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A Study of the Social History and Characteristics of Long Term ADC Cases

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A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL HISTORY
AND CHARACTERISTICS OF LONG
TERM ADC CASES

by

Ines T. S. Pannell

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Social Work

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LIFE

Ines T. S. Pannell was born in Chicago, Illinois, February 2, 1923.

She was graduated from Englewood High School, Chicago, Illinois, February, 1940. The first two years of undergraduate study were completed at Woodrow Wilson Junior College, February, 1942. Early in 1943 the writer began work with the U. S. Treasury Department and later in the same year entered Loyola University evening school to complete undergraduate studies. The degree of Bachelor of Philosophy was conferred in February 1946.

The writer matriculated into Loyola University, School of Social Work in 1946. After completing the first field work placement she secured employment with the Cook County Welfare Department. With the exception of an eight month period in which the second field work placement was completed, she remained with that agency until December 1951, at which time she resigned to move to New York.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Ten years have elapsed since the beginning of the ADC program in Illinois. There remain known to the Cook County Department of Welfare approximately 1700 ADC cases that began receiving assistance in the early days of the program or prior to June 1, 1942 and are still active with the agency. The writer has attempted a study of the social history and characteristics of a ten per cent sample of these cases.

It is felt that from such a study a picture of a representative segment of long term ADC cases can be secured. In view of often repeated questions, are we creating dependency, are we fostering unmarried parenthood, and numerous others, it is felt such a picture is important. The writer's premise was that the characteristics studied would fall into the same symmetrical distribution, the same peaked grouping tendency as always occurs in frequency distributions. This common tendency as evidenced in the cases studied would indicate the most important factors that have necessitated long-term economic dependency.

Descriptively the characteristics studied will point up the basic, sometimes obvious and often unalterable reasons for

this extended dependency. An indication of the effect of long term dependency on family interrelationships is shown in the willingness of family members to assist, in the members' attempts to become self-supporting, and often in the grantee's attitude toward employment.

The study is similar to one made on a nationwide scale by the University of North Carolina beginning August 1950. The North Carolina study was made for the American Welfare Association with the Bureau of Public Assistance of the Federal Security Agency cooperating in the planning. That nationwide study differed markedly in that the cases involved were long term cases closed in October or November 1950 and also in that a special interview with the grantee or homemaker was essential for the satisfactory completion of the schedule. The nationwide study aimed at securing a description of families having received ADC and evaluating what had happened to children in the families.

Some of the characteristics in the writer's study have also been part of periodic reviews made by the agency in redetermining eligibility for ADC.

CHAPTER II

METHOD AND DEFINITION OF TERMS

The case records afforded the statistical as well as the social and psychological data presented. The cases were selected from the ADC payroll for Cook County for the month in which approval of the study was secured, July 1951. The early cases were referred from Mothers' Pension, Mothers' Pension Waiting List, General Relief or the public at large. These cases were numbered under 20,000. The July 1951 payroll was reviewed and from the case numbers under 20,000 were selected those ending in 04, 17, 18, 32, 47, 60, 61, 64, 75. This "purposive" sample was manipulated by the supervisor of statistics of the agency from which the cases were drawn so as to obtain a representative cross section of the 1,700 cases. Thereby 182 cases composed the study sample. Of these only one was not available, having been sent for reading to the Chicago Welfare Department, Application Division. The case was cancelled in November 1951 because the remaining eligible child had reached the maximum age of eighteen. The tables in the study, therefore, will include only the 181 cases on which schedules were completed.

A uniform schedule was created, a copy of which is con-

tained in the appendix. The schedule included information on the grantee, the dependent children currently in the award, children who had been dependent and were previously included but were now deleted, and where the information was available, children related to the grantee but never included in the award.

The characteristics studied were as follows: race of the grantee; the birthdate, sex, highest school grade completed, relationship to the grantee, for the grantee, and the three above mentioned groups of children. Where, in the current grant, the dependent child was included subsequent to the date of the original award, the month and year he was added to the grant was noted. The highest school grade completed for children deleted indicates the grade attained at time of deletion.

The next characteristic was the reason for deprivation of parental care and/or support for each child in the grant and for those deleted. This characteristic was not noted for the children who were not included in the grant since those children, though closely related to the grantee, were statutorily not dependent children.

A coding system was used to designate the latter item as it related to each child. If, as related to the father, the child were dependent because of his death the coding was 00; if dependent because of physical incapacity of the father, 11; or mental incapacity 12; if dependent because the father was not

married to the mother, 21. Where desertion of the father was the reason for lack of support from him the coding used was 31; where divorce or legal separation, 41; where armed service, 51; where incarceration, 61. A coding of 71 was used in an "other" category.

A code was also given each child to designate the reason why the grantee, usually the mother, was unable to assume support. If the female grantee were physically incapacitated, the child was coded, 81; if mentally incapacitated, 82; if needed in the home, 91; if financially unable to support, XI.

Physical incapacity was further subdivided for the sake of clarity. An official agency PI case is one on which there has been an examination by a panel physician or clinic staff and a report of physical capacity and employability secured. From this report the agency medical department determines if the recipient is totally or partially incapacitated, permanently or temporarily incapacitated, or not incapacitated. The same procedure is followed for determination of mental incapacity. The study provided numerous instances, however, in which the coding physical incapacity was used though the case was not an official PI. In such cases the grantee was in regular clinic attendance for an ailment, was obviously incapacitated because of swelling, pregnancy, severe visible illness, or repeatedly expressed her belief, substantiated by continual and chronic complaints, that she was physi-

cally unable to accept work. In the same thinking the coding of mental incapacity was used in cases of severe or rather severe psychiatric or emotional disturbances as well as in a few instances of hospitalization of the parent in a mental institution.

The needed in the home breakdown was used in instances where the grantee had no other care available for pre-school age children, children who were ill either physically or emotionally, retarded children who because of the retardation needed close supervision, or children showing current or past delinquency tendencies.

By financially unable to support was meant the parent or grantee who was employable but unemployed because work was not available. This coding encompassed those whose employability was limited either because of some limitation on their physical condition or their age, those with little or no skill or work background, and children who because of youth and lack of skill found difficulty in securing employment.

The remaining characteristics do not apply to the children in the grant. Employment and income was applicable to the grantee, whereas employment, social status and participation in family support was applicable to children deleted and children never in the grant. Employment was subdivided into employability and employment history. Under employability the individual was coded employable and working, employable but not working because

she was needed in the home or because no work was available, or not employable due to physical or mental incapacity. Employment history was coded, none if there had been no history of employment either before or since ADC. In coding the kind of employment history the same subdivisions were used--professional, industrial, service, other unskilled--as by the state employment service. Extent was used to indicate full or part-time employment.

In an attempt to learn the possible effect of long term dependency on some factors in the social adjustment of children from ADC families an item social status was included in the schedule. This item indicated if the deleted child or child never in the grant was married, and/or employed, or himself receiving public assistance.

To secure information regarding the attitude of the ineligible children toward contributing to the family's support or assisting the family in becoming self-supporting, an item regarding participation in family support was included. Since the extent of participation was not considered important in view of the agency's fixed policy of budgeting total income of all employed members in the home whether eligible or ineligible, it was simply noted if the child were contributing or not.

Note was made of income from earnings of eligible members, others in the home, others out of the home or income from public or private benefits.

On each case the source of the original referral to ADC and the earliest date known to the prior agency was included in order to secure as full a picture as possible of the family's history of economic dependency.

The date of original application, major crisis when assistance was granted, the reason for the last cancellation, the date and reason for the last resumption and the number of cancellations indicated both the major crisis or crises precipitating application and whether assistance had been continuous or intermittent.

From the kind and number of contacts it was thought some indication would be secured of the extent of service given these particular cases.

Narrative information regarding factors in the social adjustment of the family, the attitude of the grantee toward employment and the family's contact with other agencies was included on the schedule for each case. It was thought such information would indicate the family's and the agency's utilization of community resources as well as recognition by the caseworkers of problems that could best be treated by another agency or were within the function of another agency.

The case records provided the bulk of the data presented in the study. However, information on the historical development of the program, casework philosophy and technique as it relates

specifically to services in the public assistance setting was secured from several books and available periodical material.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL DATA

Of The Program

The underlying philosophy of the ADC program was clearly given in a statement of the purpose of the program made by the Social Security Board in 1944, forwarded to the Illinois Public Aid Commission, and subsequently given to each professional staff member who dealt with the ADC program.

Aid to dependent children is an essential part of a broad social plan of public services including education, health, welfare, and the social insurances that the nation is progressively developing to assure its children opportunity to grow up in a setting of their own family relationships, have the economic support and services they need for health and development, receive an education that will help them to realize their capacities, share in the life of the neighborhood and community.

To live in the family to which he belongs is the foundation of a child's security. The public has an interest and an obligation in sustaining the contributions which parents and immediate family make to the development of a child. Financial inability to meet a child's needs, therefore, should not be allowed to force a parent to surrender responsibility for bringing up the child. The assumption underlying the aid to dependent children program is that when a family circle is broken or incomplete, or the parents handicapped by physical or mental disability, the measure most conducive to the child's welfare is to strengthen the home against the financial impact of these lacks or losses and to give his parent, or other relative, a chance to gain or re-

establish control over their affairs.¹

The realization of that aim had not yet been fully achieved and the current attainment was slow and arduous. In 1911 Illinois was the first state to inaugurate a mother's aid plan. At that time the major opposition to the plan was fear of further pauperizing dependent children by removing responsibility for their care from public to private auspices. With the introduction of the Juvenile Court it was thought services could adequately be given by that agency.

One of the basic features of the Mother's Pension program was that it created a new category of dependent children, children in their own homes but deprived of support because of the absence of one parent and/or the parent's inability to assume financial responsibility.

In 1929, state grants in aid to counties were made for the mother's pension program. Despite this, however, from the report of the Committee on Child Welfare Legislation in February 1931 the mother's pension law was still considered unduly restrictive. Stepmothers, mothers who were not citizens of the United States but resided with their children in the community, mothers whose husbands died or abandoned them outside the state, and

¹ Social Security Board, Purpose of Aid to Dependent Children, Foreward to Statements Interpreting Eligibility Provisions in Title IV, U. S. Government Printing Press, November 1944.

mothers who had not lived in the county for three years were still ineligible. The assistance grant was still limited, the program permissive rather than mandatory so that in the poorer communities where there existed a higher rate of needy families, the problem was yet unmet. This committee recommended that the allowance bear some relation to the needs in the particular state, that the administration of the program continue to be handled locally but that the state furnish standards of service and definitions to local officers.²

When in 1935 the federal government passed the Social Security Act, the next step forward was taken. Federal grants-in-aid were made to states for aid to dependent children. The conditions for approval of each state plan were as follows: it must be state-wide in operation and mandatory; the state must participate financially; there must be centralization and efficient administration or supervision by a single state agency; there must be an opportunity for fair hearing to persons whose claim for assistance is denied; there must be maintenance of personnel standards on a merit basis; there must be provision for submission of periodic reports to the Social Security Board; there must be consideration of income and resources in the child's claim for

² Report of Committee on Child Welfare Legislation, State of Illinois, February 3, 1931, 3-4.

aid to dependent children; and there must be provision for safeguards of confidentiality of case records.³

It was not until 1941 that Illinois began participating in the federal-state ADC program. That same year the administration of the program was assigned to the Department of Public welfare, because of the apparent permanence of the program and in compliance with the Social Security Board provision for centralization and efficient administration. In the early state law, because of limited state funds, ceilings were said to be necessary to make the program operative. Too, the interpretation of the dependent child was at first limited to those on mother's pension, those on general relief, and then all other needy children, also aimed at financially easing the program into existence. In 1946 the ceilings were removed and need became the basis of determining amount of grant.⁵ And so, basically, remains the current ADC program.

Of The Cases In The Study

The families studied had been receiving ADC since the

³ Federal Security Agency, Social Security Board, Compilations of the Social Security Laws, Washington, D. C., 1943, 26.

⁴ Report of Committee on Child Welfare Legislation, State of Illinois, February 3, 1931, 4.

⁵ Illinois Public Aid Commission, Laws of Illinois Relating to Public Aid, 1945-1947, Springfield, Illinois, 1947, 47.

beginning of the Illinois program and were active in July 1951, the month in which approval of the study was secured. However, economic dependency with a few exceptions had preceded ADC contact. Table I indicates the source of the original referral to ADC and the earliest date the family had been known to the referring agency.

With the exception of two cases the general relief agency was the Chicago Relief Administration. One family however, had been referred by the Bloom Township Relief office and another by the Evanston Township Relief office.

One of the four families referred from the Mother's Pension role, prior to receiving Mother's Pension in 1940 had received assistance from the Chicago Relief Administration since 1934. The family receiving Mother's Pension in 1941 had previously been known to CRA since 1932. The family on the Mother's Pension Waiting List as of May 1941 had been known to CRA since 1939.

Of the ADC grantees twenty one had received CRA assistance with their husbands, that is husbands had applied and signed affidavits requesting assistance for themselves and wives or for themselves, wives and children. Six ADC grantees had as dependent children been included in the CRA assistance budget of their parents.

TABLE I
 SOURCE AND DATE OF ORIGINAL REFERRALS
 IN 181 LONG TERM ADC CASES

Date	Source		
	Mother's Pension	Mother's Pension Waiting List	General Relief
1930			2
1931			11
1932			14
1933			11
1934			14
1935			11
1936			22
1937	1		30
1938			22
1939			15
1940	4		19
1941	1	1	3
Total	6	1	174

Related to the history or length of economic dependency is the breakdown of the major crises when ADC was granted. Here it was noted that what was considered the major crisis responsible for the dependency of the family at the time when the grant was first authorized often was not the same for all or any of the children included in the grant at the time the study was made. Table II indicates those codings listed on the application and case eligibility proof sheets for the 131 cases studied. As shown in the table ninety-four, or forty-four percent of the total number of cases studied were in need because of the unmarried status of the mother. The total is more than the total number of cases studied since two reasons were often listed as responsible for the family's dependency. The agency's interest was in the primary cause of dependency of the children. This is further clarified below.

Thirty-three cases had received double codings. In twenty-four, some children were dependent because of unmarried parenthood, while other children in the same families were dependent because of desertion by the legal father. Similarly, in seven cases the major crises were recorded as unmarried and death of father; in one case, unmarried and divorce of father, and in one, desertion and imprisonment of the father.

Of the seven cases in which the mother of the dependant children was out of the home at the beginning of ADC contact it

was an unmarried mother who was imprisoned, two unmarried mothers were dead, and one had deserted. In one case the mother was dead and the father deserted, in one both mother and father were dead and in one both mother and father deserted.

TABLE II

MAJOR CRISES WHEN ASSISTANCE WAS AUTHORIZED
IN 181 LONG TERM ADC CASES

Crisis	Number of Cases	
	Mother	Father
Unmarried		94
Desertion	2	73
Death	4	31
Divorce		6
Physical Incapacity		5
Imprisonment	1	4
Legal Separation		1

Having studied the history of dependency and the major crisis by which it was precipitated, various other questions evolved. How long was it and what skills were necessary before those families were able to assume financial autonomy or to what degree was the crisis so debilitating that the strengthening

process would require many years?

The first question was not wholly in the realm of the present study since a review of those cases known to the agency in 1941 and cancelled prior to the study would best supply the answer. There were, however, attempts made to become self-supporting. Some were abortive, others were successful as evidenced in Tables III, IV, and V.

TABLE III
CONTINUITY OF 181 LONG TERM
ADC CASES

<u>No. of Cancellations</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
One.56
Two.	8
Three.	1
Continuous.116

In eight of the resumptions there were listed double reasons for again authorizing the award, and in one case the award had been cancelled because of inability to establish continued eligibility. Of these three the first was resumed because of desertion and insufficient income; the second because of divorce and insufficient income and the third, because of divorce

and unmarried status. Two had been cancelled because of sufficient income. Of the two, the first was resumed because of desertion and insufficient income, the second because of desertion and unmarried status. Two had been cancelled due to the remarriage of the grantee; and of these the first was resumed because of divorce and insufficient income, the second because of desertion and unmarried status. The eighth case had been cancelled at the applicant's request without further explanation and was resumed because of the death of the father and the unmarried status of the mother.

TABLE IV

REASONS FOR CANCELLATIONS AND
RESUMPTIONS IN 181 LONG TERM
ADC CASES

Last Cancellation		Resumption	
Reason for	No. of Cases	Reason for	No. of cases
Sufficient Income	38	Insufficient Income	41
Unable to Establish Continued Eligibility	11	Desertion	18
Remarried	5	Unmarried	5
Husband Returned	5	Incapacity	4
Child Out of Home	2	Divorce	3
Available for Employment	2	Incarceration	2
Applicant's Request	2	Death	1
Maximum Age	1	Child Return to the Home	1

In evaluating the material shown in Tables II and IV basic casework principles and sociological truths were kept in mind. Because public assistance reaches such a large number of families, policies of treatment in dealing with their needs have widespread social consequences.⁶ The public assistance agency has always admitted as an important responsibility the helping of recipients to return to self-dependency through employment. The obligation is twofold: economic and psychological desirability for the individual and community and the administrator's obligation to provide maintenance only for those persons who are actually unable to provide for themselves. The responsibility is a difficult one not only because many of the public welfare workers are limited in technical scholastic preparation for their jobs, but because the functions of the agency are limited because of legal and community restrictions.⁷ It must also be remembered that the ADC program is what Jane Hoey terms "residual," that is, its place, its size and cost, will always depend upon the adequacy of other factors in the social economy: full employment, adequate wages, and insurances.⁸ How many husbands have deserted

6 Gertrude Vaile, "Family Case Work and Public Assistance Policy," The Family, XXI, December, 1940, 247.

7 Margaret K. Bishop, "Employables in a Public Assistance Caseload," The Family, XXVI, April, 1945, 67.

8 Jane M. Hoey, "Public Assistance in 1948," Journal of Social Casework, XXIX, April 1948, 128.

because of lack of employment or inadequate wages? How many mothers would have found it unnecessary to apply for ADC if there had been an adequate insurance plan for families where the father or wage earner was dead? In the cases studied, what would be the probable percentage of social breakdown that could have been prevented if adequate rather than inadequate assistance had been available from the outset of the program?⁹ These were questions to which there were as yet no answers.

The primary sources of income in those cases cancelled because of sufficient income as indicated in Table IV, were Serviceman's Dependency Allotment, contributions from persons outside the home, and earnings from the private employment of the grantee or relatives in the home.

The eleven cases in which the reason for cancellation was given as unable to establish continued eligibility, included cases cancelled because of inability to contact, lack of cooperation in determining continued eligibility, inability to establish technical eligibility, and one instance of separation for the purpose of relief.

In the second half of Table IV the forty-one cases resumed because of insufficient income included the following: cases in which SDA had been discontinued; cases in which employment of

⁹ Blackey, "Case Work Services in an ADC Program," The Family, XXIII, 189.

the grantee had been discontinued because of her physical incapacity or her need to return to the home to give the children care; cases in which the grantee, though employable, had been unable to find work; cases in which the earnings of the stepfather in the home were not sufficient to meet the needs of the total family; or cases in which the dependent child was in the home of relatives other than the parents and the income of those relatives was not sufficient to meet the child's needs. The remaining items are self-explanatory.

Table V indicates the reasons for the discontinuance of assistance in the eleven cases that became inactive subsequent to the beginning of the study.

TABLE V

REASONS FOR DISCONTINUANCE OF AWARDS
IN 11 LONG TERM ADC CASES SINCE
JUNE, 1951

<u>Reason</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
Sufficient Income	
Eligible Child Completed High School	4
Employment of Grantee	3
Employment of Child	1
Increased Earnings of Stepfather	1
Eligible Child Out of the Home	1
Available for Employment	1

While the total number of persons obtaining employment with sufficient income to remove them from the assistance rolls is not large, considering the total number of recipients, as indicated in Table V, "when the return of each family to self-dependency is measured in terms of value to the individual and to the community, the number is seen to be highly significant. . ."¹⁰ Of the eleven cases, seven had been continuously active since 1941 which would seem to substantiate that in "some instances, initiative and enthusiasm for living have been able to outlast long years of idleness."¹¹ That the remaining 170 cases "after abortive attempts to obtain work. . .or otherwise become self-supporting have settled down to finish out their lives in the now familiar pattern of dependency,"¹² cannot be deduced from the above tables as will be shown in later chapters when descriptions of the families will be given.

10 Bishop, "Employables in a Public Assistance Case Load," The Family, XXVI, 69.

11 Ibid., 70.

12 Ibid., 71.

CHAPTER IV

IDENTIFYING INFORMATION

The descriptive characteristics of the members of the 181 families studied will be presented in this chapter. Information regarding the grantee and the children currently included in the ADC award is more detailed than for the children deleted or children never in the grant, primarily because it was available in more detail.

Table VI shows the age distribution of the grantees in the 181 cases in the study. It is significant that only twenty-five grantees are fifty years or older, whereas 154 are between twenty-six and fifty years of age. Despite this large group that would appear to be in an age range for which employment is still open, comparison with Table VII will establish that only forty-three of the female grantees are being assisted because of financial inability to support. Table VII also indicates that the primary reason children were deprived of care and/or support is desertion on the part of the father and the need of the mother to remain in the home to give care.

Of the four cases in Table VII in which seven children were deprived because of the physical incapacity of the father,

TABLE VI
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF GRANTEES
IN 181 LONG TERM ADC CASES

<u>Age</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>
Unknown.	2
26 - 30.	13
31 - 35.	39
36 - 40.	41
41 - 45.	24
46 - 50.	35
51 - 55.	14
56 - 60.	7
61 - 65.	4
OAP	2
Total.	181

three of the awards were written in the name of the father, while one was in the mother's name. This was noted because of its therapeutic value. "Whenever the father is physically and mentally able to participate in the family plan, he should be included."¹ "The principle is that the ADC program is so entrenched in the matriarchal pattern that the father's self-respect is threatened when his wife becomes head of the family on the agency"

¹ Mildred L. Osborn, "Are the Fathers Forgotten?," The Family, XXII, January, 1942, 303.

books."² In the one case in which the check is written in the name of the mother, the father is an OAP recipient of seventy-six years, and is totally physically incapacitated.

TABLE VII

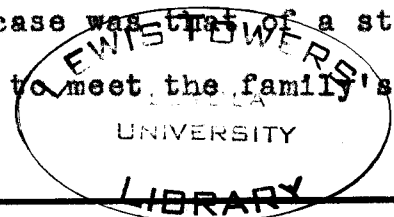
REASONS FOR DEPRIVATION OF PARENTAL CARE
AND/OR SUPPORT OF CHILDREN
IN 181 LONG TERM ADC CASES

Father	Children		Mother	Children	
	Eligible	Deleted		Eligible	Deleted
Unmarried	236	50	Needed in Home	322	103
Deserted	144	72	Financially Un- able to Support	78	34
Death	50	44	Physically Incapacitated	56	47
Incarcerated	14	3	Mentally Incapacitated	4	2
Divorced	9	9			
Incapacity	7	8			
Armed Service	-	-			
Totals	460	186	Totals	460	186

² Blackey, "Casework Services in an ADC Program," The Family, XXIII, 189.

Because of the variance in the relationship of the grantee to the dependent children in the cases studied the term homemaker, though less generally used, might have been more appropriate than the mother in Table VII, for in eighteen cases grandchildren are included in the ADC award. In one case the relationship to the grantee is that of niece and grandnephew, and in another the relationship is that of grandniece. Though not tabulated, the fact that eight of the total number of eligible children were deprived of parental care because of the death of the mother and three because of desertion by the mother, deserves mention.

One of the aims of the ADC program is to provide a normal family setting for the dependent child. It was, therefore, interesting to note that there were three cases in addition to those in which the father was physically incapacitated, where a father figure was present. In the first of these three cases, a grandmother was grantee but both she and her husband received OAP. The second case was that of Mrs. S. who received ADC for two illegitimate children while she, her husband, Mr. S. and their two children were assisted by the Chicago Welfare Department. The two children deleted had originally been included in the ADC award during Mr. S's incarceration. The third case was that of a step-father whose earnings were not sufficient to meet the family's needs.



Tables VIII, through X give additional identifying information regarding the members of the families studied.

TABLE VIII
SIZE OF FAMILY IN 181
LONG TERM ADC CASES

Number of Children	Number of Cases	
	In Current Grant	In Original Grant
1	62	36
2	43	66
3	28	39
4	24	18
5	17	8
6	3	9
7	3	2
8	-	2
9	-	-
10	1	1
Total	181	181

The number of cases that consist of the grantee and one eligible child is significant in view of the re-emphasis review conducted in 1947 in which special attention was given to the possibility of employment of adults and older children, especial-

ly in the following types of situations: A. Adults in one-child cases. B. Cases in which eligible children are over fourteen years of age."³ Either these were not one child cases in 1947 or they survived the close scrutiny of the review. The comparative size of the families in the current assistance grants to that of the families at the time ADC was first authorized would indicate that the total number of children has decreased over the ten year period. Except in those cases shown in Table XI in which several additional children have been added to the grant since assistance was first authorized in 1941, many are approaching the time when they will be technically ineligible for further assistance. As shown in Table IX, six of the eligible children have completed high school and twenty-nine are in third or fourth year high and hence are nearing the time when they will be ineligible due either to maximum age or the completion of high school.

In only one case was referral made to Scholarship and Guidance Service for intensive counseling with a child exhibiting some problem behavior. In no case did a caseworker utilize this service as a means of helping those children with ability to further their education. The fact that some chose to continue school is evidenced by the four deleted children who continued in college.

³ "Revisions in the Aid to Dependent Children Program," Illinois Public Aid Commission, Bulletin CPW-560, April 15, 1947, 2.

Of the two children with no school contact both were uneducable: one with an IQ of 33 and in Dixon State Hospital at the time of the study, and the other with an IQ of 47, in the grantee mother's home against medical advice.

TABLE IX
HIGHEST SCHOOL GRADE COMPLETED BY MEMBERS
OF 181 LONG TERM ADC CASES

Grade	Number of Grantees	Number of Children		
		Eligible	Deleted	Never In
Unknown	101	9	17	68
None	-	-	1	1
Preschool	-	65	13	11
Ungraded	-	9	9	-
K - 4	6	105	5	-
5 - 8	26	167	36	5
Graduated	3	-	5	2
9 - 10	29	70	52	8
11 - 12	12	29	31	1
Graduated	4	6	13	2
1 - 2 Col.	-	-	4	-
Totals	181	460	186	98

TABLE X
AGE AND SEX OF ELIGIBLE CHILDREN
IN 181 LONG TERM ADC CASES

Age	Sex		Age Distribution In Total Load In 1948
	Boys	Girls	
0 - 5	33	26	25.3
6 - 10	50	46	38.3
11 - 15	90	109	31.1
16 - Maximum	54	52	5.3
Totals	227	233	100.0

TABLE XI

DATE AND NUMBER OF ELIGIBLE CHILDREN ADDED
SINCE 1941 IN 181 LONG TERM ADC CASES

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Children</u>
1942	13
1943	17
1944	12
1945	12
1946	8
1947	16
1948	17
1949	13
1950	14
1951	5
Unknown.	10
Total	138

In Table X it is seen that of the 460 eligible children, 305 are over ten years of age and 106 of these are between sixteen and the maximum. Despite the 138 children added to the grants since 1941, the previous statement regarding the overbalance of older children is substantiated.

A further breakdown of the number of children added to the grant since 1941 indicated only forty-four of the 138 children were legitimate, the remaining ninety-four were born out of wedlock. One hundred fourteen were children of the grantee, twenty-two were grandchildren of the grantee and two were the grandniece or grandnephew of the grantee.

This completes the identification of the members in the 181 cases of the study. Chapter V will describe and interpret the employment and economic factors in the families.

CHAPTER V

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

The Grantee

Some concept of the employability of the grantees was gained from the discussion of the reason children were deprived of support. However, since employability is one of the means of the family's returning to the state of self-reliance it shall be fully reviewed in this chapter.

The Cook County Welfare Department has a very concise policy regarding employment. In February 1946 it was enunciated as follows:

At the time of application or after a grant has been authorized, an incapacitated father is to be encouraged to obtain necessary medical treatment for the correction of his incapacity. He should be expected to accept as much suitable employment as his incapacity allows. If he is found to be able to accept regular full-time work in spite of his incapacity and suitable work is available in the community, the grant may be denied or cancelled.

An ADC grant may be denied or cancelled if the mother is physically able to work, is not needed in the home for the care of the children and if suitable work is available in the community at a reasonable wage. . . . If a mother who has been receiving a grant for her children is employable because the children no longer need her full-time care in the home and suitable employment becomes available, she should be encouraged to take work. . . .¹

¹ "Aid to Dependent Children Budget Policy and Procedure," Illinois Public Aid Commission, Memorandum 62,2.

This policy may at first glance seem to violate the principle underlying the ADC program, but the same memorandum further clarifies that the age of the children is not the determining factor in considering the mother as available for employment since it is recognized that some adolescent children require as much or more care and supervision than some younger children. Agency policy also emphasizes that because the mother is found to be employable the grant is not necessarily cancelled immediately.² The return of the grantee to employment when professionally accomplished through the personal relationship of the worker and the client in a way that the "Client is saved as far as possible from the injurious effects of the experience of dependency and is given encouragement and stimulation to independence,"³ is both the fulfillment of one of the principles underlying the Social Security Act, that is giving the parent or relative a chance to gain or reestablish control over his affairs, and the realization of this goal through the case work technique. As Gertrude Vaile emphasizes "because the assumption back of the category is that there is a permanent or long-time disability preventing independence, although the aid is based upon need, it tends to be regarded as a pension."⁴ It is implied that the general agency

2 Ibid.

3 Vaile, "Family Casework and Public Assistance Policy" The Family, XXI, 248.

4 Ibid., 253.

policy on the question of whether a mother should seek employment has been to consider each case on an individual basis," admitting there are some mothers who, emotionally as well as economically, would best serve their families by working, and others by remaining at home."⁵

Tables XII and XIII present a picture of the grantees' employability and employment history in the cases studied.

TABLE XII

EMPLOYABILITY OF THE GRANTEE
IN 181 LONG TERM ADC CASES

Employable

Working 2

Not Working

No Care Available
For Children 78

No Work Available. 40

Delinquency of
Children 18

Not Employable

Physically Incapacitated. 40

Mentally Incapacitated. 3

⁵ Bishop, "Employables in a Public Assistance Case Load," The Family, XXVI, 73.

TABLE XII

HISTORY OF PAST EMPLOYMENT OF THE GRANTEE
IN 181 LONG TERM ADC CASES

None 56

Kind

Professional. 3

Industrial. 65

Service 57

Other Unskilled 0

Extent

Full Time 89

Part Time 37

These tables show only the employment picture of the grantee. In seven cases, however, the grantee's spouse was in the home. Of these seven there were three cases in which the incapacitated father was the grantee. The mother in the first of these three was herself physically unable to accept employment. The remaining two mothers were considered unemployable because of their need to remain in the home to supervise the eligible children. In the fourth of the seven cases, the mother was the grantee because the father of the eligible child was unemployable due to total physical incapacity. The sixth and seventh cases were those in which there was a stepfather in the home, and in one the stepfather was being assisted by veteran's relief while

seeking work, whereas in the other no mention was made either of his employability or employment history though it was noted that he was receiving general assistance.

Important in discussing the employment status of the adults in the current ADC award is the grantee's attitude toward employment, particularly if she is considered employable but unable to find work. Accordingly, from the narrative entries was drawn the following table:

TABLE XIV

ATTITUDE OF GRANTEE TOWARD EMPLOYMENT
IN 181 LONG TERM ADC CASES

<u>Attitude</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>
Not Applicable	132
Seeking Work	41
Resistive.	8
Total	181

The cases coded not applicable are those in which the grantee is not considered as available for employment. With the exception of resistive the remaining attitudes are self-explanatory. In the eight cases coded as resistive it was impossible to include them in another group as the active caseworker recorded discussion of and apparent availability for employment but resistance on the part of the grantee. Of those coded seeking work,

seven were doing so after apparent resistance. Of the 132 coded not applicable six were resistive to the worker's efforts to plan with them for self support. A total of twenty-one of the 181 cases studied, resisted employment.

In thirty-eight cases the grantee had some work history since being known to ADC.

Because of the possible subjectivity in interpreting attitudes, it might do well to illustrate what was meant by the term resistive when applied to the cases studied.

Mrs. A worked part time doing general cleaning. Employment has been discussed continually. Mrs. A. lives in the home with parents and siblings. At first her mother was to supervise the A. children, then the mother became ill. As there was another sister who also received ADC, discussion was made around one ADC mother working and the other supervising the children. Currently, according to Mrs. A. this plan is not possible since, because of illness of her sister she is supervising her own children, her siblings and her sister's child. Case #10.

Mrs. B. has one child who is fourteen, in full time school attendance and for whom the record indicates no behavior problems.

Mrs. B. was an agency Physical Incapacity case but was removed from the PI list in December 1950. The record gives no explanation unless she might be considered limited due to frequent clinic attendance. Attends Chicago Health Department for lues after which she plans to return to Women's and Children's Hospital. She has a negative attitude toward employment, consistently resisting any encouragement. Case #18.

Mrs. F. has five children in the home. A twenty-one

year old girl is employed and contributes. An eighteen year old girl is no longer in the budget but is in school and has been referred to the Chicago Welfare Department. The three eligible children range in age from eleven to fifteen and are in full-time school attendance. The record mentions a good familial relationship between mother and children, good housekeeping standards, and no serious behavior problems.

Employment has been repeatedly discussed. Mrs. F. states she has limited education and skill. She feels she would be physically unable to work and supervise her home and children. She suffers with asthma and arthritis but is not under medical care. Case #47.

The Ineligible Children

Some of the most significant questions prompted by the study concern the children deleted from the ADC award and those children related to the grantee but not as dependent children.

The relatively small number of children, deleted and never in the grant, who as shown in Table IX completed either elementary or high school and the long history of family dependency in the cases studied are factors which would not seem to constitute an admirable preparation for assuming independence through employment.⁶ The caseworker's task of preparing the children to

⁶ Vaile, "Family Case Work and Public Assistance Policy," The Family, XXI, 252.

assume their share of the responsibility of helping the family toward self-maintenance is further hindered by the agency policy of considering as available to meet the family's needs the total earnings of the employed children in the home.

Jarle Leirfallom said that "we are creating a relief mentality."⁷ In understanding the scope of her job and clarifying her own feelings about such accusations the caseworker should come to know the difference between psychological dependency and economic dependency. She should understand how psychological dependency comes about and recognize that the social worker does not create the situations which make for human need. Then through the casework technique she should aim at building and helping the client exercise his self-dependence.⁸

Tables XV through XVII show the basic characteristics of these ineligible children as related to their employability.

The sparcity of information available regarding the ineligible children affects the validity of conclusions that could be drawn from the immediately preceding tables. Table XV indicates a total of seventy-five children about whose employability nothing was known. This as well as a similarly large number of

7 Jarle Leirfallom, "Public Welfare Vista-Tomorrow," Illinois Public Aid Commission, Springfield, November, 1949, 4.

8 Helen Perlman, "Are We Creating Dependency," Illinois Public Aid Commission, Springfield, July, 1951, 1-6.

children in the study whose employment history was obscure, must certainly have some relationship to the number of those known to be employed.

In Table XVI the very small number of children in both groups who have themselves become dependent on public assistance is very significant as it relates to the question of creating dependency. That there was a measure of adequacy and dependability in the agency's helping services whereby the floor of security was steadied⁹ through the authorization of ADC would seem to be borne out by the facts shown in Table XVI.

The data shown in Table XVII would seem to point up the failure of the ineligible children to assume their responsibility toward assisting in the family's support. Whether the failure was due to the breakdown of casework skills or was the result of the children's years of living in a constant state of deprivation of many things that make a childhood healthy and happy, is unknown.

The number of children who are contributing toward the family's support is so small when compared to the total number of ineligible children as to be almost negligible. In addition, of the total number of ineligible children 213 have left the home of the grantee while only sixty-three have remained. The forty-one

⁹ Bishop, "Employables in a Public Assistance Case Load," The Family, XXVI, 72.

TABLE XV

EMPLOYABILITY AND HISTORY OF EMPLOYMENT
OF THE INELIGIBLE CHILDREN KNOWN TO 181
LONG TERM ADC CASES

Employability	No. of Children		History	No. of Children	
	Deleted	Never In		Deleted	Never In
Employable					
Working	56	23	None	49	3
Not Working			Kind		
No Work	28	2	Ind.	49	13
No Care for Child.	27	5	Serv.	9	1
Delinq. of Child.	-	-	Prof.	2	1
			Other	2	-
Not Employable			Extent		
Inapplicable	25	18	Full T.	50	18
School	8	-	Part T.	13	-
Phys. Incap.	5	8	Unknown	43	58
Ment. Incap.	2	2			
Unknown	35	40			
Totals	186	98			

TABLE XVI
SOCIAL STATUS OF INELIGIBLE CHILDREN
KNOWN TO 181 LONG TERM ADC CASES

Status	Number of Children	
	Deleted	Never In
Married	69	44
Employed	55	25
Public Assistance		
ADC	18	10
General Relief	10	3
Veterans Relief	2	-
Blind Assistance	1	-
Disability Assistance	-	1
Unknown	-	20

TABLE XVII

PARTICIPATION OF INELIGIBLE CHILDREN
IN FAMILY SUPPORT IN 181 LONG TERM
ADC CASES

Participation	Number of Children	
	Deleted	Never In
Contributing	17	0
Not	157	79
Inapplicable	22	19

children for whom information regarding participation in family support was inapplicable were children who had been deleted from the grant or were out of the home but were not of an age to be considered employable or responsible relatives.

Examples of the varying attitudes toward employment are illustrated in the following case narratives.

Mr. R. is grantee because of physical incapacity. His wife and a seventeen year old daughter comprise the household, two older girls, formerly on ADC being employed and out of the home. The family had been known to CRA since 1933, the only eligible child since birth.

In 1942 Mr. R. was referred by CWD and was employed at Illinois Industries for the Blind, earning \$6-\$7 weekly. Contact with employer revealed he was lazy and fresh, boasted to fellow employees that he could always return to the job if pressure was exerted by CWD. It was possible for him to have earned \$16.00 weekly.

The children assisted until their marriage, though they would never permit contact with employers, one stating it

might jeopardize her job and the other stating she was ashamed of family's dependence on Public Assistance.

Parents were disturbed at one time when second child planned to attend college as it would mean her inability to contribute toward the family's support. Case #122.

Mrs. C's children have worked irregularly and have been unwilling to contribute. At one time had talked with worker about their poverty, poor living conditions due to inadequacy of public assistance. Case #31.

Sam has worked part time and both he and his mother complained regarding the injustice of his contributing so much to the family. Sam's comment was that he would be working for the agency not himself. He did contribute according to agency policy.

CHAPTER VI

CASEWORK IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the study there would seem to be some persons receiving ADC who are what Helen Perlman has termed, "both economically and psychologically dependent."¹ The validity of the program cannot, however, be negated because of that fact. Nor can it be considered that the group of cases studied is "the hard core of permanently dependent persons who would always be a public charge."² Some families became self-maintaining even during the brief period in which the study was in process. Some grantees were resistive to employment but a greater number were actively seeking work. Others had worked intermittently since their contact with ADC. Some children in the study group had completed high school, married or become employed and were leading normal, well-rounded lives in the community. It can be assumed that the receipt of ADC was at least one of the factors which made that possible. Other children withdrew from school,

1 Perlman, "Are We Creating Dependency," Illinois Public Aid Commission, July, 1951, 3.

2 Bishop, "Employables in a Public Assistance Case Load," The Family, XXVI, 67.

some made poor social adjustments but the same situation holds true for the entire population.

A review of various factors in social adjustment would indicate that with exception of the frequency of contact with other social agencies problematic behavior is not a necessary adjunct to these cases. In reviewing the narratives of each case it was found that in only twenty-four cases were there evidences of behavior problems for children currently in the grant; in forty-three cases there were evidences of behavior problems of children deleted from the grant, in the remaining 114 records no problems were mentioned.

Regarding the dependency of relatives of the grantee, in two cases the parents of the grantee were known to a public assistance agency; in twelve cases relatives other than parent and children were known to another public assistance agency; in fifteen cases there was mention of agency contact but the person was not actually related to the grantee; and in 142 cases there was no evidence of contact.

On the issue of juvenile delinquency, in eight cases there was history of truancy, in three there was institutionalization, in thirty-six, involvement in a delinquency hearing, and in 133 no evidence in the record.

Regarding the history of criminal offense there were

nineteen cases in which convictions were known, six in which there was evidence of criminal offense but no conviction, four cases were not applicable and in 152 there was no evidence in the record.

Only with regard to contact with other agencies did the number appear disproportionate. Forty-one cases were known to Juvenile Court, sixty-five to a medical clinic or agency, twenty-six to a psychiatric agency, thirty-nine to Municipal Court, two to Legal Aid and one to the American Red Cross. Twenty-three cases were known to two outside agencies and fifteen cases were known to three outside agencies.

The extent of other agency contact is not surprising when it is realized that usually one social agency is responsible for referral to another and also that these are the ill, the deprived, the deserted.

That the public assistance agency has a social work function is exemplified in the two following narratives.

In the case of Mrs. B. the husband and father was killed in an accident. Mrs. B. was unable to accept the retardation of her three children. The Bureau of Child Study tested P, at IQ of 68, R. at IQ of 49, B, at IQ of 33. The mother too appeared to be dull and retarded. She gave them very good care but it was felt institutionalization for all three would be the end plan. B. is currently at Dixon State. Mrs. B. is considered unemployable because of the needs of her retarded children. R. is employed by Goodwill Industries. Case #27.

Mrs. C's attitude toward the agency has always been

antagonistic. She felt visits and interviews by the worker an imposition. Conversations, attitude and discrepancies would indicate possible emotional upset. Early in contact she had not informed her children of ADC, apparently out of pride. She stated her friends were professional people whom she did not wish made aware of her relief status.

Oldest daughter was a member of the honor society, attended CTC, worked part time in the school library. Oldest son helped friend of mother's in return for funds for Junior College, reportedly won an art scholarship. On school verification form of youngest son was the comment that he was a good, reliable boy--another justification of the ADC program. Case cancelled in October 1951 as youngest child completed high school. Case #24.

These two cases at polar extremes in regard to educational achievement and intellectual endowment, with the measure of economic security afforded by ADC and apparent parental adequacy, resulted in satisfactory personal and social adjustment. Though not intended as a justification of the program since two cases would not suffice for that purpose, the above examples indicate the goals possible of achievement in the public assistance agency with the combination of casework services, basically self-directing clients, and a measure of economic security.

But that at some level this function was faulty is evidenced by the following excerpt:

John's disorder seemed sharply connected with economic insecurity. His mother explained he had in 1950 come in . . . wildly happy. . . . He said "Mother, we don't have to worry about money any more, I have just had a vision and the Lord has told me that everything is free. We don't have to pay for it." Subsequently would take articles from the bakery, the druggist for which Mrs. S. later paid.

Following release from Chicago State Hospital he is

making a satisfactory adjustment in his treatment . . . however, his greatest anxiety is over the minimal family income and his mother's poor health. Case #131.

Of all the discussions on the caseworker's role in the Public Assistance Agency, Gordon Hamilton most concisely summarizes it as follows:

despite certain limitations the casework concepts of study, diagnosis and treatment are the same whether under public or private auspices, the professional subject matter fundamentally identical. Caseworkers in public agencies, just as in private agencies, must be adequately trained in order to recognize the more usual symptoms of personality disorder, not because they will be called upon to treat this directly, but because they should not let themselves be naively drawn into impossible therapeutic activities.³

She adds that the "particularization of the relief situation by budget, by understanding the applicant, by eliciting strengths and by putting the client in touch with community resources is not only appropriate, but essential."⁴

A strict evaluation of the casework treatment process is not within the realm of this study. The writer was originally of the opinion that there had been a basic change in the agency's policy regarding the employment of mothers. Upon the completion of the study, however, this idea was dispelled. Throughout most

3 Gordon Hamilton, Theory and Practice of Social Case Work, New York, 1940, 263-264.

4 Ibid., 267.

records the caseworker consistently evaluated and planned with the client, on an individual basis, regarding employment or future planning toward self-maintenance for the family. Because of the limitations of the public assistance case records it would be difficult to state that the omissions represent lapses in the quality of service given. There were instances in which the writer felt that enuresis, maternal over-protection and other early symptoms of neuroses were overlooked. In one case there was no follow-up on a grantee who displayed symptoms of schizophrenia. At the time of the last entry, November 1951, she had been arrested on the charge of soliciting. Her fifteen year old daughter was pregnant and also displaying behavior indicative of mental confusion or disorder.

The schedule indicates that information was gathered regarding the kind and number of agency contacts. However, three of the district offices were field work placements for two schools of social work and some of the cases of the sample had been handled by student workers able to visit frequently and under close supervision. It was, therefore, impossible to correlate the extent of contact to the seriousness of the problem presented by the family or to the success of treatment. In all instances of cases of obvious problematic behavior or extreme need, referrals were made to agencies functionally equipped to give service. It

would generally hold that in the cases studied, agency cooperation was beneficial to the client.

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