

BCR REPORTS

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THE REORDERED CLASS STRUCTURE

by Richard A. Cloward

For a quarter of a century after World War II, the American economy enjoyed unparalleled expansion, and economists could write books with titles like *The Affluent Society* (Galbraith). But wages peaked in 1973, and then turned down, a response in part to intensified competition from Europe and Japan, and later from newly industrializing countries, which devastated the auto, steel, textiles, electronics and machine tool industries in the U.S., reducing manufacturing employment from 30 percent of the workforce in 1960 to less than 20 percent in 1990. Meanwhile, the service sector grew, with its low wages and meager benefits, and economists wrote books with titles like *The Deindustrialization of America* (Bluestone and Harrison), *A Future of Lousy Jobs* (Burtless) and *The Age of Diminished Expectations* (Krugman).

In response to these global changes, American business pillaged the economy. They shored up profits by closing plants and moving capital out of the old high-wage industrial regions and into low-wage regions here and abroad. They turned to speculation — in real estate and in the financial markets, including mergers and leveraged buyouts of industrial assets. They looted the multi-

billion dollar defense contracting sector and the savings and loan industry. Following Reagan's election in 1980, business taxes were cut, depriving the Federal Treasury of two trillion dollars by 1992.

Most important, business abandoned its postwar policy of accommodation with labor, using the threat of plant closings accompanied by capital flight to strike fear in the hearts of workers. Overall, the percentage of unionized workers in the private sector fell from 20.1 percent in 1970 to 12 percent in 1990. With labor cowed, business could make enormous cuts in its permanent workforce, hire temporary and part-time workers, and slash wages and benefits. By the 1990's, 30 million people — over a quarter of the U.S. labor force — were working in jobs outside the regular full-time work force. Non-supervisory personnel (who make up 81 percent of the workforce) suffered a real hourly wage decline of 15 percent between 1973 and 1992. Overall, the proportion of full-time year-round workers who were paid wages too low to lift a family of four out of poverty grew from 12.1 percent in 1979 to 18 percent in 1990.

Finally, a unified business community worked to enhance

profitability by slashing the social programs. To see why, it is useful to remember a long-standing Marxist insight, that the unemployed constitute a "reserve army of labor" used by capitalists to weaken and divide the proletariat.

Desperation pits the unemployed against the still-employed, thus weakening labor's market power. But income security programs reduce unemployment and temper desperation. They remove millions of people from the labor market, and protect other people from the hardships of unemployment. The consequence is to tighten labor markets and diminish fear among those still in the market, and thus to strengthen workers in bargaining with employers over wages and working conditions.

The spoils reaped by business in the new class war produced historic shifts in income and wealth distribution. Indeed, the simultaneous growth of poverty and wealth was unprecedented in the 20th century. Between 1977 and 1992, the poorest tenth lost 20.3 percent of its post-tax income. The top tenth gained 40.9 percent, the top 5 percent gained 59.7 percent, and the top one percent gained 135.7 percent.

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BCRS Chapter Updates:

PUGET SOUND:

The Seattle-based chapter did a major Spring Cleaning project with regard to its immense mailing list — over 200 people! While we loved getting the word out about BCRS events to that many people, our budget could not sustain the costs. (The recession hit us out West much later than those “back East”!) We sent out notices, on beautiful new BCRS letterhead designed by member Gretchen Test, asking folks to let us know if they’d like to continue to receive our information. We’re now having bake sales to raise funds, and encouraging local members to become dues-paying members of National BCRS.

Our education committee planned two public forums this spring. The first, around issues of feminist theory and progressive social work practice, generated much interest but had to be postponed due to difficulty scheduling speakers. The second, “Anti-Poverty Organizing in Your Community — The Decency Principles Come to Seattle,” was a talk and discussion led by Nancy Amidei. Nancy is now living here in Seattle as Associate Director of the Center for Policy and Practice Research, and we’re thrilled to have her as a resource.

Several of us attended Human Services Lobby Day in Olympia. This event, planned over a year, was the first time all the human

service agencies/advocates/consumers united on the same day to lobby and demonstrate against any cuts to human service programs.

We’re continuing to meet monthly for potlucks/discussion. We had been having specific topics for discussion, but recently have moved toward more philosophical/ideological issues surrounding “radical social work.” This has given members a chance to talk politics and progressive trends, share new visions (or old ones they’re struggling with), and get support from one another.

ST. LOUIS METRO CHAPTER:

The St. Louis Metro chapter began organizing in January of this year. We had 30 attendees at our first meeting. Students from the George Warren Brown School of Social Work (GWB) from St. Louis University, Washington University, and from Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville are active in the chapter as well as members from the professional social work community. Sheryl Kennerly and Dominique Dallmayr are leading the organizing efforts.

Our second meeting, on February 19th, featured a presentation from the Sierra Club of Eastern Missouri on the population crisis and the environment. Twenty-five

people attended this meeting which was very enlightening to the group.

Our third meeting in March featured a presentation from the St. Louis ACORN organization. The presentation focused on redlining practices of banks in the St. Louis area. ACORN has initiated successful efforts to change the redlining practices of local banks. The ACORN representatives also discussed their community organizing and advocacy methods.

In late March, BCRS and the Missouri Chapter of NASW co-sponsored a bus tour of oppressed communities in the St. Louis area. The tour was conducted by Jack Kirkland of GWB. Jack highlights communities which have been oppressed and abused within the political and economic establishments. The tour was featured as part of the “Student Summit for Change” and included both students and non-students.

The St. Louis BCRS Chapter distributed an interest survey to participants. The majority of respondents are interested in education on political/social issues, followed by social and political activism. Peer support was also of interest to our Chapter including organization: working in the environment, abortion rights, sexual abuse, gay and lesbian issues, homelessness, welfare reform, political advocacy, and AIDS.

The Chapter plans to hold up to two meetings per month featuring different types of activities. With the strong base of interest from various universities and the community the Chapter will be able to sustain its momentum throughout the summer month

Please mail all contributions for the next *BCR Reports* to:

Barbara Kasper, Editor
Social Work Department,
Faculty Office Building
SUNY College at Brockport
Brockport, NY 14420
FAX #716-325-1503

Letters to the editor, essays, news items, BCRS Chapter activities, cartoons, etc., are all welcome!

Please Note: The deadline for materials submitted for inclusion in the next *BCR Reports* is **September 15, 1993.**

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BCRS Chapter Updates:

ST. LOUIS METRO CHAPTER:

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and without interruption due to students' migrations.

Everyone involved in the Chapter activities to date has been very enthusiastic and appreciative of an opportunity to organize with other social workers of like mind. We are very excited by the strength shown in this chapter and hope to continue to provide the St. Louis area with an outlet for education and expression in progressive social work.

COLUMBUS/OSU:

At the beginning of January, the Ohio State University Provost, Joan Huber, announced that the current Dean of the College of Social Work, Richard Boettcher, would step down as dean and return to the faculty at the end of June. The Columbus/OSU Chapter has taken an active role in beginning the process of replacing the Dean. We would like to see an individual who reflects the values of the BCRS move into this position. We also want to ensure that groups such as students, who are traditionally ignored when such decisions are made, be included in the decision-making process.

The Chapter called the Provost's office and asked her to hold an open meeting for students, staff and faculty to discuss the future of social work at Ohio State and the process of searching for a Dean. She graciously met with us on February 8th. Since then, the Chapter has been actively engaged in recommending membership for the Search Committee as well as identifying appropriate candidates to assume the position of Acting Dean in July. The experience has already been instructive for students, since those at the February meeting

found out how institutional politics work. Initially, the Provost refused to have an undergraduate student participate on the Search Committee. In fact, many students were shocked to discover that the OSU central administration does not have much of an opinion about them. However, their efforts have led to a reversal on the part of the Provost, and she has now agreed to allow both an undergraduate and graduate student on the Search Committee.

In February we showed *The Panama Deception* and had a large turnout for this film, which has since won an academy award. Because we are so dependent now on the electronic media for information, we decided to organize a series of film presentations, to be called the "Columbus Progressive Film Institute." The first edition was held on May 4th, and the focus was on media manipulation. We showed the religious right's vile *Gay Agenda* and a film called *Lines in the Sand*, concerned with what we saw and didn't see about the Persian Gulf War. Further institutes will be held about once every three months.

Ohio is one of the states targeted by the religious right for an anti-gay rights campaign. The Chapter is planning to take

a proactive stance and to begin an educational campaign in the near future. We firmly believe that assaults on the civil rights of any group potentially affect the civil rights of everyone. The religious right will continue to attack progressive movements however it can, whether it's gay rights, abortion rights or welfare rights. These issues need to be connected and brought to the attention of the public.

BOSTON:

The Boston Bertha Capen Reynolds Society has revived. We have held two organizing meetings, with another planned for May.

A theme of both meetings was how to rebuild a Boston Chapter, and especially how to work collaboratively with progressives in SEIU 509 and SEIU 285. At the second meeting, we discussed the importance of unions to progressive practice. We decided, if possible, to make support for organizing homemaker/home health aide workers as a priority for our chapter. This focus will allow us to support labor organizing; to raise issues of privatization; and to challenge social workers to identify with the full range of caring work. For more information, contact Ann Withorn of the BCRS Steering Committee.

NASW May Revise Peace Policy

The text of a proposed revision of the NASW Peace and Social Welfare Policy which will be considered for adoption at the NASW Delegate Assembly this summer appears in the March 1993 issue of *NASW News*. Submitted by the Ohio NASW, it makes several points, including a call for an 80% reduction in the U.S. military over a 10 year period and for the adoption of an economic conversion policy to be implemented by U.S. funding and legislation.

Anyone wishing further information should contact: James A. Lucas, Chairperson, Ohio NASW Peace and Social Justice Committee, 6078 Leycross Drive, Dayton, Ohio 45424 or call 513-233-3425.

The Politics of Independent Living: A Manifesto For Persons With Disabilities

By John Woodward

We proclaim that we are born free and equal human beings; that our disabilities are limitations only, and that our identity does not derive from being disabled.

We proclaim that we have the same value as people who are not disabled, and we reject any scheme of labeling or classifying us that encourages people to think of us as having diminished value.

We reject the idea that institutions must be created to "care" for us, and proclaim that these institutions have been used to "manage" us in ways that non-disabled people are not expected to accept. We particularly denounce institutions whose purpose is to punish us for being disabled, or to confine us for the convenience of others.

We reject the notion that we need "experts" to tell us how to live, especially experts from the able-bodied world. We are not diagnoses in need of a cure or cases to be closed. We are human, with human dreams and ambitions.

We deny that images of disability are appropriate metaphors for incompetence, stupidity, ugliness or weakness.

We are aware that as people with disabilities, we have been considered objects of charity and we have been considered commodities. We are neither. We reject charitable enterprises that exploit our lifestyle to titillate others, and which propose to establish the rules by which we must live without our participations. We also reject businesses that use us as "warm bodies" to provide a passive market for their services, again laying down

rules by which we must live for their profit. We recognize that the lines between charities and businesses are blurred in the disability industry, and we do not accept services from either if their essential function is to exploit us.

We assert our rights of self-determination in the face of rules, eligibility criteria, regulations, customs, laws or other barriers, and we pledge not to allow any authority or institution to deprive us of our freedom of choice.

Finally, we assert that any service we need, from specialized teaching to personal care, can be provided to us in the community among our non-disabled peers. Segregated institutions are not necessary to serve us, and they have been the greatest source of our oppression, especially when they have been run by able-bodied people without our participation.

All human beings are more alike than we are different. We recognize that when we assert this belief we will find ourselves in conflict with regressive institutions and their supporters, some of whom may be disabled themselves. We do not expect thousands of years of stereotyping to dissipate quickly. We commit ourselves and those who come after us to challenge our oppression on every level until we are allowed to be fully human and assert our individuality ahead of our disability.

- John Woodward is a social worker at the Center for Independent Living of North Florida. (This article was published in This Brain Has A Mouth, January 1993. This publication is available for \$3 from Free Hand Press, 61 Brighton Street, Rochester, NY 14607).

The Association For Women In Social Work

The Colorado unit of the Association for Women in Social Work has offered to assume the coordination of the association's newsletter. AWSW is a group of practitioners, educators, students and others irrespective of credentials, who are interested in articulating the feminist voice in social work. Pro-feminist men are also welcome. Because AWSW is a decentralized organization, communication links and dialogue among regions, individuals and chapters can be maintained and enhanced via a newsletter. Units across the country as well as individuals are urged to contribute their knowledge, talent and ideas.

To join AWSW, send your dues (\$10.00 per \$10,000 income) to: AWSW, c/o Marcie Lazzari, Dept. of Social Work, 202 Eddy, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, CO 80523. Members receive a \$5.00 discount on the subscription price of *AFFILIA: Journal of Women and Social Work*.

BCRS Book List to be Expanded

At its April meeting, the National Steering Committee agreed to expand the list of books available from BCRS. Books by Bertha Reynolds had been the only titles we carry. Starting next fall however, BCRS will begin to carry a few other titles of particular interest to the community of progressive human service workers. All authors who make presentations at the BCRS national conference are eligible to submit their books for inclusion on the list. Authors who wish to add their books to the list should write to the "Book Committee," in care of the National Steering Committee.

THE HEALTH CARE CRISIS

The Health Care and Coverage Crisis

About 40 million people, 10 million of them children, have no health coverage. Another 60 million have inadequate coverage. Those people who have insurance also have the fear of its loss. The health care and coverage crisis in the United States has become a condition seeking cure.

Costs for health care are skyrocketing, rising at triple the rate of inflation. Americans now spend \$750 billion a year on medical care, over \$2 billion a day. It represents 12% of our Gross National Product, more than any other country in the world. By the year 2000, we expect to spend \$1,500 billion a year, 15% of GNP. Families pay 12% of their income for health and, by the end of the decade, they will pay 16%.

In 1980, average health costs per family were \$2,500; in 1991, \$6,500; and by 2000 will be \$14,000. Only 40% of the poor actually receive Medicaid, and Medicare covers only one-half of the health costs of the elderly. Out-of-pocket expenditures are more than double what they were for the elderly before Medicare was enacted. Medicaid and Medicare are piecemeal, wasteful, inappropriate and undemocratic. Why should one have to be impoverished or reach a certain age in order to obtain care essential to well being and to life?

Billions of dollars are wasted. One-fourth of all the money spent on medical care goes for moving paper around. That includes establishing eligibility for means tested service, determining deductible levels, justifying rates of thousands of policies written by private insurance companies.

Americans — 82% of them — want fundamental changes in the way we organize, deliver and fund health services. They believe it to be too expensive for them and too profitable for insurance companies. At least 70% of Americans want a national health program like that in Canada. People oppose the role of private insurers who, with the medical-industrial bloc, dominate health policy and practice. The people sense that now is the time for a change.

A Glimpse at History

Never before in the struggle to legislate a national system of health care and coverage were so many people alert to the issue and mobilized for action. It is illuminating to note that the struggle is almost 100 years old.

At the turn of the century, a campaign was begun, with many social workers in the leadership, to institute a universal health system. Social workers participated in the endeavor, testifying to the need, formulating the proposals, advocating the measures in publications, forums and legislative halls. They were part of a movement that continues to this day. Then as now, business interests led the opposition to health insurance for all. The insurance companies, the AMA, and most of all, the National Civic Federation caused the defeat of the health plan in 1920, after a two decade fight. The ideological guide for social workers in those years was Simon Nelson Patten, now almost forgotten and surely ignored by the profession he fostered. Patten declared, in his 1907 work, *The New Basis of Civilization*, based on his lectures at the New York School of Social Work, that the age of abundance had arrived and poverty could be eliminated. He believed that social workers should act as a cadre to achieve that goal. Social legislation, Patten was convinced, was the means to achieve the good life for all. A mandated system of health insurance was seen as part of that approach.

Social workers such as Roger Baldwin, Alice Hamilton, Charles Henderson, Robert Hunter, Paul Kellogg, Samuel Lindsay, Florence Kelley, Edward T. Devine, I.M. Rubinow and James B. Reynolds were among those involved.

It was Patten's position that social workers should "fix the responsibility of the state in caring for the health and welfare of its citizens." Committed to that point of view, Bertha Capen Reynolds later observed that "medical care is so costly and so ill distributed that thousands die...every year, yet medical societies levy assessments on their members to lobby against an adequate health act." In those years, as now, misinformation, media bias, distortion and name calling were used by those who stood against a health plan for all people.

Myths and Facts About A Single Payer Public System of Health Care and Coverage

MYTH: It will result in lower quality care.

FACT: In the world, the U.S. now ranks 12th in life expectancy, 21st in infant mortality, 29th in low birth weight babies. A single payer national system would emphasize health education, prevention, early detection and diagnosis, and provide comprehensive, coordinated care for all. It would offer high quality pre and post natal care, OBS/GYN, pediatric, primary, family and long term care, thus improving health and saving money. There will be a more rational distribution and use of medical technology.

MYTH: People will use it unnecessarily.

FACT: People do not enjoy going for medical care. Preventive services will reduce need for treatment. Doctors, not patients, decide on what procedures and medications should be used.

MYTH: There will not be free choice of physician.

FACT: NOT SO! Free choice is written into the legislation. It is only in HMO/group practice where a patient can use only participating MD's.

MYTH: It will be too expensive.

FACT: A General Accounting Office study estimated that if we shift to a single payer system of universal coverage, the annual savings would be \$67 billion, enough to cover all those now uninsured. Another GAO report stated that ending fraud within our present arrangement would save another \$70 billion. The single payer system would be progressively financed through a combination of corporate and personal taxes. This would replace premiums and out-of-pocket expenses now paid by families and businesses. Overall, individual, family and corporate health care costs would be reduced.

MYTH: It would create a bureaucracy.

FACT: There is a huge and wasteful bureaucracy in place now — 1,500 insurance companies issuing millions of health policies at great administrative costs. About 25% of our total health expenditures are used up in administrative cost. Global budgets and negotiated fees help to contain costs, limit paper work and conduct business with fewer employees.

MYTH: There will be rationing.

FACT: Rationing exists now based on income and geography. Many people postpone treatments and procedures because of high costs. Increasingly, "managed care" has been put into effect to control costs. Unfortunately, that imposition means that the decision about your care no longer rests with you and your doctor.

MYTH: There will be long waiting lists for treatment.

FACT: Stories of waiting lists for treatment in Canada have been exaggerated and may reflect displacement. We all know that an hour or two wait in a physician's office where one has an appointment is quite usual. The mass of people waiting in our hospital emergency rooms and clinics is a sad and all too common sight.

MYTH: Even if a single payer system is desirable, it is not feasible to attain, given the powerful opposing special interests.

FACT: Powerful special interests are opposed to a single payer public system. Insurance companies, privately owned hospitals, clinics and nursing home operators, and the AMA resist change. But many physicians are actively involved, organized into Physicians for a National Health Plan. Along with them are many groups representing a majority of the people — the American Nurses Association, APHA, NASW, Citizens Action, ADA, a host of trade unions including AFSCME, CWA, Oil and Chemical Workers, ACTWU, ILGWU, Postal Workers, and many more.

A single payer public system can be realized through the power of all those people who favor it. Letters, telegrams, phone calls, and visits to members of Congress, to President and Mrs. Clinton, and their staffs must continue in support of the McDermott/ Conyers/ Wellstone bills HR1200 and S491. The struggle can be won.

Report from the Committee for Human Rights Inquiry

While we rejoice that Rigoberta Menchu Tum, has won the Nobel Peace Prize for her international defense of human rights in Guatemala, we are deeply concerned at the continued massive human rights violations in her homeland. This includes abused and even murdered street children and the threats against the Casa Alianza (Covenant House) social service workers who are defending them and bringing cases against their military tormentors in the courts.

Cutoff of all U. S. military aid including costs of so-called "drug wars" and also aid to the Guatemalan army pacification programs is necessary.

Further pressure on Congress is needed through an extensive letter-writing campaign. Please send a letter NOW, and send a copy to CIHRI Secy. Ruth H. Wilson, 415 Grand St., #E1905, New York, NY 10002. For Rigoberta Menchu Tum's acceptance speech for the Nobel Prize, send 29 cents postage to this address.

Selected Quotation from Bertha Capen Reynolds

(on struggle) —

"To think of conflict as a symptom of something wrong with us brings us full circle to the reflection that symptoms are a sign of struggle for health. If we social workers find ourselves today in more conflict than heretofore, there is reason to look beyond present discomfort to a realization that, after all, conflict is a measure of our will to live abundantly."

— from "Human Conflict, 1941:
The Social Worker," *Social
Work Today*, Vol. VIII, May 1941.

BCRS National Steering Committee

BCRS Mailing Address:

Columbus Circle Station, P.O. Box 20563, New York, NY 10023

Mimi Abramovitz
395 Riverside Dr., 4-A
New York, NY 10025
H: 212-866-2429
W: 212-452-7106

Dan Bannister*
3418 Emerson Ave. So.
#206
Minneapolis, MN
55408
H: 612-827-0608
W: 612-546-1866

Sandra Bauman*
232 Mather Rd.
Jenkintown, PA 19046
H: 215-885-5790
W: 215-898-5540

Joel Blau*
171 Windsor Place
Brooklyn, NY 11215
H: 718-965-1721
W: 516-444-3149

Marti Bombyk
412 W. 110th St.
New York, NY 10025
H: 212-316-3150
W: 212-636-6651

Catherine Bradshaw
1623 S. King St.
Seattle, WA 98144
H: 206-323-6567

Don Cooney*
701 Norton
Kalamazoo, MI 49001
H: 616-349-3027
W: 616-383-0961

Michael Cronin
241 W. 100th St.
Apt. 2-R
New York, NY 10025
H: 212-864-5397

Joan Dworkin*
712 Judson Avenue
Evanston, IL 60202
H: 708-869-7948
W: 312-996-7384

Bob Fisher*
907 Key Street
Houston, TX 77079
H: 713-868-9825
W: 713-743-8112

Sharon Freedberg
5 Travis Place
Hastings-on-Hudson,
NY 10706
H: 914-478-4759
W: 212-960-8840/8193

Ken Grossinger*
176 Peralta
San Francisco, CA
94110
H: 415-648-7013
W: 415-673-8755

Susan James*
956 10th Ave., E.
Apt. 203
Seattle, WA 98102
H: 206-324-8155

Carol Kaplan
Graduate School of
Social Service
Fordham University
113 W. 60th St.
New York, NY 10023
W: 212-636-6672

Barbara Kasper
265 Carling Rd.
Rochester, NY 14610
H: 716-482-2517
W: 716-395-5509

Keith Kilty*
6032 Thatcher Drive
Dublin, OH 43017
H: 614-761-3598
W: 614-292-7181

Beth Lewis
2 Brewery Square 110
New Haven, CT 06513
H: 203-865-3691
W: 203-737-2373

Kane Loukas*
12 Orchard Rd.
Windham, ME 04062
H: 207-892-5056

David McKell*
1000 N. Beaver, #209
Flagstaff, AZ 86001
H: 602-779-1400
W: 602-523-6556

Marie E. Miller*
811 Townline Rd.
Lancaster, NY 14086
H: 716-682-9873

Marilynn Moch*
32 Chestnut Street
Central Islip, NY 11722
H: 516-232-3156
W: 212-274-2173

Fred Newdom
347 Wellington
Delmar, NY 12054
H: 518-439-6411
W: 518-475-1199

Jerry Sachs*
4 Spring Terrace
Greenfield, MA 01301
H: 413-774-7564
W: 413-585-7950

Laura Stravino*
215 13th Ave., E.
Apt. 311
Seattle, WA 98102
H: 206-322-5950

Ann Withorn*
143 Winchester St.
Brookline, MA 02146
H: 617-738-7081
W: 617-287-7365

*Chapter Contact Person

BCRS Brochure Available:

Members wishing to order copies of the Society's brochure may request up to 100 copies by calling Mary Jo at Communication Services at (518) 463-3522, faxing her at (518) 426-3961 or writing her at: 4 Central Avenue, Albany, New York 11210. The brochure has an easy to use tear-off return form, and features an "Our Members Say" section with quotes from Chauncey Alexander, Millie Charles, Herman Curiel, Lorraine Gutierrez, Barbara Joseph, Maryann Mahaffey, Mary Bricker-Jenkins, Irmgard Wessel, Susan Kinoy and Sandy Felder. Order copies for your school or workplace today!

Bureaucratic Isolation or Community Building

By Steve Burghardt and Michael Fabricant

It was the best of times: The New York City Chapter of NASW made headlines across the region for its stinging report on the working conditions within child welfare services. It was the worst of times: the Child Welfare Administration (CWA) headed by Malcolm X's brother, Robert Little, charged the task force behind the report with 'racism' and engaging in 'cultural genocide.'

Needless to say, the Dickensian age of foolishness and the age of wisdom are present in this story as well. For the NASW task force's indictment of the working conditions — the mindless paper work, emphasis on bureaucratic output "milestones" as critical measures of service, supervision that emphasizes productivity over skill development, rapid turnover of line employees (most with modest training at best), etc. — was on target. Their trenchant analysis of service structure was accurate not only for many CWA service delivery systems but for human services in the not-for-profit sector as well. If the chapter's task force had worked in this direction, the season of Light might have been upon us. Unfortunately, rather than analyzing these bureaucratic conditions that are eroding professional skill across the profession and then joining with the CWA administration's very laudable efforts at expanding and refining the agency's intensive case management Homebuilder's model (which we'll discuss further), the NASW Child Welfare Task Force proposed an infuriating solution. It called for a return to "child welfare services as they were twenty years ago" — that magical

Bureau of Child Welfare garden rooted in the season of darkness where, for example, white-led agencies routinely slotted children for adoption on the basis of their skin color — the lighter the child's skin, the easier the adoption.

Such racist actions led to the now-famous (and successful) Wilder suit against CWA predecessor Special Services for Children and the creation of the Wilder Panel to implement a monitoring system to eliminate such abuses in the future. To call for a return to this problematic past when a primarily African-American administration is attempting some important areas of innovation was understandably attacked by the Little administration as racist and insensitive. That the CWA critique also charged the Task Force with "cultural genocide" was, alas, to also recast their own analysis from the epoch of belief to the epoch of incredulity.

A more helpful approach, as both groups scramble to correct their mistakes, would lie in the far more positive direction of bridge-building around a restructuring of services into a community-building model. Such a model reframes services as an integrative rather than isolating mechanism between services and community. As our research documents in *The Welfare State Crisis and the Transformation of Social Services Work*, the present cost containment policies that demand bureaucratic oversight measures such as paper work, numerical productivity, and supervision only through fiscal accountability are isolating the agency from community, proletarianizing the skill base of social services, and further eroding the profession's

legitimacy. Both large scale public organizations like CWA and the non-profits represented by the NASW Task Force must work together if either is to successfully intervene on such entrenched and multi-generational problems that increasingly mark the landscape of urban social service work today.

This is why CWA's attempts through Homebuilders — a service-rich, highly professionalized, and extremely time-intensive approach to families in crisis is to be lauded. Homebuilders begins to reframe professional intervention with "families at risk" (of their children being placed in foster care) by having professionals involved and available on a 24-hour basis. However, the short-time period (depending on the model, from 6 weeks to 3 months) is not capable of handling long-term chronic problems of abuse nor of ending community isolation and fragmentation that are at the heart of many poor peoples' problems. To conquer this, as we detail in our book's last chapter on generative services, will require both massive economic redistribution and a reframing of all service interventions in a far more critically reflective and integrative model that at present is being developed in only a fraction of agencies and programs.

But NASW and CWA leaders have that choice — as social service providers always have had throughout history. Rather than framing arguments in either romantic images of a past that never was or a socially deterministic posture that is at present mechanistic, it would be a far, far better thing to choose to struggle together to rebuild

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THE REORDERED CLASS STRUCTURE

By the official measure, poverty had fallen from 22.4 percent in 1959 (39.5 million people) to a low of 11.6 percent in 1977 (24.7 million people). But then it rose to 14.2 percent in 1991 (35.7 million people), the highest level in a quarter of a century.

The most dramatic measure of the reordered class structure was wealth accumulation — aggregate household assets, whether homes and other real estate, stock, bonds, paintings, jewelry or yachts. Studies by the Federal Reserve show that between 1983 and 1989 — the core Reagan years — the richest one percent of families increased their share of net private wealth from 31 to 37 percent; the share of the next richest 9 percent fell from 35 to 31 percent, and the bottom 90 percent lost one percent, from 33 to 32 percent. Plainly, business won the war against workers.

— Richard A. Cloward teaches at the Columbia University School of Social Work. An updated edition of his 1971 book with Frances Fox Piven, *Regulating the Poor*, will be published by Pantheon in October.

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BUREAUCRATIC ISOLATION OR COMMUNITY BUILDING

communities and services as they must be. As Charles Dickens said about another time — we can go direct to Heaven, or direct the other way. With such effort perhaps the tale of our cities will begin to be what our vision too often only dreams about.

— Michael Fabricant and Steve Burghardt are co-authors of *The Welfare State Crisis and the Transformation of Social Service Work* (M.E. Sharpe, 1992). The work analyzes the issues discussed in this article.

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