AN ANALYSIS OF FRANCIS FOX PIVEN'S AND RICHARD CLOWARD'S THEORY USES OF PUBLIC WELFARE AS A MECHANISM OF SOCIAL CONTROL: CASE STUDY FULTON COUNTY'S WELFARE PRACTICES, 1950-1969

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ABSTRACT

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An Analysis of Francis Fox Piven and Richard Cloward's Theory on the Uses of Public Welfare as a Mechaism of Social Control: Case Study Fulton County's Welfare Practices, 1950-1969

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This study looks at one theory on relief in America and attempts to ascertain the validity of this theory as applied to Fulton County, Georgia. Richard Cloward and Francis Fox Piven in Regulating the Poor suggest that public welfare serves two functions depending on certain social and economic condtions. They maintain that welfare functions during restrictive periods as an enforcer of the work ethic. The poor, during this span, usually receive little in the way of benefits; instead they are forced into a labor market which in all likelihood is beneficial to the local economy. The second function of the public welfare system is, according to Cloward and Piven, that of a social control. That is public welfare systems increase aid in times of civil disorder to act as a tool of appeasement for the poor.

Cloward and Piven, for the most part, examined national relief policies to substantiate their findings. This study however, limits its focus to a local setting. Fulton County which houses

the city of Atlanta seemed an appropriate area to test the Cloward and Piven hypothesis. While much knowledge was gained concerning the functions of public welfare in Fulton County, a number of questions were confronted. It was discovered that Fulton County's welfare policies during the 1950's were indeed restrictive as was suggested by Cloward. The 1960's however, saw the increase in local as well as national welfare expenditures as again was suggested by Cloward and Piven.

Questions were raised though when one looked at the years and types of disturbances in Atlanta and the years, motives and sources of increased welfare budgets in the city. Atlanta's civil rights activity was hardly as threatening as those rebellions which took place in the late sixties in other cities throughout the country. The civil rights movement in Atlanta was, for the most part, conducted in the early sixties. Welfare increases occurred in the mid-late sixties. Finally, the federal government emerged as the source doing the bulk of the giving where relief was concerned. All of these questions suggested that the Cloward and Piven conclusion on welfare's function as a social control may be inaccurate.

INTRODUCTION

The debate on public welfare in the United States has been a source of controversy since the advent of the Social Security Act. Rising relief expenditures and increased dependency by many Americans upon the relief system fuels criticism of current policies as they attempt to address the plight of the poor. Of special concern to social scientists is the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program as it is here that the most significant increases have taken place in recent years. Advocates, as well as those opposed to public welfare, have studied the rise in the AFDC rolls during the 1960's in an attempt to offer explanations for the causes of this phenomena. Nationwide, stable relief rolls during the 1950's increased from a negligible 635,000 families in 1950 to 745,000 in 1960 - a 17 percent increase. However, the 110 percent increase which took place between 1960 and 1970 caused many to look closely at this phenomenal occurrence.

Among the explanations given of this phenomena is that offered by Richard Cloward and Francis Fox Piven in Regulating the Poor. These authors suggest that public welfare serves two major functions, the reinforcement of work norms and as a tool of social control. Examples are cited dating from England's Poor Laws, which provide the beginning of the Western European

experience with welfare. The authors use these experiences to illustrate their hypothesis concerning the functions of welfare. Cloward and Piven move to the period of the 1930's in the United States and detail how relief functions in contemporary settings. These periods are chosen by the authors to illustrate how relief may enforce work norms and act as a means of social control.

To clarify exactly what is meant by the concepts "enforce work norms" and "social control", the authors' interpretation of the circumstances surrounding the formulation of various welfare policies must be carefully examined. Welfare, it is argued, is 1) restrictive in its effort to reinforce the work ethic and 2) expansive in that it seeks control of its' recipients in the event of civil disorder. Cloward and Piven Explain:

> .....We shall argue that expansive relief policies are designated to mute civil disorder, and restrictive ones to reinforce work norms. In other words, relief policies are cyclical - liberal or restrictive in the larger society with which government must contend.[1]

They further argue that relief can be used simultaneously as a reinforcement and control. That is to say that while a general expansion may be occurring welfare administrators may force compliance with certain regulations which have the effect of reminding people that they 'should' be working. This is done often as a precondition for the granting of aid. The Work Incentive Program which requires recipients to register

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[1]Richard Cloward and Francis Fox Piven, Regulating the Poor (New York: Vintage Books, 1971), p. xiiv.

for training sessions is an illustration of the contradictory uses of welfare.

By any means, restrictive welfare policies have the effect of accommodating the needs of local economies. Recipients are usually made to work. This may be done either by allowing work as a prerequisite for the grant, purging the rolls so as to force people to take work at any wage, or making relief so difficult to attain as to leave no alternative for the poor but to work. Whatever method is used, this, Cloward and Piven maintain, is one function of public welfare most often practiced in the absence of civil disorder.

Civil disorder, the authors insist, is a precondition for public welfare's use as a social control.[2] This use represents the expansive cycle of the relief system. They argue that welfare systems are aimed at perpetuation of the status quo and that allowing the poor the absolute necessities acts to circumvent unrest. This unrest could ultimately lead to reform calling for the redistribution of wealth. The effects of relaxing welfare requirements thereby increasing benefits to the poor is seen in this sense as the government's effort at relieving tension hence minimizing the discontent of the poor or controlling the lives of this large segment of the population.

The authors would argue then that either the presence or

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[2]Cloward and Piven's definition of social control is a deviation from the traditional usage of the concept which connotes a self-regulating activity undertaken by individuals or groups. See Morris Janowitz, Social Control of the Welfare State (New York: Elsecier Scientific Publishing Co. Inc., 1976), p. 9.

threat of civil disorder, which would include a wide range of activities all aimed at expressing discontent to the current system, would mandate a relaxation of welfare policies. This would act to absorb much of the frustration experienced by those realizing their disadvantageous positions on the social and economic ladders.

Providing additional revenue for welfare recipients is viewed as the lesser of many evils. Alternatives, such as encroaching on other segments of society to provide benefits to the poor, seem far less likely given the nature of the capitalist economic system. Housing provides an example in this regard. It is, state Cloward Piven, much more feasible for the state and federal governments to pump money into a relief system than to require landlords to provide decent housing for their tenants even though both would have the effect of diverting the rebellious tendencies from those eager to attack the system. Social control, then, has its roots in political behavior while regulation has its in economic behavior.

The aim of this research is to examine the theories of Cloward and Piven on the uses of welfare. It will be determined whether their hypothesis can be applied to the local situation in Fulton County, Georgia during the 1950's and 1960's. In effect, Fulton County welfare practices will be viewed as a microcosm of Cloward and Piven's national account of relief. The specific question to be answered may be stated as simply: Did the AFDC program in Fulton County function as an enforcer

of work norms during the 1950's and as a social control during the 1960's?

At this point, a word needs to be said concerning the years, the setting of this study, and the program selection in order to clarify why they specifically were targeted for research. As stated earlier, propositions were offered which suggested that welfare has been used as a means through which people are both controlled and regulated. The restrictive welfare policies in the form of work norms could be best tested through observation of the years 1950 through 1959 when national relief policies were most restrictive. The test for its use as a social control could most easily be conducted through examination of the 1960's when there occurred a relaxation in relief regulations which created a more responsive federal welfare system. The sisties also represent a period of civil disorder on a national scale which Cloward and Piven attribute to the increase in welfare benefits. Efforts will be made to determine if similar types of discontent were expressed in Fulton County during the same time frame.

The decision to research Fulton County is based on the desire to look, as Cloward and Piven did, where the most significant welfare increases took place. Fulton County which houses the city of Atlanta, meets this criterion well. An effort was also made to select an area which may have been the site of civil disorders during the 1960's.

The specific target for investigation is the AFDC program. It was this program that experienced the largest increase during the sixties. It is with this program that recipients are forced into compliance with rules which may have a direct relationship to wage labor. Reinforcement of work norms may be managed easily through the AFDC program. Other programs which effect AFDC recipients, such as Medicaid and Food Stamps, will be viewed only as they relate to increases and decreases in benefits to AFDC recipients.

The necessity for undertaking this task seems evident. The relief policies in the United States affect large numbers of people and provide a constant source on controversy. Examination of this phenomena, with the aim of determining the intent and effects of such a system, should shed considerable light on the true nature of welfare in America.

The methods used to answer questions about Fulton County's Aid to Dependent Children program are that of descriptive analysis. Aside from a brief general discussion on the nature of the welfare state, relief in the United States and the AFDC program, efforts will be made to describe the internal workings of the welfare system as administered in the state of Georgia. It is here that a detailed account of the AFDC program will be most most beneficial since Fulton County is subject to the rules and regulations established by the state. These descriptions would include guidelines, eligibility requirements, amounts of payments and the number of people affected.

The next stage of research is designed to determine whether

or not AFDC was used in Fulton County as a regulation device or an enforcer of the work norm during the decade of the 1950's. Specifically, efforts will be aimed at ascertaining if the program had the effect of making available a labor force which could be directed to a particular market. To do this, it will be necessary to examine programs similar to the Work Incentive Program (WIN). This requirement could have the effect of directing clients toward a specific labor market. Restrictive eligibility requirements and/or compliance with harsh rules once allowed on the rolls will be observed as devices aimed at discouraging potentially needy citizens from seeking aid. This is viewed as reinforcing a work ethic which people ultimately opt to do rather than suffer the degrading experience of securing assistance. The absence of a strict work enforcement during the fifties, however, might suggest that something other than the Cloward and Piven hypothesis existed.

The same process would be used to determine whether or not welfare was used in Fulton County as a social control during the 1960's. As was suggested by Cloward and Piven, increases in the amount of aid being allocated to the needy increased significantly with the advent of civil disorder. Civil disorder resulted in being the primary indicator of dissatisfaction among people, particularly poor and Black people because it is they who suffer disproportionately when welfare and economic concerns are at issue. Included here are a wide variety of activities ranging from peaceful demonstrations and complaints

lodged formally against welfare administrators and other authority figures to rioting. Cloward and Piven, in an attempt to describe protest activity, explain:

> The emergence of a protest movement entails a transformation both of consciousness and of behavior. The change in consciousness has at least three distinct aspects. First, 'the system' - or those aspects of the system that people experience or perceive - loses legitimacy. Large numbers of men and women who ordinarily accept the authority of their rulers and the legitimacy of institutional arrangements come to believe that existing arrangements are unjust and wrong. Second, people who are ordinarily fatalistic, who believe that existing arrangements are inevitable begin to assert 'rights' that imply demands for change. Third, there is a new sense of efficacy; people who ordinarily consider themselves helpless come to believe that they may have some capacity to alter their lot.[3]

Applying this test to Fulton County would first entail a determination of dissatisfaction among the poor and Black in the local community. Once this determination has been made with respect to the degree of protest activity that existed, the task to follow would be that of assessing the existence of a correlation between protest activity and increased aid. A strong enough correlation here might suggest a causal relationship. That is to say, there may have been an increase in relief due to an increase in protest activity.

Information gathering techniques will first consider resources as the Department of Human Resources which has general information on welfare services in Georgia. The Department of Family and Children Services should be the source most equipped to provide the specifics regarding the administration of local

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[3]Richard Cloward and Francis Fox Piven, Poor People's Movements: How They Succeed, Why They Fail (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), p. 3.

welfare. Since the primary years focused upon in this study are the 1950's and 1960's, interviews with welfare administrators and caseworkers who may have worked AFDC during that period would be of value. Identifying various work programs utilized during the 1950's as well as the existence of any civil disorder during the 1960's will be undertaken early in the project. The primary sources providing such information are periodicals, local magazines, newspapers, and interviews with community as well as welfare rights leaders.

It is hoped that certain assumptions can be made at the conclusion of this project. Specifically, an answer to the question regarding the functions of public welfare in Fulton County will be provided. From this perhaps it will be possible to draw salient conclusions characterizing the role of relief in areas bearing qualities similar to those in Fulton County.

To more efficiently conduct such a project, an extensive look at the works written on public welfare and the areas related to the subject becomes necessary. A review of the literature consist largely of works concerned with various perspectives of poverty in the United States. Regulating the Poor authored by Francis Fox Piven and Richard Cloward is most significant as it is from this that the hypothesis of this paper is drawn. The authors show how public welfare functions both politically and economically. Political functions are related to social control by quelling disorder among the dissatisfied poor. Regulation of the labor market for the purpose of rein-

forcing work norms is the focus of public welfare's economic function.

As mentioned earlier, the authors choose a number of time periods to substantiate the contention that when welfare was most restrictive there was the tendency for relief administrators to implement policies which would stand to benefit their local economies. The late 1940's and 50's were cited as examples of this occurrence particularly in the southeastern region of the country. Likewise, the 1930's was given as a period when welfare benefits were increased due to public outrage with economic conditions. This phenomena is cited by the authors as consistent with the social control theory which allows an authority to dominate the poor through the distribution of increased benefits.

A number of works attack the nations' poverty from a perspective of deficiencies in planning, administration, and purposes of many of the anti-poverty programs. Samuel Yette in The Choice[4] offers the reader a comprehensive look into Black people's efforts to maintain themselves in America. The focus of Yette's work rest on forces external to the poor with respect to programs aimed at ameliorating the situation. Yette analyzed many programs and assessed how they were of little benefit to those in need.

A number of works examine different aspects of poverty

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[4]Samuel Yette, The Choice (New York: Berkley Medallion Books 1971).

in America. Let Them Eat Promises[5] represents Nick Kotz's version of the uses of hunger within the political arena. Here the specifics of food programs are brought to the surface in an effort to show how political motivations which in the programs' origins have acted to the disadvantage of those at whom these programs were aimed. This illustration of the workings of a specific program closely related to the Dependent Children program gives insight into the ources of inefficiency and unconcern for the poor within the American political system.

Yette and Kotz allude to the fact that administrators of public welfare programs have improper views of poverty and the programs which in all likelihood, affect the implementation of the programs they administer. The Other America[6] by Michael Harrington, Williams Ryan's Blaming the Victim[7], and Welfare in America[8], edited by Betty Reid Mandell, all suggest that improper attitudes with respect to the poor is commonplace among public administrators. Harrington spotlights the position of the poor as being ignored by affluent America. Ryan's book, as the title suggest, details negative biases in many social spheres, i.e. education, health care, family, all of which act to the

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[5]Nick Kotz, Let Them Eat Promises (New York: Anchor Books, 1971).

[6]Michael Harrington, The Other America (Baltimore: Penquin Books Inc., 1971).

[7]William Ryan, Blaming the Victim (New York:Vintage Books, 1972).

[8]Betty Reid Mandell, ed., Welfare in America (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1975).

detriment of the nation's impoverished. He states further that it is the poor who are seen as the culprits rather than the society that creates the conditions of poverty. Welfare in America is a compilation of statements which highlight certain aspects of social welfare and the deficiencies existing therein. Defects in these areas can be attributed more often than not to improper attitudes with respect to the dilemma of the poor.

In contrast, there are works which deal primarily with the conventional view of poverty. Among those considered were The Unheavenly City[9] authored by Edward Banfield and Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding[10] by Daniel Moynihan. Banfield's work blames the poor for their situation. The indigent are indigent, according to Banfield, due to their "lower class orientation". Poverty programs need be aimed at correcting this defect and not so much at giving the poor those basic economic tangibles needed to live. Moynihan's book attempts to critique the Office of Economic Opportunity program with its efforts to include the participation of the poor. Militant Black leaders, inefficient administration and uninformed participants all, according to Moynihan, led to the demise of the community action programs.

A number of articles were reviewed which proved valuable

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[9]Edward Banfield, The Unheavenly City (Boston: Little Brown, 1970).

[10]Daniel Moynihan, Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding (New York: Free Press, 1969).

to this research effort. Gerald C. Wright Jr. outlineds the impact of racial considerations on public welfare in "Racism and Welfare Policy in America".[11] Richard Cloward and Francis Fox Piven acknowledge the dilemma of the poor with respect to welfare. They go a step further however and offer those on relief a method of improving their situations. The article entitled "Strategy to End Poverty"[12] suggest that those people in society who find themselves without means 'all' apply for public aid. Their hypothesis is that mass demands upon the relief system may force some refrom measures which may be of benefit to the poor.

Terry Sanford in "Poverty's Challenge to the States"[13] offers insights into the role of the states and localities in the anti-poverty programs. The states refusal to act has led directly to federal activity in the war against poverty. Daniel Moynihan, as Assistant Secretary of Labor, in his article "Poverty and Progress"[14] assumed a federal responsibility and placed emphasis on job training, education, and community action. This article was written prior to Moynihan's condemnation of community action in Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding.

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[11]Gerald C. Wright Jr.,"Racism and Welfare Policy in America," Social Sciences Quarterly 57 (March 1977).

[12]Richard Cloward and Francis Fox Piven, "Strategy to End Poverty," Nation 202 (May 1966).

[13]Terry Sanford, "Poverty's Challenge to the States," Law and Contemporary Problems 31 (Winter 1966).

[14]Daniel Moynihan, "Poverty and Progress," The American Scholar 33 Autumn 1964).

Richard Cloward and Francis Fox Piven in "We've Got Rights! The No Longer Silent Welfare Poor"[15] illustrates the gains made by AFDC mothers as a result of protest. An article written by John Wheeler attempts to do much the same things. "Civil Rights Groups - Their Impact Upon the War on Poverty"[16] shows how protest activity has led to an increase in benefits to the poor. There can be seen from these articles a correlation between protest activity and increased benefits.

Finally, articles were used which addressed the economic aspects of public welfare. Joseph Mooney in 'Urban Poverty and Labor Force Participation"[17] details how Blacks are affected by restrictions in the labor market. Variables, such as unemployment, are given with respect to their necessity to the overall economy. "The Negro, Urbanization, and Relative Deprivation in the Deep South"[18] by Carl Grindstaff substantiates the popular belief that Blacks in urbanized areas of the deep South fare better than their rural counterparts. Still he adds that the economic discrepancy between Blacks and whites in urban areas is still high. Among the deep Southern states and urbanized areas chosen to substantiate that data was Atlanta, Georgia.

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[15]Richard Cloward and Francis Fox Piven, "We've Got Rights! The No Longer Silent Welfare Poor," New Republic 157 (August 1967)

[16]John Wheeler, "Civil Rights Groups - Their Impact Upon the War on Poverty," Law and Contemporary Problems 31 (Winter 1966).

[17]Joseph Mooney, "Urban Poverty and Labor Force Participation," American Economic Review 57 (March 1967).

[18]Carl Grindstaff, "The Negro Urbanization and Relative Deprivation in the Deep South," Social Probems 15 (Winter 1968).

This article indirectly supports the contention that there may have been cause for discontent among Atlanta's poor. The insights gained from these works allows this project to move on to the next stage which is outlining the sequential order of this study.

Chapter one will deal with introductory information on the role of social welfare in the United States. Special focus will be directed toward the Aid to Families with Dependent Children Program. The second chapter will look to uncover the use of restrictive welfare policies to reinforce the work norm in Fulton County during the 1950's. Chapter three will look at ways relief may have been used as a social control on a national scale, with federal initiatives, and will determine if a duplicate situation was in existence in Fulton County during the 1960's. Finally, the concluding chapter will comment on the findings in the second and third chapters. The work will conclude with an examination of the utility and problems associated with attempting a study of this nature.

CHAPTER I

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE WELFARE STATE IN THE UNITED STATES

State sponsored public welfare has been a source of discourse among social scientists for close to four hundred years. Western 'democracies' have long contemplated the most efficient means of dealing with their poor. Social inequities, as well as harsh economic conditions which have adverse effects of the poor, have forced governments in capitalist economies to direct their attentions toward the ever present social ill of poverty.

Their exclusion of the poor from predominant economic activity provided the source of many of their problems. Particulars to capitalism however mandated that these paupers were not then, nor, in all likelihood, ever to be included into the economic adventures enjoyed by the majority of the society. Labor surpluses generated by capitalism insured a class of permanently unemployed or marginally employed citizens. Accelerated industrial growth has as one of its side effects the uneven development of groups within society; and the inability to absorb increasing numbers of displaced agricultural workers. Stanley Aronowitz explains the emergence of a displaced, dispossessed group of people:

> ....The formation of the underclass is a direct result of disparity between the historical tendency of capitalist production to require less labor for the production of commodities and the urbanization of the whole population, that is, shrinking of the countryside to the same process of mechanization.[19]

Public welfare, though antithetical to the concept of limited government which forms the basis of capitalist thought, provides the only means through which displaced members of society could be rescued from almost certain extinction in the economic system. Relief giving by Western governments has been traced back to sixteenth century England. The English poor houses are said by many to bear remarkable resemblance to the public welfare policies implemented in modern times.[20] Early Elizabethan era welfare was a combination of punitive as well as alleviative strategies which discoraged all but the most destitute from applying for aid. It provided only minimal assistance to those clearly unable to care for themselves.[21]

Such has been the basis for the expansion and maintenance of a system designed to maintain a large segment of the population which, due to economic realities, fall victims to poverty. In an attempted description of this phenomena Aronowitz explains:

> The underclass is not defined by its income, but by its exclusion from the mainstream of economic life. It is a dependent class in a different way than the managerial class

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[19] Stanley Aronowitz, False Promises (New York: McGraw Hill, 1973), p. 11.

[20] Thomas Dye, Understanding Public Policy (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1972), pp. 90-91.

[21] Ibid.

> Essentially, its economic position although derived from the same process that determine the formation of other classes, is more closely tied to the expanded role of the state, especially the provision of welfare.[22]

Today the United States finds itself in precisely the predicament that Aronowitz and others described. And the concept of 'welfare statism' is one to which administrators must constantly address themselves.

A definite transition had occurred by the twentieth century which allowed the proliferation of economic and political thought providing the basis of the modern welfare state. The concept of a state which intervenes in the lives of its people to the extent that the United States governmert currently does was far from the minds of early American thinkers. Not only does the capitalist economy not allow an active role by the state, but the economic doctrine of laissez-faire seeks to minimize the influence of government in the lives of its citizens. Laissez-faire was advocated by those who saw the necessity for the existence of government but sought to limit its functions.

"Free trade" was the specific area where government should maintain its hands off policy most stringently. Encompassed within the notion of free trade was a wide variety of economic activity. A number of political and economic thinkers, including Adam Smith, called for the individual's right to use his capital as he desired with no government regulation. Brown Univeristy's President, Francis Wayland, published in 1837

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[22]Aronowitz, False Promises, p. 11.

Elements of Political Economy. In this work he went so far as to attack poor laws as being contrary to the fundamental principles of government and "destructive to the right of property, because they must proceed upon the concession, that the rich are under obligation to support the poor".[23]

Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy, both with their support of limited government, relieved the state from responsibility for care of the nation's poor. This harsh position with respect to care for society's members went unchallenged until the twentieth century. Extreme among the proponents of limited government was Social Darwinist Herbert Spencer who saw no place for public schools, state poor houses, insane asylums, and other state-run institutions. His uncompromising position with respect to the role of the state struck a responsive chord among those who deplored the idea of charity for society's indigent. Of poor laws Spencer wrote: "If it takes from him who has prospered to give to him who has not it violates its duty towards the one to do more than its duty for the other."[24] His feelings about the unemployed are reflected in the following passage taken from Man Verus the State:

> ....good-for-nothings who live on the good-for-somethings vagrants and sots, criminals and those on the way to crime, youths who are burdens of hardworked parents, men who appropriate the wages of their wives, fellows who share the gains of prostitutes; and then less visible and less numerous a corresponding class of women.[25]

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[23]Sidney Fine, Laissez-Faire and the General Welfare State (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1956), p. 11.

[24]Ibid., p. 38.

[25]Herber Spencer, Man Versus the State (Baltimore: Penguin Books Inc., 1969), p. 18.

By Spencer's time, however, conditions in the United States had changed significantly particularly with respect to the number of people moving from rural to urban areas. Mass migration to the cities brought with it the problems which accompany life in industrial centers. There came a need for a new political philosophy which would address itself to the transition since it quickly became obvious that society was in dire need of intervention from some controlling force.

A number of liberals emerged in the early 1900's and called for the state's aid in solving the nation's ills. Most segments of society supported whatever policy best suited their own positions. Business, for example, was influential in maintaining the status quo in their contacts with the government which came in the form of land grants, protective tarriffs and the like. They, on the other hand, completely rejected the notion of having government dictate compliance with certain regulations.

Protest against stringent laissez-faire doctrines were lodged by a number of groups who cited it as unethical, and inapplicable to current times. The latter of these complaints was probably most responsible for forcing the government to broaden its duties and intervene in areas previously left alone. By the century's beginning when the Progressives had political power a significant number of people were convinced that reform was an absolute necessity. Sidney Fine in Laissez-Faire and the General Welfare State explains the prevailing sentiment among social scientists during that era:

> ....They sought a moderate democratic solution that would

> somehow reconcile the interests of society, that would preserve the essentials of the capitalist system while removing the attendant abuses...[26]

The problems which surfaced as a result of capitalism exposed an unequal social situation in the country where Blacks and minorities were unable to compete in a free market economy. The reality of the situation revealed that the inclusion of these Americans into mainstream economic life was an unlikely occurrence. It was no wonder then that Laissez-faire was losing favor with the public. Farmers and organized labor alike welcomed the concept of a positive central government and saw no desire to leave their fates to the economic laws of nature.

The distinctions made between those seeking reform and those calling for limited government were questions not so much on the basic tenets of capitalism but rather the means through which goals should be attained. The reformers agreed with their conservatives counterparts about the basic tenets and virtues of capitalism. The point of departure was that those calling for the expansion of the state felt that government should be the tool through which men reach their goals as specified in the market economy. The Industrial Revolution, they argued, had so altered the economic environment that liberal aims could only be achieved if state aids were invoked.

While much of the debate on government occurred prior to the turn of the century, the Progressive Movement, New Deal and Fair Deal laid the foundation for legislative activity. The main-

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[26]Fine, Laissez-Faire, p. 376.

tenance of a welfare state. The notion of egalitarianism, prevalent during the wars, almost demanded that the United States display some of that same sentiment within its own borders.

Regulatory functions were among the first undertaken by the government. City governments during the progressive era either took control of public utilities or subjected them to strict regulation while state governments controlled railroads and brought them under state supervision. The federal government increased control of the banking system, developed anti-trust legislation, settled labor disputes, and intervened in a number of areas handled inadequately by the private sector.[27]

In addition to providing regulatory legislation, the Progressives increased services that goverment rendered to people. Milk codes were established by most cities. Local governments constructed playgrounds, baby clinics, day nurseries, and provided free medical and dental examinations for school children. Reform even in the area of social security was made as early as 1917. By this time, forty-eight states and territories had enacted workman's compensation laws. Even earlier in 1911, Missouri and Illnois initiated a "mothers aid" program which provided pensions for mothers with dependent children.[28]

The necessity for government intervention, as mentioned earlier, came largely as a result of the mass migration into the cities which occurred from the period directly after the

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[27]Ibid., p. 384.

[28]Ibid., p. 389.

civil war and continued to World War II. Mass migration, however was neither the single reason nor the most important cause of later government expansion. World War I and the problems which faced the economy at its close are especially significant in any discussion of the emergence of the welfare state. Overproduction during the war led to dislocation in the nation's economy. During this period, there was the rapid accumulation of inventories which could not be sold at existing prices. To state it differently, the United States during the war years produced for its own citizens as well as for its allies. With the wars close, the demand curtailed substantially. There occurred a decline in prices accompanied by a short period of unemployment. The decade after the war, however, was generally marked by economic prosperity although many in the country remained in an economic slump.[29]

The late 1920's brought with it a new set of economic worries. This came in the form of speculation in the stock market. The stock market disaster in the fall of 1929 left a number of investors heavily indebted. Between 1929 and 1933 approximately four-fifths of the value of stock disappeared.[30] As less income became available, workers were laid off which left them unable to buy more goods. This forced the profits of business down. A quarter of the labor force was unemployed by 1932 and 1933.

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[29]Douglass C. North, Growth and Welfare in the American Past (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1966), p. 166.

[30]Ibid., p. 167.

This cyclical nature of the free market economy was something that legislators were forced to acknowledge. By the time Franklin D. Roosevelt had entered office in 1933, the depression had reached its depths. His first three months witnessed an unprecedented number of legislative acts all designed to restore the nations economy to an effective level. The National Industrial Recovery Act and the Agricultural Adjustment Act were both aimed at boosting industry as well as agriculture during the economic crisis. In 1935, the passage of the Social Security Act represented the federal government's first true attempt to provide for those among the indigent who were unable to care for themselves. With this came a social redefinition of the individual's rights which included the right to food, shelter, clothing, and medical care.

The reform initiated by Roosevelt was only intended to be temporary and maintained only until economic individualism and free competition could be restored. Competition, it was felt, should be encouraged wherever possible but where it had been destroyed the government intervened. This was to be done in the best interest of the people.

By the time of the New Deal, circumstances mandated that government should pursue a compensatory fiscal policy to ensure efficient functioning of the economy. In time of depression, unemployment and deflated national income, deficit government financing was necessary to put men, money, and machines to work.[3]

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[31]Fine, Laissez-Faire, p. 395.

Relief payments were justified to put money into the hands of spenders thereby circulating dollars in the economy. Public works and housing projects were justified to encourage construction as well as to provide employment. In 1938, the president had accepted deficit financing as a temporary means of balancing out periods of strain on the private sector.

Prior to the New Deal era, the nation looked to competition and the capitalist economy to maintain a balance. Roosevelt, in the first years of his administration, took the position that it was the task of government to cooperate with the competitive market to maintain a balanced economy.

> Our task now is not discovery or exploitation of natural resources, or necessarily producing more goods. It is the soberer, less dramatic business of administering resources and plants already in hand, of seeking to reestablish foreign markets for our surplus production to consumption, of distributing wealth and products more equitably, of adapting economic organizations to the service of of people.[32]

Societal circumstances had without a doubt forced politicians and economists to rethink those aspects of capitalist economic thought which seemed inappropriate during changing times. Assumptions which had gone unchallenged for years had been altered by the 1930's.

While reform was necessary, the work ethic and the writings of Herbert Spencer were still ingrained in the minds of most Americans. This made talk of changes in the economic system the subject of much scrutiny. The structure of the economy was, for the most part, to be left in tact. The bulk of the

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[32]Ibid., p. 396.

social legislation embodied in the Social Security Act was viewed merely as a device whereby individuals who had suffered greatly due to the depression could receive temporary aid from the government.[33]

Since the Roosevelt era and the beginning of expansive government, the nation's leaders have been forced to maintain and expand the role of the federal government in the lives of its citizens. A redefinition of the rights of society's members as well as the responsibility of government to care for the state's indigent has mandated the existence of the welfare state. Morris Janowitz in Social Control of the Welfare State comments, "...The logic of social welfare expenditures has become more and more a system of self-sustaining expansion in response to the social and political definitions of welfare requirements."[34]

While governments' expansive role can be seen in virtually every aspect of an individual's life, it is most criticized, for its aid to the poor. Economic realities, though, make the abandonment of welfare expenditures an impossibility. Even with this being the case, those unable to care for themselves are viewed as incompetent and undeserving of assistance. They are blamed for the nation's ills which, in addition to budgetary strains, include many things associated with poverty such as crime, slums, and immorality.

One can trace these unchallenged attitudes toward the

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[33]Morris Janowitz, Social Control of the Welfare State (New York: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Co. Inc., 1976), p. 20.

[34]Ibid., p. 46.

poot back to eighteenth century political thought. Today perpetuation of this thought serves to support the notion that people should work to earn their living while it simultaneously ignores features of capitalism which do not allow all people to pursue that course. The necessity to make legislative adjustments to accomodate economic strains then is not seen as any justification for the existence of the modern welfare state which emerged in full force during the New Deal. The result is an economic situation which dictates that assistance must be maintained at all times for a segment of the population while the ideals of capitalism run contrary to any national effort to help the poor.

Federal aid to the poor has been a feature of the United States budgetary process since 1935.[35] Under the impact of mass unemployment, the proportion of the national income spent on public welfare programs rose to an unprecedented peak during the Depression of the 1930's. By 1934-35, federal public welfare programs accounted for three-fourths of all public welfare expenditures. By 1949-50, the federal government's share was down to 55 percent, but during the 1950's it climbed back gradually, so that by 1960-61 it amounted to close to three-fourths

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[35]Although the provision of poor relief was largely left to local governments until the Great Depression, the federal government's expenditure exceeded those of the states and local government's in the 1920's. Between 1 and 2 percent of the national income in the 1920's went toward public welfare and the largest expenditures were for veterans programs. For discussion see Margaret Gordon, The Economics of Welfare Policies (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), p. 11.

again.[36]

Prior to the Social Security Act, care for the disabled, indigent, and unemployed was left primarily to state and local institutions as well as to private organizations. Needless to say the concept of federal aid to the poor was in contradiction to any notions concerned with the free operation of the marketplace. It also contradicted the work ethic which compelled each individual to be totally responsible for himself along with those with whom he had close contact. It was for this reason that aid was designed to be temporary. Temporary in that it should only be continued until the economy was rejuvenated and people could work to support themselves. The largest item, representing more than three-fifths of the total expenditure for public welfare by 1935, was "other public aid" which mostly included earnings from work relief and emergency programs.[37] Since 1935, federal relief has persisted and there are those who still consider welfare programs to be a temporary feature of the budgetary process. These people look to a competitive capitalist economy to sustain society's members.

Obviously these people provide the source of attacks on public aid which reached its height during the early 1950's. This persisted throughout the decade despite the slight decline in the number of recipients on the rolls and the rise of unemployment of over two million persons. The changing nature of

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[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid., p. 6.

the relief rolls is cited as the primary cause for the swell of discontent among welfare critics. The fact that the number of old age recipients was decreasing while the number of mothers with dependent children was increasing was not met receptively by those who opposed the current welfare system. This phenomena was in direct violation of the work ethic expoused by most Americans. In 1950, the aged comprised half of the public assistance population but stood for only 37 percent in 1960. This occurred simultaneously with an increase of about 92 percent in the ADC (Aid to Dependent Children) rolls. Expenditures totalled upwards of $1 billion while the program had expanded to include 3 million beneficiaries.

In 1960, there were 588,000 families who had applied for AFDC benefits. In 1963, many political leaders placed poverty on the national agenda and an additional 200,000 applications were filed, an increase of one-third. By 1966, the number had reached 903,000, up by more than half over 1960. Finally, by 1968 when rioting had reached a crescendo, applications had doubled over 1960 to 1,088,000.[38] The nature of relief had unmistakably been altered. In 1960, there were only 745,000 families on the Aid to Families with Dependent Children rolls and they received payments amounting to less than $1 billion; in 1972 the rolls climbed to 3 million families and the payments reached $6 billion.

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[38]Richard Cloward and Francis Fox Piven, Poor People's Movements: How They Succeed, Why They Fail (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), p. 273.

Subsequent to this phenomena, a plethora of information had been collected and circulated concerning this heretofore insignificant aspect of public assistance, Aid to Families with Dependent Children. AFDC is a categorical assistance program which provides services and financial aid for dependent children who are in need because support from parents is not available. The Social Security Act, under which the program is categorized, originally defined a dependent child as a needy child under sixteen years of age 'who had been deprived of parental support or care by reason of death, continued absence from the home, or physical or mental incapacity of a parent,' and was living in the home of a specified list of relatives.[39]

The act further requires that a state plan must either provide for the establishment of a single agency to administer or to supervise the administration of the plan. Under the federal plan, funds were made available to the states for money payments to the aged, dependent children, and the blind[40] provided the program, in addtion to being administered by a single agency, insured confidentiality of information, followed certain prescribed reporting procedures and adhered to other federal guidelines. Important to note, however, is that the states have always been given a free hand to determine the amount of payments to its recipients.

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[39]See Social Security Act, Title IV, section 406 (a).

[40]Subsequent amendments to the original law added a fourth category in 1950, Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled.

AFDC is financed by the federal, state and local governments. Federal grants-in-aid are made to the states upon approval of their programs. The federal statutes require that all state governments contribute to financing the program. Federal grants are open-ended meaning that money is allocated according to a formula. The size of the federal grants depends on the number of recipients and the size of the payments a state decides upon. The matching formula for money payments, which is one of three formulas for payments, provides more of an incentive for states to increase the number of recipients than for states to make large average payments. This is because a state can get more money per dollar of state expenditure for extending aid to many people than by giving a few people high payments. The state of Georgia, for instance, while ranking low with respect to the amount allocated towards recipients' payments, took advantage of this formula and emerged in 1967 with the fifth highest recipient rate in the nation.[41]

Each state then is allowed some discretion with respect to how it chooses to operate its relief programs. Loose federal guidelines are provided only to establish certain broad parameters inside of which legislators should remain. It is no wonder, then, that a vast diversity of public welfare programs exist from state to state and in many instances within a single state.

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[41]Irene Lurie, An Economic Evaluation of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 1968), p. 28.

While it is true that much of what is legislated by the state governments must be complied with by municipalities, local administrators are without doubt allowed some flexibility with the supervision of their programs. Particulars applicable to each area are considered with decisions on how certain programs will be handled. The AFDC program in Fulton County provides no exception in this regard. The operation of this program during the 1950's will bear witness to the contention that conditions in this urban area mandated the existence of specific policies and practices with respect to its AFDC program.

CHAPTER II

RESTRICTIVE WELFARE PRACTICES IN FULTON COUNTY

"For ADC the late forties were remarkable for the inception of the violent and pervasive attacks which persisted with little abatement until the Presidential election in 1952 and erupted in various sections of the country during the fifties."[42] The primary efforts to control the growth of this program were focused on restrictions to entitlement of benefits. State discretion was signaled by the Eisenhower administration's shift away from the federal government's centralization of authority to a resurgence of state and local autonomy.[43]

This period signals the restrictive era or contraction of social welfare programs referred to by Cloward and Piven. According to the authors, the dimunition of social welfare programs facilitate low wage work and is reflective of a region's economic picture.

> ....As political stability is restored, relief practices in each locale are re-shaped day by day to meet manpower needs. Although, this assertion clearly runs counter to the popular belief that relief agencies shelter and encourage the indolent and slothful, a careful examination

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[42]Winifred Bell, Aid to Dependent Children (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), p. 60.

[43]June Axinn and Herman Levin, Social Welfare: A History of the American response to Need (New York: Dodd-Mead, 1975), p. 235.

> of the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program will confute any such belief.[44]

As stated earlier, the controversy over public welfare which arose during this time centered around the tremendous increase in the number of women and children on the rolls theretofore dominated by the blind, aged, and disabled. Whether or not able-bodied citizens should be required to work became the pertinent question. The national sentiment during this restrictive period, of course, affirmed the work ethic and called for the reinforcement of the work norm. The state, although left with some discretion, for the most part followed this cue and responded with measures depending of each's local situation.

The Social Security Act enables each state to give assistance to dependent children "as far as practicable under the conditions in such state." No where does it specify that all needy families with children must be given AFDC. The equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment allows aid to be granted to only those who apply. The result is that some states impose more rigid restrictions on eligibility than others. This is done primarily to discourage application.

Eligibility usually revolves around both economic and non-economic criteria. Studies reveal that the non-economic criteria provide fuel for the most restrictive requirements and have certain social and legal characteristics. These, it was further discovered, were made especially applicable to Blacks

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[44]Richard Cloward and Francis Fox Piven, Regulating the Poor (New York: Vintage Books, 1971), p. 123.

and illegitimate children.[45] Of the more stringent provisions used during the 1950's were residency requirement, suitable home, absence of a man in the house, suitable father, and giving notice to law enforcement officials rules.

Georgia, between 1950 and 1953, saw the ADC recipient rate drop from thirty-five to twenty-five percent per 1,000 children under eighteen years old while the proportion of families in the caseload decreased from 13.1 percent to 7.8 percent. The state's provision called a halt to the more equitable distribution of funds to Black families that was pushed during the 1940's. Between 1948 and 1953, the proportion of the caseload comprised of Black families rose from 37.0 percent to 42.8 percent.[46] (See figure 1)

This phenomena occurred in Fulton County despite the influs of a significant number of poor into the Atlanta population. The picture with respect to the number of ADC recipients in Fulton County during a period which witnessed negligible increases in the programs budget seems to substantiate a tightening up of requirements which would have allowed the needy access to aid. The 1951 Annual Report for Fulton County's welfare department reveal data on the previous decade which suggest that many of those on relief were, relatively speaking, newcomers to the area. The percentage of those ADC recipients

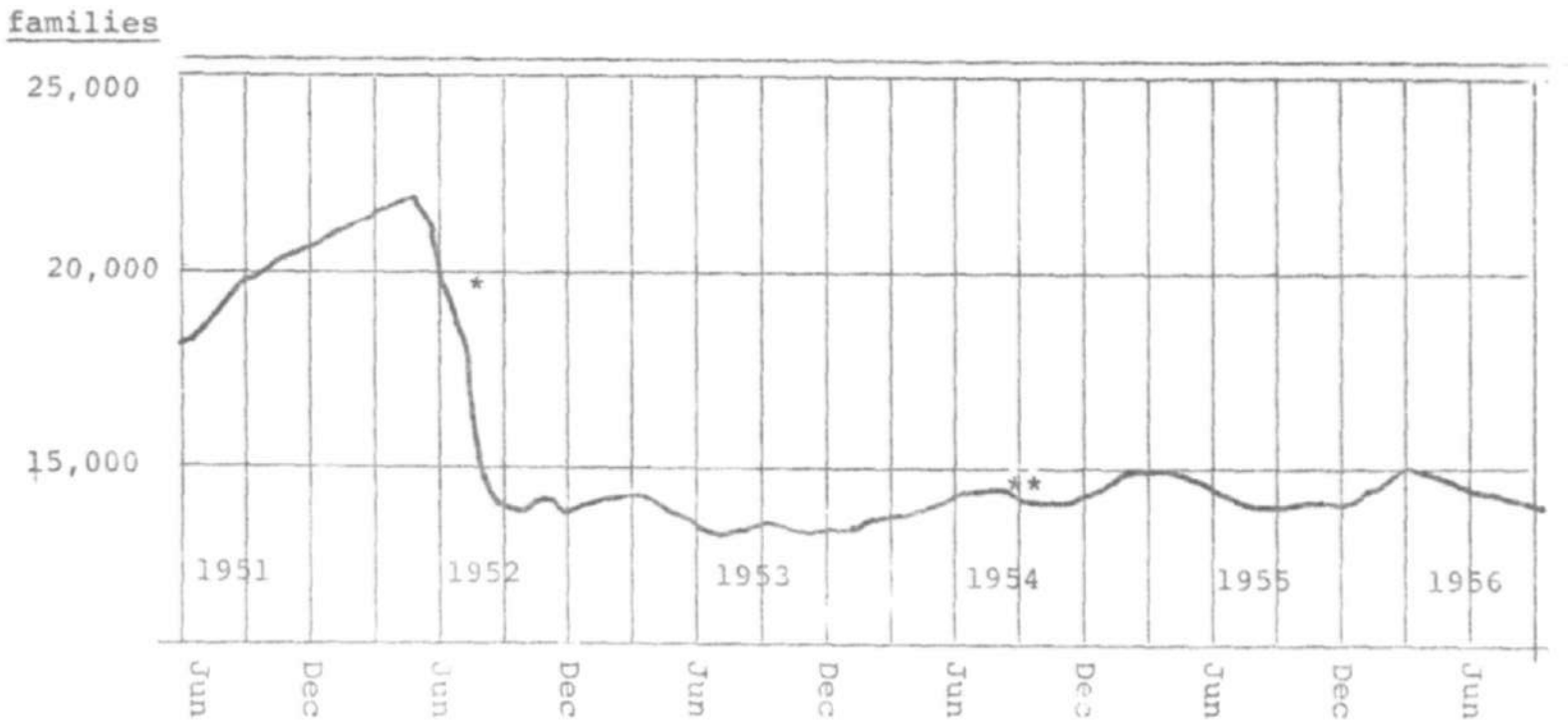
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[45] Irene Lurie, An Economic Evaluation of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 1968), p. 7.

[46] Bell, Aid to Dependent Children, p. 83.

FIGURE 1

AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN: NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN GEORGIA RECEIVING ASSISTANCE BY MONTH



**Restrictive ADC regulations effective June 1952 is due to 1950 amendments to the Social Security Act requiring notice to law enforcement officials effective July 1952.

*July 1954 decline due to seasonal labor.

SOURCE: Georgia Department of Public Welfare, Public Welfare Statistics in Georgia, 1958.

born in Fulton County was 19.93 while 72.69 were born in rural areas. Of the latter figure, 64.69 percent were born in rural Georgia. Approximately, 46 percent had moved to Fulton County between 1956 and 1961. This was juxtaposed with migration figures for the previous decade of 7.41 percent moving to the area between 1946 and 1950.

The state's overriding concern with effectuating cuts in the children's program was no secret. Charges of racism against Governor Talmadge as well as a variety of state and local administrators were commonplace among those who actively participated in keeping the rolls and payment levels at 'respectable' figures.[48] The prevailing sentiment was to reduce cost.

Herman Talmadge in 1951, concerned with costs, suggested a mandatory publication rule which he claimed would reduce the Georgia rolls by one-third or more.[49] This, of course, would act in contradiction to the Social Security Act which allows those on relief confidentiality. By publicizing the names of those on relief the governor hoped to embarrass many of the poor off the rolls while simultaneously discouraging many more from applying.

In January of 1951, Governor Talmadge was quoted as being

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[47]Fulton County Department of Public Welfare, Annual Report (Atlanta, 1961), p. 15.

[48]Interview with Francis Pauley, former welfare rights organizer, Atlanta, Georgia, 13 July 1979.

[49]Gilbert Steiner, Social Insecurity: The Politics of Welfare (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1966), p. 95.

"willing to tolerate an unwed mother who makes one 'mistake' but not when the mistake is repeated two, three, four or five times." He proposed restrictive policies which the state welfare director claimed would "save the state $440,000 a year mainly be limiting aid to children of unwed Negro mothers".[50]

Georgia's attempt to enact legislation denying aid to families with "more than one illegitimate child" persisted and in February of 1951 a bill stating just that was signed by the governor to become effective immediately. The director of the state's agency instructed the county welfare directors on March 8 to continue with the previous regulations until further notice. On March 21, the acting Commissioner of Social Security wrote the Director of Georgia Public Welfare asking of the status of the legislation and also pointing out that the state's program would be so materially changed as to require a hearing to determine if there was still compliance with the Social Security Act. He further let it be known that federal grants would be withheld until he received a reply. March 29 saw the State's Attorney General reccommends the disapproval of the controversial plan. This letter was conveyed to Washington and federal funds were released. The act was repealed in 1952 without having been put into effect.[51]

In 1952, the state legislature enacted a law requiring that a mother of an "illegitimate or bastard child for whom

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[50]Bell, Aid to Dependent Children, p. 67.

[51]Ibid., pp. 71-72.

assistance is requested must under oath and in writing name the father and give his last known address"(Act. no. 838, Georgia Laws, 1952). At the request of the Georgia Department of Public Welfare, Washington clearance was requested for what eventually became a public law. On November 20, 1951, the regional office received assurance from Washington that no objections would be raised although there were "inherent dangers" in such a law, the most obvious being the dilemna to the mother who knew nothing of the father's whereabouts and whose insistence of ignorance on the matter may not be accepted by the agency.

Federal officials, it might be suspected, were already aware of the ramifications of such a requirement as Georgia had not provided the origin of such an act, but was only complying with federal regulations. The amended 1950 Social Security Act required states to "provide for prompt notice to appropriate law enforcement officials of the furnishing of Aid to Families with Dependent Children with respect to a child who had been deserting or abandoned by a parent". The "Noleo" amendment requires mothers to give information about deserting fathers for the purposes of attaining support payments.[52] While is was agreed upon that the child's father should provide aid whenever possible, federal officials saw difficulties with making the granting of aid contingent upon this activity. In light of this the Federal Attorney General suggested that plan material

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[52]Lurie, An Economic Evaluation, p. 9.

be developed by Georgia to allow for exceptional circumstances.

The administrative policies, known as the "policy package", devised by the Georgia agency became an aspect of the state's efforts to purge the rolls. The writing of these policies in 1952 read as follows:

1) It is the responsibility of the mother to establish paternity and give satisfactory evidence that every resource has been exhausted to require the father to support the child before assistance can be given.

2) Children are not deprived of parental support if they have an able-bodied stepfather or substitute father in or around the home.

3) No family is eligible for a grant unless the home is suitable

4) The birth of an illegitimate child raised questions of the presence of a substitute father and of the suitability of the home.

5) Court orders may not be supplemented.

6) Wages from full-time employment may not be supplemented.

7) Able-bodied mothers with no children under 12 months of age are expected to find employment if work is available, and so long as work is available in the area, there families are not eligible for ADC.[53]

When initiated the director of the state's agency was quoted as hoping that the "ADC list would be cut by more than 10,000... The program has been abused by a well-publicized minority. It is time for reform".[54]

In 1952, the Fulton County Welfare Department in its Annual Report saw the necessity to comment of the apparent decline in

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[53]See Georgia Department of Public Welfare Assistance Manual, 1952, part III section V, p. 15.

[54]"Correction of Abuses in Child Aid Program," Atlanta Journal, 29 April 1952, p. 16

the number of ADC cases. Table 1 gives figures indicating the decline in both expenditures and cases during this period. Fulton County's department had this to say with respect to the sharp decline in its caseload:

> In May the department had 3,421 active Aid to Dependent Children cases involving 8,407 children. By reason primarily of application of revised Aid to Dependent Children regulations formulated by the State Department of Welfare, and subsequent investigation in accordance with such regulation, closure of the Aid to Dependent Children cases had been effected to such an extent that in December 1952 our department was handling only 2,246 active cases, involving 5,618 children. An analysis was subsequently made by the department as to the reasons for closure of 1,120 cases due to application of revised ADC regulations. These affected eligibility requirements: Mother employed (262); stepfather in home (240); contribution from deserting father, both voluntary and by reason of court order (232); refusal of applicant - recipient to file abandonment warrant (138); mother employable and child care available (112); substitute father in home (97); refusal to give information concerning paternity of children (22); suitability of home questioned (10); refusal to seek employment (7).[55]

The state policy writers proceeded to develop the following clues as to what they regarded as unacceptable parental behavior. The prolonged presence of men in or around the house, grantee relative or parents have repeated convictions, charges of disorderly conduct, and repeated births of children who were born out of wedlock. All of these conditions caused local officials to question the suitability of the recipients' home. Negative opinions on the part of caseworkers with respect to a child's environment led to the termination of the cases which thereby denied aid to children who may have been in need of

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[55] Fulton County Department of Public Welfare, Annual Report (Atlanta, 1952), p. 11.

TABLE 1

AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN STATISTICS
FOR FULTON COUNTY

	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
payment to clients	$697,717.	$1,019,111.	$1,515,839.	$1,726,014.	$1,820,106.	$1,546,818.
percent change		31.5	32.8	12.1	5.1	-17.6
average cases per month	1394	1864	2646	3114	2920	1892
percent change		25.2	29.5	15.0	-6.65	-54.3
average monthly grants	$42.55	$46.50	$48.53	$46.94	$53.30*	$70.60
percent change		8.5	4.2	3.4	11.9	24.5

*June 1952 average grant was $49.31 - increased by December 1952 to $68.57 to include allowance for caretaker(mother) in grant allotment and authorization for increase in food scale which became effective in October 1952.

TABLE 1 -- CONTINUED

	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
payment to clients	$1,560,594.	$1,627,623.	$1,683,885.	$1,717,525.	$1,716,103.	$1,963,614.
percent change	0.88	4.2	0.68	4.6	-0.083	12.6
average cases per month	1,825	1,867	1,834	1,836	1,790	1,937
percent change	-3.67	2.25	-1.8	0.11	-2.57	7.6
average monthly grants	$73.32	$74.65	$77.12	$80.77	$82.49	$87.26
percent change	3.7	1.7	3.2	4.5	2.0	5.4

SOURCE: Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services, Annual Reports years 1948-1960.

assistance.

Eight years after the introduction of the policy package the assistant director of the state's agency was quoted as saying that in the main two regulations accounted for the dip in the rolls. They involved suitability of the home and the presence of a substitute father.[56]

Needless to say the proliferation of questionable eligibility decisions such as substitute parents and suitability of the home as well as such catchall classifications as "refusal to comply with agency policy" allowed for low welfare allocations in Georgia. An HEW Annual Report commented on the effects of Georgia's new legislation when it stated,

> ....The policy package succeeded in keeping state and local welfare expenditures in Georgia constant during the fifties and at the same time permitted grants to deserving families to increase from an average monthly payment of $50.94 in 1952 to $82.92 in 1958.[57]

The role that racism played in the administration of relief policies has been documented in a number of instances. Of the eligibility requirements already mentioned, nearly all were applied more stringently to Black mothers. The suitability of a recipients home, many writers agreed, was an arbitrary means of discontinuing aid to Black families. Illegitimacy, seen by the public welfare agency as well as legislators as a pressing problem, was chiefly characterized as an occurrence among Blacks on the rolls. Finally, securing payments from fathers

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[56]Bell, Aid to Dependent Children, p. 83.

[57]Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Annual Report (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958).

via law enforcement agencies as well as the threat of discontinuing aid should a mother become pregnant was almost always directed to Black mothers.[58]

Wellbourne Ellis, Director of the Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services from 1957 through 1967, related how the separate facilities for Black and white caseworkers and recipients were far from equal. He reported in 1957, when he took his position, that Black caseworkers worked in a separate room of the public welfare building on boxes and crates.[59] Since proportionately Blacks are more visible on the rolls, in that 65.05 percent of the ADC population was comprised of Black females in 1961, any harsh or severe regulations applied to that program were likely to be aimed at and felt most by the Black majority.

Work requirement were another aspect of the program which appeared to be used as a tool for racist administration especially on the state level. The suitable work requirement imposed on welfare recipients in Georgia and six other southern states mandated that those receiving grants must accept work if it was available. The reinforcement of work norms, Cloward and Piven remind us, was the primary aim of a restrictive relief program.

Although welfare officials may give partial aid only

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[58]See Lurie, An Economic Evaluation, p. 72 and Bell, Aid to Dependent Children, pp. 44-46 for discussions on discrimination.

[59]Interview with Wellbourne Ellis, former Director of Family and Children Services, Atlanta, Georgia, 24 July 1979.

> on the condition that the recipient work while on the rolls or give aid seasonally, these are not the main ways in which relief practices buttress the low-wage market. The more prevalent practice is to refuse aid outright to those of the impoverished who might be potential workers.[60]

McDuff County in Georgia at a Grand Jury hearing provides an example of how the work requirement was used in the southern sector of the state:

> ...it was apparent in a number of cases, largely among colored people, that unwarranted welfare aids were provided with the result that many such recipients of aid were unwilling to work at jobs for which they were physically and mentally suited because of receiving more money from the Welfare Department than they might earn from such employment.... The Department is creating a situation among many persons, badly needed in employment in the county, that is conducive to their idleness rather than their efforts to get and keep legitimate jobs.[61]

Blacks, it was charged by Winifred Bell, author of Aid to Dependent Children, were potentially vulnerable to suitable work regulations. Work in the fields, for instance, was considered by many rural welfare administrators to be suitable for Black women while their white counterparts were considered inappropriate to perform such work. The availability of work and the necessity for low-wage workers in a particular area served to dictate how the work requirement would be applied to the poor.

A report of the Committee to Study Problems Relating to Public Welfare in Georgia acknowledged problems in various counties similar to that in McDuff.

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[60] Cloward and Piven, Regulating the Poor, p. 126.

[61] Bell, Aid to Dependent Children, p. 64.

> Problem of 'pertinent value to the entire state was that involving seasonal labor and inability to secure such labor' - Laborers could not get recipients available for work due to various forms of checks being received from the welfare department.[62]

Mr. Phil Cawthorn, the Assistant Director of Georgia's Department of Public Welfare in the early 1960's was certain to inform the committee that this was a local problem and that if was the local director's responsibility to withdraw paymants if justifiable proven work was available.[63]

The extent to which this was practiced in Fulton County is not altogether clear although this county was undoubtedly subject to those provisions created by the state legislature. Welfare Rights Organizer, Father Austin Ford, revealed in an interview his suspicion of the application of work requirements such as Georgia's "employable mother" rule being used in Fulton County in "more subtler ways".[64] Welbourne Ellis stated emphatically that under his administration welfare recipients were required to work. He also made mention of a vocational rehabilitation program begun in 1956 which applied for the most part to ADC clients. Mrs. Ethel Matthews, former ADC recipient, recalls stringent work requirements imposed on welfare mothers. The early 1950's brings to Mrs. Matthews memories of not only

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[62] Georgia House Committee to Study Problems Relating to Public Welfare, Interim Committee Report (Atlanta, 1965).

[63] Ibid.

[64] Interview with Father Austin Ford, Welfare Rights Organizer, Atlanta, Georgia, 10 July 1979.

being told by her caseworker to find employment but also being required to bring verification of employment to the agency. Most in her situation, she relates were in domestic service.[65]

Actual evidence other than that already mentioned of Fulton County's relief agency directing large numbers of people toward a specific market during the 1950's was not documented. It appears that Fulton County chose to impose its restrictions in other ways. It is important to note, though, that the application of situations similar to that in McDuff County were found for the most part in the southern rural areas of the country. This was discovered to be the case not only with this research effort but also with that of Cloward and Piven in Regulating the Poor. It could be concluded that perhaps Fulton County's large urban region did not provide fertile application for such practices.

Interviews with those on relief during the years studied revealed the application of many stringent rules as well as their effects of recipients. Mrs. Matthews remembered the many injustices that she was subjected to upon her arrival in Atlanta in the early 1950's. A job, she was told, must be secured. Failure to find employment would result in termination of her grant. The provision, which mandated giving notice to law enforcement officials, meant that welfare mothers were required to take out warrants of arrests for husbands and children's

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[65]Interview with Ethel Matthews, former welfare recipient, Atlanta, Georgia, 11 July 1979.

father's.

Poor people's lives, Mrs. Matthews insisted, were no longer their own because everyting a 'reliefer' did was subject to administrative scrutiny. One had to be leary of any relatives visiting for fear of surprise visits from caseworkers who may easily assume that either the relative should contribute to the family's support or that this person was the unlawful beneficiary of aid. The result was recipients having to "disown their families, friends, life..."[66] Not only were activities with one's family dictated, but recipients were warned about affiliations with organizations. The unconditional termination of a grant was alleged result of contacts with any organizations. This was especially applied to civil rights groups. The threat of rescinsion of the already inadequate grant forced compliance among those trying to exist on welfare.

"People", Father Ford collaborated, "were intimated as Fulton County was aggressive in the 'midnight raids' practiced throughout the nation by a number of relief agencies."[67] The surprise visits no doubt provided caseworkers with much of the needed ammunition for case closures. Relief became the recipients own private hell as disclosure of such information to trusted neighbors often resulted in the end of one's grants.

The concerns with illegitimacy was one which was apparently transmitted to those on relief. Mrs. Matthews recalled how in

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[66] Ibid.

[67] Interview with Father Austin Ford.

the early 1950's she was required to sign a form consenting to abstain from becoming pregnant as a precondition to being continued on aid. This was done after she had been verbally abused and harassed by her caseworker who issued a strong reprimand behind the conception of her youngest child. "I had to hide the fact that I was pregnant for eight months to make sure that my check would not be cut off", related Mrs. Matthews When eventually the child's father was drawn into the matter for support purposes, the agency attempted to recover payments from him for Mrs. Matthews older children for whom he had no legal responsibilities.[68] Mrs. Matthews' personal experiences substantiates the general aura which surrounded public welfare both in Fulton County as well as the state during the restrictive fifties.

Mrs. Francis Pauley who also worked with poverty organizations and was a forerunner in local welfare rights struggles relayed her impression of welfare administration during this period. She simply labeled the policies and attitudes of the Governor Talmadge and the state administrator, Alan Kemper, as "racist". She related personal experiences of meetings with Mr. Kemper and those in his office and the insensitive positions which seemed to prevail in those settings. A discussion with Mr. Kemper's secretary suggested to Mrs. Pauley that the United States follow the example set by Hitler and exterminate those

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[68] Interview with Ethel Mattews.

considered useless to society. Mr. Kemper's secretary stated, "Hitler was right! Let's make soap of them" with reference to welfare recipients. This, according to Mrs. Pauley, was indicative of the attitude which prevailed among those who occupied the higher administrative positions.[69]

Georgia, when compared with other states during the 1950's, was among the more strigent with its low age limit of sixteen years as compared with eighteen years for dependent children to be removed from the state's rolls; its two year residency requirement; and its refusal to accept vendor payments for medical care programs where matching federal funds were available are also characteristic of this restrictive stance. These additional state policies only give further credence to the assertion that efforts were aimed primarily at cutting costs. A committee on public welfare in Georgia stated it best when it declared:

> State Department of Welfare when faced with the lack of funds is able to change rules to accommodate; in other words, if funds were not available, the Department affected would thereby make a rule which would cover up the lack of funds. As these rules are made by the State Department heads they must be approved by the Federal Government; and it is the usual practice that no rule which cuts off funds is ever refused approval by the Federal Government, however it is only where funds are to be increased and a rule change is made that there seems to be difficulty with the Federal Government.[70]

Needless to say, these practices continued through the 1950's virtually uncontested. While concern for this situation

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[69] Interview with Francis Pauley.

[70] Georgia House Committee on Public Welfare, Interim Committee Report (Atlanta, 1951).

was expressed by the League of Women Voters and a handful of other professional groups, there is no indication that this concern amounted to enough pressure to influence policies and effectuate any change. This pressure and the change in welfare policies was to come in the following decade and is the subject of the next section.

CHAPTER III

CIVIL DISORDER AND WELFARE EXPANSION IN FULTON COUNTY DURING THE 1960'S?

The 1960's serves as the point of departure for this study's final examination of the AFDC program in Fulton County. It is here that the extreme liberalization of policies occurred which resulted in millions being placed on the rolls. Cloward and Piven contend that this phenomena was due to the swell of mass protest by Blacks throughout the country who demanded among other things, a more equitable economic and social environment. They explain:

> ...we shall argue,...that the contemporary relief explosion was a response to the civil disorder caused by rapid economic change - in this case the modernization of Southern agriculture. The impact of modernization on blacks was much greater than on whites; it was they who were the chief victims of the convulsion in Southern agriculture, and it was they who were more likely to encounter barriers to employment once relocated in the cities, a combination of circumstances which led to a substantial weakening of social controls and widespread outbreaks of disorder.[71]

The civil disorder referred to here is meant to include any type of activity which would provide an indication of discontent among the people most likely to be affected by any change in policy. While much analysis has been conducted on the nature

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[71]Richard Cloward and Francis Fox Piven, Regulating the Poor (New York: Vintage Books, 1971), p. 196.

and reasons for civil disorders in the 1960's, the correlation between these outbreaks and the weakening of social controls have been only seldom investigated. In a separate context Cloward and Piven have this to say about civil disorders and the weakening of social controls:

> Under these conditions, disorder may occur just because of its intrinsic values, it may yield profit, as in much crime; or provide escape from boredom and frustration of daily life, as in much drug addiction; or drain off rage, as in much violence. A society can retain its legitimacy in other words, and still lose control over large massess of people simply because the structures that ordinarily regulate behavior have weakened or collapsed.[72]

Of social control they say:

> ...it should be said that the urban riots appear to have been most severe where social controls were weakest. One of the differences between cities that experience serious riots and those that did not was the rate of increase of the black populaiton. A precipitous population increase, especially if migration accounts for a significant part of the increase, probably provides a crude index of weakening social control, for the larger and more rapid the increase, the greater the social disorganization.[73]

The authors suggest, then, that the structures with which people come into frequent contact, i.e. employment, relief, schools, represent a form of regulation for these people and that the breakdown of these institutions mandates a breakdown of each's control over those with whom it has contact. The effect may be the questioning of the legitimacy of things once given complete loyalty. The more uncontrolled this phenomena becomes and remains, the more likely there is to occur a weakening of social controls.

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[72] Ibid., p. 228

[73] Ibid., p. 239.

The protest which follows this process is the primary way that dissenters let the government and others, either in real or imaginary power situations, be aware of the situation. Whether or not responses are made to such protest depends largely on the form of the protest and at whom it is directed.

> We said that one form of government response was to make concessions to the protestors, yielding them something of what they demanded, either symbolic or material. But the mere granting of concessions is probably not very important in accounting for the demise of a movement. For one thing, whatever is yielded is usually modest if not meager; for another even modest concessions demonstrate that protest 'works' a circumstance that might as easily be expected to fuel a movement as to pacify it.[74]

This last quote gets to the heart of the puzzle of why welfare increases were given to Blacks. Cloward and Piven maintain that relief expansion represented the most convenient alternative to answering protest.

> ...The political circumstances of the 1960's made it crucial that blacks get something in order to solidify their allegiance to the National Democratic Party, and in order to quiet them. As it turned out, welfare was the system that was made to do most of the giving - partly because it was easier to give welfare than to press for concessions that would challenge the interests of other groups in the cities.[75]

and

> ...(Giving welfare was also cheaper, at least in the short run, than building housing, for example). Consequently, relief-giving turned out to be the most expeditious way to deal with the political pressures created by a dislocated poor, just as it had been many times in the past.[76]

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[74]Richard Cloward and Francis Fox Piven, Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), p. 32.

[75]Cloward and Piven, Regulating the Poor, p. 286.

[76]Ibid.

The aim of this phase of research is to determine if the Cloward and Piven hypothesis, with respect to the expansion of the relief system being the result of civil disorder and protest activitiy, was the case in Fulton County. To do this it must first determine if there was significant civil disorder in the area during that time and whether there is a strong correlation between that and increase in welfare.

A number of problems arise at this stage of inquiry primarily because correlation does not necessaily indicate a causation. That is, assuming one can find a correlation between protest activity and a buldging in the relief rolls does not preclude that one is the direct resultant of the other. This becomes even more apparent when one considers that much of the protest activity was not even centered around the issue of welfare benefits. This is the weakness in not only my own research but with that of Cloward and Piven who make much broader assumptions about a much larger area. Still the task ahead is to look at the political climate in Fulton County during the 1960's with a special emphasis on the social indicators of dissent which may have been present.

A brief look at the situation among Blacks in Atlanta during the 1960's provides some insight into the actual social setting of which this minority was a part. Atlanta is termed the "Black Mecca" by many throughout the country who claim that life among the city's Blacks is probably the best when compared with other major cities. One possible reason for this contention lies with the relative high education level in the Black com-

munity. What is overlooked however, is the sizeable portion of those in the Atlanta Black community who reported little or no education. In 1960, nearly 8 percent of the county's Blacks who were twenty-five and over reported some college and another 32 percent reported some high school while 4 percent reported no education and 38 percent had only six years of elemtary school.[77] Even though there are significant numbers in the Black community who had attained a relatively level of education there were many who did not and were relegated to low positions on the economic scale.

Not only were Blacks on the low rung of the economic ladder but racism in job hiring was a common practice in the city. In two separate instances the city was cited as having violated anti-discrimination laws. NAACP Labor Secretary Herbert Hill told the convention on July 12, 1967 that the organization planned to file suits in twelve cities to cut off public funds from construction projects where Blacks were denied jobs. Atlanta was among these cities.[78] Earlier that same year the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith reported that 338 out of 188 or 87 percent of the private employment agencies investigated in six major cities disregarded federal, state, and local anti-discrimination laws. They accepted orders calling for a

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[77]Research Atlanta, Employment Figures for Atlanta, Georgia (Atlanta, 1961), p. 15.

[78]Steven Price, ed., Civil Rights, vol. 2, 1967-68 (New York: Facts on File, 1973), p. 110.

"white gentile" or 'white protestant secretary". Atlanta again was among these cities.[79]

The seriousness of the race question was apparent and was given priority among the city's politicians. Ivan Allen, former Mayor of Atlanta commented on the race issue in Atlanta.

> I could promise all I wanted to about Atlanta's bright and booming economic future, but none of it would come about if Atlanta failed to cope with the racial issue... and I was quite aware that my most serious opposition would come from Lester Maddox... Indoubtedly he would scream 'nigger-nigger-nigger'throughout the campaign.[80]

Allen also said, "There was no end to end to it civil rights was a big national issue and was becoming an even bigger issue in our city."[81] Black people living in a city with old line segregationists, civil rights groups and an increasing number of activists Black leaders set the stage for large scale dissent especially by the city's Blacks. Having established briefly the social setting in Atlanta and the primacy of the race issue let us move on to recognize the forms which the expression of concern for these problems took.

One common vehicle through which large numbers of people have traditionally expressed discontent for policy has been voting. Cloward and Piven in a discussion on defiance have this to say about the electoral arena:

> Ordinary defiance is first expressed in the voting

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[79]Ibid., p. 388.

[80]Ivan Allen, Mayor: Notes on the Sixties (New York: Schuster Press, 1978), p. 53.

[81]Ibid., p. 81.

> booth simply because, whether defiant or not, people have been socialized within a culture which defined voting as the mechanism through which political change can and should occur.[82]

While voting most definitely has its advantages, those things it is unable to accomplish are far from few. This may explain why Blacks traditionally have not placed this among their more viable political strategies. James Q. Wilson maintains:

> Viewed as a whole, Negro political activity must be judged as a strategy of limited objectives. Where Negroes can and do vote, they have it in their power to end the indifference or hostility of their elected representatives, but these representatives do not have it in their power to alter fundamentally the lot of the Negro. The vote is legally important and a morally essential weapon for the protection and advancement of individual and group interest, but it cannot protect or advance all the relevant interests. It can force the passage of laws, the ending of obvious forms of state-sanctioned discrimination, and avowed segregation. It can only marginally effect the income, housing, occupations, or life chances of the Negro electorates.[83]

The city of Atlanta saw an increase in Black voting strength from 29 percent in 1961 to almost 41 percent in 1969.[84] While this is due partially to the increase of Blacks in the total population (38 percent in 1960 and 49 percent in 1969) the increase does indicate an enhanced concern with politcal issues by the city's Black residents. Atlantans that same year, showed signs of dissatisfaction when they voted against Lester

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[82] Cloward and Piven, Poor People's Movements, p. 15.

[83] James Q. Wilson, "The Negro in American Politics: The Present" in the American Reference Book (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1966), p. 456.

[84] Charles Rook, The Atlanta Election of 1969 (Atlanta: Voter Education Project, 1970), p. 3.

Maddox in favor of his liberal opponent Ivan Allen. Four years later in a special election called to fill forty-seven newly apportioned seats in the State House, the Black people in Atlanta put in eight Black Democrats, all from Atlanta, in office. Julian Bond, known at the time for his civil rights activism and strong identification with the poor, was among those to take seats.

Voting behavior among poor Blacks historically has been low when compared with their affluent white counterparts. It is for this reason that voting behavior is not always a reliable barometer of discontent among Blacks. Thomas Dye explains,

> People of high and middle socio-economic standing in American society - regardless of color - participate more actively in election and voluntary associations than do their impoverished counterparts.[85]

Electoral politics is only one means chosen by a dissatisfied population to acknowledge their grievances. The sit-ins, marches, and demonstrations provide other tools for making known common problems. The city of Atlanta during the early 1960's was the site of much of this type of activity. A look at some of the pertinent civil rights activities in the city during this period will substantiate this.

Prior to the sixties the Voters League represented the primary organs through which Black leaders could channel their complaints. This represented a group of Black leaders who not

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[85]Thomas Dye, The Politics of Equality (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971), p. 143.

only worked well with the segregationists but who attempted to heighten minority input into city politics.

> It had registered many people to vote; it had reestablished black people as a polical force in the city; and it had successfully run a candidate for public office. So in one sense the Voters League can be viewed as a successful organization. On the other hand, one can say that the Voters League was unsuccessful in that it was an organization narrowly limited to bougeois and petty bougeois elements.[86]

Not satisfied with Black Atlantans' position, critics maintained that much of the city remained segregated and that impoverished Blacks got little benefits from the insignificant decisions made by the small group of leaders who had heretofore represented the interest of Black people. The early sixties brought sit-ins in downtown Atlanta which were the first of a continuing series of protest demonstrations. Atlanta University students were active in these activities although they were not the only demonstrators. In mid-May 1960 there was a march by 1,400 students. Boycotts of the downtown shopping area also began a series of demonstrations which would result in the desegregation of lunch counters in the fall of 1961.[87]

Prior to the settlement, lunch counters had been closed since Thanksgiving 1960 while many Blacks boycotted local stores. An agreement reached by Atlanta's Black and business leaders

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[86]Malcolm Suber, "The Internal Black Politics of Atlanta Georgia 1944-1969; An Analytic Study of Black Political Leadership and Organization" (A master's thesis, Atlanta University, 1975), p. 74.

[87]Harry Holloway, The Politics of the Southern Negro (New York: Random House Inc., 1969), p. 202.

called for the desegregation of lunchrooms and other facilities in "the same pattern" by which Atlanta public schools were desegregated and the immediate end to the Black sit-in demonstrations, picketing, and boycotts against the stores that practiced segregation. The first agreement reached included the rehiring of the Blacks who had lost their jobs in stores affected by sit-ins.

On the campus of Atlanta University, students were planning a sit-in demonstration for February 4, 1960 but were persuaded by faculty members and the administration to postpone their action until they had drawn up a statement of their grievances. This was completed and printed in the form of a full page advertisement in all of the local newspapers on March 9 under the title, "An Appeal for Human Rights". The ad was a source of national as well as local controversy and resulted in the first sit-in demonstration where seventy-seven students were arrested under the new Georgia trespass law.[88]

While their cases were pending in court the students began working on several other projects. Pickett lines were conducted against food chains which had large Black clienteles yet had no Black employees above the menial level. A series of meetings were held in Black churches explaining the student movement and asking for support. Students also began publishing a

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[88]Jack L. Walker, "Protest and Negotiation: A Case Study of Negro Leadership in Atlanta, Georgia," Midwest Journal of Political Science 8 (May 1963): 102.

weekly newspaper and on May 17, 1960, 1,400 students were organized to march on the State Capitol in downtown Atlanta to celebrate the court's 1954 anti-segregation decision.

Out of the sit-ins that spread to Atlanta as well as a number of southern towns there was created the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) with an office in Atlanta. This organization was originally related to Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) which was constructed around activist Black ministers. Within months the original sit-in notion had been extended to wade-ins at segregated beaches, read-ins at segregated libraries, kneel-ins at segregated churches and walk-ins at segregated theatres.

John Lewis, national chairman of SNCC in 1964, led over 150 of Atlanta's Black high school students in an anti-segregation demonstration to the City Hall. The Negro Leadership Conference, a unified movement of eighty-five civil rights groups in Atlanta, decided on a "direct action" campaign against the city's remaining segregated hotels and restaurants. A planned demonstration by Blacks at a hamburger restaurant led to a clash with police and the arrest of seventy-eight persons on January 18. Confrontations with the Klan took place January 25-27 where more than 150 Blacks were arrested in three separate demonstrations.[89]

The disputes throughout the city also had the effect of

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[89]Lester Sobel, ed., Civil Rights (New York: Facts on File Inc., 1967), p. 274.

highlighting dissension amon Blacks themselves. Many of the student leaders were generally suspicious of the established Black community leaders. On the other hand, there were many who felt challenged by the students and who were inclined to question the motives of the direct actionists. However, Jack L. Walker in his study concluded that disagreements between the two centered more on tactics than on goals. Both liberals and conservatives agreed essentially on the ranking of goals in that both rated goals having to do with welfare or economic betterment above status goals related to desegregation.[90] James Q. Wilson in Negro Politics explained the distinction between welfare and status goals.

> Welfare and status goals are distinguished by and defined in terms of tangible versus intangible benefits, short term versus long term gains, and specific versus total solutions to the problems of the community. The differences are between those who advocate welfare ends, or things, and those who urge status goals or principles...[91]

When given a questionaire, Black leaders cited economic opportunities and school desgregation among the priorities for Blacks (see table 2).

It is interesting to note that Walker's conclusions with respect to the priorities of Atlanta's Black leaders especially when one considers that desegregation seemed to be the focus of most of the activity during the civil rights era. It is not until later in the decade that the trend in the cities across

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[90]Holloway, Southern Negro, p. 203.

[91]James Q. Wilson, Negro Politics (Illinois: Glenco Free Press, 1960), p. 185.

TABLE 2

PRIORITIES AMONG ATLANTA'S BLACK LEADERS[92]

	Liberals	Conservatives	Not Identified
Housing	3	4	3
Public Parks	5	6	5
Job Opportunities	1	1	1
Hotels and Restaurants	6	5	6
Public Schools	2	2	2
Police and Courts	4	3	4

the country shifts to concerns over economic issues. The contrast between civil rights movements which occurred for the most part in the South during the early sixties and the urban rebellions which took place in the Northern, Western, and Mid-western cities during the later part of the decade seemed to lie in the nature of the demands expressed by the nation's Blacks. It appeared that the civil rights movement was characterized by the push for integration of public facilities while concerns during the urban rebellions were centered around improved economics conditions for Black Americans. Since both forms of protest do represent types of civil disorder they are both discussed, but the presence of the latter in Atlanta was not nearly as devasting as it was in other urban centers. It is to the

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[92]Walker, "Protest and Negotiation," p. 109.

protest of the later 1960's which we now direct attention.

James E. Conyers relates:

> During the late 1960's three racial disturbances occurred in Atlanta; these were Boulevard, Summerhill, and Dixiehill incidents. Many of the black leaders interviewed questioned the extent these incidents should have been called 'riots'. In no sense did they come close to approximating the riots in Newark, Detroit or Watts. On the contrary the duration of those in Atlanta was minimal.[93]

He goes on to say that:

> The black leaders questioned saw racial disturbances in Atlanta as doing two things; 1) reflecting poverty, powerlessness and alienation and 2) providing an opportunity for Negro leaders to keep before the public the urgency of ghetto conditions under which too many blacks live (an urgency not to be overlooked if future disturbances were to be averted).[94]

The incidents mentioned by Conyers, two in 1966 and one in 1967,[95] represent the larger of the documented disturbances in Atlanta. All three incidents had in common SNCC members who aroused the people to protest injustices in their communities. Two of the riots were the result of alleged police brutality and the third focused around the shooting of a Black youth by one of the city's white residents.

Other uprisings during 1966 and 1967 were limited for the most part to sporadic rioting resulting in the arrest of the participants.[96] Atlanta, while classified by the National

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[93] James E. Conyers, "Negro Leadership" in Violence and Dissent in America, ed., Fred Crawford (Atlanta: Southern Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation, 1969), p. 50.

[94] Ibid.

[95] The Boulevard incident was in September 1966; Summerhill incident occurred Septemer 1966 and Dixiehill in June 1967.

Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders as a city experiencing serious disorder, can hardly be compared with other cities in which damage was estimated to have been in the millions of dollars. While no one seems sure as to why this was the case there are a number of explanations which attempt to explain the reason for the relative lack of violent activity in the city. One explanation is that the city's established leaders excercised such influence over the Black community that those advocating violence where given little response. On July 21, 1967, for instance, about 1,000 Blacks signed a petition endorsing "nonviolent peaceful demonstrations as a method of obtaining our rights" and calling for those persons who have "caused or aided in causing turmoil in our community to leave and let the residents restore peace in our community...." The petition enumerated Black grievances which the petitioners said must be corrected without delay.[97]

That there was disorders in the city during the 1960's and that Black people generally were disheartened with the progress being made by the city's leaders is clear. Assessments of the incidents by those leaders sheds light on the political attitudes during this period. The focus it seemed was moving on a national scale toward the economic problems of America's minorities. Economic issues emerged as the nucleus for discon-

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[96]Price, Civil Rights, p. 44.

[97]Ibid.

tent and the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963 focused on this new approach. Atlanta was following the national trend in the latter portion of the decade. A number of leaders were interviewed following the ourbursts in 1966 and 1967 and had much to say about the plight of Black Atlantans. Said one leader, "...They (disturbances) should never have happened. The city's fathers were aware of the problems..."[98] Another leader, an elected official, said Atlanta "has got to catch up", while adding, "The system has gotten us a hundred years behind".[99]

The response to the causes of the disturbances were generally sociological in nature. One minister in the community maintained, "In every single area where you have these riots, there has been a lack of recreation..." About the power structure he said, "You see, you tell people in power that you're sitting on a stick of dynamite, and they don't believe you."[100] There were other leaders who cited more psychological themes - one stated, "These uprisings and disturbances, as I prefer calling them do reflect poverty. They reflect estrangement. They reflect a sense of rootlessness on the part of these people..."[101]

While none of the leaders interviewed gave justifications for violence or riots they did see them as a catalyst to people

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[98] Conyers, "Negro Leadership", p. 51.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid.

thinking about the plight of Black people. One elected official affirmed, "Well they (riots) do sometimes make the peaceful alternatives more palatable to people who are in charge."[102]

Father Ford at the Emanus House in Atlanta analyzed Atlanta's situation as being unique when compared with urban areas which experienced considerable violence. He first argues that Atlanta's affluent Blacks became satisfied with the nominal changes being made by the city's minority. The extreme oppression of the poor in this city, he explained, was the second reason for its failure to demand (violently) what was rightfully theirs. They had been denied so much all their lives that convincing them that they were entitled to more was a major task. Finally, where reform is concerned, he insisted, that the fact that the city's leaders in the fights against poverty were themselves not among those on welfare served to eliminate much of the rebel rousing that occurred in other major cities.[103]

The welfare reforms mentioned by Father Ford which did take place in the 1960's provide the focus of the remainder of this section. The task at hand is related totally to the changes which took place in Fulton County's relief policies during the specified time period. Efforts will be made to determine whether reforms occurred, how they affected those on the rolls, and their relationship, if any, to protest activity.

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[102] Ibid.

[103] Interview with Father Austin Ford, Welfare Rights Organizer, Atlanta, Georgia, 10 July 1979.

National welfare reform during the 1960's was monumental. The poor, it was believed, had benefitted tremendously by the decade's end from the urban policies of the Johnson administration. Many interpreted this phenomena as a lesson to be learned on the nature of pressure, protest, and politics. Cloward and Piven, for instance, advocated challenging the welfare system by conducting a massive drive to recruit the poor onto the rolls.

> A series of welfare drives in large cities would we believe, impel action on a new federal program to distribute income, eliminating the present welfare system and alleviating the abject poverty which it perpetuates. Widespread campaigns to register the eligible poor for welfare aid, and help existing recipients obtain their full benefits, would produce bureaucratic disruption in welfare agencies and fiscal disruption in local and state governments. These disruptions would generate severe political strains, and deepen existing divisions among elements in the big-city Democratic coalition,...By internal disruption of local bureaucratic, by the furor over public welfare policy, and by the collapse of current financing arrangements, powerful forces can be generated for major economic reforms at the national level.[104]

This strategy by Cloward and Piven was offered to the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) headed by George Wiley. The NWRO was considered among those in the forefront pushing voe economic reforms in the manner of increased benefits to tho:e on relief. During the spring of 1968 the NWRO won major concessions from Reve. Martin Luther King Jr. whose acknowledgement of gave welfare rights leaders and issues

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[104]Richard Cloward and Francis Fox Piven, "The Weight of the Poor: A Strategy to end Poverty," Nation 202(May 1966): 510.

an important role in the Poor People's Campaign. This was the major factor preventing the meeting between the NWRO and the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare which took place in the summer of 1968.[105]

The impact that this group had on welfare was, for the most part, at the local levels. Lawrence Ballis in his examination of the organization said,

> ....These increases in the welfare rolls were not in general, due to welfare rights activities...The Boston model devoted its attention to those who were already welfare recipients. The pattern was repeated, for the most part, throughout the country, and a recent study of the growth of the welfare caseload in this period concluded that the NWRO's contribution to the rising welfare rolls has been largely indirect, the intended effort of other activities.[106]

This brief discussion of work of the National Welfare Rights Organization allows us to shift attention to the local setting in Fulton County in order to assess what changes took place. Figure 2 indicates that there was an increase in Fulton County's caseload of AFDC cases between 1965 and 1970. Between 1961 and 1967, Georgia saw a $24 gain as grant amounts increased from $164 to $188.[107] This indicated an increase in the cost standard which is determined solely by the states.

The first year of the sixties saw a liberalization of

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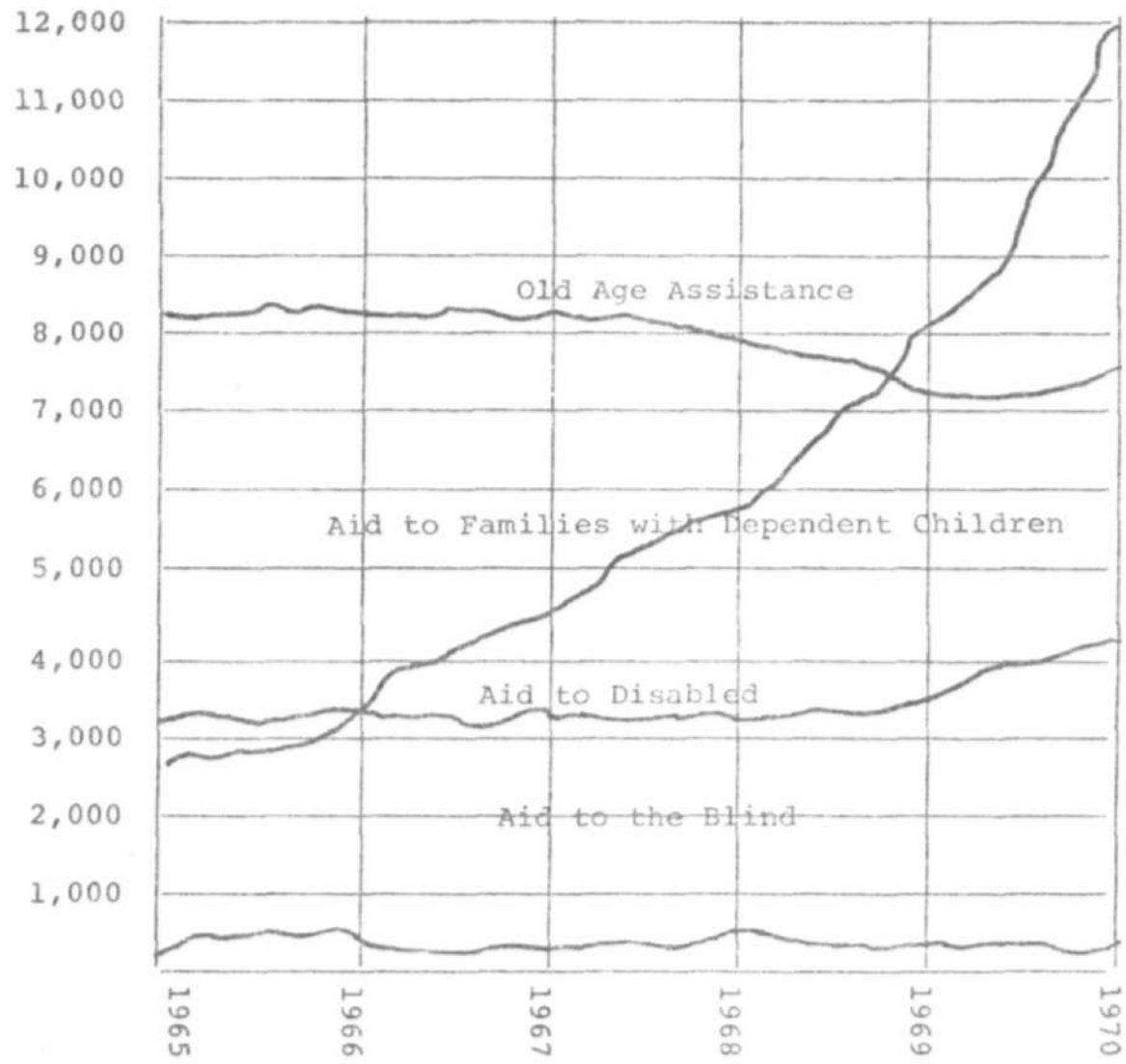
[105] Lawrence Ballis, Bread or Justice? (Massachusetts:D.C. Heathe and Co., 1974), p. 9.

[106] Ibid., p. 41.

[107] Irene Lurie, An Economic Evaluation of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 1968), p. 114.

FIGURE 2

COMPARISON OF ACTIVE CASES IN FULTON COUNTY
1965-1970



SOURCE: Fulton County Department of Family and Children, Annual Report (Atlanta, 1970), p. 23.

General Assistance Policies, many of which could be applied to AFDC recipients.

1) Assistance could be granted to the obviously disabled without the requirement of a medical exam.

2) The residence requirement was reduced from two to one year.

3) There was the allowance of ten days emergency assistance payments to an applicant threatened with eviction.

4) Responsibility of relatives to contribute support was based on a new formula.

5) Shortened waiting time for receipt of grants by employing a second physician (aside from from the client's private doctor) to speed up the medical examination reports necessary for disability grants.

6) Thirty day emergency assistance could be granted to women over 60, regardless of employability.

7) Three day emergency assistance could be authorized for applicants unemployed or not receiving unemployment compensation for thirty days.

8) A payment of $25.00 monthly could be made on behalf of children 16-18 years of age doing satisfactory school work or disabled.[108]

The following year, 1961, witnessed the inclusion of those other than the 'needy' eligible for the surplus foods program. Welfare recipients were in most cases eligible for the program since their need was already established with the agency. Those not receiving public assistance grants but needing food were, beginning in May 1961, allowed to participate in only the foods program if it was determined that those applying were unable to afford the purchase of food. The Fulton County Department of Public Welfare reported the certification of 24,747

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[108]Fulton County Department of Public Welfare, Annual Report (Atlanta, 1960), p. 9.

recipients involving 71,272 persons as eligible for surplus foods with an estimated value of $2,500,000.[109]

The year 1962 saw a number of innovations in the public welfare agency. Among the most significant were the amendments to the Social Security Act which allowed an increase in the amount of federal funds available to states. Instead of the 50 percent matching basis for personnel cost and staff training, there was an extension to 75 percent. Federal financial participation was also made available for Aid to Dependent Children families provided cooperative arrangements were made with the local agencies with the state employment services and with the state vocational educational agency as well as with the state adult education service for training of recipients for regular employment. Additional program benefits included, among other things, the exclusion of earned income up to a certain maximum by "recipients and children in Aid to Dependent cases in determining the amount of financial grants, and payments for dependent children whose parents are employed provided such parents do not refuse participation in training or retraining programs".[110] In short, states were given excessive incentives to upgrade and improve their child welfare agencies. These incentives were accepted by the state and then later by Fulton County.

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[109] Fulton County, Annual Report, 1961, p. 10.

[110] Fulton County, Annual Report, 1962, pp. 2-3

Extensive training programs as well as registration with the state employment service was begun. The reorganization of the public welfare agency was also subject to scrutiny which led to certain changes. Probably, most obvious was the state legislature's decision to change the name of the State Department of Public Welfare to the Department of Family and Children Services along with the establishment of a Division of Children and Youth under the administrative supervision of a Board of Directors. This board primarily acted to coordinated programs with existing public assistance programs, espicially those pertaining to ADC grants.

This incentive to the states by the federal government was interpreted by many as pressure aimed at forcing states and localities to abandon previous practices and to conform to federal prescriptions for administering various programs. In this sense, it is the national and not the local governments who react to discontent among the nation's people. If conformity could be guaranteed through attractive enough grants, one would have a difficult time linking local pressures with local reform since motivation for reform would have originated with a source outside of local interest. Mayor Allen of Atlanta, commenting on this circumstance said,

> ...But where it was reasonably easy to solve the day-to-day financial problems of the city itself, there was a certain point beyond which we could not go without outside help; primarily in the areas of highway construction, urban renewal, and assistance to the poor.... So I became the champion of the federal government in the South.... In 1968 alone the federal programs brought almost $60 million - nearly equal

> to the total annual operating budget of the city of Atlanta.[111]

Cloward and Piven had this to say about federal aid to the cities:

> ....However, local government was also under pressure to conciliate blacks from quite another source during the 1960's; namely the federal government...The main significance of these new programs - especially the anti-poverty program which was initiated in 1964 - is that they led to reform in the practices of local government.[112]

While it is not the aim of this research to measure the impact of federal incentives on local reforms the acknowledgement of such a relationship is indeed necessary. To conclude that all reforms were the result of local pressure would do much to cloud reality. This could be particularly misleading when one discussed relief policies and local pressures in Atlanta since the welfare rights organization in this city was relatively weak when compared to those other cities where major reforms also occurred. Nevertheless, there was the presence of protest activity during the early 1960's which may have contributed to a federal response in the form of incentives.

Atlanta, for example, was one of the first urban areas in the United States to receive a grant under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Along with this came a new set of revisions pertaining to AFDC cases. These new guidelines paved the way for much of the legislation beneficial to AFDC grantees which was to follow.

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[111] Allen, Mayor: Notes on the Sixties, p. 52.

[112] Cloward and Piven, Regulating the Poor, pp. 245-246.

A. Georgia state law was revised so that children 16 and 17 years old in AFDC grantee families, who were either attending school regularly or disabled could be included in the grant. Previously children to age 15 were eligible.

B. The age of children in AFDC families was extended from one to three years in which mothers were required to comply with policies pertaining to employment.

C. Budgeting for authorized items on behalf of a spouse of an AFDC recipient, if disabled, was authorized in determining the amount of the grant.

D. The law requiring mothers to take legal action against deserting fathers was revised so that the taking of such action was a matter for caseworker's decision after making efforts to secure voluntary contributions.

E. Budgeting for shelter cost by recipients living in public housing was increased.

Other revisions allowed:

-- The value of homes in which recipients lived to be disregarded.

-- An increase in the cash value of life insurance as a resource.

-- A provision to disregard income and earnings as a resource in varving amounts in determining the amount of grants.

-- An $85.00 monthly allowance plus 50 percent of the balance of earned income for recipients participating in Economic Opportunity Act training and work experience programs.[113]

In accordance with Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, money was appropriated for the implementation of work training programs such as Fulton County's project UP-LIFT patterned after AFDC-UP in January 1965. This project accepted 911 of 2,512 applicants for vocational training in food preparation, housekeeping, sewing, institutional care, carpentry, printing, maintenance, and auto mechanics.

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[113]Fulton County, Annual Report, 1964, p. 11.

By 1966, drug vendor payments had been extended to AFDC recipients while Fulton County Family and Children Services assumed a larger percentage of the rate from that paid from Fulton County tax funds applicable to unmarried mothers placed in maternity care homes. In October 1967, medical services were extended under Title XIX of the Social Security Act through the Medicaid Program. The availability of a wide range of comprehensive medical services were at this time extended to public assistance recipients in Fulton County.

The services covered were:

1) In-patient hospital services
2) Out-patient hospital services
3) X-Ray and laboratory services
4) Nursing home care
5) Prescription and drug supplies
6) Physicians services other than routine check-ups

Medical care was not the only area that witnessed an influx of funds aimed at public assistance grantees. The food distribution program, mentioned earlier, had grown by the decade's end to include many of the needy theretofore ineligible. Since the initiation of the program an estimated retail value of over $4 million in food had been distributed to impoverished families in Fulton County. Table 3 illustrates the specifics of the surplus foods program.

It is important at this point to look briefly at the com-

TABLE 3

SURPLUS FOOD[114]

year	Persons	Estimated retail value
1963	8,511	$1,153,340.
1964	11,945	$1,141,381.
1965	13,737	$1,234,753.
1966	22,245	$1,134,252.
1967	21,156	$1,233,758.
1968	24,582	$1,682,034.
1969	30,516	$2,846,573

position of Fulton County's relief population. The literature suggested that Blacks gained significantly during the liberalization of welfare policies. Undoubtedly all of those on the rolls stood to benefit from the prevalence of a more generous attitude towards the poor but since Blacks comprise a disproportionately large segment of the welfare population it is they who as a group stand to gain. Alfred Kadushin explains:

> Increase in concern in offering services to Black families and children is due to 'ideological' shifts which resulted from the civil rights movement of the 1960's which focused attention on the problems of all minority groups. Institutional racism, as manifested in policies of child welfare services came under critical review and led to recommendations for policy change.[115]

Fulton County's AFDC recipients underwent an increase with respect to the numbers of Blacks, particularly Black women, who

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[114] Fulton County, Annual Report, 1969, p. 17.

[115] Alfred Kadushin, Child Welfare Services (New York: McMillan Pub. Co. Inc., 1974), p. 72.

were placed on the rolls during the decade of the sixties. (see table 4).

TABLE 4

AFDC RECIPIENTS - 1960'S[116]

year	white male	white female	Black male	Black female
1961	4.92%	24.81%	5.21%	65.05%
1965	4.90%	20.95%	5.13%	69.02%
1969	1.52%	12.88%	2.89%	82.71%

Fulton County's child welfare services had by 1969 undergone much in the way of renovations (see table 5). However, gains made on the state level had tremendous impact of the city of Atlanta which is where the largest concentrations of the poor were congregated. Court decisions, for example, were handed down which had a direct impact of the number of needy being added to the rolls. The United States District Court in Atlanta in the late 1960's struck down portions of the state and county Departments of Family and Children Services "employable mother" regulations. This decision liberalized eligibility requirements to children whose mothers were considered employable but still in need. The employable mother regulation was among the more restrictive requirements imposed on women in the 1950's. The United States Supreme Court was the site of a subsequent ruling

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116 Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services, Who Are Our Clients? (Atlanta, 1970), p. 5.

TABLE 5

AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN
STATISTICS FOR FULTON COUNTY

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
payment to clients	$2,016,063.	$2,373,192.	$2,583,036.	$2,282,596.	$2,312,225.
percent change		15.0	8.1	-13.16	1.28
average cases per month	1,997	2,335	2,574	2,334	2,291
percent change		14.5	9.3	-10.3	-1.9
average monthly grants	$86.82	$87.02	$86.60	$85.05	$86.87
percent change		0.23	-0.485	-1.82	2.3

TABLE 5 -- CONTINUED

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
payment to clients	$2,912,865.	$4,255,816.	$5,636,630.	$6,870,616.	$9,980,557.
percent change	20.6	31.5	24.5	18.0	31.16
average cases per month	2,272	3,688	4,689	5,841	8,168
percent change	17.35	24.8	21.3	19.7	28.5
average monthly grants	$89.68	$96.17	$100.18	$98.02	$101.83
percent change	3.1	6.75	4.0	-2.2	3.7

SOURCE: Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services, Annual Report, 1971.

that Georgia's "substitute father" provisions were unconstitutional.[117] This added to the rolls thousands of children who were theretofore denied aid on the basis of their mothers' suspected relationships with men.

Fair hearings procedures aimed at protecting applicants rights were also strengthened. This had to do with the arbitrary closing of cases by caseworkers and the absence of resourse by recipients. This new regulation provided for clients to be allowed a hearing in the event of case closures and reductions in the amount of the grants. Hearing officers were authorized for the first time to make restrictive payments to applicants whose cases had been closed in error.

Much of this procedural reform was made possible through the synthesis of the public assistance manual. Mrs. Francis Pauley recounted her work with this task in her capacity with the Council on Human Relations.[118] Simplifying the manual allowed lay people to identify defects in the manual as well as for the first time permitted recipients to know what their rights and responsibilities were under local regulations. Equipped with the knowledge of department regulations, a statewide campaign was begun to not only improve conditions for those already on relief but to see to it that those eligible not receiving aid

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[117] Kristen Gronberg, Mass Society and the Extension of Welfare 1960-1970 (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1977), p. 45

[118] Interview with Francis Pauley, former welfare rights organizer, Atlanta, Georgia, 13 July 1979.

were added to the rolls.

Simplification of the public assistance manual, fair hearings and appeals procedures undoubtedly contributed to the swell which occurred during the decade. With this increase, which it seemed would continue indefinietly, was the attempt to curtail federal spending. A "freeze" was enacted through the 1967 amendments to the Social Security Act which placed limits on the number of children provided matching funds for by the federal government. States wanting to make payments to more children than specified in the formula much finance it themselves. This policy has prevailed to the present making it extremely disadvantageous for welfare mothers to have children beyond a certain number.

The 1967 amendments also repealed the Community Work and Training Programs and established the Work Incentive Program which makes work compulsory for many recipients. The states were given until July 1969 to adopt the program. Work programs according to Cloward and Piven serve a dual purpose. The first function served is that of maintaining a work ethic in a society which measures its' members by their labor value in the marketplace. This must be emphasized always to insure that people understand the priority which labor holds in society. They explain:

> ....Direct relief was viewed as a temporary expedient, a way of maintaining a person's body; but not his dignity; a way of keeping the populace from shattering in despair, discontent, and disorder, at least for a while...For their

> way of life had been anchored in the discipline of work, and so that discipline had to be restored.[119]

The second function accomplished by the work requirement is closely related to control. That is to say, control can be maintained over the poor by mandating compliance with certain activities. The work requirement is useful in this instance. In a discussion on the nature of relief the authors have this to say on the subject:

> Relief arrangements deal with disorder, not simply by giving aid to the displaced poor, but by granting it on the condition that they behave in certain ways and, most important, on the condition that they work...the occasion of giving vitally needed assistance can easily become the occasione of inculcating the work ethic, for example, and of enforcing work itself, for those who resist risk the withdrawal of assistance.[120]

However, despite these attempts by the authorities to maintain control over those receiving aid by forcing compliance with certain regulations the sixties relief expenditures buldged on the federal as well as local levels.

The apparent shifts in relief policies on the local level during the sixties is not totally understood even by those working closely with this process. Among the popular arguments is the suddent realization among administrators of an increased need by the nation's poor. This, they claim, provided the justification for acceleration of many of the programs and policies directed at those holding disadvantageous economic positions. Wellbourne Ellis, director of Fulton County's wel-

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[119] Cloward and Piven, Regulating the Poor, p. 80.

[120] Ibid., p. 22.

fare agency during the 1960's acknowledges the increased need of welfare recipients and the impact that realization may have had on the expansion of the rolls. Mr. Ellis does not, however, discount the use of pressure tactics to effectuate change. Mr. Ellis maintains that his experience with public welfare showed him that the budget contracted and expanded depending on public sentiment. He added that generally speaking public sentiment was opposed to expanded welfare. It became necessary to court friendships with editorial writers on the staffs of local newspapers who in turn printed favorable editorials convincing people of the urgency of getting the fiscal allocations requested.[121]

The business community, Mr Ellis maintained, was surprisingly supportive of expansive welfare. Father Austin Ford agreed that the filter up theory was advocated by the commercial interest in the city who interpreted any increase in relief payments as being in their best interests. More money to recipients was distilled to mean additional revenue for the commercial sector in the city.[122]

The precise tactic used to get money into the county and the public sentiment surrounding the budget increases is not altogether clear, yet it is known that much of the money being spent on relief during the sixties was the result of the federal governments' grants and incentives. This fact alone would ease

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[121]Interview with Wellbourne Ellis, former Director of Fulton County Family and Children Services, Atlanta, Georgia, 24 July 1979.

[122]Interview with Father Austin Ford.

much of the tension usually accompanied with a locality's decision to expand its own expenditures to more adequately accommodate the poor. Dollars pumped in from an outside source, in this case the federal government, gave little reason for turmoil by local residents.

But just as money is pumped in so are regulations, guidelines, and procedures to which municipalities must adhere. It is quite possible, then, to assume that Fulton County was only following a cue from the federal authority while being virtually stripped of much of its local autonomy. The liberalization which took place in the sixties juxtaposed with the restrictive regulations of the fifties raises serious questions regarding the motivations and sources of reform which took place in the latter decade. The final section of this research effort will attempt to offer some analysis of these two periods and finally draw some conclusions on the restrictive and expansive welfare cycles in Fulton County.

CONCLUSION

The examination of Richard Cloward and Francis Fox Piven's theories in Regulating the Poor have provided the purpose of this study. The goal was to investigate their observations of the functions of public welfare and to determine whether or not these observations could be applied to the local setting in Fulton County, Georgia. While this task was completed successfully, problems arose at various stages of this research excercise. The problems mentioned refer to some of the assumptions made by the assumptions made by the authors as well as the methodology they used to support their thesis. These will be discussed in detail as they appear within the text of this discussion.

The first of the Cloward and Piven theories investigated in this work was the use of relief during restrictive periods. It is during these years that welfare acts to reinforce work norms. The time period used to test this hypothesis was the 1950's. This decade only witnessed a 17 percent increase in the national welfare caseload. Fulton County proved no different in this instance. The average monthly caseload in the county between 1950 and 1959 actually dipped by 30 percent.

The contraction of the relief system during the 1950's had the effect of forcing people into the labor market thereby rein-

forcing the work norm. Instances were cited in Regulating the Poor where a direct correlation could be seen between the withdrawal of relief funds and the funneling of would-be recipients into the labor pool. Rural areas in the South, where seasonal labor was needed, provided the authors with illustrations of this occurrence. Fulton County's urban climate however, was in all likelihood, not conducive to this method of enforcing the work ethic.

Examples are cited within the text of the second chapter which substantiated the claim that restrictive relief make work a palatable alternative. This effectively enforces the work norm. People on welfare during the fifties were forced to work as testified to by Mrs. Ethel Matthews and substantiated by Mr. Ellis. The findings on the restrictive relief policies of the fifties in Fulton County supported the Cloward and Piven hypothesis concerning the function of the welfare system, practiced most often in the absence of civil disorder.

It is necessary at this juncture to acknowledge that a restrictive relief system's role in reinforcing the work ethic is hardly out of tune with what one would expect from any institution inside a capitalist society. Perpetuation of the American 'ideal' or dream mandates the constant bombardment of the virtues which can be achieved through 'hard work'.This you find in some form in practically every segment of American life. In this sense then this function of the welfare state is hardly an anomally among American institutions.

If one wished to define the distinctions between the welfare system and those other factions within society the contrast might have to do with the extent to which the work ethic is reinforced among the poor. Continuous reminders to the indigent would be necessary since it is likely that this strata would never be permanently absorbed into the nation's economic system in any way useful to themselves. While this is not the result of any fault of their own, the belief in a work ethic as a measurement of one's own value makes it appear to be. The extreme guilt and self-persecution which one is likely to experience as the result of extended periods on relief along with efforts by administrators to leave this guilt with the individual rather than on the economic system may result in the overt reinforcement of the work norm practiced by public welfare agencies.

Civil disorder furnishes the focus for the latter portion of the Cloward and Piven thesis. A buldge in the nation's relief rolls provided the basis for the hypothesis that relief expands as a result of civil disorder. Welfare is viewed by the authors as a social control aimed at pacifying the poor thereby averting their attentions away from attacks on the economic and political systems. The merits of this argument are debatable even though it is reasonable to assume that welfare payments may have the effect of neutralizing the poor. Betty Reid Mandell in Welfare in America comments on this theory. "...There is no doubt that welfare systems have been partly constructed to reduce worker

discontent which threatens to change the economic system."[122] However, whether or not one can state that one of the functions of the welfare system is to quell civil disorder presents a problem.

This remained a problem throughout this excercise when I tried to test the Cloward and Piven contention in Fulton County. The initial phase of this task involved a determination of the amount of civil disorder in Atlanta. The discovery that this was not the site of civil disorder came even after the claim by the authors that it was.[123] Careful documentation of the disturbances which occurred can hardly be compared to those cities which also experienced expanded welfare budgets. While the city of Atlanta during the sixties was in the midst of civil rights activity, relief reform was not among the priorities of the city's Black leaders.

The fact that Atlanta may have shown the potential for urban uprisings similar to those which occurred in parts of California and New York may justify the 238 percent increase which had occurred in the welfare population by the decade's end. Fund allocations to cities where there was the threat of

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[122]Betty Reid Mandell, ed., Welfare in America (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1975), p. 12.

[123]The criteria Cloward and Piven use to categorize an area as having "serious" civil disorders are the same as those used by the Commission on Civil Disorders. These are the presence of violence lasting more than one day with at least some fires and rioting; at least one sizeable crowd or many small groups; and the use of the state police (in addition to local police) to quell the disturbance.

civil disorder may have provided the basis for the swell in the relief rolls. Cloward and Piven, however, do not offer serious discussion of efforts at circumventing potential uprisings.

If one attempted to match the incidence of civil disorder with the increase in those seeking public aid in Fulton County on a year by year basis the findings would not support Cloward and Piven's argument. The early sixties represented a period when many Black Atlantans were involved in civil rights activity. Student marches and boycotts characterized these years. Yet the relief rolls showed little change between 1960 and 1964. It was only after 1964 that the caseload for public welfare recipients made any substantial increases.

It was also after 1964 that President Johnson's War on Poverty was instituted in full force. This may point away from a local initiative concerning the plight of the poor to a federal response to urban poverty. If this were the case the presence of civil disorder in a region need not be the criterion for the granting of additional funds. Rather the presence of poverty in an urban region might well have served as a basis for the selection of which areas would receive increased funds and which would not. In any case, the initiative would have rested with the federal government rather than on the local level.

These represent the primary problems confronted when testing the hypothesis on relief's function as a social control. Others

are related more to the methodology employed by the authors. The conflic between this study's findings and Cloward and Piven's conclusions is probably attributable to the latters efforts to choose a methodology which would substantiate their hypothesis.

Cloward and Piven take two simultaneous occurrences, the presence of civil disorder and the rise in relief rolls and attempt to conclude that one was the direct resultant of the other. To substantiate such a claim would mandate the verification of a number of variables to prove that this was indeed the case. There is a clear absence of these variables in their work. In fact the exact cause for the increase in relief expenditures was never made clear. The authors admit:

> The relationship between increasing black power and the expanding welfare rolls is not altogether obvious. Great masses of poor blacks did not rise up in anger against a welfare system that denied them sustenance (although some did). Nor did the increased flow of public aid result from any demands made by political leaders; quite to the contrary, the expanding welfare rolls have often been as much a source of dismay to black elites as to white elites...[124]

The connection between civil disorder and benfits to the poor remains unclear. Even if the simultaneous occurrence of these phenomena suggest that one may have been the direct result of the other, variables such as the low priority of welfare rights on the agenda of Black leaders and the lack of disturbance in areas which received significant increases raises

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[124]Richard Cloward and Francis Fox Piven, Regulating the Poor (New York: Vintage Books, 1971), p. 197.

serious questions. These unanswered questions suggest that further work needs to be done to determine the specific causes for the welfare explosion.

Other concerns were raised when one takes the Cloward and Piven thesis to represent the only answer that government has to urban unrest. Expanded police and FBI activity in addition to the jailing of hundreds of political prisoners illustrates some of the more repressive techniques used to handle dissenters. In other words, increased public aid may have pacified the poor, but is dangerous to assume that it is a strategy to end poverty.

For one thing public welfare still provides inadequate funds on which to live. Michael Parenti explains,

> The welfare program in the United States does little to advance the life chances of persons in dire need; its funding is grossly inadequate and its administration is usually punitive in spirits and abusive of the rights of recipients.[125]

While the government may increase aid to the poor, to expect these increases to allow adequate living standards is to ignore reality.

Cloward and Piven in Regulating the Poor offer interesting theories on the functions of public welfare in the United States. To say that they are inaccurate in all aspects of their study is not my purpose. First of all this study did not attempt to test the universiality of the theories but rather was intent on reporting how applicable they were in Fulton County. The

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[125]Michael Parenti, Democracy For the Few (New York: St. Martins Press, 1977), p. 106.

test on this area substantiated a portion of their theory and raised questions of the remainder.

It was proven that welfare does function during restrictive periods to reinforce the work norm. Welfare also functions to reinforce the work norm during expansive relief periods as it did in 1967 with the Work Incentive Program. With the contention that relief expands as the result of civil disorder came other concerns. There is no denying the fact that the rolls did swell during the 1960's in Fulton County and that people in Atlanta were in the midst of civil disorder. From that perspective the authors' hypothesis is supported. Questions though must be raised to challenge whether or not turmoil was the sole reason for extended aid to the poor.

To conclude then one can only say that Cloward and Piven's observations about the functions of relief appear to be verifiable for Fulton County. A look beneath the veneer might give reasons for doubt and provoke further inquiry into the subject. Further investigation is needed particularly if one is to rely on the assumption that welfare expands to quell disorder. Other perspectives and approaches to this problem would be most beneficial to any discussion of this problem.

Millions of poor people are forced to seek assistance from public welfare agencies. Aid to Families with Dependent Children touches the lives of a large segment of those unable to free themselves from abject poverty. Knowledge of the nature

and practices of the agency which dictates the lifestyles of these people is mandatory. Acquisition of information pertaining to America's relief system is a task which should be considered by those concerned with understanding the quality of life for those who must endure the degradations of life on welfare.

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