convergence of family and children's work; another in the place of the protective function. Medical and psychiatric social workers, typically part of the medical team in clinic and hospital, are increasingly being placed in the structures of public health and welfare. Without attempting a definitive answer on all these points, an interpretation of certain aspects of present trends is possible.

Objectives as a Test of Function

If one considers the concern of social case work with standards of living and constructive social relationships, one can see certain broad groupings of agencies around objectives which, in turn, suggest functions. One might express these objectives as maintenance, guidance and therapy,[3] protection and supervision, and correctional education. Maintenance is achieved through assistance funds and through foster care, through substitute homes or institutions. Accessory services, such as day nurseries, visiting housekeepers, and the like, may be utilized. Much of the maintenance load is now, and no doubt increasingly will be a responsibility of government, with relief and child placing the central techniques. Guidance and therapy are car-

[3] As distinguished from psychotherapy. See Chapter XIV.

ried on in family and children's agencies, in child guidance clinics, in medical social departments, and elsewhere. A large portion of this work is still done under private auspices. There is no a priori assumption in guidance as to whether the family is to remain as a unit or not, although much of the case work is directed toward healthier family relationships in the home. Protection and supervision are common aspects of child caring work, of case work attached to state hospitals, of probation and parole. There is usually a strong component of authority and much of it is public. Correctional education, to use the German term *Fursorgeerziehung*—detention homes, reformatories, parole, focused on the treatment of delinquency—has not yet fully assimilated the case work contribution, but it is moving toward adaptations of modern social work from case and group work sources, as well as from medicine and psychiatry. Maintenance and correctional education are clearly responsibilities of government, as are certain elements in protection and supervision. Prevention is a charge upon all social work activities, and is not a responsibility of one group of agencies. There is, of course, considerable overlapping as among maintenance, guidance, therapy, protection, and correction. Nevertheless, it is possible to think of these objectives as furnishing one clue to function. Other clues which help define function are found in scope, resources, the characteristic complex of methods used, professional competence, and jurisdiction. These are interdependent. Moreover, oddly enough, the function of agencies is a form of behavior which, like other behavior, is purposive. What one wants to do and what communities want to do are strongly determinant of function in any given time and place.

Public and Private

American social work is tied up with the whole social and economic movement as to the continuing relations between governmental and non-governmental activities. Social work can have no independent solution. The same forces are operating in

the areas of education, health, and the business life of the nation. Western civilization has seen the dominance of church over state, the disestablishment of the church, freedom to worship, and recently, in the dictatorships, the practical absorption of the church by the state. To the American mind, the private nature of religion remains unassailable, but the average citizen is willing now to tolerate the concept of an interlocking relationship between public and private effort in practically all other fields. In welfare it is generally conceded that the responsibility for meeting widespread and continuing needs is that of the community as a whole, a responsibility which can be effectively discharged only through tax-supported agencies. The provision of maintenance allowances for whole classes of the population, the protective function, public health, education and the larger aspects of recreation, parks, playgrounds, and so forth, are clearly functions of government. That there are supplementary services by private hospitals, private schools, voluntary family and children's and group work agencies, does not change the central assumption. The important concept to retain, as we discuss certain limitations inherent in any division of labor, is that the content is the same whether under public or voluntary auspices. Education is the same in public and in private schools; golf is the same game whether played on the public course or on that of the most luxurious club; medicine is the same whether in the medical center or in the city hospital. Mass provision under governmental auspices may or may not affect the quality—there is much disagreement on this point—but the professional subject matter must be fundamentally identical. The contribution of the private agency resides in its flexibility in treatment, its experiments and research, and in the promotion of new projects.

Let us consider, for example, the family agency, public and private. The family field is historically concerned with the maintenance and conservation of family life. The family is threatened chiefly in two ways, by lack of income and by the handicaps and behavior of its members. For the first hazard, income can be provided through social security provisions, both

insurances and assistance. The great bulk of maintenance relief is now, and will continue to be a function of the tax-supported family agency. For the second hazard—the handicaps and behavior problems of the adult wage earner and home maker—responsibility has not yet been fully delegated by the community to the public agency, except in so far as the family or domestic relations court, a public agency, carries one phase of the problem. Child guidance clinics, formerly under private auspices, but now beginning in the public schools and elsewhere, get a proportion of these difficult parents, although here the problem has usually been projected by the parent upon the child, and therefore is popularly thought of as a "child's problem" rather than the adult's behavior problem, which it usually is. Our whole probation system is public, but a very large portion of family behavior problems is treated by private agencies; churches, marriage counseling clinics, adjustment bureaus, and family and children's societies. What is known today about relief giving, developed to a large extent in the family case work agency, is the common possession of social workers in both public and private agencies.

Case workers at first interested themselves chiefly in those cases in which the character or personality problems were displaced upon or interwoven with the relief situation.[4] But, as case work developed, within the governmental agencies, as elsewhere, close attention was given to understanding what was involved in the "pure unemployment" case, and the emotional responses to loss of self-maintenance. New techniques developed and new content was added from public assistance to established case work technique and philosophy. Not the least of the modifications and growth came from the comprehension and acceptance of the administrative elements in case work. But case workers in public, just as in private agencies, must be adequately trained in order to recognize the more usual symptoms of personality disorder, not because they will be

[4] See the Peters case, p. 175, and the Tomasulo case, p. 322, for division of labor between public assistance and the private family society.

called upon to treat this directly, but because they should not let themselves be naïvely drawn into impossible therapeutic activities. The case worker in public assistance who is unable to distinguish the client whose limitless demand for relief and attention is on a neurotic basis from the client who asks for shoes and a stove and a bed because he simply has not these vital necessities, will find his case loads relatively unmanageable. The common stock of case work has come to include not only understanding the social need, but, so far as significant for treatment, the *person* who has the need. Both psychiatry and economics have taught indispensable principles of self-awareness and democratic practices in relief administration, as in other forms of case work.

In all types of public welfare, eligibility, as defined by statute and regulations, imposes a framework for social practice. In most forms of public assistance budgeting for variable needs must be held within a narrow range. Client attitudes toward public assistance may be unlike their attitudes toward voluntary assistance—some preferring one to the other—but since all clients in any relief situation *have* attitudes which must be understood, basic knowledge of human behavior will be called for. The public protective function carries with it elements of authority which contains limitations on flexibility. It has been found, however, that acceptance of administrative limitations is not necessarily a handicap, but is, in fact, essential in sound community planning, and makes for intelligent division of labor. It also seems to be true that clients are helped to a greater self-awareness and responsibility whenever social services are clearly and definitively organized for their use. Medical social work and the child guidance clinics have not seemed to raise many questions as between public and private auspices, probably because of their association with medicine and psychiatry, which retain their characteristics, whether practiced in a city, voluntary, or state hospital. The limitations imposed by regulations essential to public administration do not change the practice of case work in a profound way, although mass pres-

sures, whenever they exist, reduce the degree of possible individualization in the same way that overcrowding in the public school system may reduce the degree of individualization appropriate for good teaching, or short-time contacts in public clinics may inhibit the highest quality of medical practice, but it is not a question of public versus private administration which makes the difference, but of mass loads, and lack of informed popular opinion as to the need for professional staffs.

Division of Labor

Although it is possible to distinguish roughly objectives which suggest a functional division of labor, it is difficult to say precisely where the responsibilities of a public family agency giving assistance and those of a family court dealing with adult behavior problems begin and end, where family and children's work begins and ends, where the guidance clinic comes in, and so on. The maintenance of family life, threatened by disintegration through the loss of income, is, as we have said, properly a responsibility of the tax-supported agency. The maintenance of individuals in institutions, except in certain children's institutions, has not yet been much affected by case work philosophy and technique. A progressive scheme of maintenance should include case work services in all welfare institutions; a rounded scheme of social insurance and of workmen's compensation, with case work services made available to insured persons; the assistance group; aid to dependent children, aid to the blind, old-age assistance, general public assistance; and the maintenance of children in foster care. Whatever may be the pros and cons of "categorical" appropriations, there is general agreement that the public assistance structure should be administratively integrated, and that, in all forms of assistance, workers must understand sound methods of budgeting, principles of family income management and of human behavior, so as to be able to individualize the person in the relief situation; that they must have a good grasp of resource adjustments, indebtedness, and the utilization of liquidated assets, the psychological

as well as the financial potentialities of liable relatives, occupational referral and vocational training, housing problems, and the like. Not all recipients of public assistance desire or need social services in addition to the relief giving service, but a large number do and, as we have shown repeatedly, the particularization of the relief situation by budget, by understanding the applicant, by eliciting strengths and by putting the client in touch with community resources is not only appropriate, but essential. Case work methods should be introduced also into public employment and other "marginal" welfare fields, if they are to offer optimal benefit to clients.

Meanwhile one may examine functional problems of overlapping as between, for example, the agency dealing with income as relief and the agency dealing with income on a nonsupport basis. Public assistance agencies have a small but by no means negligible number of nonsupport cases. It is no longer tenable, however, to try to use relief as a threat or a club for the man who "refuses to work," the parent, spouse, or young person who refuses to support, the industrially displaced worker, the young couple who do or do not want separate maintenance, or the antagonistic adolescent. Problems of this type may be handled within the public assistance structure or may be dealt with through domestic relations action[5] or through a private agency, but they must be handled with social case work knowledge. Sometimes there is confusion when the "refusal to support" charge, originating in court, is not a matter of genuine refusal but of inability, which should therefore be routed to general public assistance for diagnosis and treatment. The converse also is true, in that problems of nonsupport and "refusal to work," in so far as they are not due to illness, personality

[5] Complaints of marital abuse or other overt behavior may be heard in magistrates courts, police courts, or, in rural counties, by justices of the peace, where little case work service will usually be found, so that when we speak of case work in the domestic relations area we must compare the function where either the family (or juvenile) court has developed into a well-organized social agency. Family court is not often found as an independent agency but usually as a domestic relations part of a city court.

difficulties, accident, nor unfair labor practices may better be referred to the authoritative agency set up to handle delinquency.

There are really two main emphases within the protective function: domestic relations problems involving nonsupport, and domestic relations problems involving abuse or neglect of spouse, of child, or, occasionally, of old people. While strictly speaking the domestic relations court was supposed to be concerned mostly with nonsupport and desertion cases, and the juvenile courts with delinquent and (with a few exceptions) neglected and dependent children, the jurisdiction of juvenile courts has within recent years been extended to include nonsupport cases when there are children within the age limit. On the other hand, there has been the trend to remove from children's courts the administration of pure assistance problems, such as aid to dependent children.

It is not within the usual jurisdiction of the court to establish eligibility for relief, but it is within its jurisdiction to establish responsibility for support. As public assistance agencies come to adopt comparable basic budget systems as a measure of need, and the court to respect this tool, conferences will be more useful. The measure of standard of living on which support may be expected remains a very difficult subject for study. In a modern court the basis is non-criminal and has the objectives of preserving the home through authoritative interference, much as forms of public assistance do through income. Generally speaking, the family court function may compel the support of poor relatives, although its responsiveness to cultural trends will make it much more ready to compel parents to support children, and husbands wives, than the reverse. The support by and of parents again is more insisted upon than in the case of grandparents, where the court is disposed to take a lenient view; and one might add that when the petitioners are parents of grown children or unemployed adult children, there is a good deal of futility in the purely legal approach. In support actions husband or wife may testify against the other, which is a typical

version of the "double patient" focus in family case work. While today the judge may, and frequently does dispose of the case without benefit of probation or other case work, the whole process is being slowly permeated with case work practices and philosophy. The threats to family life which precipitate recourse to legal authority are most commonly infidelity of either spouse, alcoholism and complaints by a spouse centering around the refusal of a young married person to separate from the parents and establish a home. Although the reason for the last may be wholly or in part economic, any case worker knows how frequently the economic factor is not the sole cause of the difficulty. Certainly compulsion to support may serve only to crystallize latent hostility in the family. On the other hand, educational encouragement to support, whenever possible, is normal and healthy. Often the support problem is found to be a cloak for punishing attitudes between husband and wife, or parents and children. The complaint of nonsupport covers a multitude of behavior problems—rejection of children, dislike of parents, protests against drinking. It is seen sometimes as a drive for dominance by the woman in the household or as evasion of adult responsibility, or as deep dependency of some member. In the court situation, as elsewhere, the client may project all his difficulties upon other persons or factors, without facing the possibilities of self-direction and inner change for himself. Cases reaching family court are often in too advanced a stage for treatment by ordinary case work method, and authority must be invoked because the applicant can benefit by little else.

In our earlier discussions of authority,[6] we spoke chiefly of authority in respect to its use in the worker-client relationship, and gave little attention to agencies with specifically designated authority, such as a public health department or a court. Whereas some people have internalized their response to authority so that they are in the main guided by their own inner sanctions, others have not. The latter turn quite naturally to a

[6] See p. 230.

court to settle their problems, even quite minor conduct problems. They may have need for an authoritative political party or religion or judge. It is to be assumed that this need derives in part from unresolved parental experiences and from other social and cultural conditioning. In favorable or mild disturbances in family life, especially with young couples, the objective of treatment would be to help the person to face reality and to absorb his own inner authority more completely. In case of severe abuse and neglect, in the commitment of children without parental consent, or when abrogation of ordinary privileges or liberties is indicated, the court is the natural instrument of authority and of protection. As court intake becomes more diagnostic, it will be used on a less negative basis. The stigma here, as in relief, will be reduced as agencies become socialized. Eligibility will, perhaps, be based on the need of "authority," much as eligibility for assistance is now based on the need of money. Cases not requiring authority will be referred to family and children's agencies public or private in the community. That is to say, "unofficial" cases or those that can be adjusted out of court may be sent elsewhere and the court reserve its function for instances where there is true noncooperation or noncompliance. While it is possible for courts to develop their own "adjustment" service, in most communities this should not be necessary if division of labor in the welfare field is well worked out. Courts[7] should have strong intake departments, but the "adjustment" of "unofficial" cases, i.e., those not requiring court action, may well be referred to other community agencies. This is in line with our whole functional discussion, namely, that courts, like other agencies, have a real reason for being and not a vague assignment to treat personality problems.

A summary will show one of the milder cases of domestic

[7] The range in eligibility for children's court is usually, under law and interpretation, wider than for family court. For each, nevertheless, there is a group of "obvious" cases which constitute the main function. Marginal cases may be taken by any type agency for an exploratory period, but a high incidence of marginal cases would, in general, suggest a review of the function itself. Space does not permit consideration of children's court except as principles of child and family welfare, discussed in the next chapter, are applicable.

difficulty, in which court action appeared to have a salutary effect. It is not necessary to discuss overt cases of abuse and neglect, which lie so obviously within court function.

The Stein Case[8]

In the case of a young Jewish couple with three girls, aged eight, seven and three, the husband, a taxi driver, earned between $15 and $20 a week. He left his family a few days before the wife appeared at court. The wife said that her husband left after a quarrel over his interest in another woman. It would be impossible to resume life with him, and she insisted that he be forced by court action to give her $15 a week. Both appeared ten days later to talk with the intake interviewer. The wife repeated that the matter could not be adjusted because of another woman; she planned to live apart from her husband and to rent out a room to supplement the $15 she expected from him. *She was sure a social agency could not help. She wanted him to be forced to give her more money.* The husband denied that he had any interest in another woman; that was not the point at issue. All their arguments arose over financial difficulties, because his wife could not believe that he made so little. Home had been the scene of constant quarreling over money and because of the pressure of this he had left three times before. This time he was through. He could offer the petitioner $8 a week, but he would not continue to live with her unless she could accept his economic status as it was. The interviewer concluded that no adjustment was possible and placed the case on the court calendar.

At court, after an investigation by the probation officer, it was established that the husband could give no such amount as his wife demanded. No order was made; the judge referred the couple to a court worker for adjustment, setting a later date for return to court. The report of the court worker stressed the attitudes of both husband and wife, the latter not voluble nor apparently bitter, but taking the stand of an offended wife. She complained that her husband was not aggressive enough in trying to make money. The husband appeared to fit his wife's description of inadequacy, but blamed his wife's nagging lectures for his growing feeling of inferiority. His feelings about her had in consequence become very mixed, but he knew he would like a little peace. He seemed indifferent with regard to living away, and recognized his responsibility to the children. The "other woman" in the case did not seem to be a real factor, but only the low earnings were involved.

[8] From a Domestic Relations Court.

The two were then seen together. The court worker told them that if they really wanted to separate, they could return to court later and the judge would make a support order. After some hesitation the wife said that everything would be all right if her husband would get a regular job. She would like him to show her a little sympathy and to go out with her now and then. She seemed to be convinced by the financial investigation and recommendations. No further recourse to the domestic relations court was made.

Here we find patterns of quarrels and reconciliations with both sides rejecting discussion, too irritated for the expression of any positive feelings. It was apparently necessary for the wife to be convinced, by the probation investigation, of her husband's truthfulness about his earnings. Affection existed, but it was strained to the breaking point by economic hardship. The investigation might quite well have been made by home relief, although it might not have been so convincing to the wife. At the other extreme one might cite the case of a widow, with children ranging in age from eighteen to twenty-five, who was beaten and put out of the house by an older son. The most cursory study suggested family hostilities so deep-rooted and indurated as to be non-susceptible to case work, whether supported by court action or not. Court action, indeed, would only have increased the bitterness of all concerned. In the case of the widow, separate maintenance was arranged through the public assistance agency rather than through court order.

Two intake interviews will show the sort of problem frequently received by both private family society and family court. Note in the first how the young husband manages to drop in with his wife, suggesting that the movement in this case may well be hopeful for reconciliation. Note also how she assumes some of the responsibility herself at the outset, and from time to time throughout the interview. As we have pointed out elsewhere[9] when the "complainant," whether parent or spouse, seems to recognize his own responsibility in the situation, there is something to work with. Note the positive elements in her attitude in the last paragraph. From a functional point of view

[9]See p. 203.

there was not sufficient ground for a nonsupport action in family court, and the private family society, operating in approximately the same area of behavior problems, but not restricted to clean-cut nonsupport problems, could carry on. The interplay here between the two agencies is on a sound basis.

The Upshaw Case[10]

Miss Martin, Family Court, 'phoned to refer a young couple whose domestic difficulties seemed centered around a sexual maladjustment. Mrs. Upshaw had made complaints against her husband, charging nonsupport for the past two weeks and saying that he had mistreated her since her last pregnancy, staying out nights drinking and sometimes beating her. She admitted difficulty in the marital relationship, saying that she had lost several children, and that she does not want to risk another pregnancy. They both agreed that he had supported until the past two weeks when he became angry and decided to pay some debts. Appointments were offered for 3-2. Mr. Upshaw would be unable to come then and another appointment for him could be made through his wife at a later date.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Upshaw in office. We said that we had had an appointment with Mrs. Upshaw, but perhaps we could see both of them at this time, if there were time enough; otherwise we could arrange an appointment with Mr. Upshaw later. He said that he could come in the next week at the same time. He had just "happened" to have the day off and thought he would come down with his wife. Mrs.Upshaw said immediately that this was really her appointment today. She does want us to see her husband some time soon. He is a good-looking, tall, blond young man, well dressed and well groomed. Mrs. Upshaw is tall and dark, with a rather pinched look about her face. Her clothes were in good taste. She began by saying that Miss Martin had suggested that we might give them some advice about the marital situation. She does not think she could go on much longer the way things are now. She is worried about herself. She has found that recently she is getting more nervous. She yells at the top of her voice at her husband. They seem to be quarreling all of the time. She began to cry and said that the things he does to her are terrible.

[10] From a Family Service Agency. In this instance the woman applied to family court first and was referred by it, as the condition of non-support was marginal, to the private family agency. Since the recording was fuller in the second agency, the accounts above are derived therefrom.

For example, he stays out all night on drinking parties. He gets into a temper, throws things about the house. Some of the things he throws might hit her just as well as not. When we asked more about this she said he also slaps her occasionally when he gets into a rage. Not long ago he became angry at the table and threw some of the dishes and the food on the floor. She refused to clean it up and left it there for four days before doing anything about it. Mr. Upshaw's working hours are irregular. One week he works from 4 P. M. to 12, the next week 12 to 8 A. M., the third week 8 to 4 P. M. Mrs. Upshaw said that the nights he stayed out all night were not always the nights that he was on the 12 to 8 A. M. shift. Sometimes he stays out after his 4 P. M. to 12 A. M. shift. He will go on a spree and perhaps do this for three or four nights in a row and then it may be months before he does it again. The situation was a chronic one, ever since they were married. Three and a half years ago she got a summons out for his arrest but did not carry it through. The reason for this was that she was out with her stepsister and several friends. Mr. Upshaw got the impression that they had been intimate with each other and called them names. He made such a commotion and was so insulting that later she got out the summons. We asked her whether she had ever left him and she said that she had gone home twice. He had been drinking and when he is drunk he becomes quite dominating. She went home for a period of 10 days and then went back to him. In November of this year, he insisted upon their going to the christening of his brother's child and came home drunk. She took the baby and went home again, staying only ten days.

She broke off suddenly to say that he says the whole thing is sexual difficulty. We wondered how she felt about that. She said that she didn't know. Perhaps it does have something to do with their troubles now and has had ever since she was married. She cannot respond to him. She described relations with him. He tells her that she is abnormal. She looked at us anxiously and asked whether what she was doing was abnormal. We said that many women felt as she did; it was only serious as it related to their relationship now and the fact that they both seemed to be unhappy about their life together. She nodded and said she did not know why she felt this way, that after all it might be his fault too. We said that she seemed concerned about it and it was something that perhaps she might want to discuss with the doctor later. She said she would be perfectly happy if he didn't bother her at all. Besides this, there is her fear of having more children. At no time during the discussion of her situation did she show any concern about the baby. When speaking of Bob she related

what a difficult time she had had at his birth. We asked whether she had had any miscarriages and she said that she had had one in March, 1934. She thinks that she is too small to have children. She knows she has kidney trouble too, because she has passed stones. She thinks that may be one reason why she cannot stand intercourse with her husband. She was married at 23 before she knew what it was all about, although she had known her husband for 6 years previous to marrying him. Everybody thought he was such a fine young man and her father approved of her getting married. When she mentioned her father her voice shook a little. This is one of the things she hates now, being so far away from him. After all, Mr. Upshaw insisted on living near his family. She bit her lip and said that she wanted to be near hers. Her father has married his childhood sweetheart and at last Mrs. Upshaw feels that he has a wife who understands her. We encouraged her to talk about this. She said that her own mother died of lobar pneumonia when she was three years old. Soon after this her father remarried and his second wife was very cruel. Things became so unbearable in the home that Mrs. Upshaw ran away at sixteen and stayed with a married brother. After her father's second wife died, he remarried and Mrs. Upshaw came back into the home. This was when she was nineteen. She described her father as a wonderful person. Tears rolled down her cheeks when she talked about him.

In regard to her plans now, Mrs. Upshaw made it clear that she does not want to leave her husband. He earns $37.53 a week. He always gives her the entire check and she gives him some for spending money. He is very nice about letting her buy anything she wants. It is only when he gets into a temper that he scolds her about it. For example, the other day he got mad because she told him that he stayed out too late at night and he threw the laundry all over the floor, saying that she had better do her own washing. Mrs. Upshaw smiled and said that was not at all like him, because he always insisted that she send the washing out. He tries to make things as easy for her as possible. He told Miss Martin silly little things—for example, that she used his money to buy things for herself. She knows that he does not mean this because he never says anything about what she gets for herself. She had saved enough money out of his salary to buy him a car. He likes things nice in the home. She tries to do everything she can for him. She thinks that she does things on the spur of the moment—like going to the Family Court—but she does feel that she wants things straightened out between them. We said we would want to talk with Mr. Upshaw and perhaps we might want to see them both several times. Mrs. Upshaw accepted this. She mentioned that she would have to

bring Bob with her. She said that he hears things that go on between them. She thinks he is too young to understand, but she supposes it is not good for him when they get angry at each other. Her mother-in-law agreed to keep him today but cannot always arrange to do this.

In the next case the question of partial nonsupport appears and court action to protect mother and children might prove necessary. Supplementary relief, on the one hand, from either public assistance or the private family society might relieve economic pressures enough to improve the total situation. On the other hand, the marital problem is chronic, cultural conflicts seem to be tied in, the woman's attitude, unlike Mrs. Upshaw's, is both resentful and punitive. Such cases, depending on community resources, will be found in the case loads of both assistance and court agencies, of family and children's societies, and occasionally of a marital clinic. What is done, presumably, is to meet the needs within agency function or to use another social agency.

The Crakas Case[11]

A Greek Orthodox couple, the man thirty-five, the woman twenty-six, with three children aged four, three, and eighteen months. Mrs. Crakas in the office. She is a small, nice-looking young woman, neatly and attractively dressed. She speaks correct but accented English. Mrs. Crakas described her situation as of long-time marital difficulty, and gives the impression of being very undecided what she wants to do now. Her chief complaint is that her husband gives her $6 to $8 only, for food for the whole family, that the children are not getting the proper food. She brings out a great deal of resentment about her husband's difference in attitude toward his mother and toward her. When he comes home at night he will go to his mother and tell her how he has been and the things he has done, paying no attention to Mrs. Crakas. We asked how long the mother has been in the home and learned there were periods of a month at a time when she was not there, but lived with an older brother of Mr. Crakas. We asked how matters were when the mother was not in the home, and she said it was just the same. Her husband paid little attention to her, gave her very little money, some days only 25 cents. She thinks he

[11] From a Family Service Agency. Interplay between family court and public assistance is also possible, but the marginal eligibility for either shows the private agency in an appropriate role.

out with other women, as on Saturday nights he dresses up
lls her he is just going downtown. When he comes home and
uestions him about this and asks him for money he will strike
wo months ago he struck her in the mouth so that it bled. The
en are crazy about him and he seems to like them, but he does
ovide food for them and he will not buy them clothing. That
vhy she put them in a nursery school before Christmas this
She became so upset by his treatment of her and the fact they
o poor, that she consulted the Greek priest about what to do and
ised her to try to get along with him, but if this could not be
o go to court. What she would like us to do would be to give
sband a good talking to—maybe put him in jail.

thought the way we could help would be, perhaps, to talk
hem both. It might mean their coming in a number of times.
ought she herself was undecided about what she wanted to do
nd felt two ways about it. Her eyes filled with tears and she
ie did not want to break up the home. She is orthodox, brought
the Greek way of doing things. "Once you are married it is
to go on that way." Too, she does not know what she would do
o one to take care of her. She does not feel that she wants to
with three small children to take care of. She broke off; her
illed with tears again. She thinks it would be better for us to
what he really wants to do. Sometimes he tells her to get out
back to her mother, and has even put it on the ground that she
a rest, but she thinks he wants to get rid of her. She thinks if she
s more of herself we can see what she is like. She began that she
rought up in the Greek way of doing things. We learned that
ther died before she was born. He was serving in the Grecian
and tried to get back to see his mother, and he was on the way
vhen he died. When she was three years old her mother remar-
id came to America, Mrs. Crakas remaining with her maternal
nother. The grandmother had eighteen children, but from the
Mrs. Crakas was nine years old she took complete charge of her
mother, who was an invalid, as the other children were married
it of the home. The grandmother died when she was sixteen
old and for about a year she lived with the paternal grand-
r and four months after that with her mother's brother, who
n Athens. One day without even consulting her, her uncle said
other in America had sent money for her transportation. She
to New York when she was nineteen and was met by her
r and stepfather, whom she liked immediately. She described
epfather as a kindly man. He gave her clothes and all the things

she wanted. Sometimes she helped in his restaurant but for the most part she stayed home and sewed. She said it was a Greek custom, and her mother and stepfather were very strict with her. They never allowed her to go to the movies or dances or with boys. Her mother owned a house in Massachusetts and her stepfather had a restaurant there previously. When times got bad in New York they decided to move to Massachusetts. One of her cousins told her mother that there were very few Greeks in Massachusetts and it would be better if Mrs. Crakas stayed in New York. He said he knew a man who had a good business, was sober and reliable. Mrs. Crakas said she was very frightened by all of this. She felt it was very little time, as moving arrangements had already been begun. She met her husband once in the presence of her family and his. Her mother decided they could be engaged. However, her husband said he did not want to be engaged to a girl who did not live in New York, and persuaded her mother to let them marry immediately. She was married in twenty-four hours from the time she met him and they went to Washington on their honeymoon. She said that week was terrible for her. Her older sister had told her about having relations with a man but she did not know what it was all about. She was frightened and hurt; this was a strange man whom she did not know.

Immediately upon their return they went to the home of Mr. Crakas' mother. They had had a house together previous to his marriage. She thinks his mother never liked her. The mother believes that Mrs. Crakas should wait on her husband and be like a servant in the home. Mrs. Crakas said she was caught right away with child and had a miscarriage. She became so upset when she became pregnant again that she went to live with her sister. Mrs. Crakas worked in a factory for about a month before the baby was born, at which time she returned to New York. She has remained with her husband ever since but it has not always been like man and wife. She said she does not mind having relations with him, but because he treats her the way he does she cannot enjoy it any more. She said he doesn't care about it either, and then he will tease her to sleep with him. He will be just as mean to her, he will shake the bed and make her go and sleep on the couch again. They have not had intercourse except occasionally since the birth of the last child. Mrs. Crakas is so afraid she will get caught with another one. She said if he would change toward her she would like to go along sleeping with him. He has only bought her one coat and a dress since they were married. Her sister helps her occasionally and that is the only way she gets clothes. She mentioned that a woman above them gave her the shoes she has on. She said resentfully that he

has five pairs of shoes, he has everything he wants, and he takes most of his meals out. He expects her to do everything for him and he does nothing for her. For example, she had to get his bath ready; he even asked her to shave him. Sometimes in the middle of the night he will ask her to prepare food for him, but she does not do this. Her mother-in-law thinks she is a bad wife because she does not do these things. Mr. Crakas does not like her family and they do not like him. When she was married her mother gave her $150 to get things for herself, but Mr. Crakas used most of this. Her mother demanded $50 of this back and Mrs. Crakas refused to return the money because she did not think her husband would like it. She thinks she has tried to be a good wife. She never goes out with anyone else. It seems that she has never had any real enjoyment. He never takes her any place he goes, or brings his friends to the home. She would like to go to dances and have a good time like other young people. She thinks he has been spoiled because he is the youngest in the family. We learned that he has two sisters, and a brother who is fifteen years older than himself. Mrs. Crakas said that this brother was married and had no children. Both he and his wife work and Mr. Crakas' mother could stay with them all the time if she wanted to.

Mrs. Crakas would like to have us talk to her husband to see what he wants to do. It was left that we would write to him.

In the above cases one can clearly see the overlapping of problems and how, in a large city, application might properly be made to any one of several kinds of agencies. In a small town there would be little choice for client or agency as to the proper place for application. About all one can say at the present is that the tendency in public assistance not to use relief as a club should mean that more support problems might be adjusted therein by case work methods and a better selected group referred for court action. Liberal construction on the responsibility of legally liable relatives is another factor in reducing the number of coercive actions. Requests from young people, and especially young couples, for separate maintenance must be examined in the light of psychological as well as economic and cultural factors. Public agencies need not grant separate maintenance because of pressures or for vague "personality" reasons, but when separate maintenance contributes to greater personal and social efficiency it is within the jurisdiction of the adminis-

trative agency to grant it. Competent diagnostic ability is called for in understanding and treating family frictions, whether these arise in mothers' allowance[12], old age assistance, family court, or home relief.

One especially difficult point lies in those limitations which one may not theoretically accept as a part of function but which actually exist as a condition of practice. Thus a private agency may not have the funds to carry long-time cases that are of clinical research importance; or a public agency may not have emergency relief nor funds for appropriate variable needs above the subsistence budget; or some agency may be neither equipped with sufficient trained personnel nor financed for the sort of treatment which the problem requires. Nevertheless, these fortuitous limitations of an administrative sort are inherent in actual, as opposed to purely theoretical, division of labor. Even after an agency has clarified its main lines of service and decided on priorities, there will be marginal or twilight zones for which it is only partially equipped—or appropriate zones for which it is not adequately financed—thus creating functional problems for which there is no easy solution. Adequate appropriations and competent staff are the basic ingredients of any sound program.

The child placing field frequently offers instructive examples of how clients can "come to terms with" defined and specified functions. The illustration below will show an interview, uncomplicated by the sort of administrative limitations just des-

[12] See articles on *Case Work with the Aged* by Hill, Hamilton, and others, in a Family Welfare Association of America pamphlet. If, as seems possible, the pension idea, as well as insurances for the aged is established, it should not mean that social services become unnecessary. Assuming a modest pension, granted on the basis of age and income level, this can be supplemented by natural resources, both familial and financial when they exist, and when they do not exist the recipient may apply to a well-run public assistance agency, which, on a budget basis, can supplement the income, can arrange boarding care or other social services as needed. It is perfectly possible to compute the income level on which pensions for old people, or free medical care for otherwise self-supporting persons, may be offered. In fact, as the coverage for unemployment compensation broadens and public employment services spread, income rating for eligibility should be comparatively easy. This should in no wise deter the development of case work services addressed to need nor the use of all the skills of an enlightened professional approach offered to recipients of various forms of benefit.

cribed, but focused in a positive way to the responsibility the client is going to take toward the particular problem which the agency is being asked to treat. The method used has considerable carry-over value for the young worker in public assistance who cannot bring himself to believe that clarification of resources and of agency regulations may be both a help and a stimulus to the troubled applicant.

The Brown Case[13]

Mr. Brown came in to the office wanting to talk with someone concerning what he should do about the care of his children since his wife had deserted. He has two children, Samuel, three, and Roberta, two years old. Mr. Brown is a neatly dressed young man, frankly upset and bewildered. I have rarely seen anyone more openly share all his confusions and shades of feeling. He plunged immediately into his story, laughing bitterly at himself from time to time for being such a fool, marveling at himself, too, that he could have let himself in for this so often and yet very well knowing that if he had to do it over he'd probably do exactly the same thing.

Last night without any warning his wife left with all of his wages except $2. She had left the children with his mother and father, saying that she was going to go to the store to buy something; then when she didn't return Mr. Brown found that all his clothing and possessions were gone. Mr. Brown went on at length about how often this has happened before—six times, in fact—and he has always taken his wife back. Last summer Mrs. Brown went off with this man who is in the army and stayed a couple of months. In the meantime, Mr. Brown broke up housekeeping and had the children stay with some friends up in the country where he himself went on his vacation. In September when Mrs. Brown returned, saying she wanted to live with him again, he was willing to forget everything, get himself in debt to buy new furniture and reëstablish the home. He spoke, too, of his wife's spendthrift ways, how she irresponsibly got him in debt without any attempt to pay the bills. With all of this it was also clear that he couldn't bear to think of her being away.

(a) All during this interview Mr. Brown seemed so much more involved in his own personal problem with his wife than in the next step, namely, what care he could provide for his children. When I expressed an interest in his children, I learned that last night Mr. Brown had

[13] From a Child Placing Agency.

gone to his wife's family to ask them to keep the children temporarily, but they refused to do it, saying that after all the children were his, and later they relented enough to offer to take one, but by that time Mr. Brown had made arrangements with his own mother and of course wouldn't have left them with his mother-in-law anyway. His own mother is old and blind, however, and is quite unfit to take care of the children. Besides this, she is quite dependent financially on another son, who is unmarried and lives at home, and altogether they have only two rooms. For the time being, it is Mr. Brown's plan to give up as soon as possible his own house and make his home with his mother, but of course this is no answer for the children. There was so much involvement with his own feeling and problem that it was hard to get to what he might want for the children, and at this point he couldn't say more than that something had to be done quickly.

(b) When I began to tell him something about the fact that our agency did not give temporary care to children, another agency doing that, we cared for children who needed us over a longer stretch of time, his reponse was, "Never mind, time goes quickly." I told him that when children first came into our care they were placed in temporary foster homes where the children got to know us and we the children, and how out of that experience we selected their more permanent foster homes. He pushed this aside easily. Apparently it did not draw him any closer into the children's problem. He did connect it, however, with a previous experience his wife had had with a second agency. He recalled how much better the baby looked after the three months' convalescent care it had had with a family in South Philadelphia. It was not possible, however, for him to stay with the children that long. He moved into a discussion of his wife's neglect of them. He spoke of the little girl being more related to his wife and the boy to him. He laughed rather bitterly as he told me that when he explained to Sam that mother had gone again the little boy replied, "Mommy is a bad girl" Mr. Brown seemed quite unable today to move into a discussion of the children's care in foster homes and what that would mean for them and for him.

(c) Mr. Brown's inability to take responsibility for this decision regarding placement came out clearly in his discussion of their support. I had told him that it would be necessary for him to petition the Juvenile Court for the placement of these children, in order that we could have the help that their financial support gave and did tell him that they paid us $4.25 per week for each child and would ask him to reimburse them to the extent that he was able. He tells me that he is earning $22.00 a week. He does not see how he could ever pay $8.50

for the children and anyway does not like to discuss his problem with the court. He went over his living arrangements and decided that once he paid $12 00 a week to his mother for board and paid the children's expenses he would have only $2 00 a week left for himself, and this was impossible. He went over this again and again. I suggested that the court did not ask its clients to pay more than was possible and wondered if it would not be well to discuss his financial problem with the court. He assured me that once he made some arrangement for the payment of board he would certainly want to stick to it and consequently he would not want to make an arrangement that was not possible. Suddenly he asked, "What would you do if you were in my place?" In this, as before, I got all the impact of his wanting someone else to take the responsibility without his being a part of it. I did suggest that perhaps after all placement was not what he did want. He protested that it sounded good, but he did not like this business of having to go to court. It would mean he would have to leave work and he did not see how he could afford that. I mentioned the fact that there is a group of licensed homes which the city itself has and that perhaps he would like to consider one of those. This would not entail a discussion with court. He rejected this idea, pointing out that even after he paid the board he would still have the responsibility of clothing them and getting them the things they needed otherwise, and this was too much.

With all of this Mr. Brown wound up feeling that he'd like to go over to court and talk things over with someone there. Another experience with them, he recalled, was when he was trying to get his wife back and they wrote her a letter, but nothing happened; so his feeling was that it was a place where nothing ever got done....

(d) Mr. Brown was one half hour early for his appointment, made for his convenience after office hours. He plunged immediately into the problem he had in taking the necessary next steps. For instance, he had not been able to find the Juvenile Court. When I described its location again he laughingly said he passed it many times but he guessed he didn't want to go in it. He continued to reiterate that something must be done at once. But he was finding it very difficult to let the children go. He talked with some directness about his real need of them since he now does not have a wife. He was much more able to say this evening that the thing that mattered to him was his wife. He went back over his first experiences with her, how he met her, how they married, and again went over the problems that developed since that time. It is clear that his emotional problem is still here, rather than with the children, even though they are a very real practical problem to him at this point.

(e) When I expressed interest again in the children and his plans for them, he said the problem was not one of expense, he could support the children, but he found it difficult to plan a placement as long as a year. When I asked if he was hoping that his wife would return and that he could then establish his own home again, he did not commit himself definitely–"If I could only know the future" was the way he puts it. He went on to say that he was quite aware that the children really did need a home and the more he thought about them the more he realized that he ought to ask us to place them, but placement at this point reactivated his problem with his wife. His question was this: would we do our best to prevent Mrs. Brown from seeing them should she appear? As he talked about this further, it was clear that he would like to prevent Mrs. Brown from seeing the children, hoping that would bring her to "her senses" and so make her more ready to settle down with him. I did have to make clear to him that if Mrs. Brown should return and should want to see the children, we would discuss that with her, and our decision might be apart from his own interest in it. This made Mr. Brown question again whether he did want placement for the children. He went on to say that he knew it was the right thing for them, but it was obvious that he was having a very bad time accepting his necessity and all that that involved. I tried to express my appreciation of this and suggested that perhaps it might be well for him to take a little longer to come to his decision, that there might be other ways in which it would be possible for him to meet this problem. He put it this way, "If I could bring them down here and do it all at once and have it over and not have to go through all these different things at court, I think I could bear to do it." I could appreciate his eagerness to do it this way, but did have to say again that we would need more help from him than this and explained again how it was essential for us to have support through the court and why.

He spoke now of his attachment for the children and how he would be alone if they went. And with more concern for the children than I had sensed before, he spoke of his fear that the foster home would not be a good one. He criticized his sister-in-law's home, where the children had stayed for a month. But when he had so expressed his doubt and question he then reminded himself that the foster home where Roberta was placed was a good one. Yet he reminded himself, too, that he knew this only because Roberta looked so well when she came from it. He never visited in that home. That gave me an opportunity to bring up the question of visiting. I discussed with him the fact that we would like to work out visiting plans which seemed to give the

children the best opportunity to really get involved and related to the foster parents. Mr. Brown then went over again the question of time. How could he know how long he wanted the children placed? He moved from there to a discussion of the possibility of a divorce for himself and the question of marrying again; then he could at least have the children. In the next breath he asked me to describe for him again just what the court would require of him. What would the application form be like? I could help with some detail here. As he paced up and down the office I found myself suggesting that he give himself a few days and see what happened. He turned to me quickly and said, "What would you do if you were in my place?" This gave me an opportunity to point out that as much as I might like to, I really didn't know what was right for him, but I would be glad to talk with him about it again if he felt that would help. He picked this up and said, "Perhaps sometime you will have a couple of hours in which we might talk this over again." I told him I would gladly arrange this. His next question was how to get to the court, and again he questioned me about the routine there. (f) Again we went over this. Hoping it might help a little, I asked if he would be good enough to call me if he did go to court. With this suggestion I closed the interview. As Mr. Brown left he decided to call me at a certain time, repeating the time again as if making every effort to organize himself in that direction.

In (a) note how the case worker tries to get Mr. Brown to move forward from a dead center of marital involvement and personal problems by focusing on the immediate next steps to be taken in the placement. In (b) when the case worker tries to get Mr. Brown to look at the agency necessities, he is not ready to face this and evades the issue. Section (c) will repay study by the case worker in any relief giving agency, clarification of resources and management being frankly and directly handled. The characteristic attempt to place the burden on the agency is met undefensively, but with alternate courses of action introduced for the client's decision. In the next interview (d) we see Mr. Brown still floundering and vacillating. Letting him give free expression to his conflicts, the case worker nevertheless brings him back to the point in (e) and takes full responsibility for an uncomfortable aspect of the agency's role, again refusing, however, to take responsibility for Mr. Brown's side of it. This is reëmphasized in (f) by the case worker's suggesting a

concrete bit of activity which might prove helpful to the client in moving forward into a definite decision. In recognizing the value in the shift which case workers have made from telling clients what to do, to telling clients what *agencies* can and cannot do, we must remember that this is always modifiable by appraisals of the client's strength and capacity to act. In the instance just cited, Mr. Brown although not immediately ready to use the agency's services, after the lapse of a little more time returned and carried through his plan for the children with intelligence and resolution.

When old structures start to become socialized we often find that this socialization process begins at the point of intake, with a diagnostic approach and cooperation with other community agencies. The whole problem of economic dependency, when uncomplicated by parental or marital behavior, is being referred in general to the area of "maintenance" and away from coercion and "supervision." The problem of juvenile behavior is moving, but more slowly, in the direction of child guidance and children's and family work. Many child delinquents are not "delinquent" in the psychiatric sense, and can be treated by case and group work methods. For the true delinquent, court authority in commitment, as well as full resources for psychiatric treatment of this difficult problem, is indispensable.

In noting the parental fixations, which condition so much marital discomfort, we must remember that complete emancipation is not always a realistic goal. Response to parental emotional claims, and exposure to a reasonable amount of marital aggression is perfectly normal and does not necessarily hurt children, but on the other hand case workers understand that in many of these apparently irreconcilable couples there is a mutual dependency on a neurotic basis, which makes it impossible for them to keep apart for long. Skilled case workers have a shrewd diagnostic idea as to which types of family strain are due to external traumatic situations, which may be helped through discussion, relief, and all the ordinary case work services; which types induce moving apart to a real separation;

and which are of the interlaced, neurotic dependency type. For the children caught into these consuming parental struggles, neurotically weighted, the outlook is not promising, but we shall discuss in the following chapter the significance of a diagnostic approach to parental experience, as a test of function in the family and the children's field.

Chapter XII

FAMILY AND CHILD WELFARE

IT IS NOT altogether easy to describe the administrative boundaries which are supposed to separate the family and the children's fields. With "the break up of the poor law" there was a gradual emergence of the aged, the sick, and the dependent child from the all-embracing classification of the poor. Classification is useful in bringing to the surface conditions which need study and which lead to fresh knowledge and methods of treatment. Classification may deter progress, if its values harden into permanent categories and isolated procedures. Some of the good results which were brought about by the emergence of dependent children from the obscuring, inclusive, poverty label, lay in the deepened understanding of the needs of children, the recognition that childhood is not merely a preparation for life but is an important phase of living, and that the health, education, spiritual training, and economic security of children are a first concern of any country. Less beneficial results have followed whenever the study of children in foster family homes and institutions has been divorced from the study of family life.

Family Care and Foster Care

The child welfare program began in modern times with institutional care, or indoor care,[1] often under sectarian auspices. Children were taken out of the general almshouses and workhouses and placed in orphanages. When the innovation was

[1] The use of the terms "indoor" and "outdoor" relief is obsolescent in this country. It was never confined to children, but "outdoor" care in this country, as in England, was used loosely to cover all relief given outside of the institution or almshouse. In some states, as in Massachusetts, the mentally ill in state institutions were classed as recipients of outdoor relief, but this was inconsistent with the common terminology. See Warner, Queen, and Harper, *American Charities and Social Work.*

started of taking crowds of vagabond children from the city streets of eastern cities and placing them on farms west of the Mississippi, another corner was turned. When the practice of the indenture of children ceased and the placing of children in free instead of wage homes began, a milestone was passed. When the movement to pay board for placed-out children became widespread, the treatment of children made startling advances. Meanwhile the care of children at home through allowances was also moving slowly forward. Allowances for board and allowances for children in their own homes were becoming more nearly adequate and the basic philosophy underlying allowances for children was the same. Whereas children earlier had been removed from their homes because of destitution, the program for economic security was now gaining ground. While an earlier doctrine had assumed that the sins of the fathers should be visited on the children, so that if a parent were alcoholic or nonsupporting the home was refused relief, a more scientific approach to problems of behavior was suggesting less rigid relief policies. With security as an economic and psychological value, preventive care began to be emphasized and tended to slow down the ill-considered and wholesale removal of children. The entire range of social program—assistance, insurance, wages-and-hours legislation, control of child labor, health and recreation—meant that children increasingly might be kept at home under reasonable safeguards; but it also became clearer that when the disturbance was not economic, but lay in the affectional relationships, programs for foster care must be available. The traditional feeling about division of labor persisted, however, in that the maintenance of children through relief at home was "family" work and the maintenance of children in foster care was "children's" work. The large body of aid to dependent children is considered now "family" and now "children's work", with fine inconsistency. Exponents of the children's field have often expressed apprehension that because care at home is cheaper, foster care may be minimized in favor of pure assistance programs. This no longer seems

likely. Social workers everywhere are united in the stand that not only must assistance for children in family care be adequate but that the special services for children away from home must be continuously provided for.

The Problem of Guardianship

One way of approach to the question of division of labor was from the angle of guardianship. Thus if both parents or the mother were dead or disabled, the children must be maintained out of the home through a quasi-parental or full legal responsibility. The commissioner of welfare, or the court, or both, are charged with duties and responsibilities to dependent and neglected children, because of the common-law doctrine that the state, through its agents, is the ultimate parent of all minors who require care or protection.[2] The natural right of parental control can be superseded by the common guardianship of the community, if the child's welfare requires. The trend to intervene and take custody of the child has been modified, however, by the forces set in motion to ameliorate the lot of the child at home, whenever there is a home.

With the aid of day nurseries and visiting housekeepers and relatives, as well as supplemental income, many homes, even when the mother is disabled, can be kept together. The provisions of aid to dependent children have been broadening, so that more kinds of broken homes can be shored up. Moreover, the interchangeable use of home, temporary foster placement, and institutional care is becoming more flexible. At one time a child sent to an institution was apt to stay there long after custodial care was indicated, or the reverse. Although it is still true that children tend to stay too long in institutions, it is because of the administrative costs of shifts and the pressures of public subsidy, and not because it is believed to be for the good of the child to keep the institutional population stable and the beds full. The complete surrender of the child by the parent is less common, and the whole process far more flexible than at

[2]See Lou, *Juvenile Courts in the United States*, pp. 3 *et seq.*

the beginning of the century. As one reviews the movement to consider the whole child in a whole situation—parental, substitute parental, institutional, and community—the question of guardianship, while no less important in an ultimate legal sense, has a clinical or diagnostic component which does affect the absolute boundaries of responsibilities. Again the use of probation or protectional supervision at home for behavior problem children makes the lines of demarcation through "improper guardianship" less final. The relation between problem child and problem parent is too well known to make legal categories altogether satisfactory.

The Separation Experience

Some workers would attempt a functional division of labor through emphasizing the point of separation. There are valid arguments for, as well as against this. Separation is a common problem in most forms of case work. Many families clearly belong and want to belong together; many families cannot, do not want or are not competent to maintain themselves as units, because of death or interruption or defect in the child-caring and home-making capacities. At the point where the break actually occurs, when separation is imminent because of incompetent parents or parents who do not want their children, or because of extreme behavior problems or unusually severe handicaps, the placement process can be thought of as a clearly defined function. Historically children's work was segmental, its intake occuring in court, family agency, or in a separate department. Often the child was referred only at the point of crisis. Often the intake procedure was complicated by arbitrary denominational boundary lines. This segmental administration has tended to emphasize the placement from the separation point forward, and not in the home. On the other hand, as case workers in all fields began to visualize the needs of children more clearly, as work with parents progressed under child guidance and family case work and as other case work discoveries developed, the separation possibility in many cases

could be anticipated diagnostically and became a definite focus of treatment.

Taking a child out of a home has a peculiar wrenching quality to parent and child alike, the more rather than less so if hostilities are involved. It is frightening and dislocating to lose one's parents by death, by distance, perhaps most of all by rejection. We have noted in an earlier chapter[3] that for the child whose conflicts with his environment have become acutely internalized, placement, especially in a substitute home, may be impossible; the child may not be able to use the help of foster parents because of his affectional deprivations. However, if the child and the parent can accept the placement, it often proves a successful form of treatment. The question then becomes, when does the preparation for placement begin? Where does "intake" begin? The placement of children during the pioneer stages was characterized not only by rapid tempo, occasioned by the crisis method of child intake, but by somewhat arbitrary prescription. Thus at one time most dependent children, and practically all behavior problem children,[4] were sent to institutions; then it was assumed that practically all such children, if money could be found, would be better off in foster homes. Then as the significance of the parental experience became understood diagnostically, it was realized that institutions were suitable for some age groups and for some problem children, as well as for many exhibiting mental, physical, and psychoneurotic conditions. Since the affectional ties of the family are primary in growth experience, it was possible to see why the loved and secure child might be easier to place than the insecure one. The rejected child, as we have seen, clings psychologically, with an agonized longing, to the relationships which have failed him, and the more ideal the foster parents the more conflicts may be set up. The rejecting parent, too, presents guilt problems.

[3] See Chapter IX, The Gonzales case.

[4] Baylor and Monachesi (*Rehabilitation of Children*) give data which support the clinical position that children who present behavior problems or delinquency may be expected to respond less readily to substitute parental care than children with health problems, or from homes broken through external causes.

Case workers have had considerable experience with the parent who seeks, apparently whole-heartedly, to place the handicapped, feeble-minded, or crippled child because it will be "good for him" or "for the other children" at home, only to find that when commitment proceedings get under way the mother breaks appointments, cannot find time to take the child to the clinic, mislays papers, all the while insisting that the worker must carry through the proceedings. If the worker, failing to realize the projection, takes this responsibility, he should not be surprised if the mother, in the not-too-distant future, removes the child from the institution, blaming the worker or the institution, or both, with fine impartiality. When the child is a pawn between two incompatible parents, placing the child may merely shift the battlefield to the foster home. Treatment must be directed not merely to problems of practical allocation, but to the emotional problems created for both parent and child by the placement itself. Children's workers, spending limitless time and patience in finding suitable foster parents, at one time overlooked the fact that often neither child nor parent could use these good homes constructively. The failures experienced brought them back to much more careful work with the child's own parents, not in terms of whether they should or should not be allowed to place their children, but in helping them to understand the conditions and reality of the placement experience. Moreover, continuity from intake to discharge is now held to be desirable; but since the family is the place where affections and rejections begin, study of the emotional problems of separation should begin there, partly in order to anticipate the child's use of foster parental experience, and partly in preparation for return.

In the case cited below one can see how long a period of clarification of home conditions may be necessary before placement is decided upon. The study period may be prolonged when subtle emotional factors and not gross pathology are threatening family life. Need for placement may be identified long before parental attitudes will permit the actual separation.

Replacements, so expensive from the point of view of child, agency, and community, may sometimes be avoided if conflicts in parent and child have been at least partially worked out before the threatening experience is effected. The case to be presented will show how early the problem may be noted and how long the preparation of parent and child may take.

The Rocco Case[5]

This case, consisting of a mother, the father having deserted, and a 9-year-old boy, George, was opened because of the relief needs of the family. When the maintenance relief was taken over by a public assistance agency, a worker from the private family society went on seeing the boy because of disturbing reports from school and from the mother.

Mario, George's father, born in 1901 of Italian parentage, was crippled, having lost a limb. He worked, together with Mrs. Rocco, as janitor and superintendent of apartment houses in New York from March, 1932, to January, 1934, though we gather that Mrs. Rocco supported the family most of the time. His family had warned her against marrying him. Mr. Rocco's father was a saloon proprietor and a man of some means. He is pictured by Mrs. Rocco as a public benefactor, contributing to the school building and standing well in the community. He is no longer living.

We have had no direct contact with George's father. The city investigator on 4-17-34 found Mr. Rocco belligerent, stating that he did not want help at the price of his pride. He talked at great length about politics, the government, Russia, red tape, and bureaucracy, the downfall of capitalism, etc. He had served a three-year prison term in the state prison, when he had been with "a bunch of gangsters." Mrs. Rocco said in February, 1936, she had seen a newspaper clipping stating that he had been arrested for vagrancy. He is said to be fond of George. Mrs. Rocco said she knew that if he were earning he would be found waiting outside of George's school to give him a dollar or so. He met George after school on one occasion after Mr. and Mrs. Rocco first separated, but has not seen the child for about two years.

Nelly, George's mother, born 2-5-06, is of Irish parentage. Though she speaks of her father's drinking and the hardships he caused her mother, she was fonder of him. "He always had a sense of humor." She could tell him everything and always went to him for advice. He allowed her more freedom than her mother, but liked to see her well

[5]From a Family Service Agency.

taken care of. She had been her father's favorite. Mrs. Rocco felt that she had a relationship with him that did not exist between either her father and her mother or between her mother and herself. "She didn't like me for taking what she should have had." When she was fifteen years old her father died. It seemed then as if all her mother's resentment came out. Her mother tightened up and would not let her have anything that the other high school girls had. She did not finish high school. When her mother remarried she found her stepfather unbearable. She believed that she never would have married had her father lived. Her father would have invited Mr Rocco to the house and would have shown her what he was like. Her mother would not let him call, so she sneaked off to meet him. Mrs. Rocco's mother is now living with a married sister. Another brother and sister are in the same household. When things are running smoothly for her, her family shows interest, but when she is in trouble they keep away. When George was seven years old Mrs. Rocco's mother was friendly, giving him many presents at Christmas. Since then he has apparently had no contact with his maternal grandmother.

Because Mr. Rocco's father had made various gifts to her school and had been held up as an example to the pupils, Mrs. Rocco felt that Mr. Rocco's attentions were an honor. When Mrs. Rocco was eighteen years old they were married. "I gave him everything; I was his completely." Mrs. Rocco said that in the eleven years they lived together there was something magnetic about him that drew her to him; at the same time she was miserable and upset. Mrs. Rocco said Mr. Rocco was jealous, always suspecting her of having relations with other men. It was because of the frequent home quarrels and duties that she was unable to stay in one restaurant. Though she was not fired, she was shifted about. She was exhausted after working all day and carrying out her husband's commands at night. Mrs. Rocco told of her husband's having lived for seven years before she was married with a prostitute who was syphilitic, and she had been hesitant about telling of his prison term because of fear that she would be thought of as a "gun moll." "People used to wonder why I stuck to him for eleven years." She had thought of leaving him several times but never did. They decided to separate and he left her. She described the separation by saying "there was not even an explosion. We parted as if we had meant nothing to each other." Mrs. Rocco always pictured George as taking her part in the family quarrels. When his father asked him questions about Mrs. Rocco's whereabouts he would run to her saying, "Father's asking me questions." When George was twenty months old he threw a cup at his father when Mr. Rocco was abusing Mrs. Rocco.

Mrs. Rocco's personality has been indicated through her attitude toward George. Her fears and anxieties are in relation to him. Her guilt about the relationship she had with Mr. Rocco is apparent. On the whole Mrs. Rocco appears upset and confused. She does not wish to associate with people who knew her when she was living with Mr. Rocco. Her closest friends seem to be the landlord and landlady where she is now living and people whom she has met through them. She likes older men, is afraid of younger men—they might become "passionate" toward her. She could never give herself up entirely to anyone. She always feels skeptical and distant when out among people. She tells of being absentminded when people speak to her. She seems unable to get up in the morning and is slow to initiate any activity. The only time she has felt as if she were living was when George was away at the convalescent home and she was entertained by men friends of the landlord. She enjoyed the round of parties, the possibility of making contacts and getting a job in a restaurant on the basis of her contacts. She has always been healthy, although in 1934 she was given a gynecological examination. Neurasthenia was indicated. Mrs. Rocco was supposed to go to the hospital, but attended the clinic on one occasion only. The Wassermann was negative. She was afraid of being examined by the doctor and did not have the "courage," as she put it, to return.

Mrs. Rocco has been blocked about making any effort to find work, saying she is "too nervous." Whenever she speaks of looking for a job she speaks only of possibilities in restaurants and night clubs. Then expresses fear that she will be approached by men, saying that everything seems to lead to "prostitution."

Mrs. Rocco had been using contraceptives regularly, as she felt soon after her marriage that she would not like to have a child by Mr. Rocco. She thought she had a tumor and said that she attended the clinic for four months without their discovering and without her knowing she was pregnant. She had had one earlier pregnancy, a girl born 7-1-29, who died in six weeks of "summer complaint."

When George was a small child, if he saw his father putting an arm around his mother he would stop his play, run between them and throw his arm around Mrs. Rocco. His first wish was that he and his mother always be together. He mentions planning to buy her a town house, two or three cars, and speaks of her as "his girl," saying that he is never going to be married. George is jealous of men who pay attention to Mrs. Rocco. He does not want a stepfather. "My father made you suffer enough and I'm not going to stand around and let any other man make you suffer." George's apparent overattachment to

his mother is complicated by her attitude toward him. She has made him her confidant, telling him of all her troubles. He has taken on her worries and seems overburdened by them. "If I had the nerve I'd go out on the roof and throw myself off to make it easy for you," he once responded. Again George said of a person who had died, "She's in a better world than we are." Mrs. Rocco makes use of George as a companion, in some ways expecting him to fill the male role in the situation.

She seemed to mix up the care she was giving George with the care she had had to give her husband. She frequently warned him to be careful of his legs. When he did have to go to the hospital because of his leg, she told him that if he lost a leg he could never return home. George has been threatened by the way she has presented to him the possibility of being placed in a home. Because of her ambivalent feelings, she has used this as a threat, at times, to hold him to her; at others she has expressed her wish to get rid of him so as to gain freedom for herself. When George returned home after a period of convalescent care, he sensed that his mother had had a good time in his absence and became suspicious of her wishing to get rid of him. He swore, struck at her, and said, "When you let me go away that time you broke the tie between us." His insecurity manifested itself in his considering whatever he did for her a "favor," as if he felt he could expect her to do things for him only in return for something he had done. He retaliated a little at one time; when his mother had discussed placement of him, he suggested that *she* might get a job as nurse in the hospital so that she could live there. He would be all right at home; he could take care of himself. Mrs. Rocco's resistance to sharing George with other people, coupled with her rejection of him, has shown in daily difficulties. Mrs. Rocco described his "nervous mannerisms" since he returned from the convalescent home. He plays with his ear or puts his fingers in his mouth. The only time he is quiet is when he is reading. At another time she told of his running all over the street. He teases people in the neighborhood, the iceman, storekeeper, etc. George has verbalized the inconsistency of Mrs. Rocco's treatment by saying, "sometimes hot—sometimes cold." Yet speaking of her directly to us, she is "the best mother in the world."

George has been known to the hospital over a long period. He has had a tonsillectomy, appendectomy, and eye operation. In December, 1935, he was in the hospital for an abscess on one leg, and in January, 1936, he returned when the abscess recurred on his other leg. He was sent away for convalescent care. He continued to be under the doctor's care until the summer of 1936, when he was found to be in good

condition for camp. George dreads going to the hospital. When he had the eye operation he was awakened several times during the night when a light was flashed in his eyes. He feared that this experience would be repeated. To Mrs. Rocco it seems as if she has been running to the hospital with George ever since he was born. It seemed as if he always found some way to "drag" her to the hospital. When he had trouble with his leg she asked, "Do all the Roccos have to have broken legs?" Glasses were prescribed for George. The camp reported on July 29, 1936, that he seemed to be hard of hearing.

George has always attended public school. His conduct was consistently B and his work C. He seemed to have difficulty in reading. On the standard revision of the Binet-Simon, his chronological age was 7-5, test age 8-10, I. Q. 119, basal year 6, final year 12, showing a wide scatter. The psychologist commented that George was a fair-sized boy, stubborn, self-possessed, and sullen. He had a marked speech defect and could not keep the saliva from dripping through his mouth. He tested in the superior group in general intelligence. School placement was said to have been 6 months retarded for his age and 2 years for his mental ability. Mrs. Rocco has taken an interest in George's school progress and has made occasional contacts at the school, following through on her pattern to appear as an adequate mother. Her neglect of him in this area, however, shows itself in her inability to get him to school on time.

The school now reports that George is frequently tardy and absent. His work seems to be inconsistent with his ability. The teacher notes that he is a dreamy child. Camp reports that George is shy, timid, and slow to enter activities. Because of his non-aggressiveness he seems to be helpless.

George shares Mrs. Rocco's bed. He is not able to waken himself in the morning. Meals are not prepared regularly. Sometimes he eats with the landlady and sometimes Mrs. Rocco gives him money to buy lunch outside.

Mrs. Rocco said frequently, "We are more than mother and son—there is a bond between us." She had a feeling that he would never grow up, that if he were taken away from her he would die. Though Mrs. Rocco found him companionable, she continued to associate him with his father, who was a cripple, and was rejecting in her attitude toward him.

The early treatment of the mother first centered about relief and problems of health, but increasingly around her relations with the boy. In the spring of 1936 she said to him, "Don't you see that you and I cannot live together?" She felt that her freedom was restricted, that

she could do nothing but watch over George, that he was always under foot. But this mood was followed by a period of jealousy and overprotection. On the whole, she has threatened him with being an obstacle to her going to work. When it was explained to Mrs. Rocco that some of George's difficulties at school might relate to things that were bothering him, the mother agreed to have George seen by a case worker, although she expressed many fears of what he might tell worker. She was at all times resistive to having him see a psychiatrist, "who might condemn him"—and also her. Excerpts from interviews carried on with the child in 1936-37 show clearly the little boy's unhappiness and conflict.[6]...

George in office in answer to a letter written by worker. He said he had planned to come last week but was not feeling very well. He then immediately expressed sympathy "because of the trouble that you have had."[7] "It must be hard to lose your mother." Worker said George sometimes had fears about losing his mother. He did not answer but went directly to the toys which were placed on the desk. He immediately recognized the house which he had built of clay during his last visit. He was pleased to find that it was still in the same condition, and told worker how he had built it up like a log cabin. He completed the log cabin and talked about the whole science of the building of cabins. He then told us that during this coming week they were going to have promotion. He thought he was going on all right. He likes his present grade very much. They have had quite a bit of science and he told about various things which he had studied. He looked at us and said, "By the way, you never got me that salamander." Worker said we did not find one at vacation time but perhaps there would be a chance of getting another one for him. As he dropped a piece of clay he picked it up and pointed to the shoes he was wearing. He showed these to worker. They were high boots. He asked how we liked his new shoes and we said they looked as though they were very strong. He said, "They should be, they cost an awful lot of money." Worker asked how things were at his house, knowing that Mrs. Rocco had had quite a bit of trouble and wondering just how things were now. George shook his head and said, "We still have a

[6] The following are excerpts from a long series. Considerable material showing George's office play, lunches, and excursions, is omitted, as well as all interviews with the mother and others. This omission may make the movement of the case seem abrupt, but the essential points—George's anxiety about his situation, his love for his deteriorating mother, the slowness with which he came to endure the idea of placement—can readily be grasped from the abbreviated text.

[7] The worker had been absent because of the death of her mother. She had had a long, friendly contact with George previously.

lot of trouble." He then proceeded to play again and became quite hilarious. Worker said, "George, you sometimes find it very hard to talk about things that aren't pleasant, don't you?" We said we felt that George was very good friends with us, and we were with him, and sometimes it was necessary for friends to talk over things which hurt a little, as well as things that gave a great deal of pleasure. George nodded his head and said they were having some trouble. Worker asked him what seemed worst to him. He said he really did not know, but he knew that these shoes cost a lot of money. Worker said perhaps if at any time things were hard, if George would let us know maybe something could be done about it. We meant not only when they had financial difficulties, but things might be hard between him and his mother, or between him and someone else. These were things just as important to talk about as were the more funny things. George made no answer to this but kept on playing with his toys. . . .

George in office. He seemed more pathetic looking than we had known him to be previously. Somewhat bashfully he asked if worker had his glasses. We said we would get them. When we came back George had seated himself in a chair and begun to draw pictures. We laid the glasses on the table and he picked them up, showing where he had broken them. He looked up and said, "You know, it cost my mother $7 to have them fixed the time before." Worker said that perhaps his mother was angry that he had to have them fixed again. He nodded his head and then asked quickly, "Do you think that you can help me with them?" We said that it would not be possible for us to give George the money because he was under sixteen years of age, but that we would be glad to go with him to the oculist and make arrangements to have the glasses fixed. Immediately George's face seemed to light up. He explained that he had not been in school during the last part of last week, or today, because he could not get along without them. He can see things pretty well, but he had a very bad headache. He wanted to have them fixed as soon as possible. He knows they cost a lot of money. Worker said that this is what his mother had said. We wondered if she had been the one that told him to come to us. He nodded his head and again seemed pathetic. Worker said that it must be hard for George when his mother said these things. We were glad to help him. He looked at us and paused quite a few moments before he replied, softly, "Sometimes we fight, you know." Worker asked if they had a fight today. He nodded his head in the affirmative. "Sometimes I go out of the house and she comes after me—but sometimes she doesn't." Worker asked how it had been today. He said that she didn't come after him today. He paused again

for some time and then added, "We don't quarrel very often." Worker said that perhaps George would feel that it was bad of him to quarrel with his mother. We could see that there were times when she and he didn't agree, when perhaps things that she did made him angry and things he did made her angry. He nodded his head and in more of a grown-up way said, "I guess you're right about that."

He paused a moment and then in a somewhat musing tone said, "I wonder sometimes." "What do you wonder, George?" He paused and then said, "I was just wondering if that ink bottle top belonged on the ink bottle." Worker said that perhaps George wasn't wondering just about that. He was wondering about other things too. He said, "I wonder what it was like when I was a baby." He then looked at worker directly and said, "Do you think that at one time I was a little spirit up in heaven, and that some day I will be a little spirit up in heaven again?" Worker said that this was very hard to tell, but this was what some people believed. We could see that he might wonder where he came from, not only the spirit part of him, but also where his body came from. He looked at us directly and with some excitement said, "Yes, that's it, where do babies come from?"

Worker asked if George knew where baby pussies or baby dogs came from. He did not know this but did know that chickens came from eggs. Worker then explained that in some animals the eggs were outside of the body and in some animals the eggs were inside of the body of the mother and that this was the way it was with puppies and pussies and human beings. George looked at us in some wonderment and then said with a puzzled tone, "Was I at one time inside my mother? I never knew that before." George then asked about various other animals, which ones were born inside and which ones were born outside. He ultimately asked, "How about little stones and big stones? Do they have mothers and fathers too?" Worker explained that it was only things which were alive that grew in this way. Suddenly he turned to us and said, "Well, do you think that dogs, in their language, and cats in their language, have a marriage?" He then described the wedding ceremony and wondered if each one of the animals in their language had that kind of a ceremony. Worker said that this, of course, was another thing which no one really knew, but we did not suppose this was so. However, perhaps the question that really was in George's mind was, did a mother have to be married in order to have children. George eagerly took this up and said yes, this was what he wondered. We explained that sometimes this was not so, but whenever there was a baby born there was a father and a mother. George paused for a moment and then as though he suddenly under-

stood something he commented, "Well, now I know what it was all about.". . . Later, worker gave him Karl de Schweinitz' book *Growing Up* to read. George was very much interested.

George came in with a note from his mother. His appearance today was very disheveled—his hair hanging loosely in his eyes. His socks had huge holes and he was not even very clean. This is in contrast to the neat appearance he usually makes. He walked into the interviewing room very slowly and stood in the doorway instead of taking the chair as usual. We asked if there was something troubling him and in a very quiet manner he said, "My mother told me to give you this," handing us a note which contained a request for money for a haircut and a pair of socks. Worker said that George had not liked to come in with this. He shrugged his shoulders. We said we would be able to help him with this and gave him 60c. Worker then asked if he had spoken with his mother when she asked him to bring in the note. He ignored our question and turned his attention to the book lying on the desk. He said, "I see you still have the book here—hasn't anyone else read it?" Worker said children did read it but he was the only one to do so recently....

Worker said that the last time George was in things had been very hurried. We felt that perhaps if he had had more time there would have been still more questions. He sighed and in a very sophisticated manner said "indeed there were questions which were still puzzling him." He could understand from this book how human beings came to be, but he still could not see how the world came to be. "Was the earth thrown off from the sun?" Then looking at us intently he asked if we had ever heard how in olden times people sometimes stuck themselves full of needles. Did we ever know that sometimes they lay on spikes? It was said that they enjoyed doing this. Did we really think that this was true? Worker said that there were people who seemed to enjoy making things painful for themselves, but it was a hard thing to understand why people made things painful. George asked if we thought that "other people liked things a little painful," and added, "isn't it funny that people like to hurt themselves. Why, you know my mother even said that some people like to get themselves into trouble." Worker said that sometimes this is true. George added in quite a joking manner, "Maybe I do sometimes myself." We asked if he could think of a time. He paused a moment and then said, "Sometimes when I am standing in line at school I kick the boy in front of me—then I am called in to the principal's office." In quite a hilarious manner he said, "and you know I don't mind a bit." With some bravado, "I get a great kick out of it." Worker said, "I imagine

that's what a lot of the boys say too." In a quiet manner George remarked, "Yes, but some of them cry." Worker said perhaps sometimes he doesn't care when people are unkind, and then again maybe sometimes he feels like crying. George made no answer to this comment, but immediately started working with the clay.... He gave worker a soldier to keep for him until next week.

George came into the office and asked immediately if we had kept his soldier. He seemed pleased to see it on worker's desk, and asked if it had been there all week. Didn't we put it in a box? Worker said we had kept it out where we could see it. George seemed immensely pleased by this and said, "Did you think of me when you looked at it?" We said, "George liked us to do this?" He immediately questioned, "How about another war now? Did I tell you we wouldn't have any Viking—I am going to do some real killing this week?" Worker asked who the victim was going to be. He said, "You're the enemy." He laughed greatly to think that he had answered worker in this way. "After we've played we will see who the victor is." George then began modeling the clay. He said he was going to shoot off a great many cannon. He made elaborate plans for these on a clay boat. "You know I have another idea this week too. I am going to use some sticks so there will be a greater jam." With this George began substituting for the clay guns he had formerly had on board ship some wooden sticks which had come with the set. Worker asked if we too were going to have these on our ship. He said, "You'll have to have your own ideas this time." Worker therefore took some hairpins which were lying on the desk tray. George laughed at these, saying they looked more like swords than like guns and they wouldn't do us any good when it came to real fighting....

In reproducing parts of these interviews without the full text it is hard to do justice to the worker's role. Another case worker was seeing the mother, who in the early stages did not consistently focus her rejection of the boy into a desire for placement. The case worker seeing George was in a difficult position, trying to give him support and being prepared, meanwhile, for all contingencies during his mother's unpredictable moods and behavior. This makes the interviews seem less purposeful than would be true if placement had actually been faced early by the mother. Conditions as confusing as this are not, however, uncommon in parent-child relationship. The chief significance for the student is the striking picture one obtains of a troubled

child whose conflicts, evident long before placement became inevitable, would if not faced, be causes of difficulty in the placing experience.

In the last paragraph the worker made a slip in her too detached comment, "You liked to have us do this?" This did not carry enough reassurance of love to the deprived child. Later on warmly expressed reassurance is given. Fortunately, however, although the interviews, at least as recorded, were sometimes on too intellectual a level, there was a steady atmosphere of warmth and affection to which he could respond. As with most children, the exact words don't matter in the long run if the love is there, but the worker would have been less "the enemy" if she had not been here so objective or occasionally so direct in trying to get George to express his struggle. The movement in the case proves, however that she did give him enough support so that he was able to consider the separation. To put it simply, George can't leave because of his mother's hate (rejection) and his constant struggle to win her love. He can leave at last only because of the worker's love and support. To return to the record:

George came into office asking immediately if worker had been successful in obtaining the binoculars. Worker said we had obtained an instrument, although we were not certain if it was exactly what George had had in mind.... He was very enthusiastic about the instrument and said that it was much finer than the one his chief had in camp. We asked how things seemed to be going in school. He replied, "Oh, very good now." We asked, when he emphasized the *now*, if something had happened. He said yes, he had been placed back in the fourth grade. Worker asked if he could tell us something of how this had taken place. He said he had thought the teacher really did not like him much anyhow in the fifth grade. We asked if he could tell a little bit more. He stuttered somewhat; said he had been placed on the poor side of the class. She had never wanted him in the class in the beginning. George said the teacher kept telling him that he could not do the work and he knew that he couldn't; he isn't very good at arithmetic anyhow. Maybe if he stays in the fourth grade now he can learn really to do multiplication and division. He is very poor at both of these. "I guess it's all for the best anyway." "Where there's a will there's a

way." Worker asked what George was so determined about. He thought he could learn his arithmetic in this class; then maybe when he went into the fifth grade sometime later on he would be able to catch up to his other class. He likes the fourth grade very much better because the teacher seems to like him. He is on the good side of the class and then she lets him tell things to the class. "You know, in the fifth grade I felt like a flower on a thin, thin, stem ready to drop off, but in this class I feel like a plant which has its roots in the ground." Worker said the last was a much more comfortable feeling for him to have. George replied, "I'll say it is." Worker said that we had mentioned to George one time that we might be going to the school. What would he think if we talked with his teacher? He replied, "I know you'll like her."

George then said that he thought another reason he hadn't done so well in school was because he had been absent so much last year and also he had been put ahead one term when he was away for almost the whole term. His mother thinks this is the reason why. If he hadn't been put ahead at that time he thinks he would have gotten along all right. Worker said maybe this had something to do with it. We felt, however, that George was right about the absences. We knew he had stayed away from school a lot last year. Sometimes he had had good reasons and sometimes when he had some which were perhaps not so good. George laughed and said sometimes he didn't feel like getting up in the morning. Worker said this was perfectly natural; that most boys at some time or other felt this. Now if George was really determined, as he told us before, he would have to make himself get up a lot. George said that one thing that made it hard for him to get up in the morning sometimes was that he didn't have his lessons done. When you don't know how to do something it is hard to go to school. Worker said this really had kept George away from school a lot last year, hadn't it? He immediately said that he had also had a lot of colds but this year he is going to go every day if he can. The camp report that George seemed deaf was discussed with him, and he thought perhaps that accounted for his poor school grades. An appointment was made for him at the eye and ear clinic.

George came in today with his hair neatly cut and combed, and with quite a sprightly step. His manner seemed to be much more self-assured. He immediately took the box of modeling clay from the table, saying that he had made up his mind exactly what he wanted to do today. They were making a map of New York State in class and using different colors of clay to indicate various altitudes, i. e., yellow for low land, red for mountain peaks, etc. He thought if he could prac-

tice in worker's office he would be able to do it so much better in the classroom....

He told worker that at one time he had had a pet mouse tied on a string. He thought the nicest pet he ever did have was the mouse. He had had it for a week or more but his father finally threw it out. One day George in his excitement ran into the kitchen where he had been keeping the mouse, slid on the floor, and hurt himself—he was coming through so fast. He began to cry. His father said the mouse wasn't any good and threw him away. George said, "Then I only cried more." Worker said that that must have been quite a hard time. He was only three years old he thought, but he remembers it very well because there was another thing that made him cry then too. He explained how he had been wearing new shoes and the smooth soles had really been the cause of his slipping. His father therefore sandpapered the soles to take off the shiny black. George thought he had felt more badly about that than about anything else. He seemed to be laughing at himself as he told the story....

George in office. Asked if he could make a Christmas card for his mother, and said he would like some glue. When we came back with it he said, "And now I need just one more thing, a ruler." Worker laughingly said that George certainly was going to have her do a lot of things for him today.

During all this time George had been making the card for his mother. He enjoyed doing the printing, as it was something new that he had learned just this year. He didn't know how his mother would like it. He remembered giving her a card once and she threw it away. Worker said that George sometimes worried about just what his mother was going to do about him, just as he didn't know what she would do with the Christmas card. George said, "You know, that is right, but I'll always stay with her." Worker said that George had frequently spoken of this wish of his to be always with his mother. Did he think that she always wanted to be with him? George at this point looked at the card, which he had completed, and said that it would have been better if worker had brought some red paper instead of pink. He then described how that could have formed the frame—the blue the sky, and the yellow the church. Worker smiled and said, "George, you are a funny boy." Whenever we came to talking about things which really must be things that George worries about, he quickly changes the subject. Just now he had done this. We had been talking about things as they are between him and his mother. We knew that this might sometimes be very hard to talk about. George said he thought it might be better if he made his mother another card.

The second one might be better because he would be more practiced. He asked if we would let him take home some of the colored paper. We said he could do this and George said, "I think then that I will give you this card." Worker said we would keep it....

George at office. Decided to build a fortress. While doing so he commented that the doctor at the clinic had said there was nothing the matter with his ears. The doctor had said if anyone could find anything the matter with his ears he would quit being a doctor. George looked quite pleased as he told us this and we said this was good news. We said, however, sometimes George didn't hear things. George agreed and we asked if he could think why this might be. He said he couldn't understand it, and when worker said perhaps sometimes George's mind was busy with some other thoughts when people spoke to him, he replied, "I wouldn't be a bit surprised if that were it." He then related that just today the teacher had asked him a question—he was thinking of something else and didn't even hear the teacher ask it. He didn't even know the teacher addressed a question to him until the boy in back of him poked him. Then of course he had not heard what she said. He knows that has happened before. Worker asked what he was thinking about at the time. He was thinking of what he would do if he had a lot of money. We wondered if very often his thoughts were about money. He nodded affirmatively. Worker asked if sometimes they were about other things too. What else, for instance, had he been thinking about today when he had not heard the teacher? He looked at us rather questioningly and asked if we would not laugh if he told us. He then said he was wishing he were a brownie. If he were a brownie he could climb around on the numbers in arithmetic. He could slide down on the curve of the five. He was thinking of all the things he could do, and also if he were a brownie he would have magic and then all of the answers of his arithmetic problems would be right. Worker said that George took this way of maybe wishing things would come right. He nodded his head and said it was going to be hard because in January the term tests were coming, and he didn't know if he were going to pass. Worker asked if there were any particular things that he had questions about, as we would have some time during Christmas week to help him if he wanted to come in. George did not answer at all but turned his attention again to the fortress. He continued to play with the fortress for a while, then asked rather abruptly if worker still had the toy soldier which he had given us. We did have it on our desk behind the file box. He put it on top of the fortress and then said this soldier held the dove of peace. He thought that there wouldn't be any shooting in the fortress today because everything was peaceful.

When George came to the office we told him that we were going with him to buy a new suit. George was obviously delighted. The suit finally selected for George was a dark blue with two pair of knickers. Worker then suggested buying a regular hat. George was most excited about this as he said all his life he had wanted one, but he never dreamed he would get one. As he put the hat on he said, "I know my mother will like me in this."

On the way back he said he wondered what the other boys on the block were going to say when they saw him in the fedora. He thought some of them would be jealous, but most of them would be awfully surprised to see him dressed up like this. He usually has looked more poorly dressed than anyone else, and now he will really be better dressed. We asked if he thought they would make fun of him. He seemed surprised at this suggestion, and said that they would only wonder who his rich friend was. He added, "this is what I would call a miracle."

George in office with a note from his mother saying that George had had nothing to eat and asking that we take care of him....

As we were leaving the drug store George commented that that was an awfully good meal but he was worried as to where his mother would get anything to eat. Worker said we understood from the note that she was going to get her check today. He commented that he does not know very much about checks but he does know that they are "awfully important." Everything his mother talks about is "when the check comes"—"now I have the check"—or "it will be a long time before the check comes." By this time we had reached worker's office, and we said that what George had said about the check was true. We really were quite worried about the trouble his mother sometimes had in managing and in giving him the things he really needed. We knew that his mother was sick and that she could not help some things that happened, but we did feel that George was not happy and was not getting things like other boys. We had thought about it a good deal. George looked up at us frightened, but did not say anything. Worker said perhaps George knew that his mother and teacher had talked over, too, what might be a good plan for George and we thought that we and he ought to talk it over. We thought, for instance, that perhaps it would be a good idea if George could go to a school somewhere. George said, "But I don't want to go to a school." We asked if his mother had spoken to him. He said she had said something, but he told her that he didn't want to go away. If he ever went away to a school he knows that he would get terribly homesick, and after all if he went to a school for ten months and then went to camp for one,

that would mean he would be away from his mother for eleven months out of the year, and he just didn't want that.

At this point George's eyes became tearful, although he did not cry. Worker said we knew it was awfully hard for him to talk about this. We did want him to know that probably it would take time before any plans were really made and we thought it best for him and us to talk about things a great deal. When George again repeated that he did not want to go to a school, worker said that the thing which worried us was that George really was not very happy with his mother. A lot of it was because his mother really wasn't well. For instance, we could tell that he was unhappy by the way things were going in school. It was hard for George even to get to school on time sometimes. George said, "But the teacher never scolds me." Worker said whether she did or not wasn't the important thing, but that it was much more important that George really was not a happy boy. For instance, we knew he had a good head on his shoulders. George rather jokingly said, "I hope so." Still, he was behind in his school, and the doctor said he had good hearing and yet he knew that sometimes he didn't hear. At this point George nodded his head affirmatively, and in a very low voice said, "Sometimes I'm not very happy." Worker said we thought sometimes he felt like crying because he was so unhappy. He turned his head and brushed his eyes. He again said he did not want to be away from his mother eleven months.

A school in Massachusetts which George had heard about from the janitor and liked the sound of, was discussed with him....

While talking George had been playing with paper and pencil. He had outlined the soldier on worker's desk and at this moment dropped it. As he picked it up he asked, "Would you keep him even if I left?" Worker said we surely would and also we wanted George to know that if he went away anywhere we would surely come to see him. His eyes opened and he said,"Would you come all the way to Massachusetts?" We said that we would, although of course if he went to Massachusetts we could not come as often as we could if he went to some place nearer. He thought he would really be happy in Massachusetts. He then said that he would make a picture for worker as to how it really looked, and thereupon he drew an outline of the camp. He gave the layout and laid special stress on the upstairs room which had been "all my own." If he had this room he could build his own laboratory. He would put all the books we had given him on a shelf and make that his library. He would have a table on which he could put his microscope and slides. He then noticed a file box on worker's desk and asked if these were very expensive as he thought he would like to get one to keep a record of his specimens.

He spoke again of the fact that he would have a place where he could keep all of his belongings. Worker said we did want George to know that if he went somewhere else this could be arranged too. He might have a room of his own or if he did not, he would surely have a place where he could keep his own things. George said that with other boys around it was hard to hold on to your own things, and that was the thing at camp. He lost his jackknife and other belongings because you "can't trust other boys." Worker had previously mentioned that in most schools they have a laboratory fairly well equipped. At this point George said that another thing he didn't like was to work in laboratories with other boys. He liked to have his own place and work things out by himself. Worker said we thought this was one thing that George probably did like, and we thought that this was one thing, too, that made him quite unhappy living as he is now. George nodded and said he knows his mother absolutely cannot stand him when he is working with the bugs. She wants him out of the place. Worker said there might be other things, too, that he does which he feels his mother cannot stand. He said that at night when he is trying to do subtraction she talks and he tells her that he cannot concentrate and then she gets mad too, but he would want it fixed if he went to Massachusetts that he would see his mother at least one month out of the year. Worker said we thought this could probably be arranged or at least he could see her for several short periods of time.

Worker suggested that this whole idea of going away might sometimes seem very pleasant to George, and sometimes make him feel like crying, as it had in the beginning of the interview. We thought he would probably be thinking about it a great deal and we would want to talk over things with him. As George was leaving the office he turned back half way and said, "Say, do you think you could get it arranged as fast as possible?"

George today walked very stiffly to the interviewing room and we noticed that his shoulders were slightly hunched. He sighed heavily and said he had had bad news. The Barnes have told him that the people in Massachusetts are closing up their camp and are going to Germany, and the Barnes are going with them for a month. Worker said that George was terribly disappointed about this, wasn't he? He said he wanted so badly to go up there. It was such a nice place. Worker said that now George and we would have to try to think of some other place. George said he didn't want to go any other place—he didn't want to go away from home at all. We asked if he had talked about it with anyone since he had seen us and he shook his head. We said it was hard to talk about. He probably had found it even hard to

think of coming to talk about it with us. Maybe that was why he hesitated so coming in the last two Fridays. George said he didn't like very much to talk about it—he didn't like to think about it. Worker said on the other hand he thought about it a lot, didn't he? He shook his head and said, "All the time—I don't think of anything else any more."

Worker asked if he could tell us a little bit of what his thoughts had been. "I can tell you one thing, I don't want to go to any school." He then said he didn't see why he had to go away at all. Worker said George wasn't very happy, though, at home. "I'll be still more unhappy in a school."Worker said perhaps he would be, at first anyhow. He thought he would always be. He recalled that he had grown more and more unhappy in the convalescent home, "That's why I don't want to go now." He doesn't want to leave his mother. Worker asked if he had talked about it with her at all. "Not since I have talked with you, but I am *sure* she doesn't want to have me go away." Worker said that George might say that, but maybe he had been afraid for a long time now that she would really want to have him go away. He said that she only asked him what made him ask about a school. Worker said then George had started to talk with her about it. He shook his head and worker said perhaps he was afraid to go on then, because he thought she might tell him what she already had, in a way, told us. George said he never wanted to go away. He didn't see why he should.

Up until that time George had been drawing a picture of a surveyor. He used the black crayon with a great deal of pressure as he made this last remark. We said that George was quite angry with us because he thought that we were pushing this idea of his going away. Actually we were. We then spoke again as we had the last time of the concern which we had felt about him because of the way things had been going at home, in school, etc. We ended by saying that it must seem terribly hard to George for us to tell him these things, because after all he had had a lot of good times with worker and now worker was the one who was making him more sad than he had ever been before—that must be a hard thing to understand. Tears sprang to George's eyes and this was the only time during the interview that he cried at all although at other moments he was near to it. He said, "You don't make me as sad as I make myself. I make myself sad because I want to go to Massachusetts and can't. You make me sad because you want me to go away from home and I don't want to." Worker said that both of these were very good reasons for George's being unhappy, and that it was going to be hard for him to talk about the last one. It seemed likely that he

would have to leave home when he did not want to. Again tears came to his eyes and George said that he did not see, though, how he could ever go away to a school. He had not even been happy at camp this year. When worker came to see him at camp he had wanted to tell us. Then when we were alone he was afraid to because he thought we might think him a sissy. Afterwards when he wasn't afraid to there were so many other boys around he couldn't say it.

While talking about this George had begun to write the word "No" all over the paper on which he had made the drawing. Worker said that we probably hadn't seemed very understanding of George at camp then, and maybe he felt that this was like it—we were not very understanding about him now, and that was just why we thought it was best if he and worker talked all about this thing. It wasn't something that had to be decided upon today or tomorrow. In the meantime, however, George would have a lot of thoughts about it. They might be thoughts that were awfully hard to talk about. George thought for a moment and then said, "but I guess it is better talking than worrying." Worker said that that was just it. It was much better to talk about these things than to think about them alone. We said it would be best, too, not to wait too long in between times. Maybe George could come in to see us on Wednesday. He looked up rather pleased and said he could remember that. Worker said there would be a temptation to forget; when it came to the time of his coming in he might forget about it. He said he thought he would not.

When George was ready to go he reminded worker that we had locked his hat in the waiting room. Worker said we had almost forgotten it because we had been occupied by our thoughts, just the way George forgets sometimes because he is occupied by his. We then secured the hat and in locking the door forgot to turn out the light. George took some delight in pointing this out to us and asked if we were again thinking about something. We said that we were—we were thinking about him. He immediately became very serious and said that he was thinking a lot too. Worker said he would probably have to think an awful lot but we hoped that if he became very upset by what he was thinking he would feel free to just stop in and see us, but anyhow we would be looking for him on Wednesday....

On this day George suggested playing with the modeling clay. He did not make any particular thing out of it, but throughout the interview pulled it apart and pushed it together vigorously. He had made out very well in his school examinations he said, and thought that things had improved a great deal in school. Worker said perhaps George was trying to convince us that this wasn't any trouble to him

anymore. He said, "Say, that matter about my going away to school still isn't settled, is it?" George's face again became very downcast as soon as he realized that the discussion of the matter was to be continued. He said he did not wish to go away to school—he did not see any reason for it. He brought up again the fact that he was getting along better in school this week. We tried to explain to him that it wasn't just because there were times he wasn't getting along in school that made us believe that George was unhappy, but there were so many other things. George said he knew he wasn't happy now, but he thought he would be more unhappy if he went away from his mother. He cannot believe that she would have him go away. We asked whether he had talked any more with her about it, and he said he had. He said the Barnes, too, had told him that if he did not want to go away he did not have to. Worker said this made him feel all the more that it was we who were making this plan more than anyone else. We said we did believe it was best for George and for his mother. We thought that his mother, too, felt this way.

We spoke at length of Mrs. Rocco's illness and her inability to take care of him. George burst into tears and cried more heavily than we had ever seen him. He said that if his mother ever had him go away he would never want to see her again. If we also wanted him to go and he had to go, he would never want to see us again. Worker said we could see that it would make him feel that way right now. He might think that the people to whom he felt the closest were really trying to put him away from them. That would be reason enough for him to think that he didn't want to see them anymore. George sobbed for a few minutes and then looked up and said, "What can I say to make you get that idea out of your head?" Worker said perhaps there was nothing that could be said right now that would make us feel very differently because the things which had made us think that it would be best for George to live in a different place had gone on for quite a long time.

George recalled to us again how unhappy he would be, in view of the way he had felt when he went to the convalescent home. Worker asked George if he could try to think back what it was that made him feel so unhappy then—was it that he feared he would not come home again? Again his eyes filled with tears and he said that all his life he had feared this. All his life it had been "like hanging on a long rope which hung over a dark pit." When he was in the convalescent home it was just as though he would be forced to "drop from the rope into the pit," but when he came home he felt better. Now it is as though he is hanging on to just the "threads" that are "at the end of the rope."

Worker said naturally George didn't know what he would find below, as he put it. We said, following his figure of speech, that it had been pretty hard for him to put all his thoughts and efforts to "just hanging on." George shook his head and said he didn't know how else to tell worker—even though he was unhappy here he would be ten times more unhappy away from his mother. Accompanying just such a comment George would punch the clay most vigorously, and one time toward the end of the interview when he had done it on two or three occasions worker said George was quite angry. He did feel like fighting. He said he did feel like fighting, and in quite a light and spontaneous way suggested he and worker have a war. He started looking for the fort which we had at one time in our office. When this could not be found he said he didn't feel very much like fighting anyhow. Worker said he probably did at one moment, but then at the next felt it was useless. He had been fighting so for a long time now and maybe he did feel as though he didn't get anywhere. George nodded. He sighed and said again that if only he could have gone to stay with the people in Massachusetts. He went over as previously all the advantages, stressing particularly their connection with his mother. It was while discussing this that he expressed the wish that his mother could somewhere get a lot of money. He thought that all of their troubles would then be ended. He snapped his fingers and said, "but that's another wish thing." Worker said it was a "wish thing," but we did wonder if it would be any better if his mother had more money—that wouldn't make it any easier for her to get out of bed early in the morning and help him get things ready, because his mother was sick, so that money might not help very much. George's eyes again filled with tears and he said, "you can't buy happiness." He didn't know what to think any more. We said he was terribly troubled, and suggested that maybe it would be best while he was so upset if he came to see us more often. An appointment was made for the following day.

George today immediately asked for a piece of paper and a pencil. He then said he had learned a new code which he explained to worker. He wrote worker a note which we translated to mean "go West." Worker wrote an answer back "do you mean it?" George was quite pleased that we were able to learn this so quickly and then said he would like to go West. He began to describe how he would like to live alone in the woods, prepare his own meals, etc. Worker said George had been thinking about going away. He said he still was not convinced that it would be best for him to go away....

During this time George had begun to do some shadow printing and he turned the conversation to this. We talked with him about it for a

time and then said writing notes and doing printing like this was much easier than talking about George's going away. His eyes filled with tears, and he said he hated to talk about it but he supposed he had to. Worker said we only wanted him to talk about it because he thought about it a great deal. He said he thought about it all the time....

He spoke at some length of his grandmother, cousins, and friends. In the time that we have known George we have never heard him talk of himself as a part of a group of children. We had the feeling from little inflections of George's voice that he was telling us this to prove he had many friends, and that he probably was not as close to the group as he would want us to believe. George said he thought if he ever went away to school he would miss his friends very much. He then snapped his fingers and said, "There, I have to go thinking about that again." We said it was only natural—as much as George tried to get his mind on to different things he would come back to this because right now it was one of the most important things he had to think about. George said he thought if he ever went away he would just "set his life down on another track." He would like no one any more. He wouldn't like his mother, he wouldn't like worker, and he wouldn't even like his friends. He would feel so badly that he would hate the whole world. He said this with a great deal of feeling, and was pretty choked most of the time. He then said worker knew that any person who had all the love squeezed out of them would never be a happy person. Worker said perhaps it would seem that way to George—that we did not care for him—and that is why we were suggesting his going away. Still, we had told him before it was because we were concerned about him that we felt it was the best thing to do. George asked if worker thought it would be a good idea to get in touch with his grandmother. He would give us the address, and wrote it down. Worker said we could take it but we thought there was little chance of his going there. As he said, his aunt did not like the idea, and as we understood it she was the one who had the final say. George said he was going to have a very serious talk with his mother. He was going to see what she thought about the whole idea. We said he might do this, but we thought he had better not count on it because otherwise he would be unhappy as he had been when the Massachusetts plan did not go through. He still thought it would be worth while talking with his mother, and as he left the office he said he felt much happier today than he had yesterday. Worker again said we didn't think the grandmother was really a possibility.

George in office. He said he had talked everything over with his mother and it wouldn't be possible for him to go to his grandmother.

His mother had said it might not be necessary for him to go away to a school, but she had told him that she is the only one who can decide and that it is up to her. Worker said it was up to her. George said this was something else to worry about then. He didn't know what she would decide. Worker said from the way she talked with us she had pretty much decided it was best for George to go. This was gone over with him again....

Discussed one of the places which the mother had agreed to and worker arranged to take George to see it for himself....

When worker and George left the school office George said, "that Dr. Oakes—he's a nice man, but I still would not like to go to St. John's." He said in reference to the placement, "now everything depends upon my mother, doesn't it?" Worker said it was probably best that he have a long talk with her again.

Worker met George just coming into office. We were somewhat surprised to see him and asked if he was not going to school. He said he could not go because he needed new shoes. His soles were all worn. His mother told him not to go to school because if he waited until after school worker would perhaps not be able to see him, and he had to have the shoes by tomorrow. We asked him to go into the waiting room. When we returned we had George walk down the hall with us. He sighed and said, "Well, I lay down my sword." When he came into the interviewing room he said, "I guess I go to school after all. You win." Worker asked what had happened. He had had a long talk with his mother. She told him she was the only one who could decide. They were going to take money away from her rent and also the state was going to get after her if she did not have George put somewhere. She said that she could not take care of him any more, so it would be best for him to go for a year anyhow. Worker said it really was best for him to go. George said that at first he thought if he could go to school in Germany with the Barnes it would be better, but he talked about this with them and they said it was not possible. He then rather questioningly said, "My mother tells me she can see me every Sunday." Worker said after the first month or so she could see him and he would even be able to come down to see her. George said, "Well, now that it is all decided we don't have to talk about it any more." Worker said we thought there would be questions about what the place was like, or other things about it that he might wonder about. We would be glad to help him get ready for going in every way possible. George then looked at his shoes and said, "Maybe we could begin by getting me a new pair of shoes." Worker laughed and said George had given this as the reason for his coming in,

but maybe it was the other thing which he had on his mind much more. He said he had not asked his mother anything by Friday, so he did not bother coming in then as he wanted to "think things through." He and his mother had talked a long time on Friday night, so he has been thinking about it a lot—all day Saturday and Sunday. Worker said we were very glad he did come in to talk about it, and we would get the shoes.

After all arrangements were made, the worker took George to the institution and remained with him through the admission procedure. As had been feared, the mother could not be persuaded to visit and the worker started weekly visits which were tapered off as George showed some ability to accept his mother's indifference. He made, in fact, an excellent adjustment in the institution, both in academic study and group activity. The children's worker in the institution, using the material in the long preparatory contacts with the mother and with George, was able to handle his resistances to the institution with a minimum of difficulty. George had first insisted on one year, but when the year was up the boy himself proposed continued care away from home.

Without commenting on the material in detail, one or two things might be noted. In the first phases with the child, the purpose of the interviews was largely to establish contact and to clarify an obscure and shifting picture. If there had not been progressive deterioration in the mother, the case might have taken another direction. With so protective a child, direct questions, in the area of his anxiety, are not usually wise—tempo, external pressures, how much emotional support is given, all being involved in the method chosen. Their justification here lay in part because crises were intermittently precipitated by the mother's behavior, while at other times it was not clear that the mother would want to go through with placement. In some cases the approach to placement is focused clearly from the outset, but the tangled ambivalence shown in the Rocco case is not uncommon. One can see clearly how important it was to make an evaluation of the parental experience, which in this case would contraindicate the use of foster parents until George

had worked through more of his feeling about his mother's rejection. At one point when plans had been made to send George to camp, he had wanted to go, but later became fearful. He reassured himself with the remark, "Oh she (his mother) just wants to get rid of me for a short time, but she wants me back." As he talked about his worrying about how his mother could have managed without him, one could see his fear that she might have found it easier to have him away.

Once she had been overmeticulous in her care of him lest she be thought an inadequate mother; later both her sex behavior and her rejection became overt, followed in turn by withdrawal from reality and increased neglect of the child. The janitor and his wife were giving George all his meals, and when they were ill Mrs. Rocco asked the agency to see that George got his meals. She also turned over the buying of clothes entirely to the office and would take no responsibility for it even though the money was furnished. The one time she felt that she had been "free to live" was when George was away at camp. Meanwhile, the failure in school, for which examination revealed no cause, retreat into daydreaming and phantasy, became aggravated symptoms of George's response to the whole situation. By the autumn Mrs. Rocco was expressing her irritation with the boy quite openly and was giving him no care. In fact, she had obviously become much sicker. It was then necessary to renew the discussion of the situation on a more authoritative basis with the reluctant child. There comes a point in cases like this when external circumstances must inevitably change the tempo. By the middle of December Mrs. Rocco was asking that placement be made as soon as possible. Although she was never able to take the responsibility for placement upon herself, with the worker's help she finally accepted the necessity of telling the boy her decision.

This case illustrates the continuity of the case work process and how difficult it is to assign it arbitrarily among children's, family, and child guidance agencies. Home finding is a special technique, but one must be careful not to divorce it from the

understanding of the child's own parental experience. Many workers are not skillful with children and should not specialize in their treatment; yet it is also true that workers should have excellent training in adult family and parent-child relationships before attempting work with children. Part of the satisfactory results obtained here were due to the close cooperation between the worker in the institution and the worker in the family agency, each utilizing the other's knowledge.

Integration and Differentiation

Case workers have learned that the preparation of a child for placement is often a difficult, delicate, and slow operation. In some cases the movement of the case toward separation can be seen in the first interview, but even in such instances a period of treatment with parent and child, to prepare them for the experience, is usually indicated. This period of treatment has not the purpose, as in earlier social case work, of dissuading the parents from taking the step, but, if they are resolved upon it, to help them and the child to understand the implications of it. Some case workers contend that one cannot really prepare anyone for placement—that the separation must be experienced. In one way this is true, but it is also true that placement may carry a less impossible burden when children have faced, with the help of the case worker, some of their feelings toward their own home, before being removed. Separation occurs *after* placement also. It is an incident in many fields, but recurs with peculiar insistence for the worker with children.

In the normal growing-up process, parents learn to relinquish their hold on children, and children learn to differentiate themselves from their parents. In more pathological family experience the parents may overprotect, cling to, overshadow, or overidentify with the child; or conversely, fail to relate themselves with the child, as shown through various forms of rejection. In either case the growing-up and healthy differentiating process is inhibited. In amenable instances the case worker who is able to diagnose the parent-child relationship can often help

either in the growing away or in the integrating process *within* the family unit. If, however, the movement of the case is definitely outward in the direction of family separation, either because of structural defects in the family or because of emotional deviation rather than differentiation, placing techniques will be indicated. The case worker knows, however, that physical removal of a child from a home does not remove the impress of the emotional experiences felt in the home, although in mild situations new opportunities and stimuli may prove entirely favorable to development.

Chapter XIII

FUNCTIONAL INTERRELATIONSHIPS

THE EMPHASIS on cooperation, long a cardinal point in social case work, derives from the fact that the typical social case is complex, has many facets, has, indeed, more than one person in it. In rural work the visiting nurse, the children's court judge, the public assistance or children's case worker, may all be concerned at once. In a large city not only the settlement worker, but several case workers may be involved at once with one, or more likely, several members of the same family.

Cooperative Cases

Professional courtesy does not make it obligatory, as in medicine, that one family practitioner be in charge, but professional courtesy does insist on the selective use of the social service exchange and on other forms of clearance and conference. When agency A comes to the end of a course of treatment within its function and transfers the case, itself withdrawing, to agency B, this is not called a cooperative case. In fact, if agency A makes out the "prescription" for agency B, this tandem relationship never works well. To transfer a case properly means doing it with the consent of the client and with a sharing between workers of diagnostic thinking as well as of the planning of treatment. In most instances it is better to explain community facilities to the client and to allow him to make his own application to agency B. A cooperative case then means one in which planned treatment is carried on simultaneously by two or more agencies or two or more workers.

A cooperative case is possible only when there is more than one focus for treatment. These foci are easiest to understand when there are two quite distinct areas, such, for instance, as an occupational adjustment for an asthmatic boy, and an old-age allowance for his grandfather. Here the medical social and pub-

lic assistance case workers can easily cooperate, and functional lines are obvious. It is, however, less easy to assign clean-cut functional roles in any case of marital or parent-child conflict. In law the disputants will engage separate lawyers; in social case work the manner of treatment will depend on the circumstances. As we have explained elsewhere, the question of more than one worker, whether in the same or in another agency, can be answered only by an examination of the familial relationships. It is possible, however, for two agencies of similar function to work together whenever there is a detachable "patient" focus, just as it was possible for two agencies to be carrying on together in the Rocco case,[1] in which both relief and child placing functions were involved coincidentally. A cooperative relationship is rarely maintained successfully except between workers with equally sound professional equipment and with a clear sense of the dignity and worth of their own as well as of the other agency's function.

The following case will illustrate cooperation between a public and a private family agency.

The Tomasulo Case[2]

The family consists of Mr. and Mrs. Tomasulo, Neapolitans, and six children in the home, whose ages range from eighteen years to four years. There are two married children; one of them, Joseph, is in the home frequently. Rose lives in New Jersey. All the children were born in Pennsylvania.

DPW[3] wished to refer because of problems with the children, Tony and Catherine in particular. Mrs. Tomasulo is not well, she and Mr. Tomasulo are "very foreign," and they have no control over the chil-

[1] See last chapter. In the Rocco case there actually were three workers at one time, but it was an accident where the case originated and that contacts with the mother were made by both public and private agency for a while. In the Rocco case a medical social worker might well have been involved for the boy, and if so, careful conference between the workers seeing George would have been essential and agreement would have to be reached as to who should carry the main responsibility for direct treatment, i. e. preparation for placement.

[2] This history is condensed from the Public Assistance agency record. Descriptions of Tony's siblings have been omitted here for brevity.

[3] DPW, Department of Public Welfare; WPA, Works Progress Administration.

dren. Tony was removed from WPA because he refused to contribute his earnings. He was hurt on the job. He will have to be reassigned to WPA in three months. Mr. Tomasulo is ineligible for WPA because he is not a citizen. Catherine ran away from home for four months.

Prior to 10-5-31, Mr. Tomasulo peddled fruits and vegetables with a horse and wagon. His business was too small for him to deal through wholesalers. He sold out for $45 and borrowed from friends. He talked of going into business again but lacked credit and cash. Also, his small earnings "would only get him into trouble with DPW" and not support the family. DPW was paying rent and utilities' bills only in emergencies and there seemed to be confusion as to whether he should try to work. In August, 1932, he sold ice cream but was unsuccessful. In December, 1938, he was arrested for peddling (groceries worth $1.85) without a license, ten minutes after he went on the streets. This is the only record of private employment. In December, 1937, he painted his own apartment, hoping his landlord would give him other work, but the landlord didn't think he did a good job. Mr. Tomasulo was on work relief from 11-1-35 to 8-5-37 at $60.50 a month on parks projects; removed for noncitizenship. DPW supplemented throughout; contact continuous since 1932.

Mrs. Tomasulo was said in 1932 to be a poor housekeeper, but all later reports indicated she kept the house and children's clothes very clean and that she was a good cook and manager. She was described as evasive. There were anonymous letters in 1936 and in April, 1938, stating that Mrs. Tomasulo was working at home, which she denied. She was always getting new furniture and there was controversy about whether this belonged to her or to Joseph, or to relatives. On 10-14-37 Mrs. Tomasulo was taken to the hospital because of a self-induced abortion. The DPW doctor was too late in calling and Mr. Tomasulo almost threw him downstairs. Mrs. Tomasulo afterwards told with relish that the hospital doctor feared she would not live. They did not want the child for economic reasons and because Mrs. Tomasulo felt too ill to care for another.

Note here the not unusual movement of a maintenance case in a marginal economic situation. Perhaps the family had been driven to conceal their meager resources because of inadequate relief, perhaps they were, for reasons of self-interest, mildly exploiting the depression situation. The public assistance worker would have his hands full trying to establish a frank relationship with the whole family, making the necessary reinvestigations, giving suggestions for budgetary and home management

problems, changing and correcting allowances, arranging for medical care, and so on, without having much time left for Tony as a person. To continue the summary from the DPW record.

Tony, age eighteen in 1936, was described as shabby, well developed, blond, with a "fresh" manner. Also sensitive and practical. He has nothing to do but hang around the streets. He had taken printing in school, but didn't like it, was interested in refrigeration. He rejected CCC[4] because of an operation five years ago, but accepted a NYA job, 7-17-36, as junior attendant porter, $20 monthly. He carried water and helped the foreman with reports. By December, 1936, he was dissatisfied with "pick and shovel work," felt he could not get an education because he had to help his parents with his money, and asked for a regular WPA job. He was assigned 1-28-38 in place of his father. On 2-16-38 he resigned because the work was too hard and he suffered from cold and exposure. He had to stand knee-deep in mud and water. He claimed disability because of previous operation for stomach ulcer; but in March the WPA doctor certified him as able to work. Mr. Tomasulo believed Tony able to work. Mrs. Tomasulo said he was well but very lazy. On 3-29-38 Tony was reassigned. In July, 1938, Mr. Tomasulo asked to have Tony transferred back to NYA, as he was staying home in bed when he should be working and he demanded $1 a day from his mother. It was not possible to transfer Tony or to send him to CCC because of the difference in earnings. Tony threatened to leave home. Mrs. Tomasulo cried and there were family scenes. On 8-1-38 Tony disappeared with all his earnings, and when the parents applied to the Bureau of Missing Persons the police doubted he was missing. Mr. Tomasulo continued to insist that the boy was missing and became noisy and upset. On 8-17 he reported Tony was home. On 9-7-38 Workers' Alliance and Mr. Tomasulo said Tony was unemployed, and temporary relief was given as he was found to have gastroenteritis. Thereafter he became "more resentful of his siblings and hated his parents." He threatened to beat his mother if she failed to turn over money in her pocketbook to him. The family went without food and he sat and ate what he brought in while the younger ones cried to be fed. He was dismissed from WPA on 11-18. The family's nerves were on edge, their quarrels violent; Tony refused to take responsibility. He has a disability claim for injury received on the job.

DPW wished to refer case because of problems with Tony and Catherine. Tony now comes home late, complains constantly *re* his

[4] CCC, Civilian Conservation Corps; NYA, National Youth Administration.

health, laughs at his mother, and threatens to beat her. He is resentful and unhappy and DPW worker thinks he wants to tell someone about his feelings. He has "some good in him" in that he is aggressive. His resentment is at such a pitch now that unless he can let off steam to someone he will "end up in crime." Worker thinks Tony is limited in intelligence and in direction of interests. He has had a bad deal in having to take his father's responsibilities for supporting the family. He is due for reassignment to WPA in three months and, unless he gets some help, the worker fears he will commit a crime. He has threatened to go out and steal and not care what happens.

Here we see a controversial issue as to whether the public agency should or should not put pressure on this young man to support the family. It is an interesting question of values, but the fact is that pressure *has* been put upon him and he has reacted unfavorably. From the point of view of agency A, it has been a difficult family with a long history of petty deceptions. A very petty "pressure" technique on his side has also been developed by Mr. Tomasulo, as a way of dealing with the DPW. Tony, then, has been pushed into a family situation which is arousing in him not only antifamily but antisocial attitudes which may make him "delinquent." Certainly any successful reaching of him would be through a worker who was not connected with the whole eligibility, work-refusal complex. While another worker in the public agency might conceivably treat Tony, the constant pull back through associations with the dominant relief policies and practices would make it harder, if indeed the necessary latitude in the support matter could have been permitted by the DPW. At any rate after full conference the DPW referred Tony to the family society.

Tony[5] in office in response to an appointment. He was shabbily dressed. He has an alert expression and a direct manner, and showed a great deal of feeling at various points throughout the interview. He laughed heartily when amused. When angry he became tense, his eyes flashed, and he spoke in a threatening tone. Through the first part of the interview, he appeared definitely unfriendly. His manner was more relaxed and he thanked me in a warm boyish manner when

[5]The material from this point on comes from the Family Service Agency's record.

he left, saying that he could come in at any time at our convenience as he had "time to burn."

Tony made no move to initiate the interview. I said that I understood from the public agency worker that things had not been going so well with him lately, and she had thought that he might like to talk things over to see what could be worked out for himself. Tony eyed me appraisingly and after a moment said that what he needed was a job and a little money and he thought that would do the trick. I said that I could understand that he might feel that way. As we both knew, a job might not be immediately forthcoming. I said that I had gathered that things had not been so rosy for Tony over the past year. Tony made no response. I asked why he thought he was coming in today. (a) Tony shrugged as he said Miss Pratt, the public agency worker, had told him we might help him to get a job. I said perhaps he had not put much stock in this. Tony looked surprised. I said it was natural that he might have questions inasmuch as things have been so difficult to work out with DPW over the past year. We had understood there had been a whole lot of talk about employment on WPA, NYA, and so on, so that Tony might wonder what next was being proposed for him. Tony laughed quite heartily as he said Miss Pratt was all right; she probably was a good investigator for some people, but she was no good for him. He gave as evidence of this that he had not received clothing, although the others had. He had not gone so far as to request a suit, but he had mentioned his need of a jacket or trousers. He drew our attention to his poor appearance, and said that this makes him feel disgusted. I said that I could understand that he would feel so. I agreed with him that he should have more adequate clothing; that this does make one feel better. At this point Tony sat twisting his hands. He asked me suddenly not to pay any attention to this. I asked Tony what he had in mind. Tony said he was very frank, he was used to speaking his mind to people. He stressed the fact that he was different from his parents, especially his father, in this respect. He did not want us to think that he was queer and nervous. I asked whether he thought that I might think he was queer. He said he didn't know. I said that he might be feeling nervous; perhaps he had things to be nervous about, and I mentioned in connection with this that there had been difficulties over the past year. Tony said that he guessed that was true. He asked what kind of place this was. I asked what Miss Pratt had told him about the agency. He said she had said it was a private agency; that we help people; that we had time to talk with people and to understand them. I said that that was true. I asked whether Tony had any further questions. He should know we had no connection

with DPW or any agency such as courts or clinic; that our only interest would be in helping him to work out more satisfactory plans for himself if this were possible. I did not know whether it would be possible. I thought he perhaps owed it to himself to think about what he would like to do and to discuss it with me if he felt that he could. Of course Tony had no reason to feel that I would see things from his slant, as his experience over the past year had probably made him feel that other things were considered, such as his employment, his earnings, what he could give his family, what DPW expected of him, etc. Tony replied that he had been disgusted a long time, in fact he had been desperate and, if there wasn't some change for him soon, he could say right now that he would do something about it.

With slight leads, Tony reviewed the entire past year. He showed great feeling in relation to the difficulties on WPA and with DPW. His discussion was very open and as he talked it was evident that he felt fairly free in speaking of the difficulties. Tony first requested employment on WPA in January, 1938. He was placed on a labor job on Staten Island. He had to ride back and forth on a ferry and this made him ill. He became dizzy, nauseated, and was unable to eat his supper at night. He requested a transfer and when this was not forthcoming he told his supervisor to give him a pink slip. He told DPW exactly why he quit. He has always "dealt with them in this way, frankly." Following this he was again placed on a labor job and later on an NYA project. His last placement was on 8-1-38 on a road job. Tony said the work was really too hard for him. He felt an abdominal strain, but he did not spare himself. He pointed out that he had wanted very much to keep up with the other men on the job. He considered himself as strong and as capable. As a result he suffered from a strain. He has a disability which was diagnosed as hernia. He has a disability claim but as yet has received no compensation. He told Miss Pratt definitely after this that he would not consider WPA or NYA; that he was through with any jobs working for the government. His eyes flashed angrily as he said that he wanted nothing further to do with the government; give him any kind of a job; he would go out on it as long as it was not too heavy for him; he didn't care what it would be, but he would never again go on WPA. I said he had a lot of feeling about this, and wondered why this was. He said it had caused a lot of trouble for him and for his family. Although his family recognized that he could not work in November when he was discharged, it was hard for them, as Home Relief would not give relief, and for ten days they were almost without food. He mentioned their big family and how difficult it was for them to manage. I said things must have been

hard then and wondered whether his father and mother blamed him in any way. He said that they didn't exactly blame him, although they did sort of "rub it in" without definitely saying anything. Then he had to turn over almost all his earnings to his family. I said that he had found this hard in some ways. He said if he were working he would agree to give them something, but there was a limit. He asked what we thought we could do on $4 a week.[6] Did we think we could clothe ourself, pay carfare, buy lunches, and go out with our friends? I said I thought he couldn't; that there were many things about this arrangement that were hard. He had not wanted luxuries, such as going to dances and taking out girls. I asked whether he considered these luxuries. He said he guessed people must think so. I said I could understand his wanting to do such things; that was natural. When people are on DPW for quite a while they get used to having these things thought of as luxuries, because what comes first is food and rent. Tony discussed the possibility of a job for himself so that he could get some clothing, and repeated a number of times that he would give his family something. He said this as though to assure me of it, if I could help him to get a job. I said I would like to see Tony work things out the way he would feel most comfortable; that (b) I had no feeling about what he ought to do in regard to helping his parents. Tony then brought out the fact that if he couldn't secure work he would leave home. He has thought of this and planned it for a long time.

The reason he would leave home is that he sees no future for his family. His father is old and sick; there is a big family; if he were away, they would probably get along as well on DPW. When he was on WPA and working, it only made things harder for them and there was no future for himself either. If he were able, he would do something for them, but not on any worked out arrangement with DPW. He wants to be completely finished, "washed up" with DPW once and for all. He added vehemently that if his family have to be on DPW they have to be, but as for him he doesn't want any of it. He mentioned in this connection that his father can beg DPW to do something for them, to give him clothing, but he will not. He is no "dog or scum" to get down on his knees. Let others do it if they want to. He added that one doesn't get anything from DPW without doing so. I said that he has felt for some time that people have been telling him what to do, particularly in regard to WPA employment, (c) Tony said he couldn't stand being bossed by the government or any govern-

[6] This was the local budgetary allowance made by the Department of Public Welfare for the young wage earner.

ment work such as WPA. I said he was feeling a little bit as though he couldn't call his soul his own in regard to all this. He replied rebelliously that that was exactly how he did feel.

I asked what Tony thought he might like to plan for himself if this were possible. He should know that jobs are scarce and we have no job for him here, but I would be interested in talking over with him what he would like to do and seeing whether it might not be helpful to him in thinking how to begin. Tony discussed in a practical way what he would like to do and what he is equipped to do. He has had only a grammar school education. He had wanted to go on but this was not possible. He does not have a trade. He expressed a distaste for labor, first because he feels it is too hard for him to do, and secondly because it wouldn't get him anywhere. What he would really like is to be a tin-cutter. The wages are good for union workers. He would like to earn enough to join the union and to learn this trade. He told me the wages in this trade are $42 weekly. I asked what Tony felt he could do with this money. Tony replied with a sneer that he would give his family something. I said he was feeling that I, too, was going to tell him how to spend his money if he were earning. Tony relaxed as he said somewhat sheepishly that he didn't think that. I said it was not surprising for him to feel this way, since there had been so much difficulty about this over the past year. I thought Tony's plan sounded pretty practical and perhaps he would want to think further about it. He seemed interested and said he wished there were a way. He digressed to speak again of his father's previous earnings. His father had been a peddler and had earned a good living for them all when they were younger. They had no kick coming then. His father had been unable to continue because he couldn't get a peddler's license, these being reserved for veterans. Anyway his father could probably not make a living in this line now because of his age and poor health. I said that forty-eight is not old. Tony agreed, but said he guessed his father had had a lot of trouble with the big family. He would probably be using a cane at twenty seven if things didn't go better with him. I said that when things seem to be going entirely wrong, this does have an effect on how one feels. Tony guessed that was true. In discussion of employment interests Tony again brought up the matter of his appearance. He seemed surprised when I agreed with him that that was very important. (d) Tony said that a friend of his had a good suit in pawn, and he had been trying to get money from his family to buy this from his friend, but had not been able to. It was left that we would get in touch with DPW and discuss the matter of clothing. Tony accepted eagerly a return appointment.

Tony appeared pale and seemed to have lost weight. He had lost five pounds in the past two weeks. He has stayed indoors because of a cold and so he could not attribute his loss of weight to late hours. Tony was less belligerent throughout this interview. At many points he seemed puzzled by my interest and even uncomfortable. I was struck by his frankness and by the fact that he appeared able to pick up quickly on leads I threw out and to elaborate in considerable detail on his feelings about his situation. Tony initiated the interview by speaking of the fact that he had lost weight. I said that he had perhaps felt more worried the past two weeks. He said intensely that he had. He concluded that he cannot continue as he has been doing. I said he had been taking stock the past two weeks. He replied that he had been doing some heavy thinking and he guessed it hadn't agreed with him. He added vehemently that he wants a job as other fellows have. He threw up his hands in a hopeless gesture as he said it made him ashamed to have to come to district office the way he had today—with his pants full of holes. I said it was natural for him to feel concerned about his appearance and asked if he had inquired about the matter of a suit. He had talked with his friend, who had agreed to sell him a pawn ticket for $4.00 making a total of $14.00 he would have to pay for the suit. The suit has been worn only twice. His friend had paid $42.50 for it. Tony spoke a bit more of his needs in a hopeless manner. With a spurt of feeling he said in a disgusted tone, "What I need is a doctor." I asked his meaning and he said this was a slang phrase meaning that he needed everything. He doesn't want to take something for nothing. I said that he was telling us that the suit was really not his problem now. It was true he needed a suit and that he should have this and that we could help him with it. Aside from this he was troubled by his situation. Tony sat back in his chair and said that since he was a kid he had had a lot of bad breaks. I asked about this but he avoided elaboration at this point, saying he should be thankful he has a bed to sleep in. I said that he felt he had no right to complain. He guessed that that was it. He immediately launched into a discussion of health. When he was twelve he had had an appendectomy at St. Mary's. He had also been operated on for a "ruptured abscess". He spoke of himself as "having cuts all over my stomach." Now, an operation for hernia, at the Marine Hospital, had been suggested. He said with definiteness that he wouldn't let them touch him. He said that he knew his difficulty was only muscle strain. I asked what treatment the doctors had advised. They had not told him what was best but had just asked him whether he wanted to be cut up. He discussed this in some detail and again said he would not consider an

operation, giving as his reason the fact that he had enough scars on his stomach. He stressed the fact with considerable feeling that he is not afraid or leery of an operation. I said that he might be afraid, that an operation is a serious thing, and does involve pain, and it would be no reflection on him to be leery. Tony said that he feels OK generally except that he is not able to do hard work. Light treatment had been advised "to strengthen his muscles." He could go to St. Paul's clinic for it.

I asked Tony to tell us further about the "bad breaks" he had referred to. He mentioned the two operations and the suggested operation for hernia. He enumerated from this point on the other bad breaks in the order in which they had happened. First there was the placement on NYA and then all of the many placements on WPA. I said he was considering these experiences among his bad breaks. He said that he was. After all, he had gotten hurt on the WPA job. I asked how he felt his present difficulty might affect him. He said he is handicapped. He told the foreman that he could not do the lifting and he was told that then he should get off WPA. He had not wanted to get off. He had wanted to stay on and be transferred to another kind of work. I said that perhaps he had wanted to get off but that he had felt it was something he should not do, in view of his family's need. He agreed that this was true and said he had wanted to stay on because the investigator "thinks I'm the laziest guy on two feet." I said this had bothered him. He replied that it certainly had.

When he was working he had wanted to give his mother $13.00 a week. He was making $18.00. This left $5.00 for himself. He went into considerable detail about the exact expenditure the $5.00 left for him. He had paid $1.00 a week for carfare, $1.25 for lunches, $0.75 for cigarettes. This left $2.00 for clothing and recreation. He enumerated every article of clothing he had bought with this money. I said Tony was bothered and was trying to figure out whether he had been doing for his family what he should. He said that DPW was always telling him that he was in the wrong. He digressed to speak resentfully of the fact that yesterday his mother had gone to ask for clothing for his kid brother. His brother has been out of school for two days and it has been a shame to see him about the neighborhood so shabby. Most of the other people in the house who were on relief had received clothing from DPW but his family had not. I said Tony was feeling as though the difficulties that he had had with DPW were making it hard for his family now. Tony thought this to be true. He went on to speak resentfully of Miss Pratt. She thought that "WPA was so wonderful" that they could live on the pay he received. I said,

on the other hand, Tony had been feeling that it was a poor kind of job. He replied, "You bet your sweet life." Tony brought out the feeling that his being there still had a bad effect on his family. If he had a chance to go away he would. He said that all his family's difficulties with DPW were "on account of me." Tony said that he is the oldest and he supposes he is expected to work. What did we think that he should do? Should he sacrifice his whole life to satisfy the investigator? He is twenty now and said that he has to do something. He has to get a job.

Tony elaborated further on the fact that his difficulties with DPW have resulted in deprivation for his family. I said that he had been concerned this week with the problem of what he should do about this. He replied that he had been thinking whether he should leave home or not. It had occurred to him that he would go away. However, he has not been in a position to do so. I said that was true, adding that he perhaps owed it to himself to wait until he could see what would be the best action for him to take. In the meantime he might be thinking a great deal about whether he is an asset or liability where he is now. I asked what he thought his family had been feeling. Tony told us that they had had little to say to him. He shrugged his shoulders and I gathered that he was not concerned at the moment at what his family might think, one way or another, but that he was much taken up with his own feelings about his situation in relation to his family. He thought that he was lucky to have one meal a day. That is the way he has felt. Why should he be eating on his family? Here he is, a fellow of twenty who is eating and sleeping for nothing. He has been making no contribution. He has had no special training in school. He has not even gotten odd jobs on the side. He added vehemently, if we want to know the truth, "I am the biggest grubber going." In this connection he spoke of his bumming cigarettes. I said that Tony is getting to have a bad opinion of himself. Tony replied that there is no question about that. People around the neighborhood are saying that he is a crook. It is true that he has gone around with fellows who have done some crooked things. He himself has never stolen a thing in his life. He said rebelliously that he would live up to it all right. People have been calling him a bum. I said he has perhaps felt that this kind of talk and circumstances have been making a bum of him. He told me that that is exactly how he has been feeling. He has wanted to go to the trade school and make something of himself. I asked what he considers the first step in this process. Tony did not know and he sat with a sullen expression tapping the desk. I said perhaps the first step might be in Tony feeling a little better. I wondered whether he would like to plan

this week for the clothing that he had talked over with me. Tony displayed a great deal of feeling in accepting the $14 we offered for the suit. He brought up the fact that his friends might ask him where he had gotten the money to buy the suit. He asked what he should say under these circumstances. After some discussion he concluded that he would tell them that he had come by the suit honestly, they could be sure of that. He spoke of the fact that people in the neighborhood are nosey, especially since they know that his family have been on relief and that there has been a whole lot of trouble about him. I pointed out that it is not unusual for people to be interested and curious about others, that we all, not just Tony, have to deal with this kind of situation on occasion. Tony seemed surprised at this comment but accepted it and it was after this discussion that he decided to say that he had come by the suit honestly. I wondered whether he might have some questions as to how he would discuss this with his family, expressing understanding of their present need, of the fact that it is a big family, that it is hard managing on relief. Tony might have some feeling that perhaps the money might better be spent to meet some of his family's needs. Tony made no comment about this. I went on to say that if we were to help him it would not solve his family's problem of management. This is something for his family and DPW to work out together. He said he knew that was right. He spoke of how much better he would feel in having adequate clothing. After having so concluded, he seemed disturbed and with a gesture of great irritation said intensely that he didn't care whether he had the suit or not. He didn't care whether he had anything or not. I said it was hard for (e) Tony to have me willing to help him today, that he would perhaps feel better if I were less interested and were perhaps to "bawl him out." Maybe this was because Tony was feeling that he was not very deserving right now. Tony responded quickly that that was right. He went into some detail about his feeling that he hadn't done anything "right" for a long time.

He suddenly asked about our contact with Miss Pratt of DPW. Why had Miss Pratt referred him here? He told me not to think he didn't appreciate what I was doing for him in just talking with him as I had last week. He did appreciate it. I said I understood that he wanted me to know that. On the other hand, it seemed to him "too good to be true and that there must be a hitch somewhere." He replied, "That's it." But why had Miss Pratt sent him to us? I had offered him money for a suit and she had not even been willing to give him a pair of pants when he requested it and other people were receiving this? I spoke of the fact that Miss Pratt had suggested that

Tony come in here because she thought we could help him in a different way, and stressed the fact that we were not in any way connected with the government. I did this because Tony had repeatedly expressed feeling against the government. Tony still appeared puzzled. I said it was hard for him to feel that I could be interested in him for himself alone. Tony said that that was true. I asked him what he thought might be our purpose in wanting to help him. He said that was just it. He couldn't make it out. We weren't politicians; we weren't asking for his vote. He went on to say that he wasn't asked to sign anything. I said that he need not feel that we had any hold over him or as though he were obligated in any way. Tony said immediately that he would like the suit. He appeared more relaxed and from this point in the interview he seemed definitely friendly, and at a number of points almost shy. He said that he thought case worker was "smart." I brought up again the fact that the suit did not solve things for Tony (f). There was still the question that he had brought up about an interest in some training and preparation, perhaps in some work that he would like so that he would feel happier. I would like to see him feeling happier. Tony expressed what seemed a sincere interest in vocational training, and it was agreed that we would look into the possibilities and discuss this with him the following week. I said that it might take quite a little time for Tony to know what he would like to do. Things had been going badly now for a couple of years and perhaps at this point he should give himself at least three months to see where he would like to go from here. Tony accepted this with favorable comment. After we had given the money his face shone. He said, "I feel like a millionaire." He would wear the suit in next week, he said, and he hoped that we would like it. I said that Tony should feel he could come in whether or not he was able to work things out about the suit. Whatever difficulty there might be, I would be interested in seeing him. I said Tony might still have questions about my interest. I thought that he had felt this was because things had been going hard for a long time....

On 2-11-39 Tony appeared pale and tense. His manner was sober and I noticed no flashes of humor which had been evidenced in other interviews. Tony apologized for his appearance. He had not worn his suit because of the heavy rain. The suit was "swell." Tony said that I wouldn't know him the following week. Tony said without conviction he was thankful he is getting on his own two feet and would like a job as others have so that he could give money at home. His parents need money. He said it would be only right for him to help them. "After talking with you I have to." I said that Tony feels this is ex-

pected of him. He said that if he were working he would give some money at home. If he were earning $15 he would give $6 or $7. He would keep the rest to enable him to go to Trade School. I said Tony is perhaps undecided at this point just what he would like to do. I would be interested in helping him to work out an arrangement where he would feel more contented. Perhaps he did not know now just what arrangement should be worked out. I said I understood that Tony wanted me to think that he would like to do his part. Tony sat back in his chair and said he guessed that was it. After a long pause he told me that for the first time in his life he raised his hand against his father. He laughed contemptuously as he described his father's short stature and the fact that his father came only to Tony's chin. His father hadn't known how to fight. He told the background of the quarrel in some detail and pointed out that it really started from a trivial matter. Among poor Italian families butter is like gold. Nick, younger than Tony but taller, took most of the butter for himself. Partly in fun Tony threatened to strike Nick. Nick became angry and a quarrel ensued. Tony struck at Nick but missed him on purpose. His father and mother both became excited and his father threatened to hit him. Tony told his father that he had better not lay a hand on him. Tony was furious and almost struck his father. However, he finally walked away after the father had hit him with the broomstick. I said that Tony had been very angry. With a hopeless gesture Tony said that he couldn't stand things much longer. He pulled three loose cigarettes out of his pocket and said he hadn't even had enough money to buy a pack of cigarettes. (g) His mother hasn't given him even one nickel in the past month. They received a relief check three days ago. In spite of this Tony had only coffee and bread for his supper last night. Tony had come home late for supper and his mother had saved nothing for him. There was nothing in the icebox and never is. Tony told us that they received $47 twice a month from DPW. Their rent is $35, so that his mother has a difficult time managing. A week ago they received $10 for clothing from DPW. Miss Pratt told him this amount was to cover shoes for himself. However, his mother did not buy *him* shoes. She bought Nick a windbreaker, although he had one in fairly good condition. Tony has been walking around with his pants full of holes but his mother wouldn't buy him a cheap pair of everyday pants. He said he has not wanted to wear his suit for general wear. He had had to borrow an overcoat to come to the office today. Otherwise he would have felt too ashamed to come. He said bitterly that his mother seemed to want to see him go around with holes in his pants. She had not offered him money for a hair cut, so he wouldn't

ask. I asked how he accounted for this, and Tony brought up the fact that they were very poor and had little money. I said I could understand that they have a very hard time managing; on the other hand, he had told us that his mother had bought clothing for Nick which he felt was not needed. He said that that was true. I wondered whether he had thought that the mother was perhaps treating Nick better. Tony said that to tell the truth he does think so. Tony has had not one cent from his mother in the past two months. He is 5 feet, 10 inches, and weighs only 132 pounds. He told us that he is 35 pounds underweight. He indicated strongly his feeling that he gets less consideration from his mother than the other members of the family. He attributed this to the difficulty he had caused his parents prior to his discharge from WPA. The last six weeks he was on WPA he gave his mother $8 a week and kept the rest for himself. He felt that his mother is now paying him back for his having refused to give her more money. He is up fairly early in the morning and out of the house looking for work. He told us that when he returns his mother suggests that he go out again to find something to do. She has told him that now he has a suit, he has no excuse. He spoke again of how hard he had made things for his family. His mother reported him to the investigator, who threatened to take him to juvenile court. Miss Pratt told him that he had no manners, that he was fresh. Tony's eyes flashed as he told how angry he was that she had threatened him. He just waited for her to call at the house. If she had called he would have been waiting there for her and thrown her downstairs. He would really have done this. I said that he had felt very angry at Miss Pratt and angry at his mother, too, for having reported him. Tony again brought out the fact that she had needed the money. I said that I knew this was true. On the other hand, it seemed hard to him that she had reported him; he had the feeling that she shouldn't have done so, in spite of her needs. He said that that was right.

Tony brought up again the bad breaks that he has had since he was seventeen. When he was on NYA he turned over the entire $20 earnings to his mother. He got no benefit from this. He had not minded. I said that he had minded. He had done the same on WPA until just before he was discharged. I said he had the feeling that his money had been taken from him. He said that it had. He didn't question that his family needed it. If he hadn't had to give it to them he would have done it willingly. It was being forced that he didn't like. I said he hadn't been able to call his earnings his own. Tony lowered his voice as he said we would send him to jail if we knew what he had done this week. I said that he was telling us that he had done things which he

was thinking were pretty bad. (h) Tony then told us that he had stolen some scrap iron from a yard and had sold this to buy shoes for himself. He told his father he had earned this money, but he hadn't. I said that Tony had been worried about this. Tony made no comment but said something which I did not catch about having done other things too. I said that Tony felt fearful about discussing these things with me. Tony brought out the fact that he trusts no one. Money in the pocket is a person's only friend. Tony has found this out in the past three years. He said he does not care about anything, including himself. No one has done anything for him. I said that Tony did care, although he tried to tell himself that he didn't. Tony discussed his feeling in terms of getting things for himself which his family has withheld. I said that since his family withheld from him, he was taking from others. Tony had told me that his parents had taken his money when he was working and now were not helping him with the things he felt he should have. Tony again spoke in some detail of the things his mother had done for Nick, and expressed his feeling that he was getting back at them by stealing the iron. He said that he didn't think he would do it any more. I said that he had been feeling angry when he did this. Tony agreed and said that when he gets into quarrels at home he is like a crazy person. He told me he didn't want to talk any more about the things he had done. I said that he is afraid to think of these things. Tony again implied that there were other activities that he had not mentioned. I said that he did not feel that he could trust me and that this was natural. I did not want him to talk over with me anything he did not want to. However, if he were troubled by these things, he perhaps could consider his activities and his feeling about them. Tony spoke in a whisper of the fact that some time ago he had accompanied some other boys, who had broken into a store. Tony appeared worried and he told this with complete absence of bravado. He sat for a moment with his head in his hands. I said that I thought he was worried, that these things had been eating into him. Tony replied, "You said it." He could get into a lot of trouble. I said that that was possible, that Tony might consider that this was another bad break. Tony said that it would be coming to him if he continued. I said that Tony felt fearful and that he had reason to feel so. Tony said that if anything did happen to him he'd "tear up everything." I pointed out that he is now doing it anyway. Tony told how he felt like fighting everybody, everything. I said that Tony should think over why he is feeling unhappy. Tony interrupted us to state with finality. "I'll tell you. There is nothing for me with my family." He told me that he wouldn't stay with them if he had a job. He would

live by himself and go to trade school. I expressed interest in talking over plans with him and Tony appeared accepting of the fact that it would take a little time to know what steps he would want to take first.

I said that Tony was thinking that more was involved right now than a job. Tony said he knew that. He spoke again of the importance of presentable clothing and further training. Tony said he had been trying to size things up lately. He told me that he didn't know where he was at. I said he was mixed up about what he wanted to do, about how he could help himself, what arrangements he would make with his family. I said that things had been going on this way since he was seventeen, therefore it is going to take him some time to work things out.

After we had agreed to assist with clothing, Tony pleaded with me to get him a job at once. He asked whether we could do this for him. I said that he had some feeling about our helping and that he was telling me that he felt he must do something himself right away. Tony's expression was pained. He wrung his hands as he told us that a person "can't get something for nothing." I expressed understanding of the fact that our helping is disturbing to him. I said he was doing something for himself in thinking about what would be best for him to do and how he could go about it. I said that this was really the first step. Tony seemed somewhat reassured. He had told me that he felt he couldn't trust anyone, yet he had trusted me today. Tony said he had trusted me, he doesn't know why. He added intensely that he would probably regret it when he left. I said that he probably would feel regretful and uncertain whether his trust in me were justified. Tony said thoughtfully that he felt better to have gotten this off his chest. I said he had been trying to think things out by himself and it was unsettling to be considering his activities all over again after he felt he had made up his mind. Tony told me that I knew what I was talking about.

(i) He hesitated about leaving and seemed to want something more. He asked in a pleading tone what I would advise him to do about his father. He said intensely that he would do whatever I would say. He had mentioned earlier that he and his father do not speak to one another. He asked whether he should have nothing further to do with his father and should go home and go to bed. I said that Tony was feeling uncertain about himself and a little fearful about how things would be between himself and his parents at home. I thought Tony could manage things this week and said if anything came up he could feel free to get in touch with me. Tony inquired anxiously about his next appointment.

From the beginning, (a) *et seq.* we note that the worker knows why she is seeing Tony and he knows why he is coming. This position is an especially important one to establish in referred cases, since the applicant is not always clear as to what he has been referred for. It is true that an *earlier* referral, before the problem became so severe, was indicated.

(b). The question might be raised as to whether the case worker in agency B should not have backed the DPW in its position that Tony must support his parents. But a neutral comment would not have reassured this angry and suspicious boy, who would find it hard to believe that the worker would not have a preconceived idea of his filial duty. Now it is just this filial role which Tony is rejecting, not in the healthy way of the average adolescent, but with a heightened emotion full of anger, which suggests internalized unresolved conflicts. Note how Tony first protests that of course he would give his family something, but when the worker is non-judgmental he immediately is able to admit the less admirable feeling that he wants to run away from it all. The first question in a difficult contact is, like the immortal line from *Alice in Wonderland*, "Are you to get in at all?"—in, that is, over the barriers of hostility and resistance. There is a verse in the Bible which applies to dealing with hostile and delinquent clients: "If a man take away thy coat let him have thy cloak also, and whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain."[7] This boy would need warm acceptance rather than neutrality from the case worker. In (c) note the acceptance of the boy's feeling without criticism of the other agency. Tony's picture of Agency A is subjective.

Whether anyone could help this boy would depend in part on whether he could come to believe in the worker's good will (d). Later (e), we see more clearly why Tony is uncomfortable and cannot afford to give up his grudge—to have his defences taken away. For him to accept the case worker as a friendly person would deny his way of life—increase his guilt for his hatred of his parents, and for his anti-social acts. The case

[7] Matthew 5:40.

worker thought it worth while to take a chance that he could use friendship. (f) It might have been just as well not to have pushed the question of the vocational training at this point. This, after all, is associated with his "duty," and he still has bitterness and rage to work off. However, to see if he could use it was a sort of diagnostic test. There is a nice technical point as between carrying on direct treatment with so disturbed a boy or easing off into environmental treatment. Perhaps the case worker, in the light of the symptoms, was afraid of getting in too deep before consultation with a psychiatrist.

(g) The real complications in the case have now come to the surface. It is perfectly normal for adolescents to grow away from their families and to want to establish homes of their own—to lead their own lives. It is not uncommon for adolescents to mind helping their parents, although a great many do so without murmuring greatly, but Tony is showing something more than this. He feels rejected by his mother, and the whole reality pressures of the support problem carry a load of resentment and hostility, most of which he displaces on Miss Pratt because hitherto he has not been able to express his hostility toward his mother and father. Again we see that treatment is possible for this boy only if he is understood and treated as a separate person; only so is there any chance that he can work through his feelings and settle down in some more comfortable relationship to people. The success of any treatment may depend on whether he is so upset that he has to project all his difficulties on illness, a neurotic solution; or take it out in delinquency; or whether he can make some use of a case work relationship leading to practical plans for training, job adjustment, and other reality solutions. In the next phase of the discussion, Tony was able to bring up the delinquency (h) ideas as the worker kept a steadily reassuring attitude—not, "I know you want to be a good boy," but, "I can understand your having these bad feelings."

(i) Here Tony emphasizes again his conflict over being pushed into his father's role, and it must be obvious how dif-

ficult it would be for the agency which has to handle the maintenance relief to work coincidentally on Tony's problem from the other end. This is a good example of why it is not always easy for one agency to do the entire case work job, since, as we have shown earlier, the movement in some cases is clearly toward, and in others clearly away from family unity. Here a period of treatment in which to find himself is needed by this youth. It would be a mistake to assume that because Tony needs skilled, specialized treatment in terms of his own feelings and attitudes, the discontents of all working adolescents in relief families call for separate workers and agencies. In many instances in public assistance, just as in the child-placing situation, one worker can best handle all the family interactions as well as the immediate problem. It should be evident, however, that in any agency only a skilled case worker should attempt the treatment of so upset a boy as Tony.[8]

The Confidential Relationship

One of the questions contingent upon cooperation in case work is the matter of the confidential relationship. It is part of the attributes of a profession that the nature of the confidential relationship assumes *deep* significance. In ordinary lay intercourse, intimate things are told at the person's own risk. Under authoritative external pressures or prosecution, a person is not assumed to have to incriminate himself; but in law, medicine, and equally religion, it is absolutely imperative to successful treatment that the person put himself unreservedly into the hands of his counselor or practitioner or priest. In a general way this is true of social work and in so far as professional com-

[8] To the objection that only a psychiatrist should treat Tony, one can say that such problems are exceedingly common in all case work agencies and there is increasing competence among case workers in this area. In the Tomasulo case, consultation with a psychiatrist, shortly after the interviews quoted, confirmed the judgment that Tony was not too sick to try case work services, and the treatment has been continued by the case worker. It is unfortunate that Tony's emotional problems about his parents could not have been worked out before they were so complicated by the full weight of becoming the family wage earner in a difficult relief situation.

petence develops, there is an increasing tendency for the client to yield himself more completely, trusting in the worker's understanding and skill to help him. This means inevitably safeguarding the confidence of the client in all reasonable ways. A feature not peculiar to, but accented in social work, however, is these interacting social relationships. The workers in both agencies in the Tomasulo case would have to confer from time to time to insure that they were not proceeding at cross purposes. Tony should, nevertheless, be able to count on the case worker's discretion and reticence about those innermost feelings which he is revealing. Nor should the worker in agency A want unnecessary details of these conversations. There are no formulae to guide the amount and quality of the information which should be shared, either in cooperative or in transferred cases. Just as the client should know the nature of the social investigation, and participate in it so far as practicable, so he should, in general, know and consent to reports about himself being sought and sent. Obtaining the consent of the client is still, one fears, honored more in the breach than in the observance, but indeed one can think of many sound exceptions when it would be unnecessary or unwise to go wholly by the client's wishes. In many instances, society having a legitimate stake in the information, an accredited agency, with an appropriate reason for the inquiry, may be communicated with under the sanction of a sensible and reasonable interpretation of the rules of professional courtesy. It is assumed that the inquiring agency will use the information in the interests of the client, as the agency first concerned would use it. Irritations arise through ignorance and abuse of elementary considerations. In general the client has the right to count on the maximum of protection in the professional relationship. If for some reason other agencies are properly concerned, he should know for the most part the terms of their interest and the obligations of the worker whom he is consulting. If the client is psychotic or critically ill or delinquent or in any way a menace to himself or others, wide latitude for discretion is permissible. Agency A should not ask

for confidential reports from agency B unless it is prepared to furnish them in return. Professional courtesy is a two-way etiquette. Workers should not insist on reading other agency records. Record reading should always be carefully restricted; recourse to it is a privilege for special purposes, accorded only to persons competent to make a professional use of the material. While certain records are public documents, it is a mistake to think that *case records* are ever public documents, even though kept in a public agency.[9] The obligation upon either public or private agency, is to make promptly a suitable written or oral report, upon an appropriate request for information. The selection of content for the report must lie within the agency's discretion, always considering the client's interests, the relevance of the inquiry, the professional standing of the agency, and the highest good of the community. Cooperative case work can have little meaning except as there is common professional education, a functionally appropriate division of labor, and complete respect for and protection of the rights of clients within the framework of responsibility to the community.

[9] Legal protection is not yet afforded social case work records. The whole question of handling subpoenas is too complicated for discussion here.

Chapter XIV

PROMETHEAN ADVENTURE

IN THE FOREGOING CHAPTERS we have attempted to show in what characteristic ways case work concerns itself with the individual's adaptation to an ever-changing environment. Whether or not science comes to agree on an ultimate constitutional and economic determinism, it seems clear that, pragmatically speaking, the social process, with its infinite number of variable factors, is relatively undetermined. Flexibility, change, and movement are of the very nature of social interaction. It is no wonder that social workers give close attention to behavior, which is the pulse of the human organism's attempts at adaptation. Even while complete causal explanations, because of their hundred and one component parts, elude us, through behavior we may come to a real, if limited, understanding of the individual and his culture. As Professor May puts it, "Human problems cannot be usefully divided into aspects that match the traditional divisions of science, biological science tending to ignore culture and social sciences the individual."[1]

The Contribution of Psychiatry

Now in this dilemma the case worker, struggling to relieve baffling situations of human distress, has found that psychiatry, perhaps more than any other of the more traditional disciplines, throws a special kind of light on both the individual and his culture. It is surely not astonishing, therefore, that case work, recognizing a source yielding vital insight, has turned to psychiatry, and adventurously, if not always wisely, tried to adapt its findings to social work purposes. Most of the social sciences have overlapping zones of knowledge. Facts are interrelated

[1] May, "Is There a Science of Human Relations?" *The Family*, July, 1936, p. 141.

in all the sciences—no one has a monopoly of method or theory. Granting that there should be a close and fruitful interaction between sociology and psychiatry, what is the relationship between social case work and psychiatry? Each concerns itself with the behavior problems of children, family interaction and deviations. To what extent, then, can the appropriate interest of social case work in interpersonal problems be described and delimited as of today? The justification for attempting some sort of clarification is that the newness of the concepts and the unfortunately large number of poorly trained or untrained social workers have made for a great deal of confusion. Until competent research has supplied reliable knowledge, a purely empirical discussion may be useful.

In the judgment of the writer case workers do not practice psychiatry nor psychotherapy in mild versions or diluted forms. They simply do not practice it at all, except in so far as relieving inner pressures through social techniques means an understanding of frustration, anxiety, guilt, and other tensions of the personality. At their best case workers are still following their historic function of treating persons in social situations involving conduct problems, dependency, neglect, and all family strains and conflicts. What has changed and is changing is the increasing technical competence and precision of social work, in using material adapted from the social sciences, including psychology. The better training and equipment of case workers should ensure their being more able to select and adapt data from psychiatry and the related professions to the fact and theory of social work. The more competent the medical social worker and the more medicine she understands, the less she uses her knowledge to practice imitation or pseudo medicine and the more she uses, in a case work approach, her understanding of the effects of illness on personality and social functioning. The same thing, even though the boundaries are harder to delimit, is true of the psychiatric social worker in a clinic or of the case worker using psychiatric consultation in a social agency, or indeed of any professionally disciplined case work-

er, who must today understand psychodynamics in order to practice at all in the field of behavior. The psychiatrist is most directly concerned, in study and treatment, with the intrapsychic aspects of maladjustment, although of course taking into account the environmental aspects; the social worker is more directly concerned with the environment, though taking into account the psychological factors.

Social work, from its earliest inception, has sustained a dualism of interest in problems of "estate," or, as one would express this today, standards of living and love of one's neighbor—or again to use the modern equivalent, helpful personal relationships. In the early days of professional philanthropy these concerns ran, as it were, parallel courses, some social workers being more interested in standards of living and others in character, personality, and relationships. So, too, body and mind were once approached in the medical profession from separate angles until psychosomatic interaction was identified. Even today there are some social workers who are unable or unwilling to see poverty except as a purely economic event, without acknowledging the possible existence of childhood dependency wishes which, if they do not actually cause, may certainly prolong dependency. Others, seeing the individual as the central focus, become so lost in the contemplation of his physical and emotional complexity as to disregard the cultural and economic matrix. But culture acts differently upon each individual, and each individual is striving to find the most favorable balance between his basic urges and the restraining environment. Moreover, the anxious self is likely to be found displacing on external circumstances responsibility for its own failures, or paralyzing itself to inaction with self-depreciation and guilt. With these data, deriving for the most part from psychiatry, case work has become able to piece together its fragmentary observations and intuitions, gathered over a long experience in philanthropy, into a body of transmissible knowledge and disciplines which is rapidly becoming professional in character and scope - professional education being assumed.

Case work, be it said to its credit, was one of the first fields in which were recognized the implications of psychiatry for the understanding of every-day social behavior problems, and it is no wonder that its first adaptations have been awkward, naïve, and fumbling. It was only too natural that when the psychiatrists, in some ways pioneers themselves, had taught the advanced case workers a good deal as to the intricacy of personality structure and the meaning of behavior, these same case workers should have tried their hands at treating personality problems directly. Indeed they are often encouraged to do so. The psychiatrist in many a child guidance clinic, working with the child as patient, tends to assign difficult tasks in changing the parental attitudes to the social worker.

Case workers did discover at once that it was not within their province to treat psychoses and psychoneuroses any more than to treat diseases such as tuberculosis. In treating even the mildest forms of neurosis they burned their fingers so badly as to warn them against operating directly in the fields of the instinctual development and the unconscious. As time went on, however, clearer distinctions and sounder controls came into play. For by singular good fortune, in the American social service movement it was the leading psychiatrists and analysts of the country who gave most unsparingly of their time to guiding the Promethean case workers. Besides this, the spreading interest and concern through professional schools of social work, the careful experiments in the child guidance clinics, the exploratory joint seminars, and perhaps most of all the personal analyses which so many case workers underwent, had sobering and clarifying effects. Out of this has crystallized the recognition that psychiatry and social work have distinctive functions. Although employed for similar purposes, they call in the main for distinctive equipments; they have converging but not coextensive objectives. That certain techniques are usable by each and that each draws from the same basic theory does not alter the fact that the methods combine in ways unique to each profession. Certain techniques are and should be confined to the

psychiatrist; in others the case worker rather than the physician is expert—especially if, as Dr. Stevenson[2] has observed, case work has not copied "psychiatry's greatest weakness," namely, its restriction to office practice. As the writer has repeatedly pointed out, for the social worker a social situation is always implied or specified, which is to say that the case worker is concerned with the reality-facing side of life experience. If he knows that to help a person with economic stresses must involve trained perception into the person's feeling about these stresses, he also knows that his treatment is directed to these objective and social relationships and realities, and not to intrapsychic conflicts. Around the focus of social situations he can safely practice all he knows of accepting emotions, releasing tensions, and feelings of inadequacy, and helping the will toward insight. Moreover, the case worker in public assistance must be aware of his own feelings—his impulses to rescue or to threaten, to deprive or to indulge—quite as much as the case worker in a psychiatric clinic. Only as he knows his own fears and urges and rationalizations is he free to do simple things or to identify the difficult psychological problems which he can hope to treat only in a limited way or from a specific angle. Not until he has come to know himself, as Socrates warned, his inhibitions and his unconscious defenses, will he be able to help his clients to overcome their binding inhibitions or their defenses against loss of prestige or increasing disabilities and dependency. Now there is a borderland between psychiatry and social work which does pose interesting research and training issues; but since a field should be defined by its major, not its marginal functions, by the problems and symptoms which applicants typically, not atypically, present to us for treatment, we shall examine cases in which the social worker is incontestably practicing case work, not psychotherapy.

Several of the cases already demonstrated have implied that a psychiatrist either had been or was to be consulted. An illus-

[2]Stevenson, "Problems of Growth in Family Case Work," *Social Service Review*, Sept., 1936, p. 434.

tration or two "in slow motion," which gives the psychiatrist's interpretation, may not only serve to show the respective roles, but may, in summary, clarify the case work objective itself. Again it seems advisable to draw case illustrations from a social agency rather than from a psychiatric clinic, because in an agency organized for psychiatric purposes, individual physicians do, for various reasons, ask the case worker to take on certain extensions of their own function, which makes the respective roles harder to delimit.

From a procedural point of view one might classify the interacting roles as follows: situations in which, on the basis of the case worker's experience, the psychiatrist in conference and on record, advises on course and details of treatment, without himself seeing the patient; situations in which, again on record or in a diagnostic interview with the patient, the case worker is advised to prepare the patient for psychotherapy, the case worker then withdrawing into the background or dropping out altogether; situations in which cooperative treatment is proposed, the psychiatrist carrying one patient and the case worker one or more in the patient group. Lastly occur cases—and these are in the twilight zone—in which case workers carry patients who have had an intensive period of psychotherapy, or who should have it but refuse it; and also cases allocated to them for other reasons, which will be discussed more fully later. The possibility of advising on record is more possible than in some other fields because of the case work habit of very detailed recording in difficult personality problems.

Illustrating the first procedure, an economical use of the psychiatrist's time may be found in the following:

The Martin Case[3]

This man, aged thirty-two, was referred by a clinic to a family agency because of an arm injury following an accident. He had a wife and two young children. From the beginning he rejected the hospital interpretation, which was of several months' disability with good

[3] From a Family Service Agency.

prognosis. Because of his panic he was overoptimistic, refusing to accept the fact of temporary loss of function and then fearing that he would be incapacitated for life. From the clinic point of view the injury was routine and progress normal. During the interview Mr. Martin seemed to be preoccupied with a desire to discuss sexual things. From the case worker's observations over a two months' relief period, the man's reactions to his injury were so extreme that further directions from the clinic were sought. The doctors there thought the degree of disability did not account for his reactions, and were perfectly willing to have a psychiatrist consulted. The psychiatrist read the full social case record and gave the following interpretation:

Dr. Boone thought that a traumatic neurosis had developed around the arm injury. Mr. Martin's fear about his arm, he thought, was deeper than reality justified. It was as if his virility is threatened—he is no longer a man. Injury cut him off from work and activity, and anxiety, which had been held at bay through work and activity, was released. History material indicated some of the personality basis out of which a neurosis might be precipitated. Mr. Martin, the oldest son, was in conflict with his father, had tried throughout his lifetime to assert a masculinity of which he had never been very sure. We can see underlying insecurity of his masculinity in the way he reacted to the idea of his wife working, and in the degree to which he was threatened by having to be at home so much.

Exercise is probably good, but should be under control, not the uncontrolled kind he is doing. It should be related to progressive ability to use his arm. A program for gradually increasing use of his arm through exercise must be geared to the medical picture. If possible plans should be made for occupational therapy. Dr. Boone offered help in trying to arrange this at St. Croix, since the clinic had no facilities. Occupational therapy should be directed toward getting his arm in shape for the kind of job on which he had worked before (i. e., elevator operator). "Leisure time activity," or retraining for another kind of job, should not be the goal. From experience with neuroses precipitated by war injuries, psychiatry has learned that training unrelated to a man's former job gives him a chance to evade what his own reality is, and lessens his chances of going back successfully to the field in which he has functioned before.

Dr. Boone advised that, if possible, we should help this man get back the kind of control and ability to function that he had before the injury. This last job was held for the longest period in his work history, perhaps because of the responsibility of wife and child. In trying to get him back to this point we need to help him hold on to a

"life line" by which he can find his way back. He needs a focus for his energy, and through a directed kind of activity he might be able to capitalize on his desire to get well. We could help him find the way by giving him practical help in this direction. This would mean trying to get for him medical direction *re* the kind of exercise to give the arm. It would mean help *re* planning occupational therapy, and helping him to see the relationship between this and regaining gradually the use of his arm.

It is important to remember that the full impact of the neurosis will come after the traumatic experience that precipitated it is over. It appears that Mr. Martin has come out of a depressed period into an exhilarated period. A critical point will be the removal of splint and bandages. Another critical point will come if he tries to find a job and cannot find one, or finds one and cannot hold it. The problem around a job was that the longer he was not working, the more his anxiety mounted. Yet if he tried a job before he was physically able to handle it, the result would be disastrous.

In regard to the question of relief, we should watch the time element. From this point on we should watch carefully for "choosiness" about the job he will take, whether he looks for an "ideal job," and other circumstances that may hinder employment. There is a potential dependency situation to be watched, and we know that his strong feeling against accepting relief may be a defense against an underlying need for dependence. In this connection, we should remember the possible "purposefulness" of the accident. We should not continue with relief over too long a period if dependency trends became apparent.

Dr. Boone advised against our trying to talk with Mr. Martin any more than we already had about the way in which he was reacting to the arm injury. His anxiety around this is of such deep psychological origin that it should not be opened up except in psychiatric interviews. The same is true of the kind of material he has brought up in the last few interviews (with implications of concern about his sexual role). Undoubtedly the threat in the arm injury stirred up a lot of things that have lain dormant. It is important not to shut him off suddenly, but to handle this by a kind of "friendly ignoring." Encouraging him to discuss this kind of material would tend to precipitate the neurosis further.

We should be aware of the implications that have already come out concerning his sexual role. . . . Dr. Boone discussed this fully. . . . Case worker may be able to ease this marital situation somewhat, without going into the material, by meeting his legitimate request that his wife be seen, helped *re* prenatal care, etc.

A transfer would be fortunate at this point, perhaps. Mr. Martin has got some things out of his system and could begin with a new worker on the basis of help with the concrete problems of securing medical guidance as to exercise of arm, planning occupational therapy, etc., which would capitalize his desire to get well and use his arm again, with a view to the finding of a job later, when he would be ready for it.

Dr. Boone would be interested in following the course of this case. He thought we should see for a period what results were gained through the case work help with concrete problems, as outlined above. It is possible that this kind of help will not be sufficient, and that a few psychiatric interviews will be indicated. He would be glad to see Mr. Martin if this seems advisable later.

The fracture clinic was interested in the psychiatric suggestions as presented by the case worker. No frictions arose. The man felt happier about the clinic attitude, but after function was regained and the patient discharged Mr. Martin's behavior bore out the psychiatrist's comments as to a critical turning point. He was sure potential employers would turn him down; he made frantic and panicky efforts to find work. In a second consultation some months later, Dr. Boone suggested setting a time limit and gave further guidance to the case worker. The man began to respond, went from temporary work to permanent, and finally back to elevator operating, about which he had had great anxiety. Contact by the case worker was successfully tapered off.

While it is possible that close interplay between fracture and psychiatric clinics will become far commoner than is usually true today, it is still evident that the social case worker was in a strategic position, through relief and employment and other practical services, to help this man. The interviews, nevertheless, called for great skill, understanding, and delicacy. The case worker was fortunately highly trained and extremely competent and so able to utilize to the full the psychiatrist's guidance, offered through two consultation periods only. At no time was it necessary for the psychiatrist to see the patient. Note that the case worker had immediately detected the symptomatic nature of this man's need to talk about sexual things and, instead of encouraging him in this direction, as might have been the tendency in the thirties, turned promptly for psy-

chiatric guidance. In this material the diagnostic ability to distinguish natural from neurotic responses shows the trained worker, as does the ability later to follow the advice given and to redirect the man's interests into occupational channels, without his losing confidence in the worker's interest in him as a person, which acts to strengthen his faith in his own capacities.

The fact cannot be overemphasized that only case workers exceptionally well qualified and thoroughly familiar with personality structure and clinical pictures should undertake treatment in this field. They must be able to deal with reality problems with an understanding of the deeper motivations, in some instances quite apparent, in others hidden. In the course of discussing a social problem, or a problem of family relationships which are highly charged emotionally, the psychological significance of the client's attitudes may become obvious to the case worker. The client's ability to handle his life situation may or may not depend on his becoming aware of what his feelings are. The case worker has then a discriminating decision to make. In no case will he stir up the deeper feelings, which cannot be treated in the case work relationship; but it is sometimes wise and necessary to engage cautiously in a process of bringing *forward* these feelings, so that through greater self-awareness the client may manage his responses to other people more constructively. It is this process which most resembles "psychotherapy," but is distinguishable from that objective, nevertheless, by its concern with conscious and near-conscious material and its focus in the social problem.

In the Isham case below, consisting of a woman living apart from her husband, an adolescent daughter, Amy, until recently living with her mother in hotels and furnished rooms, a consultation with a psychiatrist was sought. The case worker wanted to know, in the light of Mrs. Isham's obvious mental illness, what adjustment to expect and along what lines to proceed; and in the light of Amy's ambivalent feeling toward her mother, how far to go in urging and supporting her efforts to free herself. Relief, depending on circumstances, had been given at the

rate of about $70 a month. Amy was now in a domestic service position.

The Isham Case[4]

Mrs. Isham gave only partial, or discrepant, or confused information throughout, but more conspicuously in the first few months. She was haughty and demanding toward the case worker, obviously hostile and suspicious, especially of any interest in Amy, of whom she spoke at great length vaguely. Facts were reluctantly given under pressure that we could not help at all unless we understood the basis of their need and the possibility of practical plans. It was clear that Mrs. Isham responded better to this firm and authoritative approach. She had made some efforts to secure employment through an agency, but her account revealed that she had been discouraged. She remarked that she must seem to case worker to be "psychotic and paranoid" regarding "those people interested in seeing her up against the wall." She telephoned frequently throughout contact, calling up in high excitement or agitation, at times being too confused for case worker to follow her meaning. She consistently appeared at the office making excessive demands for appointments, though within the last two months she had been somewhat calmer, handling better her frustration in not being able to talk with the worker on the telephone or in person at the moment she demanded it.

She was most rigid about standards of living, though in some respects did not show agitation about real needs or about her very neglected personal appearance. She has spoken of the possibility of sleeping in the park without show of feeling. She made constant efforts to borrow from unnamed friends. During this period she has shown some tendency to regard the case worker as interested, and has commented that the worker "always kept her word." As she again expressed her belief that people were working against her and people were following her and that Amy had caused this difficulty, the case worker simply listened, asking questions as if she thought the complaints might be true, and not combatting her beliefs by argument. She assumes that the case worker, unlike others, does not believe that she is mentally ill. Although her antagonism is now intense toward Amy and she would like to have her examined to prove that she is immoral and therefore deportable, she does not blame the case worker for estranging Amy from her.

[4]From a Family Service Agency. Only a small portion of the history is given, as an introduction to the psychiatrist's recommendations.

Amy came because of her distress about her mother's situation, but talked chiefly of her own immediate problems (lack of work and uncertainty of future). She did not wish her mother to know that she was coming regularly and case worker respected this until Amy, in a quarrel with her mother, told her. The case worker handled this in a way that suggested that she could be helpful to both and that this was perhaps an effective way of relieving Mrs. Isham's burdens, which Mrs. Isham accepted. During this period the case worker, while not giving relief to Mrs. Isham, was meeting Amy's needs for carfare, lunch money, and small clothing items. Amy had considerable conflict about taking money and made minimal requests. This was interesting, since at times she would mention some impractical scheme (much like her mother's) for getting money from other sources. After she started to work, she showed less conflict about taking money and requested larger amounts. Her relief requests have continued to be reasonable and to be for necessary items. As Amy has come to express anger about her mother more freely, there has been more open expression of her hatred and anger—twice striking her mother, once on the street, and on one occasion Mrs. Isham's face was bruised. Amy's capacity to leave her mother and take responsibility for herself has been somewhat tested by her staying on in a poorly paid living-in job. She has made many efforts to get work.

The psychiatrist commented as follows:

Mrs. Isham was diagnosed from historical data as "paranoid." It is difficult to gauge how much capacity to function is left. Her beginning to go to libraries is evidence of the results of a "restitution" kind of case work job, which attempted to build up healthy spots. Commitment is an undesirable last resort, to be contemplated only if the paranoid ideas interfere too much with the direction attempted in the case work. The worker's role should be protective. It is impossible to aid Mrs. Isham unless one is sympathetic and warm to her. The case worker has not frightened her, has left her delusional system unthreatened, and has been intuitionally cautious. The visits to Mrs. Isham, the personal interest shown, were right and appropriate. The case worker is aware of the technical problems in working with an unstable, ambivalent, paranoid woman, and with this knowledge can help achieve a restorative job that will enable Mrs. Isham to function in her daily life much more effectively, and in spite of her paranoid ideas. If Mrs. Isham seriously interferes with Amy, or otherwise causes difficulties she might be committed, but the relationship with the case worker could forestall this for some time.

Mrs. Isham probably was an unfortunate partner for Mr. Isham. Mrs. Isham is intelligent and her status commands deference in minor ways, such as accrediting areas of her knowledge and understanding, explaining things to her as far as appropriate, letting her know the real reason when appointments are broken, as case worker has done, and otherwise deserving Mrs. Isham's trust and confidence. With the case worker to rely on, she can bear Amy's separation.

It is necessary for the same case worker[5] to work both with Mrs. Isham and Amy, and the record shows that this is possible without resistance from Mrs. Isham, in spite of her jealousy of her daughter. Mrs. Isham wants care and protection from her daughter, and if she gets protection from the case worker she will not bother Amy. As long as Amy is being helped, Mrs. Isham must be supported. One will feel too guilty about the other unless both are helped, i. e., it hurts Amy when we deny Mrs. Isham, because Amy feels that she is mistreating her mother.

Amy's life history shows a pattern of getting things from people, playing up, exploiting, stealing—as the situation may be. She is so fundamentally unsure of being liked, and getting things assures her that she is liked. Amy, too, has paranoidal ideas and it is hard to know whether she has absorbed her mother's attitudes as a "foreign body" or whether she has integrated them in the same way that her mother has done, and is a candidate for developing into a definite paranoid. Amy feels that people are against her, which can be a normal reaction, but she takes the next step—and fears they are doing things to her on purpose and that it is part of a plot. When she gets angry she hits her mother and is then angry with case worker.

Amy lived for eleven years in a household where her family were ostracized and where she had real reason to feel people were against her. She sided with her mother earlier, but anger entered in, as she realized that her mother precipitated quarrels. She loved her father, a meek person, but difficulties seem to have entered that relationship, in that she began to blame her father. Blaming her father protected her from feeling, "he is no good"—once she came close to admitting the protective use of disparagement. Adolescence precipitated problems that inhibited her. The role of the case worker is primarily to lend her strength. Her attachment is on this basis of borrowing strength, which she has consistently done for years. At least since adolescence she has had no relationship that is on a give-and-take basis. She exploits people, steals, is deceitful, and hangs on to them because she needs this support. She keeps her present job for that reason—a protective

[5] Compare this with the discussion of one or more case workers on p. 127.

mistress. Her clinging to her mother was a holding on to a source of protection and strength. The case worker must therefore not disappoint her, else she will feel lost. In herself and with herself she is unsure and insecure. The worker can gradually stress this anxiety and insecurity which she shows in being on her own.

The case worker agreed with Amy's putting blame on her mother, as a practical measure to separate mother and daughter. It served for a time to strengthen her defenses against her mother, and increase her anger and hate, but she will utilize the case worker's backing to make easier her blaming of her mother. She must be left free to reproach the worker for having been the one to separate them.

Amy acts out her anger and this is accompanied by much anxiety. When anxiety underlies hostility (as it often does), it is difficult to help a person obtain relief by expressing the anger. When Amy spoke remorsefully of "painting her mother black" to case worker, the worker told her that she had been projecting her anger upon case worker. This may have been true, but there is no therapeutic value in telling Amy so. She is incapable of understanding projection and identification. The worker might simply say, "You feel that you have biased me against your mother and I am being unkind in not helping her and that it is your fault." She will feel less guilty about her mother if the case worker treats her mother well. The case worker takes a burden off Amy's conscience. She has responded to the worker's intelligent handling and has developed about as satisfactory a relationship as she can on a level which the worker has correctly evaluated. Now the worker needs to make use of two factors: Amy's confidence in the worker's strength and her ability to protect so that she will not need her mother, thus helping the actual separation from the mother. Through the kind of interviewing suggested, the worker should help her see her mother as someone who was not to blame, who really loved her, wanted to protect her, but was too frail. As her defenses weaken, she might become more upset. She must be helped to see that forces within herself operate to get her into trouble and that apart from her mother she handles things badly. She may be helped to realize that she needs support and that she uses the case worker for support, but eventually the aim of all this is to prepare for psychotherapy.

Here the psychiatrist advises a sustaining, or supportive, relationship with the mother, the warm and friendly character of which must be informed by a clear understanding of the personality picture and how to control the interviews. The meaning of money and gifts to each is discussed, as well as

the reason why both must be helped and not just Amy. Note the very difficult technical point involved in the concluding paragraph. The case worker must be able to reassure and protect, without strengthening Amy's defenses and resistances on the one hand, or increasing her dependency on the other. As Amy is less driven to use projection to keep from looking at her own behavior and wishes, she may be able to accept what she requires for any fundamental adjustment—namely, treatment by a psychiatrist. Case workers in children's and family courts have excellent opportunities to observe the easy identifications made with child against parent, or the reverse, and the naive acceptance of projections by untrained personnel. While relief plays a negligible part, the main treatment focusing on the conflict situation of mother and daughter, the role assigned to the case worker, no more subtle than in the instance of the neurotic use of the arm injury, calls for great skill and self-awareness. The case worker who has not gained real understanding of his own subjectivity, drives, and needs, and some conscious control thereof, will inevitably flounder during the course of treatment indicated.

The third illustration will show case work operating in a borderland, or twilight zone.

The Bergen family is referred for a practical need. This is met and cleared up by the agency. After this immediate and external need has been satisfied, the chief client, because of deeper needs, clings to the case work relationship. The matter is complicated by the fact that the man has already been in and out of an overcrowded psychiatric clinic. The case worker, proceeding cautiously with direct treatment, through acceptance and respect brings him to the point of recognizing that some of the problem is with himself and of asking for help. The case worker, then, instead of making the same mistake twice—namely, to refer him prematurely to a clinic—seeks, on record, psychiatric advice as to whether he is now ready for referral or what further preparation is necessary.

The Bergen Case[6]

Mr. Bergen was referred to our agency in September, 1937, by St. Mary's Clinic, where he had been under treatment intermittently over a period of eighteen years for duodenal ulcer. The referral was made for financial assistance, to enable Mr. Bergen to secure the special diet prescribed and for aid in finding employment. He and his wife were both forty-eight, Sam, Junior, was twenty-six, Eva twenty, and there were two children in school. Treatment was directed toward practical problems with the current situation showing that at present Mr. Bergen is employed part time as an apartment superintendent, earning $20 per month and free rent. Sam drives a taxi and contributes $4 per week of his earnings to the family. Both Home Relief Bureau and the lodge now supplement, making the income sufficient to provide the necessary special diets for Mr. and Mrs. Bergen and Eva.

Meanwhile the problems of marital friction, Eva's identification with her father's work attitudes, Sam's inability to break away from home, and the complete dominance of the entire family by Mrs. Bergen, were brought to our attention from many angles and in various degrees by members of the family.

During the early part of our contact with Mr. Bergen he was extremely protective, giving us a picture of perfect family relationships. As he became sure of our acceptance, he gradually brought out increasing amounts of discussion regarding his difficulties, always being careful to place the blame on business conditions in general. Following his dismissal by the psychiatrist he was extremely upset, expressing his fear of impending insanity. At this point he was able to verbalize for the first time his consciousness of some difficulty within himself. During the past several weeks Mr. Bergen has used many fanciful metaphors to describe his feelings. He has felt that he is up against a wall, around and over which he cannot see. Apprehensively he added that it is his own wall. He does not want any one to push him over it. He must climb it himself. Later he stated he is in a mist but he is afraid to go through it because he does not know what might lie on the other side. He followed this by asking what good we thought it would do him to go through his mist and at the last interview asked directly for help with his problems, showing apparent capacity for insight.

The advice of a psychiatrist was sought as to what extent direct case work treatment should be attempted with Mr. Bergen; whether the case worker was right in assuming that Mrs.

[6] From a Family Service Agency. All history has been omitted.

Bergen was inaccessible to treatment; and what other suggestions could be made about the family group. The psychiatrist had access to the case record for such detailed interviewing material and additional facts of social treatment as were desired.

Conference was sought and interpretation was given by the psychiatrist[7] as follows:

Mrs. Bergen appears to be inaccessible either to case work or to psychiatric treatment. It is obvious that her role is always that of the male, the provider, the adequate person. She rejects everything feminine, which to her means her mother, and identifies with all masculine activities and interests, which personify her father. To her it is really not a differentiation on the basis of sex. She does not see people and interests as male or female, but rather as adequate or inadequate, as strong and dominant, or as weak and ineffectual. Her extreme resentment of her mother and her effort to identify with her father were clearly shown. Mr. Bergen's description of her mother as weak, sick, petulant, and erratic is doubtless her own description, as is that of her father as capable and successful. To Mrs. Bergen there are only two kinds of people; namely, those who are adequate, dominant, energetic, successful (male) and those who are weak, passive, receptive, ill (female). That she herself should ever become the dependent, female person would be a thought intolerable to her. Even after an analysis, which would clarify for her the male identification, she would still want to remain as she is. She would not want to be the "other kind of person."

Mrs. Bergen is doubtless a very intelligent woman, emotionally caught by her marriage and trapped in a role fundamentally repugnant to her. Had she not married, she is the type to have become a successful executive. As it is, she can only use her tremendous drive to dominate and control her family. She does not exhibit any one neurotic symptom, but her entire personality and set of responses are neurotic to the core. Since she must dominate her husband, she would probably have an outbreak of symptoms if he became an adequate provider, which would threaten her own role. . . .

Mr. Bergen, as he expresses himself in all his relationships, is passive and receptive. In his emotional development he never progressed beyond the stage of orientation to his mother. Because of his father's sternness and rigidity, it was never possible for him to establish any sort of rivalry with his father or to work out his relationship. There

[7] All interpretation of the children, for the sake of brevity, has been omitted.

must have been a tremendous amount of hostility and rebellion against his father's cruelty, all of which he now has to rationalize by his conception of his father as the good parent and the adequate provider, with which he attempts now to identify. His need to perpetuate his dependency is of course shown in his choice of a mate. Had his wife been a good mother without Mrs. Bergen's urge to dominate, things would probably have gone well. As it happened, though, he has married a stern parent who has aroused all his early conflicts.

The entire story of his life reveals his dependence on every hand, as well as his fear of his passivity. His illness is expressive of his need to be dependent and receptive, as is his whole emphasis upon food, diet, his father's doses of castor oil, etc. Gastrointestinal disorders frequently occur with persons of this type. It follows that to a person having such need to be receptive, the male role would have great conflict. It is characteristic of persons of this type that they wish to make something work automatically which to them is symbolic of a proof against impotency. For similar reasons he cannot take a cut, likewise symbolic, either in the form of demotion, reduction of salary, or lack of recognition. Any one of these is intolerable to him and he has to resign from the job when this occurs.

No attempts should be made at direct treatment, since this would probably precipitate more anxiety and fear than a case worker could handle. It appears now that Mr. Bergen is ready for psychotherapy. His reference to his "inner self" seems to indicate some awareness of his passivity and some consciousness of the conflict which this creates. If this psychiatric help is available, we should continue our contact to prepare him further for psychotherapy. If this is available when present worker leaves, it would probably not be necessary for him to be seen by another worker. His relationship to the agency has probably had meaning for Mr. Bergen, because of our acceptance of him. He therefore sees in his relationship to us one reminiscent of that toward his mother—yet with a certain amount of discipline which accounts for his ambivalence—and one resembling the kind of acceptance he had hoped to find in his wife. For this reason, if psychiatric service is not available, the same worker should resume contact upon her return to the agency and the transfer should be explained to him on this basis as temporary.

If intensive psychiatric service cannot be arranged, contact with Mr. Bergen should be on a fairly practical level. When he speaks of his feelings in terms of his "inner self," some interpretation can be given in terms of his attitudes toward work, without trying to bring him to the point of insight into his fundamental wish for dependence.

There are some types of jobs in which he could probably function acceptably. The case worker should concentrate on trying to locate one of these for him and on helping him make an adjustment to work if it can be secured. The only type of job he could hold would be one in which he would have some status and yet also some sort of personal satisfaction from a kind of dependency. If he could be a foreman on a private estate where he might be in charge of other persons and might also feel some sort of tie to, and acceptance by the family, this would be an ideal solution. He could also function acceptably as an apartment superintendent, provided he had a handy man or two under him to do "menial" work. He might even be a door man in an apartment house where he would be treated with courtesy and respect.

We see that psychotherapy is necessary for Mr. Bergen, and that if this is impracticable because of his resistance or lack of finances or facilities, case work is to carry on wholly in social reality terms, not with any form of therapy, "deep," "attitude," "relationship," or what not. On the present evidence the family relationships are too complicated and their satisfactions with an unconstructive way of life too complete for any radical change. The necessary practical services and relief, unless predicated on an understanding of what is involved and of the controls used, will tend to plunge the unwary worker into one of the hardest kinds of chronic dependency situations. Incidentally, here is a good example of the importance of trained workers in public welfare, where such cases are not at all uncommon and are enormously costly. With fairly well adjusted people, the way concrete assistance is given may help them arrive at self-understanding; concrete services not given with psychological insight may, indeed, cripple the client's own efforts. In cases like the Bergens', concrete services must be carried on in the least disturbing way. In addition, an extremely delicate psychological family balance is involved in Mrs. Bergen's need to be the ministering angel to those weaker than herself.

One more illustration will show, under psychiatric guidance, a case work assignment, involving both environmental and direct treatment. This family, consisting of a widow, a married daughter out of the home, a girl twenty-two, and a boy thirteen,

had been referred because of the girl's problems. The family had been known to a number of medical and social agencies, by whom conflicting advice had been given. The mother, who was said to be suffering from depression, had been advised to play more and to work less, to put more or less responsibility on Maude, who is a classical picture of a rejected child. The much-condensed history follows:

The Alemco Case[8]

In March, 1937, Mr. Alemco's WPA job was transferred to Mrs. Alemco because of the illness which preceded his death from cancer. Mrs. Alemco earns $23.60 a week as a WPA teacher, and supplements this with occasional sewing and interior decorating work. She and Felix share one large furnished room near Willow School, where Felix has a scholarship.

Mr. Alemco was an electrical engineer, who for a time had his own shop. Mrs. Alemco worked regularly on the outside and the family lived very comfortably. Mr. Alemco was a quiet, rather inarticulate man, fond of his family, but "nervous," depressed, and sometimes threatening suicide. According to Mrs. Alemco he was impotent for several years before his death and felt this keenly. Although now Mrs. Alemco describes her married life as ideal, in 1930 she talked with impatience and anger of Mr. Alemco's weariness, feeling that this was psychological, not physical. She described quarrels over his refusal to help with housework—"After all, he has never supported us."

Mrs. Alemco grew up in a strict, protected environment, the only girl in a family of six boys. At sixteen she eloped with Mr. Alemco, who had been brought up in her household. She knew nothing of sex—marriage was "like playing house," and her first child, June, a "plaything." She feels responsible for the deaths of three babies born between June and Maude. Mrs. Alemco looks older than her age, has white hair, and wears glasses. Generally she looks untidy. She is aggressive, socially ambitious, and articulate, has always disliked housework and has enjoyed working. She has held responsible, executive jobs, and ran a successful interior decorating business. Although the hospital reports no organic basis, Mrs. Alemco complained recently of blurring and twitching in her eyes, which made it difficult to continue sewing or decorating. She has been told that this is psycho-

[8] From a Family Service Agency. The full record was available to the psychiatrist.

genic, and seems to have accepted this. She is in conflict now about continuing work, both wanting and not wanting to shift most of the responsibility upon Maude. Since fall Mrs. Alemco has suffered from nausea and extreme fatigue, which necessitate some absence from work. There has been increasing friction at work, particularly with younger assistants, who probably rebel at her rigid and exacting methods. Mrs. Alemco enjoys her school work, has good intellectual grasp of the psychological aspects, and feels that her job is now her only source of satisfaction.

Mrs. Alemco has been childishly demanding and unrealistic, subject to outbursts of temper since we first knew her, but this has increased since Mr. Alemco's death. She has never adjusted to a limited income. She seems to lack any degree of control or ability to meet the needs of another person or situation. She makes excessive demands for special attention and favors and unlimited time from us, her family, hospital, church workers, etc. Mrs. Alemco talks freely and sometimes in a compulsive, frantic manner, with a variety of people. She is aware of wanting something indefinable and occasionally puts this in terms of "my man." Mrs. Alemco misses sexual relationship, has dreams about Mr. Alemco related to this, and thinks this is connected with wanting Felix to sleep with her.

In recent months Mrs. Alemco has talked more directly and with anxiety about her inability to control her feelings, recognizing that her outbursts of rage were becoming more frequent and uncontrollable. The more violent outbursts occur at home and are directed toward Maude and Felix, particularly Felix. Mrs. Alemco sobs and screams hysterically, threatens to kill herself, and fears that she would injure or kill Felix if Maude were not present. Two weeks ago she told of banging her head against a wall, looking for the kitchen knife with which to kill herself (since she couldn't kill Felix). She felt then entirely unable to control herself, and has since expressed fear of keeping Felix with her, although "he is the person I love the most." She has often spoken of "killing my children with mother love." Several times in our office Mrs. Alemco has become hysterical, wishing to die, feeling she had nothing to live for. In the past she has been certain that she had cancer, even when reassured by the clinic. She exaggerates any physical ailment of hers or her children's. Since summer Mrs. Alemco has talked of wanting a car as an "escape" from home and problems and to give her a sense of "mastery." When given a secondhand one by her brother she was most upset at failing in two driving tests, and realized that this meant more to her than just a car. Both her mother and grandmother were killed in auto accidents. Mrs.

Alemco has bitterly resented her children's growing independence, although she discusses this intellectually with understanding. June seems to have been her favorite and Mrs. Alemco is intensely jealous of her son-in-law, resenting the couple's independence.

Felix is a shy, quiet boy, responsive to teachers and schoolmates, but somewhat apart from his school group. He is exceptionally passive and indifferent, never initiates activities and, in spite of superior intelligence, does poor and careless work. His teacher describes him as "sluggish and immature." He is sensitive about being overweight. Felix has a talent for music, but is indifferent to it, although he receives private lessons and is in the school orchestra. Mrs. Alemco nags him to practice and to do his home work, and complains that after school he generally lies on the couch and daydreams or reads. He has to be prodded into activity. He is fearful about riding a bicycle alone or walking along a dark street, particularly since he was attacked last year in Central Park and his bicycle stolen from him. At home he is rebellious and negativistic, has outbursts of temper, sometimes cursing his mother. He is sometimes alone till after supper and openly resents this. Mrs. Alemco feels the need of planned activity after school and over week-ends, since her sewing work keeps her away from home at these times. So far, she has rejected any plan suggested. We tried last year to place Felix in a boarding school but were unsuccessful. Now Mrs. Alemco would like a boarding school placement near her, so that she could visit Felix often.

Maude is a short, stockily built girl with a poor complexion. She dresses without taste and looks poorly groomed. Her manner is alert and she expresses herself cleverly. When we first knew the family, Maude was seen only once on a home visit. She had seemed affectionate with her father and was described by her mother as "the prize student" in the family. Mrs. Alemco said she was not well when Maude was born and Maude "should not have come." Maude was slow to make friends, preferring to stay at home alone. Mrs. Alemco said she "accepted" June's greater popularity. When Mr. Alemco became ill in March, 1936, Maude showed concern over the unrest and pressures at home, including her mother's behavior, which she described as "acting exactly as if father were already dead." June's presence during Mr. Alemco's illness seemed to disturb Maude somewhat, especially because Mr. Alemco seemed to want her with him continually. Maude said that she was interested to find herself stuttering occasionally—a difficulty she had as a small child. She said once that she wished her father would die. His complete disintegration in terms of irritability, weakness, and general unhappiness was

more than she could bear. When he finally died, Maude at first bore up well, then had crying spells and could not sleep. She reported frightening dreams about her father, one being that her mother said he was dead, but she found him alive. While she was convincing her mother that he was alive, he really died and her mother was reproaching her. She related this dream to her mother's blaming her for taking Mr. Alemco to a meeting the night before he became ill. Mrs. Alemco constantly belittled Maude as unattractive and unwilling to dress up as June did. Maude discussed her feelings of rejection, saying she thought she had solved the problem by deciding she did not love her mother. She realized almost at once that she did love her "terribly."

The competitiveness between Maude and her mother was marked and they used the relationship with the worker to reinforce their dependence on each other. The worker tried to encourage Maude to become more independent in various ways—to insist upon sleeping alone, staying at the library, attending group meetings, etc. Maude was told that it seemed best in the future for her and her mother to have different workers. She showed some resistance to this, although she said she would like to have someone of her own. She thought it had helped to have the worker know her mother too. She finally said she objected because it had been decided for her. The worker throughout the early contact focused more upon Maude than Mrs. Alemco. She helped Maude with a number of practical plans, such as camp, part-time work, clothing etc. She arranged for a thorough medical check up because Maude complained of severe pain in her right wrist. She was unable to use her hand and wrote her college examinations with her left hand. Maude talked a great deal about hoping they would find something wrong and was obviously uneasy lest it be psychogenic. She seemed to be trying to convince herself that the latter could not be so. The neurological findings, including X-rays, were negative for any bony structure changes, but baking and massage were tried. Psychiatric referral was suggested, but rejected by Maude on the ground that she hadn't time and would want to be "dead sure" it would help. The worker noted that Maude failed to spare her wrist, even when she said it pained her, and would carry books on that arm and move the wrist unnecessarily. She referred to her wrist as "Zeke," and when later her ankle pained her she gave it a masculine name. The case worker was always struck with Maude's intensity of manner, nervous gestures, and intellectualized, almost compulsive self-analysis, in which she avoided any expression of feeling except as her resentment came out indirectly in ironic wit. Maude expressed increasing resentment against her mother, generally under

the guise of concern for Felix and Mrs. Alemco's treatment of him.

Since Maude wasn't ready to use a psychiatrist because it would "seem like giving in," and since she preferred to continue with a case worker, advice was sought. The psychiatrist gave the following interpretation:

Mrs. Alemco appears to be acutely disturbed. It would be difficult to make a diagnosis, but it is apparent that her previous instability has been increased by her husband's death. Work probably serves a real purpose for her and it would not be sound to urge her to give this up. The sort of supportive treatment case work has been giving her is appropriate. The worker can probably use her own discretion as to reassurance and firmness, since she seems clear about the problem and wise in her handling. If Mrs. Alemco is in or approaching the menopause, we might refer her to a physician for such glandular treatment as may be helpful; otherwise her emotional instability may be heightened. We should be firm with Mrs. Alemco about time. Allowing her to prolong interviews has no therapeutic value and will add nothing to our contact.

Felix's placement seems highly desirable. Since his passivity and poor functioning[9] is not glandular imbalance, it is probably due to emotional factors created or increased by the family situation. The Willow School is not ideal for a child living in the turmoil and disorganization that Felix is in at present. A school, reasonably progressive but with more rules and routine, would be more helpful to him. Since it is almost impossible to find a boarding school, a good institution such as St. Bowers would be quite satisfactory. Perhaps Mrs. Alemco, who will undoubtedly create problems, would be better understood and handled by St. Bowers, where they are constantly dealing with unstable parents. Felix' present behavior may not be seriously pathological now, but the current situation, especially his mother's attitude—the hostility and the seduction—is sufficiently damaging to indicate his removal from it.

Maude presents a picture of a compulsive character. We cannot change her fundamentally, but there is no reason why case work cannot treat her along the lines it is now following—i. e., helping her to see her involvement in and contribution to the family situation, helping her to make as sound choices and decisions as possible, and giving her a kind of support that will compensate her for her deprivations. Dr. Bard strongly approved of the divided contact and felt that it was

[9] In his medical history.

sound to be authoritative about it, rather than to leave the decision to the girl.

Dr. Bard felt that there were certain dangers ahead for Maude. One would be an increase in conversion symptoms. She will not take "Zeke" to a psychiatrist because he might be taken away from her, not because she has the correct explanation for the symptom herself. Maude already tends to reject her feminine role. She must be "the man of the house," "the first mate," etc. One treatment goal should be to help her accept herself as a girl. She tends to belittle men and may have exaggerated her father's "disintegration" for this reason. Her lack of taste in dress may be due to her refusal to be feminine, as well as to her resistance to her mother's wishes. The case worker might deal with the clothes problem quite directly, perhaps in connection with her job and the need to look attractive.

It is unlikely that Maude will be able to make an immediate break with her mother. It would be desirable eventually to have her assume only a financial responsibility and not feel compelled to live with her.

The last case is self-explanatory, suggesting, as it does, a light sustaining contact with the mother, placement, that is, environmental treatment for one child and an active use of the case work relationship in direct treatment of the daughter. But unlike the psychotherapeutic process, the mother, Felix, and others are in an "organic" relationship to our principal client. For the case worker, the parent, spouse, employer, teacher, siblings, and so on, are not psychological background for child or adult, but are *people* within the dimensions of the actual life situation. Possibly Maude can be helped to work off some of her aggression through a skillful vocational placement, but—far more importantly—with the love and trust already given to the case worker she may come to accept some of her hostile feelings as natural but not overwhelming, and so be freer and more comfortable to love and trust in the reality world on which she already has such a firm hold.

Behavior always has complex causation, but whenever it is a direct response to handling or economic pressures or cultural impacts, case work will be more actively engaged than when the individual is driven by basic anxieties and conflicts in the unconscious. Two much simplified illustrations of rejected

children illustrate typical environmental emphases in psychological material:

A boy of fifteen is referred for truanting. The home picture shows a mother nursing an unemployed sick husband, doing all her own housework and caring for an infant as well as a runabout child. With all these pressures the mother turns to her oldest son, expecting sympathy, all sorts of household assistance and, in short, a complete identification with her in her burdens. When the adolescent boy avoids this role, the mother becomes impatient, querulous, and disciplinary. Allowing for the possibility of a deep psychological rejection, the case worker, approaching this on an "environmental" level, is able to interpret the boy's need of love in a way that the mother can accept. Coincidentally economic pressures are reduced through concrete services of various kinds. The mother, less burdened, is now able to give more to the boy who, in turn, is able to respond. Here no attempt is made to give the mother insight, but a favorable affectional balance is nevertheless restored. The problem is not necessarily solved for all time, but a reasonably happily compensated situation is created.

In a slightly severer case we find a twelve-year-old boy of superior intelligence brought in by the mother because of behavior difficulties in the home. The boy expressed anxiety over a mild stuttering habit which had been the cause of much humiliation to him, particularly because of his parents' frequent references to it. The psychiatrist believed that the stuttering was the focus for intense inferiority feelings, due chiefly to deep-seated maternal rejection. Although the mother wanted no treatment for herself, she was concerned enough to be able to follow the suggestions of the case worker, and learned to handle the stuttering in a more constructive way. Warm acceptance which was given by the case worker could have been no substitute for the deep-lying lack of warmth in the mother. The case worker, however, again through interpretation of the boy's reactions, succeeds in achieving a more favorable accepting attitude by the teacher, secures constructive summer placements, and through a weekly spending allowance furnished by the agency gives further reassurance to the boy. This is not only a concrete proof of regard, but it provides a means of inner growth, with less dependence on his mother. Although the stuttering continued, the boy, less disturbed by it, was able to live more comfortably in school and at home, and began to relate himself positively instead of negatively to his associates.

In the second case a psychiatrist was available for diagnosis, but not treatment, as would have been indicated by the boy's symptoms. These examples suggest that whereas the role of the psychiatrist would be to deal with the rejection, to get at the roots of it in the parent, that of the case worker would be to get the parent to show love or, if that were not possible, to accept the fact of negative feelings so that parent and case worker can move together to protect the child from the full effects of such rejection. Case work differs from psychotherapy chiefly then through the level on which it operates in regard to psychic conflicts, and through the directing of attention upon social rather than psychopathological problems.

The chief reason that psychotherapy should not be practiced by lay persons is that psychiatry, linked at one end with psychoanalysis, is linked no less soundly at the other to neurology and psychosomatic medicine. The case worker may have considerable skill in adaptations from the one, but has little equipment which has been adapted from the other. That under close psychiatric supervision case workers may attempt certain things not within social work's main objectives, does not really alter this. Certainly they will treat with social work technique even very sick clients before and after periods of psychotherapy. Certainly they can carry on sustaining and supportive treatment; but because they practice within social agencies or transfer the experience and techniques gained from social agency practice into educational or medical or legal systems, they continue their identification with the profession of social work. All this assumes that social work is competent to make its own social diagnoses and that in cases involving deep emotional disturbance, psychiatric consultation will be sought. Case workers use their knowledge of psychological determinants in personality structure to stimulate the client to more creative choices; to help him assume social responsibilities for himself, his family, his community; to bear strains and pressures with less wear and tear; to modify habits of self-blame and feelings of inadequacy; and because of understanding and support to use

less aggression, anxiety, rigidity, and projections in his social relationships in a real, economic, and cultural environment. The future of case work research is nowhere more important than in testing out theories as to the effect of identifications with neurotic personalities on the capacity to use group and community experience, or of anxiety-hostility patterns in wage earning and home making and other activities. The findings of experimental and psychoanalytical psychology and of statistical and case study sociology can no longer run in parallel lines and through isolated disciplines, if social science is to make its maximum contribution. Such researches, based on intimate knowledge of family life and other primary units, may prove not unrelated to the understanding of group identifications in national and political movements.

Social work should not be evaluated, as is sometimes alleged by a self-liquidating test. Its purposes, historically based, are still concerned with making love instead of hostility effective in human relationships. Social work can release creative energies only as its purposes are accepted, not denied. Political democracy cannot survive unless based on the welfare of its people, but this welfare can neither be handed out nor handed down; it must be progressively achieved through enlightened participation of the commonwealth. Social work is still engaged, it is true, in furnishing the "commodities" of welfare; assistance, board of children, institutional care, recreational and neighborhood activities, and the like, but this is not its sole purpose. It is deeply concerned with programs, social planning, and social change which will make for a better social order, but this is not its entire contribution. The participation of labor in industry, of staffs in their own administration, of groups in their own education, of communities in social planning, of informed and responsible forces in social action, are constructive only as they involve self-determined, cooperative and altruistic behavior. All these movements are interdependent and all rest ultimately on the possibility of socializing the individual personality within the family and the group, for the development of a truly good society.

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