Institutions Serving Children

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New York

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

1944

Printed May, 1944
Reprinted January, 1945
Reprinted June, 1946

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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FOREWORD

THE CONDITION of children today is precarious in all parts of the world. Their plight makes it especially appropriate to look carefully at the provisions now made in the United States for those known to be dependent and neglected. Slightly more than half of these are in institutions of various sorts.

Unfortunately, many of these institutions, with their roots deep in the past, are inadequate by modern standards of child care. Such inadequacies too often translate themselves into cruel misfortune for the children. It is hard to measure the depth of the injury such institutions may inflict on tender and helpless human beings at an age when individual characters are being shaped and the whole direction of young lives determined. Now and then something happens which gives us a glimpse of the harm that may be done by an institution out of step with the best of modern practice and under inconsiderate or unintelligent direction. For these reasons some critics have taken the extreme position of proposing the abandonment of all institutional care of dependent children.

Most thoughtful students of the situation, however, have concluded that well-run institutions still have a definite and useful place in child welfare planning. For some types of cases, indeed, they offer the best solution for the child. In many instances, other forms of child care which might be preferred are not available, and institutions must serve as acceptably as they can. This is especially true during the war period, when problems of military service and of working mothers combine to break up more homes, increasing the number of children who need care, and at the same time making foster homes more difficult to find. We cannot abandon our institutions, even if that were desirable. The problem of the moment is to focus attention upon the development of adequate standards, and to speed their application to all institutions. It can be done, and it should be done.

As one step toward this goal the Russell Sage Foundation commissioned the preparation of the present study by Howard W. Hopkirk, executive director of the Child Welfare League of America. Mr. Hopkirk

writes out of a rich experience covering nearly twenty years in child welfare work. He has had first-hand knowledge of institutional problems as director of recreation, cottage father, and as superintendent of an institution for neglected and dependent children. Previous to becoming director of the Child Welfare League he served for a decade on its staff as consultant and teacher. During this time he participated in surveys of 140 children's institutions and carried the principal responsibility for nationwide surveys of their work for dependent children undertaken at the request of three separate Protestant communions.

This book is more than a summation of his experience. It expresses his deepest hopes for the welfare of children, and indicates the simplest and most practical measures for carrying them out.

SHELBY M. HARRISON, *General Director*
Russell Sage Foundation

PREFACE

THE DEARTH of literature for practical use by the trustees of children's institutions and those who work in them has long been obvious. This book has been written for all having such particular responsibilities for institutions, and for all who study institutions, be they public officials, representatives of community councils or welfare funds, social workers, sociologists, educators, or others with a definite interest in child welfare. If the reading of it should stimulate study or provoke fuller treatment of any of the subjects discussed, the purpose of the writer will have been fulfilled.

There are few fields of learning or of human endeavor unrelated to the welfare of children. The temptation to include too much within the scope of this study has been so real as to leave its mark on the book. Its five parts, covering as many aspects of the subject, might well constitute as many volumes, and it is pertinent to ask why the writer did not confine himself to some one of these aspects. The wide coverage, however, lends perspective and seems important to full understanding of the problem of children's institutions. Broader scope will, perhaps, encourage readers with special interests to extend their concern to other phases of institutional care. When the same subject has necessarily been approached from different points of view, frequent cross-reference and some reiteration has seemed to be unavoidable.

Some older studies of institutions for children and the needs of dependent children are now out of print, such as How Two Hundred Children Live and Learn, by R. R. Reeder, and The Care of Destitute, Neglected and Delinquent Children, by Homer Folks. Others, still available, are identified elsewhere in this book, but the more recent literature is largely in the form of monographs, pamphlets, special articles, and reports of surveys of particular situations. Several recommendations are made here in appropriate chapters concerning the present need for new studies beyond the scope of this book, including: (1) the history of institutional care of children, with emphasis upon auspices and the motives of those who founded the work; (2) institutions for delinquents; (3) study or treatment homes for children with serious problems; (4)

shelters for temporary care of children; (5) the merging of children's agencies and family welfare societies; (6) case recording; (7) methods of accounting.

In time of war when the whole world faces the question, "Which children will be without the normal guardianship of parents when peace comes?" there is a special need for studies bearing on the welfare of children. But even if this were peacetime and we were spared the added solicitudes caused by war, there would still be need for detailed and thorough analysis of current practice. The substantial changes now occurring in our social outlook and convictions are already reflected in the passage of social security legislation and in the advances made in various types of social service. Because most establishments for the care of children were founded and their techniques determined in an earlier era it becomes important to note how far more recent influences have taken effect in modifying or radically altering standards of child care, institutional and other.

Backward institutions may expect many changes in their regimes. Some have long been overdue and some will be revolutionary. But on the whole gradual improvements, often reluctantly made, probably will characterize, more than we like to admit, their future development. Progressive institutions already accustomed to altering their techniques will welcome help in anticipating the need for further innovations and in carrying them out. The farseeing institution, like the thoughtful man, will not waste energy in resisting inevitable social change. It will recognize that modifications are bound to come and will seek to identify and make use of values that are enduring. A reminder of the limited worth of all past experience is carved in stone at the entrance of the National Archives Building in Washington, "What Is Past Is Prologue."

Radical alteration in the economic and social structure of our society may quicken and telescope the gradual change to which we have become accustomed. It may conceivably set us back; or it may force us forward by sudden changes that would otherwise take decades for accomplishment. We move forward both by revolution and evolution. Those who expect only revolutionary social developments will be as confused and as unable to adapt mind and organization to them as those will be who expect only gradual change.

In contrast to the dearth of books about institutions there has been, of recent years, a great deal printed on child care and training. Not only writers of books, pamphlets, and periodicals, but also newspaper colum-

nists, radio commentators, and motion picture actors all have a part in influencing the education of parents and substitute parents. The majority of these presentations are for popular consumption and their validity varies as might be expected. Their very number suggests that most are restatements of truth and error, for which the authors can claim little originality. Such restatements inevitably occur in this book; although the writer confesses to the hope that what is here said will be found to be valid and will tend to encourage more profound study of children, particularly by those who live with them. There is much to learn from first-hand observation, and institutions for children provide valuable laboratories for such study.

It is significant that some of America's best centers of graduate study have utilized institutions for children for both laboratory work and practice teaching. Relationships with educators can be expected to increase with the strengthening of the staffs of such institutions and consequent improvements in their ability to observe the growth and behavior of children.

Child care, however, is a task common to so many adults that we generally fail to recognize its importance. This is painfully apparent in the case of most of those who care for children in institutions. The fatigue that child care induces together with its ordinary tasks and routines keeps it too much on the level of unskilled domestic service. The intricacy of the problems involved in such care and the demands it makes upon good will and the best of man's intelligence are thus frequently ignored by all of us.

Acknowledgments

It has been my privilege to travel far and learn from many who manage institutions or work in them. To those who have thus taught me and to my associates during five years in Albany and fifteen years in New York, I am indebted for both ideas and information. Had it not been for Ruth Hathaway Hopkirk's readiness to work as a cottage mother during the second year of our married life, I might never have developed an interest in institutions for children.

Only a few have read this manuscript, among them being my fellow workers on the staff of the Child Welfare League of America and several on the staff of the Russell Sage Foundation. Others whose reading of the first draft was followed in each instance by helpful criticisms are: Mr. and Mrs. C. W. Areson, the Reverend Thomas J. Bigham, Jr.,

Leonard W. Mayo, and Susanne Schulze. J. André Fouilhoux has stimulated my thinking on the planning of institutional cottages and has facilitated the reproduction of the floor plans used in this book.

The Russell Sage Foundation has made possible this study which otherwise would have been long delayed or never completed. For this I am deeply grateful.

HOWARD W. HOPKIRK

NOTE TO THIRD PRINTING

SPECIFIC information on costs has been added to bring this printing in line with changes which have occurred since the date of original publication. Per capita costs of institutions in North Carolina and South Carolina for 1945 have been added in Table 8, which is comparable to Table 7, showing such costs for 1942. The related text is changed, and reference is made at this point to the recent action of the trustees of the Duke Endowment, allowing some inclusion of care in foster homes among the Endowment's benefactions.

H. W. H.

PART ONE: PLACE OF THE INSTITUTION

Chapter 1

THE NEED FOR CHILDREN'S INSTITUTIONS

More than 250,000 children in the United States go to bed each night in the dormitories of child-care institutions. About 150,000 of them may be designated dependent and neglected, and it is with them that this book is primarily concerned. Perhaps 40,000 are being cared for as delinquents and at least 60,000 more are in institutions because they are physically handicapped, feeble-minded, or epileptic. Still other children, probably in excess of 120,000, are now receiving care in foster family homes, the principal alternative to placement in institutions for children cared for outside the homes of relatives. These figures refer to children up to nineteen years of age. They are round numbers and it is better to leave them so, for adequate data are not available on which to base a precise estimate.

Many as they are, the number of children in this country receiving care in institutions of all kinds is not large when compared with the regiments of homeless children in wartorn China and Europe, but it is large enough to call for examination of the practices and policies of institutions that are providing care for America's disadvantaged children and for scrutiny of the chief needs of the children they serve.

No extensive survey of the evolution of the various types of child-caring agencies is called for in a book that proposes to examine present-day institutions for dependent and neglected children, but brief reference will be made in the early chapters to certain origins, and also to major developments in related fields. It has always been true that maternal and paternal feelings extended beyond the family, and studies of primitive peoples would reveal at least rudimentary concern for the welfare of homeless children. Almost all ancient codes provided to some extent

for the care of children, sometimes treating them as chattels, but often recognizing in some degree society's obligation to care for those who are without suitable guardians. The history of religions and of fraternal orders would yield much material for a study of the auspices under which such undertakings originated and something of the motives of the founders.

Asia, as well as Europe and the Near East, would contribute to such a study from ancient experience and social codes. Most religions have sprung from the Orient and it is well for us of the Occident to remember that children were a concern of social philosophers and religious teachers who in terms of place and time are far removed from us. Two glimpses of such influences have come to the writer. A former premier of the Chinese imperial government in Peiping, in keeping with the social teachings of his ancestors, established a large orphanage in one of the pleasantest suburbs of the city. As he and his household became subject to Western influences, the next generation of his family, now also in positions of leadership, brought to the care of these children skills learned from graduate study in the United States, in the fields of both education and social work. A more ancient service for children was reported by a Buddhist priest visiting the United States. He had a supervisory responsibility for a Japanese orphanage founded 1,400 years ago which was still functioning.

As Apparent to Early Founders

Within the Christian tradition there are indications concerning the care of dependent and neglected children that go back to the dim beginnings of church history. In his book, The Institution for Children,[1] the Reverend A. T. Jamison mentions the Council of Nicaea of 325 A.D., under the authority of which hospices were organized for the care of travelers, the sick and the poor. These shelters were perhaps the first Christian agencies to care for destitute children. An article appearing in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science takes up the theme as follows:

> In the Middle Ages the monastic tradition established the institution as the training place par excellence for Christian character. Quite naturally this idea was applied to the upbringing of children who because of parental shortcomings or other misfortunes were forced to depend on other shelter than their own homes. If the

[1] Baptist Book Depository, Columbia, S. C., n.d., p. 7.

monastery and the convent were of benefit for the Christian culture of men and women who might, if necessary, cope with the world, obviously similar institutions under religious auspices were adapted to the saving of children who would perish or at least grow up in miserable surroundings if not taken into places of shelter. This development in the Roman Catholic Church undoubtedly carried over to other Christian bodies and established a tradition widely followed in this country.[1]

Confining our view to the United States, it was the nuns of the Ursuline Convent in New Orleans who were the first to undertake the care of children separate from needy adults. An Indian massacre in 1729 brought newly orphaned children to be cared for by the sisters, thus emphasizing the fact that the emergency needs of children in time of war and disaster have always stimulated the founding of institutions for their care.

The article quoted above states that early investments in institutions for children were made by Roman Catholics and Protestants alike in the first half of the nineteenth century, but it was not until the war between the states that great activity was to be noted in the building of such establishments.

The fraternal orders, on the whole, began somewhat later than the churches and lay groups to undertake the care of children. The first institution founded by a fraternal order was established by the Masons in California in 1850, but it had been preceded by several church organizations in that state. The Jewish Orphan Asylum of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith was founded in New Orleans in 1855; the Masons established an institution—not the first—in Kentucky in 1867. Two or three child-caring institutions were established elsewhere in the 1870's "from which time the fraternal orders seem to have gone with the tide of orphanage building that characterized most parts of the country in the 1880's and 1890's, without embodying any distinctive points in their programs." [2]

The function of an institution generally is reflected in its administrative policies and the services whereby these policies are applied. It is true even today that many institutions maintained by churches and fraternal orders have no adequate standards of investigation before the admission of children, or of work with the child or his family during his residence, or after his discharge. There are more religious and fraternal agencies

[1] Areson, C. W., and Hopkirk, H. W., "Child Welfare Programs of Churches and Fraternal Orders," in Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. 121, September, 1925, p. 85.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

now than in earlier years when they were first coming into existence; consequently any improvement or deterioration of their services will affect many children. Improvements are in evidence—more in the church than in the fraternal groups.

From earliest times the humanitarian impulse expressed in the efforts of religious and fraternal organizations was to be seen as well in the attempts of government to care for homeless or neglected children. A casual observer might presume that tenderer motives have more often characterized private than public welfare efforts; that government, having due regard for the taxpayer, has been content only to prevent suffering that might be uncomfortably obvious or that might, through vagabondage or epidemic, prove dangerous to the community. However, the traditional superiority of private over governmental work has not always prevailed. Today, especially, a governmental agency may be surprisingly responsive to human need, reflecting the warmth of a good neighbor's sympathy, while church and fraternal institutions or others conducted under private philanthropic auspices, can be found that are content to supply a severe and pauperizing kind of foster care.

As Reflected in Early Legislation

The history of what has been done for dependent children under governmental auspices may be traced back in this country to the undertakings of early local governments, when these children, if they were not sold or indentured, shared the fate of impoverished adults, the mentally deranged, and the delinquent, in being herded together for such shelter and food as the almshouses or even the prisons of the day afforded.

The children's codes, like the other welfare statutes of the United States, traditionally are rooted in the laws of England, but it is interesting to trace possible connections with those who influenced the English Poor Law, among whom was the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives, born in 1492, who lived for some time in England during the reign of Henry VIII and who lectured at both Louvain and Oxford. The International Labour Office in a recent report remarks that parochial assistance as provided for in the English Poor Law of 1601 "was defined in terms that give simplified expression to the precepts of Vives." Instead of indiscriminate almsgiving, Vives "advocated social case-work, vocational training for the unemployed, boarding schools for abandoned children, separate hospitals for the sick and insane, and sheltered em-

ployment for the blind and infirm" [1]—a pattern of social service even yet not fully accomplished.

In the United States the full cycle of governmental relationships to the child is clearly outlined and illustrated by documents appearing in The Child and the State by Grace Abbott.[2] New England pioneers accepting, no doubt, "the prevailing view that poverty was usually the fault of the poor . . . desired to prevent in their new settlements what they thought of as the pauperism of the Old World." [3] Their laws were designed to forward this purpose. Early legislation, reports, and other documents quoted by Miss Abbott illustrate the selling of children at auction, their indenture and apprenticeship, their care in almshouses, and the gradual emergence of different types of foster care. She outlines later trends in the development of municipal, county, and state institutions for dependents; the subsidy of private agencies from governmental funds; state regulation of private agencies; and the present provision under the Social Security Act of governmental Child Welfare Services in rural areas.

By the middle of the nineteenth century dissatisfaction with care of children in almshouses, usually operated by county supervisors of the poor, had already stimulated many private undertakings for their relief, some of which were given grants of public funds. Somewhat later such dissatisfaction became great enough to lead to the enactment of state laws and the appropriation of local funds for the establishment of separate county homes for children. Ohio, in 1866 passed a law, the first of its kind, that permitted counties to establish children's homes, of which it eventually acquired 56. During the next twenty-five years county children's homes sprang up also in Connecticut and Indiana. Indiana authorized the boarding of county wards in private institutions, another step which marked considerable progress but which there and in a few other states led to some of the most complicated patterns under which child care is now administered in the United States. The pattern as developed in Indiana, with its confusion of responsibilities, has appeared for several decades to be practical in the operation of private agencies in New York State.

Michigan, in 1874, inaugurated another system in the opening of its State Public School, now called the Michigan Children's Institute. This

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[1] Approaches to Social Security: An International Survey. Studies and reports Series M (Social Insurance) no. 18, Montreal, 1942, p. 3.

[2] University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1938.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 3.

plan for institutional service was designed as an improvement on care in county homes. From its early days foster homes for free care were widely utilized by this agency, although it was common for its institution to be filled to capacity. Having seen the limitations in the operation by the state of a single institution which removes children into group life far from their families, the administration of this state school has extended its foster care service to include the use of family boarding homes for most of its wards, maintaining only a small institution at Ann Arbor for the observation and care of others. In 1936 its large institutional plant at Coldwater was turned over to another department of the state for the care of mentally defective children.

A few states followed the first step taken by Michigan. A few also developed large state homes for the children of soldiers and sailors, four of which were founded during or just after the war between the states. These were Iowa in 1863, Indiana in 1865, Illinois and Ohio in 1869. Much later (in 1895) Pennsylvania founded a similar institution.

In meeting the increasing cost of operating institutions and in developing additional facilities the early method of subsidizing private child care from public funds on a per capita basis has been accepted, notably in New York. There is, however, much to be said for separating as completely as possible the public from the private care of children, each having a distinctive place in a country as democratic as the United States. It becomes difficult to center responsibility for a child when tax funds are used for the per capita subsidy of a non-sectarian or religious agency. Seldom do such funds cover the entire cost of the child's care, and neither the agency nor the government contributing to the support of a child is sufficiently concerned if the budget is inadequate. Each may point to the other as the one that has failed to make sufficient provision for the child. There are other complicating factors, but this economic division of responsibility—an outgrowth of an earlier era—is the one which is most objectionable.

As Seen Today

There is a confusing variety in the problems underlying child dependency and neglect. They appear singly or in combinations. Differences in criteria for determining these social handicaps are also marked among agencies within the same community as well as in different communities.

Why Children Are Sent to Institutions

The reasons are varied why thousands of American children say "Good Night" to the employe of an institution instead of to their own mothers. The mothers of some are dead, absent, ill, or otherwise incapacitated. There are mothers who have been declared incompetent by action of a court, and others whose incompetence is apparent to themselves and to the social workers who arrange for voluntary separation of children from their parents.

In the latest census of dependent and neglected children, taken in 1933, the proportions of children with and without parents were recorded.[1] A distinction was also made in these tabulations between legitimate and illegitimate children which must be preserved in the following statements. During that year, the mothers of more than a third of the legitimate children in institutions were dead, the whereabouts of an eighth were unknown, and the mothers of a little more than a fourth were at home. Another tabulation of the same census shows that of the large number of the children whose mothers were dead, nearly a third had also lost their fathers by death, while of those whose mothers were at home, 41 per cent had lost their fathers by death. Among the relatively small number of illegitimate children, the mothers of only a small fraction were dead, more than a third were at home, and the whereabouts of more than a fourth were unknown.

Parental status from the point of view of child care involves more than the physical presence or absence of the parent. Sometimes a child with both parents living is without a competent mother and father. Moreover, the child who has lost one parent may have lost only the one who is incompetent. In many situations where the discriminating services of a social worker have been called into play, a psychiatrist and a judge also share in determining whether the parent is competent or incompetent. When the changeability of human nature is considered it becomes clear that the most skilled workers can only approximate a valid appraisal of a parent's effectiveness. The institutions whose founders established them for the protection of fatherless children, or of whole orphans, were not so near as was presumed to a selection of the children in greatest need of foster care. The Biblical suggestion that society care specifically for the "fatherless" was more applicable to those days when the child without a father might starve or be sold as a slave.

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[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census, Children Under Institutional Care and in Foster Homes, 1933. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1935, pp. 40, 41.

The sequences which lead so directly to dependency, neglect, and even to the delinquency of children, include illness, unemployment, malnutrition, poverty, debt, family discord and incompatibility. War complicates this picture, indirectly as it affects the general level of child welfare, and directly as it affects individuals and family groups. No one can foresee fully its consequences. There may be progressive improvement in our purposes and methods, corresponding somewhat to the advances made after World War I, or it may be that the disintegrating forces that threaten the social fabric all over the world will undo some of our hard-won achievements. It is certain that families in wartime are disrupted by military service, the impact of increased cost of living, and economic displacement with consequent employment of a man at some distance from home. The manpower shortage accounts for the wartime employment of many women, including mothers, who may seek employment for its economic advantages, the personal satisfactions derived from achievement, the social approval it brings, or the escape which it allows. Families are learning to adapt themselves to tremendous changes but sometimes the strain caused by the combination of responsibility for both a child and a job may prove demoralizing to family life, or lead to the loss of a mother's health, and so to further insecurity for the child.

Mental disease of a parent is one of the most common of the factors leading to child dependency. Whether or not the parent is hospitalized, mental illness usually is more prolonged than other maladies and consequently requires families to seek some form of substitute parental care. The child may have acquired emotional and behavior problems as a result of a parent's morbid attitudes. Among mothers living but not able to care for their children, many are in mental hospitals, and among those at home but incompetent some always may be counted as mentally ill.

Emotional problems of children, however caused, may present handicaps which require at least temporary institutional care. But whatever the problems of a particular child, care in an institution should seldom be considered as the only recourse. Social workers are well aware that many children in need of some form of care have been admitted to institutions who should have been kept with parents or other relatives, or placed directly in foster homes.

Among these various causes of dependency, poverty still constitutes a major threat to the welfare of children. Often it may be only a

symptom, rather than a cause, of social distress, as when it follows in the train of prolonged illness. On the other hand, it may predetermine illness and is often a direct cause of social maladjustments of many sorts. When it stalks into the lives of children it commonly leaves heavy bruises. Whatever its components, poverty will remain a reality to countless children throughout the world until social security for all is firmly established.

A comparatively recent approach to the problem as it appears today in the United States is seen in the provisions of the Social Security Act whereby Aid to Dependent Children subsidizes care with parents or with relatives of the second degree, and the separately administered Child Welfare Services allows for various needs of children including the support of different types of foster care. Had this not come about we should have needed a great expansion of resources for foster care in both institutions and foster families.

It is not practical to predict the extent or nature of future developments in this direction. But however large the number of children who are spared foster care as a result of the provision, through the Social Security Act, for care in their own homes, the number of children requiring some type of foster care is still very large and may easily increase.

That institutions should recognize how modest is their share of the total task of caring for America's children is important, and it will be fortunate if other methods of child care keep institutional populations from increasing. At present, however, institutions must assume the critical task of caring for some 150,000 dependent and neglected boys and girls. It is institutions caring for these children which this book examines. Many of its observations apply also to those of other types which in some instances are mentioned, but no attempt has been made to cover their special problems.

Chapter 2

DEVELOPMENT OF INSTITUTIONS FROM ASYLUMS AND ORPHANAGES INTO SCHOOLS OR HOMES

About a hundred years ago the movement was developing in this country to establish institutions for the separate care of dependent children and to spare them the dismal associations of the common almshouses of earlier years. The actual improvements in institutions have followed roughly certain logical steps: asylums and orphanages have changed into schools or homes, and more recently, certain institutions have become children's centers or study homes. Early asylums were no doubt as modern and progressive for their day as are the study homes or treatment centers which some now consider the last word in institutional facilities. But on the whole, each step has marked actual progress.

The Institution as an Asylum or Orphanage

The term asylum as first used in its primary meaning of "sanctuary or place of refuge and protection" was an expressive word, well suited to the purposes of the type of institution which it then described. The concept of an asylum, however unacceptable the name, represented the community's concern for children in need of care. Because the standards of these early establishments now seem to us wretchedly low, and also because the word is chiefly associated with old-fashioned institutions for the insane, asylum is now generally unacceptable as a name for children's institutions. Even present-day hospitals for the mentally ill resent this designation. Strangely enough its earlier meaning of sanctuary or refuge was illustrated as late as the closing years of the eighteenth century in the work of a man who was outstanding as an educator and who is recognized as the father of our modern ideal of education for the people—Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi. When Pestalozzi was called upon to create an asylum for children suddenly and violently deprived of their natural guardians a practical example was given of emergency need for child care following upon war.

The Swiss village of Stanz was devastated in 1798 by soldiers who killed 400 of its citizens, including 102 women and 25 children, and burned 340 homes. In this crisis government officials turned to Pestalozzi, whose work for dependent children at his farm school in Neuhof, Switzerland, was already known to them. In Stanz he organized an institution for the homeless and orphaned children which may be viewed as being on the borderline between an asylum and a school. It was referred to officially sometimes as an educational establishment and sometimes as a poorhouse. He directed it for only six months but left a significant account of his work there.

Pestalozzi's concept of the requirements of children under his care went far beyond the theories of protection and training current in his day. It is plain from his own records that he not only taught his wards but studied them as individuals, so that his undertaking at Stanz, save in the circumstances of its founding, qualifies as an "educational establishment" and should be so classified. Even in 1944 probably one-half of the institutions in the United States exhibit less concern for the development of their wards and keep less careful records of that development than he did in the eighteenth century. As evidence of the deep insight and understanding—revolutionary for his time—which he brought to the problems of underprivileged youth, his brief report on the condition of each of the 37 children under his care at Neuhof on February 26, 1778, is given at the end of this book.[1] At Stanz, at Neuhof, and elsewhere, Pestalozzi faced problems that puzzle many heads of institutions today.

Changes in Nomenclature

It is well that the words asylum and orphanage have fallen into disfavor to be succeeded by such terms as school or home. According to the federal census of institutions of 1910,[2] there were at that time 207 institutions carrying the word asylum in their titles. The corresponding census for 1933 [3] showed that 120 of them had replaced the word asylum with a more acceptable appellation. The same census volume failed to list 25 of these earlier institutions, some of which had been discontinued and some merged with other agencies. Asylum is now seldom used as

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[1] See Appendix A.

[2] U. S. Bureau of the Census, Benevolent Institutions. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1910.

[3] *Idem,* Children Under Institutional Care and in Foster Homes, 1933. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1935.

a designation except to identify the corporation, as in the case of the Pacific Hebrew Orphan Asylum in San Francisco, the popular and commonly used name for which is Homewood Terrace. A few outstanding child-care programs still operate under ancient and outmoded titles. For example, to cite two whose policies, unlike their names, are modern, the Chicago Orphan Asylum and the New England Home for Little Wanderers, in Boston. The Chicago agency closed its last institutional unit some years ago, and now, in spite of its title, provides only foster family care for its wards.

The term orphanage also has become objectionable. Like asylum, it calls undue attention to the plight of those served, and has come to suggest a meager type of care. It has long been a misnomer, few of the children in such institutions being full orphans and an increasing proportion having both parents alive.

Changes in nomenclature no doubt have had roots in popular dissatisfaction with child care that tends to focus its efforts only upon the provision of food, shelter, and clothing. Such dissatisfaction may be salutary even when it is of the kind reflected in the "Daddy Longlegs" and the "Orphan Annie" type of caricature, which portrays the institution and its matron among life's evils, from which a child is lucky to escape.

Names, of course, are insignificant in comparison with purpose and achievement. It is limitations in leadership and resources, too often coupled with a lack of community planning or an inactive social conscience on the part of trustees and public alike, that have left us today with far too large a quota of backward institutions. Within recent years the writer has made visits to institutions in which the ignorance of the personnel, the insufficiency of clothing and diet, and the severity and discipline that prevailed were so conspicuous as to suggest that only the least adequate efforts in the earlier care of children could be any worse. Should acquaintance with a few high-grade child-caring homes or schools lull anyone into assuming that poor care and management are to be found only in the asylums of the past, he would be startled by present examples which still show nearly all steps in institutional evolution.

The Institution as a School

The modern institution apart from its name cannot be fully identified by any one service, even viewing only its primary functions and re-

sponsibilities. Although an institution may be giving insufficient care to its children it cannot avoid fulfilling various necessary functions and must require of its staff many different abilities and faculties. It perforce becomes a meeting place for the exercise of skills in the fields of education, health, welfare, mental hygiene, nutrition, and recreation. It is inevitable in a child's development that almost every phase of his environment contributes to his education. Those who would call the institution a school thus have a justification, and once we leave behind the idea of the asylum the concept of the institution as a school becomes truly descriptive.

How Named and Operated

Of the organizations listed by the 1933 census as providing either institutional or foster family care, or both, only 150, less than 7 per cent, used the word school in their names. Of these, 70 had such titles as manual training school, industrial school, farm school, or trade school. The tendency to use names suggesting a vocational training purpose was found to be more pronounced in Illinois than in any state, there being among its 124 institutions and other agencies for dependent and neglected children 10 called industrial schools for girls, 8 manual training schools, and 10 using the word school in some other way. The term industrial school, it may be noted, has not been limited as much as might be presumed to the identification of institutions for delinquents.

Some concept of the institution as a school has probably been present from the beginning of the care of children in institutions. Until recently it has been customary in the institutions of this country to operate an elementary and sometimes a secondary school, but at the present time there is a definite tendency for institutions serving dependent and neglected children to send their wards off the premises to public or parochial schools.

However, institutions with populations in excess of 200 children usually have elementary schools on their own properties, sometimes supported in part by a subsidy from state or local school-tax funds. Not infrequently in large institutions a fully tax-supported public school is established on the grounds which may or may not enroll children in addition to its own wards.[1] Most institutions in distinctly rural locations, regardless of their size, have schools on their premises. The Davis-Stuart School, near Lewisburg, West Virginia, is an illustration of a small

[1] See also Chapter 12, Education and Training of the Child: In School.

sectarian institution having the public district school on its property, where both its children and those from nearby farms are enrolled.

Factors in Raising Age for Discharge

Before 1900 elementary education in institutions generally led up to apprenticeship or to work on the farm or in domestic service. During the past thirty years various changes in the customs and attitudes affecting children generally in the United States and certain radical revisions of the policies of child-care agencies have tended to prolong the dependence of the children under care of those agencies. There has been a growing tendency on the part of institutions to keep many of their intellectually more promising children under care until they have been graduated from high school and occasionally, in the case of students able to profit by college training, even to twenty or twenty-one years. The idea of an institution as a school has exerted such influence, and has helped to place the institution ahead of the old asylum or orphanage, which girls and boys usually left at about twelve or fourteen years of age.

Our modern inclination to think of the child as an individual has led to a new consideration of the opinions and desires of children themselves. Whether living in an institution or in a family home, the child now may have much to say as to the amount of his schooling and how he will earn his livelihood. This is in sharp contrast to an older tradition under which parents determined the child's employment and the age at which he began to work, and, as a matter of course, took from him his earnings as a contribution to the family purse.

Many economic and social factors account for shifts in the ages at which children are expected to work, play or study. Among the most obvious and important are the following, all of which are applicable to institutions:

1. Compulsory education laws.
2. The growth of the tendency to consider graduation from high school a normal requirement for intelligent youth. This has resulted in part from an awareness that with it comes the maturity which a worker needs and that to begin work while in the early teens may seriously lessen a young person's chances for holding his job and advancing in it.
3. Reluctance of child-caring agencies to supply "slavies" for domestic, agricultural, or industrial work. The passing of indenture,

gradual though it has been, reflects the increasing public awareness that in no respect should a child be a chattel.

4. A reduced peacetime demand for the employment of youths which has been brought about partly by the invention of labor-saving household machinery, the mechanization of farm work, a shift in policies of apprenticing whereby children no longer find this a channel to vocational placement, and the minimum age requirements of labor unions.
5. Child labor laws, which in spite of their many loopholes and unevennesses in administration, codify the thinking and experience with regard to children who work, and register some activity of our corporate conscience.
6. A new strength in our better institutions due to improved staffing. In the old days discharge of children at twelve or fourteen years of age sometimes was necessary owing to the weaknesses of institutional staffs, which often were quite incapable of controlling children of the teen ages and were not qualified to understand them. Given a weak staff and a large group of adolescent children, an institution will have one of two experiences; the staff will use authority with enough severity to protect itself and to maintain that order which results in institutionalizing the personalities of both children and workers, or the staff will be intimidated and the institution run by the adolescents. In self-defense, therefore, adolescents too often will be discharged from care. Even with a strong staff adolescent revolt can be observed in institutions, as in family homes, but with workers who recognize it for what it is, it is much less intense and consequently more endurable than when expressed in concentrated form toward one or both parents. It is therefore now less of a factor in influencing early discharge of adolescent children.

Wartime finds us slipping into certain dangerously austere patterns. Children, as in the days of Charles Dickens, are again working long hours and at tasks that overtax their strength. But there still remains at least the framework for their legal protection, their education, and nutrition. Such advantages mark a substantial part of our boys and girls as the most privileged in the world. Institutions for children, therefore, may find any wartime changes in the age groups served of passing significance only, and the country will be inclined to return quickly to its peacetime insistence upon high-school graduation for those who desire it and the consequent privilege of growing up before competing with adult workers.

Vocational Training

Modern education for the trades and industry, when at its best, whether in public or private schools, has turned its back on the concept of handwork as its principal component—a too familiar policy in the early days of "manual training" and "domestic science" courses. The newer approach gives due weight to the use of tools and machines, but puts emphasis also on the essential scientific and cultural training needed by all persons who, whether they have much or little relation to a particular industry, above all should be capable of adapting themselves to technical, economic, and social change.

Institutions caring for children in their teens are too inclined to cling to the outworn concept just noted of handwork as the chief factor in vocational training. This is especially true of a group of institutions for dependent children, sometimes named manual training schools, patterned after earlier public trade schools. Their policies seem rooted in the old institutional pattern, in which "schooling" meant a minimum of elementary classroom instruction and a maximum of drudgery, frequently embellished with the labels of domestic, industrial, or agricultural training.

Work training in institutions can possess important values; all children need enough of it to give them habits of regularity and thoroughness, and to develop some of the dexterity and precision needed by any good workman. But there should be no delusions as to the educational value of prolonged hours at hoeing, weeding gardens, washing pots and pans, ironing, scrubbing or polishing floors, or even embroidering. Children probably will accept such tasks as necessary but will deny any attractiveness with which adults attempt to gild these or other daily chores. Under thoughtful and sympathetic supervision even such humdrum tasks taste of the realities of life and through them good habits can be developed.[1] It is seldom, however, that children, upon leaving an institution, find that their work experience has led them to a vocation; few follow their hoeing with the life of a farmer or their ironing with work in a commercial laundry. The same can be said to less degree of some of the more pretentious trade training in institutions in garment-making, printing, or woodworking. The boy or girl who after performing certain duties finds them interesting and later pursues them as an occupa-

[1] Further discussion will be found in Chapter 12, Education and Training of the Child: Through Work.

tion, may discover his own vocational outlet in spite of institutional rigidities. Many of the best workers with children have avoided the pretense of specific vocational training and modestly have contented themselves with turning the necessary activities of life into educative situations, aiming mainly at the development of those elementary work habits at which capable parents aim in training their children through ordinary household tasks.

Our strongest institutions recognize the problems created by obsolescent equipment and incompetent teachers, and, to the extent to which they have reduced these handicaps, some excellent results in the way of trade training have been realized.

Infant Care as Vocational Training. Among institutions that care for infants are many that operate nursemaid training schools. Ostensibly their aim has been to prepare girls in their upper teens for work at which they can earn their living, and to some extent this training has been valuable. Usually, however, such training has been ineffective, and too often has actually been continued in order to provide cheap staffing for the institutional care of infants. Most institutions cannot pay for or have not been willing to pay for a skilled adult staff large enough [1] and stable enough to do this kind of work properly. While some student nursemaids are also older wards of the institution, it is customary in many instances, to recruit students from the community at the beginning of each training period. Thus the bulk of the child-care staff serves only for the duration of the training period, which may be for six months or a year. The recourse to a nursemaid training school brings in its trail (a) a rapid turnover in staff, (b) an excessive number of girls or young women too recently arrived in the institution and too ignorant of their responsibilities to permit them to be effective substitute mothers, (c) a tendency to encourage low training standards because the institution usually does not provide a competent faculty for a training school. Furthermore, the mixture of responsibilities for child-care and nursemaid training is too heavy a burden for the executive. Incidentally, these are among the reasons why infant care in institutions is undesirable, and why infants in need of foster care, unless ill or seriously defective mentally, should be placed for permanent care in family homes rather than in institutions.

[1] If infant care is provided at all the rate of workers of all types to infants should be about one worker to two babies.

The Institution as a Home

According to the census of 1933, already quoted, the word home was used in the names of about one-half of the organizations listed but, however they may be named, most institutions for dependent children now attempt purposefully to combine the roles of both school and home. The modern substitution of cottages for large congregate dormitories may be considered as a practical move toward making institutions as homelike as possible and more congenial to normal childhood. This is a much more significant improvement than the change of name from asylum to home.

The Cottage Plan

Too often the shift from congregate to cottage plan has been made without initiating the basic changes which are essential to a more homelike environment. The idea of having the institutional structure resemble a family dwelling has appealed to trustees, executives, and architects. But what has mattered most to the children has been the reduction in the sizes of groups, and the consequent increase in the amount of mothering a child receives, as well as the greater freedom from the conformity which haunts most congregate institutions. Unfortunately many trustees and architects have remained unaware of these considerations and have failed to go far enough to realize the full advantages which a cottage plan can provide. The practice of keeping cottage groups almost or just as large as the old dormitory groups, and of failing to increase the proportion of workers to children defeats the whole conception of the cottage plan.

There are cottages, nevertheless, that represent much careful planning and true insight into the needs of children. Some of the best go so far as to allow brothers and sisters to live together under the same roof. It is pathetic, however, to realize that probably less than 2 per cent of our institutions have cottages that permit this sensible and humane arrangement. Not only are family groups of children separated by sex in most institutions but often as a result of the classification of children in cottages by age as well as by sex, brothers are separated from brothers and sisters from sisters.

Institutions favorably known for their cottages which allow boys and girls to live under the same roof include: Vista del Mar, Los Angeles;[1]

[1] For floor plans, see Chapter 9, Plant.

Homewood Terrace, San Francisco; Edgewood, maintained by the San Francisco Protestant Orphanage, San Francisco; The Pauline Sterne Wolff Memorial Home, Houston; Children's Village, of the Methodist Children's Home Society, Detroit;[1] The Society for Seamen's Children, Staten Island, New York; The Children's Center, New Haven.[1]

Our sex-jittery culture has been responsible for the continued monastic separation of the sexes in children's institutions. But today even in institutions planned for segregation according to sex, there are a few outstanding administrators who, by ingeniously adapting plants to their purposes wherever possible, are increasingly bringing children together in common dining rooms and in other places.

The experience of Samuel Langer, superintendent until his retirement at Homewood Terrace in San Francisco, is of value in this connection. Dr. Langer was able to observe conditions in the old congregate building operated on the plan of sex segregation, and to compare these conditions with attitudes prevailing among the children in their new cottage plant where boys and girls live together in the same buildings. He speaks with conviction of the value derived from the improved living conditions. The policy of freer association of boys and girls under the same roof has been maintained by the present executive of Homewood Terrace, and was instituted by Dr. Langer's one-time assistant, Joseph Bonapart, at Vista del Mar, a similar institution in Los Angeles, where he is now the executive.

At both institutions there is room for ten girls and ten boys in each cottage. The cottage staffs have long consisted of carefully selected, well-paid, sensible women capable of treating the relations of boys and girls without morbid suggestion. At Vista del Mar some of the cottage mothers are married, and their husbands, who are employed in the near-by community, have their part in the cottage life. It has been found that under these favorable conditions misbehavior between boys and girls was noticeably less than it had been under the old practice of separating the sexes.

Adaptations of Old Plants

Of special interest is the fact that some of the old congregate institutions have been so altered as to make their buildings more attractive to children and more homelike than the newer conventional cottages which often bulge with a poorly accommodated group of from 25 to

[1] For floor plans, see Chapter 9, Plant.

30 children. A few institutions have been successful in cutting up dormitories by the use of cubicles resembling individual bedrooms. In other instances large dormitory groups have been so divided as to permit of reasonably small units.

Some of the best adaptations of old plants have been worked out by Roman Catholic institutions. At the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin, Mount Loretto, Staten Island, New York, the visitor may observe practical adaptations of old congregate institutional dormitories for smaller groups, as well as some of the most modern and attractive cottage units. One large dining room has been cut up into cubicles or alcoves, each large enough to provide comfortable and attractive dining facilities for a separate cottage or dormitory group.

There are also many small institutions in which a total population of 50 or less uses one building for all activities, including dormitories, dining rooms, offices, storerooms, and sometimes even classrooms. There is as much variation as the imagination can depict between the barrenness of some of these buildings and the cheerfulness of others. Naturally the physical attractiveness of an institution must always depend upon the initiative and good taste of those responsible for its decorations and furnishings, and differences will be as great as they are in family homes.

Pseudo-Modernity vs. Progress

Ideas of homelike decoration and furnishing may or may not be accompanied by a spirit of service on the part of the staff. Some institutions seem to have invested in overstuffed furniture for the same reason that they have changed their corporate names—to give the outer appearance of modernity. Telltale cleanliness and order or a stiff and unvaried arrangement of furniture too often point to a staff more interested in the spic-and-span aspect of buildings and furnishings than in the naturalness and spontaneity of the children. Many congregate institutions provide attractive settings for group life. This is most commonly true where the governing board and the staff share in determination to accept children as they are, to understand them and meet their needs, and to make the institution as much of a home as possible.

A token of the shift in emphasis from asylums to homes sometimes appears in these congregate institutions in the transformation of the old board room, formerly reserved for use of trustees at their monthly meetings. Usually this is one of the most attractive rooms in the building, better lighted and ventilated than any other large room unless it be a

dining room or a dormitory. Repeatedly the trustees and executives of institutions have turned to this board room when in search of space for a much-needed living room, library, or kindergarten. It is not uncommon now to find the portraits of past presidents and trustees looking down from the walls of the board room at a group of busy, happy children, who in the asylum days would have entered the room only to polish its floors and dust its furniture. It is no impairment of dignity for a board of trustees to sit at a library or living-room table which shows scratches because the children have made daily use of it.

The tendency to make institutions more homelike can well be expressed in the freer use by children of plant and equipment. Improvements in staff and a progressive attitude on the part of trustees will provide the sanctions for such changes and supply the necessary imagination and sympathy. As far as possible the institution should account for the experiences and emotional values which exist for a child in a well-organized home. In seeking this ideal it is only realistic to recognize the impossibility of making a home of an institution, and to avoid any pretense of so doing.

Chapter 3

INSTITUTIONS AND FOSTER HOMES: TWO PARTS OF A WHOLE

Since the year 1880 the Bureau of the Census has attempted to count children's institutions and the children they serve at the time of, or shortly following, each decennial population census. Unfortunately, the methods used in these enumerations of institutions have differed radically and most have probably been seriously incomplete, so that no safe comparisons of their general results can be made. The census of dependent and neglected children taken in 1933, however, was much more carefully planned and carried out than were the enumerations which preceded it, and it probably provides an approximately accurate record of the number of privately supported benevolent organizations and of public agencies, including town, county, and state departments of welfare, that were engaged in the care of dependent and neglected children, and also of the children in their care during the year of the census.

Estimated Number of Institutions and of Children in Care

At the time of the 1933 census, reports were received from 2,280 organizations which were classified as serving dependent and neglected children.[1] This figure included both institutions and foster family agencies. For purposes of practical definition 1,600 may probably be accepted as the approximate number of institutions of all sizes caring for dependent and neglected children in that year. Not all of these, however, were separately administered.

The number of dependent and neglected children in institutions and foster homes was given in the 1933 census as 242,929. This figure stands in need of some clarification lest it be confused with the 250,000 children in this country who, in round numbers, we have stated are in institu-

[1] Returns were sought in this census from 2,308 organizations, of which only 28 failed to report or made incomplete reports. The estimated number of children thereby omitted from the census was 7,238.

tions of various types—for the dependent and neglected, the physically handicapped, the delinquent, and feeble-minded. The figure 242,929 is made up of 102,577 children in foster homes and 140,352, or 58 per cent, in institutions for the dependent and neglected. A census today would certainly show larger numbers in both these categories. Many children are in foster homes under personal arrangements, and if account is taken of them as well as of those under the supervision of welfare agencies, it is probable that the number of children in foster family homes, even in 1933, was at least 120,000. Among neglected children not included in the census figures just quoted were some who were still in almshouses. In addition there was an unknown number in boarding schools, camps, commercial child-care establishments, and unlicensed boarding homes. Omitted also from the census figures, was the large number of children receiving Aid to Dependent Children in their own homes or in the homes of relatives of the second degree.

Important difficulties arise in attempting to count or classify institutions for children or the children they serve. At the present time, for instance, there is some tendency to avoid such terms as delinquent or feeble-minded in classifications of children. As professional workers come to know more about children and their problems, the more reluctant they are to characterize boys and girls by their handicaps. Nevertheless the census must account separately for these groups.

Another census or series of censuses of child-care organizations and their beneficiaries was to have been taken in 1943. As yet, it appears, no plans have been made for carrying out such an undertaking partly because of war conditions. The data are most urgently needed, however, for evaluation of the fragmentary evidence otherwise available concerning trends in the various types of child care, and it is to be hoped that means may be found for taking this census as soon as possible.

Size of Institutions

There is a great difference in the size of children's institutions, but the number of those with large populations has been decreasing in recent years. Only 22 institutions in 1933 were reported with populations as large as 500; three-fourths of the organizations with as many as 10 children under institutional care reported fewer than 100 such children. Only 3 had a child population of more than a thousand.

The recent introduction of case work into institutional programs, the

development of Aid to Dependent Children in their homes, and the more recent provision of Child Welfare Services under the Social Security Act, together with the use of foster homes, have, since 1933, materially reduced the populations of most large institutions. It is possible, however, that the present war will again so increase the number of children needing care as to require both the expansion of foster home programs and enlargement of institutional populations.

Types of Institutional Care

Institutional care of children besides considering needs of the dependent and neglected has also included the protection and training of two great classes, namely, the delinquent and the mentally deficient.

The care of delinquent children was not clearly distinguished in early days from the care of dependents generally and hence it may be said to have had more recent origins than institutional care of dependent children. One hundred years ago the custom of mixing wayward as well as neglected children with all manner of adult delinquents, vagrants, and the mentally disturbed in prisons and almshouses was still prevalent in this country as it was in England, but a tendency toward greater segregation according to need and condition was being manifested in occasional efforts to care separately for neglected children and for those who were blind or deaf. There were also a few early attempts to deal more humanely and realistically with the junior delinquent.

Early Care of Delinquent Children in Institutions

Dr. John H. Griscom, a member of the Society of Friends, in New York City, as early as 1817 had led a group of thoughtful people in organizing the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism. The report published by this group in 1819 is generally considered to have marked the origin of the movement in the United States for the institutional care of delinquent children. The successor to this Society, the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents, remodeled a military barracks left over from the War of 1812 in what is now Madison Square Park, New York City, and in January, 1825, opened there what was called the New York House of Refuge. Like a number of the early institutions for delinquents, the House of Refuge began by admitting both girls and boys, but soon restricted its work to the care of boys. This initial effort, in which religious influences were apparent, was definitely private both

in its organization and in its support. Small governmental appropriations, however, were made to it soon after it was founded and it eventually became a unit in New York's network of publicly supported institutions for delinquents, under the control, in part, of the state Department of Correction. In 1935, the institution, at that time situated on Randall's Island in New York City, was abandoned and the private corporation was dissolved. It was succeeded by the New York State Vocational Institution established near West Coxsackie, New York, which still receives male delinquents from sixteen to eighteen years of age. Somewhat earlier, in 1929, an offshoot of the House of Refuge had been established near Warwick, New York, an institution admitting delinquents under sixteen years of age. This later became the New York State Training School for Boys, administered by the state Department of Social Welfare.[1]

The second institution for delinquent children in the United States was the municipally owned and controlled House of Reformation founded in Boston in 1826, and the third, similar to the first, was the Philadelphia House of Refuge opened in 1828. This establishment was partly private and partly governmental in its control and support.

These three houses of refuge in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia were for some years the only institutions in the United States for delinquent children. The next institution of this type was not established until 1845, when a municipal reformatory, caring for boys only, was founded in New Orleans. In 1847 the State Reform School for Boys [since 1884 the Lyman School for Boys] in Westboro, Massachusetts, was established—the first reform school, it is said, to be founded in this country, or in Europe, by the state and governed by trustees appointed by the state's executive.[2]

The literature on delinquency has numerous contributors and there are excellent guides, a few of which are noted below for those who would seek perspective in their study of the trends in the care and training of delinquent children in institutions.[3]

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[1] Interesting developments in the field of in-service training for institutional personnel are to be observed at this institution. See Chapter 6, Educational Qualifications and Staff Training: Training Within the Institution.

[2] Reeves, Margaret, Training Schools for Delinquent Girls. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1929, p. 36.

[3] The White House Conference of 1930 on Child Health and Protection recorded its comprehensive findings in The Delinquent Child, Report of the Committee on Socially Handicapped—Delinquency, by Hon. Frederick P. Cabot, chairman of the Conference, Century Co., New York, 1932. Specific citations are to be found in The Child and the State, by Grace Abbott, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1938, and in Training Schools for Delinquent Girls, by Margaret Reeves, above quoted. A comprehensive treatment in a single text is given in a recently published book by Henry W. Thurston, Concerning Juvenile Delinquency, which considers the causes of delinquency, the roles of the community, the school, the court, and other social agencies (Columbia University Press, New York, 1942).

Recent Developments in Care of Delinquents

The borderline between emotional disturbance in childhood and juvenile delinquency is obviously difficult to draw, and it will be profitable for directors of institutions for delinquents to watch the work of such institutions as are especially equipped to study and treat children with serious problems. At present a few state and private training schools for children adjudged delinquents have added to their staffs psychiatrists, psychologists, and special social workers to permit a practical study of behavior. Agencies so reinforced may be the forerunners of many others that will transform their facilities from a too meagerly custodial type to one providing both care and treatment based upon full understanding of the child's needs. In New York State six well-known institutions for delinquents have thus to some degree improved their services. These include the training schools operated by the state for girls at Hudson and for boys at Industry and at State School, near Warwick, and the privately controlled schools: The Children's Village, Dobbs Ferry-on-the-Hudson, New York; Hawthorne—Cedar Knolls School, Hawthorne;[1] and Lincoln Hall, Lincolndale, known prior to 1939 as The New York Catholic Protectory. These institutions represent a superior group among the large number devoted to the care of delinquents, most of whose children are in custody under commitments from children's courts. The communities and courts served by these institutions generally fail to understand the great task expected of such training schools. Their work, well done, is costly, but if poorly done it is not only costly but it fails deplorably to serve both children and community.

Delinquency among children follows in the tracks of the four horsemen who haunt any society torn by war. The United States has already tasted of this delinquency and will taste long and bitterly thereof, unless it adds to its present meager child welfare services and improves much that it now supports. This recommendation might be followed in the fields of education, recreation, and welfare generally, but particularly it applies to institutions for delinquents which must deal with the actual consequences of neglect in the persons of disturbed children and youths.

Care of the Feeble-minded

The origins in the United States of institutions especially for the feeble-minded date from about 1850, or a quarter of a century after the

[1] For boys and girls respectively, but operating under a single administration, the Jewish Board of Guardians.

founding of institutions for delinquent children. Before that time feeble-minded children had been sent to such institutional catch-alls as almshouses and prisons.

The organized custody and training of the feeble-minded, while still painfully inadequate in terms of congregate institutional services and in the failure to provide enough care in institutional colonies and foster homes, nevertheless has made advances on humane and scientific lines. The colony plan for the care of feeble-minded as developed in Europe has been used by several institutions in the United States and most widely by the Rome State School, Rome, New York. In addition to its large, congregate institution, this school has numerous colony units, established for the most part on widely separated farms, in each of which a group of boys or girls live under the care of a farmer and his wife, the property and administration being controlled from the central institution. Some of the colonies for girls have been in towns or cities, permitting the girls to go out daily for employment in domestic service, laundries, or factories.

Foremost among the early leaders in the care of the feeble-minded in the United States was Dr. Walter E. Fernald, whose medical and clinical approach has profoundly influenced all treatment of the mentally deficient in this country. Among his many practical contributions was the recognition of ten different fields of inquiry for the study and diagnosis of feeble-mindedness. He began his work at the Massachusetts State School for the Feeble-Minded at Waverly, now called the Walter E. Fernald State School,[1] in 1887, remaining in service there until his death in 1924. Many who studied under him are now applying his doctrines.

In the field of education another center of early leadership developed at The Training School, Vineland, New Jersey. There Edward R. Johnstone developed research and a training center for psychologists and educators from which leaders have gone to teach and work in institutions for the feeble-minded throughout the country. His tutelage, under his father-in-law, Alexander Johnson, was at the Fort Wayne State School (for the feeble-minded) at Fort Wayne, Indiana, where he served as school principal. Alexander Johnson, a practical and picturesque pioneer, spent ten years as superintendent of the institution at Fort Wayne beginning in 1893. His own homely and profound understanding of the needs of the mentally deficient is revealed in Adventures Among

[1] At Waltham, near Waverly.

the Feeble-Minded, which is Part III of the book describing his life in social work.[1] A comprehensive review of all services for the feeble-minded in the United States is provided by Stanley P. Davies in Social Control of the Mentally Deficient.[2]

Institutions for Children with Serious Problems

Study Homes or Treatment Centers. Institutions for the observation of children with serious problems and treatment for such children while they are living within the institution represent a somewhat recent development. The name study home which has become popular, is a term that has followed the introduction of psychiatric service into the field of child welfare, but there is a sense in which it is a misnomer. As the name implies, institutions so called attempt an intensive study and treatment of each individual—a service usually not expected of the asylum, school, or home. Once a diagnosis has been made, however, it is treatment which is more important than study, a fact that should be recognized by child guidance clinics as well as by institutions concerned primarily with disturbed children. It would be more appropriate to name these institutions treatment centers because those establishments worthy of the name have gone far beyond the diagnostic function of merely studying the children entrusted to them.

Some students of the subject who still feel that foster family care should displace institutional care entirely are inclined to urge that the only institutions needed for dependent and neglected children are a few such highly efficient study homes. As a matter of fact, only a handful of institutions, whether public or private, are so staffed and so equipped with, or related to, special clinical services as to distinguish them sufficiently from other institutions to warrant their use of that term.

Privately administered institutions of this nature are Ryther Child Center, Seattle; Children's Aid Society of Cleveland; The Children's Service Center of Wyoming Valley, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania; St. Christopher's School, Dobbs Ferry, New York; and the New England Home for Little Wanderers, Boston. The pioneer among them is the New England Home for Little Wanderers. There under the leadership of Frederick K. Knight a program was developed possessing such flexibility and such an assembly of skills as permitted the staff to understand and treat children with the most serious problems. The work has been

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[1] Adventures in Social Welfare. Published by the Author, Fort Wayne, Indiana, 1923.
[2] Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1937.

so successful as to lead agencies in other communities and even in other states to refer children whose problems have defied identification and solution. Cheney C. Jones, successor to Dr. Knight, has kept this institution as modern as its name is ancient. For prolonged treatment the New England Home for Little Wanderers often has relied upon carefully selected foster homes or other institutions. In many situations its services of diagnosis, requested by other agencies, have covered periods too brief for the extended treatment needed, the children in such instances being returned to those who referred them for the special services indicated. Children requiring extraordinary treatment have found their way to exceptional clinics and hospitals with special facilities which without the diagnosis made at this institution, might have been denied them.

At the Ryther Child Center in Seattle a staff of institutional workers participate on an equal basis with the social workers in sustained efforts to help the children gain mental and emotional balance. The daily log kept by the institution's staff provides the textual evidence used in the frequent staff conferences which might properly be called clinics. Under leadership of the executive or the case supervisor, both psychiatric social workers, detailed study and planning are undertaken [1] in behalf of each child under care at the institution, together with a review of the Center's cases of children in foster homes who are experiencing unusual difficulties. Consistent use of psychiatric service gives direction to treatment of many of the children whose problems are complicated and exacting. The morale and skill of the staff of the Ryther Child Center have characterized its highly effective work.

Also clearly accounting for behavior problems are the special units for children which have been developed by certain state hospitals for the mentally deficient. Typical of these are the Allentown State Hospital, Pennsylvania, the New York state hospitals at Kings Park and Orangeburg, and Belchertown State School (for the mentally deficient) in Massachusetts. Outstanding professional leadership in states which have been willing to appropriate funds for treatment, in addition to custody, has created in such institutions important resources. Their several approaches to behavior problems make their contributions different rather than similar, and study of the experiences they are accumulating is to be desired. The work at Kings Park has been directed at organic disorders,

[1] This and similar observations refer to the time at which institutions were visited by the writer.

having as an early responsibility the treatment of sleeping sickness. In the children's unit at Orangeburg there is a very different selection in the admission of children, those characterized by organic handicaps being referred elsewhere and the work limited to those whose emotional distress is apparent but who have not yet developed a clearly defined psychosis. The unit, for approximately 150 children, is on the grounds of the Rockland State Hospital, which has about 7,500 adult patients. The children are in six cottages, 25 being the maximum in any group. The one-story cottages of modern construction are under one roof, each being connected with the central facilities by corridors. In the pre-war administration, there were three psychiatrists responsible for the management of this unit and the study and treatment of the children.[1]

Another group less easily classified are the institutions either privately or publicly controlled whose function is to provide care for children only dependent or neglected, but which will receive some disturbed children for special observation and treatment. Such institutions without use of the name study home supply or have access to the necessary clinical facilities that lend reality to the special services they undertake to give. Three outstanding in this respect are the Children's Center in Louisville, operated as one of several units of the Louisville and Jefferson County Children's Home; St. Christopher's School, Dobbs Ferry, New York; and The Children's Center, New Haven. St. Christopher's has developed a more complete specialization in the care of disturbed children, and is in process of thus restricting its function. In these institutions, the budget as well as the function, permits intensive service, in each case including the salary of at least one psychiatrist for full or part-time service.

There have been, and still are, in the United States a few institutions owned and operated by individuals that specialize in the care and training of children with serious problems. Some are operated by psychiatrists, on the pattern of the famous establishment in Vienna under August Aichhorn. In his book, Wayward Youth, he recognized that re-education of the delinquent was essential, and recorded such efforts in detail. As to the need for psychoanalysis itself he says:

> Symptoms of delinquency can arise from a neurotic base. When the neurotic factors predominate, the usual educational methods are therapeutically inadequate.

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[1] Other phases of the work at Orangeburg, including a limited in-service training program for the staff, are mentioned in Chapter 6, Educational Qualifications and Staff Training: Training Within the Institution.

In such cases, psychoanalytic understanding of neurosis offers the most effective contribution to our work.[1]

Dr. Aichhorn, probably more than any other institutional executive, insisted upon a maximum use of psychological catharsis in the daily life of the children. He reports an extreme situation in which treatment included toleration by workers of destruction of some of the cottage equipment rather than interference with the expression of emotions, which expression he considered a definite part in a child's treatment.

Other such undertakings operated by individuals have come and gone, the cost of maintaining an institution of this character for profit, or even on a non-profit basis, being conducive to a high mortality rate.

All the institutions mentioned in this discussion are entitled to the use of the name study or treatment home. It is significant that their cottage populations usually number fewer than 20, and that where only one building houses the institution the population, ranging between 20 and 40, is broken into small groups. The complements of large staffs in proportion to the number of children cared for, the abundance of clinical services and the consistent provision of individual treatment distinguish these institutions from most—including some that are inclined to over-emphasize their qualifications for this work. A treatment center, legitimately so called, located in or near a large city in which there are plenty of clinical resources, can serve an extensive territory and become indispensable in its preventive and corrective child welfare work.

For many communities a small treatment center for six or eight children, or the use of one or two carefully chosen and subsidized family boarding homes, may present more practical possibilities. Experience in a small institution of this sort is reflected in the monograph, A Study Home, Its Program and Function, by Richardson Lea Rice.[2]

The success of such plans would depend in great measure upon the availability and quality of psychiatric services provided by other easily accessible agencies or by the staff of the agency itself. The scarcity of study homes worthy of the name and the grave lack of child guidance clinics mean that seriously disturbed children frequently are committed to institutions for delinquents, and at best must turn to ordinary children's agencies for the understanding they need.

Only detailed consideration of special services under various plans

[1] Wayward Youth. Revised and adapted from the Second German Edition. Viking Press, New York, 1935, p. 9.

[2] Child Welfare League of America, New York, April, 1940.

will determine whether these study homes are essential, or whether, with the exception of a few outstanding centers, the sort of work done in them could be done as well by selected workers and specially qualified substitute parents in ordinary institutions and child-placing agencies. Some institutions have adopted the title study home with the same freedom and with as little meaning as others have altered their names from asylum to home. This tendency to keep up to date in name only would make it profitable at this time to have such a widespread and critical survey of these homes as would analyze and test their essential quality. Pending such a review, it seems in the interests of child welfare to discourage the use of the term except in the few special instances of proved value.

There are still other institutions, usually operated by state authorities, with functions identified by the particular problems of the children they serve. This book does not attempt to touch upon work for the blind or deaf, largely under state educational auspices; nor upon that for orthopedic patients or for children in tuberculosis preventoria, under health auspices; nor for epileptics. The last service named is increasingly identified as a specialized service but traditionally too often administered together with the care of the mentally diseased or deficient. It is well known, however, that those serving children with physical or mental defects are confronted by plenty of behavior problems, these problems sometimes being induced or intensified by the handicaps which are so obvious, but which may be less acute than the emotional strain so often related to them.

Temporary Care

Shelters. Another kind of institutional care growing out of the tendency to specialize in social work is the emergency sheltering on a temporary basis of children suffering cruelty or neglect. Children's protective societies and children's courts have developed such shelter care along various lines. Shelters were established soon after the founding of most of the children's protective agencies. Ten of these societies came into existence during the five years following organization of the first society in 1874, the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. Temporary care for children, neglected or abused, need not be centralized in a building, publicly or privately supported. It can properly be supplied in family homes by subsidized foster mothers, exceptionally qualified women being needed for this work. The subsidized

foster home can prepare the child for any longer period of care which usually can be arranged in a less specialized family boarding home.

This type of service may be observed in the experience of such agencies as the Children's Bureau of Los Angeles; Children's Service Association, Milwaukee; Cleveland Humane Society; Children's Aid and Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Buffalo; and Children's Aid Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Newark. Such agencies and some of those that operate shelters place first emphasis upon serving the child and his family with all the skill and resourcefulness of modern social work. Factors such as neglect and cruelty are treated with such authority as the situation may require, but exercise of authority is subordinated as much as possible to the worker's efforts to get at causes and to deal with them. This is in some contrast to an outworn pattern of protective service which limited its treatment to consideration of symptoms by focusing too exclusively on particular acts and experiences.

Some shelters operated by protective societies having a physical plant are sorry adaptations of private residences. This makes difficult the custody, privacy, and flexibility so important in this type of child care. Other shelters, such as that built in 1938 in Boston by the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, have been carefully planned for these specific requirements.

When the Massachusetts Society replaced its old and inadequate shelter in Boston with a modern, reasonably fireproof building it made adequate and attractive provision for recreation and education, as well as for dining rooms, dormitories, and clinics, and reversed a common order in the plans for its building: the preparation and serving of food and the daytime activities of the children are accommodated on the fourth floor, dormitories are on the third and second floors, with offices, examining rooms, and visiting rooms on the first floor. This arrangement is conducive to privacy, and facilitates the custody necessary in such work. The agency, like many others, uses its shelter only for temporary care. Like those societies that get along without any institutional facilities of their own, it utilizes foster family homes for large numbers of its wards. Most of those under its care at a given time are to be found in the homes of relatives or in family boarding homes.

Not many of the agencies providing protective care have coped adequately with its special problems. Unfortunately institutional shelters, as we have indicated, usually are poorly laid out, poorly staffed, and

without provision for training the staff already employed. Too often better facilities are offered for delousing than for understanding the children entrusted to them. But even where modern buildings have been provided, the tone of most protective shelters is that of a custodial institution operating as a necessary arm of the law. Because of these and related inadequacies, this type of temporary care generally will add to the unhappy memories haunting the child whose mistreatment by relatives has been followed by an institutional experience which is as emotionally arid as it is purely custodial.

A few humane societies continue, although in separate establishments, to supply shelter care for animals as well as children. The need for entire separation of the two services is increasingly recognized among trustees and workers in these societies. As recently as 1938, however, a humane society was known to have its agent, within the same day, rescue a cat from a place of danger and appear in the children's court in behalf of a child. Whatever the qualifications of the worker such a scope of functions is too much like calling a veterinary to attend an ailing member of one's family. It is fortunate that such backward conditions survive in only a very few agencies.

As protective work with children improves, specifications for shelter care will become more exacting. The backwardness of many of our children's courts and children's protective societies accounts for the present generally low standards in shelter care. There are a few highly competent children's courts which have been as progressive as any other social agencies in defining the problems of children and in encouraging development of facilities which will meet their needs, and the same may be said for certain progressive children's protective societies. The children's courts too generally are characterized by a legalistic and excessively emotional attitude toward the youths with whom they deal. Our neglected and delinquent children would be better off if judges had professional training in education or social work in addition to their more conventional preparation for the practice of law. Unless a judge is equipped both as an attorney and as a worker with children, it is obvious that the court staff should include at least one strong worker possessing the qualification which the judge lacks. Some courts have taken this step in placing as an associate to the judge a referee. In such situations usually the judge has been chosen for his legal or political qualifications and the referee because he or she can render professional service in the understanding and treatment of children. It is obvious,

however, that most of our courts lack this desired balance of skills. Possessing it they would tolerate neither the shabby protective services so closely related to the courts, nor the incompetent probation officers they themselves employ. The barren shelter maintained by a protective society may, in many places, only reflect the meager qualifications of the jurist who makes daily use of this facility for some of the children appearing before him.

This type of institution often is not carried as a charge against the community chest and it has little community pressure directed toward its improvement. A study of shelter care might well be related to the widespread and critical survey of study homes suggested earlier in this chapter.

Day Care. The increased importance of organized day care, both actually and in the minds of citizens everywhere, is due to the sudden and startling increase in the employment of mothers in factories and other activities essential to the war effort. Study of day care and the need for it has taken many forms. Still further study is required, and a leadership not yet developed must appear before it will be possible to solve the problems of working mothers and to plan services to meet their need for different types of day care. These are not always institutional in character, but include, besides day nurseries and certain types of nursery schools, the group care of older children, homemaker service, and the more recently developed day care in foster family homes which permits an agency to serve many children with little or no capital investment. Parents often can meet the cost in part or entirely.

Mothers need a counseling service without which there can be no well-balanced development of a community day-care program. There is always danger that women in industry and under emergency conditions will place their children in charge of persons whose experience is inadequate or whose environment is unsuitable. Many a mother's problem as to the alternative of working or remaining at home also calls for advice from a trained counselor. Left to herself a woman seldom will appreciate what the mothering she supplies means to her own child. She is likely to presume that substitute mothers are more competent than they generally are, nor can she be expected to anticipate the small margin which often remains after paying from her wages for suitable child care.

It is extremely important that all day care be provided under community auspices rather than under the auspices of an employer. Benevolent employers should recognize the obvious advantages of community

controls of such services and should offer financial or other support toward that end.

Commercial Enterprises

A few states tolerate a type of children's institution which by its nature almost defies enumeration, and which in other states is forbidden by law. This is the commercial child-care establishment large enough to be considered as an institution rather than as a foster home. The welfare laws of various states define a children's institution in terms of minimum number of children under care, usually designating from six to ten children as the institutional population requiring licensing and supervision as a "charitable institution."

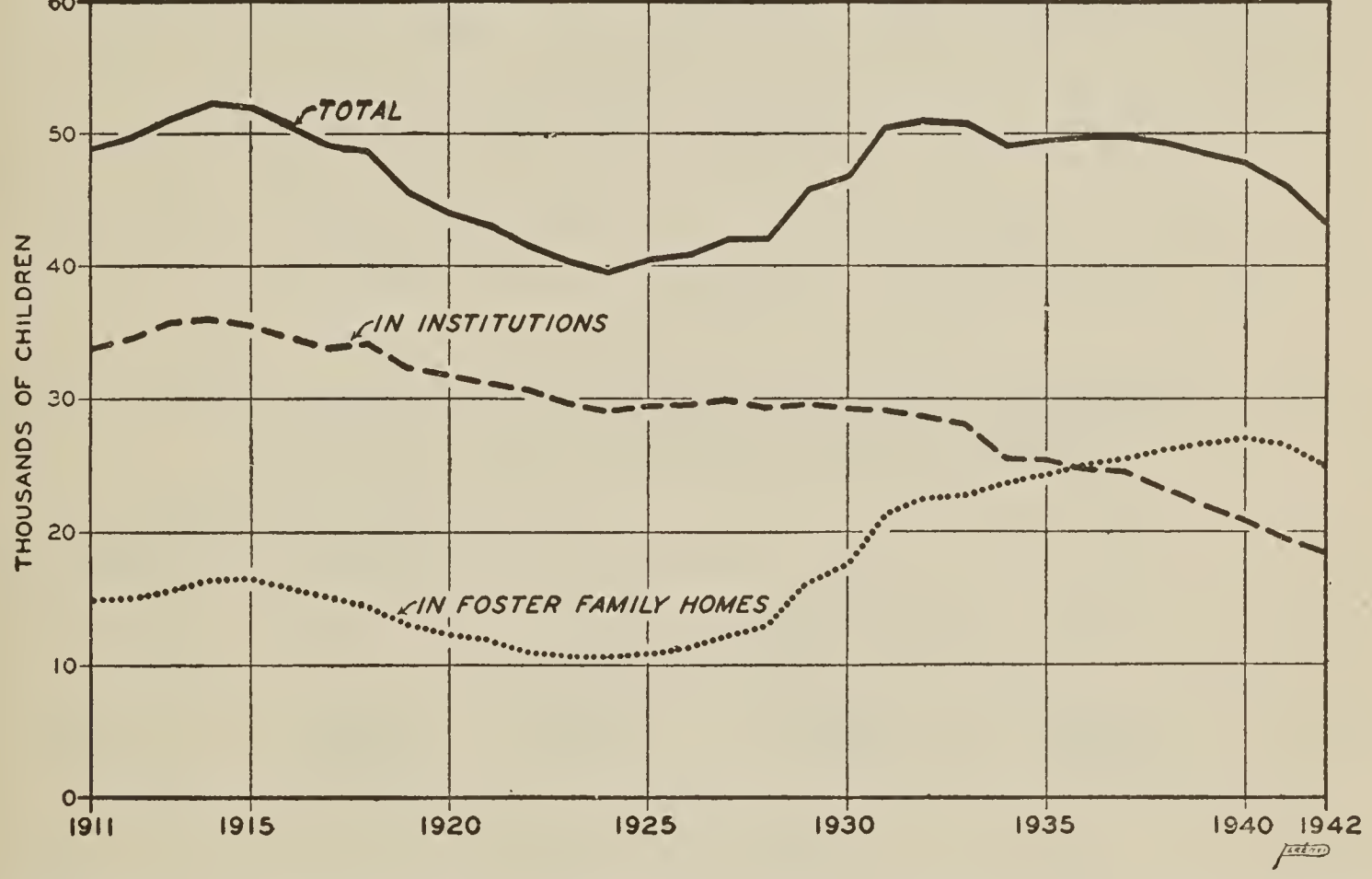
Exceptional demands in wartime for a variety of child-care services are leading to the establishment of many new commercial institutions for children. Some of these are day nurseries, but others provide full-time care or operate a combined service allowing a mother to choose either full or part-time care for her child. These new commercial institutions usually are meeting real needs, but inadequately. A few are managed and staffed by competent women who are making practical use of their skills in this type of wartime service. The fulfillment by such establishments of a necessary function cannot be questioned as we consider most of the children they care for. Commercial agencies, however, seldom use the services of a trained social worker and consequently cannot offer the skilled consultation service especially needed by those mothers who should not work but should continue to care for their own children. They are inclined toward understaffing and consequent inadequacies in supervision. Nutrition often is substandard and generally medical and nursing services are omitted from such programs.

The community which has failed to provide sufficient resources for child care is not in a sound position to criticize those who are meeting the need commercially. A familiar occurrence is for a community to become indignant about commercial child-care enterprises and to invoke a licensing law. There is need for such licensing but it is merely a negative way of dealing with a situation which should be met by more positive community planning and the development of facilities under more responsible auspices. However good may be an occasional commercial child-care agency, usually the profit motive will constitute a demoralizing hazard.

Foster Family Care

Many agencies provide both institutional and foster family home care. Out of the approximately 2,200 organizations that were separately listed in the 1933 census volume, some 600 apparently relied either wholly or almost entirely upon foster family care, while approximately 1,600 organizations operated institutions. Many of the latter number provided only such service, though nearly a third had some children under care in foster family homes.

This is a significant trend among institutions themselves, suggestive of increasing flexibility. Within the decade preceding the 1933 census



DEPENDENT AND NEGLECTED CHILDREN UNDER FOSTER CARE IN NEW YORK STATE, 1911 TO 1942

enumeration, approximately 6 per cent of all the organizations caring for dependent and neglected children had added foster family care to what had previously been only an institutional program. Interesting new evidence of this change should appear when the Bureau of the Census makes its next enumeration of children under institutional care and in foster homes.

The enumeration of 1933 gave, as we have noted, a total of 102,577 dependent and neglected children in foster family homes, of whom

66,350 were in boarding homes, 31,538 in free homes, and 4,689 in work or wage homes.

The trends in the use of different types of care of children differ in different states and regions. There is much more reliance, for example, upon institutional care in Pennsylvania than in Massachusetts, although Pennsylvania, like New York, has recently shown increased use of foster family care. North Carolina on the other hand, exhibits an opposite tendency, there being in that state very little use of foster families.

The New York State Department of Social Welfare has traced the trends of dependent and neglected children cared for outside their homes over the thirty-two years since 1911. These trends are illustrated in the accompanying diagram, which has been supplied for this use by the Department's Bureau of Research. The total number under care was substantially less at the end of this period than at the beginning, although in the meantime it fluctuated from a high figure of 52,344 in 1914 to a low of 39,532 in 1924, and back to 51,060 in 1932. The number and distribution of children cared for at the beginning and end of the thirty-two year period is given in Table 1.

TABLE 1.—CHILDREN CARED FOR IN INSTITUTIONS AND IN FOSTER FAMILY HOMES IN NEW YORK STATE IN 1911 AND 1942 [a]

Year	Total	In institutions	In foster family homes		
			Total	In boarding homes	In free, wage, or work homes
		Number of children			
1911	48,797	33,901	14,896	3,783	11,113
1942	43,263	18,347	24,916	21,102	3,815
		Per cent			
1911	100	69	31	8	23
1942	100	42	58	49	9

[a] Data from Children in Foster Care in New York State, 1935–1939, New York State Department of Social Welfare, 1940, p. 40, and supplementary statement supplied by the Department.

It is obvious from these figures that to a very large extent boarding homes have displaced both institutions and free, wage, or work homes in New York. The proportion of children in institutions changed from 69 per cent to 42 per cent of the total number over this interval, but both the number and proportion of children in institutions in the more recent year show the continuing importance of institutions in this most populous of the 48 states. That the total number under foster care in New York State was not greater at the end than at the beginning of this

period, during which the state's population increased from about 7,000,000 to about 13,000,000, is explained partly by the fact that under Aid to Dependent Children, there were in 1942 as many as 59,000 children in New York receiving care in their own homes or in the homes of relatives of the second degree.[1] In 1911 New York State had not yet initiated widows' pensions or mothers' allowances.

In recent years many communities have developed central child welfare bureaus and in some instances have merged two or more child-care agencies. It is a common plan for such a central bureau or new administration to supply social case work for one or more children's institutions in the community. Usually the new plan has brought foster family care into the picture, sometimes as an entirely new unit of service. This development has been especially marked in Roman Catholic diocesan bureaus of social service which frequently have made available better intake services than the institutions of their dioceses ever maintained for themselves.

Influence of Case Work Upon Foster Care

Care in foster families, like institutional care, may be provided without benefit of social case work. Both types of care under organized auspices were used extensively throughout the country during the last half of the nineteenth century, before the services of trained social workers were generally available. It is unhappily true that in a few agencies with trained workers, and in most agencies without them, poor care of both types may be found even now in many cities and states. But where social case work is practiced under favorable conditions it will lead in each community to an awareness of the need for both institutional and foster family care of good quality.

Many organizations might be chosen to illustrate the movement toward the use of foster homes and institutional care under the same management. The experience of the Connie Maxwell Orphanage at Greenwood, South Carolina, operating in a rural state where resources are limited, shows clearly the trend toward diversifying services previously limited to institutional care. This cottage institution supported by the Baptists of South Carolina employed a social worker as early as 1924, and arranged for her to obtain professional education at the New York School of Social Work. At the present time its case-work staff consists of three or four well-qualified workers. Outstanding leadership has been

[1] Social Security Yearbook, 1942, p. 181.

supplied for over forty years by its superintendent, A. T. Jamison. Dr. Jamison early became aware that among the children under care were those needing something which could not be provided within the institution. Today this agency keeps many families from breaking up and, in a locality where homefinding is difficult, it supervises about 60 children in foster family homes, mostly family boarding homes, other children being with relatives. This means that the 270 children living at the institution are there because in the major number of instances they have no relatives to provide suitable care, or else because residence at Connie Maxwell Orphanage for a particular reason is preferable to care in a foster home.

Other institutions recently visited which have undergone similar change include: Vista del Mar, Los Angeles; Homewood Terrace, San Francisco; Ryther Child Center, Seattle; Sunbeam Home Association, Oklahoma City; De Pelchin Faith Home and Children's Bureau, Houston; Hillside Children's Center, Rochester, New York; St. Christopher's School, Dobbs Ferry, New York; The Children's Center, New Haven, and Lakeside Children's Center, Milwaukee.

Controversy Over Institutional Care

The development of foster family care having gone so far in some communities as to result in the closing of institutions, has led some to infer that institutions for children are both undesirable and unnecessary. The first White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children in 1909 pointed toward an increased reliance upon foster homes and to the need for widows' pensions, a service later expanded under the term mothers' allowances and eventually set up as Aid to Dependent Children under the Social Security Act. A movement among leaders in social work in the twenty years following 1910 aimed at completely eradicating institutions by the development of both mothers' allowances and family boarding home care. Some of those responsible for non-sectarian child care in Boston and Philadelphia seemed inclined to the latter practice, as were the leaders in Jewish communities in several of our largest cities.

An interesting expression of the intense feeling aroused by the controversy developed in the form of a conference held in New York City in 1925 by the Child Welfare Committee of America. Sophie Irene Loeb supplied the inspiration for this committee and for this conference, to which each governor was invited to send a representative of the child welfare work of his state. The conference was held to promote as far

as possible the securing of home life for children in preference to care in institutions. With Miss Loeb's death the field of social welfare, in which she had strong and varied interests, lost a colorful personality, and the Child Welfare Committee did not long remain a factor in influencing opinion throughout the country.

A natural result of such partisanship as was displayed on the subject was a deluge of unrestrained criticism, the advocates of institutions and of foster homes each painting black the type of care to which they were opposed and about which usually they were uninformed. Both sides were inclined to such blind defense of their own kind of work as led them to ignore the fact that either type of care generally was pretty poor throughout the United States and stood in need of undivided and tenacious efforts to effect improvement. At that time probably half of the states did not have a single child-placing agency or institution that had attained the standards recommended by the Child Welfare League of America.

Modifying influences began to result in more helpful criticisms of foster care generally, whether institutional or in homes. Increasingly the United States Children's Bureau through its publications and other services, the Child Welfare League of America, and several state departments of welfare have urged that the same or similar elements of good service are essential for all children living away from their own homes, whether in foster homes or in institutions.[1]

This inclusive conception of child care was emphasized by Carl C. Carstens, when as executive of the Child Welfare League of America he publicly encouraged use of the term foster care in describing both institutional and foster family care. His soundness as interpreter of the needs of children and his intolerance of poor service in their behalf wherever he found it gave great weight to his judgment. It was during the decade ending in 1930 that he modified his earlier advocacy of foster homes (to the practical exclusion of institutional care) and from then until his death in 1939, he consistently urged the use of both types of care.

Foster Home Placement

The process of placing children in foster homes, as well as the succeeding step of supervising both the foster home and the foster children,

[1] For comments on published standards see especially Chapter 15, Analyzing Children's Institutions Through Self-Criticism and Surveys: Standards Commonly Used in Appraisals.

has been greatly advanced in recent years. While crude placements are still made, exhibiting the same unconcern for the child or such superficial acquaintance with his needs as characterized much nineteenth century practice, real progress has taken place. Today good practice calls for deep understanding, not alone of the child, but of his parents, his foster parents, and any other members of the foster family.

The key figure in this more adequate foster home care is unquestionably the social worker, whose training, personality, and experience qualify her for the difficult tasks of homefinding and supervision, and the counseling of parents.

Fortunately there is an expanding literature on foster family care, of which one of the most recent and technically valuable volumes is, In Quest of Foster Parents: A Point of View on Homefinding, by Dorothy Hutchinson.[1] The bibliography therein draws heavily upon periodicals, monographs, and the proceedings of conferences of social work. Such writings in this field, as in other professional fields, may be considered as early steps in development of a specialized literature. It is heartening to find in this book so much helpful material on the single subject of homefinding.

Scarcity of good foster homes is a problem already recognized; if the finding of them becomes much more difficult we may be forced to rely increasingly upon children's institutions including day nurseries. The Health Commissioner of New York City was recently quoted as stating that since 1941 the number of foster homes has been decreasing by 700 annually as foster fathers enter the armed services and foster mothers take war jobs.

In a mimeographed report of a study of the rates of board paid for children in foster family care, made in 1942 by the Child Welfare League of America, it was found that even during that year before greater rise in living costs had prevailed, there was need for more adequate payments to foster mothers than most agencies ever have provided. Many a boarding-home mother is likely to withdraw her services when the purchasing power of her dollar declines still farther. She will turn to renting rooms to adults at attractive wartime rates or accept the opportunity for herself or the obligation to her family to enter wartime employment. The threat of such self-protecting measures by foster mothers has led child-placing agencies, notably in Chicago and New York City

[1] Published for the New York School of Social Work by Columbia University Press, New York, 1943.

and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, to increase efforts at home-finding through popular and highly publicized recruiting appeals. Rates of board are being increased, with $7.00 weekly or more being paid in 1943 by numerous urban agencies which used to pay $5.00 or $6.00.

To seek an escape by increasing the number of children's institutions and day nurseries will only drag us into another dilemma. The same factors which may incline women to give up the role of foster mother at home will also discourage the most capable from working in institutions and day nurseries at the low salaries usually paid by such agencies. A general reliance upon inferior care of children in groups would quickly increase rather than relieve some of our most perplexing child welfare problems.

It may be presumed that women older than those used in peacetime will fill some of these places. In view of the seriousness of the situation the recruiting and training of competent women as foster mothers and housemothers has become a wartime necessity.

Efforts to educate institutional workers and foster mothers have brought in both instances the refinements of foster care nearer to the child. Manuals and handbooks for foster mothers cover nearly the same ground as that covered in handbooks for institutional workers. In other words, we are beginning to see that principles of child psychology and the techniques of child care apply equally to both these main types of foster care, and we are on our way to becoming more discriminating in the application of what we have learned.

Chapter 4

NEEDS OF THE CHILD AND COMMUNITY RESOURCES FOR MEETING THEM

A WISE DECISION concerning the care of any child in a local welfare program depends upon knowledge of a number of factors in the community set-up. He who chooses wisely will want to know whether the organization is equipped to meet the requirements of childhood and of this child in particular. Important among the factors special to the child himself are his age, the question of the temporary or permanent character of his dependency, his affectional needs and emotional problems. The appropriateness of a plan must be matched against these personal requirements. Efforts to allocate children to institutions or foster homes without regard to such considerations will almost certainly result in unhappy consequences to the child.

The quality of the services is the most important factor whether in an institution or in a foster home. In an institution this quality depends primarily, it may be said, upon the skill of the houseparents, for it is they who do most of the work, measured either in hours or in results. It is they who carry out the policies of the institution on the level of the child himself. Generally speaking, these substitute parents were incompetent until institutions and agencies providing foster care began to insist upon housemothers or foster mothers skilled in understanding children, and until training to increase their skill was initiated.

The care of other people's children has too generally been regarded as a superior type of domestic service. While this condition is less apparent in a foster home than in an institution, the economics of foster care still leaves it on a level with the work of chambermaids and sometimes places it below that of cooks employed in our child-care institutions. It is heartening that in spite of such inadequacies the foster care of children proves so attractive to many women as to make available in any community a nucleus of intelligent substitute mothers, both in institutions and in foster homes, capable of exercising as much skill as our wisest

leaders and teachers can transmit. For these women institutional care of dependent children has a stronger appeal than institutional care of the mentally diseased, the feeble-minded, the delinquent, or the aged. Experience with such women, and occasionally with such men, makes it reasonable to assume that either foster family or institutional care may prove rich and satisfying to children deprived of their own homes. But thorough and realistic knowledge of the actual work of even the most capable personnel must precede any defensible choice in allocating a particular child either to institutional or foster family care. The social workers and judges of juvenile courts who refer or commit children to institutions usually are unacquainted with the worker who is to assume charge of the child, and are even ignorant of the prevailing policies of the institution and of the spirit in which such a worker approaches her tasks.

Which Child Needs an Institution?

As we have said, the individual child is himself important in this question of allocation. Efforts have been made to arrive at some general guiding principles, of which one of the earlier and more fruitful attempts was a series of conferences on allocation, attended by representatives of well-known children's institutions and child-placing agencies, held in New York City during the winter of 1926 to 1927, under the leadership of Henry W. Thurston. One of the few points on which this group was in agreement was that the younger the child, the more he is likely to need care in foster homes. Ten years later, the Child Welfare League of America, in its statement of principles, comments on this point as follows:

The Age Factor

The most important limitation of institutional care imposed by age of the children to be admitted is that relating to little children. Babies and children of two and three years should not be cared for in institutions, except as a temporary measure, and then only if the quality of care given them equals the medical safeguards of a high-grade children's hospital. Even with the best medical set-up it is not possible for the institution to give the little child the vital experience of continuous loving care by one individual to whom the care of the child fills a need.[1]

When institutional care for infants is provided in day nurseries their needs present serious problems. Babies who remain long in any but a

[1] Standards of Foster Care for Children in Institutions. New York, 1937, p. 9.

few de luxe nurseries will be exposed to various infections and will inevitably be left to themselves by an overworked staff, to grow with almost as little attention as weeds in an untended garden. The child of nursery school age can derive certain benefits from high-grade group care but usually he will be better off if he receives it for only part of the day—a plan which is practical if split shifts are more commonly arranged for women in industry, or if foster family homes providing care for the remainder of the day become more plentiful.

The Freud-Burlingham Report (Foster Parents' Plan for War Children) for June, 1943, plots in some detail infant development as observed both in English nurseries and in family homes. Scientific observations beyond those previously recorded show certain advantages for infants under skilled group care as well as contrasting advantages, especially in emotional satisfaction and speech development, for children remaining at home.

It is the child in need of full-time foster care to whom attention is here directed. A publication of the Child Welfare League, more recent than that last quoted, in referring to dependent and neglected children, adds four- and five-year-olds to the infants who should be spared institutional care:

> Because of the social and emotional values of family life, foster family homes are the best substitute for their own homes for children who need and are capable of forming new family relationships. It is desirable that all children under six should be placed in foster homes, as well as children in need of permanent care, and those who require the individual attention which is possible in a family group.[1]

Indeed, it may almost be stated as a rule that children of any age who have been emotionally defrauded by parents should be placed in foster homes just as quickly as the supply of good foster homes permits. The home, however, needs to fit the child even more than the child needs to fit the home, and a good homefinding service is essential where reliance is placed upon foster family care.

Girls and boys of the teen ages usually crave association with other adolescents. This craving, added to their natural inclination to slough off parental restraints, makes group life in an institution practical for many of them. The gregarious satisfactions which adolescents demand have made boarding schools popular for many older children. Parents who can afford them often turn with more or less success to boarding

[1] Standards for Children's Organizations Providing Foster Family Care. New York, 1941, p. 14.

schools in their own failure to understand and deal sympathetically with the tendency of their older children to shake off adult controls. The older children are, the more they probably will gain from group life, whether in a boarding school or in an institution for dependent children.

As suggested by Jessie Taft of the Pennsylvania School of Social Work in her Introduction to a recent publication of the Child Welfare League, the institution may be able to deal constructively with the adolescent at the moment when he is both a dependent and an independent member of society.

> Abandoning the effort to make for adolescents the sheltered, home-like setting which is so necessary for the young child, [the director of Bethesda Children's Christian Home] embraced as unavoidable the inherent dualism of the adolescent's position in life and took over the burden of sustaining him in his dependent relation to family and community, while recognizing and furthering his growing impulse toward adult independence. To work with the adolescent as he is, sympathetically yet realistically, to give him a spot to live in a group with his peers, a spot that limits while it supports, but puts on him no impossible emotional demands nor expects him to find in the housemother of twenty others a mother substitute for himself, requires the courage of a pioneer plus the conviction that professional standards are possible even in an institution, and that functional case work is as essential to its service as to that of any other social agency.[1]

Concerning children for whom institutional care is indicated the League suggests:

> The institution should accommodate both boys and girls, so that brother and sister groups may be kept together and so that all of the children may have the advantages of associations including both the sexes. The exceptions to this are, of course, those institutions organized to give special training to the adolescent, and others caring for children who particularly need to be segregated for the time being. Admission restrictions with reference to age should be sufficiently flexible to facilitate keeping the children of the same family together.[2]

When institutions are well staffed and properly managed, certain advantages seem inherent in their services to children. But some of these advantages may be realized also in foster homes, and use of the word inherent does not imply an absolute advantage. Whenever adults supply affectionate care for children, which care may be in institutions, or wherever children become dependent upon one another, nature seems to facilitate the growth of some of the emotional bonds essential to hap-

[1] Bishopp, Grace I., The Rôle of Case Work in Institutional Service for Adolescents. New York, 1943, p. 3.
[2] Standards of Foster Care for Children in Institutions, p. 9.

piness. A sympathetic playfellow may help a child to endure strains that might otherwise prove depressing.

The Time Factor

Many social workers who prefer foster family care whenever possible are willing to tolerate and utilize institutional care when it covers a period of only a few weeks or months. Granting that some children need only brief institutional care, there remain those who will derive advantage from such care lasting for several years. Seldom, however, should the period exceed four or five years. For some children, because of the lack in certain communities of carefully administered foster home services, it is now more practical to rely upon established and strong institutional facilities than to place them with families.

Children whose undeveloped or misdeveloped habits of personal hygiene are due to serious neglect may be more readily served in institutions, but even in such instances a strong foster home can sometimes do as well. Quite often, however, because of established routines, a few weeks in an institution will bring about conspicuous changes, such as the correction of disgusting table manners, the use of foul language, or the removal of lice, and give a child a greatly improved chance to adjust himself happily in a foster home. Similarly, for the child who has had little or none of the schooling to be expected in one of his age, intensive tutoring may facilitate his adjustments to school and even to substitute parents. Every institution serving neglected children should have special tutoring facilities. A major responsibility in foster care is to spare a child as many changes as possible. Therefore temporary care in an institution is desirable only if it gives him greater assurance of permanency in his first foster home placement. If the home selected for him may be depended upon by the agency for the immediate as well as the more lasting needs of the child he should be placed there without intermediate transplanting in an institution.

Where reliance upon foster home care or housekeeper service in his own home is impractical, a child whose mother is ill or in confinement may profit greatly from a few weeks in an institution. Properly prepared for, such an experience need not disturb him any more than if he went for a few weeks to a well-established summer camp.

Mistreated children whose own parents respond to education and supervision usually need protective service measured in weeks or months

rather than years. Those with less responsive parents may need foster care for periods of several years.

Children awaiting appearance as witnesses in cruelty cases or commitment under neglect proceedings, frequently are subjected to the added shock of shelter confinement under bleak and inhospitable conditions. This shock could be mitigated by the more effective use of foster homes and better shelters. Services limited too strictly to prosecution and custody have marked the shelter of child witnesses with legalistic rather than sympathetic treatment. Prosecution and custody have their very necessary places, but they are no more uniquely essential than the social case work, the tender care, and the community's concern which characterize children's protective service at its best.

Emotional Factors

Children Hungry for Affection. The child rejected by his own parent, or whose parent has been so cold as to leave him emotionally hungry, has been "short-changed." To be thus deprived is as hard as it is unnatural. Rejection is the word used by psychologists and social workers in pointing to the unhappy state of the child whose presence is resented by one or both parents. There are many such children among those served in our institutions for dependents and delinquents, and this is true also of many who attend boarding schools and summer camps.

The general recommendation has been made that children of any age who have been thus emotionally starved should usually be placed in foster homes, because for such children it is ordinarily not enough to provide the limited ration of affection which can be expected in even a good institution. There are nevertheless occasions when a first-rate institution may provide affectionate substitute parental care which will improve a child's emotional balance.

An ugly duckling of a girl, just entering her teens, was showing evidence of great unhappiness in her daily life at an institution well known for the advantages it offers. The homelike life in a cottage for twelve girls and attendance at one of the best private schools in the country, operated by the institution, apparently were of little help. She was tortured even by the mildest criticisms from the other girls, who shunned her because she avoided them and because she was so unattractive in appearance and personality. At last she skipped school for two days, hiding in one place and another and spending much of her time in a seldom-used toilet room. There seemed only one thing to do. The child was transferred to a cottage where a

jolly and courageous woman had won her way into the affections of all her girls. This woman had limited schooling and would ignore some of the accepted traditions of child care, but her capacity for loving and mothering children was marked.

She soon thawed through the emotional crust which had become a part of the child owing to a continued resistance on her own part and rejection of her by others. During the process of getting acquainted, this housemother kept the girl up much too late at night and frequently shared with her a pot of strong tea. The late hours and strong tea may or may not have been necessary, but the consistent development of a happy child testified to the power of a deeply affectionate substitute parent who was ready to accept the child without reservations.

It so happened that the qualities needed by this child were found in a woman who was a member of an institution staff, but who might have been a foster-home parent and who would have been good medicine for any child in need of affection anywhere.

In dealing with the emotionally hungry child in an institution it should be remembered, however, that efforts to concentrate affection on one child in a cottage group may produce jealous resentment in the other children. Such a reaction will be dependent in part upon such factors as the size of the group, the housemother's ability to share her affections with several, the standing of the child in the group, and the length of time during which he needs more attention than the others.

Those Needing Less Affection. A converse emotional situation—where the parent remains strongly attached to his child—often makes institutional care preferable. Such a parent may resent any transfer of the parental role to a foster mother, especially if, even through a long period of institutional care, he can continue with satisfaction to himself to nourish the child with affection by visits and letters. This type of parent, unless badly disturbed, will accept the housemother in an institution as a reasonable substitute, and will co-operate with her.

The child who resents displacement of his own parent may find it easier to adjust himself to an institutional worker serving as a substitute parent than to a foster mother in a family home. Of course, the institution, for such a child, has only a potential advantage when compared with many foster homes, an advantage contingent upon the understanding of the housemother, and the ability of the social worker or executive to discover and interpret the child's deep attachment to his own parent. Sometimes this attachment may be to a dead parent, and we should avoid assuming that the child whose mother has died stands ready to accept completely a substitute. The common experience of stepmothers may be drawn upon to support this observation. To love enough, but

not too much, is indeed the major task of every substitute mother. She must expect the child to resent her appearance in the place his mother once filled, but underneath this resentment she must recognize his need for some of the ministrations and affection which only a mother or a substitute mother can supply. Partial acceptance of a substitute mother may prove so much easier in an institution as to make it of great practical value especially during a transitional stage prior to a more complete and lasting acceptance of a foster mother.

Conserving Affections of Siblings. Sometimes an older sister or brother slips into the place of the missing parent. It is important when determining the type of placement required to recognize this kind of substitute parenthood and to try to learn of the intensity of the dependence upon one another of brothers and sisters. In the old days much damage was done by child-placing agencies and institutions in separating siblings who had affection for one another, affection often deepened by the experience which removed them from their mother. There is an authentic story of such childish distress dating from about 1810, when a little New Hampshire boy was separated from his family and bound out in accordance with the prevailing custom when there was no breadwinner. Later, he wrote in his recollections of his childhood that to comfort himself for the separation from brothers and sisters he used to tell their names over to himself at bedtime "like beads on a rosary." [1]

Most of our institutions even today are unprepared to meet the need for keeping siblings together. The few that have cottages in which brothers and sisters may live together have a distinct advantage. By thus keeping intact a remnant of the family group such institutions can at least retard the further break-up of the family. Only in exceptional situations where there are emotional tensions, usually expressed by extreme jealousy, is the separation of siblings socially desirable. It is as inefficient as it is unimaginative and inhuman that most of our institutions should be so planned and administered as to require a child recently separated from a parent to be also separated from each of his brothers and sisters.

The Child with Special Problems. Children beset with conflicts, those whose aggressions need to be rubbed off on their peers, whose misbehaviors are habitual, are all seriously wearing on a mother or a foster mother. Where the strain on them becomes unbearable a strong institution may fill the need. In order to tell whether institutional care will help or hinder children in growing free from such attributes it is not enough

[1] Permission to use the story is given by one of the boy's descendants.

to identify their conflicts, aggressions, or misbehaviors; the causes of these must be recognized before careful planning can be undertaken.

The observation and treatment of children with serious health or behavior problems has become the avowed function of a few institutions for children, which, under their designation of study homes were discussed in the preceding chapter.

Character of Community Resources

The weight of many of the factors which influence child placement may be considerably altered by the special character of the community itself. For example, in a community or among population groups where a low standard of living prevails, standards for all forms of child care may be threatened. Where institutional care is grossly inferior and certain to regiment children, it should be avoided by arrangement for the use of a family home. Owing to the presence in every community of persons reasonably well qualified to give children the care and affection they need, even unorganized and unsupervised foster home care may lead, though almost accidentally, to happy results for some children. But a society which values its children will tolerate neither the impoverished institution nor casual placement in foster homes.

Jewish and Catholic Planning

An obvious influence of the environment and culture of a group upon its services for dependent and neglected children can be observed in many Jewish and Catholic constituencies which commonly are knit more closely together than the Protestants in American communities. The traditional urban setting of most Jewish groups and an inclination to communal planning have affected the development of children's institutions, which at first constituted the usual effort of American Jewish organizations to care for their dependent children. As foster family care began to replace institutional care, a change which was given momentum by the White House Conference on Dependent Children, in 1909, Jewish groups in our largest cities were quick thus to modify their child welfare programs. In this way they kept pace with certain non-sectarian agencies in Chicago, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Boston. For the most part this seems to have been in the interests of improved services to children. To one who believes that there are values in group care, a child might be still better off under an agency considering its modern cottage institution just as essential as its foster homes. Outstanding among

Jewish agencies thus inclined are Homewood Terrace, San Francisco, and Vista del Mar, Los Angeles.

Monastic, and in the wider sense of the word, institutional, traditions play a part in keeping most dependent Catholic children in institutions. Many religious orders, especially those composed of women, have made the operation of children's institutions a major part of their program, and of the approximately 350 Catholic institutions listed in the United States, nearly all are operated by nuns. Although Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant groups have possessed buildings that represented financial investments to be conserved, and all may look back upon a tradition of institutional care for their children, each group has been subject to influences strong enough to effect change. This change has been more complete, however, among Jewish agencies.

Notable exceptions to the tendency among Catholics to cling to institutions and consequently delay the development of foster home service are encountered. The Archdiocese of New York has developed a large program of foster home care, and in several dioceses throughout the country a center of service has been added which combines some provision for foster home care with intake, discharge, and other services for institutions. In a very few instances Catholic institutions have, under their own auspices, begun to provide care in foster homes.

Protestant Planning

Although it is a fact that Protestant groups in large cities lack the cohesion to be found in Catholic and Jewish groups, clearly discernible Protestant inclinations and mores are to be observed in certain parts of the country, notably in the South. In practically every southern state each of the larger Protestant communions operates its institution supported by the statewide area which it serves. Other religious bodies have provided institutions, large or small, which under favorable leadership have lent themselves to a well-balanced program, including care in foster homes, consistent with the best practices of modern social work.

The Negro Community

There has been little institutional care for dependent Negro children except in our crowded northern cities, and what now exists usually is substandard. The few excellent institutions for Negroes, both North and South, are conspicuous exceptions which prove the rule.

At the time of the first White House Conference in 1909 it was pointed

out that the South had almost no organized foster care for Negro children either in family homes or institutions. Homeless children there were hardly known, however, doors being opened to them by relatives or neighbors regardless of how full their cabins already were. The dependent Negro child therefore was likely to fare no worse than others among his own people. The circumstances, which so generally handicap Negroes in the United States, may thus have favored them in sparing their children the burden of the shoddy and ineffective institutional care which a slightly more beneficent society might have imposed.

The South, as a whole, with its many children's institutions for the white population, mostly situated either in small towns or in definitely rural neighborhoods, has lagged for want of some of the elementary improvements in children's work, especially health services, which are more accessible in urban centers. Had an equal number of institutions for Negroes been established, the traditional inferiority of all services for the colored population would have given us scores or hundreds of tragically poor orphanages. The low level to which such work actually falls in two southern states is suggested in costs data which show four institutions for Negro children spending an average per capita of about 55 per cent of the average spent by 33 institutions for white children in the same area.[1]

The few institutions for Negro children in the South, especially those privately operated by individuals, offer a distressing picture of what Negroes on the whole have been spared. One such institution for years has sent small brass bands or orchestras all over the country to play on street corners and solicit funds. The boys have presented such a picture of vagabondage as has excited a vast amount of pity for them. Some indignation, but not enough, has been leveled at the authorities of this institution who have permitted youngsters to spend their days in this kind of group begging.

Improvements in the South's child-placing services for Negro children have paralleled certain sporadic improvements in the economic status of the Negro population. The strengthening of home life as a result of more education, better wages, and better housing has been perceptible, even though much is yet to be desired. The last decade has seen development of supervised foster family care of a quality comparable to that available for white children.

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[1] See Chapter 14, Costs of Institutional Care: Uniform Accounting and Reporting.

A few urban agencies, notably the Child Welfare Association in Atlanta, have Negro social workers to serve the children of that race. This particular agency pioneered in the development of strong service to white children and has long recognized that Negro children also should be accounted for. County public welfare departments have made similar provisions, although added together all the Negro workers engaged in child placement remain sadly out of proportion to the number of Negro children concerned. The more common tendency in the South is to employ only white social workers, it being acceptable for such a worker to serve Negro as well as white children and families, whereas a Negro worker would be denied by custom any right to serve white children.

The Louisville and Jefferson County Children's Home, with headquarters at Anchorage, Kentucky, has long operated similar cottage institutions (both at Anchorage), Ormsby Village for white, and Ridgewood for Negro children under its care, and has developed its foster home service for Negro children as well.

Both institutional and foster family care for Negro children are found under different patterns in northern communities. In New York City the municipal authorities in 1942 required that any agency receiving dependent children as public wards care for Negro as well as white children. All but a few of the agencies serving this large urban population complied with the ruling although it is too early to tell what will be its practical effects on the children concerned. It is a common thing in many states to find Negro and white infants sleeping in the same institutional dormitory. Occasionally this is a practice in institutions for older children but there are separate services for Negro and white children to be found in many of our largest northern cities. In Philadelphia there is the House of the Holy Child, a Protestant Episcopal institution, which in recent years has changed its service entirely to foster home care but always limiting its work to Negro children. Also within a decade, in Philadelphia and Chicago, large separate units of foster home service for Negro children have been set up as a result of community planning. For more than a century New York City has had The Colored Orphan Asylum, now at Riverdale-on-Hudson, as one of the earliest adequate services for this generally neglected group of children with a program which now extends, through the use of foster family care, far beyond the limits of its cottage institutional facilities.

It remains a question as to whether Negro children are more neglected in the North than in the South. For individuals there may be oppor-

tunities in the North which will not be found in southern states but excessive economic handicaps and wretched housing have made children more dependent, more neglected, and more delinquent than is commonly assumed by those who consider the North ahead of the South in this respect. With revision of the Social Security Act in 1937 many county welfare departments began to serve children as never before. This means that Negro children in towns and rural communities have been given protective services and foster care on much the same basis as white children. In considering problems of Negro children it is important to realize that in the North Negroes congregate in cities whereas in many southern states they comprise the major part of the rural population.

Relations of Institutions to Other Agencies

Co-ordination of institutional care with foster home care and other types of social work may be effected under various patterns of agency and community organization. However, lack of any practical co-ordination still characterizes too many of our children's institutions and leaves each of them working alone when each should have the assistance of other social agencies in dealing with the problems of families and children. Hence, in appraising institutional service as to its total social usefulness, one of the most important elements to be studied is the relation of any unit to other agencies. Such a test would find that even in the heart of some of our largest cities there are children's institutions which disregard the existence of other social agencies as completely as do some of the truly isolated institutions in certain backward communities.

But for the entire fabric of children's work in the United States there is improvement to be seen in co-operation of agencies and co-ordination of their work. The rate of this improvement suggests that isolation of any social agency from others will rapidly become impossible. In 1940, 38 institutions which had been visited ten or fifteen years previously, showed as the most common change the increased use of other social agencies. Such interdependence came about naturally whenever it became plain to workers that family or child needed some service which was not at the disposal of a given agency.

Some of the patterns for co-ordination of service have developed so gradually as to be only dimly defined in the thinking of institutional executives. Such is the case more especially where the institutions are in weakly organized towns or in distinctly rural communities.

Ten years ago there were few counties in which trained social workers were employed. Now, hundreds of county welfare bureaus in all parts of the United States are administering relief and providing other services on a case-work basis. Their workers carry responsibilities for many of the families from which children are sent to institutions. Some of these county workers have duties legally defined for the care and protection of children with handicaps—dependency and neglect being the most common. Aid to Dependent Children, thus administered, early in 1942, was providing for nearly 1,000,000 children, a figure now somewhat diminished because of wartime employment.[1] Within less than a decade this service has kept several millions of children with their parents or relatives and spared them separation and the necessity of foster care. Also significant is the widespread development under the Social Security Act of county services distinctly for children and officially designated, financed and staffed as Child Welfare Services. The increased numbers of children now under foster care more often have been absorbed by such county units than by institutions.

One often finds institutions under church or non-sectarian auspices turning to such county welfare workers in their efforts to determine more exactly the resources and problems of the families from which children have been received. In certain states children becoming public charges are placed and maintained in private institutions by local public welfare officials acting on the county level, a method of which the limitations have already been mentioned.[2] So in matters of intake and discharge there is increasing co-operation on the part of the isolated institution with those better trained social workers who are successors to the old county overseers of the poor, a succession which already has produced revolutionary and much needed improvements in the structure of America's entire welfare work.

Some of the state welfare departments have placed members of their case-work staffs at the service of local institutions irrespective of whether these be under private or public control. Health officers, school nurses, visiting nurses, and representatives of such units as tuberculosis or mental hygiene clinics, sooner or later refer children to institutions.

The thoroughness with which an institution co-operates with such agencies and the extent to which it uses their services may well be a measure of the strength of the program and a strong factor in deciding

[1] Social Security Year Book, 1942, p. 181.
[2] Chapter 1, The Need for Children's Institutions: As Reflected in Early Legislation.

what place, if any, the institution should have in the welfare program of its community. The isolated institution avoiding or ignoring the resources of other agencies cannot long continue to justify its existence.

Functions Affected by Mergers

In recognition of this interdependence of modern social agencies, and their common concern with the family, urban communities have developed councils of social agencies and welfare federations and many Jewish and Roman Catholic groups and a few Protestant constituencies have set up central or consolidated services, or occasionally have authorized the merging of children's institutions with either child-placing or family welfare agencies. The implications of such mergers in terms of further development or disuse of children's institutions are not yet clear.

Combined family and child welfare agencies to the number of 18 were members in 1943 of the Child Welfare League of America. These included such typical agencies as the following: Children's Department, Bureau of Catholic Charities, St. Paul; St. Louis Children's Aid Society, combined with the Provident Association, St. Louis; Jewish Family and Children's Bureau, Baltimore; Department of Family and Child Welfare of Westchester County, White Plains, New York; The Family and Children's Center of Stamford, Connecticut.

Enlarged children's agencies have resulted from numerous mergers involving children's institutions or child-placing agencies, though without a prolonged study the exact number cannot be determined. From these consolidations have resulted agencies like the Children's Bureau of the Indianapolis Orphan Asylum, the Jewish Children's Bureau of Chicago, and The New York Association for Jewish Children, all of which have brought together under one administration two or more institutions and child-placing agencies. In Philadelphia, a city with many institutions, some 28 child welfare agencies have merged or changed functions since 1926.

It may be presumed that more mergers of children's agencies will come with the striving for higher standards of foster care and the consequent need for combining resources. Where both institutional and foster home care are available under the same management greater adaptability is achieved in both types of care than can be expected under separate administration. It is for that reason that many institutions are adding foster family care to their programs.[1]

[1] This trend was discussed in Chapter 3, Institutions and Foster Homes: Two Parts of a Whole.

But whether similar improvement is indicated where family welfare and child welfare agencies merge, is not so clear. From a child welfare point of view the values warranting such a trend would appear in better service to children. To learn whether better care for children actually results from these mergers will be difficult and may be impossible, except in terms of general observations made by impartial social workers. This question deserves special attention during the next decade from state welfare officials and representatives of councils of social agencies. Both the Child Welfare League of America and the Family Welfare Association of America have asked special committees to study the subject. It also might be studied profitably by such co-ordinating agencies as diocesan bureaus of Catholic Charities, Jewish welfare federations, and the federations of Protestant welfare agencies.

Use of Neighborhood Facilities

The usefulness of almost any kind of institution for children in the welfare program of a community may be measured by the institution's acceptance and use of the community as a whole, and particularly of its immediate neighborhood. Much has been said and written about the advantages of sending children from institutions to the public or parochial school of the neighborhood and to a church which is not operated within the institution. Such exposure of the children to outside influences probably has value, in and of itself, but if left to itself such exposure can cruelly defeat its avowed purpose. Children going in groups from an institution to a public school can be easily marked by fellow pupils and teachers as "children from the Home."

In one institution which has given intelligent attention to relations with the public schools it was found that the use of special transit buses and the uniformity of school lunches and their wrappings stood as daily reminders that these children were from an institution. The children from this institution formed cliques and added to the social handicap which the institution's staff and some of the school teachers conscientiously were seeking to reduce. These conditions were pronounced in one elementary school and one junior high school, each of which absorbed or tried to absorb more than 50 children from the institution. To a lesser degree the same situation prevailed in two other elementary schools, each with quotas of under 15 children. Nine other junior high schools, senior high schools, and trade schools each received fewer than five children from the institution. The girls and boys attending these schools went on ordinary buses or street cars, and were not identified as children from an institution.

Again, a high-school senior from another institution successfully concealed, even from her teachers, the fact that she lived at a children's institution. During her last

year at school she fainted in a classroom. This incident led the school nurse to communicate with the girl's home address and thus the nurse, as well as the teachers, first became aware that the girl was not living in a family home. She had registered from the institution's street number and had listed its telephone number as if she had come from a family residence. It is difficult to understand how great were the emotional strain and the feeling of inferiority that were reflected in this girl's struggle during four years to avoid letting her schoolmates or teachers know her place of residence.

Both of these institutions had executives and social workers conscientiously committed to helping their children achieve as independent a life as possible through their public school experience. The cottage mothers of both institutions were members of parent-teacher associations. And in contrast to the socially retarding experiences just mentioned these institutions could record achievements by the children and friendships formed by them in the schools of the community which more than justified occasional embarrassments. Children became officers of student organizations and won academic, musical, and athletic recognition. Both institutions encouraged children to accept invitations to visit in the homes of schoolmates, and usually the child from the institution was proud when he returned the courtesy and had the schoolmate as guest at a meal in his cottage. All this required much planning and adaptations of institutional schedules to meet many group and individual appointments growing out of the school life of the children.

Similarly, children from institutions patronize community libraries, art museums, playgrounds, and the movies. Their shopping expeditions to five-and-ten-cent stores also have pleasant as well as dismal possibilities. The education to be acquired from shopping trips is greatly needed, but when shoplifting becomes an accompanying episode, or when a child innocent of any offense is accused of shoplifting, the expedition is a bitter experience.

Churches and church schools present advantages and hazards quite similar to those encountered in the public schools. Kindly parishioners, and even the clergy and church-school teachers who should know better, sometimes humiliate children by directing attention to their orphanage. There are plenty of happy exceptions, and when the needs of the children are explained, the clergy will usually become strong allies in helping create within their churches the kind of experience that will be socially profitable.

While problems of this nature are still prevalent, the usual attitude

at present on the part of administrators is in happy contrast to the old pattern under which, to advertise the institution, children sometimes went from an orphanage in groups to sing or otherwise perform in public, usually at a church. Enough of such mistaken use of community facilities still persists, or is still remembered in the histories of more modern institutions, to call for consistent efforts to discourage practices of this kind and to build up a new tradition.

During five years as superintendent of the Albany Home for Children in Albany, New York, the writer from time to time set down first-hand observations on many of the subjects treated in this book. These notes usually went to the Board of Managers for their information on actual conditions and events within the Home. They grew into a running record of experience—of failures as well as successes, of unexpected accidents no less than of planned programs—which may be called the Albany Diary.[1] Portions of this contemporary record will be introduced into this book without further apology, wherever its realistic case material seems appropriate to the subject under discussion. From the Diary on the subject of church attendance:

March, 1939: Six of our girls and boys united with churches on Palm Sunday or Easter. To them and to all of us who knew them it was a solemn and important step. Their decisions were preceded by courses of study led by their pastors. Attendance at catechetical classes ran throughout the year for the three girls who were confirmed at St. Paul's Lutheran Church. At the three other churches represented this preparatory instruction was given during Lent.

The child's relations with the community as well as with his family have been considered. Relatives, workers, and other friends attended the services at which the children were confirmed. The new clothes which went with the occasion were provided so that our young people were ready in appearance as well as through their instruction. Like the costume worn at graduation exercises, the confirmation dress makes a great impression on the girl who wears it.

It is the first Easter season when as many as four churches received children from the Home into their membership. This reflects the policy followed in recent years of having our children build up religious ties in the church which their own families prefer. It is to be hoped that after leaving us they will find in their several churches associations and inspirations which will strengthen their characters.

There is a great deal yet to be desired in meeting the religious needs of our boys and girls. It would mean much if they attended more of the study groups and

[1] Further excerpts from this Albany record are given in Appendix B. Those called "A Typical Day" and "Experiences of Our Children in the Community" are of general interest only. Other sections are referred to specifically in later chapters.

young people's services at the different churches. The exercise of more choice in attending these and other activities of the churches will be encouraged. For several reasons it seems desirable to have the children divided among several churches and we are pleased that our church and church-school attendance now includes the following parishes: Emmanuel Baptist, First Christian-Congregational, St. Andrew's Episcopal, St. Paul's Episcopal, St. Paul's Lutheran, Westminster Presbyterian, and the First Reformed.

Another point of contact with community life is through the library of the town. How the Albany Public Library co-operated with the library of the Albany Home is described in Chapter 13, Education and Training of the Child (Continued).

Some institutions have gone so far as to invite all or some of the children from the neighborhood to use their recreational facilities. If the institution is not too large, much neighborly activity can be developed. But, left to themselves, neighbors are inclined to feel socially superior to the institution which they regard as belonging to a different world.

Not only the children, but also the adults of the neighborhood need to be cultivated. As the institution develops better facilities for parent education it can offer leadership to study groups from the community. Similarly, the individual parent who is having problems in dealing with his own children will come naturally to an attractive, well-run, neighborly institution to seek advice. With the development of clinical facilities by institutions and their advancement of child study among workers, such requests from neighbors can be expected and should be encouraged. Any movement in this direction will help to assure an institution a definite and important place among the community's educational facilities as well as in its welfare program.

Another important link between an institution and the community develops from the practice of good case work by the institution. This is more especially described later in Chapter 10, Significance of a Child's Relationships: Role of the Social Worker, but it should be noted here that this essential function, which consists in helping children, families, workers, teachers, pastors, and neighbors in their varied relationships, is a part of the procedure in all better organized institutions. It has a vital relation to the entire welfare program of the community because it is concerned with rounded human relationships.

PART TWO: THE STAFF

Chapter 5

THE STAFF NEEDED: BASIC QUALIFICATIONS

Visitors, whether they have an hour or a day to "go through the institution," ordinarily content themselves with looking at buildings and equipment, with some passing observation of the activities of the children. They are looking at the institution as at a car's paint job and upholstery, glancing perhaps at some of its passengers, but forgetting the engine that makes it go.

The engine of an institution is its staff; it more than plant and equipment determines whether the institution is going to go, and whether forward or backward. The visitor with limited time, desiring to know an institution, might more sensibly spend it interviewing the executive and one or more of the workers who live with the children.

This chapter and the two following chapters will attempt to treat briefly the vital problem of staff—its size, composition, and qualifications; training of staff members or their lack of it; the conditions under which they work.

Size and Composition of Staff

It is impractical to specify a model staff for all institutions, but certain services must be accounted for and many of these will be represented by one or more workers with a corresponding skill. In a large institution a full department may be needed for a given service; in a small institution such a service may require less than the attention of one person. Under the latter condition either a part-time worker will be employed or one worker will perform different duties.

The superintendent in a small institution is sometimes expected to carry duties which in a larger establishment would call for a supervisor

of cottage mothers, a purchasing agent, a publicity secretary, a recreation leader, and a social worker. Failure to account on the payroll for some of these services often means that a particular service is inferior or lacking. Another complicating tradition, especially in the administration of small institutions, is the tendency to employ a man and his wife as joint executives, the man usually being entitled executive, and his wife usually being known as matron or dietitian. All too frequently the salary is sufficient for only one of the two positions, and in keeping with such parsimony either husband or wife is often incompetent for the duties required. The smaller the institution the more necessity there is for a jack-of-all-trades. Just as a man is needed for plant maintenance a woman may be required as a utility worker for household tasks.

An institution for 100 children with five cottages of 20 children each needs the following as a minimal staff: executive, social worker, secretary-stenographer, registered nurse, recreation leader, librarian, accountant, dietitian, buyer of food and clothing (the last four to be part-time workers), storekeeper, night watchman, mechanic (able to make repairs, including upkeep of automatic heating plant), five housemothers, five assistant housemothers or cooks, two seamstresses, and two and one-half substitute workers. The services of a physician and a dentist are essential and the amount of each service needed by 100 children is sufficient to require substantial allowance for part-time salaries for both. A businesslike provision for psychiatric and psychological services should be made. It is desirable also, if there be a nearby college, to have a number of part-time student workers who earn their maintenance by performing duties in connection with recreation, tutoring, library, minor repairs, mowing of lawns, and so forth.

The most competent of institutional workers, if overloaded, will on occasion act incompetently. Understaffing constitutes one of the two most serious and most common faults of children's institutions, the other being the employment of unqualified workers. To employ a large enough staff inevitably adds to the biggest item in the budget, the payroll.

Small groups of children, small enough to prevent an overload in cottages or dormitories, are even more important than small classes in the schoolroom. To assure this, an institution usually will require additions to staff. In the cottage or dormitory the worker deals with emotional problems which in the schoolroom find less obvious and less frequent expression, partly because in the institution children vie, more than in school, for affection and attention. Repeatedly within a given day a

housemother confronts a variety of these problems, and finds their appearance so unpredictable as to defy anticipation.

The size of the cottage or dormitory group usually has been determined by an architect's or a trustee's idea about bed capacity, or else by the limitations of the budget. It should be determined by the ages of the children, the nature of their problems, and the duties that are assigned to the substitute parents. Critics of institutional administration often designate a ratio of workers to children that is believed to permit effective services. Such ratios mean little, however, unless in determining them administrative differences in plans for laundry, cooking, nursing, and teaching services have been taken into account. There are institutional cottages in which none of these services is expected of the housemothers. Under other administrations the housemother may be responsible for two or even more of these duties.

Where cooking is done in a cottage, need for a second worker is obvious. It is no easier for an institutional worker than for a mother in her own home to cook for 12 or more. An exception may exist in institutions specializing in the care of adolescents, or institutions where there are enough adolescents whose school schedules permit them to assist with the preparation of all meals.

No ideal ratio of children to workers supervising them should be flatly stated, but those who administer institutions do form judgments based on practical experience. When cottage populations increase, however gradually, it is to be observed that at certain levels workers begin to show signs of undue strain, to treat children impersonally, to reflect confusion, and to show an inclination to resign. At certain levels, too, the children show increased nervous strain, a greater inclination to resist authority, or a tendency to behave more as a group than as individuals. Housemothers are aware of this, and the fact is amply demonstrated during the summer months by relief of tension and better service to the children when the cottage population, usually ranging from 24 to 30, perhaps has dropped to 15 or 18. But when ordinary patterns of American family life are considered, even 15 children is an unreasonably large group for one woman to mother. A group of 10 or 12 is much more reasonable, and visits to the few institutions having such smaller cottage populations offer confirming evidence. Two of the best-known institutions which have had long experience with such small groups and are especially equipped for them are the Children's Village of The

Methodist Children's Home Society, Detroit, and Carson College (for orphan girls), Flourtown, Pennsylvania.

Executives of these institutions have shown clearly that their cottages permit a more informal and emotionally more satisfying life than is usually found in the larger units typical of American institutions.

At the Albany Home for Children the writer was able to compare over a period of several years the daily administration of one cottage for 11 children with three having populations from 25 to 30 and two having populations from 30 to 36. The cottage for 11 was poorly adapted for residence, having been constructed as a reception cottage without sufficient play space and clothes closets. Its cramped sleeping quarters lacked the homelike qualities that should characterize every cottage. But even with such limitations of the building, definite advantages in caring for the children were found in the small cottage group as compared with the five larger ones. The care of certain disturbed and backward children especially proved more practical in this than in the larger cottages.

Since it is clear that when a cottage group climbs above 20 we may look for signs of strain, conflict, and regimentation, it should be the aim of the administrator to make this the uppermost limit of the number of children one woman is expected to supervise. There can be plenty of strain on the housemother with a group of any size, and preference should always be for a group of from 10 to 12. The number is here extended to 20 only because women may be found carrying with fortitude and some success loads as large as this. The range from 10 to 20, however, is admissible only if the children all are of school age and do not present special health or personality problems.

If the group consists of children under school age, it should never exceed 12, and the worker should have one or more assistants, depending upon the range of her duties and the ages of the children.

Self-contained cottages, each with its kitchen, should have as many assistant housemothers or cooks as there are housemothers. The number of workers in certain other occupations is also conditioned by the centralization or decentralization of administration.[1]

The limits recommended give a basis for staffing an institution, there being need for more workers directly in charge of children than in any other occupation. In so far as the groups contain fewer than 20 this basis will increase the minimal staffing recommended earlier in this chapter.

[1] This subject is discussed in Chapter 9, Plant.

Relief Workers an Important Factor

A common and serious lack in the staffing of institutions is the absence or shortage of substitute workers. This imposes one or both of two weaknesses: lack of sufficient time off duty for those workers who live closest to the children, or the necessity of one worker's doubling duties so that another may have free time. The ratio of regular relief workers to the staff for which they substitute should ordinarily be one relief worker to four housemothers or assistant housemothers. Unless this ratio is maintained, workers cannot have the one and one-half days of weekly relief they need.

It is not necessary, however, to have a substitute for every worker on the payroll. Some, such as office workers, teachers, and mechanics, can conform their hours and duties to those customary for similar workers outside the institution. But all who live with the children and all others with duties that have to be carried on seven days a week should have competent and regularly employed substitutes. Some can be employed on a part-time basis, but the important need is to have substitutes who are competent. An incompetent worker fails to supply the kind of relief needed.

A widely accepted fallacy in institutional administration is the presumption that newly employed workers can wisely be used as substitutes. This practice is often followed, the new worker beginning at a lower salary in this role and working up to a regular position and more adequate salary. But the relief worker's job, because it is more exacting than that of a regular worker, deserves at least as high a salary. There is the same tendency for children, here, as in the public schools, to try out the substitute and make her work difficult. The consequence is that if a relief worker is incompetent or inexperienced, the regular worker returns from a day off duty only to find children and house in a confused and unsatisfactory condition. In fact, housemothers often prefer to stay at their work rather than to have things so demoralized. To prevent such a distressing reaction it is necessary to employ as substitute workers those who have proved their competence. Relief work is sufficiently unattractive even to warrant payment of a bonus to those who remain long in the position of substitute. With such a provision this position may well offer promotion to some, whose ability has been proved, as regular housemothers. Experience in a few institutions has shown this to be a practical plan.

Substitutes during vacation season usually are required in such numbers as to make it impractical to rely only upon seasoned workers. This is especially true where the vacation is a full month, which is desirable, instead of the customary two weeks.

A bugbear to institutional executives is the recurrent, but unpredictable, need for relief workers to take the places either of those who fall ill, or of those who leave without giving notice. Records of time lost because of illness usually show a high frequency of absences on this account during the first three months of the year. This common experience seems related to the overwork that comes in children's institutions with the Christmas season, although we should note that the incidence of illness in the general population also is greater during January, February, and March. To help in offsetting such seasonal breakdown in health, each worker who lives with children might be allowed from three to six days off duty as soon as possible after the Christmas holiday. It is well worth the employment for a few weeks of an extra worker to permit the substitution necessary. The holidays thus scheduled need not mean that an addition is to be made to the annual vacation allowance. It is customary to require housemothers and other members of a child-care staff to remain on duty on Christmas and New Year's, which would ordinarily be considered as holidays. By adding the equivalent of these two days to the usual weekly relief allowance there is an accumulation of time due the worker of at least three or three and one-half days as a basis for this post-holiday breathing spell. Even where special holidays have not been allowed, the management of any institution might wisely make such provision, and add an extra one or two days to any time earned by the worker.

Questions involving relief workers are definitely affected by the length of the work day and the work week for all the staff. This phase is discussed in Chapter 7, Living and Working Conditions of Staff.

Use of Community Facilities to Reduce Staff

Executives of institutions commonly testify that their workers present greater difficulties than the children under care. Consequently, if a staff can be reduced in size by reliance upon certain community facilities, staff problems will be lessened and the executive will have more time to devote to the children and their needs. Unless the institution is very large it can thus make profitable use of a commercial dairy and a com-

mercial laundry. It may also prove practical to avoid operation of a private power or heating plant or an institutional hospital.

With highly decentralized administration maintaining scattered cottages, each in a different urban residential neighborhood, or at some distance from other cottages on the same campus, it would be possible to operate a child-care institutional program with relatively little staff for maintenance of the physical plant and for the ordinary centralized services of an institution. A department store and a grocery may take the place of the conventional institutional supply room. The net financial economies to be realized under such a plan remain to be proved in experience, but there will be fewer headaches for the executive because of the smaller number of maintenance staff requiring supervision. Two other advantages are the consequent reduction in the number of such employes in contact with the children and the omission of their salaries from the payroll.

Qualifications of Staff

Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the importance of having only well-qualified workers directly in charge of the children.

Workers other than houseparents who are closely associated with their charges represent a great variety of skills, especially in a large institution. Even where there is reliance upon neighborhood schools, an institution may employ a teacher for a nursery school or kindergarten, a special class, a cooking or sewing class, or a class in woodwork.

A recent study of salaries and qualifications of child welfare workers, including houseparents, made by Ralph G. Hurlin, director of the Department of Statistics of the Russell Sage Foundation, is of particular value for workers themselves and for executives and others responsible for operation of institutions.[1] This study, however, which covers both the professional and child-care staff, although it relates the education and experience of workers to their salaries, does not examine their qualifications in detail.

Nurses, teachers, and others should have the skills required in employment outside the institution and in competition with those of their own occupation. They should have such training or such seasoning through experience as permits them to work efficiently for the institution. There is no ultimate economy in the traditional practice whereby

[1] Salaries and Qualifications of Child Welfare Workers in 1941. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1943. Tables in later chapters of this book are derived from Mr. Hurlin's study.

institutions employ at reduced salaries nurses or teachers, for instance, whose limited qualifications would bar their employment in hospitals or schools of the community. Children who have been neglected need superior service, and should not be cared for by incompetent misfits.

While the qualifications of professional workers, including social workers, housemothers, teachers, and nurses, should receive first attention, it is also important to have an efficient maintenance staff, reliable in work and satisfactory in morals.

Health of Workers

Physical fitness of workers is needed for a variety of reasons, many of which are obvious. Institutions cannot afford the recurrent absences from duty caused by certain physical handicaps. The friction and strain which a group of active children can pile up within the limits of any one day demand workers with steady nerves and with vitality that guarantees resilience. Group life calls for freedom from communicable diseases.

Examination of every worker by a physician, before employment, and annually thereafter, should be common practice. Of 38 institutions for children visited by the writer in immediate preparation for this volume, 14 required such examinations. This proportion is perhaps fairly representative of the extent to which this personnel policy is now being practiced.

The physical examination should be comparable in thoroughness with a physician's examination for life insurance and should be paid for by the institution. A worker should have the right to designate his examiner, but almost all workers will be content with one chosen by the institution. To use the physician so chosen is desirable because it guarantees uniformity and adequacy in the examination.

A worker should understand that physical examination is of value to him, as well as to the institution. He should be assured that only the executive of the institution and the medical staff will have access to the record of the physical examination. He should also have assurance that he will be informed by the examiner of any important findings.

No worker who has tuberculosis in any stage or who has a venereal disease should be considered. Those with other contagious diseases or any carrier of disease should likewise be rejected. Workers whose general health or particular handicaps indicate that the work will be too

exacting should be advised to improve their physical condition before they are employed.

Treatment aiming at removal of handicaps should be the responsibility of the worker and not of the institution. In the arrangements for initial and subsequent examination it should be understood that the institution is not obligated to assume liability for medical or surgical services for which need may be revealed. The employer has a responsibility in co-operation with state and worker to promote health insurance as part of a complete program of social security.

The record of each examination should be on a standard form. When examinations are made by a physician of the worker's own choice, he should be required to record his findings on the standard form used by the institution. Suitable examination blanks usually of three or four pages can often be obtained from state or city health officers, or from a life insurance company, thus sparing an institution the cost of printing. A form for this purpose, developed after study of other forms and after numerous examinations of workers, by Dr. Charles K. Winne, Jr., attending physician to the Albany Home for Children, is shown in Appendix C.[1]

Age and Infirmities

Should a visitor arrive while the children are absent at school, many an institution for children might be mistaken for a home for the aged. Some elderly people are excellently qualified to work with children, but they are exceptional, and the adaptability usually associated with persons under forty years of age should characterize the majority of a staff. The present war emergency, when so many persons in the thirties and forties are being drawn either into military service or into war industry, may require the use by institutions of more than a desirable proportion of men and women over fifty. Where this is the case, however, it should be considered as an emergency measure rather than as a permanent policy.

Actual distribution by age of the houseparents employed by 89 institutions for dependent children in a recent year is shown in Table 2.[2]

[1] Form for Physical Examination of Staff.

[2] In part the data for this table and several later tables were collected by the writer from 38 institutions which were visited in preparation for this study in 1940 and 1941 and obtained without a personal visit from six other institutions, thus, for purposes of this table accounting for 44. Many of these institutions and 45 others that employ houseparents contributed data for the study of personnel of child welfare organizations made by the Department of Statistics of the Russell Sage Foundation in 1941 (Salaries and Qualifications of Child Welfare Workers in 1941,

These institutions are widely scattered geographically and include both congregate and cottage types. Although neither the number of institutions nor of workers is large, the age variation shown in the table is probably fairly typical of that for such institutions throughout the country. Both men and women houseparents are included in the tabulation, but women predominate.

TABLE 2.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEPARENTS IN 89 INSTITUTIONS FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN IN 1940 OR 1941

Age	Number of houseparents	Per cent
Under 20 years	3	1
20 to 29	63	12
30 to 39	105	20
40 to 49	144	28
50 to 59	133	26
60 to 69	49	10
70 years or over	1	–
Age not reported	17	3
Total	515	100

The situation would be more encouraging if the number of workers under forty years were larger than the number over fifty. Of the 36 per cent of workers fifty years of age or over, probably not more than one-fifth would be found to combine the physical and intellectual fitness needed for their work. Whether or not this is true, however, we must expect that in wartime institutions generally will employ more older houseparents than ever before. This fact adds to the need for thorough physical examinations so that only those reasonably fit among the older applicants will be employed.

Most adults have one or more physical handicaps which will be revealed by examination and it is obviously impracticable to assemble a staff entirely free from such handicaps. Disqualifying infirmities, too, may appear in the young as well as the old but some types of adult infirmities may cast a morbid influence over children constantly exposed to them. A cottage mother who cannot climb stairs because of obesity, fallen arches, or a weak heart, is something less than the wholesome substitute parent an institution should provide for children under its care.

Not all physical handicaps, however, make workers unsuitable for child-care services. In contrast to the incapacitated workers to be found in too many of our institutions is a young worker known to the writer

by Ralph G. Hurlin). Through the kindness of that Department, the two sets of information concerning houseparents have been consolidated in some of the present tables.

who contracted scarlet fever followed by partial deafness. The disease definitely resulted from contact with children in the institution during the course of an epidemic. After an absence of several weeks, the worker returned to her duties with her usual alertness and cheerfulness. Her deafness, clearly acquired in line of duty, was declared compensable by the Workmen's Compensation Commission of the State of New York, but the compensation would have seemed extremely inadequate to many. Although the handicap was serious, the worker proved able to carry on satisfactorily all the duties of her position, and the morale of both children and staff was sustained because of the attitude with which she accepted her situation.

In judging whether an infirmity disqualifies a worker for employment in the care of children, three points may well be considered. Does it make practically impossible adequate performance of a worker's duties? Does its nature impose a morbid influence on the children? Has the worker handled the infirmity so as to develop the courage and character that are needed in meeting all of life's problems?

Previous Occupations

Early institutions for children were too often staffed by persons unable to obtain employment elsewhere, and the same statement is true of backward institutions even in our own day. There are several factors responsible for this personnel problem and for others common to institutions, the most prominent being poor pay and inordinately long hours. Consequently women unqualified to do other work have been willing to accept employment as housemothers. In the days when few occupations were open to women, the widow or the spinster thrown on her own resources often found meager but real security in such employment.

Table 3 presents information concerning the occupations in which workers holding houseparent positions in 1941 were engaged before being employed by the institution in which they were then working.[1] It is of interest that 63, or a fourth of the number reporting concerning previous positions, came from similar positions in other children's institutions, while 44, or nearly a fifth, had never held a paid position previously. Teaching, social work, and nursing are each well represented.

[1] The data of this table are from a previously unpublished table supplied by the Department of Statistics of the Russell Sage Foundation from its recent study of child welfare personnel.

TABLE 3.—CLASSIFICATION OF HOUSEPARENTS BY LAST PREVIOUS PAID POSITION BEFORE PRESENT EMPLOYMENT

Last previous paid position	Number of houseparents
Houseparent in another children's institution	63
No previous paid position	44
Teaching in public or private school	38
Social work	30
Clerical or business position	28
Nursing	20
School or college matron or food service worker	12
Hospital employe	5
Housekeeper or nursemaid in private family	3
Other positions	7[a]
Not reported	73
Total	323

[a] Includes 2 librarians, 2 psychologists, 1 church worker, 1 sewing teacher in girls' club, 1 WPA housekeeper.

Personality and Character

It is not enough for an institution to have as houseparents men and women of positive character who possess personalities that permit them to live happily and work effectively with children. Every worker should satisfy certain minimum standards of conduct and character. Drunkenness or evidence of other vicious habits on the part of workers is as indefensible in an institution as are those petty pilferings by workers from household stores, which are known in the history of almost every large institution. Ordinary sobriety and honesty are to be sought among the humblest workers in the garden, laundry, kitchen, or storerooms.

It should be kept in mind that many children living in institutions have never experienced a happy family life. The boy or girl who has come from a home in which parents habitually cast kitchen utensils or angry words at each other needs to become acquainted with poised, self-respecting adults. It is desirable to have several married couples living on the premises, and it is highly important that such couples supply the children with patterns of domestic co-operation and happiness.

Basic qualifications of staff can be thought of largely in terms of mental hygiene. Some workers seem to possess a healthy attitude toward children and toward life in general, some can be helped to acquire it, and some are so morbid in their outlook as to disqualify them for work with children. Mental hygiene can and should be studied by the individual and by groups of workers under informed leadership. Suggestions for such study are given in the section Mental Hygiene, in Chapter 13, Education and Training of the Child (Continued).

The management never can foresee which adult will attract a particular child. It may be a worker of the same or the opposite sex. In some situations the man or woman to whom a child thus turns may become a strong friend or even a life-long substitute parent. There also are situations in which the adult's interest marks a hazard for the child. To be alert in spotting homosexual men, who sometimes gravitate toward children's institutions, is only to exercise common forethought. All workers need the maturity and character that will permit them to recognize a child's demands for affection and to respond in ways that are helpful and sustaining. Workers of every grade should have such relations with social workers and members of the administrative staff as will permit them to report readily situations that may have significance in the training of children. The inclination of a girl to explore gardens or barn should not be interpreted necessarily as representing her desire for clandestine association with boys or men. Gardener or dairyman should have the character and understanding to be able to bring to such a situation good judgment rather than a crude sex-conscious suspicion. Some oversight or even chaperonage of repeated visits to the garden or dairy barn may be advisable. It is wholesome for all concerned if workers of both sexes join both boys and girls in certain recreations, especially such as swimming, skating, soft ball, and tennis. It would be unfortunate should the staff not contain men and women with some interest and aptitude in all such sports.

If religious faith and activity characterize enough of the staff, and if the practice of religion be a happy experience to these adults, such influence on the children may be one of the most powerful contributions that an institution can offer. Without at least a few members of the staff whose religious inclinations are clearly reflected in their lives, the religious training of most of the children will prove hollow.

Institutions serve as incubators for gossip. Few men or women exercise due restraint when the affairs of a fellow worker are the subject of conversation. It seems practical to recognize innocent gossip as a form of indoor recreation for adults. When it becomes malicious or carelessly unrestrained it quickly breeds animosities and impairs confidence and usefulness. Workers who thus prevent the development of friendly cooperation should be reprimanded, and if they persist in gossiping maliciously should be discharged. It is demoralizing to children as well as adults to live under the shadow of such tale-bearing. On one occasion, clearly remembered, two cottage workers were brought together in the

superintendent's office and confronted with their gossip about each other. They were so startled by the facts that their consternation led them (and others) to a more dignified and discreet attitude toward their fellow workers.

One of the best antidotes for gossip is a schedule of relief which permits workers to get away for at least twenty-four successive hours weekly for recreation or relaxation. They should be encouraged to leave the premises when off duty, even to the extent of the institution's providing inexpensive transportation. Staff recreation also has an important but seldom recognized place in the administration of institutions. If workers are cooped up by their never-ending duties and there is little recreation in their lives, they cannot be blamed for resorting to idle tale-bearing.

Freedom from self-pity is an attribute to be cherished for all who work with children. It is sad, indeed, if those whose young lives already have contained disappointments must live under the influence of women or men who having met defeat in life have remained defeated. If we are to help dependent children grow into independence, there is no place in our work for characters who, like Mrs. Gummidge, of David Copperfield, are continuously sorry for themselves.

Chapter 6

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS AND STAFF TRAINING

THE CHILD-CARE staffs of most institutions include those who lack basic education in keeping with the importance of their work, and also those whose previous occupations have sometimes been a handicap rather than an advantage.

Within our many backward institutions there persists an old tradition for the employment of matrons who possess the qualifications of domestic servants, with more emphasis upon housekeeping than upon child care. The unattractiveness of work in an institution remains such as to limit the number of alert, educable men and women who will apply for employment. Then, too, many workers, whatever their educational background, have been warped into inflexibility by the institution itself. It is true, however, that institutional employment offers a certain advantage, especially in its guarantee of board and room, which does attract and retain many who have some educational background that qualifies them for work with children, and many others who, under adequate leadership, will absorb additional education.

A marked improvement in this situation has followed efforts of such agencies as the Child Welfare League of America, councils of social agencies, and state welfare departments. Only a few of the various measures toward this end taken by these agencies, however, were prior to 1925. Executives and trustees of a number of outstanding institutions have in recent years insisted that the position of housemother calls for as much ability as that of school teacher.

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS AND EDUCABILITY

One of the most effective advocates for educated workers in children's institutions has been A. T. Jamison, superintendent of Connie Maxwell Orphanage, Greenwood, South Carolina, already mentioned. Among Dr. Jamison's early efforts to dignify and improve the foster care of children in institutions was the consistent and long-established practice

of employing as housemothers those whom he considered competent as teachers; most of the women who filled this position therefore had received education beyond high school. Proved ability to understand children and to provide superior care was more clearly recognized here than in most institutions.

The educational backgrounds of the housemothers in 89 institutions, as of 1940 or 1941, are shown in Table 4.[1] Inclusion of some highly progressive institutions in the group represented by this table may be noted as explaining, in part at least, the considerable number of well-educated workers.

TABLE 4.—EXTENT OF EDUCATION OF HOUSEPARENTS IN 89 INSTITUTIONS FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN IN 1940 OR 1941

Extent of education	Number of houseparents	Per cent
College and some graduate work	26	5
College, 4 years	65	13
College, less than 4 years	99	19
Normal school	39	8
School of nursing	26	5
Other education beyond high school	5	1
High school only	185	36
No high school	28	5
Education not reported	42	8
Total	515	100

A conventional observation among backward institutional executives is that "mothering" cannot be paid for, and that a motherly concern is more important than education. Consequently these executives are inclined to discount the need for educated workers. Such attitudes too often serve as an excuse for employment of incompetent and poorly paid workers. In the zeal to obtain well-educated workers an executive needs to look as keenly as ever for women whose character and personality, and whose nervous and emotional qualities permit them to serve as effective mother-substitutes.

Forty years ago high-school graduates were not plentiful, but now it is common for American women to be graduated from high school. The compulsory education laws of our country and the accessibility of secondary schools to even our remote rural communities have produced approximately two generations in which there are plenty of women who have completed high school and many who have engaged in some

[1] For source of data see footnote two, p. 71.

further study. High-school graduation is now a reasonable qualification for many occupations, including stenography and nursing.

It is as important for a houseparent to be competent to study child behavior as it is for a nurse to study anatomy. Increasingly, housemothers must participate with social workers and educators in planning for their children. Co-operation with such professional workers and with physicians and psychiatrists in the treatment of children calls for intelligence. Institutes, conferences, and staff meetings provide educational opportunities for those capable of study.

Consecrated ignorance has constituted a threat to the development of most of our professions, and this fact should be clearly recognized by those who would improve services for children. Devotion coupled with skill gives us a precious combination, but either quality without the other leaves much to be desired.

A worker whose consecration and ignorance were beyond question once asked advice in seeking to cure six boys of the habit of wetting their beds. She was spending one dollar a week out of her monthly salary of $20 for a bottle of patent medicine. Daily at bedtime she gave each of the boys some of this liquid remedy mixed with water, thus pitting her zeal and ignorance against natural hydraulic pressure. She had not read such literature on child care as the pamphlet Child Management by Dr. Douglas A. Thom,[1] with its practical and scientifically reliable chapter on Enuresis.

Educability is not easy to define or to determine. A closed mind, however, is as real as it is hard. If children, in institutions or elsewhere, are to grow in understanding they need association with open-minded educable adults.

Training of Houseparents and Others

Special training for the important tasks of substitute parents is essential. One of the repeated contentions of this book is that most of our institutional workers stand in want of specially acquired skills, and so are impotent to relieve dependency, neglect, and the behavior problems that afflict their children.

Institutes for Workers

The work of houseparents is important enough to warrant training for the job comparable to that expected of nurses. The salaries provided for

[1] Publication no. 143, Children's Bureau, U.S. Dept. of Labor, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1937.

houseparents are so inadequate, however, as to make it impractical to require any investment by these men and women of time or money for preparatory training. As the work becomes dignified by better salaries and more attractive living conditions, some specific educational preparation might more reasonably be required by employers. In time, a minimum of such training might be certified by those providing the instruction or might even be represented by a practitioner's license issued by the state. It still is too early in the development of foster care as an occupation to warrant either certification or licensing.

About twenty years ago, Hastings H. Hart and William R. Slingerland, both at that time on the staff of the Russell Sage Foundation, had recognized need for various types of training for institutional workers, including training preliminary to entering such employment. They shared with Colonel Leon C. Faulkner, of The Children's Village, Dobbs Ferry, New York, Calvin Derrick, superintendent of the State Home for Boys at Jamesburg, New Jersey, and others a feeling of responsibility for founding a training school for institutional workers. Conference on this subject brought together these four men with Edward R. Johnstone, of The Training School at Vineland (for the feeble-minded), and several others with similar convictions. From this beginning, the National Training School for Institution Executives and Other Workers was organized in 1925, and housed in some cottages then vacant at the Dobbs Ferry institution. The school was under the administration of The Children's Village and funds for its founding were voted by the Board of Directors of that institution. Calvin Derrick, who was appointed dean, returned after a year to Jamesburg, and was succeeded as director of the Training School for Institution Executives by Leonard W. Mayo, then of the staff of The Children's Village.

Under Mr. Derrick and Mr. Mayo the school flourished. The project was persistently fostered by Colonel Faulkner. The curriculum included such subjects as Administration, Social Economics, Theory and Practice of Modern Social Work, Educational Psychology, Institutional Child Care, Non-Institutional Child Care, Education and Training of Wards of Institutions.

The workers who enrolled included both experienced men and women and those new to institutions. The former came to increase their proficiency, and in many instances with the definite purpose of thereby obtaining advancement in their status.

The Training School from the first had relationships with various

children's agencies and educational centers in New York City. As an outgrowth of such relationships it was later merged into the program of the New York School of Social Work. Mr. Mayo became a member of the faculty of this school and extended into the area of graduate study the preparation of men and women for service in children's institutions. At the New York School he also administered for some time a four-week institute for those desiring brief training such as had been offered in the original courses given at the National Training School at Dobbs Ferry.

At the School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Ohio, where Mr. Mayo is now dean, there are definite provisions upon the level of graduate study in both academic and field work, for those who would take positions in institutions for children. It was the first school of social work in the United States to offer a special sequence of courses for such work. Twenty years ago schools of social work would have shunned any proposal for training executives or others for service in children's institutions; in fact, institutions for dependent and neglected children were regarded at that time by many social workers as unnecessary in a modern welfare program. Partly because of lack of skilled personnel they had fallen under too general condemnation. Now there are a number of schools of social work that offer courses and plans for field work useful for students preparing for various types of institutional employment.

It is in Ohio, also, that institutional workers themselves have developed a Foster Parents Association, and have recognized the need for training both before and during employment. This Association has cooperated with the Ohio Department of Public Welfare and with executives of institutions in the planning of institutes and other educational projects.

Institutional executives in North Carolina and South Carolina have given splendid support to several educational efforts. For a number of years, with encouragement from the Duke Endowment, they and workers from their institutions have consistently patronized a full-time six-week summer course for institutional workers held at Duke University.

Brief institutes such as those held at state welfare conferences have played an important part in creating an awareness of problems in the institutional care of children. But the subject requires more profound study than two or three half-day sessions of lectures and discussions.

This fact has been recognized especially by the Child Welfare League of America.

Adapting Institutes to Workers' Requirements

The League's first improvement upon the earlier brief, conference type of institute was made in 1930. Several institutes of forty hours each were held, with instruction shared equally by four leaders. They were held at Charlotte, Greensboro, and Raleigh in North Carolina, and at Clinton, South Carolina—so located and so conducted as to make them available to the workers in all institutions for children in both these states. The ten hours allotted to each leader allowed him five successive mornings or afternoons, an associate being responsible for the other half of the day. In this way the four leaders provided a total of two weeks of instruction. National agencies co-operated in supplying the following leaders from varied professional fields: Erna D. Bunke, then field secretary of the National Recreation Association; Dr. Leroy Wilkes, at that time with the American Child Health Association; Elizabeth Munro Clarke and the writer from the Child Welfare League. The enrollment totaled about 250 workers from 30 institutions. In each case there was an interval of one week between the beginning and concluding weeks of the institute, to allow workers to catch up on tasks neglected.

The League found that even ten hours for each institute leader is not time enough in which to cover his subject if such a project is to ripen through discussion into a lasting and practical educational experience. In 1933 and 1934 the League held more extensive institutes in Missouri and Ohio. These were planned especially for housemothers and consisted of sixty hours of instruction. The three leaders were Elsa Ueland, president of Carson College, an educator; Dr. Oscar B. Markey, psychiatrist and pediatrician connected with children's institutions in Cleveland, Ohio; and the writer. Each leader was responsible for a five-day week in which twenty hours were spent in instruction.

There is no sacred number, when it comes to the hours a leader should spend with a group, but for sake of economy and educational advantage a unit of twenty hours seems practical. This permits four hours of instruction daily for five successive days. By scheduling meetings from 10 a.m. to noon and 1 p.m. to 3 p.m., workers attending can perform morning tasks incidental to sending children off to school and can return to their place of employment at about the time the children come home from school in the afternoon. Such a plan presupposes the meeting at

luncheon of all those enrolled. It also requires some temporary modification of duties for certain workers in order to have them spend five successive days away from their cottages. In these two institutes, the plan again was followed of allowing an interval of at least one week after each week of instruction. Another observation coming from experience with institutes is that when enrollment exceeds 30 workers the amount of discussion begins to dwindle. A maximum of 30 or 35, therefore, seems a practical limit. Details of such nature require careful consideration in the planning of institutes. One of the greatest difficulties in the training of institutional workers is to arrange hours and places that will permit them to attend without serious disruption of their daily tasks.

There are probably 30,000 houseparents and similar workers in institutions in the United States who need at least the kind of basic training that can be concentrated in a sixty-hour institute. Were these all given institute training it would require a thousand institutes. We are in a position comparable to the teaching profession when it first began to reach all teachers through one-week teachers' institutes.

Training Within the Institution

In-service training properly rests upon ordinary administrative relationships, using for the training of the staff all educative situations as they appear. It is not enough to develop a staff library and conduct a study course for workers. Rich educational experiences may be found in various types of case conferences. Also a weekly half-hour conference between the executive and each houseparent is of value in permitting a worker to review the week's achievements and disappointments; this should not be regarded as entirely a case conference so that the worker may feel free to talk about plumbing, basket-ball schedules, menus, or home study, as these affect herself, the group, or an individual child.

Staff meetings may be divided into two parts, one part for administration, one for study. It is difficult, however, to keep the period devoted to administration from absorbing part or all the time scheduled for study of children and their problems. One way of avoiding such conflict is to devote only one meeting out of two to administration. Experience has proved that a fortnightly meeting for study can thus be assured, the alternate weekly meeting being adequate for administrative purposes.

The position of houseparent seems the most distinctly institutional of the several occupations represented on the staff of an institution. Staff training may properly focus on houseparents, with the presumption that

there will be regular participation also by nurses, recreation leaders, librarians, teachers, social workers, and executives. Throughout such educational efforts nurses, recreation leaders, librarians, and teachers from their professional training can contribute to the training of others. A worker in any of these professions who fails to learn a great deal from houseparents is limiting her own development and restricting the institution's program. The profession of social work, especially with its important function of co-ordinating all services will be definitely deepened and broadened as it brings to the staffs of institutions social workers who have the grace to learn from those who work daily with the children.

Two institutions already mentioned serving delinquent children in the state of New York have gone far in developing training for child-care personnel and have made special provision for intensive training of new workers. These are the Hawthorne-Cedar Knolls School at Hawthorne, New York, and the State Training School for Boys near Warwick.

At the former and smaller of these institutions, case conference and orientation of the worker by the executive staff are as intensive as in any institution known to the writer. Ample provision of clinical facilities, including the services of psychiatrists, has brought this training onto the high level of the treatment of disturbed children, a service seldom attempted in the present-day institution for delinquents.

At the State Training School for Boys, at State School, near Warwick, where 20 or more couples are assigned regularly to cottages or as substitute workers, the induction of new workers and their training are carefully supervised under a plan inaugurated in 1942. Since then the senior boys' supervisor, who also is director of training of the new supervisory staff, has had as his first responsibility the training of new cottage personnel. It is he who introduces a new couple to the cottage in which they are to work. For the first two days he carries the responsibility for managing the cottage with the new cottage parents in the role of observers. On the third day they assume their new duties under his close supervision. At the end of each day a scheduled conference takes place in which the three review the work of the day with its achievements and mistakes. At the end of two weeks the new cottage couple begin to operate without this close supervision. For the remainder of a three-month period, the director of training continues to be their supervisor; he drops in frequently to observe their work and is easily accessible for consultation on any problems. After this the workers come under supervision of one of the supervisory staff without training responsibilities. As

might be expected this institution has been spared some of the rapid turnover in staff so common among institutions for delinquents in wartime. During the first eight months in 1943, it was reported that only four out of 21 couples were replaced.

At Orangeburg, New York, before the present war, the three psychiatrists responsible for treatment of the children were also responsible for such education of the nurses and other workers directly in charge of the children as is essential to this kind of work, much of the instruction being supplied through case conferences.

At Letchworth Village, New York, an outstanding school for the feeble-minded, a program of intern training for psychologists was initiated by the institution's research department in 1935. In 1939 this was extended to include other nearby institutions operated by the state of New York, permitting the rotation of interns and a more intensive and better balanced training. By the summer of 1943 a total of 85 had completed this training, which is described in the November, 1942, issue of the Psychological Bulletin.

The cooperating institutions include: Letchworth Village, a state school for mentally subnormal individuals, with a well-established research department; Rockland State Hospital, which in addition to a large adult population, has a children's unit of a hundred and thirty children four to twelve years of age presenting severe behavior disorders; the New York State Training School for Boys at Warwick, an institution for delinquent boys, with a well-established clinical service; and the New York State Psychiatric Institute, a teaching and research institution within the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene, with a recognized department of psychology.

. . . As now organized, there is offered to students an unusual opportunity for close contact with many types of clinical material, and for participation in clinical, educational, and research programs, in services whose staff membership includes psychiatrists, physicians, psychologists, teachers, social workers, and highly specialized investigators in other fields.

Two types of internships are offered: (A) one-year internships open only to applicants who hold an M.A. or M.S., or Ph.D. degree in psychology or who have completed one year (30 hours) of graduate work in psychology with at least one course in psychometric methods or its equivalent; and (B) two-year internships open to applicants who have completed undergraduate work, including some courses in psychology, at a recognized college or university, and who wish to combine an internship with graduate work leading to a Master's Degree at one of the New York universities.

All interns will be expected to spend a minimum of eight months of the training period at one of the cooperating institutions, and will have exchange periods at other institutions. Such programs and the individual research projects will be planned only after the interests and maturity of the student have been ascertained.

Literature and Case Records. Literature for use in staff training, either through conferences or individual study, is less extensive than it should be. A Manual for Cottage Mothers in Institutions,[1] a contribution not recent but based on experience, is still useful. A recent study, more comprehensive with reference to child behavior, is entitled, Understanding Children: A Study Outline for Children's Institutions, published jointly by the New York State Committee on Mental Hygiene of the State Charities Aid Association and the Child Welfare League of America in 1939.

The scope of in-service training needed in children's institutions is suggested by the chapter titles of these pamphlets, which might serve as a guide to those planning staff training:

Understanding Children: A Study Outline for Children's Institutions

The Child and the Staff
The Child and His Background
Reception of the Child
What Is Intelligence?
The Retarded Child
School Problems
Sex Education
Adolescence
Play
Discipline
Conflict and the Feeling of Inferiority
Emotional Hygiene
Preparation for Community Life

Manual for Cottage Mothers in Institutions

Vital Relationships
Health Needs
Mental Hygiene
Character Development
Play and Recreation
Diet and Home Economics
The Child's Busy Day
Working Conditions and Wages
The Cottage Mother's Bookshelf

There is much literature on child behavior that might be used profitably in institutions. The federal Children's Bureau and the League have numerous pamphlets of practical value to institutional workers and other types of substitute parents. Material prepared especially for foster parents may well be included with such writings, and especially some of the books and pamphlets containing case studies. One of the most profitable of such references is the book Substitute Parents, by Mary Buell Sayles,[2] which contains numerous easily read summaries of case records of foster children who have fared well and of foster parents who may be considered successful.

Staff training through the study of case records now can be kept up

[1] Child Welfare League of America, New York, 1932.
[2] Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1936.

to date by utilizing the Case Record Exhibit of the Child Welfare League which may be borrowed by institutions or other children's agencies that are members or affiliates of the League. This exhibit was first displayed at the National Conference of Social Work in 1941, and plans are being made to renew it annually, thus making available illustrations of current practice in the care and protection of children. Records and excerpts from records from children's institutions are included in the exhibit.

A well-staffed institution should assume some obligation to select from its case records any that may be of special value in the training of those who are working in institutions or in any related field of social work. Future use of such records within the institution's own in-service training program will be practical, and if they are sufficiently valuable for teaching purposes their circulation among other institutions, and possibly their publication, should be considered.

Not only an institution but even the cottage within an institution may be considered a laboratory in which many human experiences may be observed and the study of human behavior thereby advanced. As in all professional study, reliance upon case material is essential. Much remains to be done in developing case records on the level of the houseparent's experience. During the old days, still very real in some institutions, it was presumed that houseparents were in no sense prepared to utilize case records or to assist in keeping such records. It also has been presumed by many social workers that houseparents could not be trusted with case records because of their confidential and professional content. If houseparents are of the quality needed, they will have competence to use the information in such records and to make certain contributions that social workers, nurses, or physicians cannot give. The subject of records receives more explicit treatment in Chapter 10, Significance of a Child's Relationships: Role of the Social Worker.

Apprenticeship. In-service training in an institution can be greatly enriched by an apprenticeship plan whereby new houseparents may be helped to acquire, informally and while at work, much of the skill they need. It is unfortunate that this ancient method of transmitting understanding from one worker to another has received only slight recognition among institution executives.

Observation of apprenticeship for housemothers in a few institutions and some experience with such a plan at the Albany Home for Children have been reassuring. Some years ago the late Leon Goldrich, then super-

intendent of the Pleasantville Cottage School, Pleasantville, New York, operated at present by the New York Association for Jewish Children, worked out a plan that called for two senior housemothers. To them the new workers in this occupation were assigned on the basis of a kind of apprenticeship, thus sparing the novice much misunderstanding and embarrassment commonly felt when there is only a supervisor of housemothers or someone else in a rather distant executive capacity to whom questions may be addressed. If the senior housemother really understands children, those who train under her can learn much more than the tricks of housekeeping and the organization of their work. Dr. Goldrich and his associates developed a detailed job analysis for the position, which was published in a pamphlet now out of print. Such planning, together with the selection of senior housemothers who are fitted to give advice to other women without offending them, will develop a morale too seldom found in institutions.

Personality together with character and skills possessed by a senior housemother at the Albany Home for Children made her one of the institution's greatest assets and worth much more than the added $10 in monthly salary that was accorded her because of her added responsibilities.[1] She helped to cut in half the time it took to season a new cottage worker. Whenever the replacement of a housemother permitted it, her successor was given one week in which to observe the entire week's duties in the cottage operated by this senior housemother. When the new worker then took charge of her own cottage she felt free to make frequent neighborly visits to her senior to learn about particular aspects of the day's work. It was understood that the senior housemother, in turn, would visit the new worker to give her the benefit of some observation of her work.

One advantage of apprentice training is that it permits an early check on experience which otherwise may prove confusing. It is unfortunate for a worker to have to learn too much from the children or to depend too completely upon her own preconceived ideas of how things should be. A disadvantage appears when there is reliance upon this type of training only. Unless the worker before coming to an institution has made some study of the needs of children, there is danger of accepting too completely and too literally the ideas and experience of the more skilled worker. It is expecting too much to ask a senior housemother to exemplify all the abilities and to interpret all the services that are required in

[1] Salaries are discussed in Chapter 7, Living and Working Conditions of Staff.

the institutional care of children. To avoid the provincialism that might follow excessive reliance upon apprentice training we need to supplement it with additional forms of training that will equip the worker with a philosophy based upon the experiences of many—the sort of thing that can be obtained in more academic types of education.

LIVING AND WORKING CONDITIONS OF STAFF

THE QUALIFICATIONS of a worker usually conform to the conditions under which he works. Adequate salaries, attractive living quarters, reasonable hours, and weekly relief periods attract capable workers who would render unsatisfactory institutional employment with its low pay, cramped quarters, and lack of adequate provision for vacation or relief. Good workers, once recruited, will be held longer and will become more efficient if working conditions are superior.

SALARIES AND HOURS OF WORK

Much is said elsewhere in this book concerning the inadequacies of salaries, especially for workers employed as housekeepers. The justice of the general criticism would be amply borne out by the collection of salary data for such workers from any considerable number of institutions.

In Table 2 some recent information is presented concerning the salaries paid to housemothers. The first section of the table is taken from the report of the study of child welfare personnel made by the Department of Statistics of the Russell Sage Foundation, to which reference has already been made.[1] It shows in terms of annual salaries geographical variation in the cash salaries of 270 housemothers employed in 1921 in 25 different institutions, all of which were members of, or were affiliated with, the Child Welfare League of America. Housefathers are omitted from the tabulation because they are relatively few in number, and are usually paid better than housemothers. The median salary for all men reported in this study in nonsectarian positions was $840 per year, or $70 per month, whereas for all housemothers the median salary was $660 per year, or $55 per month. As Table 2 indicates, however, the median salaries vary a good deal in different parts of the country. All amounts listed are in addition to maintenance.

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[1] See p. 95.

Chapter 7

LIVING AND WORKING CONDITIONS OF STAFF

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In Table 5 some recent information is presented concerning the salaries paid to housemothers. The first section of the table is taken from the report of the study of child welfare personnel made by the Department of Statistics of the Russell Sage Foundation, to which reference has already been made.[1] It shows in terms of annual salaries geographical variation in the cash salaries of 270 housemothers employed in 1941 in 62 different institutions, all of which were members of, or were affiliated with, the Child Welfare League of America. Housefathers are omitted from the tabulation because they are relatively few in number, and are usually paid better than housemothers. The median salary for all men reported in this study in houseparent positions was $840 per year, or $70 per month, whereas for all housemothers the median salary was $660 per year, or $55 per month. As Table 5 indicates, however, the median salaries vary a good deal in different parts of the country. All amounts listed are in addition to maintenance.

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[1] See p. 69.

27 institutions visited by the author in 1940 or 1941 which were not included in the Foundation's study. These 27 institutions were located in only three of the five geographical regions appearing in Section 1, and none was a member or affiliate of the Child Welfare League. The separate salary data for workers in these institutions confirm the other evidence with respect to the difference in salaries in these geographical areas, but it will be seen that the median is lower in each of these three areas for the institutions that are not associated in the League.

TABLE 5.—CASH SALARIES OF WOMEN HOUSEPARENTS ALSO RECEIVING FULL MAINTENANCE, BY REGION

Region	Number of workers	Annual cash salary				
		Lowest	Lower quartile	Median	Upper quartile	Highest
I. Workers in 62 institutions associated in the Child Welfare League of America						
New England	27	$420	$660	$720	$900	$1,320
Middle Atlantic	69	300	600	720	900	1,460
North Central	67	420	576	660	780	1,260
Southern	76	300	480	600	690	1,200
Mountain and Pacific	31	300	600	840	945	1,080
Total	270	300	540	660	810	1,460
II. Workers in 27 other institutions						
North Central	66	$360	$516	$600	$684	$1,116
Southern	75	300	480	540	600	1,200
Mountain and Pacific	36	300	510	720	840	1,356
Total	177	300	480	600	660	1,356

In Table 6 the 447 housemothers whose salaries are represented in Table 5 are distributed by amount of cash salary without regard to geographical distribution. The salary classes are here expressed in terms of monthly as well as annual salaries.

Many institutional administrators have long thought it possible to compensate houseparents at the pre-war wage level for domestics as if the responsibilities of substitute parents were no greater than those of laundresses, seamstresses, and housemaids. This presumption becomes doubly untenable in view of wartime advances in the wages of women in domestic service as well as in industry.

The table shows that 66 per cent of the housemothers included received less than $60 a month. If maintenance is valued at $30, total monthly compensation of two-thirds of the housemothers would be equivalent to less than $90 monthly. If children's institutions are to compete with schools and hospitals for women whose skill and personality would

qualify them for teaching or nursing, institutional salaries must be radically increased. Even for less well-qualified workers, they should provide a combination of cash and maintenance equivalent to not less than $100 monthly for beginners, up to $130 monthly for experienced housemothers, or in cash a range from $70 to $100 monthly.

TABLE 6.—DISTRIBUTION OF 447 HOUSEMOTHERS ALSO RECEIVING FULL MAINTENANCE, BY AMOUNT OF CASH SALARY

Annual cash salary	Equivalent monthly salary	Number of housemothers	Per cent
$240 to $359	$20 to $29.99	10	2
360 to 479	30 to 39.99	22	5
480 to 599	40 to 49.99	131	29
600 to 719	50 to 59.99	133	30
720 to 839	60 to 69.99	69	16
840 to 959	70 to 79.99	37	8
960 to 1,079	80 to 89.99	24	5
1,080 to 1,199	90 to 99.99	4	1
1,200 or more	100 or more	17	4
Total		447	100

Evaluation of room and board at $30 monthly is arbitrary. Their value, in terms of what they cost the institution, probably seldom exceeds that amount and in most instances probably lies between $15 and $25. Another way of appraising room and board is in terms of their cost outside the institution. So judged, the value of most maintenance would lie between $30 and $60 monthly. This is a less desirable basis for computing the value, for few men or women would rent a room or pay for table board in a children's institution, however attractive the room or food might be. And where the room is unattractive or the board consists of poorly cooked food, a worker might properly deserve pay for tolerating the situation. In relatively few institutions does a worker have the quarters (which should include a room of his own and a bathroom shared by not more than one other person) and the quality of food which would incline him to invite a friend to visit and share his fare. Such visiting should be encouraged within reasonable limits; in some institutions the administration cordially desires the worker to feel at home and to have the privilege of entertaining.

Those few institutions which before the present war were approximating the recommended higher salary range, enjoyed distinct advantages in the employment of workers. They had long waiting lists of women seeking positions as housemothers. They could choose employees carefully, and the women thus obtained were of the caliber that has long marked the institutions they serve as among the best in the country.

One executive who in 1940 was paying housemothers only $60 monthly in addition to maintenance reported that he had a great advantage, many institutions in his state paying even less than the scale he could offer. When asked where he had been most successful in recruiting housemothers he told of the drift of several women from the staffs of military academies to institutions for dependent children. Military schools were paying as little as $30 and $35 monthly to housemothers, with employment provided during only the nine months of the school term and with no allowance for vacation with pay.

At the Albany Home for Children the salary schedules were not high but were slightly above average. To retain superior workers, and to build up resources for in-service training,[1] bonuses of $10 monthly were added to the salaries of a senior housemother and a senior assistant housemother, the assistant housemothers usually serving in the capacity of cooks but also carrying some responsibilities for the care and training of children. This slight addition to the payroll by its results more than justified the expenditure.

An Eight-Hour Day or a Five-Day Week

The ratio of relief workers to regular staff, especially in custodial institutions, is affected greatly by the length of the working day. Until recently it was customary to operate such institutions with twelve-hour shifts, the night shift being smaller than the day shift and usually consisting of workers hired primarily as a night watch and less qualified for the care and supervision of children. Under such a plan one week finds in a given cottage a minimum of four regular and relief workers sharing the responsibility for supervision. If there is a married couple working together on the day shift, the number of workers on duty within the space of a week in the same cottage may be as many as six.

The eight-hour day for institutional workers has become a reality in a few children's institutions and is legally required in institutions operated by some states, including New York. Under this plan, with three or four workers responsible in turn for the management of a cottage within each twenty-four hour day, the week finds from six to eight workers sharing the same duties. In terms of child care and training such a rotation of staff brings difficulties. Workers may end their day while still in control of their nerves, but children find confusion resulting from

[1] Plans for in-service training have been discussed in Chapter 6, Educational Qualifications and Staff Training.

a succession of three substitute parents on duty within each twenty-four hour period. No child can be expected to develop as happily under such conditions as he might were he accountable only to a minimum of four workers. There is great need to reduce the excessive number of hours on duty required of most institutional workers but the eight-hour day provides a desirable answer only for the staff engaged in office work, plant maintenance, and other tasks which lie outside the area of substitute parental care. For such workers there is good reason to expect institutions to provide as short a working day and week as those widely accepted in industry. An eight-hour day for nurses in hospitals is proving to be practical for purposes of administration, and it is obvious that a nurse can remain more alert and can work more effectively with her day limited to eight instead of the twelve hours which used to be commonly required.

Substitute parents, however, should have as continuous a relationship as possible with the children under their care. In any cottage institution for dependent children this can be expected to require the twenty-four hour daily responsibility which a mother carries for her own children in her own home. Even with an afternoon rest period of two hours this means household and child-care duties for twelve or more hours daily and it often means for fourteen hours. A five or five and one-half day week is practical; [1] in terms of total hours spent on duty a four-day week would be more reasonable. At the Ryther Child Center, Seattle, where conditions are somewhat special, the staff work long hours, are frequently kept awake until late at night, and are often aroused from sleep. In view of such difficult service the weekly time off duty is approximately three days, and this allowance is none too liberal.

At the State Agricultural and Industrial School, Industry, New York, the cottage parents have for years maintained a schedule that, with eight-hour shifts, calls for twenty-five days of continuous service followed by five days completely away from the cottage, thus allowing the workers to forget entirely the institution. The administration encourages this and has found that workers like the plan. In one cottage where another plan was tried, workers expressed regret at the change.

To cause as little disturbance as possible in the lives of the children there should be always the same substitute worker filling the days or half days when the regular worker is absent. With a seasoned and capable

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[1] For discussion of working hours as they affect the question of relief workers, see Chapter 5, The Staff Needed: Basic Qualifications.

worker in this capacity there can be a reasonably stable life for the children. It is with such practice in mind that those administering institutions are advised to avoid the eight-hour day, for housemothers and housefathers, but to try to reduce the number of days on duty to five a week at most and to insist upon a capable substitute worker. Quite often it simplifies the problem of relief if a recreation worker or nurse has a room in a cottage. This does not mean that either of these workers should have regular duties for relief of housemothers, but in emergencies and during certain gaps of time it occasionally is a great advantage to have an extra adult sleeping in the cottage. Many, though not all, will be just as happy in cottage rooms as in the staff houses with their unavoidable gossip, shop talk, and the somewhat compulsory association with fellow staff members during hours off duty.

Staff Quarters

One of the most significant elements in new institutional plants is the provision of staff quarters large enough to be attractive to women and men whose own culture and background will permit them to enrich the lives of the children they serve. A housemother needs the suite of two rooms and private bath to be found in modern units, and if there is a cottage couple, these rooms should be larger than they usually are.

Attractive quarters are an obvious help to the administration in obtaining superior cottage workers and tend to prevent a rapid turnover in employment. Privacy during hours off duty is of greater value to a worker if spent in a homelike place. Moreover it is well for children to have glimpses of staff quarters that are pleasantly arranged. Too many children have come from homes in which adults for one reason or another had not created pleasant surroundings. The patterns of living offered by the staff are far more important than any rules or regulations which the institution provides.

Whether workers live in houses with the children or in separate buildings, provision of sufficient bathrooms is important. To those unfamiliar with institutions this observation may seem irrelevant or even fastidious, but it is a fact that there is a notable shortage of bathroom facilities for both staff and children in many institutions.

Large institutions having separate residence units for the staff should provide recreation rooms. It is worthwhile to remodel or otherwise adapt old buildings in order to make such rooms available. In some instances

workers' clubs have been organized and a clubhouse or outing cabin at a reasonable distance from the institution has been provided to which the staff may retreat on their days off and thus without expense be completely absent from the institution.

Mention has been made only incidentally in this chapter of the food supplied to workers. Like their lodgings, it constitutes an important part of their compensation as well as of their comfort. If it is unattractive, the worker properly resents it, and expresses his resentment in ways destructive to morale. Important as good food is in building morale among workers, there is no justification in providing them with food superior to that served the children who have just as much need for an attractive and ample diet.[1]

Insurance Protection

Health Insurance

Provision for hospital care and services incidental to hospitalization by means of insurance is increasingly subscribed to by workers in children's institutions. They seldom, however, carry insurance which extends its coverage to medical or surgical services, a provision essential to the worker's security.

This subject was considered in visits made in 1940 and 1941 to 38 institutions, in 16 states. Group hospital insurance was carried by some or all of the staff in 18 institutions, the workers paying the entire premium except in one instance where the institution paid one-third of the premium and the worker two-thirds. Of the 20 institutions in which there was no group hospital insurance, there were two in which plans for such insurance were being made.

Only one of the institutions visited reported workers carrying group insurance to cover medical and surgical service.

Workmen's compensation insurance was carried by 20 of these 38 institutions, and, as is required by law in many states, the premium in each case was paid by the institution.

The trend toward such protection of workers, provided by themselves through hospital insurance, and by the institution through workmen's compensation insurance, is encouraging. It does not, however, represent much initiative on the part of institutions. Group hospital insurance has become popular throughout the United States and it has been promoted

[1] This subject is discussed at some length in Chapter 11, Physical Needs of the Child: Diet.

almost entirely by the insurance companies and the hospitals. Where workmen's compensation insurance is carried the institution usually has no choice, the laws of the state requiring all employers thus to acknowledge liability for injuries sustained by persons in their employ. The lack of employer interest is shown in the usual absence of any insurance covering needs for medical service and surgery.

Two good reasons point to a special need for health insurance by those who work in institutions. Such workers are not guaranteed social insurance of any kind under the Social Security Act, which exempts from its provisions those employed by welfare agencies. Salaries of institutional workers are so low as to prevent most of them from saving for the rainy days of illness. Hospital insurance has proved a boon to many, and it will be desirable for workers to extend this coverage to include medical and surgical service as insurance for those services becomes more common. It follows that salaries should be sufficient to permit workers to carry this load.

Retirement Insurance

Entire lack of retirement plans characterized the administration of 30 of the 38 children's institutions visited in 1940 and 1941. Of the eight making some such provision only three made the plan flexible enough to cover all their workers. These were three institutions operated by the Southern Baptist Convention. In one institution operated by the Salvation Army, all officers of the Army were included in a retirement plan to which they and the institution contributed, but other workers were excluded from the plan. In a Presbyterian institution two workers were enrolled in a retirement plan under the Presbyterian Board of Pensions; similar provision was made for one worker in a Methodist institution. One institution had its teachers enrolled in a state teachers' retirement fund.

The Southern Baptist Convention, since 1936, has allowed the inclusion, as a beneficiary of its pension fund for church workers, of any employe of an institution for children operated by the Baptist Church. This covers employes who are not Baptists. The plan allows retirement after twenty-five years of service, or upon arrival at the ages of sixty-five years for men and sixty years for women. The retirement allowance is at least $500 annually. Equal contributions to the retirement fund by the institution and the worker are characteristic of the plan. The monthly contribution is $2.50 each by worker and institution in behalf

of each worker having a salary of less than $1,000 annually. For those earning more than $1,000, the worker and the institution each contributes 3 per cent. In one of the three Baptist institutions just mentioned the entire amount of $5.00 monthly required to cover the installment is paid by the institution for each worker receiving a salary under $1,000.

As has been indicated, the low salaries paid most employes of institutions and other social agencies prevent savings which might give the worker an income warranting his voluntary retirement. The consequence is continuation of work at ages considerably beyond sixty or sixty-five years. The ages of 10 per cent of the houseparents included in the age tabulation presented in Chapter 5, The Staff Needed: Basic Qualifications (Table 2), were between sixty and seventy. Owing to common reluctance of workers to admit arrival at the sixtieth birthday, some of those reporting ages between fifty and sixty years may really belong in the older group. It is in the interest of better service to retire most workers on the day they arrive at the age of sixty. The desirability of using younger workers as well as recognition of the older worker's rights to a retirement allowance should here be considered.

It is ironical that agencies engaged in helping those they serve to emerge from dependency should so generally ignore the need of their own workers for reasonable salaries and for security in terms of retirement insurance. Pending inclusion of all welfare workers as beneficiaries under the Social Security Act, those employed by private social agencies are greatly in need of retirement plans. The trustees of private children's institutions and other welfare agencies have an unfilled obligation to promote federal legislation to extend to all employes of their agencies coverage by the Social Security Act.

Those whose vows have made them members of religious communities are spared concern about their own future security, and they usually renounce responsibility for the support of any dependent relatives. The nuns and brothers who operate many children's institutions in the United States have this advantage to offset the self-denial which characterizes their lives of service. It is indeed proper that the communion and the order which such a worker serves should guarantee care, hospitalization, and other security when days of active service are past.

PART THREE
STRUCTURE—ORGANIZATIONAL AND PHYSICAL

Chapter 8

ORGANIZATION

THE PLAN OF ORGANIZATION of a child-care institution or agency should be satisfactory from at least three points of view: (1) the child, or his family, in need of service, should find the institution geared in purpose and facilities for meeting their needs; (2) the governing board and staff should find the institution clearly and effectively organized to provide those child welfare services that are within its intended scope; (3) the community should find the institution possessing such definition of function, such quality of service, and such adaptability of both function and service as will permit it to fill a vital place in the community's ever-changing child welfare program.

The impact of community planning has resulted in revisions of constitutions and by-laws of many social agencies. The actual change, however, often has begun from within the agency, instigated by a progressive member of the board of management or the executive. The rather frequent resistance of board members to such change has usually sprung from loyalties to the organization only, its traditions, or the once-expressed wishes of its founder. These loyalties too often blind board members so that they become unsympathetic to those who are most legitimately concerned in seeking service, namely the child, his family, and the community. Such loyalties, added to the conservatism and resistance to change natural to most men and institutions, account for much of the prevailing obsolescence.

A few of the elements of organization which seem valid for present-day child welfare agencies and institutions are here outlined.

Purpose of the Corporation

Every institution for children not operated by the government should be incorporated under the laws of the state in which it is located, or should be operated by a corporation whose charter clearly allows the organization to engage in foster care of children.

The present tendency to be liberal and flexible in designating purpose seems desirable. Articles of incorporation often allow in very general terms for serving children and providing for their care. It is unwise to specify exactly which children are to receive care; it is just such specifications that today impose upon our society the unreasonably restricted programs of some agencies. Institutions for the care of orphans or fatherless girls are illustrative of this tendency, so common fifty years ago. There are few full orphans, and fatherless girls usually should remain with their mothers under some mothers' aid plan or under the recently and widely developed Aid to Dependent Children provisions of the Social Security Act, which allow for subsidized child care in the homes of relatives of the first and second degree.

The corporate purpose of an institution also should be accounted for in its constitution. Since the constitution can be more readily amended than the articles of incorporation it is well to have in the former an unmistakable recognition of the principal service or services which the founders of the agency had in mind, in order to give direction to the work and to authorize it. It is most unfortunate, however, to limit the purpose clause to an unalterable objective. The constitution should also in general terms authorize other services which children may need. Such freedom permits those who succeed the founders to adapt the program of the agency to social changes, however mild or however radical they may be. It is therefore desirable to omit references to age, sex, race, nationality, or religious affiliation of the children to be cared for. Needed restrictions along these lines can be made at any time by the administration.

Constituencies and Governing Boards

Whether an institution is operated by the government, a religious body, a fraternal order, or by any other group in the community, it is desirable to have its management accountable to a constituency reasonably representative of those who support the work. In a governmental institution this constituency might be the legislature, or the governor of

a state; in a religious body it might be an elected council, or a bishop; in other groups it may consist of a membership which contributes financially to the work and sometimes fulfills other membership requirements.

A somewhat common plan among private social agencies is to limit the constituency to members of the governing board itself, which usually makes of that body a self-perpetuating corporation. Ingrown attitudes and policies often characterize such closed corporations. Some of our strongest social agencies, however, are operated on this basis, in spite of the fact that it limits the practice of democracy and operates against a reasonable rotation in the membership of governing boards. To offset precisely this disadvantage some self-perpetuating boards have provided for rotation by allowing only a certain number of years of continuous membership.

Practice includes various arrangements. To list them here would be tedious and impractical; a few, however, of the plans more commonly in operation should be identified. Where the governor of a state or the bishop of a diocese, by nature of his office, exercises authority over an institution the practice often consists of appointing a commission, council, or board, sometimes giving it administrative powers and sometimes limiting it to advisory functions. Such boards usually are responsible for one institution only, but there are instances in which several institutions are administered by one council or board of control. Where the latter plan prevails it is good practice, if the board is large enough, to have at least as many separate standing committees as there are institutions. Each institution can then have the advantage of a relationship with board members that will permit consistent interpretation and advocacy of its interests. These advantages might be denied if the several institutions within the guardianship of a board were subject to remote control and were competing directly for the favor of the entire board. Fraternal orders and religious bodies usually have a jurisdictional area which is coterminous with a state. Where this is true and the jurisdiction administers a children's institution, it is customary to have its governing board elected by the assembly which conducts the business of the statewide organization.

Whatever the nature of the organization, the number on an elected governing board should not be less than nine. Practical policies covering the size of a board and election of its members in classes are well stated in the following excerpt:

It is generally desirable to have the membership of a governing board elected in three classes so that annually one-third of the membership may be elected for three-year terms. The board should be large enough to be representative of the constituency supporting the institution but should be small enough to avoid unwieldiness. The boards of public institutions are apt to be too small in number to be representative. On the other hand, boards of private institutions usually are too large for effective board and committee work. As a rule, it is undesirable to have a board of more than 18 or 21 members. Usually it is desirable to have both men and women on the governing board.[1]

Mere representation of the constituency is in the interests of democratic administration, but a certain functional representation also is desirable if the constituency contains men and women from a variety of professions and occupations. With child care as a principal responsibility it is unfortunate to have a governing board consisting of men only, or women only. The board might well consist of members of both sexes and include a physician, an attorney, a clergyman, an educator, a banker, a builder, a farmer, a merchant, and a mother. Points of view just as vital, but which our more aristocratic boards have not as yet recognized, might be contributed by a representative of organized labor and some parent who has or has had a dependent child under the care of the institution. The local situation will determine to what extent these various suggestions are applicable.

One of the serious handicaps to privately managed welfare agencies is the social prestige which often stands as a major qualification for board membership. In its most aggravated form this handicap means subservience of board and staff to some especially wealthy or socially powerful board member. In the days when an endowment represented financial vitality for a children's institution there sometimes was a practical value in admitting to board membership only those with wealth or social position. But even that advantage more than once has proved a boomerang. With income from investments less certain than in the past, and with curtailed ability of the wealthy to make large contributions or bequests, the need for obtaining a greater number of small contributors has been urgent and obvious. In spite of such considerations, those who might contribute are often reluctant to recognize the need for more popular support of endowed work, and may even resist efforts of what still is a privileged group to get the less privileged to help carry the load.

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[1] Child Welfare League of America, Standards of Foster Care for Children in Institutions. New York, 1937, p. 11.

Impact of Community Chest Support

In the relationship of organizations with community chests a similar attitude sometimes develops. An institution with dwindling income from investments, but with its capital funds still bulking large and remaining intact, is at a disadvantage with some community chest budget committees which are more inclined to favor the agency completely dependent upon current contributions.

Development of community chest support often is paralleled by a dropping off of the constituency built up for its own support by an agency over a period of years. Some chests have gone so far as to remove financial control almost completely from the agency's board. Where this sag in the constituency and the board becomes too great the agency loses much of its independence and even may lose some of its identity. In the case of an agency whose services are vital the deadening of personal interest in particular programs may mean a definite setback. Special efforts are required to offset such a decline, and each chest agency should cherish the loyalities it has already developed and find such new friends as it can.

Some of the strongest among community chest leaders, being aware of this tendency in the very nature of organized community support to displace individual constituencies, have done their best to help each agency of proved value to retain and build up its own advocates. They have realized that without strong community interest and pride in the several social agencies receiving community funds, a chest can degenerate into a giver's protective club with annual dues ranging from one to five dollars. A chest that seeks to dominate its constituent agencies, and in so doing tends to thwart their natural desire for autonomy, will find itself killing the goose that laid the golden egg.

A healthy community chest will be characterized as a united effort at the funding of all or most of the community's social agencies, with vital participation by these agencies. It will also have a more inclusive responsibility to the citizenry and to those community planning bodies which may encourage the development of new services and the revision of outworn programs.

Undivided Responsibility of the Board

By-products of certain peculiarities in organization appear in the form of a board of trustees as separate from the board of management of an

institution, or a women's auxiliary separate from a board made up entirely of men. It is not uncommon for these parallel boards or auxiliaries to tread on one another's toes, or at the other extreme, between them to fail in providing for some items essential to a well-balanced administration. A separate board of trustees often testifies to the limitations of a board of directors made up entirely of women, the presumption being that women are unbusinesslike and need a small group of male trustees to handle the investments of the institution. A somewhat reversed predicament exists when a men's board of directors delegates to a women's auxiliary some of the responsibilities for child care or institutional management which should be the concern of the whole board.

A board of directors composed of both men and women can have a finance committee, whose actions are approved by the entire board, thus together fulfilling all functions of a board of trustees. When the entire board shares in approval of financial transactions the problems connected with finance will assume more reality than when one body holds purse strings and another decides administrative problems.

Whatever the form of organization for financial planning and trustee activity, every institution should maintain a few safeguards which are common practice in business and apply equally to administration in the fields of religion, education, and social service. Treasurer, executive, and others who handle funds or accounts should all be bonded, and premiums for the surety bonds should be paid by the institution. Accounts should be audited annually by a certified public accountant.

Committees of Governing Boards

Examination of the number of standing committees and their responsibilities usually reveals an institution's inclination either to centralize certain executive functions in an employed executive, or to distribute them among board members. There is great variety in practice, some institutions having too few and some too many standing committees. There are also extremes of activity and inactivity; frequently institutions are too completely managed by the executive or the president or by the two together, while other institutions are confused by the number of chairmen or committee members making executive decisions.

There still are institutions in which the executive is only a supervisor of workers and children, and a man or woman willing to work under

such restrictions often is incapable of carrying complete executive responsibility. A certain institution which in recent years has grown out of the ridiculous administrative jumble that characterized it in 1928 at the time a survey was made, had 20 standing committees of its Board of Managers, designed to give each member something to do. There were committees on:

Admissions and Dismissals	Library
Wardrobe	Music
Sewing	Yard
Cutting	Purchasing
Dining Room and Kitchen	Fuel
Basement	Education
Parlor Floor	Recreation
Dormitories	Vacations
Infirmary	Visiting
Hospital	Publicity

Standing committees most common in the administrative patterns of institutions having a board of managers without any auxiliary body or separate board of trustees are the following: Executive, Finance, Case (sometimes having the more limited designation of Committee on Admission and Discharge), and Buildings and Grounds.

A structure as simple as this, with all the committees functioning, can be the means of keeping an entire board sufficiently active and adequately informed of the nature and quality of the resources of the institution and the services it is maintaining. A multiplicity of standing committees will confuse administrative responsibility. The larger the number of committees the more likely that some will be inactive, and thus will accustom a board to nominal rather than to actual performance of its duties. There are organizations, however, in which experience seems to justify the existence of standing committees on scholarships, or education, health, recreation, and publicity. Purchasing committees usually hark back to the days when "ladies of the Board" bought the clothing or groceries, functions which seem entirely the responsibility of an executive.

Temporary committees may fill certain practical needs. Many boards create a nominating committee prior to annual elections. Committees or delegates to represent the board may be needed in connection with community chest campaigns, festivals, and emergency activities.

Meetings of the Board and Committees

Regular meetings of the governing board generally are considered a necessity. Monthly meetings for at least ten months of the year are customary. A practical plan is to have each standing committee meet monthly, preferably a few days before the board meeting, so that committee reports may be prepared for information of the entire board.

Regular monthly meetings are scheduled even by some boards of institutions with statewide constituencies, although board members are required to travel from distant parts of the state in order to attend. Where distances to be covered make monthly attendance impossible for some board members, a practical plan may be to call quarterly board meetings, with the executive committee meeting monthly and conducting much of the routine business of the institution which otherwise would be given attention by the entire board. Where the executive committee thus serves somewhat as a board it should include enough members to be representative of the larger body.

Powers of the Board and the Executive

Division of powers between a board of management and an employed executive should be such as to allow each to function through the years with reasonable efficiency and in ways which do not make too heavy demands upon either. A board that fails to delegate to its executive the responsibility for most of the management of its institution may expect either a rapid turnover in the employment of discontented executives or it will retain an executive incapable of exercising initiative in proportion to the needs of the work. It is quite as unfortunate, however, for a governing board to allow an aggressive executive to make decisions upon those questions which the board itself should decide.

Participation in many surveys has led the writer to advocate the following division of prerogatives and responsibilities as representing good practice in both social work and business. The governing board should:

1. Exercise trusteeship for property and investments.
2. Approve the budget and assist in the raising of funds.
3. Employ the executive.
4. Approve the principal policies of the institution, in all the ramifications of its work.
5. Keep sufficiently informed through the reports of committees, board meetings, and visits to permit it to fulfill all its functions in the best interests of the children served.

The executive should be held accountable and responsible for daily administration of the institution, and in doing this should perform or delegate to the staff the following duties:

1. Employ and discharge all workers other than himself.
2. Admit and discharge children and plan for their care under policies approved by the board or its case committee.
3. Draft the institution's budget, with the assistance of such of the staff as are in charge of departments or those whose duties and abilities qualify them to assist. (He may also have responsibilities for raising funds with assistance of the board.)
4. Administer the institution's affairs, making all customary purchases, within the limits of the budget, always obtaining approval from the board for any deviation from the budget.
5. Carry immediate responsibility for the care and training of the children, and in some institutions responsibility for their custody.
6. Assume responsibility for staff training.
7. Initiate improved methods and practices in co-operation with the board.
8. Maintain such relations with other agencies as may be in the best interests of the children served.
9. Keep the governing board informed as to the nature of the work being done and report in such detail as the board may desire all changes and important developments.
10. Attend all meetings of the governing board and its committees.

While these suggestions as to organization have particular application to institutions for children, they will apply as well to various other types of institutions and social agencies. In spite of the literature on the subject published by the Child Welfare League of America, the Children's Bureau, and several state welfare departments, and in spite of numerous surveys dealing with the subject, there remain many institutions whose organizations lack order and efficiency.

Chapter 9

PLANT

An impression of obsolete buildings and equipment remains outstanding in the writer's memory of visits to perhaps 350 institutions for children made since 1924. Surprisingly few exceptions of practical and well-planned modern institutional plants relieve the gloomy picture. Even among institutions most recently constructed there are some with buildings as unsuited to the needs of children as were the old double school desks which were being removed from American classrooms forty or fifty years ago.

True, many institutional cottages and congregate dormitories have exteriors attractive to the eye, evidencing the general advance from concepts of asylums and orphanages to more homelike structures. The interiors of many of these same attractive buildings, however, reflect lack of insight into the practical problems of child care. There exist today relatively few buildings worthy of being copied in the planning of new institutional units. References to a number of these with especially attractive features will be made, but for the most part this chapter only lists and describes factors important in the planning of new institutional buildings or of those about to be remodeled.

Location of the Institution

Compromise may be unavoidable in selecting the site for any institution, no spot being ideal. But a study of factors dominant in actual selection of locations would reveal far too many expedient choices.

A common experience among private institutions has been the donation, often by a founder, of farmland or of residential property in city or town, which occasionally proves to be adaptable to an adequate institutional program but often is quite undesirable. Often, too, valueless land or an inaccessible site is offered at a low price and is accepted for that reason. As institutions have grown and as neighborhoods have changed, a few boards of management have weighed the inadequacies

of such donated or cheaply purchased sites in deciding upon a new location and have chosen more wisely. Governmental institutions increasingly reflect good planning but occasionally their location has been determined by the wishes of politicians with slight regard for needs of the institution or of those who are to live in it.

An urban campus will have both limitations and advantages when compared with a rural setting. Happy combinations of urban and rural influences sometimes prove ideal for an institution for dependent children. Hence a suburban location usually carries the advantage of enough acreage to permit gardening and ample space for play fields; detached cottages, each with its lawns and flower beds; and expansion to meet any changing needs. The nearby city or suburb itself can be expected to supply whatever an institution of ordinary size may require in respect to churches, schools, libraries, recreation centers, hospitals, clinics, water supply, sewage disposal, fire protection, and transportation. In a distinctly rural location most of these facilities would have to be supplied by the management itself, and even in a small town the institution may have to use more space in the public school or more water from the reservoir than the town can spare. The important question of transportation must be seen from the point of view of employes as well as of children and their families because inaccessibility to shops and amusements may affect the turnover in employment.

Large institutions for dependents and nearly all those providing custodial care derive greater advantages from a rural location. Their size or custodial character makes the need for a self-contained community obvious. The rural institution most favorably developed can assume many of the characteristics of a boarding school.

The development of good roads has brought even rural institutions, like rural families, nearer to urban facilities, but to have easy access to such advantages all but the largest institutions and those of custodial character should be within or adjoining the corporate limits of a city or town. Such a suburban location may permit children to avoid the use of institutional buses and may even allow most of them to walk to and from church, school, library, and movies, going and coming as individuals. Proximity to clinics, dentists' offices, and hospitals assumes greater importance as preventive and corrective health services bulk larger in the institutional program of child care.

Children in small institutions can gain much from neighborhood life, and for this reason a location is desirable that permits frequent exchange

of visits among the children of the institution and the community. To some extent the same advantage can be derived by a large institution, but when the child population exceeds 150 or 200, it assumes proportions that make it impractical for most of the children to participate intimately in the life of the neighborhood.

When the general location has been determined there remain certain considerations with regard to site, which were recognized by Hastings H. Hart out of his wide experience in surveying institutions.[1] If there is to be a farm the question of soil is important and must be studied with reference to the kind of farming the institution means to undertake. The advantages of a hilltop site for beauty and airiness are to be weighed against difficulties in delivering fuel and supplies, and the accessibility to means of transportation. Sunshine for dormitories, and the prevailing winds are to be considered in placing the buildings, and proximity to a river or lake and the advantages of shade trees may be important for rest, recreation, and sports.

Economic Problems of Farm or Dairy

The operation of a large farm or dairy may seem a necessity if the institution's population exceeds 200 or 300. If there are enough children in their middle or upper teens to do most of the farm and dairy work, and if the farm is large enough, its operation may be economical. It is not safe, however, to assume that economy will follow the operation of any farm or dairy. Child labor is wasteful and of little purpose unless supervised by a worker having some ability as a teacher. The economic hazards which attend farming and dairying call for scientific knowledge of those industries, factors that entail hiring a farm or dairy supervisor having such knowledge plus practical experience. It is difficult indeed to find a practical farmer, possessing both the scientific knowledge he should have and ability to teach children. Any institution's farm payroll will represent the cash equivalent of a large supply of milk or vegetables, and unless the necessary farm activities have a rich educational content for the older children it may be more economical to discontinue them and to purchase at wholesale all the produce needed for operation of the institution.

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[1] Cottage and Congregate Institutions for Children. New York Charities Publication Committee, Russell Sage Foundation, 1910, p. 7. For many years, including the period when this book was written, Dr. Hart was director of the Department of Child Helping of the Russell Sage Foundation. The Department was discontinued a few years before his death.

There can be little question, however, of the all-round necessity of operating a farm as a major project of any large institution for delinquents or for those who are mentally deficient. The concentration of older children in the populations of such institutions and the adaptability of many to agricultural work are not to be ignored.

Centralization or Decentralization

The tendency among those responsible for institutions is to assume that economy and superior quality of service can be expected from a central heating plant, a central kitchen, a central dining room, and a central sewing room. This idea needs modification in view of the increasing operation of children's institutions on the cottage plan where various degrees of decentralization prevail. There is lack of evidence to prove whether in terms of dollars and quality of service it is more economical to operate under a centralized or an extremely decentralized plan.

The common presumption that congregate institutional care is cheaper than cottage care is somewhat typical of the American inclination to operate any enterprise upon mass production methods. It is dangerous, however, to jump to the conclusion that assembly-line economies can be realized when the care of human beings is the business of an organization. The lack of evidence to prove what is economical administration of institutions is due largely to the failure to establish cost accounting, a subject discussed later.[1] Certain relative advantages of centralization and decentralization may be discerned, however, by any observer of institutional administration.

Central Heating

Obvious advantages are to be found in central heating if the institution is so large as to require the employment of engineers or stokers to supply steam for power. Even where the buildings do not need high-pressure steam, points favoring a central heating plant include the delivering and handling of fuel at only one place, the central handling of ashes and avoidance of frequent visits to each building by the maintenance staff. To these advantages should be added lower costs of depreciation of heating plant, less annoyance with repairs, and a more controlled performance in stoking, in combustion, and in the distribution of heat than when fires are maintained in individual buildings.

[1] Chapter 14, Costs of Institutional Care.

The possible advantages of individual cottage heating plants should, however, be considered. There is avoidance of need for a central three-shift boiler room crew, one man being able to make the rounds of several cottage heating plants, and in the spring and fall to spend part of his time at other maintenance or garden work; also avoidance of long distribution pipes and tunnels. A night watchman can stoke the cottage fires when this day worker is off duty. There is the quicker response of the cottage heating plant, an advantage in severe weather and an economy in the spring and fall when merely warming the heating pipes may take the chill from the air whereas to get any heat from a central plant it would be necessary to heat the steam or hot water sufficiently to produce circulation to the most distant unit in the system. Then, too, one building may be favored at times over others, when an epidemic or other health problem calls for extra heat. The possible use is to be considered of residential-size heating plants with oil or gas burners which operate automatically and eliminate need of any stoking service, the only payroll expense for such units consisting of occasional services of a mechanic to keep the burners and motors in order.

Use of a separate heating plant in each building actually seems economical in some institutions. This is hard to prove, however, for even where the buildings and heating plants are similar there are variables that need to be accounted for in comparing heating experience. These include climatic temperature, construction of the buildings especially with reference to insulation of pipes and buildings, and the circulation of air, adequacy of radiation, temperatures required by the occupants, quality of fuel, skill in stoking, and reliance upon thermostatic controls.

Central Kitchens and Dining Rooms

Like central heating plants, central kitchens and dining rooms call for differences in staff and payroll. If there is to be any considerable advantage in one plan over another it probably will appear in a payroll saving. The value of food consumed by each person will vary little whether he is served in a large central dining room, from a large central kitchen, or in his cottage dining room, from a cottage kitchen. However, the attractive use of leftovers is more practicable in a cottage kitchen than in a central kitchen, and it is easier to change there the amount of food prepared to conform to fluctuation in the numbers of persons served at each meal.

The central kitchen and dining room may require just as many work-

ers as would be required to serve the same population in cottages, and in comparing the two plans it is important to list all whose principal duties include the preparing and serving of food under either plan, not excepting those who run storerooms and plan menus. Decentralization is more applicable to small institutions, for the probability is that an institution with more than 150 or 200 children will be able to operate with a smaller food handling staff if there are both a central kitchen and a dining room.

Where children do most of the work in preparing and serving food, the payroll factor may be negligible under either plan, but with school schedules as they are in most communities, young people can be counted upon for very little of the actual cooking, their kitchen and dining-room duties usually consisting of preparing vegetables, washing dishes, setting tables, and cleaning floors. There are cottage institutions, however, in which one or more high-school girls do the cooking with the housemother's supervision and assistance. A few such institutions get along without any cottage cooks on the payroll.

Central Mending of Clothes

A common practice which has advantages and disadvantages is the central mending of clothes. The repair of garments, bedding, towels, and table linen is a never-ending task which needs to be planned in terms of hours per week and of the number of workers needed to carry this load, devoting either all or part of their time to it. It would improve the administration of many institutions to add one or two seamstresses to the staff, thus releasing the housemother to give more time and energy to companionship with the children or to other vital needs.

Some obvious advantages obtain both in a centralized and in a decentralized plan for mending clothing. If the cottage or dormitory groups comprise more than 25 or 30 children, there is little advantage in doing the mending within the group, for its large size requires methods as wholesale as those necessary in a much larger group. In a distinctly congregate institution it seems more practical to have one sewing room in which the seamstresses as well as the electric sewing machines, darning machines, and supplies are under supervision of one person. The limited number of electric machines and the lack of funds with which to buy such equipment are factors to consider in deciding whether to centralize the mending operations. While it might seem better for each cottage or dormitory to have its own electric sewing and darning machines, a

practical plan among institutions with limited staffs is to locate the machines and supplies in one central place, each cottage or dormitory sending its housemother or assistant housemother on regular days to this room to use its facilities. This is better than to limit these women to the use of the slower and more tiring foot-power machines so often found in cottages. Consideration should be given, however, to one or two serious disadvantages in the operation of a central sewing room to which women from the various units of an institution come on separate appointed days. Only a few will have use of the facilities on days immediately after clothing has been returned from the laundry, which means that most of those mending for their own groups will have to wait several days; also machines used communally wear out sooner, because few women take as good care of such machines as they will of those used only by themselves.

The weekly mending usually follows return of articles from the laundry. If mending is done at a central sewing room, this usually means some sorting of all laundry at a central place; otherwise the cottage or dormitory worker has the task of checking each clean article and sending to the central sewing room a parcel of all pieces needing repair.

Another element is introduced in institutions serving older girls, who should carry the responsibility for repair of their own clothing.[1] This may best be done under supervision of the housemother, provided the group is small and the staff competent. But if the staff responsible for clothing is characterized by a drill-master attitude, then the advantage of a small group under more intimate leadership is lost, and for this and many other activities an institution might as well have as centralized a plan as possible, with an executive or sub-executive always at hand, ready to prompt or criticize.

Building Construction

Size and Needs of the Group to Be Housed

What constitutes the most desirable size of each group in a children's institution is the subject of many differing opinions but few thorough studies. Among reasons for the marked variation in determining the size of groups are the lack of skilled observation on the part of institutional workers; failure to consult the most capable among them when

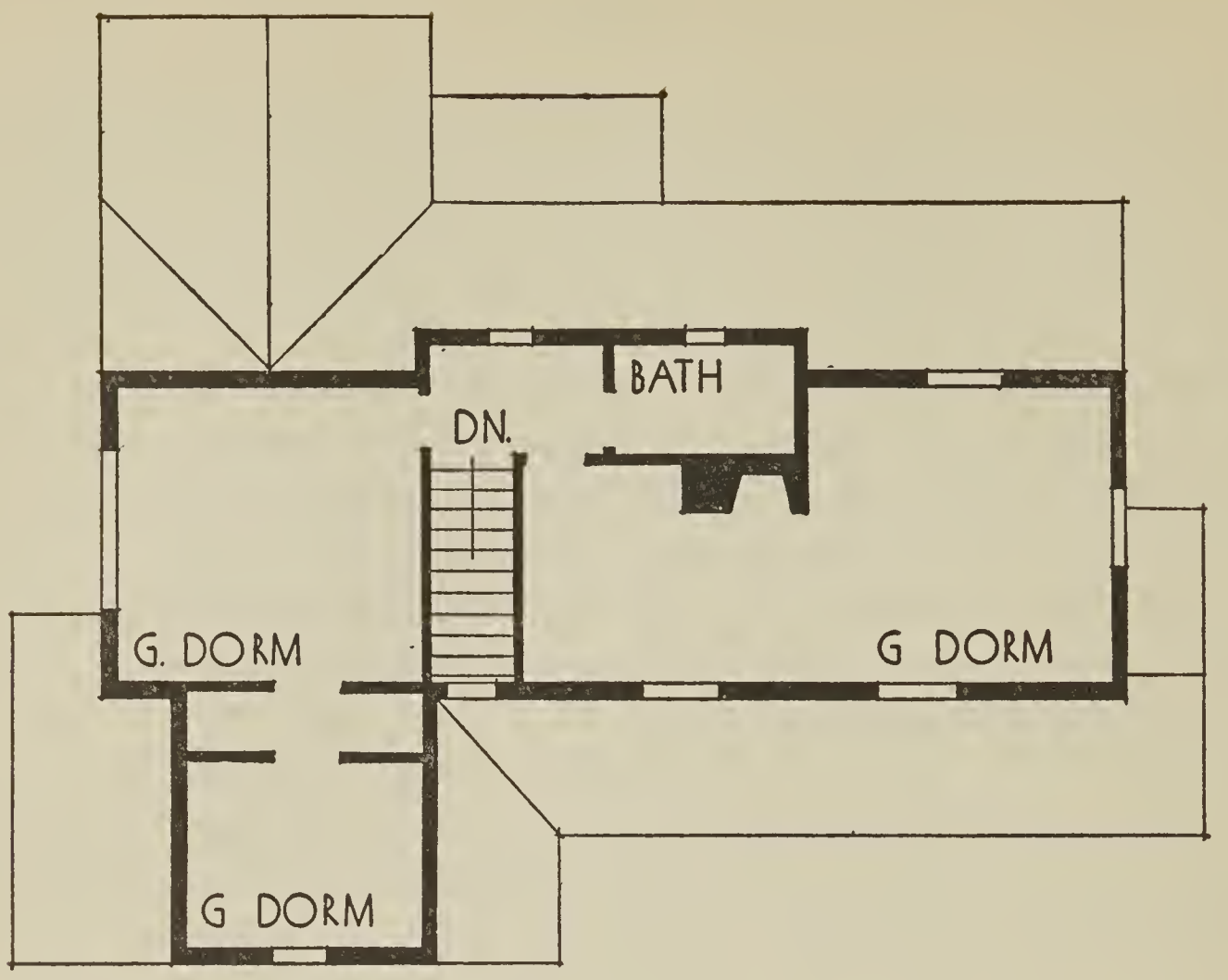
[1] See the section on Clothing, Chapter 11, Physical Needs of the Child, for further discussion of the mending problem and the responsibility of the older girls for care of clothing.

planning institutions; and the responsibility for planning assumed, according to traditional practice, by executives, trustees and architects, few of whom have imagination enough to overcome the handicap of never having lived and worked in a cottage or dormitory of an institution.

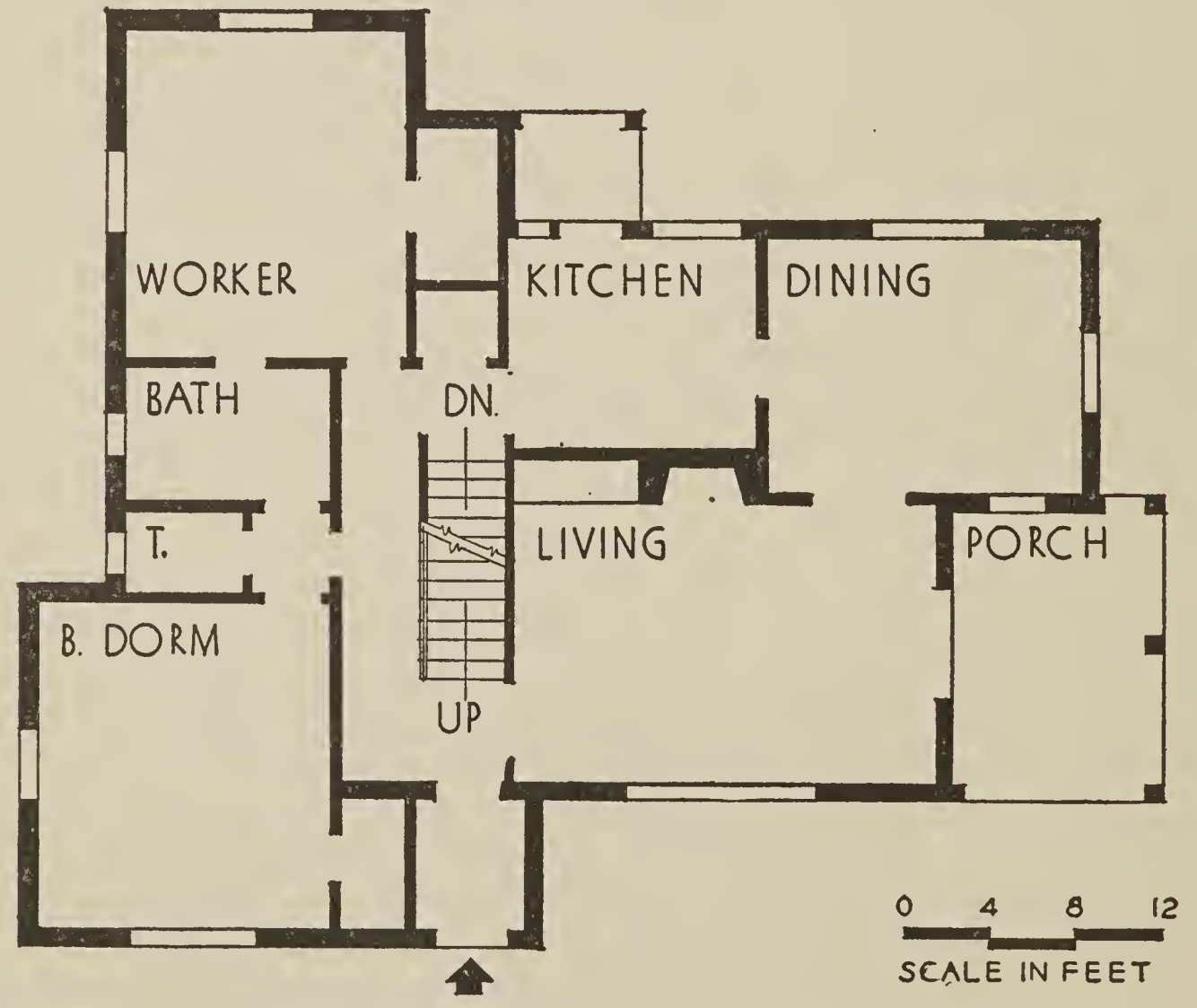
Pending a study of this problem based upon the experience of women who have lived with children in groups of different sizes, the sensible way of deciding what capacity is desirable for an institutional cottage is to observe what sized groups seem most commonly associated with good practice. Such observation has been the basis for specifications as to size of groups, floor space required, and other kindred matters in Standards of Foster Care for Children in Institutions, issued by the Child Welfare League of America.

The following three paragraphs from this publication give condensed definitions of what constitute reasonably small cottage or dormitory groups and also indicate what some of the dormitory and living-room accommodations should be:

> The children should live in small groups, preferably in small cottages. With children of various ages in each cottage it will be possible to operate a cottage for 12 children or less with only the cottage mother in charge. . . . In no event should a cottage accommodate more than 20 children. Even in a cottage for 20 considerable routinization of the lives of the children is necessary and thus some of the most valuable services which an institution may provide are curtailed. It is preferable to have at least one-third of the children accommodated in single bedrooms. No dormitory should accommodate more than three or four children. Large dormitories have no place in a modern institutional plant.
>
> Cottage plans and construction should be such as to provide a minimum of fatigue for the staff supervising children and a minimum of fire hazards which may lead to serious accidents or loss of life. Living rooms and dining rooms should be large enough to accommodate small tables and enough chairs and other furniture to provide a homelike environment. Staff sleeping quarters should be on the same floor and near sleeping quarters occupied by the children. Adequate sanitation should be provided. Bath, toilet and lavatory facilities should be conveniently located. Municipal and state sanitary codes should be complied with. The staff should have bathrooms separate from those used by the children. For the children there should be one toilet and one bath to six or eight children and there should be one lavatory to four children. In dormitories there should be at least 500 cubic feet of air space for each child. In single bedrooms for children the air space should be not less than 700 cubic feet. Ventilation of all rooms used by the children should be adequate. It is desirable to have dormitories ventilated from two or three sides.
>
> These conditions apply to the care of children whether they live in cottages or in larger buildings. Where small cottages are not available it is desirable to divide the children living in one building into groups ranging from 10 to 20 in number. Each



SECOND FLOOR



TWO-STORY COTTAGE FOR 11 BOYS AND GIRLS, CHILDREN'S VILLAGE, THE METHODIST CHILDREN'S HOME SOCIETY, DETROIT (ONE UNIT OF A DUPLEX BUILDING)

of these groups should have its own housemother. With such modifications it may be more satisfactory to house a large number of children under one roof than to provide for them in cottages which are too large. A cottage with capacity for more than 20 children has few if any advantages over a still larger building in which the children are divided into groups of less than 20. . . . Whatever the type of housing used it should allow for (1) the flexibility which is possible only with small dormitories and a generous supply of single bedrooms for children, and (2) the individual attention possible only when less than 20 children share the care and training which one housemother can provide.[1]

Cottages for Both Girls and Boys

Limited but proved experience in at least seven establishments[2] shows that in institutions for dependent children cottages for 20 or fewer can be so planned and so staffed as to make practical the care of girls and boys in the same cottage. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the advantages of such a plan include the possibility of keeping brothers and sisters together as well as the modification of that excessive curiosity about the other sex which is so common wherever group living allows only girls or boys within the same house. It is a meager kind of care that keeps the sexes apart to such an extent that unhappy sex experiences can be expected later when these young people become independent of adult control and act on their own responsibility.

Floor plans of buildings reproduced on these pages demonstrate that boys and girls can and do share many of the facilities of the same cottage. None of these plans is suggested as ideal, and, like family dwellings, each type of cottage has its advantages and disadvantages. Each of these cottages has its own dining room and kitchen.

The three examples given are of two-story buildings that house 11 children in one cottage and 20 in the other two cottages. The institutions represented are the Children's Village, the Methodist Children's Home Society, near Detroit (of duplex construction); the Children's Study Home, Springfield, Massachusetts; and Vista del Mar, Los Angeles. In the first named the exceptionally small size of the group permits the cottage mother to give each child an adequate amount of attention. To visit these cottages and to see brothers and sisters living happily together will lead any observer to wonder why other institutions have failed to make similar provisions.

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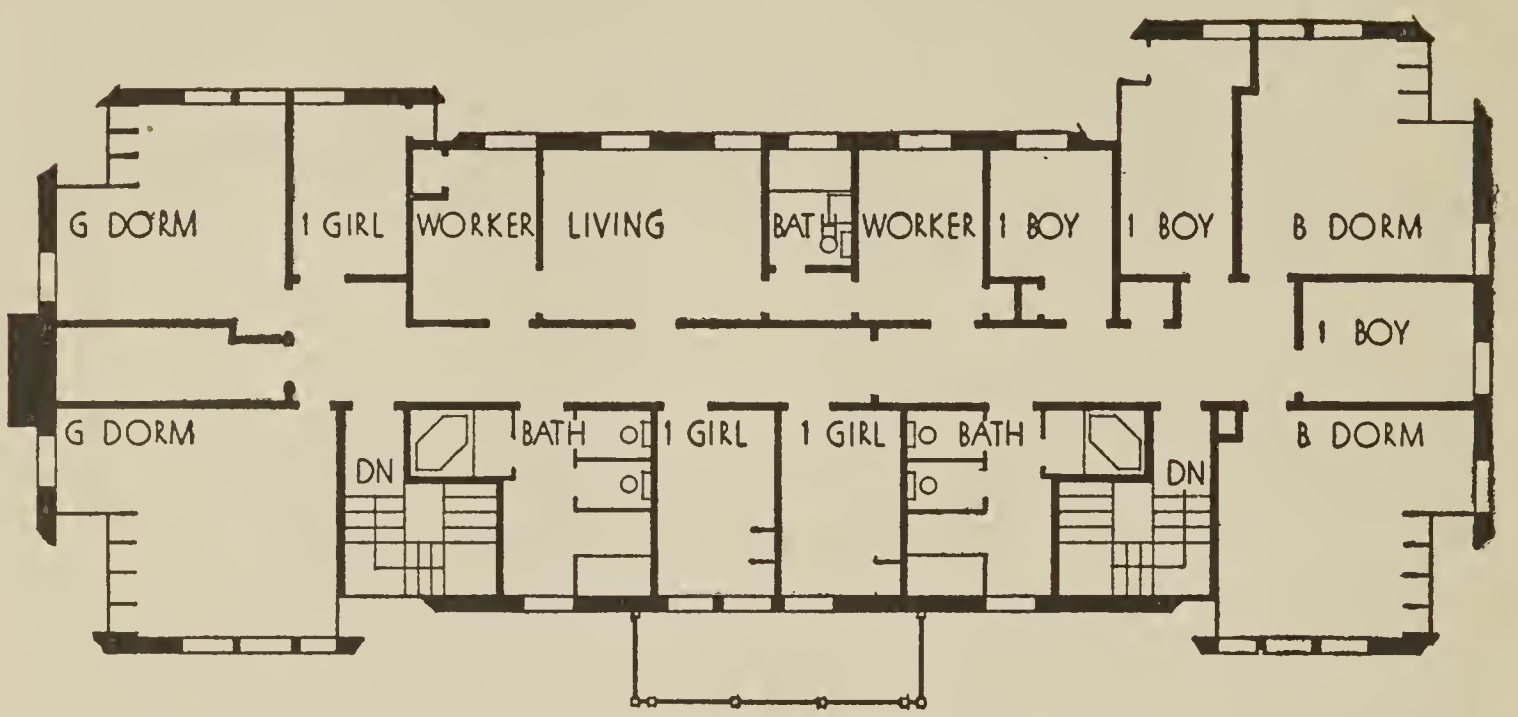
[1] Standards of Foster Care for Children in Institutions, p. 20.

[2] These are listed in Chapter 2, Development of Institutions from Asylums and Orphanages into Schools or Homes.



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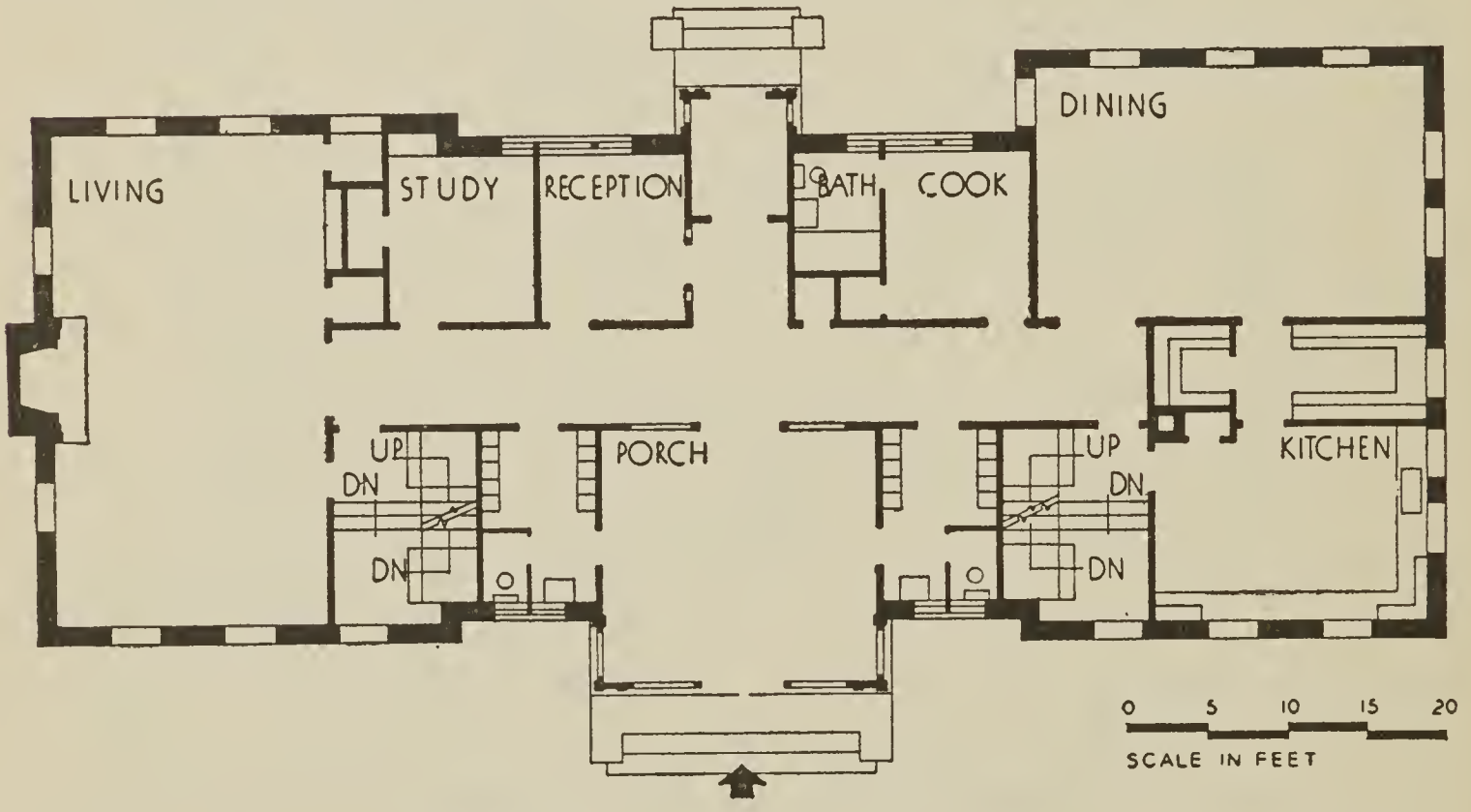
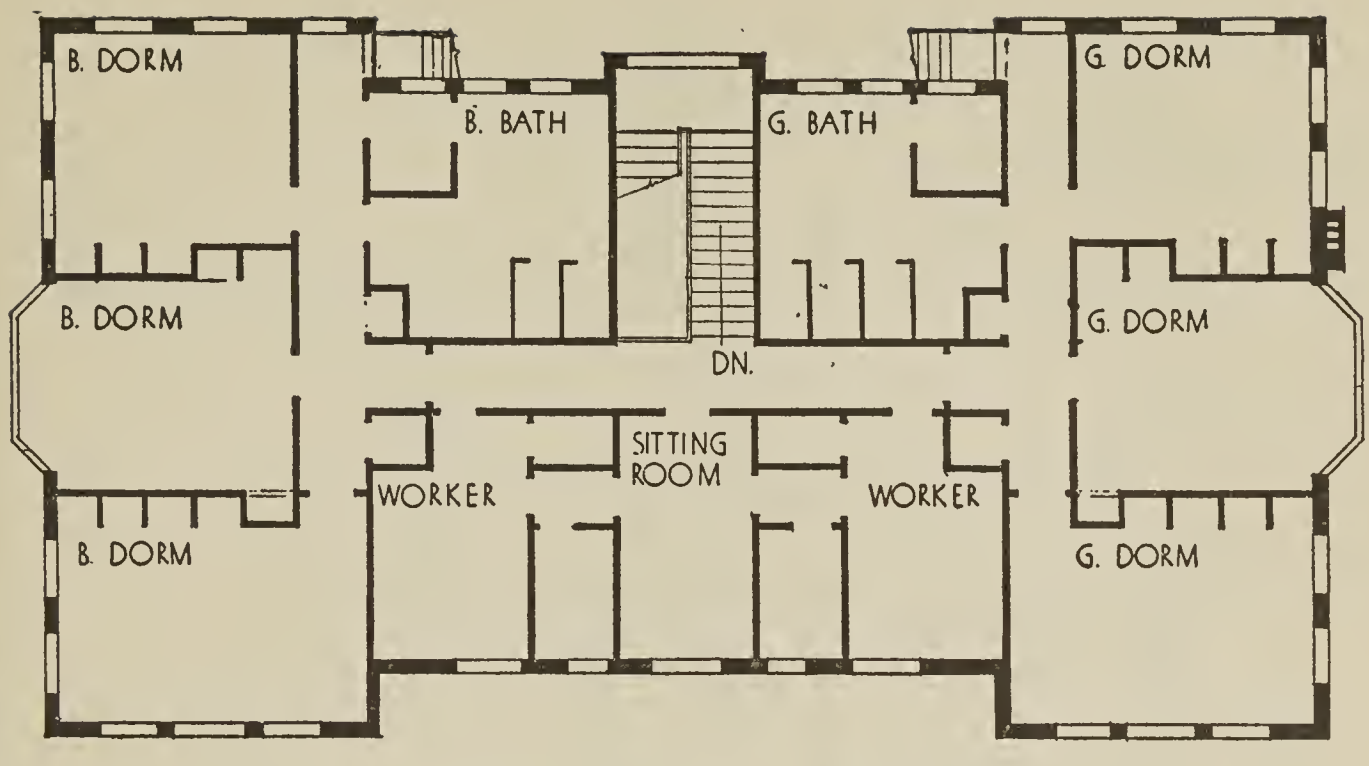


TWO-STORY COTTAGE FOR 20 BOYS AND GIRLS, CHILDREN'S STUDY HOME, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS



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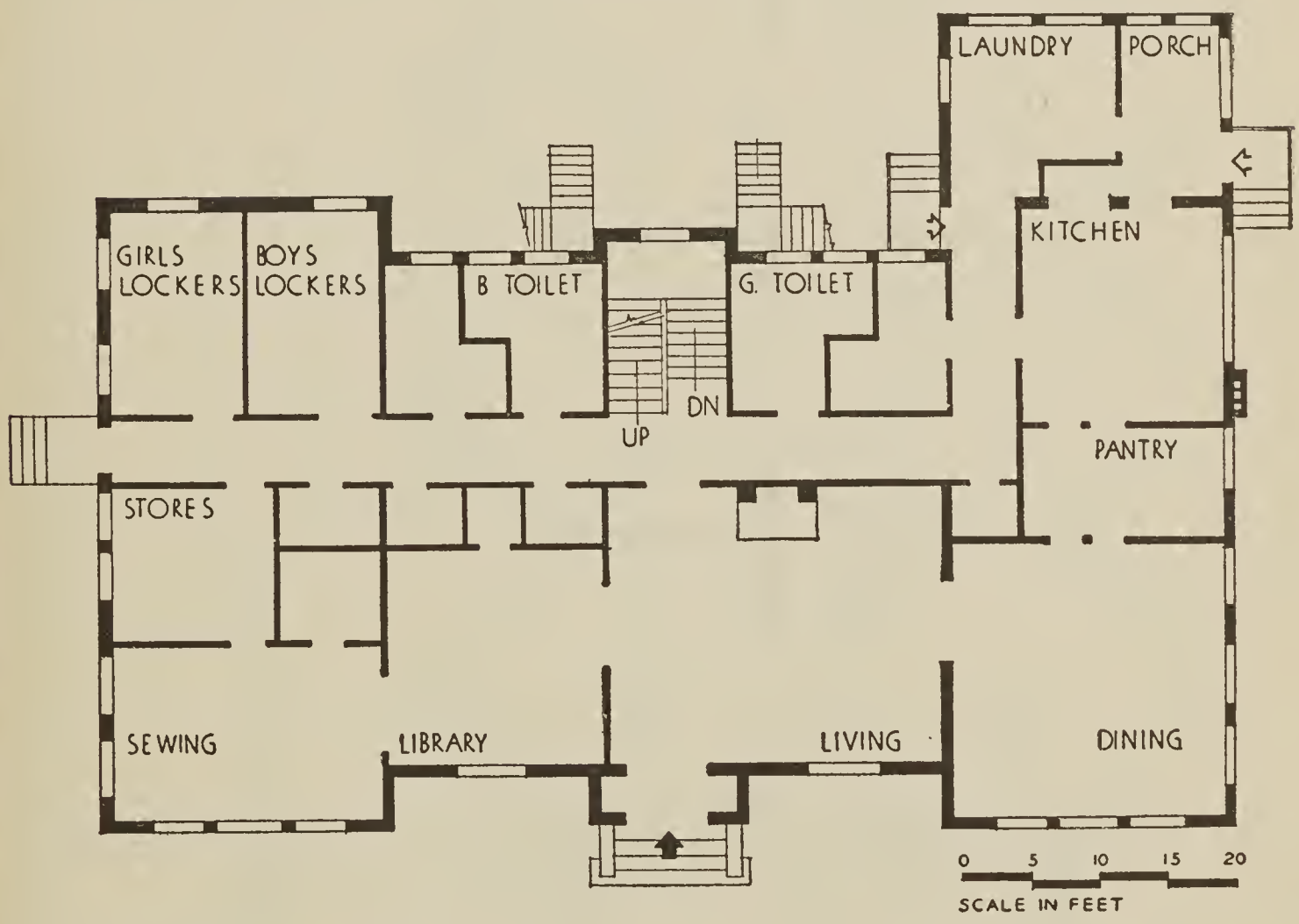
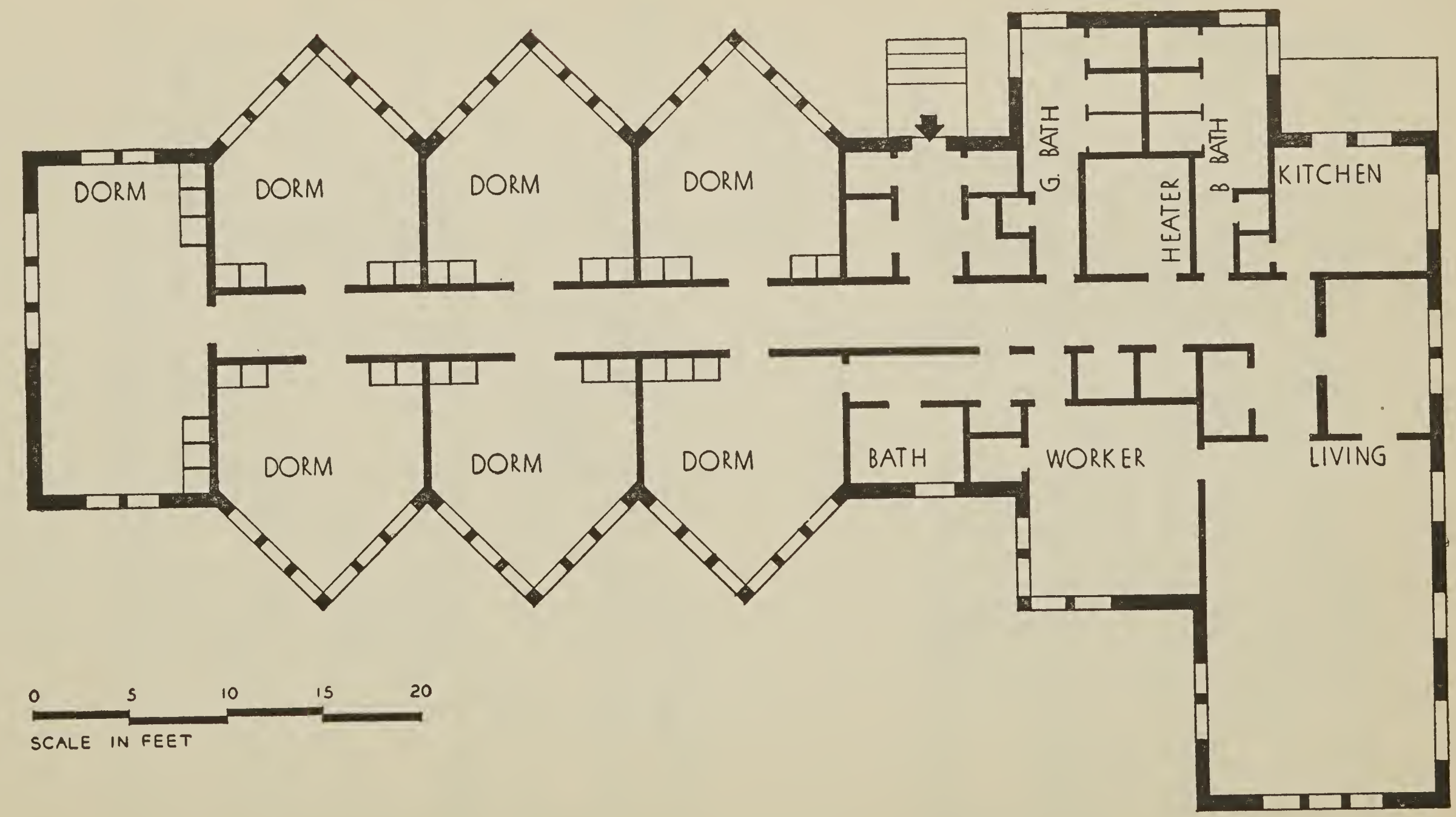


TWO-STORY COTTAGE FOR 20 BOYS AND GIRLS, VISTA DEL MAR, LOS ANGELES

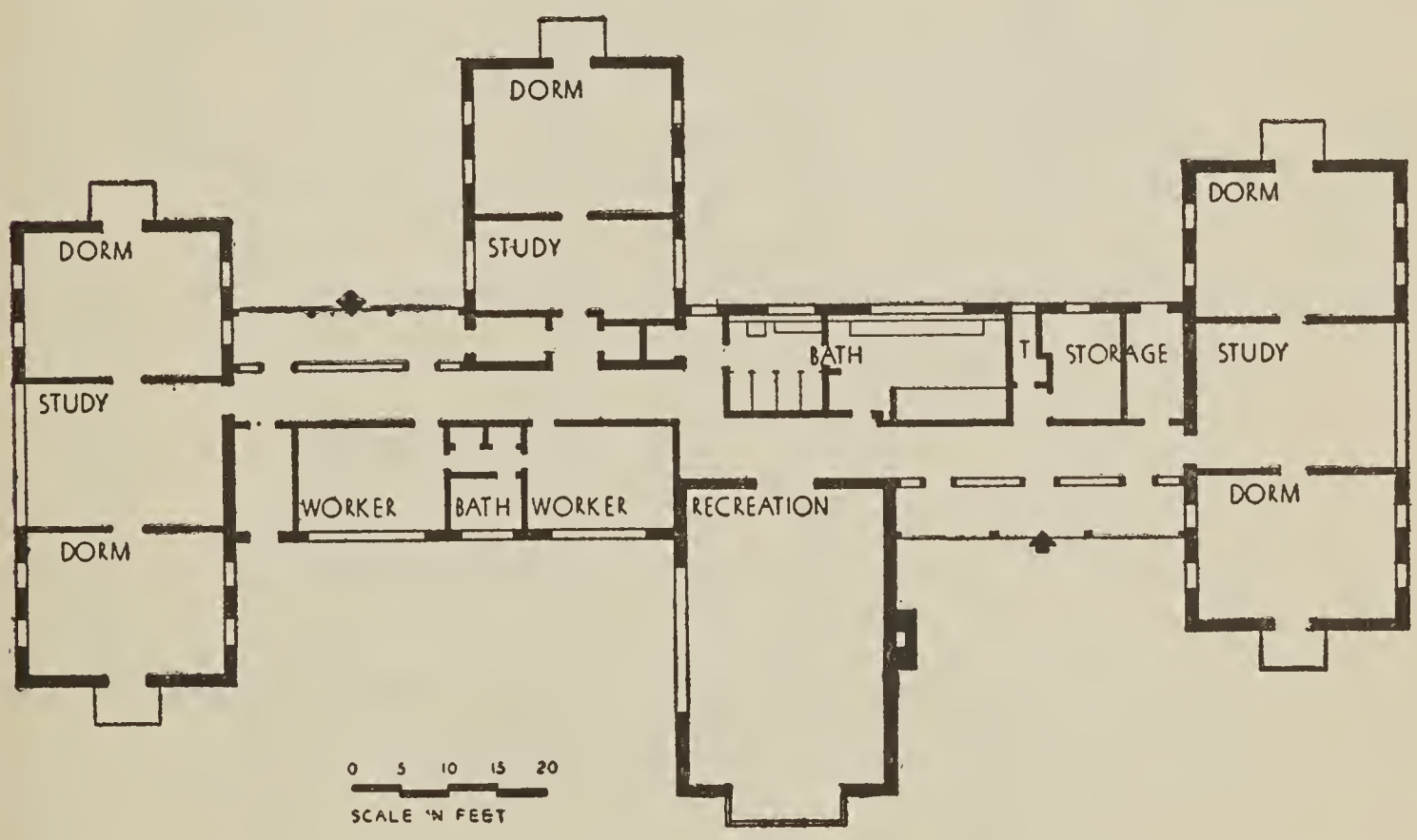


ONE-STORY COTTAGE FOR 20 CHILDREN OF THE SAME SEX, DE PELCHIN FAITH HOME AND CHILDREN'S BUREAU, HOUSTON

Advantages of the One-Story Cottage

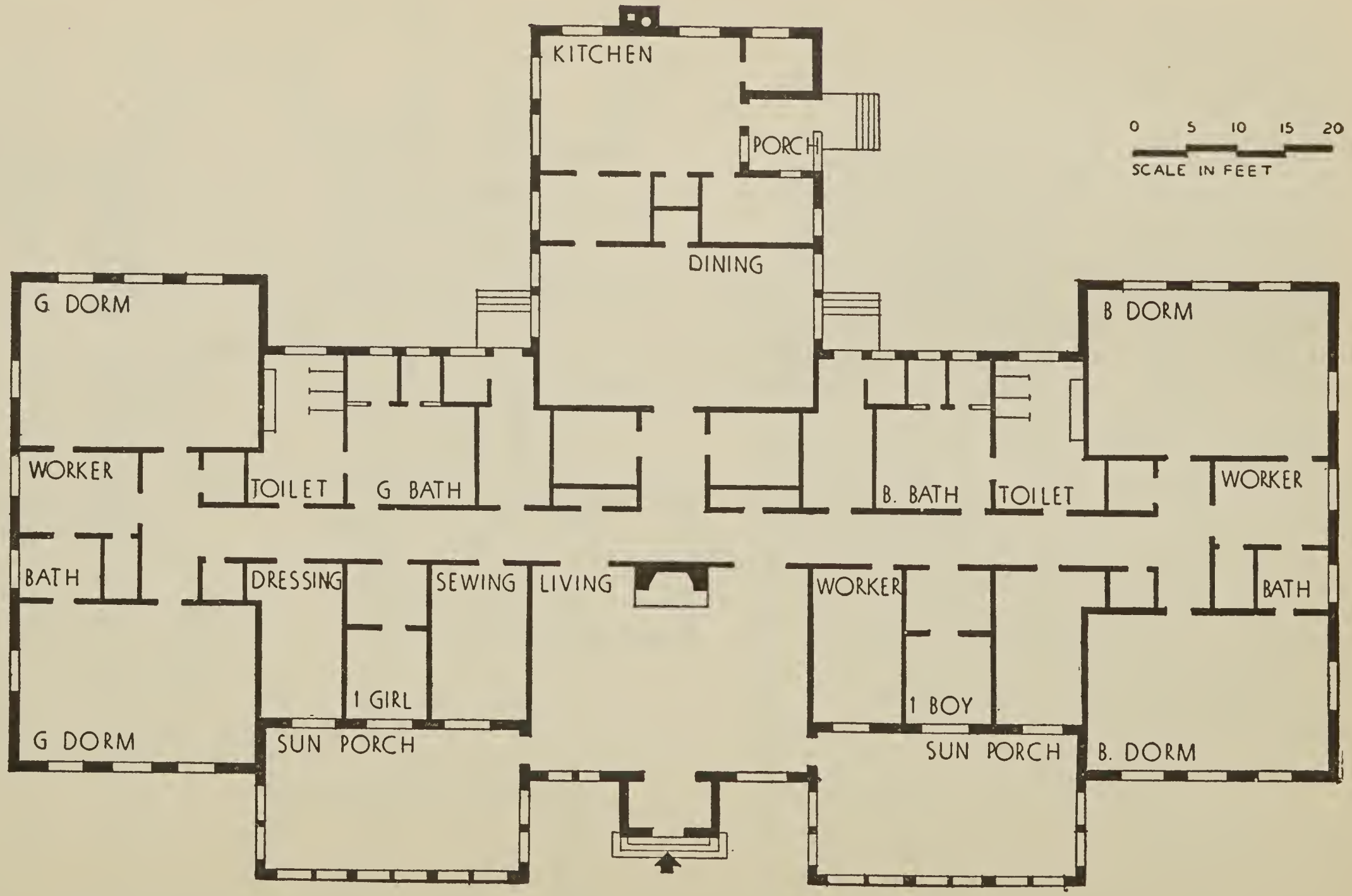
One-story cottages, attractive and practical, provide for all of those children receiving institutional care from the De Pelchin Faith Home and Children's Bureau, Houston, Texas. Most of those being served by this agency and by the Children's Center, New Haven, are to be found in family boarding homes, some of whom have previously been cared for temporarily in these institutions.

The children's sleeping quarters at Houston are unusual in provisions for light and ventilation, there being five, instead of the usual four walls in most of the bedrooms, each of which contains three or five beds. Here, as in some of the other one-story cottages mentioned, there is no basement, which facilitates supervision of children and allows economy in construction. These advantages are the more easily realized in the mild climate of Houston where natural gas allows substantial economies. There is a dining hall in which all meals are served, the small cottage kitchens being an auxiliary facility.



ONE-STORY COTTAGE FOR 30 BOYS, MISSION OF THE IMMACULATE VIRGIN, MOUNT LORETTO, STATEN ISLAND, NEW YORK

A vivid contrast between the old and the new may be seen at the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin, Mount Loretto, Staten Island, New York, to the remodeling of which reference has already been made. In the shadow of its old congregate dormitories this institution has placed



ONE-STORY COTTAGE FOR 24 BOYS AND GIRLS, THE CHILDREN'S CENTER, NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

four attractive, practical, and economical cottages. Although they are for older boys they lack the single rooms that every institutional cottage plan might well include. None of the cottages has either dining room or kitchen. The boys go for meals to their own separate dining alcove in one of the institution's large central buildings.

The buildings at Mount Loretto offer a combination of advantages and are a step forward in modernizing the planning of children's institutions. The four cottages are of one-story construction, without basement, heat being supplied from a central plant. The living rooms, study rooms, and dormitories are ample in dimensions, well lighted, and attractively decorated and furnished.

One-story cottage construction was zealously promoted by Hastings H. Hart, who frequently commented upon the advantages in this type of building. Among these advantages are elimination of stair climbing, improved supervision, and reduced fire hazards. Also to be mentioned is the avoidance of the waste space often found on the first floor of a two-story cottage, owing to the need of so much more floor space for second floor dormitories than is needed for all purposes on the first floor.

Examples of recently constructed one-story cottages may be observed in different parts of the country. Those, in addition to the three here identified by floor plans, with which the writer is most familiar are: the Jewish Children's Home of St. Louis; Hillside Cottages, Atlanta; Ormsby Village, Anchorage, Kentucky; Bellefaire (Cleveland Jewish Orphan Home), Cleveland; Lincoln Hall, Lincolndale, New York; The Children's Home of Jefferson County, Watertown, New York.

One-story construction which has not yet been sufficiently used in children's institutions has been more commonly accepted in the planning of schools and hospitals. Advantages derived from it by teachers and nurses also may be realized by housemothers who work in institutions for dependent children. Institutions for delinquents have made some use of the one-story building, but generally speaking their plans reflect little imagination in this or other aspects.

The Question of Permanence

Much remains to be achieved in the construction of institutional buildings that will stand rough usage but will not last more than twenty or thirty years. One-story construction with little or no excavation for basements lends itself to such planning. The necessity of still using buildings which were modern fifty years ago is a substantial handicap to many who

are trying to harmonize their operations with present-day standards. We would be much better off if our predecessors had been content with exteriors less expensive and monumental. Then with our present-day recognition of need for more space for recreation, staff quarters, clothes closets, and plumbing fixtures; for more durable walls and floors; and for compact, modern kitchens, we could have replaced with cottages many obsolete congregate buildings at the end of thirty years.

Pioneer cottage institutional plants built thirty or forty years ago are now almost as obsolete as the congregate institutions that preceded them by only a decade or more. Bath and toilet facilities usually are inadequate, staff quarters are too cramped to be attractive to capable workers, kitchens are twice as large as are needed with modern housekeeping conveniences, and there are many stairs to climb. The conventional cottage of 1900 or 1910 frequently utilizes a poorly ventilated basement for a playroom, and other rooms are used by children on both the first and second floors. An efficiency study calculating the energy wasted in one year by one housemother in climbing stairs in such a cottage would produce an astounding figure. It would be equally astounding if the equivalent of energy thus spent were translated into an increased understanding of children's problems and a consequent reduction of scolding by grown-ups.

Facilities a Cottage Should Contain

The recommendation for single rooms needed for about one-third of the population in an institution for dependent children has been already quoted from the Standards published by the Child Welfare League of America. Those for whom single rooms are desirable include (a) the oldest adolescents; (b) the most neurotic, who in a dormitory are kept awake latest at night and aroused earliest in the morning by unavoidable noises; (c) those whose behavior makes it preferable to have them in single rooms, including those who wet their beds regularly and those who are inclined to teach other children unwholesome sex habits; and (d) any others in need of such removal from the group as a private room affords.

Where the ratio of single bedrooms provided is small there will be too few private rooms to allow the flexibility recommended. With only one such room in a cottage it may be presumed that it will be used continuously by the oldest child; intermittently as a means of rewarding a child with privacy or punishing him with isolation; or be kept in

reserve as a sick room or a guest room. Institutions which illustrate a practical if unusual provision of single rooms are The Children's Center, New Haven (see plan on page 122) and Children's Study Home, Springfield, Massachusetts (see plan on page 118).

Dining rooms and rooms for study and recreation can be so planned and furnished as to be used interchangeably. The smaller the cottage group the more homelike and flexible may be the adaptation of the various rooms. In a cottage for 10 or 12, a large, sturdy refectory table can serve for dining-room purposes and also be used as a study table by those who need a quiet place in which to prepare lessons while others are using the living room for games, story hours, or radio programs. Older children with single bedrooms should have their rooms furnished so as to permit them to study in privacy.

A minimum of 15 square feet of floor space per person is essential for dining rooms (although more is desirable), and twice as much for living rooms.

A sun porch or special room on the first floor should be set aside for games such as table tennis, hop scotch, and quoits. Even for such active play, it is desirable to avoid the use of basement rooms—especially if these are dark, poorly ventilated, or in any way unsanitary. Play is a child's birthright, and should be provided for in a well-lighted and well-ventilated place, not shoved off into a dark corner. But where old buildings must be used, a basement playroom often is a necessity, and should be made as attractive as possible.

Staff quarters should be ample. Unless rooms are comfortable and attractively furnished it is difficult to obtain and retain intelligent and sympathetic workers capable of making a homelike environment for the children.

The better equipped institutions now are providing each housemother, or each married couple serving as cottage parents, with two rooms and bath.

In addition to the too general inadequacy of staff quarters, already mentioned in connection with the older cottage type of construction, many institutions lack suitable accommodations for specific classes of the personnel, such as nurses, recreation workers, maintenance staff, and the regular relief staff. This has become increasingly evident as staffs have been expanded, most of our institutions having been built when recreation workers and substitute housemothers were not yet recognized as necessary. Sometimes a proportion of these workers can be comfortably

housed in the children's cottages. Staff living rooms are needed wherever 20 or more persons are employed.

Homelike Equipment

Providing suitable furniture to be used by children presents problems to those who would create a homelike environment. Too often recourse has been had to supplying only heavy and almost indestructible pieces which in themselves make for a barren institutional atmosphere. Those who authorize replacements of furniture seldom allow for the wear and tear to be expected in an institutional household where there are six or eight times as many persons as in most family homes.

Overstuffed furniture usually will not stand the strain put upon it by numbers of children, and the same may be said of wicker furniture, antiques, and cheap metal furniture. Sturdy Windsor chairs are attractive and practical, and heavy refectory tables can be as attractive as they are durable. Substantial cushioned window seats and corner seats, if arranged with good taste, add much to the homelike appearance of living rooms, libraries, and playrooms. Colorful draperies, rugs, and paint will do wonders in changing a somber room into one attractive alike to adults and children. Pictures should be selected by persons with some interest both in children and in art.

Donated furniture, unless new and purchased in consultation with the institution's staff, usually is unsatisfactory. An article already partly worn probably will have a short life. The donor may become displeased at what he considers undue wear and tear, and the staff may become jittery to the extent of being more concerned about prolonging the life of a donated article than about promoting the happiness of the children who use it.

Revolutionary changes are occurring in the furnishing of institutions, including those for delinquents. In a few instances sturdy metal furniture, attractively upholstered, has been provided. At the New York State Training School for Boys, at State School, near Warwick, New York, where the living rooms are extremely pleasing and comfortable, the decorations and appointments would be a credit to any home. The boys enjoy using their living rooms and take good care of the furniture which is upholstered with leather. No one presumes that rooms and furnishings are merely to be shown off to visitors.

Planning New Construction and Remodeling

New buildings, additions to old buildings, and remodeled institutional units cost the people of the United States millions of dollars annually. Often such construction is planned and supervised without previous study of institutional experience. The result is that it is now possible to visit new buildings which may be called obsolete before being occupied. Much, obviously, remains to be done in making known the planning and building experience of institutions—both successful and otherwise.

A few private organizations and many governmental welfare officials have on occasion provided consultation service for those building or remodeling institutions. In New York no institutional construction, public or private, is permitted without approval by the state Department of Social Welfare.

One reason for inadequacies in institutional plants is the common practice of employing a local architect to do the principal planning. He usually has had no previous acquaintance with this children's institution, and probably will never build another. Little literature is available on the subject, and an architect is not inclined to favor employment of another as consultant who may seek fees similar to those he expects to receive. Other limitations already discussed are due to failure to encourage those who live with children in institutions to participate in planning buildings.

Lacking a national or regional consultation service, those planning an institution should restrict their activities to preliminary sketches until they have assembled as critics an architect, an institutional executive, a physician, a nurse, a recreation worker, and a housemother. The housemother, who realizes that at certain hours in the day and week there are many children using brooms, dust pans, mops, and pails, will call attention to the need for a broom closet and a service sink on every floor of every unit. In accordance with their specialized functions, the nurse and physican will think of needs in time of illness, and a recreation worker will think in terms of games. Only by combining these practical points of view with the general structural knowledge of architect and engineer can one hope to arrive at institutional buildings well adapted to their special uses.

PART FOUR: CARE OF THE CHILD

Chapter 10

SIGNIFICANCE OF A CHILD'S RELATIONSHIPS: ROLE OF THE SOCIAL WORKER

THE INNER LIFE of a child, made up of the resources and weaknesses within the individual—unmeasurable and often unrecognized—is a tender thing with which to deal. Almost equally difficult to know and to measure are the external forces with which he is surrounded. Few adults are aware that a child's growth hinges upon the relationship of these inner and outer forces, that however powerful the environment may be it is less significant in his development than is his own reaction to the environment. Only those who comprehend such relationships will be aware how difficult it is to understand a child.

Much that is ineffectual and blundering in education generally, and in the efforts of parents or substitute parents, is due to exaggeration of the importance of the influences outside the child. The importance, for instance, of clean floors in home or institution may be taken for granted, but merely living where the floor is clean will not, as by some kind of hocus-pocus, produce in a child a love of neatness. On the contrary, we have learned that if the clean floor, or something associated with it, is irritating to the child he may react by resisting the efforts of those who would teach him habits of cleanliness. This illustration is specially pertinent to the care of children in institutions where so often the clean and polished floor is a conspicuous symbol of the inability of the worker to accomplish anything of greater worth to the child. To offset his own insecurity the worker must have to sustain him all the outer appearances of being "right." But if he has failed to gain the confidence of a child, and if the child senses, as children quickly do, the worker's lack of

ability and self-confidence, that child may despise both worker and clean floor.

So when we focus upon relationships it becomes important to observe reactions quite as much as to identify other forces. A frequent reason for a child's need for institutional or other foster care is his rejection by a parent and such rejection is certainly one of the most powerful of all negative factors in human relations. A child's reaction to the experience of being rejected will probably determine much of his future outlook and behavior.

Importance of Social Work to the Child and His Family

Ability to account for relationships and emotional factors and to make practical use of such knowledge in the interests of children and their families, whether the task at hand be investigation, diagnosis, treatment, or follow-up service, should be expected of professional social workers.

The term case work, already used during the course of this discussion, has appeared wherever the profession of social work has rooted itself in the welfare services of a community. Case work, to a child welfare worker, implies proper diagnosis and continuity of service based upon the use of various skills professionally directed; it implies, further, such discrimination and planning as will adapt and re-adapt the program for each child in harmony with an expanding awareness of his needs. A maximum participation in such planning by the child and his parents will testify to the adequacy of the work.

There is a coldness and an undesirable professionalism about the term, however, which occasionally stirs resentment, especially among those outside the profession. Where workers have lacked professional maturity this resentment sometimes has led to rejection by institutional trustees and executives of both the social worker and the case work which he practices. Such critics have shown their own immaturity by failing to grasp the significance of modern social case work to the needs of the child.

Whatever the terms used, the service of a social worker is one key to the skilled treatment of children here discussed. Just as the surgeon, essential to good surgery, is dependent also upon the contributions of anaesthetists, nurses, and laboratory staff, so the social worker with a vital part to play in lifting child care to the more professional level where it belongs, finds this achievement possible only with the assistance and co-operation of teachers, housemothers, psychologists, and others.

It will be a real accomplishment when someone renames social case work, providing a title that will designate it as a service in which professional skill implements man's deepest instincts in offering help to his fellows.[1]

Modern social work under the practice of which those served find that they are "helping themselves" is distinguished from the "getting help from others" attitude that characterized most welfare work during the first decade of this century. It calls, as we have noted, for the contribution of several workers and for the harmonious use of many skills, above all for skill in winning the co-operation of those served.

One condition of good child welfare work obviously is a constant regard both for the child's family and for the child as a part of his family. Some of the crudities of work with children in the last century, and even at the present time, result from treatment of the child too exclusively as an individual, with little or no regard for emotional bonds or for the various other ties whether assets or liabilities that may be found in his relationship with his family. It should be stressed that even the parent who is dead may be a powerful influence in his life, to be recognized in his daily behavior and development. Indeed, the hopes of the dead parent may sometimes be more respected by the child than the hopes and ideals of all those whom he knows among the living.

Recognition of values such as these family ties certainly characterized human relationships long before twentieth century teachings were current about emotional values and mental hygiene. Wise parents and guardians who had no knowledge of modern vocabularies practiced many of the rules that we have lately formulated in more scientific terms. It has always, for instance, been customary for responsible families, in one way or another, to begin planning for the children from the day of their birth, or even earlier. It is characteristic of modern welfare work that a social worker should plan for and with the family and the individual child. In conjunction with better understanding of psychological laws this fact differentiates welfare work from that of the last century, which was often disjointed, and partook too much of the nature of

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[1] Certain elements of this skilled service may be identified in the following studies: Social Diagnosis, and What Is Social Case Work?, both by Mary E. Richmond, published by the Russell Sage Foundation, New York, in 1917 and 1922 respectively, and in such more recent texts as A Changing Psychology in Social Case Work, by Virginia P. Robinson, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1930; and Theory and Practice in Social Case Work, by Gordon Hamilton, Columbia University Press, New York, 1940. A popular contribution, still useful, is The Art of Helping People Out of Trouble, by Karl De Schweinitz, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1924.

relief of an immediate need, to the neglect of profounder elements in a planned program.

Planning "With" Instead of "For"

Some of the most recent thinking among social workers in the United States has focused upon the idea that the one cared for should participate and determine any planning in his behalf and that sometimes the family or even the child himself should carry a major responsibility for the plans under which the child is to live. Such an approach is a reaction against the procedure of the social worker who often ignored the capacity of an individual to participate in charting his own future. It is, indeed, important thus to modify the older and more familiar pattern of welfare work, under which a social worker did all the planning, leaving doubly dependent and often unco-operative both children and families. This new idea may itself prove dangerous, however, if carried so far as to exclude the strength of external support required by a child and also sometimes by his family. Under some circumstances a family that has been demoralized by a combination of circumstances may be incapable of conceiving a plan and lack desperately the pattern for action that a good social worker can supply. Similarly, a child may be in need of an advocate in the social worker (usually in such cases, a woman) who will define the child's wants and be as aggressive or authoritative as she is sympathetic. There should, however, be constant awareness that a plan will gain vitality if the family and child concerned participate to the full extent of their ability in its development.

A child does not so much need to plan as he needs the faith and the affection of those who expect him to fulfill some plan. But given even a little affection and a great deal of confidence and faith, an older child can be expected to do much of his own planning. An illustration comes to mind from the experience of a youth well known to the writer:

> To have arrived at the age of fourteen meant little in terms of accomplishment or of self-direction to a boy who was without knowledge of his own parents, who had suffered a severe burn caused by neglect in a foster home, who was being bullied by other boys living in the same institutional cottage, and who had been removed from school because of his failure to keep up with others. He personified the underdog, and because of his unkempt appearance the boys had nicknamed him "the pig." He had a cheerfulness and willingness which could be quickly recognized by anyone trying to understand him. But had he been left to his own resources without encouragement he might have failed dismally.
>
> A new cottage mother and father found him very much in need of a friend. Even

though he was awkward and inclined to be dirty, disheveled, and unattractive, the cottage mother undertook to give him the attention and encouragement he craved. In righteous indignation she forbade the other boys to call him "pig." The superintendent and the cottage mother agreed on the plan of returning the boy to school, in the belief that with the patient encouragement she was providing, he might give a very different account of himself. It was also decided to enroll him in the troop of Boy Scouts, in spite of jeers from a few who thought he never would qualify even as a tenderfoot.

He was like a plant responding to sunlight. Personal appearance picked up, school reports improved, and he qualified as a Scout. It took effort, and he perspired over lessons that were easy for other boys. He soon became distinguished for tenacity in his work habits, and was in demand by neighbors who wanted their lawns mowed. He became the thriftiest boy in his cottage. When the Scouts got ready for a brief period at a summer camp, he was the only member of the troop who had saved enough money to pay his own expenses for one week at camp. This was properly recognized, and he found that in certain other activities as well as in scouting, he could compete effectively with other boys. He showed, more than most boys, consideration for adults. An old woman whose years of service entitled her to board and room at the institution was growing frail. He was attentive to her in many ways, making sure for instance that on cold nights she had a hot water bottle to warm her bed.

After leaving the institution he found situations for himself which were greatly to his credit. His good work habits, friendliness, and extreme honesty helped him to keep any position. Throughout the depression decade following 1929 he was unemployed for less than one week. He had worked on various construction projects. When asked why he had never lost a job he smilingly observed, "I always help pick up the tools of those who leave when the whistle blows." He went to night school and studied accounting. He became a timekeeper and often served as custodian of payrolls. His recreational life, his choice of friends, and his present personal habits mark him as a good citizen. He has avoided indebtedness but has proved a generous friend. In the heart of the depression he made an unsuccessful effort to locate his mother, of whom he had no memory. However she might have neglected him, he wanted to help her because after all she was his mother.

For twenty years he kept in touch with his cottage parents. They had not attempted to become lasting substitute parents, but a fine friendship grew out of their experience in sharing with him for less than two years the daily life in an institutional cottage.

He could hardly have done better had he grown up in a foster home in which affection and the sense of security might have been more easily bestowed. The experience of this young man suggests that some basic planning together with confidence and faith, seasoned with even a little affection, can carry a young person far toward a happy adult life, and that for some children such emotional satisfactions can be provided effectively by those who work in institutions.

In an earlier discussion of the relative values to a child of foster home care and institutional care, much has already been said about the func-

tion of the substitute parent. At the risk of some repetition the writer reiterates here the important phases of a foster mother's or housemother's relationship to the child and his family, and the connection of all these with the ministrations of the social worker.

Where a substitute parent is sharing a child's affections with one or both of a child's natural parents, the situation can become extremely complicated. It calls for art in living and in serving children to be able to satisfy a child's affectional needs without either impairing his family loyalties or weakening his independence. In instances where a social worker as well as a substitute parent is added to the parent or family upon whom the child naturally depends, relationships are highly complex. This point was often stressed by Carl C. Carstens, who could describe so clearly the social worker's responsibilities for recognizing in her daily work the child's relations with herself, with his parents, with his siblings, and with his substitute parents—either foster mothers in family homes or housemothers in institutions. Even when a social worker has happy relations with a child and his mother, there may be serious conflicts between the housemother and the parent, or between her and the child, of which the social worker must take cognizance.

Loyalties and rivalries within a family may be so strong and so unsuspected by others as to astonish institutional workers when they find these feelings aroused. The child may staunchly defend a parent who has neglected him. On the other hand he may make life unbearable for a brother or sister living in the same cottage. And even such siblings will sometimes turn from their quarrels with one another to present a common defense against anyone else who might threaten a member of their family. Rarely, however, is the tension between siblings so great as to warrant their separation. Kinship is a powerful force even when the family is loosely knit together, and under special conditions its influence may quickly promote or undo the results of years of effort on the part of an institution's staff.

Functions of the Social Worker

In the previous pages we have stressed in a general way the importance of the social worker to the child and his family. Unfortunately many social workers serving with institutions consider as their principal responsibilities only the admission and discharge of children, limiting their work to careful investigations prior to admission, the development of

family histories, the preparation for discharge, and possibly some efforts at follow-up service. These limitations in the scope of a social worker's service often are paralleled by the limited activity of an institution's own committee on admissions and discharges.

Many institutions have found their whole service a hollow shell because the time of the social worker has been entirely absorbed by intake and discharge and no time has been left for essential work with the child's family, his physician, his teacher, his pastor, his friends, or even with the child himself. Admission and discharge, important as they may be, are mere incidents in the entire plan for each child's service. A well-rounded account of the part a social worker may play in the services of an institution is to be found in the pamphlet entitled The Rôle of Case Work in Institutional Service for Adolescents, by Grace I. Bishopp.[1]

Trustees of institutions as well as executives frequently have added a social worker to the staff because such a worker seems to them a modern accessory, or because some person or group in the community has succeeded in superimposing the plan. Consequences of such artificial efforts to improve an institution have been various. Occasionally the social worker is capable of educating the executive to develop a professional and more complete service to children. Likewise there are executives capable of recognizing, when they see it, a valuable element which will enrich their entire service. But more often in such circumstances misunderstanding, suspicion, or even jealousy grow up between executive and social worker. If the executive is a weak and poorly qualified person it is only natural that he should feel threatened by the arrival of a worker with professional training.

Then occasionally there are social workers who are overimpressed by their own professional status. All professions are afflicted by those practitioners who rely upon their status more than upon their skill. Such ostentation in a social worker will impede or prevent establishment of an effective working relationship with other employes whose services in child care are fully as essential as hers. Sometimes limitations in the social worker's professional training or previous experience lead to an acceptance of her services as a specialist rather than as an integrating influence which enriches the entire service offered by the institution. But the well-trained social worker can usually lead the institution to accept her services as an essential part of its undertaking and can help to unify the efforts and attitudes of other workers. A more complete

[1] Child Welfare League of America, New York, 1943.

understanding of the child in all his relationships and increasing adaptability of each worker should grow from the efforts of the social worker.

Due consideration having been given to the need for continuity and unity, there remain certain steps into which the planning for a child and his family may be divided. Conventionally these steps are designated as (1) intake, (2) service while under care, (3) discharge and aftercare. It should be understood that in all steps the family remains clearly in the picture. In the largest agencies there sometimes is specialization to the extent of assigning to a particular worker or department the responsibility for one of these steps. Whether thus accounted for or whether one person has responsibility for all services there is a constant danger of compartmentalizing and consequently at some point losing sight of the child.

Intake

Intake service finds the child and his family at a crossroads. Institutional care is only one of several courses which may be taken. It may be that the family should be encouraged and helped to continue on the way it has been going. Possibly the child should go to a foster home. Just one of the roads leads to the institution, and this may serve only as a way station which permits a more studied decision as to the path eventually to be taken. The social worker should be familiar with all of these roads and quite ready to guide the child elsewhere unless institutional care clearly is indicated.

Study of the family, the child, and of the child's relationships within his family is essential. Actual or potential family resources are frequently ignored by the family itself. Often the resources most valuable cannot be statistically appraised, as for instance such intangibles as love, patience, fortitude, cheerfulness, or family pride. To identify is more important than to measure when dealing with such values.

Other agencies should be consulted, and especially any that may already have served the child or his family. These agencies can fill in portions of the picture, and one of them may be more suited than the institution itself to provide the kind of care next needed. A characteristic of modern welfare work is the consultation between agencies which permits them to harmonize their concurrent services and to avoid duplication. It is not uncommon for a family welfare society, a hospital, and a child-caring agency to be serving a family at the same time. With proper liaison no more conflict need occur among three such agencies than among the

dairy, the grocery, and the drug store. The use of other agencies is ascertained and facilitated by registration of every applicant with the confidential social service exchange found in every large or well-organized community.

In considering the needs of both child and parent, the worker charged with the duties of intake [1] must guard against the possibility of being over-influenced in favor of some plan desired by a parent or other interested person.

If placement is to be made, an important part of the worker's task is to prepare the child to accept the change with the minimum of resistance and shock.

The question of parental responsibility for the support of the child is a delicate and important one to be considered at the time of intake. Ability to contribute must first be determined, and in some instances it will be necessary to verify a statement of income and to get records of employment. One of the obligations of case work is to keep alive the feeling of responsibility on the part of parents for their child, and in doing so the worker will keep in touch with them regarding payments to be made. The living conditions of parents and relatives, their income and places of work may change frequently during the time children are in care. A case worker keeps informed about these changes and how they affect the child and the parents' ability to carry their obligations.

The economic bond between parent and child is only one of several influences that hold families together, and it cannot easily be separated from paternal or maternal love. Its importance is sometimes exaggerated but more often it is treated as only a material factor, or ignored entirely. This disregard of a financial contribution often is an unfortunate by-product of the plan whereby public wards receive care in privately controlled institutions. In such instances the committing authority often is without the services of skilled social workers and the institution feels no responsibility for influencing parents in matters pertaining to the support of their children.

Rules have played too large a part in the admission of children to institutions. Policies on intake frequently reflect the outlook of the founders, and their plans for children, whether originally adequate or inadequate, often last unchanged for decades. Admission rules thus con-

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[1] Such duties were considered at some length in an unpublished report in which Eva Burmeister, superintendent of the Lakeside Children's Center, Milwaukee, and the writer collaborated in 1941, and which forms the basis for these observations.

ceived and perpetuated have imposed a rigidity generally inconsistent with a well-balanced and adaptable community welfare program. This subject has received attention in an earlier chapter.[1]

If intake follows professional lines instead of traditional rules, the intake policies will permit a reasonable amount of specialization, modified by enough flexibility so that decisions affecting each child shall be on a basis of sound judgment.

A confusing difference exists in the policies of institutions concerning the authority that determines admissions. An old and lingering tradition places this responsibility in a committee of the governing board on admission and discharge. Standards for institutions published by the Child Welfare League of America approve the following policy: "Decision as to reception should rest with the executive or case supervisor, acting alone or in conjunction with a case committee." [2] A list of the points to be accounted for in intake and adjustment work is given in this pamphlet in the chapter entitled, Social Service.

Service While Under Care

After placement the efforts of a social worker to serve the child continue to call for much work with his family. This second step in case-work procedure, whether it pertains to the child or his family, is usually more faltering than are those obvious services needed in connection with intake and discharge.

There seldom are enough social workers on the staff of an institution to permit thorough work for all the children cared for. Where this service is adequate it generally concentrates on the child's family. It usually is essential that parent and institution do some planning together. The parent's visits to the child and the child's visits to the parent or other relatives are important assets or liabilities to the child, and sensible acceptance of such experience often can turn liabilities into assets. Gifts from relatives, the spending money sometimes bestowed too generously or sometimes wheedled from a reluctant parent, should have the attention of the social worker. In all these manifold ways, a child's regard for his parent and the parent's participation in his education are at stake. Some fathers and mothers can be helped to accept a child even after they have sunk into the apathy, or cruelty, or frustration of having rejected him.

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[1] Chapter 8, Organization.
[2] Standards of Foster Care for Children in Institutions, New York, 1937, p. 28.

A parent's interest in the child's school achievement may be priceless to the child. A parent's need to be informed of illnesses, the development of serious behavior problems, or the ordinary childhood changes through puberty into adolescence, all call for interpretation from the social worker. That contributions to a child's support may need frequent adaptation to the parent's ability to pay has already been stated. Lacking guidance in all these matters, parents may become unsympathetic and cold. Needlessly to allow the loss to a child of his parent is a most serious fault, which may involve various members of the staff of an institution. The child needs to have his parents and the entire family situation interpreted to him, and such interpretation, from a social worker who has gained his confidence, may help him to regain the security destroyed by separation from his parents. If the social worker or the housemother forgets that she is the child's representative, then he will grimly realize that he has no advocate interested in safeguarding his right to his family and to the other good things in life. When it shall appear that his return to relatives is practical, all who serve the child should be ready to rejoice with him and his parents or friends.

While working with the family the social worker should devote time also to the child's substitute parents, usually not plural, but represented more often by the single person of his housemother. Interpretation of the child, especially when he is in trouble, to his housemother, teacher, pastor, physician, play director, and even to his playmates, is one of the social worker's clearest responsibilities. On the other hand, the child, especially when confused, needs to have some or all of these persons interpreted to him. Too often this phase of interpretation is omitted. There are times, also, when the words or actions of visitors, board members, and volunteers may exercise a surprisingly great influence upon him. It may be good or bad, and often there is need of adequate two-way interpretation—to the child and to the adult. A truly sensitive adult will not walk into a dining room and stare at a child who is eating. The unthinking visitor can easily blunder by asking a child, "Where is your father?" The child's honest answer to the stranger may be, "He is in prison." It is well to have visitors and volunteers recognize a child's basic right to privacy. They should learn that he who patronizes a child can hardly gain his confidence or his friendship.

In a word, the province of the social worker is to harmonize the understanding of the child by all who have a major interest in his welfare. For disturbed or misbehaving children the social worker should be

especially diligent and patient in providing this service. In many situations case conferences are necessary to permit discussion of a child's problems and the reconciliation of conflicting plans.

There remain certain responsibilities of the social worker that are rather special in their nature. In these days of child guidance clinics the social worker will have a great deal to do for children who require the services of a psychiatrist. The preparation of the child's history for use by such a clinic is a conventional and well-defined task. Effective cooperation with the psychiatrist calls for an understanding on the part of the worker of the psychiatrist's professional function and of his growing relationship with a particular child. To prepare a child for his first clinic appointment and still avoid any presumption as to the psychiatrist's findings is not easy. In this kind of service a social worker is in a position similar to that of a nurse who must avoid making the physician's diagnosis but who must be quick to observe symptoms, sensitive to the reaction of the patient, and able to follow the recommendations of the physician.

Among other services to children the preparation for vocational adjustment is an important part of the duties of a social worker and often is the key to a successful plan for discharge. Some of the best vocational guidance achieved in the United States has been provided, without pretense or professional labels, by busy social workers. A social worker should know the child better even than his teacher or any of the others interested in him whose impressions she has the opportunity of assembling. Because of this opportunity and her more frequent and intimate contacts with the child, she may come to know his aptitudes, interests, and work habits better than a professional guidance counselor who relies too largely on tests.

Elsewhere we have dealt with school relations, an important element in the life of any child.[1] It is appropriate here only to call attention especially to the obligation of a social worker to help the child with his school adjustments.

Discharge and Aftercare

Too many institutions still determine the discharge of children according to rules. The rules may or may not conform to the needs of a par-

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[1] Chapter 2, Development of Institutions from Asylums and Orphanages into Schools or Homes, and Chapter 12, Education and Training of the Child: In School.

ticular child. It is desirable to have the same flexibility regarding discharges which characterizes adequate service on intake.

The questions as to when discharge should be completed and how long supervision should be continued are answered comprehensively and briefly in Standards of Foster Care for Children in Institutions,[1] which is again quoted:

> Except when commitment is terminated by court order [or by the death of the child], the question of discharge not being within the control of the agency, or after emergency care of short duration, children should not as a rule be discharged from supervision during minority unless one of the following conditions is met: (1) the child has been returned to his own home and has remained there for a period sufficient to indicate that he is satisfactorily adjusted therein; (2) the child has been legally adopted; (3) the child enters a vocation, such as service in the Army or Navy, which takes him permanently outside the jurisdiction of the agency; (4) responsibility for supervision is transferred to another agency of recognized standing; (5) the child has married or is capable of self-support.
>
> The duration of supervision after return to the child's own home should be determined by the conditions in each case. During this period the institution should give such assistance as may be necessary in readjusting the child to life in his own home and providing for his education, vocational preparation, suitable employment, and recreational needs. In giving this supervision the institution should co-operate with family welfare and other agencies to which the family has been known.
>
> Legal adoption should be consummated only after a probationary period of at least one year.
>
> Children in free, work or wage homes, as a rule, should not be formally discharged from supervision during minority, though visits of supervision may become less frequent as the child becomes well-adjusted to the foster family and the community.
>
> Children leaving the jurisdiction of the institution for purposes of education, employment, or because relatives move to another locality, should not be formally discharged unless responsibility can be transferred to another agency or the child appears to be permanently adjusted in a vocation and satisfactory living arrangements have been made.
>
> Following discharge the relationship between the child, his family, and the institution should be such as to encourage friendly contact and recourse to the institution when he or his family feels the need for such contacts.

Follow-up of discharged children is generally neglected. Some institutional executives pride themselves upon their alumni associations. Some even go so far as to consider such a body fully adequate for meeting the needs of those who have left the care of their institutions. For some young people a strong alumni group with its annual or even monthly reunions proves a helpful influence; it may be just the wrong thing for

[1] Pp. 38-39.

others. Those whose tendency is to cling to the institution they have left instead of accepting the community to which they have gone would be better off if the institution discouraged their frequent return.

An alumni organization is likely to be most helpful to those who prosper and who therefore require least assistance. But children who get into trouble after discharge and who are most in need of aftercare are usually among those who refuse to join an alumni organization. Regardless of success or failure many a young person who has lived in an institution needs and craves the counsel of a social worker as he adjusts and readjusts to employers, as he ventures into courtship, and as he develops his habits of recreation and worship.

These are all added reasons for the employment of one or more well-trained social workers by every institution caring for children. An alumni association cannot take the place of a good follow-up program carried on by a competent social worker.

It must appear from the foregoing discussion that an institution of any type in order to be assured of a place in today's welfare program should be operating with a staff of social workers sufficient in number and adequate in professional training to permit such planning and continuity of service as a child needs, including aftercare. Occasionally it is more practical to obtain such service from the staff of another agency but if there be a choice it usually is preferable for the institution to have its own social worker or workers. If there be no provision or prospects of provision for such professional service the institution should consider the length of its days and plan to turn its work over to a more competent agency.

Social Records

The keeping of adequate records is less important than providing the skilled service to which the record is an adjunct, but the best service requires first-rate records and is partly dependent upon them.

Discriminating efforts to understand a child's situation often call for review of the history of both family and child. When one worker succeeds another he finds himself at a great disadvantage if his predecessor has failed to record some picture of each child's development. The frailties of memory also constitute a hazard which case records will reduce. Those who plead overwork as a reason for omitting records should consider the conscientious and overworked Pestalozzi [1] who over 150 years

[1] See Appendix A.

ago recorded regularly a brief statement of each child's condition and development.

While there are certain basic records that every institution should keep, the scope of additional records should depend upon the particular services which the institution provides and upon the philosophy followed by the executive and professional staff. In these respects a considerable variety in practice may be observed in institutions. Many still lack the professional staff capable of preparing case records. The lack of stenographic service is another deterrent to the development of adequate records. There are institutions which record little more than each child's name, date of birth, admission and discharge, and names and addresses of parents. Then there are institutions with records for each individual case so voluminous as to require more than an hour to read one through.

Every institution should keep in a fireproof place a bound register of admissions and discharges to serve as a permanent record which may be consulted decades after the child has left the institution. This record is needed in addition to the more accessible card files and case folders. The register should include the following: child's name and identifying number to be used on the case record and for other cross-references; child's sex, race, religion, date of admission, and conditions under which admitted, indicating whether legally committed and whether with or without agreement to pay board; birthplace, birth date; names and addresses of parents and guardian; whether parents are living, dead, divorced, unmarried; name and address of organization or individual last caring for the child; date of discharge; name and address of organization or individual to whom discharged.

The individual case record should have as its basis a face sheet.[1] This will include most of the data contained in the bound register and also identifying data on relatives of first and second degree, data on changes in status of the immediate family, including births, deaths, marriage, divorce, and changes in residence. The face sheet also should identify all agencies which have served the child or his family in so far as this information can be obtained from a confidential social service exchange.

The child's medical record can also follow a somewhat uniform outline, concerning which some suggestions are made in the following chapter.[2]

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[1] A sample face sheet published by the Child Welfare League of America is shown in Appendix C: Record of Child's Own Family.

[2] Chapter 11, Physical Needs of the Child. See also Appendix C: Child's Medical Record.

The social worker or other member of the staff who dictates the record should bring out the child's development, family history, and relationships while under care in accordance with her philosophy and professional training. For those who are without professional guidance it is suggested that a chronological record be kept on plain paper, typed in single space, each entry being dated and followed by the initials or name of the worker dictating the entry. It is helpful to have a subject or topical phrase or sentence underscored.

These conventional elements of the case record are in addition to several other items such as applications, court orders or documents pertaining to commitments, clinic reports, school records, birth certificate, and case summaries prepared for other agencies or for the institution's own use, and summaries or data obtained from other agencies, all of which should be kept in the case folder. Correspondence sometimes forms an important and essential part of a case record.

There is a tendency to clutter records with a mass of carelessly dictated observations organized only by a calendar of visits, trips to clinics, and other events. A record of consequence will concentrate on data that are pertinent to development, showing progress or complications; it will record events but also report attitudes and reactions so as to portray relationships, aptitudes, and character. There can be a great deal of waste in records which at the one extreme flood the pages with words rather than understanding and those at the other extreme which are so meager and statistically factual as to give no characterization of the child or his relatives.

Interpretations of the child and his family, including the contributions of those who know and serve him, should be woven into the record. A true picture of his development will be more assured if it contains observations of those who know him best. Women who are really qualified for the difficult work of housemother may also be counted upon for intelligent recording of many aspects of each child's development. A study should be made of the few but valuable plans under which housemothers and workers other than the case worker keep records of their children, in order to determine, or at least to indicate, what plans are most helpful and practical. It may or may not be preferable to have the social worker summarize for the record whatever the housemother has to contribute. How the administration of an institution should account for the time and stenographic services whereby the records may be kept, is another question demanding study by experts.

Workers who contribute to case records should have access to them. Their training within the institution should establish a code of ethics that will assure a professional respect for the personalities of those they serve.

The confidential nature of records should indeed be recognized by all who have to do with them, by stenographers who transcribe them, by the institution's own staff and by workers from other social agencies who have occasion to use them. Records should be kept in locked filing cabinets. There are several helpful monographs on case recording, and because far more than the foregoing suggestions are needed in discussing current policies and practices, it may be hoped that readers will pursue the subject further.[1]

[1] The following references are suggested: Social Case Recording, by Gordon Hamilton, Columbia University Press, New York, 1936; Recording Child Welfare Services, Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, Bureau Publication No. 269, 1941. This pamphlet represents work of a committee of which Bessie E. Trout of the New York State Department of Social Welfare was chairman, and Emma O. Lundberg, of the Children's Bureau was adviser.

Chapter 11

PHYSICAL NEEDS OF THE CHILD

NEXT IN IMPORTANCE, perhaps, to the selection of a staff competent to serve the needs of the child in all his manifold relationships, is the standard set by an institution for meeting the physical needs of those entrusted to its care.[1]

HEALTH

The backbone of good work for children often is adequate health service. A community's neglected and dependent children usually arrive at institutions with greater accumulations of physical neglect than are common among children in the general population. Precautions are needed if we are to receive these underprivileged young people into common residence with others. Such children are likely to acquire and retain serious infections. Unless physical defects are discovered and treated while in remediable stages, all later medical care and our best efforts along the lines of nutrition, education, recreation, and the building of personality and character may end in complete failure. In the familiar cycle of illness, unemployment, poverty, and dependency, poor health in families usually seems to have been the most powerfully destructive force. It is well to keep this in mind when prominent citizens object to giving better medical attention to children in an institution than they provide for members of their own families. The obvious reply to such comment is that because the handicap is so great, we must work overtime in helping those who are dependent to become independent.

The thoroughness with which examinations should be made is set forth in various publications. One of the best of these is the pamphlet, A Health Program for Children in Foster Care by Dr. Florence A. Browne.[2] The Child Welfare League also publishes a two-page child's medical record

[1] Since consideration of these standards is inseparable from the question of costs much that is supplementary to this discussion will be found in Chapter 14, Costs of Institutional Care.

[2] Child Welfare League of America, New York, 1939.

form[1] based on practical experience, which suggests the detailed heads under which every child should be examined and the type of individual health record needed. Several state welfare departments publish similar record forms.

It is important to require as a minimum certain routine checks, tests, and inoculations, but it is still more important that flexibility and resourcefulness should characterize the entire health program. In our present-day enthusiasm for diagnostic services it is possible to have a fine array of tests and examinations and to fall sadly short of following such exploration with adequate or even honest treatment. The zeal and skill of the medical staff of an institution more than any prescribed outline of services determines whether preventive and corrective work is reasonably adequate.

The Medical Staff

The medical staff of an institution for children should be prepared to make use of the community's best facilities for laboratory, X-ray, medical and surgical services. Such use is vital to the community as well as to the child if the consequences of neglect and the physical roots of future dependency are to be removed. Provision must be made for something more than the nominal health program that so often characterizes institutions for children, where a professionally decadent physician supplies only the most obvious needs, or a busy pediatrician gives the leftovers of his valuable time.

Few medical men can afford to donate the large amount of service required by the population of an institution for children. This fact calls for a salary item in the institutional budget sufficient to cover as a minimum of service a definite fraction of the time of an active and well-qualified practitioner. Where the tradition for donated service is firmly established, it will be sobering and practical to keep a time record of all visits made by physicians. The nurse can include this among her duties, entering in her daily log the hour of each doctor's arrival and departure. At the end of the year the hours of service thus donated may supply an index of the thoroughness or superficiality of the medical program. Such a log, kept at the Albany Home for Children, showed that the busy and competent physician who for years had given his services, spent more than fifty hours at the Home during one month when he was overworked by an epidemic prevalent in both institution and community.

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[1] See Appendix C.

In his generosity he discouraged the keeping of a time record. For various reasons it was well for the executive and governing board to learn that the hours he gave annually, if evaluated, marked him as contributing more in dollars to the Home than any other citizen had given during the year.

A familiar situation among institutions is the reliance year after year upon a physician whom the community recognizes as incompetent or as lacking interest in preventive medicine, but who is allowed to retain his position because no one wishes to offend him by suggesting the need of a successor. Wherever such excessive solicitude for incompetent workers characterizes an institution, its value to the community is questionable. We live in an age where rigid physical examinations and efficient related services are provided by military and industrial establishments and life insurance companies. To be less rigorous than such organizations in serving children whose fitness as future citizens is at stake is inexcusable. Sometimes the most needed action of an executive and board of trustees is to replace a physician too long retained in service. The comment does not apply, of course, to seasoned medical men whose long service reflects accumulated understanding, often the equivalent of the most up-to-date training.

A competent nurse is as necessary as a physician in assuring preventive and corrective services in a health program. An incompetent nurse, or one interested only in giving bedside care, cannot fill this need. Even a small institution should employ a registered nurse, preferably one who has had experience in public health nursing. If the child population consists of fewer than 50 children of school age, the nurse may be employed on a part-time basis, but under such an arrangement she should be on duty at the institution daily for a stated number of hours, for at least six days weekly. The principal duties of a nurse have been listed as:

1. Assisting the medical staff in such ways as directed by the chief of staff.
2. Full responsibility for carrying out recommendations of physicians and keeping the medical records, and responsibility for arranging for dental service.
3. Continual checking up on health conditions of all children and on the progress of children receiving special care.
4. Interpreting to cottage mothers the health program of the institution and instructing them as to routine required for individual chil-

dren; diet, rest, work, recreation, and special privileges to be granted should be included in such discussions.
5. Health education of the children to supplement such training as may be given in the public schools.
6. Responsibility for children during any period of isolation in order that both the physical and the emotional needs of this difficult period may be intelligently met.
7. Bedside care in minor illnesses.
8. Dispensary service daily in a large institution and as needed in a smaller one.[1]

The scope of the entire health program is suggested in this list of the nurse's duties. In order to be reasonably definite regarding both scope and administration of services needed an institution's executive as well as its medical staff should be familiar with an outline of health program such as that prepared by Dr. Browne already mentioned.[2]

Equipment

It is services more than equipment that an institution needs, and a small one can operate effectively with a nurse's clinic in which she keeps records, makes routine checks, and in which the physician and she may examine children and administer first aid and inoculations. A sterilizer, scales for weighing children, and a table on which children may be examined are the most necessary equipment. Dental equipment may be in the same or an adjoining room, or children may go for all dental care to a dentist's office in the community. An advantage of thus limiting facilities at an institution is that medical, surgical, and dental attention will then be provided in the offices of physicians and dentists or in hospitals or clinics which have more complete equipment than a small child-caring organization can afford to provide in an infirmary or clinic of its own.

A rural institution located far from a hospital, and one with more than 200 children in residence, needs an infirmary or hospital. It may be commonly observed, however, that hospitals in children's institutions are often vacant much of the time and that when most needed during epidemics, bed space usually is insufficient. Compromise seems unavoidable in planning bed space for isolation of those who are ill and for those requiring quarantine upon admission. Such compromise must reconcile:

[1] Standards of Foster Care for Children in Institutions. Child Welfare League of America, New York, 1937, p. 13.
[2] A Health Program for Children in Foster Care.

1. Need for protecting children developing illness, and others who may be exposed to them.
2. The limited funds and staff with which to operate a suitable infirmary.
3. The usual superiority of facilities in nearby general hospitals.
4. Danger of newly admitted children's spreading such diseases as whooping cough, measles, and gonorrhea.
5. Loneliness and other distress imposed upon children who are quarantined just after separation from their families.
6. Necessity of children's readjusting to a more permanent substitute parent after initial adjustment to a nurse in a quarantine unit. If quarantine lasts for several weeks, this readjustment may add confusion to the lives of children already confused.
7. Interruption of school attendance, which may mean a serious setback if quarantine lasts for two or three weeks.

Two factors are increasingly recognized by executives and medical officers as minimizing the need for quarantine of children after admission. Children already resident at an institution have been protected from several diseases by immunizations, and the increased use of public schools has placed children from institutions in such daily exposure to other infections prevalent in the community as to make the quarantining of new children a negligible protection to the group in respect to a major number of diseases.

There is, however, a common need for at least a two-day admission quarantine. This permits the detection and removal of lice, and allows time for returns from laboratory tests whereby throat infections, tuberculosis, and gonorrhea may be detected. Should temperatures and rashes appear during so brief a period their diagnosis also will facilitate the protection of others in the institution.

In view of all these observations one may assume that small institutions usually should avoid the construction of a separate hospital or infirmary, and in place of such facilities have in every cottage at least one room with private bathroom which may be used as a sickroom and reserved for that purpose. Admission quarantine can be handled in a single apartment, large enough for six or eight children with one worker. It should be adapted to the separation of the sexes, and have adequate bathroom and kitchenette facilities.

Health is affected by such physical factors as ventilation, heating, sanitation, clothing, and diet. It is well for physician and nurse to be aware

of the extent to which any of these factors is receiving inadequate attention, and the executive should consult with them in making decisions as to when heat should be turned on in the fall or off in the spring; when clothing should be changed to conform to the changes in seasons; whether the quality of milk meets standard requirements, and what, if any, changes in diet should be made. Those who weigh children and observe their development often possess evidence of need for safeguards or for improvements which from the administrative point of view might have no direct relation to health.

Diet

Considered either in terms of a child's greatest needs or an institution's budget, diet bulks as a large and important item. America may be proud of the fact that great improvements have been made in the feeding of its children and that long before rationing was introduced there was widespread interest in vitamins and calories. It is a sobering fact, however, that prior to the development of social security legislation, school lunch programs, and diversified farming, the number of our children seriously malnourished was very large. No one knows how many still lack the elements of a nutritious diet, nor how far education and larger family income are needed to make up deficiencies where they exist.

Many institutions have made great improvements in the diets provided for their children, in fact, in this important respect our best institutions are taking better care of the children entrusted to them than are most parents. Planned meals served at the same time every day are novelties in the lives of many children. Those who receive dependent and neglected children into institutions are accustomed to find rapid increase in weight following their admission and much of this increase may be attributed to more adequate diet.

It is going too far, however, to assume that because children usually gain in weight somewhat rapidly after admission therefore institutions generally have developed good standards of diet. Some gain in weight may be due to more regular hours and an increase in the daily ration of sleep. Then, too, children normally make some gains in weight as they grow. How much of a surplus gain may actually be due to more or better food, and how much to other factors, such as improved sleep habits and increased outdoor exercise, is a question for research to answer.

Moreover, gain in weight may not reflect improved vitality; the tradi-

tion for supplying an excess of starches in institutional diets may account for much of the gain. To build bone, muscle, nerve tissue, and blood, something more than the cheaper starchy foods is required. Starches have their uses, but they cannot take the place of the meats, dairy products, fruits, and vegetables which a balanced diet should contain. This was made clear by Professors Rose and Gray in the following sentence from the summary of their two-year study of the diet and growth of children in four institutions: "In regard to the growth of the children, it was interesting to note that there was a higher proportion of children passing from one stature group to the next taller in case of the two institutions having the better dietaries." [1]

Planning Meals

A worker who plans menus should co-ordinate meal planning with the purchasing of food based upon the opportunities and restrictions which the food markets offer. Such a worker's knowledge of nutrition should be scientific enough so that she may be expected to include the proportions of calcium, phosphorus, and iron needed in a child's diet. A favorite reference book used repeatedly in the writer's five years as executive of an institution for children is that just mentioned by Professors Rose and Gray dealing with the relation of diet to health and growth of children. The volume gives a thorough report of a scientific study of diet and also contains a very practical chapter listing sample menus, with corresponding daily market orders showing quantities needed for one child. On the basis of an examination of several institutional kitchens and dining rooms, a homely and clear description is given of some of the varying factors that produce economy or serious waste:

> Just as a study of dietary is incomplete which takes into account only nutritive values and pays no attention to the character of the meals, so no study of menus alone will give any idea of the adequacy of the diet. In the last analysis, nutrition is a quantitative matter. What we need to know is not whether the child had milk or not, but whether he had a cupful or a quart; not whether lettuce was put on his plate, but whether it went into the boy, into his obliging neighbor, or into the garbage pail.[2]
>
> For the second time . . . [in the investigation] we had an institution where every effort was made to keep the children in good health, but where strict economy

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[1] The Relation of Diet to Health and Growth of Children in Institutions. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1930, p. 86.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

was constantly practiced. The meals for the whole institution were planned by one person, who kept the supplies in a central storeroom and distributed them to the several cottages as needed. Milk came from the farm cows and every child had an allowance of a quart a day. There was an abundance of home-grown vegetables, and the farm also furnished some of the meat. Summer excursions into the fields by the children resulted in the production of much canned fruit and jelly for the winter. (In 1921, 1,100 quarts of berries and fruit were picked; in 1922, 1,200 quarts.) Each cottage had a housemother and also a cook, all the food being prepared in the cottages.[1]

No dietary study could be made from the books of . . . [another] institution, because no adequate record had been kept of the products of the farm, which include milk, vegetables, eggs, and pork in quantities varying with the season. Also, though the cooking was all done in one kitchen, the children and staff had quite different menus, and there were no records showing just what food was sent to the children. Consequently, to learn the character of the children's dietaries it was necessary to study the food consumption of the children in the different dining rooms. . . . The cooking was done by a chef who had no recipes and was careless about the preparation of the children's food. It was consequently very uneven in quality; sometimes the baked beans were very dry and sometimes like soup; scalloped potatoes, creamed potatoes and stewed potatoes all consisted of hot unthickened milk poured over different-sized pieces of potato. This is a good illustration of the fact that the menu does not necessarily indicate what is eaten, for there was always great waste of milk when potatoes were served in these ways. It required alertness and ingenuity to get an accurate measure of the different food materials used. In such an institution no dietary study of any value could be made except by the constant personal attention of a trained investigator. Fortunately, the baker could always give accurate recipes for his share of the food; otherwise the study would have been well-nigh impossible.

Owing to the irregularity and carelessness in the cooking, the table waste was also very irregular. Ordinarily mashed potatoes were popular, but on Sunday mornings, after having been prepared at 11 a.m. for a one o'clock dinner, the potatoes did not make their usual appeal and there was a great deal wasted.[2]

A few references to other texts are listed below, and it is suggested that the staff library of any institution should contain at least two or three standard books or pamphlets so that dietitians and cooks may be aware of good practice:

American National Red Cross, Food and Nutrition. Nutrition Service, no. 725. Washington, revised January, 1942.

Ball, Victoria Kloss, Child Nutrition in Camp and Institution. The Welfare Federation of Cleveland, and The Cleveland Camp Council, 1938.

Booher, Lela E., Hartzler, Eva R., and Hewston, Elizabeth M., A Compilation of the Vitamin Values of Foods in Relation to Processing and Other Variants.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 35.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

U.S. Department of Agriculture, Circular no. 638, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1942.
Borsook, Henry, and Huse, William, Vitamins for Health. Public Affairs Pamphlet no. 69, Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, 1942.
Bourne, Geoffrey, M.D., Nutrition and the War. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1943.
Bryan, Mary de Garmo, The School Cafeteria. F. S. Crofts and Co., New York, 1938.
Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, Infant Care. Publication no. 8, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1942.
Fowler, S. F., and West, B. B., Food for Fifty. John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1941.
Kruse, H. D., A Concept of the Deficiency States, in Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, vol. 20, July, 1942, no. 3, pp. 245-261.
Lowenberg, Miriam E., Food for Young Children in Group Care. Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, Publication no. 285, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1942.
McCollum, E. V., and Becker, J. E., Food, Nutrition and Health. The Lord Baltimore Press, Baltimore, Maryland, revised 1940.
Rose, Mary Swartz, Feeding the Family. The Macmillan Company, New York, revised 1940.

Practices Needing Correction

The technique of feeding children in institutions still betrays all too often certain demoralizing features. Since these conditions result usually from unpleasant human traits, such as laziness, greed, callousness, or uncleanly personal habits, they can be expected to disappear as institutions are staffed with more sensitive and capable workers. Better administrative controls would minimize some of the offenses.

There is widespread inclination on the part of cooks and dining-room workers to serve part or all of the food so far in advance as to cause hot dishes to grow cold and cold desserts or beverages to grow warm. Sometimes this results from poor administration, which fails to provide enough waiters, but often it is due to sheer thoughtlessness or laziness. If the serving of food is left too much in the hands of children they are likely to serve desserts so far in advance as to allow houseflies to partake freely before the human guests arrive. Someone should check occasionally by the clock to find how much earlier than necessary such foods are placed on the table.

Large institutions with congregate dining rooms are avoiding the problem by installing cafeteria equipment, which permits each individual to have his food freshly served and to indicate some choice of quantities

desired. This practice is not so homelike as table service and seems unnecessary unless the group served in a dining room exceeds one hundred.

Another very common practice is for workers to have a greater variety of food than is served the children, or even food of superior quality. In large institutions there may be several levels in the menus provided for workers arranged in the following descending order as to quality—the executive and professional staff, the child-care staff and teachers, the domestics and maintenance staff, and the children having food that is poorer still, or the same as the lowest staff group. This is especially common in large institutions operated under governmental auspices, but it also has been observed in those operated by churches or fraternal orders. In a survey made in 1939 it was observed in a certain institution that meals were eaten in a lovely cottage dining room where workers sat at tables with the children, but where these advantages were considerably dimmed by the fact that at the same table workers were served fresh fruit while children were served canned or stewed fruit.

It helps the morale of any staff and institutional population to know that the same food is served to all. This often happens in small institutions or in cottages where the meals are shared as in a family home, adults having nothing different unless it be coffee or tea. Such a sharing is desirable first for its spiritual connotations, and second for the awareness it gives to workers of the quality of food offered to the children. Even the most selfish worker will become interested in the food children receive, if he is served from the same dish.

In an institution for convalescent children it was observed that cream for the use of the staff was being skimmed from three of the four large cans of milk delivered daily to the kitchen, an extreme illustration of a too common habit. This practice, to a less degree, probably prevails in more than half the children's institutions throughout the country. Such institutions seldom buy cream for adults who drink coffee or tea, although to buy cream would be a reasonable expenditure giving the best possible assurance that the orphans' milk would not be skimmed. Unless cream is purchased, some cook or kitchen helper sooner or later can be expected to revert to the outrageous custom of skimming cream from milk that is to be given the children. While it is true that skimmed milk retains all the nutritive values except the butter fat, which constitutes the cream, the scarcity of butter in institutional diets even when there is no wartime shortage is such as to place a premium on the use of whole milk.

In some state hospitals for the mentally ill, which share many of the backward practices common among training schools for delinquents, there is a stupid tradition about removing the eyes from potatoes served to the staff but leaving them in those eaten by patients and wards. Potatoes may have been sorted so that workers may have been given large ones and patients small ones, and certainly it is a time-consuming task to remove eyes from small potatoes. Similarly, some vegetables are peeled only for workers. However, there is no excuse for such petty caste distinctions in view of the large number of idle adults or youths in most of such institutions who without cost could be assigned to work of this nature.

Such traditions and practices suggest an uncomfortable resemblance to some of the almshouse pictures given us by Charles Dickens. The most serious implication is the definite disregard for the personalities and feelings of those for whom an institution was built. It would be interesting to see what would happen to the morale of a prison if the warden ate the same food as that served to prisoners.

Food Costs

Cost of an adequate diet usually is somewhat higher than an institution's budget allows. One consequence is that the more expensive and often valuable elements in a diet are lopped off or curtailed. It must be plain from the foregoing comment that the amount allowed for food should be sufficient to provide the same wholesome diet for children as for workers, coffee and tea being the only items not served the children. Few institutions buy enough butter to satisfy the needs of children, and in few do they eat as freely of butter as do the workers. Where the food budget is very low, usually the supply of milk and eggs is below the need. Cheap meat is also a common token of institutional economy, and meat dealers often find institutions ready customers for a product that is too old and which for that reason must be sold at a low price.

Thirty-three cents daily per capita for provisions probably represented a minimum in 1942 below which an institution could not expect to go and still provide a well-balanced, attractive, and ample diet. This outlay of $120 per capita per annum, an amount warranted by the writer's observation and personal experience, calls for economical buying and simple tastes, and as a minimum figure may prove inadequate as food costs advance.

Clothes

The matter of clothing, so important an item in an institutional budget, also has a definite value to the child himself. The fact that children are notoriously hard on clothes and outgrow them rapidly must be accepted philosophically by executive and staff. To some extent clothing can be "handed down," and in spite of the desirability of stressing personal ownership and responsibility for clothing, that is an economy which the institution, no less than the private home, must occasionally adopt. Shoes, however, shape themselves to the wearer to such a degree that they should never be worn by a child to whom they have not been fitted when new.

Their Relation to the Child

Clothes offer opportunities for a child's training which must not be overlooked. Fortunately, the era of clothing children in institutions in a sort of uniform is discredited and gone. Individuality in clothing is recognized to be as important as durability. But the clothing children wear, the sense of physical comfort to be derived from it, as well as a proper pride in appearance, probably have more to do with development of personality than is generally admitted. Behavior of children is often affected by their feelings about their clothes.

The housemother can best understand such situations, and should be the first person to deal with them. She should be held responsible for seeing that her children are adequately clothed, and should order new clothing when replacements are needed. It is within her power to make an educational experience of the selection of clothes, the operations of fitting them, care in their wear, and (for the older children) their repair. All these questions are inseparable from costs.

From the Albany Diary:

September, 1938: The factor which must be kept constantly in mind is the budget. For several years the annual outlay for clothing per child has been under $25.00. For 1937 it was $21.10, and the budget for 1938 allows $20.16. This means that first quality cannot be obtained in many articles of clothing. The budget is sufficient, however, so that inferior articles can be avoided.

It is necessary to buy most clothing at wholesale and this applies to underwear, stockings, wash dresses, overcoats, snowsuits, and all other outer clothing including shoes, for the youngest children. Those of high-school ages are permitted to buy some of their outer clothing at those retail stores in Albany which give us the most

liberal discounts. High-school girls, escorted by a worker, go shopping for shoes where they may choose from large assortments of attractive and well-built shoes.

Individuality is as desirable as economy is necessary. Unless children are dressed with freedom from uniformity in styles and materials they will feel self-conscious about their clothing in their associations with other children in the public schools. It is important that each child feels the clothing he uses to be his own. Otherwise he will fall into institutional habits, of which carelessness is one of the worst.

When dresses, coats, suits, shirts, or shoes are bought in wholesale lots there should be as great a variety as possible in styles and materials. Children are given enough choice so that they usually like the things they wear and consequently try to keep them in fair condition.

Older girls spend more than half of the money they earn on extra clothing such as silk stockings, sweaters, and shoes. At Christmas time many request clothing rather than toys as gifts. Such gifts always include scarfs, knitted articles, and ski pants.

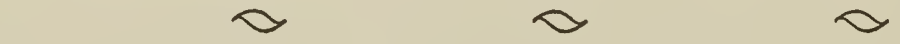
Older girls have made dresses, skirts, and coats. Were it not for this educative and economical garment making, they could hardly dress as well as most of their schoolmates with the money we have to spend for clothing.

Health is given careful consideration. Only the youngest children have light winter underwear. In steam-heated schoolrooms the older children wear summer underwear the year round but have plenty of outer wraps to keep them warm in severe weather. There will be about 50 snowsuits in use when the cold of this winter begins. About 35 boys will go to school in warm coats lined with sheepskin. Most of the girls and the small boys have galoshes, all others have rubbers. In the summer the small children wear sunsuits which permit tanned skins and save laundry bills. Each older child has a swimming suit and plenty of chances to use it. Children who cannot be fitted easily are taken to stores which specialize in fitting those who are unusually large or small.

Wearing quality must be considered for at least two reasons: Our children lead vigorous lives, and their washable garments are sent to a commercial laundry.

A generous donation of new garments is made annually by our friends at Christmas time. The 27 boys in Wasson Cottage are supplied with heavy wool sweaters which a friend has knitted.

Occasionally used clothing is donated. Some of this, especially dresses for girls, can be used, but our limited staff, including the seamstresses, cannot give the time necessary to remodel such garments. Consequently we do not solicit donations of used clothing.



The Mending Problem

Repair of clothing is a point on which housemothers need definite education. Practice in institutions often represents one of two extremes: (1) clothing being cast off when it should be mended, both the child and the housemother being thus confirmed in thriftlessness, or (2) clothing being mended so many times as to require inordinate hours of work

with garments not worth repairing, and children being made too conscious of their over-patched clothing. A happy balance is desirable. In helping children to acquire self-respect through the possession of distinctive and well-fitted clothing, however, we should remember that character may be strengthened by the wearing of the patch which advertises the extreme carelessness of the wearer in having torn a new garment, or the wearing of some patched or darned articles in order to practice reasonable economy.

Policies on the care of clothing, like all other institutional policies, should be resolved in the interests of the best possible standards of child care. In cottage institutions this generally means that the cottage mother should take entire charge of clothing except for its issuance. Each cottage mother should deal directly with the institution's own laundry, or with those who collect and deliver the articles that go to a commercial laundry. She should send and receive the laundry of both children and household; and should be responsible for marking clothing and managing the whole process much as a mother handles the clothing of her own children.

The amount of time needed for mending clothing, bedding, towels, and table linen seldom is calculated either by the executive of an institution or by the women who do the mending. They usually have a general impression of a vast amount of drudgery which absorbs too much of that time which the housemother should spend with her children, or should devote to recreation or study to keep herself well and otherwise qualified for her strenuous child-care duties.

For every child under care one hour of mending should be provided weekly. Forty hours makes a long enough working week for a seamstress, so for each group of 40 children the staff should include one seamstress, an institution for 200 children thus needing a staff of five seamstresses. A cottage for 20 children needs the half-time services of one seamstress. In an institution with cottages for 20 it is practical to have each seamstress spend her mornings at one cottage and her afternoons at another. This daily service in each unit keeps mending from accumulating.

An institution serving older girls should teach them to mend, and they should carry the responsibility for repairing their own clothing. This means a reduction in services needed from seamstresses, but it will require that someone instruct and supervise the girls in this occupation.

The whole life of an institution can be enriched for children and staff if occupations are planned so as to permit a maximum of education. Un-

fortunately, a general lack of imagination among parents as well as among all types of substitute parents tends to make drudgery out of necessary tasks, and when the needs of a large institution call for organization of these tasks, regimentation is usually added to drudgery in almost every activity. But a group reasonably small, supervised by a versatile and interested leader, can derive much practical education from buying, constructing, mending, washing, and ironing clothing.

Chapter 12

EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF THE CHILD

A CHILD'S EDUCATION, to be well rounded, must be built by many persons who touch his life. The traffic officer near the school crossroads may on a certain day contribute as important a part as the history teacher; the cook's message may be more necessary than that of the philosopher. Ideally, such teachers should be giving the child a harmonious preparation for life. Actually, they often confuse him with conflicting ideas. Someone, therefore, must help him sift out the truth from these varied impressions, and generally this important role is filled by the parent. For the child without a parent some substitute parent must accept this great responsibility.

IN SCHOOL

The public or parochial school that shares in preparing a child for life has a big task, and when he comes from an institution the school's obligations and opportunities may assume even larger proportions. At the other end of the line the staff of an institution carries responsibilities often greater than those ordinarily carried by parents for their own children. Staff members need to do far more than join a parent-teacher association; they should realize their daily partnership with the teachers who work in classrooms. This may mean not only interpretation of a teacher's point of view to the child, but it often calls for subtle and genuine expressions of interest and co-operation.

Many a child who comes to live in an institution has had serious interruptions in his school attendance. His backwardness may easily irritate even the capable teacher who knows she cannot give him the individual attention he needs. To be sympathetic in situations of this kind, to encourage teacher and child and avoid pessimistic presumptions, is not easy.

From the Albany Diary:

February, 1937: A member of the special class conducted at the Home is a ten-year-old boy. When he came to us last month he had not even completed the first

grade. An incompetent relative with whom he lived had moved about from one farm to another. The result was a lack of any continuous school attendance and inexcusable absences for periods lasting for weeks and months. Emotional problems created by the same incompetent relative made it doubly important that he receive individual attention. He has faulty reading habits which must be patiently corrected before he can make real progress. It is too early to tell how intelligent he really is, but we are hopeful that he is not subnormal. During ten years of neglect much retardation can accumulate. Our picture of this boy, neglected as he is, is not entirely a matter of shadows. His acquaintance with animals is unusual for a child of his age. He has musical ability which permits him to entertain other children with a harmonica and he has a certain way with him of singing cowboy songs.

When a child is found to be definitely retarded and unable to keep up with his class, he requires tender handling, so that any readjustment necessitated by demotion or by transfer to a special class may carry with it as little stigma as possible. To thus co-operate with those administering the schools, the entire staff of the institution should share appreciation of the contributions the school has to make. Both social worker and executive should be active in handling relations with school authorities and teachers. It is the social worker who usually brings together teacher and housemother, serving as intermediary in many situations, certainly when duties of these women prevent direct communication.

Some institutions have exclusive use of a public school on their own premises, the institution usually supplying plant and equipment and the municipal school authorities selecting teachers and paying their salaries. This has been a happy arrangement in some places, but in too many communities it has meant that teachers at such a school have been assigned there because they have proved unacceptable in schools serving the general population. Trustees and executives of institutions should face such a situation frankly. They should make a sustained effort, and should take such measures as may be necessary to obtain a teaching staff competent to meet the needs of their child populations. School authorities, if patiently but firmly dealt with, can be expected, sooner or later, to respond.

Institutions possessing exceptional library, auditorium, or gymnasium facilities can strengthen their relations with school authorities by lending such rooms on special occasions. Open house held occasionally for the teachers, to which the children invite them and at which the children help to entertain them, can be helpful in breaking down the tendency of teachers to consider boys and girls from an institution as "different."

Through Home Study

Home study can produce many nightmares within the walls of an institution. Children in institutional groups are especially inclined to resist supervision of study, but because irregularity in school attendance for many has preceded their admission to institutions, the need for home study assignments often is greater among them than among other children. Occasionally resistance to home study is a sound reaction on the part of children since teachers sometimes slip into a routine of assigning unnecessary home work. There is a tendency, however, among both private and public schools to reduce study done away from school premises. Whether study be at home or at school its importance is obvious. To acquire good habits of study is a great educational accomplishment to which few children attain.

Promotion of such habits was given considerable attention at the Albany Home for Children. Various plans for a supervised study hour were tried, with the general conclusion that best results were obtained when children studied in their own cottages. Supervision of study was supplemented by the use of about 20 students from the State College for Teachers, who received field-work credit in a graduate course in psychology for assisting in this way some of the most retarded children. The college students were known at the Home as tutors and when they and the plan were introduced to the children it was indicated that those requesting tutors should receive first consideration. It was significant and propitious to have requests made by nearly all the children in need of help. Others who sought attention more than help were also among the applicants, but some of these were dissuaded and were satisfied when told that other children needed assistance much more than they did. After the plan was generally accepted it became customary for most children with report cards registering "unsatisfactory" or "failing" to be assigned tutors. More children failed in mathematics than in any other subject, but under the tutoring plan which gave them two supervised study periods weekly with a tutor, many children improved rapidly in this subject and in others. Some of the tutors visited the children's classrooms and talked with the teachers whose pupils they were trying to help, such conferences being arranged by the Home's social worker. Occasionally a teacher would oppose the tutoring plan but the general improvement in home study that followed its establishment overcame objections and helped to better relations between school and institution. A child who had both a

tutor and a cottage mother encouraging him could be hopeful in facing situations at school which previously had seemed to forecast only failure.

Through Experience

Education at the institution may be thought of as covering all a child's daily experiences. It is quite necessary for children to learn some values through mistakes or even through failure. A wise parent will allow his child to acquire much understanding through trial and error, and instead of merely deploring a mistake he will help a child to see its significance and avoid its repetition. If workers in institutions will also realize that some of life's greatest lessons may be learned from mistakes, they can treat all manner of blunders and misdeeds as educative situations. If her group is too large a housemother will find it difficult to attain this ideal.

When a child steals, he may need to learn the ABC's of property rights. He may have too few possessions of his own to permit him to realize what ownership means, and a regular allowance of spending money may be essential before such a child can be helped to respect the property of others. If restitution be required, without scolding or demonstration, however, he usually will have had enough disapproval, but it may take months of patient education in spending, giving, and saving before he comes to understand the idea of responsible ownership. It does not follow that all who steal may be cured by such comparatively simple education, for there are those whose thefts reflect deep emotional distress and whose behavior will improve only after someone has dealt intelligently with the cause of this distress. Even for such children, however, patient habit training plays a necessary part in their treatment.

Work, play, study, visits to the dentist and other clinical appointments, visits from relatives, are only some of the necessary parts of a child's life. The child and the worker need to realize that all such interests have a claim on a child's time, leaving little leisure for his own unscheduled interests, and that sometimes there will be conflicts in appointments. Important in the child's education are: (1) readiness to recognize that life contains many conflicts and that pouting or worrying is of little value, (2) development of such planning as will reduce the frequency of conflicts, and (3) realization that certain activities are important enough to have priority and to warrant cancellation of others. It helps to reduce friction in an institution if all workers and children

understand that the physician or the dentist have first claim, and that tasks, studies, and play must give way to clinic appointments. Beyond this, however, it is not easy to establish priorities. He who would say that chores should have precedence over play should also be quick to see the importance of approving a boy's absence from afternoon chores to permit practice on the high-school football team or a girl's participation in a Girl Scout activity which may require someone else to dry the dishes. The child thus favored should stand ready to assist with extra tasks, and to help out when others are given similar consideration, but it is unfortunate if life is so grudgingly measured as to require him to make up for each detail of the work from which he is excused. There is a place for give-and-take in such situations, just as in a well-run family.

If a child is to acquire a sense of values through experience, he obviously must be free to make his own decisions whenever practical. If protective adults do things for him or tell him what to do and when, a child may be entirely unaware of the values which lie behind wise decisions. Institutional care usually provides too much of such protection, with the result that children know little or nothing of why they should take care of clothing, turn off electric lights which are not needed, obey traffic signals, or be discriminating in the choice of friends.

No amount of orderly control of clothing by adults and no amount of talk about the value of clothing will be so effective as a child's practical experience in buying his own clothing or in making it. It is unfortunate to allow an adolescent to arrive at the age of self-support without having used his own money for the purchase either of clothing or materials.[1]

Young people seldom realize the value of dental service, either in terms of its need or of its cost. They resent the pain, and the visit seems to them just an unreasonable requirement of grownups. Someone else makes the plan for them and pays the bill. In a small group it would be practical and helpful if the child were permitted at least to telephone the dentist and make his own appointment.

One of the weakest but most prevalent devices for educating children in values is some form of merit system. Such systems frequently degenerate into demerit systems and usually are characterized by restraining rather than by encouraging influences. A child may acquire habits of neatness because his daily care of clothing and other personal effects is gauged

[1] Suggestions about spending money will be found in Appendix B, Excerpts from the Albany Diary: Children's Allowances.

by merits or demerits. But his neatness will not have the same meaning and may not be so lasting as if it were rooted in a sense of possession and responsibility. Order and neatness have a relation to the value of time, and while time is unreal to many children they can be taught that chores and all activities promptly and neatly dispatched mean more free time on the playground. Like the values to be learned from the experience of making mistakes, other educative experiences will flow from presentation to the child in a simple form of the law of cause and effect—more likely to be convincing and potent than any artificial system of merits.

Regimentation then, in any form, will tend to throttle education and the inquiring mind. It may make it easier for an institutional worker to hold his job, but it will be equally effective in stifling imagination and limiting a child's understanding of values.

Those who would help children grow from dependence to independence must be sympathetic when confronted with the pains that accompany rapid growth. They and the children should consider education as something far more than graduation from a particular school. Growth and increased understanding should become to them of greater interest than are a teacher's report card and a diploma.

Through Work

Education in agriculture, trades, and home economics has long had a popular appeal in American life and particularly among those who have been responsible for the education of children in institutions. Especially those charged with caring for the blind, delinquent, and feeble-minded have turned with some measure of success toward such training, although it has never been the desired cure-all for their problems. Had developments in this direction only been paralleled by an enrichment of our philosophy of education and an increase in the skills of child-care personnel, we would have been fortunate indeed. The meagerness of vocational training, already discussed,[1] too often has inclined children away from rather than toward a designated occupation.

A few familiar illusions should be dispelled. Working in a kitchen where food is prepared for 20, 50, 100 or more persons does not fit a young woman for work as a housewife or as a domestic worker cooking for a small family group. This was recognized at the Albany Home for

[1] Chapter 2, Development of Institutions from Asylums and Orphanages into Schools or Homes.

Children where operation of even the smallest cottage kitchen involved the preparation of food for more people and called for more helpers than the largest families can muster. By using a kitchen and dining room in a recreation building, five of the oldest girls were brought together to have their Sunday dinner under conditions approximating family life. One of the staff, who shared the dinner with the group, planned and supervised the arrangements. On every fifth Sunday each girl in turn prepared the entire meal alone, including the cooking of meats. The plan was popular and the girls gained from it some competency in preparing and serving family meals.

Demonstration cottages or home economics units have been observed in several institutions visited. If the population includes enough older girls such a plan may be practical, although it tends to violate the idea of having all ages live together in the same cottage. Where all the living units are small, like the cottages for 12 at Carson College, Flourtown, Pennsylvania, each house, with its children of various ages, may contain enough older girls to provide for them a pattern in their daily lives which allows practical training in home economics. One of the most interesting practice cottages observed was at the Home for Children, operated by the Masonic Homes of California, at Covina, where four or five older girls lived together in a small bungalow and carried the entire responsibility for preparation of their meals and the care of the house. Although one of the staff supervised the project, the girls were required to work out many problems practically and on their own initiative. The co-operative houses to be found nowadays in many colleges have popularized a plan that may well have its counterpart in institutions that serve adolescents.

There is, too, a homely value in the simple training sometimes dignified with the term household mechanics. It is well for women as well as men to know how to pound with a hammer and hit something other than their fingers, and to know that soap applied to the threads of a screw makes it much easier to drive the screw into wood.

From the Albany Diary:

October, 1938: Even the little ones in Lathrop Cottage are taught to make their beds. Those who have reached the advanced ages of six or seven years may be seen helping to set tables. It is a valuable part of their training for life to learn how to take care of their own possessions and to do their part in the household's daily activities.

Lathrop Cottage is the only house in which there is a maid to do the routine housework, nearly all of which is too heavy for these little children. In all other buildings girls or boys may be found doing all kinds of cleaning such as might be expected of members of a large family. The Van Alstyne gymnasium and the Administration building are swept, mopped, and dusted by boys or girls under supervision of the Director of Activities. Other duties include waxing floors and washing walls. The only janitorial service for which men are required is the stoking of heating plants and hot-water heaters. Even in the furnace rooms it is older boys who remove the ash cans and haul them to the dump.

Snow shovelling, lawn mowing, and the raking of leaves are boys' jobs. Some of the oldest boys have sawed up the trees felled by the September storm and have stored the wood so that it may be used in the cottage fireplaces. Outdoor tasks also include work in the gardens. Such tasks are occasionally performed for pay in the neighborhood. Older girls also earn some spending money in nearby homes taking care of children or assisting occasionally with housework. (Such earnings are not to be confused with allowances of spending money, which early in 1939 were introduced as an important element in the program of the Home.[1])

Boys, as well as girls, assist the cooks in preparing meals, serving, and in washing the dishes. There are no dishwashing machines, so this work, like the preparation of vegetables, requires many hours of boy or girl labor weekly in each cottage. Those who assist the cooks learn elements of cookery and in emergencies some of the oldest girls and boys have prepared a meal for as many as thirty children and adults eating in a cottage. Several fourteen- and fifteen-year-olds can bake good cakes. The cottage groups are too large, however, to permit cooking in appropriate quantities for ordinary families.

Girls have instruction in sewing and those of senior-high-school ages make skirts, dresses, and other articles of clothing.

Two of the oldest girls having single rooms of their own in Lathrop Cottage give daily assistance in dressing, washing and putting to bed the thirty-four children under eight years of age who live in the same cottage. A third assists in the kitchen. Two of these girls have substituted for workers who were ill or on vacation.

Some of the oldest boys can help capably with repairs or with gardening. One has twice been in charge of the gardens for an entire week when an emergency cut down the number of men necessary to operate the plant. He expects to be a farmer and shows definite promise of success in terms of good work habits, general reliability and his efforts to understand agriculture. He has a small flock of chickens which finally has paid for its cost. From these chickens he now earns a small but regular amount of egg money.

Through Religion

Children whose own parents are missing have more than ordinary need for the sense of direction and security which religion can provide. While much has been done to satisfy this need, few institutions, even

[1] See Appendix B, Excerpts from Albany Diary: Children's Allowances.

among those under religious auspices, have given sufficient thought or planned wisely enough to help their children realize the strength that may come from worship and religious education.

The belief in God constitutes a heritage which may or may not have come to a child through his family. Enough purpose and order is apparent in the universe to make many a child feel that God exists, and most of those who have met death in the loss of a parent will have some concept of immortality. Expression of religious feeling through devotions helps to build up a child's faith and his reliance upon God, and a sincere religious conviction may carry a boy or girl through childhood and throughout life with a courage and sense of direction which otherwise he may not acquire. Religion, at its best, also deepens an individual's respect for himself and others.

These impressive values make it more than worthwhile for executives of children's institutions to co-operate sympathetically with those in the community who have the most to offer in terms of religious education. An executive or a houseparent may be confronted with occasions when a child's adherence to a certain faith may call for some acceptance of that faith in the child's behalf, even though the worker's own belief is quite different. The writer has known Catholic workers who have encouraged children to deepen their interest in the Protestant church to which the children adhered. Similarly, Protestant workers have cheerfully and thoughtfully adapted the daily life of their groups in such a way as to assure attendance at Mass of a Catholic child.

It has proved of great advantage to an institution to have on its staff a preponderance of men and women who are accustomed to religious worship, and among houseparents especially there should be a definite interest in religious education. Just as the physician, nurse, and housemother should share in promoting a child's health, so the pastor, the teacher of religious education, and the housemother should work harmoniously to develop the spiritual growth of a child. It is a priceless advantage to have a housemother who can give enjoyment to the children by reading aloud the Bible's fascinating history of man's blunders and achievements in his struggle to find God and to know the good life. Such reading can profitably be extended to include the biographies of great religious and social leaders. One of the most rewarding experiences at the Albany Home for Children was the reading aloud, at weekly vesper services, of the life, in story form, of Dr. and Mrs. Marcus Whit-

man as told in the book, We Must March.[1] These sturdy and adventurous missionaries to the Oregon Territory appealed strongly to the children. This was also true of the characters in Pilgrim's Progress. Carefully chosen passages from the simpler and more dramatic portions of that work were read twice at the Home in the course of four years.

A housemother can also enrich the life of a child greatly by helping him to enjoy religious music, either through his own participation or through the use of radio or phonograph. A child should be able to look for encouragement to his substitute parent when preparing for bar mitzvah or confirmation. Some experiences in religious education at the Albany Home for Children are reported in Appendix B.[2]

One of the most common characteristics of institutional life is regimentation of religious activities of the child by workers who are themselves incapable of, or disinterested in, both worship and religious education. The product of such an atmosphere usually is a crop of children to whom church and church school are distasteful, and who welcome the day when they shall be free to choose for themselves and then may abstain from all religious exercise and affiliation.

The right to participate or not should be allowed, especially to older children, and the preparation for participation should be a pleasant experience. The parental decision which must often be made to send to a church school the child too young to decide for himself, should represent concern rather than coercion. Should an adult's personality reflect severity and too much solemnity, that in itself may present insurmountable handicaps to a willing and happy participation on the part of young people.

When a child is old enough to understand what membership in a religious body means, he should be free to choose the church with which he is to affiliate. Due regard for religious affiliation of his family should be a guiding but not a determining factor. One church may appeal to a certain temperament when another may not. Unless there is some real choice by the individual there can be little assurance of a lasting religious experience.

Voluntary attendance at daily religious services has been approved as a policy in numerous Catholic institutions, where Catholic children who have reached the age of reason are required to attend Mass only on

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[1] Morrow, Honoré Willsie, A Novel of the Winning of Oregon. Frederick A. Stokes Co., New York, 1925.

[2] See Excerpts from the Albany Diary: Sunday Vespers.

Sundays and certain specified occasions. The validity of this attitude in religious training is discussed with a fine understanding of the child's point of view by the Reverend John M. Cooper, an anthropologist at the Catholic University of America. In Children's Institutions,[1] Dr. Cooper has written a valuable source book especially illustrating various practices among Roman Catholic institutions.

When the time comes for a child to leave an institution he will be in great need of guidance by religious teachings. Thrown on his own, it will be good not only for his soul but for his social life as well if he turns to a church for worship and fellowship. Something is wrong with the church or the program of religious education that does not exert some pull on an individual after he begins to make all his own decisions. It is sad, but true, nevertheless, that many a child after leaving an institution has avoided churches because he had found it embarrassing to attend one in which he was too clearly marked as belonging to an "orphan asylum." It is worth a vast outlay of imagination and planning to make church associations so acceptable that later a child will voluntarily cling to such a relationship.

There is at present a healthy tendency among institutions caring for Protestant children to have attendance at churches and church schools follow variously the affiliations of families or the personal choices of older children. Until recent years, however, institutions generally held religious services on the premises with a chaplain or a rotating group of clergy presiding, or else sent all the children to one nearby church. Of these two alternatives the latter arrangement seems preferable, but often it has presented serious disadvantages. Children from an institution frequently have been herded together in specially reserved pews, and occasionally have even been set apart from other pupils in their church-school classes. When efforts have been made to lessen such stigmatizing influences the children themselves sometimes have clung together and resisted the plans of those who would befriend them. It is much better to have children dispersed among the churches of a community so that there will be less inclination on their own part to establish an "orphan" clique.

Relations with church and church school present problems similar to those confronted in relations with the public school. Pastors and teachers need to understand some of the problems of the children with whom they are dealing. This means interpretation of the child to the church

[1] The Dolphin Press, Philadelphia, 1931.

and of the church to the child, and wherever possible participation of church workers in planning for the future of the children.

The need for skillful personnel pertains to this as to all aspects of child care. Skill in religious education, in the fullest meaning of these words, calls for something more than specialized pedagogy, important as this is. Leadership by a student of religious education, preferably one who is qualified by graduate study in this field (increasingly found among directors of religious education in many strong churches), should be available in every large community. Such leadership should assume responsibility for teacher training and organization, and in order to meet the needs of a well-developed educational program, should draw upon the time and energy of those in the church who are devoted to children.

Important components of religious training are the character and religious faith of the leaders. Such qualities are caught rather than taught and prove as contagious as the strongest infection. Add to character and faith in his fellows a personality so attractive to the child that his confidence is won, and great results may be expected. Abiding faith has always been a characteristic of successful mothers; the writers of old must themselves have been sustained by such enduring confidence, when referring to that faith which will move mountains. Religious education characterized by such a trait in its leaders may be the most powerful force in any child's life, doubly satisfying to one who has been neglected by those who should have loved him.

Chapter 13

EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF THE CHILD (CONTINUED)

Recreation

Life cannot be rich and wholesome unless it includes play. This can be said of the life children lead as individuals or in groups.

It would be as difficult to define play as to define love, but definition, fortunately, is not important. It is important that those who serve children should somehow become aware that much of what carries the name of play or recreation is actually a wolf in sheep's clothing. Play may sparkle at us in many commonplace situations and surprise us in places where it is least expected.

The spirit of play may be infused into almost any task. In an institution's cottage kitchen, as in the kitchen of a family home, a child may be thrilled at baking his first cake. One reason some adults can work hard and effectively for long hours is that they bring imagination and other elements of play into the work they are doing. Imagination, however, is necessary in much arduous work and cannot, of itself, be called a distinct characteristic of play.

The overtones with which play colors our lives probably help us in escaping from certain restraints that tend to shape us into self-conscious and warped adults. Freedom is a precious quality in play. There are rules to follow in all play, but it is the use of the imagination, the spontaneous meeting of the unexpected, and the doing of what seems most pleasant, that are more essential than rules.

The recreation leader who *requires* children to play may defeat the purpose for which he is employed. Free play is a child's heritage and he should have frequent and ample opportunity to enjoy it.

Hobbies, whether represented by stamp collections or flower gardens, may enrich life, but even in following a hobby one may lack the spirit of play, and consequently the two should not be confused. Sometimes the pursuit of a hobby becomes as deadly serious and as void of play as a professional bridge or chess tournament.

Plans for play equipment and many suggestions for those who supervise play can be obtained from the National Recreation Association,[1] which has a special information service for those supervising recreation in institutions.

Dramatics and Music

Dramatics offers rich opportunities for play; under gracious and imaginative direction dramatics may well stand at the top of any list of types or areas of play. This has been recognized by educators from nursery schools to colleges, and it is unfortunate that many institutions have no place in their programs for creative work (or play) in dramatic form, or that they identify as dramatics something which consists only of memorizing and repeating parts of a script.

Where dramatics and pageantry are frequently enjoyed they provide valuable emotional outlets. This is equally true of music, which frequently has its own part in a dramatization. Aptitudes otherwise concealed will be revealed and developed. This has been observed by those who work creatively with the mentally diseased and the mentally deficient, as described by Willem van de Wall, in his Music in Institutions.[2]

Religious education can be greatly enriched by dramatization of Bible stories. Even self-conscious adolescents will enjoy impersonating shepherds, fishermen, or prophets.

Creative dramatics has a valuable place in group life. In a certain institution a group of boys addicted to blood-and-thunder stories in the comic papers and to the movies derived satisfaction from creating their own thrillers and then enacting them, usually without an audience. The same boys later enjoyed participating in the dramatization of an episode, well known in the local history of the town, which was interpreted with considerable freedom before a large audience.

Left to themselves little children frequently play house or store, and in so doing may instinctively find satisfactions which dwindle as they grow older and more self-conscious in their desire for a perfect performance. Satisfaction through dramatic effort may come to any child even when he plays alone. In fact it is well known by psychologists that satisfactions of this nature are so deep as to be carried to morbid extremes, as where persons live too much alone and indulge in fantasy.

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[1] 315 Fourth Avenue, New York.
[2] Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1936.

But just as one should avoid habitually talking to himself he also should be spared repression which denies him the freest dramatization of his feelings.

The adult in whom children confide may encourage and greatly enrich their experience through play, dramatics, or music. He need not be a coach or in any sense a teacher. Occasionally he will be asked to serve as audience or as part of the scenery and to have such a role rather than one of authority is an enviable experience.

Especially in matters pertaining to recreation, children often will sense better than adults how to take the initiative. The adult, therefore, often may function at his best in fostering something which the children themselves originate. His own contribution also has its place but is not nearly so necessary as the director of recreation or of some particular project assumes it to be.

Music by itself has advantages in group life; whether apart or related, the advantages derived from drama or music are similar. Music has the same need for leadership which encourages use of the imagination. For many children there is sad perversion in the rigid control which characterizes most institutional bands, although it is true that some children find satisfaction in even a badly led band or orchestra. If there are rhythm and harmony, essential qualities in music, even a poor performance may be of value to the child because it induces steadier nerves and a saner mind. Under an unsympathetic supervisor the element of recreation can be entirely lost from such activities.

Athletics

Swimming, ice skating, and roller skating are activities which in many institutions should be promoted by frequent use of facilities in the community. In these and certain other sports girls and boys should play together. Limited dressing rooms may permit only one sex to use a swimming pool at a given time. Wherever children can skate it is both practical and reasonable to have the sexes together. And in terms of mental hygiene such associations are needed.

Games, including athletic matches, play an important part in the lives of most children who have passed their tenth or twelfth birthday. Younger children are less gregarious and usually are not physically or mentally ready to give the sustained attention necessary for competitive athletics. Efforts to make good baseball or football players of ten-year-olds usually exaggerate the importance of these sports and sometimes

impose almost a varsity or professional concern for skill and victory, which is unnatural and too exacting upon young children. Young children should have a chance to learn the elements of such games, but no one should express dismay if their pick-up games end in disputes, or if some actually tire of playing and want to follow other whims.

High-school students and some of those in elementary schools should have opportunities to try out for school teams and other activities. This may mean radical adaptation of meal hours for these children so that they can be off the premises for late afternoon or early evening practice or competition. Where children attend schools in the community it is better to have three or four boys on the high-school varsity team than to keep them on the premises in order to make possible a team representing the institution. Those who do win places on school teams should be identified in their achievements as individuals and not as representatives of the institution. Such methods help in breaking down concepts of the institution as a queer and isolated place, and also help a child to find his way independently.

Passive Play: Libraries

Motion pictures and radios have their place in American family life and children should have opportunities to make use of both. But usually there is too much reliance upon both these media of entertainment and too complete an acceptance of them as the principal forms of amusement. One antidote for moving pictures and radio is a well-managed institutional library. Its story hours, exhibits, and attractive books or periodicals may offer much more to a child than he can find in any other one center in the community. The use of town libraries, museums, and little theaters, as well as educational tours, all have their places in a balanced institutional program of recreation. In fact an institution's own library can be doubly effective if it is auxiliary to a public library and all its activities.

From the Albany Diary:

January, 1939: Picture and story books for a five-year-old and social science references for a high-school student are to be found in the library of the Albany Home for Children. It is surprising how frequently so small a library can contain just what is wanted. To understand the facility with which our library serves, one must review the relations of the Home with the Albany Public Library and the college for librarians at the State College for Teachers.

Three years ago, a student librarian from State College for Teachers was added to the Home's staff. In exchange for room and board with us, she is on duty whenever the library is open and also attends to nearly all of the Home's relations with the staff at the children's department of the Public Library.

The limited supply of books owned by the Home is augmented in September of each year by a loan of about 400 books from the Public Library. This lot of books is carefully selected to attract our children and to meet their needs. Throughout the year there are additional loans replacing the books obtained in September.

Several days in September are spent at the Home by workers from the children's department of the Public Library, assisting our student librarian in organizing the year's work. All books owned by the Home have been catalogued to comply with the standards followed by the Public Library. It is almost as if we had a branch of the Public Library on the Home's premises.

It is good fortune, indeed, to have the services of such skilled children's librarians in sorting over our older books and helping us decide what to do with books as they are donated. One donor may include with a gift of attractive children's books, a few volumes of theology or philosophy. Another may give us books which are unwholesome for children. Most donations of books include some which are suitable only for sale as waste paper.

The Public Library messenger service transports to the Public Library all books to be sorted. All belonging to the Home are stamped to indicate ownership by the Albany Home for Children. Should the present relations be terminated anyone could easily pick out all volumes owned by the Home. It is agreed that, unless belonging to a memorial collection, some books obviously having no value for children but of interest to adults will become the property of the Public Library.

Should the Home come into possession of more duplicates of a title than it can use, these will be shared with the Public Library. There are places on our own shelves and in our cottages, however, for several duplicates of books which children like, and our own needs will be satisfied before duplicates are given away.

A new cubicle constructed in an old schoolroom at the East end of the Administration Building will permit the Home's library to operate more efficiently than ever, and will facilitate co-operation with the Albany Public Library. Here are shelves on which books that are out of season or seldom requested can be stacked. Books awaiting sorting and cataloguing can be kept out of the way in this new room. Some rotation of books is found to stimulate reading, and this spare room will make such rotation easier.

The use of the Board room for the library itself seems very practical. It is the largest and best lighted room at the Home which could be used for this purpose. The children have come to consider it their room. The former board members and officers, whose portraits are on the walls, probably would find definite satisfaction in the increased pursuit of learning which the library permits and fosters.

Play Activities

August, 1939: Many have remarked on the happiness of the children and their freedom from irritation during this summer as compared with previous summers. Much was due to the splendid recreational program supervised by Miss Martha

Sheehy, our director of activities. It is from her own report that the following is quoted.

The Lawn Festival was a Circus. A member of the Junior League coached the children and made the occasion a grand success; the children found it more fun than work. It was their production to such an extent that no one, not even their leader, knew on June 1st what was to be shown to our guests on June fifteenth. She was skillful in handling the children as they chose, rejected and changed their acts. They treated her as a jolly companion but gave her all the co-operation that a more austere leader might have demanded. A week after the Lawn Festival, we attended the Barnum & Bailey, Ringling Bros. Circus. From the youngest to the oldest present all enjoyed it. Our Junior League friend was our guest, and the children made many comparisons of this circus with their own.

Early this summer, our oldest children showed an interest in volley ball, newcomb, and games similar to these which they themselves worked out. This interest has been continued, but by those a little younger. Dodge ball and soccer have taken up some of their time, too. Then there have been a number of games, variations of those already mentioned, which the children themselves originated. This planning is beneficial, for it encourages initiative and oftentimes proves fascinating when the regular game has turned boring. This has been encouraged by the recreational staff, for we feel that it is an important accomplishment on the part of the children.

An activity new on our campus this year which provoked a great deal of enthusiasm was archery. Even our most sophisticated adolescents were able to show enthusiasm for this sport. Some of the girls' efforts compared favorably with the boys'. But the sport which has universal appeal is, of course, swimming. Our own wading pool has attracted large groups, both in the afternoons and in the evenings. We have taken swimming parties to Lincoln Park in the afternoon, on the average of six times a week, and some in the evening, attracting many of our older boys and girls. Every week, we have taken a bus load of youngsters, either to Herrington's pond, Schifferdecker's pond, or Camp Cogswell. In these places as well as at Lincoln, the staff have been giving instructions to the children in swimming.

Every week there has been at least one visit to some Albany industry; the Coca-Cola works, the potato-chip factory, the ice-cream plant, and a bakery. Visits like these are beneficial from several viewpoints: the children enjoy them a great deal; they prove to be of vocational value, because they bring the children in contact with occupations that otherwise they would never know; these visits are of civic value—not only do the individuals see some of the industries of their community, but they also begin to have a little understanding of just what is behind many of the products that they take for granted. Unconsciously they get a broader background for the world they live in and consequently a better understanding, too. Besides these visits to industries, they have again this summer visited the Schuyler Mansion, the State Educational Building, and the State Office Building.

They have made trips to the hills, those on our grounds and those just off our premises. On these visits, they have had some nature study. In fact, these younger children are now able to recognize trees, flowers, and the well-known poison ivy.

Four mornings a week, there has been a class in art in which the children have had lessons in crafts, drawing, etc. They have been tremendously proud of their

work, showing their results to the staff. Art work, however, has not been confined to these classes. We have had a large stock of cardboards that have come from the laundry. The children have asked for these on which to draw cartoons and pictures.

Much use has been made of the Builz-em set. Although in many instances the results have been quite crude, they have, none-the-less, been creative efforts. Along this line, too, has been the making of airplanes. Paper, clips, paste—the materials; the result—a lot of excitement and fun.

Time, industry, and ingenuity have been spent on making carts of all kinds. Some have been awkward affairs, merely two bicycle wheels and a handle (perhaps this accounts for the recent disappearance of broom and mop handles). Others have taken several hours, many boards, a large number of nails, skill, and thought. In all, these have been products of the children's own initiative and endeavor.

Another activity which may seem unimportant, but which in my mind has outstanding possibilities, is the playing of the victrola. Many children have asked if they might come into the gym to play it. Just listening to the music meets a certain craving in the child. But other than that, the child is acquiring a taste for good music. That this is true is evident by the frequency with which they select light classics. And often I have heard them playing selections from well-known operas and symphonies.

Social recreation has not been neglected, either. Personally, I feel that this phase of recreation is more beneficial to promoting a happy adult life than any other. Through this type of activity, the child learns how to carry on a conversation, how to conduct himself in the social world, and also develops poise and confidence. Feelings of insecurity frequently disappear as the child learns how to get along with others well. Games, too, are learned which they may make use of in later life, and many organized games, such as, head-on, various tags and hide-and-go-seeks, kick-the-can, and capture-the-flag.

There have been some movies. Throughout the whole summer, only three movies have been planned for the group as a whole. Movies are enough patronized by our children so that further encouragement is not necessary. If they want to see a picture, they can use either their allowance or earn the money in some way. Too often movies prove to be an easy means of providing recreation—result, the "movie habit."

On several occasions when some of the boys or girls have asked for permission to pop corn or to make fudge in the gym, they have been allowed to do so. In the Ping Pong room, children have often played this game provided there was a staff member working in the gym.

The most important part of our social program has been the parties. Every group except a few of the very oldest has had a party this summer. Practically every child has had a chance to serve on some committee, planning these parties (with some guidance by a staff member—guidance, in its true sense). Because of this, there were all kinds of parties—swimming with outdoor suppers, a scavenger hunt, a fudge-making party, parties with games and refreshments.

An important part of our work is Scouting which we continued this year throughout the summer. The Boy Scouts have made a Totem Pole, woven rings from beads, and whistle cords and bracelets from shiny leather. The Girl Scouts have had nature

study, hikes, a picnic at Schifferdecker's pond, a visit to a model home, fire building, folk dancing, a marshmallow roast, and games in the gym.

Camping has been the most popular form of vacational activity for our children. We've had nine Boy Scouts and five Girl Scouts at camp. The following camps also had some of our children: Y.M.C.A., Trinity Camp, Fresh Air Camp, and Y.M.C.A. Day Camp. Our older boys went camping for two weeks at Pine Lake under the leadership of a member of our regular staff. Several of our oldest girls spent one grand week at the cottage of our secretary. The girls were her guests and she proved a very popular and capable leader. Others have spent part of their vacations at the homes of relatives and friends. A number of boys became farmers for the summer. There were picnics and swimming parties organized by friends.

This gives some idea of the extent of the recreational program. It was made possible only through the co-operation and suggestions of a great many individuals —staff, board members, friends, and the children themselves. The several assistants on the recreation staff were very capable and really were responsible for this program. The volunteer staff were quite unusual and made possible the wide variety and extent of this program.

Avoidance of large parties for the children is desirable. Sometimes it is practical to take them en masse to a circus; but so far as possible attendance at moving pictures and other entertainments should be arranged for them individually, or in small groups. If they can pay their own way, as other citizens do, so much the better. If a fraternal order or a service club wishes to entertain publicly all the so-called "orphans" of the city, it is worthwhile if possible to persuade the organization to supply spending money (perhaps to provide the weekly allowance for a group of children for an entire year) so that boys and girls may pay their own way, as others do, to entertainments of their own choice.

Mental Hygiene

Awareness of mental hygiene as a requisite of child care and training is coming gradually to those who live and work with children in institutions. A few institutions are so staffed as to have a common approach to this question shared by all with major responsibilities for children, the kind of common understanding and morale to be found on the faculty of an established and strong school. Then there are institutions in which only a small enlightened group of the staff, often limited to executive, social workers, and psychiatrist, has a developed mental hygiene outlook. Nurses, housemothers, and recreation workers may absorb some of the same understanding, but too often no one expects them to do their work with any regard for elements of mental hygiene. Still more com-

mon are institutions with no social worker on the staff, and where the executive, like the remainder of the staff, has little or no awareness of the emotional needs of children. Usually this group of institutions, which constitutes the large majority, has had no working relationship with child guidance clinics or other centers such as might lead to an understanding and practice of mental hygiene. Some observance of it will characterize any wholesome program of child care but its maximum benefits are not to be enjoyed except after careful study of the subject. Amateur experimentation, indeed, is not without serious dangers.

Too commonly the attention and concern of housemother and executive are focused on a child's misbehavior and what is to be done about it. Like most parents in dealing with their own children, these substitute parents think in terms of order, discipline, and punishments; they fail to ask the elementary question, "Why did he misbehave?"

Possibly a still greater handicap is the scarcity of adults on the staff whose own lives are mentally hygienic. The need in institutions for married couples who are living happily together is indeed great when we realize that many of the children have seen in their own homes only a distorted and tumultuous relationship between mother and father.

Every worker should know at least the ABC's of mental hygiene, and for those who lack such elements in the understanding of children it is well to use a popularly written publication by one of our leading psychiatrists which has been already mentioned in this book. Fortunately, the pamphlet by Dr. Douglas A. Thom, entitled Child Management, widely circulated by the federal government at the low price of ten cents, is one of the best references available.[1] Understanding Children, prepared by the New York State Committee on Mental Hygiene of the State Charities Aid Association, should be mentioned again in this connection, not only for its text but for its bibliography. Other good references on health and mental hygiene include:

Aldrich, C. Anderson, M.D., and Mary M., Babies Are Human Beings: An Interpretation of Growth. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1942.

Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, Infant Care. Publication no. 8, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1942.

Faegre, Marion L., and Anderson, John E., Child Care and Training. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1940.

Gesell, Arnold, The First Five Years of Life: A Guide to the Study of the Pre-School Child, from the Yale Clinic of Child Development. Harper & Bros., New York, 1940.

[1] Publication no. 143, Children's Bureau, U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1937.

Problem of Insecurity

Foster care of children in institutions or in foster family homes carries very grave responsibilities. Most of the children under care are suffering from insecurity. It is calamitous to a child and to society to have him reach an institution stooped in spirit from having been rejected by one or both parents, and then to have the heavy burden he carries ignored by a substitute parent. Those operating an institution owe it to children and staff to maintain a practical awareness of the fact that some degree of insecurity threatens every child living away from his own family. Such awareness—particularly needed by the worker who is closest to a child—should in no way carry with it a morbid or pessimistic attitude.

Some children retain much affectional warmth and sense of security from their previous environments, especially those who come from homes where they have been loved and where their parents have loved one another. If one of these parents is dead or disabled the child still will cling to the surviving parent who visits him and probably contributes to his support. And some security is retained even by a child who has lost both parents, but who remembers clearly that he was loved by one or both.

The housemother might be thought of as either a supplementary or a substitute parent, and in meeting the needs of a particular child she may fill both roles. A child whose natural parent still maintains the relationship, if only on an occasional or part-time basis, requires a restrained and distinctly supplemental kind of mothering from his houseparent. Excessive affection may upset such a child by obliging him to appear to prefer the housemother to his own parents. The child, on the other hand, who has never known an affectionate natural parent should have as much substitute parental care as the relationship of worker and child warrants.

One rule for the guidance of a substitute mother in her emotional nourishment of children may well be, "Begin only what you can finish." A wise substitute parent often will make clear to the child that she does not replace the mother but merely acts for her. She may become the nearest thing to a real mother ever to be experienced by a few children. But for most she must fill only a temporary need.

There is always the possibility of a child's being transferred to another group within the institution, or of a long illness giving him a nurse as a substitute parent. Even the weekly absence of the regular house-

mother on her day off can complicate the situation, especially with a child who feels dependent upon her and who resents the presence of a relief worker. A housemother may leave the employment of an institution, or a child may be placed in some type of foster home, possibly in the home of a relative. The frequency of such changes is one of the most sobering aspects of this task of mothering other people's children. A child who lives five years in an institution may have five successive housemothers, and he will be fortunate indeed if for so few years he has only one or two such substitute parents, and if they are competent for their important duties.

It is essential to realize that some such changes will be unavoidable, and also that it is worth almost any cost to spare a child a needless change of substitute parents. This may sometimes mean provision by an institution of better working conditions or more adequate salaries for houseparents. Working hours that will not wear her out, and a salary consistent with the services that a competent housemother provides will reduce employment turnover and so may mean much to a child. Another administrative measure which may spare him a change in substitute mothers is the plan whereby all ages are kept in the same cottage group. The other plan of grouping children according to age levels has as its greatest disadvantage the necessity of transferring a child from the care of one worker to another merely because he has reached a certain birthday.

Certain Problems Pertaining to Sex and Adolescence

The plans for institutional administration whereby girls and boys live in the same cottage offer two obvious advantages already mentioned, first, that of keeping brothers and sisters together, and second, that of providing a sensible relationship between girls and boys. Too often institutions go to the other extreme and have the sexes absolutely separated. In an earlier chapter [1] are references to practical arrangements which allow both sexes the familiarity in their daily life conducive to mental hygiene, with due regard for the privacy consistent with American standards of living.

We have numerous institutions that care for only boys or only girls, just as boarding schools serving wealthy and middle class families usually have been established for either boys or girls and have tried to keep the sexes separated in daily life, encouraging their association only

[1] Chapter 9, Plant: Cottages for Both Girls and Boys.

for certain social occasions. The formality of such occasions and the sophistication which characterizes so many of them testify to the need for a more casual daily relationship of the sexes. It is fortunate that our public schools, including most high schools, keep girls and boys together in classrooms and allow that natural association which at least usually dispels unwholesome curiosity about the other sex. Morbid spirits who advocate keeping the sexes apart because of dangers to boys and girls in schools that are co-educational, should be told of the unhealthy stimulation of homosexuality in schools that serve only one sex.

One large and well-supported institution providing many advantages for its children required girls and boys to sit on separate sides of a large auditorium when attending moving pictures which were shown frequently on the institution's campus. There were regulations forbidding girls and boys to walk together on the premises. This condition has changed here and in other places, although such disregard of the need of adolescent boys and girls for the company of the other sex, still characterizes many institutions. In happy contrast are those institutions in which boys and girls eat at the same tables, enjoy together much of their daily recreation, and where even a reasonable amount of adolescent love-making is taken for granted and tolerated.

Institutions serving only boys or only girls often seek to compensate for their monastic seclusion by increased use of neighborhood facilities for education and recreation. This policy at least gives older children an opportunity to meet those of the opposite sex at school, library, or playground, and to go out together to attend motion pictures, parties, and dances held at schools, churches, or other neighborhood centers.

Sex education is needed in any society and it is one of the anomalies of our present civilization that it offers less of such training than is provided by many primitive peoples. Whether a community be sophisticated or simple in its ways, it should give conscientious attention to the problems which maturity brings to every boy and girl.

Parents are notoriously reluctant to provide the sex instruction needed by their children. A substitute parent may find that he or she is the first adult to help the child understand even the simplest facts about sex, and to possess this privilege dignifies the role of houseparent. It is the parent or substitute parent having the confidence of a child who can most naturally and gracefully teach the child what he needs to know about personal hygiene, maturity, courtship, and parenthood. Even the more difficult and repellent instruction about venereal diseases

may be effectively supplied by a parent. To ask a physican to serve as instructor usually is unfair. He seldom knows the child intimately and unless he happens to be a good teacher he may bungle the task even more than the self-conscious parent who is desirous of escaping the responsibility.

Whatever the ideal plan, the community as a whole actually will find its youth sufficiently neglected to require group instruction in various matters pertaining to sex. For this purpose a children's institution may think of itself as a community. Let houseparents carry as much responsibility as they are willing and able to discharge. But every institution should have for its boys a man and for its girls a woman, who are friendly in their relations with the children and who are qualified or willing to qualify themselves for this task.

When a child reaches school age and before he turns to playmates for his information about sex, he should be safeguarded by some elementary instruction. As background for more detailed instruction the secondary schools should include in their objective teaching of biology the more physical aspects of sex. Then the picture needs completion by someone closer to the child who will deal sympathetically on a high plane with the emotional, moral, social, and economic significance of sex.

Books are of value, especially in providing the young child with sufficient accurate knowledge of sex to permit him to disregard the unwholesome and often inaccurate interpretations supplied by older children. Two volumes which will answer most questions of young children and instructors are Growing Up, by Karl De Schweinitz,[1] and Being Born, by Frances Bruce Strain.[2] At the Albany Home for Children it was customary to have these available to any child old enough to read to himself; some will prefer to give such free circulation only to the former volume, leaving for selective use by children and use by houseparents of the more biological text and illustrations of the latter. Two pamphlets of value to parents or teachers are published by the Child Study Association of America. These are: Sex Education, Facts and Attitudes, 1941, and When Children Ask About Sex, 1943. Both have useful bibliographies.

There is a variety of literature for children who are adolescent. And for more mature young people there are contributions from groups which

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[1] Macmillan Co., New York, 1936.
[2] D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1938.

in recent years have developed counseling services in the interests of happy marriage and home life.

In dealing with adolescents it is important to recognize their inclination to exaggerate. This seems to come with various enthusiasms, among which is the natural but sometimes overemphasized desire to impress the opposite sex. It is common for an adolescent to exaggerate his own misery and to feel excessive embarrassment, often resentfulness, when even mildly criticized. The same youngster may become an ardent advocate of some cause and may greatly exaggerate his own powers in certain situations. It is typical for an adolescent to say, "I hate" when he really means, "I dislike." Sometimes the exaggeration is expressed numerically, thousands seeming no more than dozens in his insistence upon emphasis and upon being right.

But just as surely as we must tolerate adolescent exaggeration, so we must avoid use of ridicule or of adult sarcasms in dealing with those in their teen ages. Ridicule may produce results in discipline, but it is a cruel instrument and should be avoided in all ordinary relationships. No one who ridicules a child can expect his confidence. Adolescents should be taken seriously but not too literally. Adults need to remember that idealism and imagination may be at high tide in any adolescent, and these qualities have determined many a boy or girl in their choice of a life work. At their best, adolescents can be more powerfully creative, more loyal, more ardent, than older and less imaginative men and women.

Influence of the Group

The mental hygiene that is needed for all children in an institution is doubly necessary for those with serious problems. The child disturbed by association with a crowd of children needs special consideration. He needs the opposite of group life which for many of his fellows supplies gregarious satisfactions. His nerves may be jarred by noise and hyperactivity. He may have been inclined at first to withdraw from the group by a not unnatural timidity and later be driven to excessive withdrawal by the formidable proportions of the group itself. Sometimes, however, even a retarded child may get along happily, especially if he has some one trait which grants him acceptance by the group. But if his association with others and his failure to keep up with them, creates irritation he needs very special consideration.

In studying the needs of the individual in the group, we must always

be aware of the group itself, which may be a powerful influence for good, or may upset constructive plans arrived at with sympathy and understanding. If a child needs to be separated from the group this fact should be recognized, even if his separation at the time is impractical. We have yet to learn how powerful are some of the positive contributions of group life; those with special skills in child guidance and mental hygiene can help us to learn the nature of these contributions and how to use them.

Punishment

From the Albany Diary:

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March, 1938: Other reports describing our efforts to understand children have given little or no space to the subject of punishments. Punishments often fail to produce the results desired; probably for this reason we who work with children are inclined to avoid discussion of the subject. It is difficult to think of the management of a large number of children without some recourse to punishments. Even though punishment be regarded as a necessary evil it is worthwhile for our entire organization to keep informed of the policy being practiced at any time.

Frequent use of any one punishment probably will reduce its effectiveness. If the same child is punished frequently, even with variety and imagination used by the punisher, the child is apt to develop a stubborn and unfriendly reaction. One of our first problems at the Home, then, is to limit punishments in number. Failure to do this will develop unnecessary antagonisms and create occasions for additional punishments.

"Why did he do it?" is the question the worker should ask whenever the reason for misbehavior is not clear. Sometimes a child has used good judgment and should be commended rather than punished. The fact that a boy has had a fight or that a girl has been spunky does not necessarily mean that punishment is indicated. There seem to be very definite places in life for fighting and for spunk. The worker who gets an impudent reaction from a child usually has failed to recognize that the child has a personality which should be respected. Nevertheless children are punished for impudence—and of this we are not proud.

Punishment, at its best, helps in a child's education for life. As an expression of adult disapproval it has a proper place. Undue severity in punishment often reveals a nervous grownup waving a flag of authority sadly tattered by strife with children. Usually those in authority will get farther if they are less severe, but firm, and if they content themselves with disapproval carefully tempered to fit the occasion rather than with insistence upon some severe punishment for every instance of misbehavior.

When punishments are applied at the Home there usually is consideration of the child's age and intelligence, his nervous condition, and the reason for his misbehavior. One of the greatest difficulties is to avoid stereotyped punishments which are unrelated to the offense. For a long time the most common punishment consisted

of the assignment of extra tasks. This became a ready-made remedy in dealing with both girls and boys when they misbehaved. The staff became aware that this practice was detracting from the dignity which should be associated with work. It was too much like the old schoolroom method whereby teachers penalized children with study which should have been kept as attractive as possible.

The punishment now most frequently imposed is restriction of liberty. This seems increasingly desirable as the children find more freedom and privileges in their daily life at the Home. Were there only a few privileges it might be a social handicap for a troublesome child to lose them all for even a few weeks in a year. To remain on the premises over a week-end generally means missing a visit to some friend or relative, a shopping trip, a movie, or possibly a school party. This restriction hung over the heads of three girls and four boys for the week-end preceding the writing of this report. Failure to co-operate with workers, impudence, absence without leave, and failure to observe traffic rules were the reasons for these restrictions. Sometimes restriction covers one or more complete weeks. This may keep a child at home from a party or from watching a ball game on the premises. It does not, however, keep him from attending scout meetings, or regular gymnasium periods, art or dancing classes. These activities on the premises are regarded as a part of his education and are to be enjoyed unless ill health prevents.

Children are deprived of food only when they have offended in matters pertaining to food—such as unreasonable dawdling at table or refusing to eat what is served.

Group punishments are avoided as much as possible. When an entire group offends or protects an offender it is time to call a conference of the workers most interested. If the staff is intelligent enough, usually something other than a group punishment is decided upon.

Sometimes children are sent to bed by day—most often because they have failed to wear rubbers and have come home with wet feet. Even a very young child will see that a bath and bed are reasonable consequences of such foolishness. Sending them to bed by day or at an early evening hour is infrequent, however, because of the undesirable habits which idleness may encourage.

Isolation for those who are unruly or who have temper tantrums is generally desirable. The scarcity of individual rooms where a child may be isolated and still have something to do by himself makes this punishment at the Home less practical than it should be.

Children are seldom punished for stealing. It is presumed that stealing usually reflects ignorance of property rights. Great care is taken to complete restitution of all articles stolen, and in most cases that is all that seems necessary. For those children whose stealing reflects deep emotional disturbance this step is insufficient, there being need for skillful study and patient treatment of the underlying cause.

Physical punishments are carefully regulated. Most of the workers never have struck a child. Slapping on the head is severely disapproved. Even when provocation has been great and a worker has thus punished a child, he or she has been warned of the undesirability of such efforts to control children. It is understood that repeated recourse to such punishments would cost a worker his job.

The Lathrop Cottage staff have permission to spank little children with the bare hand if occasion seems to call for it. It is rarely, however, that it is done.

The superintendent assumes personal responsibility for all spanking or whipping of older children. Weeks and sometimes months elapse without such physical punishment. It is clearly understood, however, that boys who risk their lives by running carelessly across New Scotland Avenue en route to or from school, will be whipped. They must cross only where there is a traffic officer. Here is the reason for most of the whippings which occur in the superintendent's office. There is always another worker to witness the event and a record of each whipping is kept. A strap is used on the bare buttocks and the punishment is severe enough to discourage the curious from asking for more.

Five older boys recently crossed the avenue with nonchalant disregard for regulations. They were informed of the bad example set before younger boys who might be run over if they did the same thing. In the belief that punishment often is more effective if a child chooses what it is to be, these boys were offered four weeks' restriction to the premises or a whipping. All chose the restriction. Four days later, the two oldest changed their choice so that they might be free to play on their school's basketball team. Their choice was granted.

It would make this report too long to tell of the many positive influences which reduce the occasions for punishment at the Albany Home for Children. Each day could be full of occasions for misunderstanding, and children might be seriously mishandled were it not for the intelligence, character, and love of children to be found within the staff.

To bring order into the life of a child but to avoid confusing him or regimenting his activities, is a particular responsibility of those who work in children's institutions. Whether considering punishments, which so often are negative, or recreation and education at their best, the worker has far more influence than is apparent either to himself or others. He must perceive the moment for a happy song as quickly as he does the child's need to make restitution of a stolen article. Just as children must acquire a sense of values in order to live a full life, so those who care for them must continue to grow.

Chapter 14

COSTS OF INSTITUTIONAL CARE

Adequate data concerning the operating costs of institutions caring for children are not available. Yet interest is widespread in this subject. Increasingly, comparative cost figures are being sought by trustees and executives of institutions, budget committees of community chests, and governmental officials responsible for appropriations from public funds, including per capita subsidies, to private institutions.

In a few communities neighboring institutions can now make some comparison of costs, the basis for certain comparative data having been laid by a public welfare bureau, a community chest, or by some other funding body. Detailed financial accounting and uniform reporting of cost data which are essential to progressive improvement of trusteeship, in this area of welfare endeavor, as in others, are, however, still wanting. The need for such data will receive attention throughout this chapter.

Variables Which Complicate Comparison of Costs

Casual efforts to compare per capita costs of different institutions usually are so misleading as to do more harm than good. These efforts are very like those of the child who tries to unravel a knot by pulling on the first loose end he can find. There is, for example, no point in comparing amounts spent for health services by two institutions, unless differences in practice are known and are taken into account in the comparison. One institution may employ doctors and nurses on its staff and may pay for needed hospital care, while the other may utilize similar staff and hospital services supplied in the community without paying for them. Such variables affecting health services illustrate difficulties that complicate cost accounting in other respects.

Dental service, an essential element in any program of child care, may or may not be adequately represented in an institution's budget. Some institutions fail to provide sufficient dental care; in such cases a

low cost figure represents limitations of service. Some use only one-half or one-third as much as is needed, with confusing variety in their bases for paying the dentist. But even well-organized institutions may reflect in their accounts little or much of this valuable component of preventive health service. Most institutions use a great deal of dental service and pay for it; in a few instances a first-class dental clinic or a private dentist donates what is needed both in examinations and in treatments. Frequently dentists charge only half price to the wards of institutions, and on the other hand, in some institutions, dentists receive salaries which may be more than adequate for the time they spend on the children. In some situations X-rays are obtained without cost to the institution, and in others the full cost of X-ray work is paid for.

Thus the cost of a vital service to the children may be carried in some other budget, usually that of a hospital, a public school dental clinic, or a private dentist, so concealing it from those who examine only the actual expenditures of the institution concerned.

Another aspect of the accounting problem which needs emphasis may be illustrated by the item of milk, which runs into large sums annually. There are marked variations both in the unit cost and in the quantity supplied for each child. Wholesale costs noted in visits to various institutions have been as low as five and as high as ten cents or more a quart. One also may find an institution which supplies twice as much milk per child as some other. It may even happen that of two institutions spending the same amount per capita for milk one would be supplying the daily quart needed by each child whereas the other, paying twice as much per unit, would be supplying only a pint. The point is that agency comparisons should take into consideration per capita quantities of the goods and services used as well as their per capita costs.

In existing accounting practice the treatment of food produced and food donated varies greatly. Some institutions fail entirely to take account of produce from their gardens in computing cost of food. Instead, this cost is included elsewhere in the budget, but not identified, under amounts spent for wages, seed, fertilizer, equipment, and fuel or feed. The larger and best-managed institutions make account in some form of both farm costs and farm products, and charge the food account with produce obtained from the farm. There is a tendency to have all produce valued at wholesale market prices as of the date released to the food storeroom or central kitchen. The same method is sometimes followed for food donated, and in some parts of the country these donations still

constitute a substantial item. Under such a policy it is possible to compare food costs of a rural institution, operating gardens and its own dairy, with those of a city institution which buys everything eaten by children and staff.

But comparison of food costs and also of other costs involves the number of children served and the calculation of per capita costs. This requires a record of the daily population of children and also of workers. At present few institutions keep the needed count of the staff personnel maintained daily, for which allowance must be made in calculation of costs; an increasing number are recording the days of care provided for children. In calculating food costs adjustment should be made for any large number of guests, any considerable number of absences, as in hospitals or on visits, and also for school lunches. If children receive money with which to pay all or part of the cost of these lunches, the amount is chargeable to the institution's food budget and the child eating lunch at school should be counted as being provided with the noon meal.

If there is to be any comparison of total costs the operation of a laundry, dairy, farm, school, or hospital calls for clear accounting for salaries allocated to each function and as far as possible the separation of other costs incident to such special operations.

The Five Largest Items of Expense

The largest item in the budget of most institutions is, of course, *payroll,* including both salaries and wages. Exception to this rule is found in some of the institutions that are staffed largely by members of religious orders, who receive only small stipends hardly to be counted as salaries. *Food* will usually be the second largest item of operating costs. Third, fourth, and fifth items on the list usually are expenditures for *fuel, repairs,* and *clothing,* but the order in which these items occur varies.

It is important to identify these largest expense items in an institution's budget. Added together, they probably will comprise from 60 to 80 per cent of total expenditures of most institutions. There will be temptations to trim here where the effect will be most evident. Because the vitality of the service is substantially dependent upon these largest items, economy should not be directed blindly at them; in fact increases rather than reductions generally will be advisable because of the inherited inadequacies of most institutions. To overload workers by reductions in staff or to weaken the service by employing less skilled personnel

is wasting rather than saving. It may be, nevertheless, both economical and efficient to save a salary by introducing mechanical devices, or to reduce food expenditures by shrewd buying or enlargement of space for storage or refrigeration.

Minor economies should not be disregarded. However, to worry much about the wearing out of brooms or the wasteful use of soap is impractical because the total spent for such items is a tiny fraction of the budget. Economies in the use of such small things should be thought of in terms of their value in the training of children; the savings in dollars are real but of comparatively little account.

In the absence of a standard plan for cost accounting and the resultant data necessary for widespread comparison of costs, several suggestions pertaining to the five principal items are here submitted for those who budget and administer children's work.

Payroll

Does the payroll allow for all the professional services which the children of the institution need—medical, surgical, dental, educational, religious, and those provided by nurses and social workers? If some of these services are supplied by other agencies in a community, is the institution paying sufficient attention to its relations with those agencies, working with them as allies? Are the quality and quantity of services donated such as would be obtained were these services paid for by the institution? Are particular salaries sufficient to attract and retain a competent executive, competent child-care staff, competent nurses, and competent social workers? Is enough paid to houseparents to permit an institution to attract women who otherwise would find teaching or nursing in outside fields more rewarding financially? Is turnover in employment rapid, and if so does it reflect low salaries or wages or intolerable working conditions? Does a low salary scale mean that the institution is staffed by incompetent and possibly infirm workers? Should the superannuated be retired, with or without pension, or be replaced? Does the total for salaries permit employment of substitute or relief workers to allow the regular staff sufficient weekly time off duty, annual vacations, and relief when ill? Are there supernumeraries on the staff who could be released without impairment of the administration? Might their salaries be used to provide for workers needed in other capacities or to provide salary increases where needed? What is the margin between the actual and de-

sired annual payroll, and what are the items constituting this margin which should be kept in mind for budgeting purposes?

Payroll may be translated into adequacies or inadequacies of care. It may represent ignorance or understanding, crude service or that kind of tender care which motherless or fatherless children should receive. Too often trustees of an institution ignore the importance of this largest item in the budget and rate buildings and equipment as more important than staff. Situations have been observed in which an incompetent worker has been retained rather than offend some trustee or the worker himself. If trusteeship be in the interests of the children served, there will be a distinct subordination of the interests of all adults to those of the children who cannot speak for themselves.

Certain suggestions about staff given in Chapter 5, The Staff Needed: Basic Qualifications, may usefully be reviewed. One pertains to the ratio of alternate or relief workers to the regular staff for which they substitute; relief for housemothers being in the ratio of one to four. Many institutions fail to budget for the relief of workers who are ill. In a staff of any size illness is bound to occur; it is practical to allow for such emergency relief at least three days annually for each worker. By multiplying the number of workers employed by three an approximate estimate is provided in terms of the number of days of substitute service that should be budgeted within a given year. Age and fitness of workers, provision of physical examinations, and other factors will cause variations in this type of relief. Relief for vacations can be computed in terms of salaries of substitutes; some institutions need other seasonal additions to staff, as in those operating farms which require extra help for plowing, planting, or harvesting.

Salary increases must be accounted for if the budget is to cover all payroll items. There is an offset to such increases, especially in large institutions, when an experienced worker is replaced by a beginner at a smaller salary.

Many institutions look forward to the time when a social worker, a recreation leader, a registered nurse, or a kindergarten teacher may be added to the staff. It is desirable to anticipate salary and any other expenses involved in such additions, and this kind of exploration can be made even a year or two before the necessary funds can be obtained. Knowing exactly what is needed may help those responsible to obtain necessary funds.

Likewise it is important to anticipate any costs that may accrue in

changing from the use of volunteer to paid workers. It is not uncommon for an institution that has long used volunteer medical service to begin to pay the same physician, or the physician who succeeds the volunteer. Sometimes it is an increase in the volume of service required that leads to this change, sometimes the necessity or desirability of obtaining a successor. The same conditions often apply to the services of a dentist or a recreational leader.

Any increases in the number of staff, or salary increases, also affect items related to payroll, such as premiums on workmen's compensation insurance and contributions of the institution to a retirement fund.

Food

How does the expenditure for food compare with the amount spent per capita by the United States Army, by hospitals, boarding schools, or other establishments feeding large groups? Does the total amount per capita per annum fall below the minimum of $120 (or 33 cents daily), noted in earlier discussions,[1] and therefore suggest serious inadequacies in diet? If the outlay for food is inadequate, what is the margin between the total spent and what should be spent annually? Can the executive account for the average daily population of adults and children fed during any given month or year? Does the food account include the value of food produced and donated? Is food purchased economically, and with due regard for quality? Do all eat food of the same quality?

How much milk is allowed each child daily? Is milk skimmed, and if not, how is cream for coffee and tea of the staff obtained? Are the children served butter at each meal? Is fruit served at two meals daily? How about green vegetables? Who checks to see whether these and other items are in proportions that provide a balanced diet? Are the cooking and serving of food planned and administered so as to obtain an economical and attractive use of foods purchased? How do school lunches compare with lunches brought by children from family homes? Should the food budget include an amount to permit children to buy part or all of their lunch at a school cafeteria? Should they use tokens or cash in paying for such food? Has a method of food purchasing for the institution been developed?

The amount spent for provisions may represent a carefully planned, ample, well-balanced diet or it may be a token of the traditional cheap institutional diet with its excess of starchy foods. Even with an ample

[1] See section on Diet in Chapter 11, Physical Needs of the Child.

food budget it is possible to get into wasteful habits of purchasing, storing, distributing, cooking, and serving. To achieve economy while feeding children well requires close co-operation among those who prepare menus, buy, distribute, cook, and serve. The person planning menus as well as the buyer should watch markets and be well acquainted with channels for wholesale purchasing. Standards must be kept high, for there are meat dealers and those selling all kinds of provisions who will dispose of old or unsalable products to any institution. It is better to economize through shrewd use of wholesale markets than to permit merchants to unload at low prices what they cannot sell to more discriminating customers. Wholesalers will seek an institution's patronage, and if properly approached will become effective allies in combating high food costs.

It is customary to use large units of food products adapted to restaurants or institutions, including number 10 cans for vegetables and fruits; and barrels, large bags, baskets, or boxes for potatoes, fresh vegetables, and fruits. Produce dealers distribute their merchandise in such packages, and with suitable storage and refrigeration facilities it is possible to realize the convenience and economy which large units permit.

Only one quality of food should be purchased,[1] and hence there will be few occasions for buying small packages. This presupposes that staff and children eat the same food, preferably at the same tables. If a cottage institution is to make use of large units, it must have in each cottage a refrigerator of sufficient size to permit storage of unconsumed portions of such units. Cottage refrigerators often are too small to facilitate such economy.

Certain items can be purchased by dozens or hundreds of cases, with an entire year's supply bought at one time. Established relations with wholesale grocers, will, however, permit more frequent purchasing in smaller lots but still at wholesale prices. Fluctuations in market prices sometimes make this a more economical plan than the purchasing of annual supplies. Such policies depend upon the size of the institution, the accessibility of markets, the institution's storage and refrigeration facilities, its financial credit, and the acumen of its buyer. The Office of Price Administration has brought wartime controls which affect all such policies and prices as well.

Since food purchases bulk large, and prompt payment sometimes permits the discounting of bills, possibilities of discounts on all purchases

[1] See Chapter 11, Physical Needs of the Child.

should be studied. Sometimes such discounts will run into several hundreds of dollars per year.

Gauging food purchases to changes in population also can produce genuine economies. This calls for collaboration between those who keep account of the number of children in each cottage or department and those who place orders for milk, meat, and other items which must be obtained daily.

It is probable that frozen foods will prove a boon to institutions. There is little waste, and frozen foods are so attractive as to encourage children to eat them. Much good canned food finds its way into garbage cans. Possibly wartime shortage of containers will hasten installation of freezing and storage facilities necessary for the care and use of frozen foods.

Fuel

Is fuel purchased economically with regard to quality and quantity? Can purchase in carload lots reduce the annual outlay? If storage space is inadequate, can bunkers be constructed or vacant sheds or basements be utilized to permit ultimate savings by wholesale purchase at times when prices are most favorable? Are methods of stoking reasonably economical? Has cost of stoking for a year been estimated? Is heat supplied and regulated so as to conserve the health of the children? Could there be savings transferred from the fuel to payroll accounts?

In mild-weather southern communities or in communities where fuel, such as natural gas, is extremely cheap, costs of fuel generally are less than the costs of repairs or clothing. But in colder regions fuel often is the third largest item of operating expense.

Where coal is used there usually is storage space for more than one carload at each delivery. It is desirable to have bins large enough to hold a year's supply of coal, permitting purchase of the year's needs in the late spring, when coal prices are lowest. A carload of coal will range from about 30 to 50 tons. Coal dealers may prefer to sell in smaller lots, but if bids for carload quantities are obtained, prices can be reduced. In some parts of the country a local coal dealer will co-operate in purchases of carloads of coal, f.o.b. at the mines. If an institution pays freight bills and spares the dealer extension of credit or cost of cartage, a dealer can afford to sell with only a small commission as profit.

Meters for gas and water sometimes can be centralized so that the entire load of the institution passes through one meter. Such services usually cost much less per unit as the quantity consumed increases. This

means that separate cottage meters may represent retail consumption whereas the institution is entitled to wholesale rates.

Repairs and Replacements

Are repairs kept up and serious deterioration or breakdown prevented? Has the administration gone to the extreme of spending more than is needed on plant, placing more emphasis upon appearances than upon utility? Has laziness or general incompetence come to characterize members of the staff responsible for repairs? If repairs are badly needed, what is the margin between the amount spent and the amount that should be spent annually?

Property in bad repair becomes a millstone around the neck of an administration, often causing trustees and executives to expend too much thought upon plant and too little upon the children they serve.

One of the most difficult problems in institutions is to decide when repairs should be made by the regular staff and when there should be contracts for particular projects or services. An aid in budgeting for repairs is a diary that shows when each building is painted, when a hot water boiler is renewed, and the like. Breakdowns in heating plants or machinery, and damage done by storms or floods may exhaust the amount allowed in the budget. It is well always to provide generously for emergencies and for at least one major repair which cannot be foreseen.[1]

Clothing

Is outlay for clothing insufficient, adequate, or excessive?[2] Has the administration given enough attention to the amount budgeted annually? Is it so small as to require purchase of clothing in lots that impose too much uniformity in dress? Does the budget permit some purchasing at retail by older children, as part of their education for life? If the amount budgeted for clothing is inadequate, what is the margin between that allowed and what should be allowed?

Clothing varies as to climate, there being parts of the United States in which overcoats, snowsuits, and other heavy winter garb are unnecessary. Such differentials may place clothing costs lower in the list of op-

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[1] Maintenance is discussed in Chapter 9, Plant.

[2] The discussion of clothing or of almost any other item in the budget viewed from the standpoint of cost is supplementary to a consideration of the needs, in this instance physical, of the child. The section on clothing in Chapter 11, Physical Needs of the Child, may be recalled in connection with this chapter.

erating expenses. But war, more than climate or weather, will determine increased costs in the near future.

Clothing is seldom uniform in modern institutions and recent conferences of workers do not include it as the engrossing subject it was about thirty years ago. Vestiges of uniformity remain, however, and to buy clothing at wholesale and still avoid marking children as wards of an institution calls for ingenuity. To achieve a standard that avoids uniformity and provides reasonably good quality usually requires a combined program of retail and wholesale buying.

Children should be taught to buy their own clothing, a step that lacks some reality if the child makes his purchases at an institution's storeroom. But it will cost more to allow this purchasing at retail stores. Discounts at certain stores can be arranged so that prices paid will be somewhere between wholesale and retail levels.

Except for stockings, boys' shirts, and certain types of underwear, it is undesirable to buy clothing in large wholesale lots. Outlandish garments soon accumulate if one surrenders to the temptation to buy odd lots. A study of marketing habits of small retail clothing shops will be profitable to any institutional worker who buys clothing for children.

Shoes represent an item important beyond their cost. Children need good shoes, carefully fitted. It is extremely important to combine a policy of wholesale and retail buying that will spare an institution from attempting to duplicate a shoe store. Here, again, war may influence purchasing. Any buying of odd lots is almost sure to lead to poorly fitted shoes for many of the children. Only the most attractive shoes should be bought at wholesale and these in sizes most commonly needed. However attractive any style may be, it should not be purchased in such large quantities as to make the children conspicuous because of uniformity. Retail shoe dealers usually are pleased to work out plans whereby prices between wholesale and retail can be obtained.

Budgeting

Awareness of a margin between actual and desired budgets will add the perspective needed for long-range planning. Sometimes resources are available, but a poorly defined need remains unmet. Then there are times when drastic cuts are necessary. In confronting such situations it is important to know from both previous and current experience what are the unmet needs and where cuts in expenses will hurt the least.

Such planning also will help governing boards decide whether it is practical to dip into capital funds rather than to cut certain vital services. Precedents exist for use of capital funds, but implications of such a move should be carefully charted before the step is taken.

Preparation of a budget, like Christmas shopping, often is put off until the last minute. The haste then necessary usually prevents analysis of experience or adequate comparison of current operations with those of earlier years. If we are to have a practical understanding of institutional costs, time sufficient for the orderly preparation of budgets must be allowed. Repeated observations on budgeting have been written into survey reports. The following paragraph from an unpublished survey report gives a recent expression of these observations:

> Staff, including those responsible for departments, branches, or particular services, should be consulted before the executive drafts a trial budget. Time should be allowed for this first step so that no service is overlooked and no one who should participate is deprived of his opportunity and responsibility in forecasting income and expense. The second step is the drafting of the trial budget in which the executive is guided by past experience and all possible awareness of needs which should be anticipated. It is well to thus account for some needs, even though it may take more than a year in which to meet them. The third step may well consist of discussion of the trial budget with the Finance Committee or with such officers, including the President and Treasurer, as may be most interested. Valuable discussion here will help to point up and reconcile resources and needs, and to list certain priorities in needs which may or may not be met. Revisions of the budget may call for a fourth step, namely, referral back to the staff of certain problems raised by the Finance Committee. This precaution should tend to avoid or reduce unsympathetic trimming. Budgets often are drafted at such late date as to prevent this kind of planning as well as the preparation of a text to accompany the budget when it is presented to the Board of Directors. This preparation of a text supplementing the budget may be considered as a fifth step, in which each budget item of income or expense is explained in a brief paragraph. The sixth step is presentation to the Board of Directors of the budget which by now should reflect partial, and possibly complete, accord among staff, executive, and Finance Committee. The Board's approval should follow only after a thoughtful review of the entire budget and the explanatory text. It takes several months to complete such planning of any annual budget.

Budgeting, like other fiscal controls in child welfare work, should be of such quality as to assure economical administration and skillful service. It should not be carelessly assumed by any executive or trustee that such efficiency is unrelated to the fundamental task of alleviating dependency and neglect of children.

Efforts to Compare Costs

One of the earliest and most thoughtful efforts to compare costs of modern institutional care was made nearly twenty years ago by Neva R. Deardorff, in an article, The New Pied Pipers.[1] Dr. Deardorff contended that high costs of care required a more discriminating use of institutional facilities, and pointed to the obvious economy in using resources for mothers' allowances, wherever such service might be an alternative to institutional care. The five institutions from which she obtained data on costs were Mooseheart, at Mooseheart, near Aurora, Illinois; Girard College, Philadelphia; Carson College, Flourtown, Pennsylvania; Hershey Industrial School, Hershey, Pennsylvania; and New York Orphanage (now Graham School), Hastings, New York.

Dr. Deardorff qualified her comparisons of costs in the following significant words:

> What are these five institutions, so much alike in some ways, so vastly different in others, spending on the children under their care? What are they doing to Pipers' costs? It was the ambition of the writer to construct a comprehensive statistical table which would show in parallel columns the exact expenditures of each institution precisely distributed into various items; but this ambition must await fulfillment until there has been installed in all these institutions a standard accounting system which, by uniform classification, will yield comparable results. The best that can be done now is some columns of figures which give the high lights, and an appendix which explains the half-tones. . . .
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> Obviously, with institutions of such varied capacity, comparisons must be on a yearly per capita basis. Such are all the per capita figures given here. But, even assuming a standard classification and uniform quality of service, there are other factors which will affect their costs. Three are at once apparent. First, the age distribution of the childen. Very young children require a larger measure of personal attention than do older ones. On the other hand, if current educational practices are followed, it costs more to provide schooling for the children of high-school age than for the younger ones. If, therefore, the institution maintains a policy of keeping children of the ages between six and fourteen, its costs will be comparatively low. Second, the total number of children cared for influences the per capita cost. In general, the greater the number of children, the more widely will be distributed certain of the overhead charges. The third cause for variation relates to the age of the institution; aside from capital outlay, the current expense of the first few years of operation of an institution will be relatively high.
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> In the actual accounting systems of these organizations, one finds the extremes of two tendencies which a secretary in one of them explained with a twinkle in his eye. "Some people," he said, "are splitters, others are lumpers." He might have added

[1] The Survey Graphic, April, 1924, vol. 52.

that no two lumpers lump the same way and that splitting is endlessly various. To classify precisely the costs for these five institutions from the available figures, therefore, is an impossible task. A paralyzing maze of qualifying information is necessary if one should try to compare per capita costs in detail.

Scrutiny of institutional costs is an important part of any survey. Among those undertaken by the Child Welfare League of America there are numerous examples that further emphasize the points made by Dr. Deardorff. In two recent surveys of institutions the League found radical differences in the form of the financial reports submitted to trustees and others officially interested. In one report, which may be designated as Institution A, expense items were limited to nine, whereas, Institution B used 34 items to account for a similar program. In A's report salaries were included but not separately identified under administration, housekeeping, field department, and repairs and replacements. B accounted for all payroll expenses, except those for repairs and replacements, in the single item salaries and wages. The only items of expense that were easily to be compared between these institutions were food and clothing. Even the cost of fuel, which usually is isolated, was included without separate identification by institution B under the item housekeeping.

Uniform Accounting and Reporting

Several efforts have been made to draw up uniform accounting schedules which, if successful, would permit comparisons of great practical value. The Child Welfare League of America published in 1926 uniform accounting schedules for child-placing agencies and institutions and added a comprehensive plan for the reporting of cost data to the League's national office. Some agencies throughout the country have continued to use these schedules, although reporting of data has not been kept up, and there never were enough similar agencies participating in the plan to permit cost comparisons.

At about the same time that these accounting schedules were made by the League, the Department of Welfare of Pennsylvania developed a similar plan for institutions in that state. A third and more successful effort was made by the Duke Endowment of Charlotte, North Carolina. Its accounting and statistical reporting schedules have been used for about fifteen years by 40 or more children's institutions in North Carolina and South Carolina. As a result, the Orphan Section of the Duke Endowment has carried cost data for more than ten years in its published annual reports. These reports do not identify the costs of particular institutions

but classify them into groups according to size, operation with or without farms, and care of Negro or white children.

The Duke Endowment has succeeded in obtaining and sustaining the participation of a large number of institutions, in part, at least, because they receive annual grants from the Endowment. Some institutions in other parts of the country are using the Duke Endowment accounting schedules, or an adaptation of them.

Summaries of operating costs for 1942 and 1945 of the children's institutions receiving grants from the Duke Endowment are shown in Tables 7 and 8, which correspond to tables appearing in the Endowment's reports for those years. Previous printings of this book contained these data for the year 1942 only. The sharp increase in almost all items in the budgets of institutions has made it desirable to show the more recent experience. Table 7 is retained to allow comparison with 1942.

While endorsing the accounting plan of the Duke Endowment, it would be unfortunate to leave the impression that these per capita costs are high enough to be accepted as standards of comparison for the remainder of the country. The per capita costs shown in Table 7 were low compared to the costs then found in superior institutions, of which there were some in this section of the United States. The low yearly per capita cost of $227 in 1942 for the four institutions caring for Negro children was appallingly inadequate. Low salaries, heavy loads per worker, and insufficient staff for recreation, medical, and social service are among the factors contributing to the too-low averages for the care of both Negro and white children. It is significant that the 1945 total yearly per capita cost for the institutions serving Negro children was about 120 per cent higher than the amount spent by the same institutions in 1942 and that it came close to the cost of care for white children in 1945; and also that within the same interval the per capita cost for white children increased more than 40 per cent. Improvements in quality of service as well as higher prices are indicated. Yet many institutions in various parts of the country, without extravagance, experienced per capita costs in 1945 of from $750 to $1,000. Thus the averages of about $520 shown by these data for institutions in North Carolina and South Carolina in 1945 still suggest inadequacies.

These two states, in common with other agricultural states, have very little of the social service structure to be found in areas with more urban communities. There are some small family welfare societies, and the

latest census of child-care organizations shows some child-placing agencies. Few of the institutions have developed competent case-work staffs and, with the outstanding exception of Connie Maxwell Orphanage, Greenwood, South Carolina, there has been no long-continued, skillful use of foster home services by these institutions. Three child-placing agencies operating in the two Carolinas maintain small institutions. Until 1944 the Duke Endowment appropriated funds only for institutional care, and only in proportion to the number of orphans or half orphans receiving care. Its trustees revised this policy in 1944 to include care of such children in foster homes for as long as twelve months. This change of policy will encourage the greatly needed development of foster care in family boarding homes in these states. Further adaptations of wills and interpretations of wills must be made here, and elsewhere, if endowed services to children are to improve.

TABLE 7.—ANNUAL PER CAPITA COST OF OPERATION OF CHILD-CARE INSTITUTIONS IN NORTH CAROLINA AND SOUTH CAROLINA RECEIVING GRANTS FROM THE DUKE ENDOWMENT, 1942

	Institutions for white children						
				20 with 150 or fewer beds			
Purpose of expenditure	Total, 40 institutions or receiving homes	Total, 33	13 with over 150 beds	14 with farms	6 without farms	4 institutions for Negro children	3 receiving homes for white children
Administration							
Salaries	$28.54	$29.38	$26.64	$31.39	$30.55	$17.41	$34.20
Insurance and interest	7.45	7.74	7.56	8.06	7.34	4.02	9.09
Supplies and expenses	9.01	9.09	6.97	10.55	10.25	8.36	9.01
Subtotal	45.00	46.21	41.17	50.00	48.14	29.79	52.30
Institutional Care of Children							
Food Purchased	68.51	68.22	62.78	58.07	103.66	27.59	126.47
Donated	7.45	5.58	3.90	5.66	8.94	27.74	1.02
Produced	37.70	42.30	41.43	61.14	.40	27.74	—
Subtotal	113.66	116.10	108.11	124.87	113.00	83.07	127.49
Household salaries	42.01	42.34	44.38	33.76	58.00	16.24	72.38
Supplies and expenses	18.72	18.25	15.99	19.86	19.45	14.35	29.79
Clothing	23.00	23.03	25.04	21.13	23.00	25.92	18.65
Health	7.41	8.07	10.69	5.15	9.23	1.97	7.34
Recreation	1.72	2.08	2.67	1.60	2.01	.07	—
Subtotal	92.86	93.77	98.77	81.50	111.69	58.55	128.16
Plant Operation and Maintenance							
Salaries and wages	8.25	8.69	12.52	3.80	11.83	4.09	8.98
Fuel, light, power, ice, water	26.94	28.43	30.73	25.73	29.75	13.61	28.47
Replacement and repair	23.21	25.59	30.92	14.82	39.09	6.68	19.34
Subtotal	58.40	62.71	74.17	44.35	80.67	24.38	56.79
Total, excluding education	309.92	318.79	322.22	300.72	353.50	195.79	364.74
Education							
Institutional education	14.71	17.27	28.21	11.24	7.52	4.60	.37
Public education	33.25	33.36	29.02	33.62	42.23	26.75	40.51
Subtotal	47.96	50.63	57.23	44.86	49.75	31.35	40.88
Total	$357.88	$369.42	$379.45	$345.58	$403.25	$227.14	$405.62

In various localities throughout the country community chests and financial federations have developed their own schedules for financial reports. The Community Chests and Councils, Inc., 155 East 44th Street, New York, has circulated widely its pamphlet, Budgets in a Community Chest, which carries with it two sample forms; the first an annual budget form and the second, a monthly report form, both for use by the agency and for its reporting to the local community chest. Like the Duke Endowment, such groups can require reports of financial data before allotting funds.

Were uniform and well-organized schedules in general use throughout the country, extensive and valuable comparative data would be made available, whereas institutional reports are now of limited value for purposes of comparison.

In a closely related welfare field an important step toward scientific

TABLE 8.—ANNUAL PER CAPITA COST OF OPERATION OF CHILD-CARE INSTITUTIONS IN NORTH CAROLINA AND SOUTH CAROLINA RECEIVING GRANTS FROM THE DUKE ENDOWMENT, 1945

Purpose of expenditure	Total, 39 institutions or receiving homes	Institutions for white children				4 institutions for Negro children	3 receiving homes for white children
		Total, 32	13 with over 150 beds	19 with 150 or fewer beds			
				13 with farms	6 without farms		
Administration							
Salaries	$42.12	$43.77	$35.99	$51.46	$43.91	$36.86	$31.61
Insurance and interest	8.61	8.32	7.34	9.64	7.48	7.01	14.05
Supplies and expenses	15.37	15.62	10.80	20.40	15.77	20.44	5.77
Subtotal	66.10	67.71	54.13	81.50	67.16	64.31	51.43
Institutional Care of Children							
Food Purchased	84.50	85.45	77.82	71.61	131.95	49.09	121.47
Donated	12.74	8.29	5.40	10.37	10.15	57.09	.77
Produced	58.51	66.68	63.69	100.08	.69	37.19	—
Subtotal	155.75	160.42	146.91	182.06	142.79	143.37	122.24
Household salaries	68.15	69.82	67.85	63.55	87.67	29.82	101.43
Supplies and expenses	25.62	25.40	23.14	27.92	24.82	28.25	24.35
Clothing	31.39	31.32	36.25	28.87	25.92	44.79	14.31
Health	9.27	10.40	13.91	7.23	9.85	3.29	5.11
Recreation	3.10	3.32	3.21	3.47	3.21	1.75	2.52
Subtotal	137.53	140.26	144.36	131.04	151.47	107.90	147.72
Plant Operation and Maintenance							
Salaries and wages	10.66	12.45	16.72	7.30	14.34	4.45	—
Fuel, light, power, ice, water	34.20	37.56	37.41	39.46	33.73	15.95	23.03
Replacement and repair	53.11	48.14	52.01	49.24	37.38	113.44	25.66
Subtotal	97.97	98.15	106.14	96.00	85.45	133.84	48.69
Total, excluding education	457.35	466.54	451.54	490.60	446.87	449.42	370.08
Education							
Institutional education	17.85	20.55	31.36	13.76	11.93	9.38	—
Public education	42.92	42.82	43.03	36.10	56.98	49.46	35.44
Subtotal	60.77	63.37	74.39	49.86	68.91	58.84	35.44
Total	$518.12	$529.91	$525.93	$540.46	$515.78	$508.26	$405.52

cost accounting and comparison of costs has been taken jointly by the American Public Welfare Association and the Bureau of Public Assistance of the Social Security Board. Several years ago the Association appointed a special committee on welfare accounting procedures. With the co-operation of the federal agency and of various other interested agencies and individuals, a Standard Classification of Public Assistance Costs has been recently published.[1] Such diversity exists in classification of services in the various fields of welfare work as to make such advance plotting prerequisite to the development of uniform accounting schedules. It is like the development of a master map by the Geological Survey. It would be fortunate if this accounting scheme could be extended promptly to cover the details of child welfare work of various types, including institutions.

The continued growth of federated financing, greatly stimulated by the development of war chests, is requiring increased discrimination in accounting and budgeting. Any community that confronts a deluge of new appeals should ask all who seek funds to establish as clearly as possible the needs of their agencies. Obsolete services should be identified and indicated for deletion; often such services testify to the community's unwillingness to pay for effective social work and the agency's ineffective leadership for the task for which it is organized. The increased costs for operating even substandard institutions complicate still further these problems.

The discipline required in uniform accounting for children's institutions should meet widespread and voluntary acceptance. It is unfortunate that such discipline has been obtained only where imposed by appropriation of funds. It will be best for children's institutions, along with other agencies serving children, to take the initiative in this matter. If they do not themselves take steps necessary for classifications, uniform accounting, and uniform reporting of fiscal data, we may expect less complete (and possibly misleading) short-cut methods to be imposed upon institutions by various funding authorities.

[1] American Public Welfare Association, Chicago, 1942.

PART FIVE: EVALUATION

Chapter 15

ANALYZING CHILDREN'S INSTITUTIONS THROUGH SELF-CRITICISM AND SURVEYS

To ANALYZE AND to appraise implies the use of tests and standards. The best single mark of the fitness of an institution is its ability to help the children who enter its doors to grow out of the dependency that brought them there. Such fitness can be observed in many institutions, and to identify its elements and account for its vitality has been one of the aims of this book. Unfitness often is more easily discernible and the familiar phrase "institutionalized children" becomes a reality to anyone who has observed institutional child care at low ebb. Unhealthy and retarding influences also have been identified and discussed in these pages.

Methods of appraisal of children's institutions, whether in the form of self-analysis or of a social survey by specialists or others, warrant careful consideration, both because the number of these institutions is so large and because the proportion needing critical evaluation is so great. A preferred group may be identified by high standards of service and continuing improvement in their work. Probably one-third, however, are so lacking in leadership and in resources that to undertake their improvement to any adequate degree is impractical; they should be eliminated. Another third, while painfully substandard, are yet so needed as to make their radical improvement of first importance; it is this group for which surveys have definite value. These observations, although severe, express the writer's conviction based on first-hand experience, often as consultant or surveyor.

Certain Causes of Obsolescence in Institutions

The lack of widespread and critical interest on the part of the community accounts for much of the backwardness that characterizes many of our social institutions. This is especially true of any organization serving those who are dependent upon society for all or part of their care; it applies to institutions for adults as well as to those caring for children. One reason for this apathy lies in the fact that governmental officials and most taxpayers, together with those who support community chests and independent agencies, are not among those who use charitable institutions. They do not expect their own children to live in a child-caring institution and therefore it is not so real to them as are public schools and hospitals which serve them personally. Mr. American watches with some attentiveness his schools and hospitals, knowing that they are constantly needed in these days by his own family and the families of his friends. But he is relatively indifferent to the question of efficiency in establishments, such as child-caring institutions and schools for the dependent, delinquent, and those physically and mentally handicapped; hospitals for the mentally diseased; homes for the aged; prisons and jails.

Institutions for dependent children attempt quite as exacting a task as that expected of our schools and hospitals, and their performance should be on a correspondingly high level. Within the past fifty years our hospitals have undergone a transformation now so complete as to be almost forgotten. Before 1890 it was exceptional to send a relative to a hospital; hospitals were mostly for paupers, and death rates among their patients were excessive. Today we would be considered neglectful of a seriously ill person if we denied him hospital care. While antisepsis, anaesthesia, improved surgery have played their part, the greatest transformation has been in the development of skilled personnel. As we have repeatedly said, a similar need prevails today in children's institutions.

The resistance to criticism on the part of those who operate such establishments is as responsible for obsolescence and inefficiency as is the complacency of their supporting constituencies. Trustees and executives are inclined to protect the work which they have established and the traditions which they have inherited and cherished. The defensive reactions of a staff usually are even more protective—both of tenure and of a comfortable routine which fits their capacities.

Importance of Self-Analysis

Some strong institutions engage in self-study which brings together as participants trustees, executive, and staff. Such study may take various forms. Sometimes it is a planned and detailed analysis of all departments, and includes checking the status of the institution against available published standards adopted either by governmental authorities or private agencies. More often it is the less formal examination of policies and practices growing out of case conferences in which trustees have joined executive and staff in planning for particular children. Committees also often initiate and carry on limited evaluations. Studied planning, however it comes about, invariably leads to scrutiny of functions and reappraisal of the institution's resources.

In several states welfare officials responsible for licensing institutions have had splendid co-operation from institutional executives especially in drafting standards to be published by state welfare departments. Executives more than any others have intimate acquaintance with the problems of child-caring establishments, and as their work is put upon a professional level we can expect from them much of the vital leadership needed to improve this field of welfare work.

Even a temporary worker may stimulate healthy criticism. The custom of one institution has been to employ college or graduate students to fill throughout the summer months the places of workers on vacation and to supplement the recreation staff. The impressions of these temporary workers have been solicited at the end of their summer employment. Valuable and practical suggestions have come from them. They were often better qualified to criticize than were the regular workers whose habits of thought and longer employment under institutional conditions had led them to tolerate or ignore indefensible attitudes and practices.

More and more institutions have standards sufficiently high and leadership sufficiently intelligent to permit them to invite and use thoughtful criticism from outsiders. Consultants are increasingly in demand whose professional competence is greater than that of any member of the board or staff.

Some Surveys and Studies of Child Welfare Problems

Among the several thousand social surveys made in the United States since 1907, when that pioneer communitywide study, the Pittsburgh Sur-

vey, was undertaken, have been hundreds of studies or surveys of institutions for children. These evaluations, together with routine appraisals made by state welfare officials or councils of social agencies, have paved the way for answering the question, "Which institutions are fit to survive?"

Charles Dickens was not engaged in social surveying as we know it but he did make critical appraisals of the child welfare work of his day. Such vivid descriptions as that of a nineteenth century almshouse, with its thin soup and its equally thin Oliver Twists, were the work of a militant crusader for children's rights. By his deep and sensitive concern for the suffering of neglected or mistreated children, he stimulated social action as surely as do our modern surveyors. Our own century might profit were Dickens to live again.

Most social studies or surveys which include children's institutions within their scope are not published. This is true of the various reports prepared by the Child Welfare League of America for the confidential use of persons locally who have sponsored the survey. Carl C. Carstens, as the League's first executive, directed nearly all these surveys and edited most of the reports covering 300 or more institutions. They represent, perhaps, the largest number of such surveys made under any one auspice.

Another who studied institutions most faithfully was Hastings H. Hart, of the Russell Sage Foundation. He probably visited more of them during his long and active life than any other single investigator, and the several published volumes of his findings and those of his assistants, William H. Slingerland and C. Spencer Richardson, contain only part of his reported work in the field.

Henry W. Thurston, an early president of the Child Welfare League, and thus an associate of Dr. Carstens, has accounted for various surveys in his book, The Dependent Child, which also vividly describes the historical development of foster care, whether in institutions or family homes.

One of the most detailed of published reports of studies of institutions is the volume entitled Children's Institutions by the Reverend John M. Cooper.[1] Dr. Cooper wrote this comprehensive book after directing a field study of 97 Catholic and a few non-Catholic institutions, the field studies having been made by five social workers. The careful definition

[1] Dolphin Press, Philadelphia, 1931.

of the limits of this work stands in some contrast to the dimly defined purposes of most surveyors.

A somewhat similar, but much less detailed report of a study of the child-caring activities of various Protestant organizations covering 58 institutions and child-placing agencies, was prepared by the writer in 1924 for the Child Welfare League. The study, which was never published, was, however, used freely by church officials and others responsible for work for children in the United States under Protestant auspices.

Standards Commonly Used in Appraisals

The appraisal of child-caring institutions is facilitated by certain ready-made outlines in pamphlet form setting forth standards for good institutional organization, housing, and service, published by the Child Welfare League, the United States Children's Bureau, and the welfare departments of several states. Such standards, influenced largely by progressive social workers who have had practical experience as executives of child-caring institutions, also contain contributions from a variety of consultants including physicians, dietitians, architects, and fire marshals. Comparison of these standards shows a sequence and dependence, one upon another, that give them much in common.

An early formal effort to develop detailed standards was made by state welfare officials in Georgia (1925) whose incomplete work provided a basis for a publication by the United States Children's Bureau.[1] This material, together with a set of standards developed by the Bureau of Children, Pennsylvania Department of Welfare, entitled Child Care Institutions, was background for the pamphlet first published by the Child Welfare League of America in 1928 and revised in 1937.[2] One of the most detailed and valuable of existing standards is entitled An Outline of Practices and Aims for Children's Institutions. The Committee on Institutions for Children of the Welfare Council of New York City prepared this material, which was published by the Department of Social Welfare of New York in 1935. States in which welfare departments have prepared standards and published them in printed or mimeographed form include Alabama, Arkansas, California, Indiana, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio,

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[1] Handbook for the Use of Boards of Directors, Superintendents, and Staffs of Institutions for Dependent Children. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1936.

[2] Standards of Foster Care for Children in Institutions. New York, 1937.

Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and Washington. The help of institutional trustees, executives, and other workers, individually or in committees, was utilized in New York in the preparation of the standards of its Social Welfare Department and in several other states including Alabama, Arkansas, Indiana, Louisiana, Maryland, Ohio, Texas, and Virginia. Similar efforts are contemplated in still other states. In a few instances state officials consistently refer institutions to the standards published by the Children's Bureau or the Child Welfare League, a state in this way avoiding the need for publications of its own.

Much excellent committee work lies behind these brief guide books to good practice. It is unfortunate that they do not have a wider circulation among those financial contributors, trustees, judges, architects, and social workers whose relations to children's institutions should reflect more understanding of adequacies and inadequacies in this field.

The Survey: Who Makes It?

Surveys of institutions are sometimes made by specialists and sometimes by general practitioners.

Scrutiny of various reports shows that each reflects the general point of view of the surveyor's own profession. The social worker who evaluates an organization is likely to emphasize the child's need of a family, the educator stresses the need for vocational or general education, the nutritionist points to the basic importance of diet, and the statistician appraises costs of institutional care in comparison with similar or different types of social work.

An ideal survey of an institution would require the collaboration of all these and several other professions. It will help the appraiser to recognize the limitations of his own profession and to avoid over-weighting his own judgment if he becomes familiar with the work of those from other fields. The social sciences owe their vitality to such collaborations, just as the physical sciences are obliged to lean heavily one upon the other.

Some surveys have been made by college or graduate students, usually as amateur efforts which primarily aim at the education of the surveyor. Others assume the nature of research, seeking to explore and to extend our knowledge about mankind in a special area. Illustrative of such are the studies of nutrition in children's institutions made at Teachers College, Columbia University, and studies of the development of infants

in institutions made by those engaged in psychological research at the University of Iowa and at Yale University. More common are the surveys directed toward community planning or toward the revision or improvement of the work of the institutions studied.

Most surveys lack some of the important attributes of scientific research, having rather the nature of detailed consultations with executives and others. A surveyor's experience, which usually determines the direction of his findings, may have included research, but surveying hangs upon pragmatic tests, and seldom is judgment suspended while search for the truth is prolonged.

Steps in Negotiating a Survey

Occasionally surveys are arranged by zealous men or women who lack the final authority to approve the step they have encouraged.

The individuals negotiating a survey should be clearly identified, especially as to their status as officials of a corporation that accepts responsibility for authorizing a survey and for receiving and paying for it. It is customary for a resolution of the governing board to authorize both the survey and payment for it. Should any individuals be replaced in office before its completion, or should they become incapacitated, there may be definite need for signed statements showing what is expected of each party to the agreement. An exchange of letters will be sufficient, but these letters should leave no disagreement on important questions and should include such points as here indicated. A letter from the surveyor should state (1) his willingness to make the survey, (2) its scope, (3) the kind of report and the number of copies to be supplied, (4) some indication of time required, (5) amount to be paid, this being itemized, and (6) when payments are to be made. The party requesting the survey should designate (1) by whom it has been authorized, (2) acceptance of conditions stated by the surveyor, (3) agreement to pay the sum quoted by the surveyor and the terms upon which payments are to be made.

Purpose of a Survey

Authorities requesting a survey usually have a purpose in mind, which may or may not warrant a formal study, and any surveyor will do well to ascertain what events have led up to their determination to make one. Some surveys are requested by trustees who are discontented with the

executive but who lack the courage to discharge him. In such situations trustees usually know what is wrong and they want to point to a report, rather than to their own decision, as the principal reason for getting rid of the incompetent superintendent. A survey should not be confused with an investigation. Then there are executives as well as trustees who want a survey that will approve, or even whitewash, the work of their administration. Wherever trusteeship reaches so low an ebb it is injudicious to spend money for such a purpose, and a surveyor may well ask himself whether it is professionally desirable to serve such groups or individuals. Some good may follow surveys so motivated, but generally they are not justified.

Surveys may implement the application of some new policy or follow upon a change in philosophy, as in instances where administrations of institutions for infants have been preparing to change to the use of foster homes. One survey made for a religious denomination helped to show that its mission school should be closed so that the development of public schools in a thinly settled state would not be retarded by competition from the church. This communion was traditionally an advocate of public school education, but its mission school unwittingly had drawn just enough children from certain neighborhoods to make ineffective the state law requiring public schools in districts where a certain number of children were without other educational facilities.

An inclination to merge two or more institutions or agencies has been the purpose behind many surveys. Some of these developments have been reasonably planned with first regard for the quality of service which might result from the merger. Others have been characterized by an unenlightened drive toward surface efficiency or economy. Even though their professional competence and their ability to evaluate the work of others may be sadly limited, surveyors often are chosen for such surveys because they can be expected to recommend the merger. Somewhat similar are the situations in which it has been decided in advance that a survey should bring control over two or more agencies into the hands of some group or individual.

Questions pertaining to functions and relations with other agencies should be raised in the survey of any social agency, but they should be raised without prejudgment. Similarly, it is proper to ask whether a small and weak institution should be merged with a stronger institution or agency so that better service may be developed. It is human for individuals and groups to derive great satisfaction from power gained

through consolidations, either in business or in eleemosynary activities, but it is important to avoid concealing a drive for power behind a pretense of social planning. The validity of purpose in any survey can be tested by suggesting to those authorizing the survey alternative and contrasting policies which might be studied. If the primary concern of the promoters is for something other than child welfare or community planning, it probably will thus be exposed.

Scope of a Survey

There is not always a clear-cut relationship between purpose and scope of a survey. Those who authorize a survey are often inexperienced in such evaluations and usually have little idea as to scope, either in terms of subjects to be included or the intensity with which each is to be studied. Scope may be limited by the size of a survey staff, the money and time available, the professional competence of the surveyors, and the tasks the staff is willing to undertake.

A survey or a surveyor should avoid entering the province of administration of the agency surveyed. There may be temptation to join in decisions which should be made only by the trustees or executive of the agency. The surveyor should clarify thinking and point to issues, but should leave to trustees and executives their solution. Toward this end it is important that major recommendations be discussed informally before being written into a report.

Experience in making surveys will reveal the inability, frequent among those requesting the service, to anticipate all that should be included in a study, whether of a particular agency or of a community situation involving a group of agencies. This means that the tendency to determine in advance the scope of a survey needs to be modified by such reservations as will permit consideration of some important subject which at first appeared to be inconsequential or which may even have been ignored. It is common for surveyors themselves to recommend further study of some aspect of a program or agency. This is justified, and no investigator should be ashamed to admit his failure to foresee accurately the course or extent of a study, or any other honest limitation. Experience in surveying also has shown that some of the objectives sought will be found to be beyond the scope of the study, either in terms of time allowed or competence of the survey staff. It is in the interests of

all concerned for a surveyor to avoid raising false hopes, and he will do well to define in advance a few points that he will not undertake to consider. After all, a survey should not be thought of as an end in itself.

The survey of a single agency may be plotted in advance in greater detail than one of a community or a group of agencies. In a community survey it has sometimes proved desirable to add to the survey staff a worker whose task could not be foreseen when plans for the survey were being laid.

Even though a survey cover only one institution it seems unprofessional to freeze in advance its scope or findings by adherence to uniform schedules. To use the same schedule for each survey of separate institutions would prevent focusing, as a survey should, upon services or factors needing special attention. One institution may have the greatest confusion in its board organization, another in the alignment of its staff, and still another in its development of a budget. If a surveyor is competent for his task he will also be competent to draw up a schedule particularly adapted to each survey.

However, certain basic data should be included in most surveys of institutions. In appraising the staff of an institution it is desirable to get a clear picture of each worker's previous work experience, education, length of present employment, duties, salary, relief and vacation allowances. This suggests that one survey schedule may borrow from another a reasonable structural development so long as it does not degenerate into blind copying of schedules or sub-schedules and takes into account the direction and principal objectives of the survey.

Illustrative of variations in the scope of four surveys of separate institutions made within a period of fifteen months under auspices of the Child Welfare League of America, are the following lists of chapter titles quoted from the tables of contents of the survey reports.

Contents of Survey Report A

Introduction
Trends
Population Study
Admissions and Discharges
Some Problems Facing the Children After They Leave the Institution
The Institution and Its Program [1]
Plant and Equipment
Comments and Recommendations

[1] This chapter constitutes a section of the report, there being subsections or chapters on board of managers and trustees, superintendent and wife, staff, personnel practices, health services, medical services, dental services, eye examinations, mental hygiene service, hospital and clinic facilities, personal hygiene, nutrition, menus, education, vocational training, sex education, the library, clothing, allowances, recreation, spiritual and moral training, social adjustments.

Contents of Survey Report B

Preface
  Scope and Purpose of the Survey
Organization
Administrative Staff
Finances
Grounds, Buildings, and Equipment
Self-Government and the Economic Program
Feeding
Discipline
Clothing
Medical Program
Housing, Home Life, and Recreation
Education
Religion
Social Service
Psychiatry and Mental Hygiene
The Institution's Place in the Community
Summary of Principal Recommendations
Appendices

Contents of Survey Report C

Preface
History
Relation to Constituency
Study of the Home
Function
Organizational Structure
Management of the Home
Physical Plant and Grounds
Study of Child Population
Staff
Feeding
Clothing
Institutional Living
Allowance Given Each Child
Educational Facilities
Religious Observances and Education
Special Medical Services
Social Services
Record Keeping
Field Department
Analysis of Collections 1935-1940
Finances
Statement of Operating Income for 3 Years
Statement of Operating Expenses for 3 Years
Per Capita Costs, Operating Expenses
Agencies Providing Foster Care in Institutions only, 1938-1939
General Recommendations
Appendices

Contents of Survey Report D

Scope and Purpose of Survey
The Church and Child Welfare Service
Location and Population
Purpose
Organization and Administration
Staff
Diet
Health
Dental Service
Religious Training
Recreation
Allowances
Education
Work Program
Clothing
Building and Equipment
Social Service
Finance
Conclusion
Appendix

Budgeting the Costs

It is common for surveyors to underestimate the time required to organize a survey, to complete field work, write, publish, and deliver

the report, and to make any follow-up visits necessary for interpretation and application of the report. Some of these steps often have been overlooked, especially those pertaining to publication and delivery of the report and its follow-up.

Negotiations for a survey may be begun and concluded by way of letters, some of which are definitely contractual. Preferably personal visits should precede final arrangements. Sometimes committee meetings and even a brief exploratory service are essential and may involve travel. An organization may either charge for expenses so incurred or it may cover these costs with other items under a service or overhead charge.

The amount of time allowed for field work depends principally upon scope of the survey and tempo at which a survey staff works. Some surveyors cover a given assignment in half the time others require, and, like all difficult work, this becomes easier with experience. The payroll of the survey staff is the principal cost item, and here is the danger area for serious miscalculation. Time should be allowed for frequent conference with those whose work is to be studied and criticized and those who are to receive the survey findings. It is well to allow a small margin of time beyond that which is definitely estimated, to cover the study of subjects or factors that could not be accounted for within the scope agreed upon in advance.

In addition to salaries for surveyors, the field-work charges usually include stenographic service, travel, hotel expenses, and telephone and telegraph. On large surveys it usually is necessary to rent offices temporarily for use of the survey staff.

Preparation of reports must be preceded by arrangement of data, sometimes involving the services of a statistician. The writing by the professional staff of reports, including statistical work, usually requires as much time as is spent on field work, and whatever pressure may be exerted upon him to reduce his estimate, a surveyor will do well not to yield, but to require as many days for this work as are allowed for work in the field. Stenographic service may bulk large at this stage of survey budgeting. There is great difference in the extent to which professional workers require stenographic assistance. Some will want typed two or three preliminary drafts of a survey report, while others require only one draft preceding the final one.

The number of copies needed probably will determine whether a survey should be covered by a typewritten, mimeographed, or printed report. Cost of these services should be carefully estimated, and this can

be done only by calculating in advance the page or word-length of the report. It is well to have enough copies of a report so that all trustees, or others with official responsibility, may have separate copies. Extra ones sometimes are needed for persons outside the agency. The report may be of value to other agencies, and for that purpose, too, a surplus of copies sometimes is desirable. Legibility and durability should be given consideration, as some persons will use a report repeatedly. A cardboard cover and a good quality of mimeograph service usually represent money well spent. Express or postage for delivering a bulky report may cost enough to require separate accounting in the survey budget.

Time and money should be allowed for certain follow-up measures. At least one conference should be held after a report has been delivered, to permit surveyors and those who receive the report to reconcile or define clearly any differences in opinion. Such conference or conferences, like those preliminary to a survey, should not be omitted for sake of economy. A meeting of minds following the conclusion of a survey often prevents unsympathetic critics from making mountains of mole hills. Surveyors can thus help authorities receiving a report to both ease and expedite their application of findings.

All the foregoing items may be translated into the estimate of costs. It is wise to add to the total a service or overhead charge ranging from 10 to 20 per cent. Without such a charge those making a survey probably will find themselves confronted with a deficit.

Difficulties in forecasting the time and expense of a survey may be met by contracting for the work on a cost, plus service charge, basis. But even then it is well to have minimum and maximum figures which will give some protection to the surveyor and to the employing group. Like some speakers, surveyors sometimes find it difficult to stop, and, if left to themselves, will continue for an inordinately long period.

The Objective

Cheap and inefficient institutional care is costly to society; wherever such inadequate care persists, improvement should be sufficiently radical and prompt to warrant continued public support of the institution.

Surveys will reveal, as this book has tried to do, that many institutions for children still get along with nothing in their budgets for medical service, social case work, recreation, or for substitutes who should be available when regular workers have their weekly time off duty. Where

standards for staffing have kept salaries for housemothers on the same level as the wages of domestic servants, and then have given these workers excessive loads, recommendations should be made for higher salaries and increases in the number of staff. An honest survey will indicate that to withhold such provisions is an injury to the children. Unless both leadership and resources of a community permit essential improvements in the administration of an institution, a recommendation to discontinue its work may be the only step consistent with child welfare.

When children's lives are concerned it is not just a question of patiently awaiting improvements which the presence of forces already operating may in time bring about. Actual damage to children is a big price to add to the cost of a service which already falls short of meeting their needs. Intolerance of ineffective service to dependent children is doubly required of us because the children cannot speak for themselves and because those standing *in loco parentis* are not always their ready advocates. We would be intolerant if our government kept our navy cluttered with sailing ships, yet many of our institutions are quite as obsolete, and the passengers are helpless children.

Appendix A

EXCERPTS FROM A REPORT BY JOHANN HEINRICH PESTALOZZI

DESCRIBING HIS EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT FOR POOR CHILDREN AT NEUHOF, IN AARGAU, SWITZERLAND, DATED AND SIGNED BY HIM ON FEBRUARY 26, 1778:

I have today in my establishment the following children:

1. Barbara Brunner, of Esch (Zurich), 17; admitted three years ago in a state of utter ignorance, but very intelligent. Now she spins, reads, and writes fairly well, likes singing, is principally engaged in the kitchen.

2. Frena Hirt, 15;
3. Maria Hirt, 11; } two sisters, from Windisch.

Frena has a weak chest; she spins well, is beginning to sew and write nicely. I am pleased with her character. Maria is younger and stronger, is quick at everything, especially figures, and spins remarkably well; she is quite strong enough for any work suited to her age.

4. Anna Vogt, 19
5. Lisbeth Vogt, 11 } two sisters, from Mandach.

They came to me three years ago, terribly neglected in body and mind; they had spent their lives in begging. We have had enormous trouble to make them in the least degree orderly, truthful, and active. The ignorance of the elder, and the depth of degradation to which she had sunk are scarcely credible. She is still idle, but her heart seems to have been touched. She still feels the effect of her miserable childhood, and suffers from swollen feet and other ailments; she is absolutely incapable of out-door work.

The younger sister is intelligent and robust, but I tremble at her determined opposition to all good influences. Lately, however, I have seen, I fancy, some very slight traces of improvement. She spins fairly well, and can do any sort of work either in the house or the fields.

6. Henri Vogt, of Mandach, 11; has been here three years; can weave, is beginning to write, works hard at French and arithmetic, is exact and careful in all he does; but he seems cunning and deceitful, suspicious and greedy; has good health.

7. Anneli Vogt, of Mandach, 11, daughter of Jacob Vogt; likes work, spins well, sings prettily, is apt at figures, is strong and useful out of doors as well as in the house; has been here three years.

8. Jacob Vogt, her brother, 9; here three years. He is subject to occasional attacks of colic, one of the results of his wretched childhood. He is stubborn and very idle.

9. Jacob Eichemberger, of Brunegg, 13; was induced to run away six months ago, but came back after a long absence. He seems to have a good disposition; he

is intelligent, strong and useful in the fields; he is attentive, a good weaver, and is beginning to write fairly well.

10. Lisbeth Renold, of Brunegg, 10; when admitted a year and a half ago she was so weak from want of proper food that she could hardly walk; has made great progress; enjoys good health now, and is very intelligent, but there is little hope of her ever being strong enough for work in the fields. She spins well and diligently.

11. David Rudolf, of Zurzach, 15; here a year and a half; weaves well, has a good disposition, writes well, and takes pains with arithmetic and French.

12. Leonzi Hediger, of Endingen, near Baden, 14; has been here three years. He is a healthy boy, strong and accustomed to working in the fields; the best weaver in the house; is beginning to write a little, and likes French. He is quick at everything, but ill-mannered and uncouth.

13. Francisca Hediger, his sister, 16; here three years, she spins, sews, and cooks equally well; she has all the qualities of a thoughtful, obedient, intelligent, and honest servant.

14. Marianne Hediger } two sisters; both healthy, active, and capable of house-
15. Maria Hediger } work or field-work.

16. Friedly Mynth, of Bussy, near Aubonne, lived afterwards at Worblauffen, 10; has been here six months; she is very weak, and incapable of real work, but is clever in drawing and has very artistic tastes. Inclined to fun; does nothing but draw.

17. Susan Mynth, her sister, 9; healthy, very diligent and active, takes pleasure in her studies.

18. Marianne Mynth, their sister, 8; a pretty child, intelligent, very sensitive, and as whimsical and self-willed as her sisters; she is not strong enough for heavy work.

19. Babeli Baechli, 17; has been here three years; she is very inattentive and thoughtless, and only useful for running errands; of very little intelligence, but strong and healthy.

20. Jacob Baechli, her brother, 15; here three years; is also inattentive and thoughtless; spent his childhood in begging and idleness; weaves fairly well, and is beginning to write, but has no taste for French; discontented and hard to satisfy.

21. Rudi Baechli, 10; here three years; remarkable for his taste for figures, good-nature, and calm earnestness in his religious duties.

22. Maria Baechli, his sister; 8; weak both in mind and body. But it will be very interesting for humanity to see that imbecile children, who, badly brought up, would have had nothing but the madhouse before them, may by tender care be saved from this sad end, and taught to earn a modest and independent livelihood.

23. George Vogt, of Mandach, 11; here two years; a very promising boy; takes pains with everything; kind, intelligent, lively, healthy, and useful in the fields and in the house.

24. Henri Fuchsli, of Brugg, 7; has only been here a few weeks; seems intelligent.

25. Jean Maurer, of Stettlen, 15; here six months; strong, and very useful in the fields, weaves well, is fairly diligent and has some power; but I am sometimes afraid that his simplicity and amiability are only a pretense.

26. Anni Maurer, his sister, 12; of most uncouth manners, especially at meals; very slow and lazy, lies most unblushingly; spins well, but slowly and with much labour; is strong and healthy.

27. Louis Schroeter, 15; very able boy, but unfortunately very deceitful; as he writes well, and has made great progress with arithmetic and French, he is very useful to me; has an exceptionally good ear for music.

28. Babette Schroeter, his sister, 15; sews, spins and reads fairly well, is beginning to write.

29. Nanette Henri, 9
30. Gatton Henri, 8
} brother and sister.

These children have lately been sent to me from Schenkenberg by the head of the French colony, who generously provided them with many necessaries. They are well-behaved and good-tempered; Gatton is very capable and vivacious, Nanette less so. They have never been accustomed to do anything, and their open and affectionate natures make it hard to set them to steady work so soon. But I am quite sure they will get on well, especially Gatton.

31. Suzanne Dattwyler, of Elfingen, 10; her unfortunate father is in prison; she came to me half dead from want and trouble, but her bodily strength is returning in a surprising manner. She spins well; is very quick, especially at singing.

32. Suzanne de Tallheim, 10; natural child, has been in the habit of running away; is intelligent, but deceitful and capricious. Likes singing, spins well, has good health.

33. Conrad Meyer, 10
34. Lisbeth Meyer, 9
35. Maurice Meyer, 4
} of Rohrdorf, near Baden.

Came to me quite recently after a life of vagrancy. Conrad is healthy; Lisbeth's nature promises well; Maurice was in a terrible condition from want, but is beginning to regain strength. He seems intelligent.

36. George Hediger, 4; this child and the one last mentioned are the only two children in the house who are still too young to earn anything by their work.

37. Henry Hirsbrunner, of Sumiswald, 12; this boy is very clever and attentive. I expect very much from him, if only after having been a servant in the town, he can reconcile himself to our mode of life. He makes rapid progress, and has learned to write better in a few days than others who have been learning for months.

Appendix B

EXCERPTS FROM THE ALBANY DIARY

A Typical Day

December, 1937: "It's time to get up," is the 6:30 greeting from Henry's housemother. Always, or almost always, Henry gets up promptly, airs his bed, washes, combs his hair, and reaches the dining room just as the cow bell used for cottage signals is rung for a 7 o'clock breakfast.

Cottage tasks, which may consist of cleaning the bathroom, the front porch, or the dining room, or washing the dishes, occupy the time following breakfast until Henry leaves for school. Were the early morning schedule interpreted through sound effects it would include, "Aw, do I have to get up?" "I'm coming!" "Tom crooked my comb." "I can't find a broom." "Eddie took my dust pan."

More zealous about playing en route to school than in cleaning the house, Henry may leave with his job unfinished. At the front door his housemother calls, "Henry! Come back!" When confronted with a corner unswept, Henry is astounded. "But I thought I did it *all,* this morning!"

His older cottage fellows leave for high school at 7:50 and begin their school day at 8:30. They take with them school lunches and return between three and four in the afternoon.

Henry, in the sixth grade, can leave as late as 8:30 and still be in time for his classes at nine. He has time to kick a football for a few minutes on the school grounds or throw snowballs at his friends. His going to school and his return are his own obligation. He may go entirely alone, with other boys from the Home, with neighborhood boys, or with his girl friend. The only requirements are that he should avoid tardiness, come home with reasonable promptness, and obey traffic regulations, crossing streets only where there is an officer.

Home for lunch at 11:45, he barely has time to eat in the cottage dining room, help with the dishes, and return to school by one o'clock.

After school he has a task which may be sweeping the hall in the Administration Building, cleaning the gymnasium, or shoveling snow. His promptness and diligence determine whether this task keeps him for thirty minutes or an hour. There is no janitor on the Home's payroll and only one maid, whose entire time is required in Lathrop Cottage where the youngest children live. The older boys and girls, therefore, supervised by the workers, do most of the cleaning in the ten buildings at the Home and keep the premises out-of-doors fairly presentable. This work is done as part of the plan under which each child of suitable age performs some simple task and receives as a return some spending money. The harder tasks

merit more pay. Children under twelve years of age have no regular after-school tasks, having this time free for recreation.

Supper is usually served at 5:15 so that a long evening can be available for study and play. All excepting those who work in kitchens and dining rooms have thirty or forty minutes to themselves after supper.

Study hour lasts from 6:30 to 7:30. Children too young to have homework are on their way to bed; or they may have quiet play in their cottages, or a period of supervised play in the Van Alstyne Memorial Recreation Building, or on the campus. The high-school students may remain at their studies from 6:30 until 9:30 or occasionally even later. This varies greatly according to the difficulty of each student's course of study, his ability to study, and his ambition. The library is open before supper and afterward until 8 to 8:30. There, books of reference, encyclopedias, and periodicals are used and children come to read for pleasure only, as well as for study.

Promptly at 7:30 are periods for athletics in the gymnasium, dramatics in the auditorium, cooking classes (which both boys and girls regard as recreation), or meetings of the troops of girl scouts or boy scouts—all scheduled and supervised by the Director of Activities. Bedtime follows these activities. Children are classified by their housemothers and the nurse according to their ages and their health needs as those who go to bed at 7:30, 8:30, or 9:30.

Experiences of Our Children in the Community

January, 1937: Many of our neighbors are helpful in educating our children in ordinary social amenities. There are invitations to birthday parties in the homes of school friends, Sunday dinners in such homes, and occasional visits after school. School friends are welcomed in our cottages, although more visiting of this sort would be desirable. Some of the older children have opportunities to earn money in the neighborhood. All these experiences help our children to find their way as individuals and to have that self-respect which comes with happy neighborhood life.

There are few runaways from the Home. The oldest children consider it silly for anyone to run away from a place where there is so much freedom. Last fall during the week of the World Series baseball games four boys ran away, taking with them a radio. In Tom Sawyer style they found their way to the river and were en route to an island hideout. The man from whom they took a boat without permission caught one of the boys and helped us find the others. One of these venturesome spirits later led two successive runaway parties which involved truancies from school. Finally he was committed to an institution for delinquents where his school attendance will be more assured. He is the only child who in the years 1935 to 1937, has gone directly from the Home to such an institution.

On holidays, including Sundays, there is much visiting with relatives and friends. Dinner invitations from the relatives, Sunday School teachers, neighbors, and other friends usually are accepted. Most of the children have several opportunities each year to enjoy such hospitality in the homes and in the company of friends they like.

Membership in a radio club at Trinity Institute is a privilege enjoyed by several

boys. School clubs have a generous representation from our girls and boys. In the elementary as well as the high schools our boys have opportunities to try for places on athletic teams. The oldest boy under our care was on the 1936 varsity football squad at Albany High School. He played in enough games to give him his letter. Another was on the Schuyler Junior High School football squad.

The Girl Scout and Boy Scout troops at the Home are encouraged to compete with other troops and to participate in community activities with other troops. Both of our troops have been well represented for several years at Camp Cogswell and Camp Hawley. From these experiences girls and boys of scout age have learned to mingle happily with their peers and to acquire the resourcefulness and skills which both scout organizations encourage.

We are happy to emphasize this policy in our work—that children must learn from living.

Children's Allowances

April, 1939: Two months have elapsed since the plan for regular monthly allowances for all children of school ages was begun. The allowances are graduated according to the following schedule:

Children in kindergarten						$ .10	monthly
"	" grades	1	and	2		.20	"
"	" "	3	"	4		.35	"
"	" "	5	"	6		.50	"
"	" "	7	to	9		.75	"
"	" "	10	"	12		1.00	"

About 15 of the oldest girls and boys are omitted from the allowance plan because they have opportunities either in the neighborhood or at the Home of earning more than the monthly allowance. The children on allowances are required to do daily tasks without pay, even the youngest having duties in their dormitories or dining rooms, for it is understood that all in a household should help in the necessary work. Those old enough to be Boy Scouts are required to mow lawns, shovel snow, clean offices, etc., when they return from the afternoon school sessions and on Saturday mornings. The fifteen or so having the most arduous duties—such as hauling ashes, assisting the storekeeper, ironing dresses, cleaning pots and pans, and putting little children to bed—have a monthly payroll on which they receive amounts ranging from $1.25 to $3.00 monthly. Among those who earn money in the neighborhood are one boy who sells newspapers and two girls who do domestic work after school.

It is the first time in the history of our institution when those under teen ages have had a regular supply of spending money. Even the two months of experience indicate that much valuable education can be derived from their simple economic experiences by these younger children.

Never before have they been assured of pennies or nickels to take to Sunday School. They seem gratified to have, like other children at school, a dime with

which to pay towards a marionette show, a party, or for flowers for some sick schoolmate. Too often in the past the teachers and the other children have assumed that the girls and boys from the Home should not be expected to pay their share. Several have opened school bank accounts in which they deposit as little as five cents weekly. This also was a school custom which the teachers urged upon other children but with which our children seldom were able to comply.

The new arrangement requires the children to buy their own school supplies. They are being much more careful of their tablets and pencils than when these were received for the asking. No longer are the more enterprising among them selling such articles to their friends, thus raising the price of an ice-cream cone or lollypop. This had been an occasional practice of our less scrupulous boys and girls for many years.

It is the littlest children in Lathrop Cottage for whom experiences with money are most novel. They have been heard to say, "My own money is in the big box in Mrs. Laycock's room." They are being taught in the handling of their pennies by Mrs. Laycock and the assistants in the cottage.

Each housemother receives the allowances from the bookkeeper on the first of each month. She does not disburse anything to the children until the seventh day of the month, when each may receive up to one-fourth of his monthly allowance. Thus the monthly allowance becomes available on a weekly basis, which is more consistent with the needs of children. Each housemother is spending several hours weekly as banker and in keeping her accounts which are checked occasionally by Mrs. Turner, the bookkeeper. These hours are in addition to the time spent advising children on what they should save and spend. It is gratifying to learn that on May 15th more than half of the children still had money left from their April allowances. This reflects the good work of the housemothers and the good judgment of the children.

Sunday Vespers

November, 1938: The service lasts for thirty minutes and usually it is led by the superintendent. It is held in the auditorium except during the warmest months when it is an outdoor service with the children grouped on the steps in front of the Administration building.

These outdoor services have been made particularly attractive during 1937 and 1938 by the singing of Negro spirituals. This was begun last year by a substitute worker from North Carolina, and we have continued the delightful custom. All of the older girls and boys can sing, "Hand Me Down the Silver Trumpet, Gabriel!" and other well-known spirituals.

The singing during December consists of Christmas carols, and for the rest of the year familiar hymns are used.

Vespers are the occasion for such announcements and explanations of programs and policies as the superintendent deems desirable. The entire period usually is less than thirty minutes, which requires brevity.

There is no fixed ritual. There may be a psalm, or the Lord's prayer repeated in unison. Half of the time or more is reserved for a story or talk by the superintendent.

To acquaint children with the great leaders, especially religious leaders, and to read or to review for them some of the classics have been the principal efforts.

One Lenten season was spent reading portions of Pilgrim's Progress, which was practically unknown to even the oldest children. Joan of Arc, St. Francis, and many others have been described.

Appendix C

FORMS RECOMMENDED

PHYSICAL EXAMINATION OF STAFF
ALBANY HOME FOR CHILDREN
ALBANY, NEW YORK

MEDICAL REPORT on..... Age.....

Residence ..... Date.....

Occupation

Time in service

Previous examinations: Here? Yes No; Insurance? Other employers?

Satisfactory? Rejected Why?

IMPAIRMENTS

Referred for special examinations?

What?

Results

.....M.D.
Examiner

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY AND EXAMINATIONS

FAMILY HISTORY:

Members:

Diseases:

Longevity:

Children:

PERSONAL HISTORY:

Illnesses:

Accidents:

Operations:

Absences from work on account of above in last five years?

PHYSICAL EXAMINATION: Height ft. in. Usual weight lbs.

Temperature Weight lbs. Maximum weight lbs.

Pulse Chest at rest in. Expansion Normal weight lbs.

Respiration Girth at umbilicus in.

Nutrition:

Habits: Alcohol Tea and coffee Sweets Food Bowels

Sleep Fatigue Rest Urination

Eyes:

Vision: Right Left

With glasses, vision: Right Left

History: Pupils:

Ears: Canal: Right

Hearing: Right Left

Left Drums: Right

History: Left

Mouth, teeth, gums, tongue:

Teeth—ever x-rayed?

Nose, throat, tonsils:

Sinuses:

History:

Heart:

Pulse:

Blood pressure: Systolic

Diastolic

History:

Rheumatic Fever?

Lungs:

Ever x-rayed?

History:

Abdomen:

History:

Hernia:

Genitourinary system:

History:

Menses: Breasts:

Nervous system: Reflexes:

Paralysis:

Demeanor:

Posture, spine and feet:

Joints:

Gait:

Endocrine glands and Miscellaneous:

Thyroid:

Skin and lymphatic system:

Inoculated, typhoid?
Vaccinated, smallpox?
Diphtheria immunization?
Schick test?
(Give dates)
Other?

LABORATORY FINDINGS:

Blood count:
Hemoglobin:
Wassermann:
Smears:
Stools:

Urine:
Alb.
Sugar S.G.
Reaction
Micros. exam.

Summary of X-ray findings:

[Remarks and further history notes:]

[A fourth page of this form, carrying the above bracketed heading, is desirable. A four-page form has the added advantage that it may be used in lieu of a folder.]

Form A-1

RECORD OF CHILD'S OWN FAMILY—Sheet 1

Number_____

A—FACTS FOR IDENTIFICATION AND REFERENCE

Surname

Address in full At Application_____ Date of Application_____

Alias

(LATER ADDRESSES SEE REVERSE SIDE)

Key No.	PARENTS (Present Marriage)	Birth Date (Mo. Da. Yr.)	Birth Place (City — State)	Death Date (Mo. Da. Yr.)	✓	Present Marriage	✓
1	Father					Date	
2	Mother (Maiden Name)					Place	

	CHILDREN (Of present marriage)	*	Birth Date (Mo. Da. Yr.)	Birth Place (City — State)	Death Date (Mo. Da. Yr.)	✓	School Grade	School or Work or Whereabouts if not at Home
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								

9	Unmarried Mother			Paternity established: Date	
10	Alleged Father			Court	
11	1st { Husband or Wife (Maiden Name)	Death or Divorce	Date Place	1st Marriage Date: Place	

	CHILDREN (Of above unions)	*	Birth Date (Mo. Da. Yr.)	Birth Place (City — State)	Death Date (Mo. Da. Yr.)	✓	School Grade	School or Work or Whereabouts if not at Home
12								
13								
14								
15								
16								

	OTHERS IN HOUSEHOLD	Sex	Age	Relationship or Connection	Usual occupation and weekly earnings
17					
18					

Indicate which Parent	Time in City — County — State — U. S.	Citizen	Race	Nationality	Religion	Usual occupation and weekly earnings

* Check children accepted issued by Child Welfare League of America ✓ Check if Verified (OVER)

ADDRESSES OF PARENTS (Indicate which Parent, if living apart)

✓	Date	Location	Rent	No. Rms.	Date	Location	Rent	No. Rms.

RELATIVES (Including Married Children. State whether relatives are paternal or maternal)

Key No.	✓	Relationship to Child	Full Name	Address (or, if dead, age and cause)
19				
20				
21				
22				
23				
24				
25				
26				
27				
28				
29				
30				
31				

REFERENCES AND OTHERS WHO KNOW FAMILY

AGENCIES REGISTERED WITH SOCIAL SERVICE EXCHANGE

Key No.	✓	Connection (as employer, physician, etc.)	Name and Address	Registered (Date)	Known / Not Known	✓
32						
33						
34						
35						
36						
37						
38						
39						
40						
41						
42						
43						
		✓ Check if Consulted				

Printed in U. S. A.

Form Ca—(1937 revision)

CHILD'S MEDICAL RECORD

Face Sheet

Number_____

Name _____ Sex _____ Date of Birth _____ Nationality or Race of: Father _____ Mother _____

Family History:

	Living	If dead, cause of death
Father		
Mother		
No. of Children		

Mention any physical or mental defects (especially insanity, feeblemindedness, epilepsy, tuberculosis, rheumatism, chorea, heart disease, syphilis, gonorrhea, alcoholism) in the family or relatives or in others who have lived or are living in contact with the child

Child's Developmental History and Habits:

Birth: Term_____ Wt._____ Condition_____ Delivery_____

Infant Feeding: Breast_____ Weaned at_____ Formula (State what, if patient is an infant and still taking)_____

Began Orange Juice at_____ Cod Liver Oil at_____ Cereal at_____ Vegetables at_____ Plain milk at_____

Development: First tooth at_____ mos. Sat alone at_____ mos. Walked alone at_____ mos. Talked at_____ mos.

Growth regular?_____ Loss of Weight at any time?_____

Habits: Sleep adequate?_____ Regular?_____ Meals adequate?_____ Regular?_____

Bowel movement regular?_____ Constipated?_____ Urination normal?_____ Enuresis?_____ nocturnal?_____ diurnal?_____

Nervous habits: Nail biting?_____ Tic?_____ Masturbation?_____ Other?_____

Behavior: Any special problem?_____

Health:

Diseases:	Years of Age 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	Exposed (date)	By Whom Exposed
Chickenpox																		
Diphtheria																		
Discharging Ears																		
Frequent Colds																		
German Measles																		
Influenza																		
Measles																		
Mumps																		
Pneumonia																		
Rheumatism																		
Scarlet Fever																		
Smallpox																		
Tonsillitis																		
Whooping Cough																		

Accidents, Injuries, Operations or Illnesses other than above	Nature	Age	Result	Nature	Age	Result
	Circumcision					
	Tonsillectomy					

Tests and Inoculations:	Date	Result	Date	Result	Tests and Inoculations:	Date	Result	Date	Result
Audiometer Test					Toxoid (diphtheria)				
B M R Examination					Tuberculin Test				
Blood Smear					Typhoid Fever Vaccine				
Blood Wassermann					Vaccination (smallpox)				
Dick Test					Vaginal Smear				
Scarlet Fever Vaccine					Vision Tests				
Schick Test					Whooping Cough Vaccine				
Stool Examination					X-ray of Chest				

Subsequent Tests with Dates:_____

Mental Tests:

Date of Exam.	School Grade At Time of Exam.	Name of Test (Specify whether Group or Individual)	Chronological Age	Test Result	Name and Title of Examiner (Psychologist or Teacher?)

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(Over)

EXAMINATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Name of Child_____

Dates of Examinations

Any Complaint?			
Menstrual History since last visit on adolescent girl			
Height			
Weight			
Temperature			
Skin			
Scalp			
Eyes —Pupillary Reaction			
Vision	Rt. Lft.	Rt. Lft.	Rt. Lft.
Eyegrounds			
Other			
Ears —Otoscopic			
Hearing	Rt. Lft.	Rt. Lft.	Rt. Lft.
Other			
Nose			
Teeth —Number			
Condition			
Occlusion			
Other			
Throat—Pharynx			
Tonsils			
Adenoids			
Glands			
Thyroid			
Chest			
Heart			
Lungs			
Abdomen			
Secondary Sex Characteristics			
Genitals			
Reflexes			
Extremities			
Feet			
Posture & Spine			
Nutrition			
Signs of Endocrine Imbalance			
Signs of Emotional Instability			
Other			
Urinalysis—Color, Reaction, Sp. G.			
Sugar, Albumin, Micros.			
Blood Pressure			
Blood Hemoglobin, Count, etc.			
Other Tests			
Impression and Advice			
Examining Physician	Dr.	Dr.	Dr.

N. B.—Plain ruled paper may be used for supplementary notes or records of intervening visits. For recording subsequent medical examinations, another form (Cb) may be secured from the Child Welfare League of America.

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