ABSTRACT
                The delivery of services to children of minority
groups is hampered by the lack of recognition of ethnic factors.
Although often overlooked, ethnicity is a key component in all phases
of child welfare, including provision of homemakers, foster family
care, institutional placements, and adoption. The study reported here
is exploratory research with several preliminary goals. These are: to
identify the major issues of concern to members of ethnic minority
groups with regard to service delivery; to review proposals which
move in the direction of a multi-ethnic service system; to develop a
typology defining commonalities in needs among ethnic groups; and, to
propose standards for service delivery where factors of ethnicity are
involved. The study is concerned with children of five minority
groups: American Indians, Asian Americans, Blacks, Mexican Americans
and Puerto Ricans. As a first phase of the research, the literature
of the past ten years in professional journals, books, and
unpublished papers was reviewed. Part one of this paper refers to the
four major concerns discussed in the literature, with a section on
each. These are: elimination of myths; lack of recognition of
cultural differences, lack of appreciation of bilingualism; and,
threat to group survival. Part two comprises three sections on
proposals for change, including re-education and retraining,
programming for cultural content, and changes in the direction of a
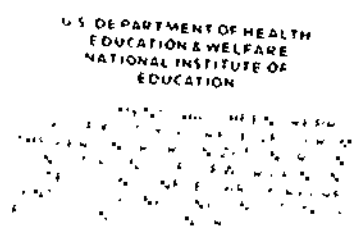multi-ethnic service system. (Author/JM)

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IDENTIFICATION OF ETHNIC ISSUES IN CHILD WELFARE:

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Shirley Jenkins and Barbara Morrison

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INTRODUCTION

The delivery of services to children of minority
groups is hampered by the lack of recognition of ethnic
factors. Although often overlooked, ethnicity is a key
component in all phases of child welfare, including pro-
vision of homemakers, foster family care, institutional
placements, and adoption. The study, Ethnic Factors in
Child Welfare, being conducted at the Columbia University
School of Social Work, and supported by the Children's
Bureau, Office of Child Development, U.S. Department of
Health, Education and Welfare, is an exploratory research
with several preliminary goals. These are: (1) to iden-
tify the major issues of concern to members of ethnic
minority groups with regard to service delivery; (2) to
review proposals which move in the direction of a multi-
ethnic service system; (3) to develop a typology
defining commonalities in needs among ethnic groups;
and (4) to propose standards for service delivery where
factors of ethnicity are involved. The study is con-
cerned with children of five minority groups: American
Indians, Asian Americans, Blacks, Mexican Americans and
Puerto Ricans.

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As a first phase of the research, the literature of the past ten years in professional journals, books, and unpublished papers was reviewed. The study document, Ethnicity and Child Welfare: An Annotated Bibliography, represents the first publication of the research project. Based on those references, the present paper and second study document, Identification of Ethnic Issues in Child Welfare: A Review of the Literature, was prepared. This draws heavily on the bibliographic references cited in the companion document, but it is not organized in terms of separate ethnic groups but rather in terms of the major issues which have been identified. Part I of the present paper refers to the four major concerns discussed in the literature, with a section on each. These are: (1) elimination of myths; (2) lack of recognition of cultural differences; (3) lack of appreciation of bilingualism; and (4) threat to group survival. Part II comprises three sections on proposals for change, including (1) re-education and retraining; (2) programming for cultural content; and (3) changes in the direction of a multiethnic service system.

Coverage for the annotated bibliography, as well as for the accompanying paper on issues, was based on materials published from 1963 through 1973. The references were from approximately 40 books and monographs,

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25 professional journals whose issues were reviewed for
ten years, and about 25 unpublished papers, documents,
reports, newspaper stories, and conference proceedings.
The main criterion for the inclusion of a reference was
whether it had relevance for the study. Emphasis was
on professional materials with information that was
reliable, well-documented, and knowledgeable. Where
issues had not yet been raised in professional journals
in documented form, however, more informal sources were
tapped. Particular concern was given to inclusion of
material where the authorship was by members of each of
the minority groups in the study, although no relevant
item was excluded because the author was not of the group.
The present paper incorporates extensive quotations from
these documents and sources, and these references become
the data base for analysis. Thus an empirical approach
has been used, with content as data. The organization
of materials followed the analysis of the references,
rather than being a preconceived format in which refer-
ences were sought to fit each of the categories.

Ethnic Group: Definitions and Demographic Variables

Before discussing the study findings, it may be
useful to define the key term, "ethnic group." Ethnicity
is not a precise concept, but nonetheless it is a viable
one. There is a substantial literature on ethnicity,

and although there may be disagreement on some of the
components of the definition, there is general agreement
on the core of meaning of the concept. Weber defines
ethnic group as "a collectivity based on an assumption
of common origin, real or imaginary."[1] Another defini-
tion is that of Schermerhorn, who defines it as:

> a collectivity within a larger society
> having real or putative common ancestry,
> — memories of a shared historical past,
> and a cultural focus on one or more
> symbolic elements....A necessary accom-
> paniment is some consciousness of kind
> among members of the group....[2]

Among these symbolic elements, Schermerhorn refers to
physical contiguity, language or dialect, religion, pheno-
typical features, kinship patterns, and nationality, or
any combination of these.

In describing ethnic patterns, it is apparent that
different configurations exist depending on the situa-
tion. Religion may be critical for defining certain
groups, national origin for others, language for others.
Typically it is a combination of factors, and differences
often only become explicit at points of culture conflict.

Discussion of needs of members of minority groups
often takes place without reference to the actual facts
about the population which is under study. How large
are these groups; where are they located; and what par-
ticular demographic characteristics need to be considered

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as the basis for discussion? The five groups in the
study comprise a total of under 31 million persons, or
approximately 15 percent of the population of the United
States, according to the 1970 Census. Size and distri-
bution are included in Table 1.

Table 1

Population Statistics

Ethnic Group	Total United States
Black Americans	22,539,362
Mexican Americans	4,532,552
Puerto Ricans	1,429,664
Asian Americans	1,190,737
Japanese	586,675
Chinese	433,469
Filipino	336,823
Hawaiian	98,836
Korean	70,598
American Indians	760,572
TOTAL	30,452,887

Source: United States Census, United States
Summary, Detailed Characteristics, Table 190,
"Persons of Races Other Than White and Persons
of Spanish Heritage, by Nativity, Sex, and
Age: 1970,"1-593-5, and United States Census,
Supplementary Report of 1970 Census of Popu-
lation, "Persons of Spanish Ancestry," PC-(S1)-30,
February 1973, Table 1, "Persons of Spanish
Origin for Regions, Divisions, and States: 1970," 1.

The complexities of the ethnic concept are such
that not only is precise definition not possible, neither
is a precise count. The Census data reflect a variety
of underlying criteria, such as race, nativity, ancestry
and heritage. Sometimes there is a generational criterion,
sometimes not. The problem of definitions and inclusions
needs to be studied for itself, but the absense of pre-
cision should not paralyze work in this area. For the
purposes of the present review, this research follows
the generally utilized references to population group-
ings in the literature. At a later phase in the research,
questions of identity and criteria will be examined.

Black Americans comprise the largest ethnic group
in the study; they are also a relatively young population
with a median age of 22.5 years. Geographically there
has been substantial movement of Blacks to urban areas,
but 53 percent remain in the South, 19 percent in the
Northeast, and 20 percent in the North Central regions.
The next largest group, the Mexican Americans, incorporate
several cultures, including Spanish and Indian. In geo-
graphic terms, 53 percent of Mexican Americans are in the
West and 37 percent in the South. The Puerto Rican popu-
lation is very highly concentrated in the Northeast, with
81 percent living in that region, primarily in New York
City. Unique to their situation is the extensive move-

ment of people between the Islands and the Mainland, so
that there is a strong reinforcement of the Spanish cul-
ture.   The Asian Americans are a diverse group, with
Japanese Americans having the largest concentration, and
Chinese·Americans being next in size.   They are a rela-
tively older population when compared with the other
groups in the study, in particular the Japanese group,
which has a median age of 32.4 years.   Eight-two percent
of. Asian Americans live in the West, principally in
California.   American Indians are the smallest group in
the study, but they are also the most heterogenous group.
In the 1970 Census, Indians reported over 130 tribal
affiliations.   The five largest tribal groups are the
Navajos, with 96,743; Cherokee, 66,150; Sioux, 47,825;
Chippewa, 41,946; Pueblo, 30,971.   The smallest report-
ing group of all Indians is the Klikitat tribe with 21
members.   This is a young population, with a median age
of 20.5 years.   Forty-nine percent of all American Indians
live in the West, 25 percent in the South.   Nearly half
of all Indians live in urban areas, and only 28 percent
still live on reservations.   Language use reflects liv-
ing locale.   It is reported that 32 percent of the
American Indians in urban areas said that their native
language is their mother tongue, wheras 58 percent of
those on reservations stated their native language was

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their mother tongue. This figure rose to 72 percent for Indians who were 65 years and over.

These brief notes on size and location of the population of ethnic minorities give some focus to the groups under study.[3] Although they represent only 15 percent of the total population in the United States, they constitute a higher proportionate population of those in need of services. This is true because of the well-documented special needs of minority people.

The primary socially handicapping condition affecting children is poverty, and poverty is far more prevalent among minority than other children. In _Profiles of Children_, prepared for the White House Conference on Children in 1970, the data show that only 17 percent of White families had incomes below $6,000, but this was true of 50 percent of Black families. For Indians living on reservations, 80 percent of families were below the poverty level. Such references could be multiplied many times over for all of the groups under consideration in the study.[4]

Not only is poverty an important problem facing the minority child, but for many the mental health problems are severe and needing attention. The Committee on Children of Minority Groups, which was established by the Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children, has made a strong statement of the effect on children of both

poverty and racism. It documents with extensive data
the special needs for mental health services for children
of minorit· groups.[5/]

Granted the special needs occasioned by low incomes,
and the exacerbation of these needs because of racism
and limited opportunities, it is indeed ironic that bar-
riers are put in the way of service delivery because of
lack of recognition of ethnic patterns— the very factors
that contribute to the need for services. The review
of literature will indicate major concerns and proposals
for change.

FOOTNOTES FOR INTRODUCTION

1/
Max Weber, "The Ethnic Group," in Talcott Parsons,
et. al., Theories of Society, Vol. 1, (Glencoe,
Illinois: The Free Press, 1961), p. 305.

2/
R.A. Schermerhorn, Comparative Ethnic Pelations:
A Framework for Theory and Research, (New York:
Random House, 1970), p. 12.

3/
Demographic data have been taken from the following
sources: United States Census. United States Sum-
mary, Detailed Characteristics, Table 190, "Persons
of Races Other Than White and Persons of Spanish
Heritage, by Nativity,. Sex, and Age: 1970,"1-593-5,
and United States Census, Supplementary Report of
1970 Census of Population, "Persons of Spanish
Ancestry," PC-(SI)-30, February 1973, Table 1,
"Persons of Spanish Origin for Regions, Divisions,
and States: 1970,"1. United States Census, United
States Summary, General Population Characteristics,
Table 60, "Races of the Population for Regions,
Divisions, and States: 1970," 1-293, and "Special
Report: American Indians," PC [2] - 1F.

4/
U.S. Government Printing Office, Profiles of Children,
1970 White House Conference on Children, Washington
D.C., pp. 21-22.

5/
  Report of the Joint Commission on Mental Health of
    Children, <u>Crisis in Child Mental Health: Challenge</u>
    <u>for the 1970's</u>, Chapter V, "Children of Minority
    Groups: A Special Mental Health Risk," (New York:
    Harper and Row, 1970),pp. 215-249.

PART ONE

IDENTIFICATION OF MAJOR CONCERNS

From the review of literature on ethnicity and
social work, with special reference to child care
settings, four major areas of concern have been
identified. These are: (1) the elimination of myths
which have hampered the understanding of the ethnic
communities, their problems, and their special needs;
(2) the lack of recognition and appreciation on the
part of planners and practitioners of the diversity
of ethnic patterns and the values of the client popu-
lation: (3) the lack of appreciation of bilingualism as a
cultural pattern and as a necessary component in ser-
vice delivery for those who speak English as a second
language: and (4) the threat to the survival of the
group as a cultural entity, exacerbated by a service
system which ignores consideration of ethnicity in the
planning of social services for minority clients.

Section One

ELIMINATION OF MYTHS

To some extent, all of the ethnic groups included
in this study have suffered because of myths and ingrain-
ed notions which have become institutionalized in the
social welfare field. These have had a profound effect

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on the extent and type of services offered and delivered
to clients of minority groups. In the following section
some prevalent myths about ethnic groups which are bar-
riers to service delivery will .be discussed.

Asian Americans: a Model Minority?

Asian Americans, unlike other nonwhite ethnic groups,
have been denied needed services because of overly-posi-
tive stereotypes. They have been seen as the "model
minority" - self-sufficient, successful, and capable of
meeting with their own resources those few problems that
they face.

Ford H. Kuramoto, has said:

> The myth of the American Dream as illustrated
> by the Asian experience not only involves the
> problems of identity and recognition imposed
> by the majority, but includes the myth that
> all Asians are affluent. Most Asians are be-
> lieved to have too much money to be considered
> a "poverty" category, yet many live in extreme
> poverty.
>
> . . . part of the Asian problem is that the
> majority of society believes that Asians do
> not have problems, and in some cases that
> Asians do not even constitute a minority group.
> Although there are some Asians who feel that
> they do not represent a disadvantaged ethnic
> minority, it is my opinion that most Asians
> would agree that they are not only a minority
> group, but suffer at least to some extent from
> that status at the hands of the racist process
> in this country. [1]

Other references in the literature suggest that the,
Asian American is very sensitive to his "favored" position
among ethnic minorities and keenly aware of how he is

being used to justify racist attitudes and policies
toward other ethnic groups.

In the recently issued <u>Asian American Task Force Report</u>
of the Council on Social Work Education it was noted that:

> In the view of Asian Americans today, they are
> being exploited as pawns in a desperate game
> that is being played to legitimize racism in
> this country. The middle-class status of some
> Asians, particularly successful Chinese and
> Japanese in the professions and business, is
> generalized to characterize all Asians, and
> they are then held out as proof that freedom
> and democracy are alive and well in America.
> As success tokens of American democracy and
> the free enterprise system, the example of
> Asians is used to deny or minimize the exist-
> ence of racial problems and thus to perpetuate
> the oppression of peoples of color. The stereo-
> type is cultivated that Asians have made it
> through the virtues of hard work, thrift, edu-
> cation and initiative; and therefore, it is
> asked why can't the Blacks, Chicanos, Native
> Americans and the rest do likewise?

> Because Asians have no power of their own, they
> have felt themselves to be in a vulnerable posi-
> tion and have not challenged these myths.
> Asians who have attained economic security feel
> compelled to defend the system and to acquiesce
> in performing the role of the well-fed houseboys
> of the establishment. 2/

Pei-Ngor Chen in her article, "The Chinese Community
in Los Angeles," <u>Social Casework</u>, December, 1970, notes
that there are cultural values within the Chinese community
which foster reinforcement of the "model minority" myth
among the Chinese:

> The myth that Chinese people have no problems
> is a fallacy. The Chinese people in America
> have problems now, have had them in the past,
> and will continue to have them in the future.

Two significant factors contribute to the
misconceptions about the Chinese popula-
tion in America: (1) the general public's
tendency to stereotype ethnic groups and
(2) the Chinese people's tendency to hide
the darker side of their culture. It has
been assumed that traditional strong family
ties among the Chinese have reduced their
problems to a minimum and that the Chinese
people can take care of their own problems.
The Chinese people themselves tend to re-
inforce and exaggerate these distortions
and thereby add to the general misconcep-
tions about them. Honor and pride have
prevented them from making their problems
known to the public. 3/

The consequences of this myth for the provision of

social welfare services have been that many much needed

services have not been sought after by Asian Americans

and therefore not provided. Asian Americans have been

systematically excluded from many social welfare programs.

In writing of New York's Chinatown, Marjorie Sloan

Nicol stated:

At least one manifestation of the conflict
between Chinese and American cultures has
a direct bearing on the provision of ser-
vices to Chinatown residents. Stereotypes
on the surface favorable to the Chinese
have apparently limited awareness by the
general public and the Chinatown residents
themselves of the unmet psychosocial prob-
lems in Chinatown. According to Cattell,
many social and health needs of the China-
town residents go unmet because of the
idealized conception that problems of its
residents can be met without extra-community
help. Chinatown leaders have actively per-

petuated this stereotype, supporting the
notion that relationship groups and other
protective associations within the commu-
nity could meet the needs of their members. [4/]

Perhaps the most definitive statement about the conse-

quences of the "model minority" myth for Asian Americans

was made by Bok-Lim C. Kim, in an article entitled

"Asian Americans, No Model Minority," _Social Work,_ May, 1973:

> . . . In 1971 the Japanese American Citi-
> zen's League reported consistent patterns
> of exclusion of Asian Americans and their
> communities from most of the federally
> supported demonstration projects and re-
> search, education and vocational training,
> and social and rehabilitative programs.
> The underlying rationale for this exclusion
> is that Asian Americans are a successful
> 'model minority' and do not need such pro-
> grams. National and local social welfare
> organizations and those in related fields
> also 'neglect' to include Asian-American
> concerns in their programs or representatives
> in their policy-making boards, thereby de-
> priving themselves and Asian Americans of the
> opportunity to deal with urgent issues asso-
> ciated with institutional racism in this
> country.
>
> The maintenance of the convenient myth of
> Asian-Americans as a model minority excludes
> them from nationwide concerns and education,
> health, housing, employment, and social wel-
> fare programs. However, behind the busy,
> prosperous shops and restaurants of Chinatown's
> little Tokyos are thousands of unattached old
> people wasting away their remaining years in
> poverty and ill health and children of new
> and not-so-new immigrants left at home with
> out adequate adult supervision while their
> parents work long hours to support them. Un-
> noticed and ignored by the social welfare
> community are uncounted numbers of deserted
> and abused wives and children of American
> service men.

In view of the complex problems confronting
Asian-American communities and the lack of
resources for their resolution, the urgent
and foremost task confronting Asian-Ameri-
cans in the human services is to establish
a clear Asian-American identity and to make
visible issues and problems their peoples
face. 5/

The American Indian: Caught Between Two Worlds

The literature reviewed implied that a major belief
which has governed policy formation in social services
for the American Indian is the notion that the Indian
cannot live in a truly bicultural way - taking the best
from the tribal world and the dominant culture and syn-
thesizing these into a viable life style. The belief
has been that the Indian must be forced to assimilate
into the white culture if he is to survive, and he must
completely abandon tribal ways.

In an article entitled, "The Sociocultural Setting
of Indian Life," American Journal of Psychiatry, August,
1968, D'Arcy McNickle stated that:

In discussing the Indian situation it is
customary, almost compulsory, to refer
to the individual tribesman as man caught
between two worlds, as a man who must
break free from the past in order to find
his place in the future - everyone recog-
nizing that his hold on the present is pre-.
carious. The Indian world is dead the
inference runs, and the tribesman must get
on with the business of making over his life.

> In these customary discussions it is usually
> conceded.that for one reason or another -
> public indifference or bureaucratic mis-
> management - the Indian people have been
> held back by various disabling conditions.
> Remove the disabilities, it is reasoned,
> and the transformation will follow. . . .

> The reasoning proceeds from the assumption
> that the tribal-tradition Indian.is prepared
> to break the kinship web and move from a
> personal into an anonymous world. . . . An
> additional assumption is involved here -
> that Indians have no choice. If they do not
> secularize their institutional modes, the
> outside community will simply move in on them
> This has been a recent threat, when Congress
> legislated some tribes out of existence and
> promised a like outcome for all tribes -
> unless they moved of their own accord 6/

This policy of forced assimilation has been directed

especially toward Indian children, and no better example

of it can be given than that of the boarding school situa-

tion.

In an article in the New York Times "Indian Home Life

Causes Concern," March 8, 1969, it was stated:

> Under so called remedial and welfare programs
> . . . one Indian child in four is presently
> taken from his reservation home and sent off
> to boarding schools or to some form of foster
> care.

> Boarding schools are operated by the Govern-
> ment for disturbed children with behavior
> problems or for children with disrupted fami-
> lies, but they really are homes of detention
> with no rehabilitative services at all.

> About 40,000 Indian reservation children,
> half of them Navajos in the Southwest, are.
> taken from their families and sent to boarding
> schools, sometimes hundreds of miles away.

In addition to the children in boarding
schools, up to 10,000 have been more
permanently removed from their families
and sent to foster homes . . .7/

Annie D. Wauneka, in a paper presented at a work-

shop on "Emotional Problems of the Indian Students in

Boarding Schools and Related Schools" stated that the

Navajo people do not wish to send their children away

from home and that the policy of the Navajo tribe is

to seek the means of educating their children as close

to home as possible.8/   The Congress of the United

States is cited for not seeing fit to make classroom

seats available to all the youngsters within their local

communities.

The problem of the education of Navajo and other

Indian children goes far deeper than just the unwilling-

ness to provide facilities at the local level. The Board-

ing School has become the instrument of forced assimila-

tion where the Indian child is anglicized.

In a paper, "Boarding Schools and the Psychological

Problems of Indian Children", Dr. Robert L. Bergman de-

scribes this role of the boarding school:

In the world of the boarding school, not
only the Navajo language, but almost all
things Navajo are rated very low. The
children are frequently told not to be
like their parents and they are often ad-
monished against following the traditions
of their people. . . .

> . . . I recently heard of an incident in
> which a school employee invited several
> girls to her quarters to make fried bread -
> a traditional Navajo food. All concerned
> were reprimanded for this violation of
> school rules.
>
> The lack of parents or parent substitutes
> leaves the children with no opportunities
> for identifying with any adult, except in a
> negative way. They see that Navajo employ-
> ees of the schools generally are in low
> status and are not as much respected by the
> powers that be and this does not help their
> own feelings of self-esteem.9/

This example illustrates some ways in which Indian

children are treated because it is believed that they

must abandon the old ways and be forced to accept the

values and mores of the dominant culture. The most cru-

cial child welfare concern of the Indian people, as

expressed in the literature, is that no matter what the

nature of the services to be provided for the Indian

child - day care, foster care, adoption or boarding

school, they be offered with recognition of the positive

values of the Indian culture. The maintenance of cul-

tural continuity is seen as a matter of Indian survival

and the child is seen as the crucial link between the

way "of the old ones" and the future of the Indian people.

Many Indians believe that they can be truly bucultural

and they see enormous value in this. Joe Braswell, of the

Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, in a paper "The Concept of

Self and Social Work With American Indians, " proposed a

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policy of "selective acculturation," stating:

> . . . this aspect of self-hood is closely
> related to the self-ideal. The values
> which have been internalized are the build-
> ing blocks from which this dimension of
> self is constructed. This is another area
> in which many of our Indian people are
> caught in a bind, especially our young people.
> They are not certain what they want to be, an
> assimilated white Indian or a traditional
> Indian completely, one who has reverted to
> the old tribal way as totally as possible. I
> believe that there is a third alternative, one
> which many of our people seek to follow today.
> It has been termed "selective acculturation
> without assimilation". This means cultural
> interaction without loss of cultural identity,
> to be culturally eclectic, to take from both
> cultures those elements we want and to mold
> them into a way of life that alienates us from
> neither. [10]

Like the American Indian, the Chicano is believed
to be a man who must make a choice between the ways of
his forefathers and the dominant American culture.
Social scientists have been quick to point out cultural
traits in the Mexican American culture which hamper chil-
dren in their "necessary" acculturation to the values of
the Anglo society. In a recent article entitled, "The
Chicano Family: A Review of the Research", Social Case-
work, March, 1973, Miguel Montiel states:

> The following child-rearing practices are
> viewed in the literature as factors that
> hamper acculturation and assimilation:
> parents indulge male children, which limits
> their desire to achieve; do not encourage
> independence; teach their children lax
> habits; do not stress education; are oriented
> to the past; speak only Spanish, and think
> too much about their own misfortunes. [11]

Montiel quotes Burma to represent, the attitude
of many social scientists who believe that the
Chicano cannot survive as a bicultural man. Burma
stated:

> It appears necessary for the Mexican
> American to make up his mind which
> culture he wishes for his own, rath-
> er than to drag willy nilly with un-
> related parts of each.[12]

The Latin Family: Extended Familism and the Care of Dependent Children

In most of the literature written about the
Mexican American and Puerto Rican cultures there are
numerous references to the extended family network
with its informal system of mutual obligation, in-
cluding the care of dependent children. If planners
of child welfare services assume that there does
exist within Latin communities an informal network
of child-caring resources, this has serious implica-
tions for the extent to which formal agency services
are provided.

In a recent article in Social Casework, February,
1974, entitled, "Impact of External Systems on the
Puerto Rican Family," Emilicia Mizio characterizes the
Puerto Rican family as follows:

The Puerto Rican family is, in contrast
to the American, an extended family;
intimate relationships within the kin-
ship system are of high value and a
source of pride and security . . . .
The Puerto Rican family encompasses
not only those related by blood and
marriage,. but also those tied to it
through custom. The compadrazgo and
hijos de crianza are important parts
of the Puerto Rican family system.

The compadrazgo is the institution of
compadres or ('companion parents'),
a network of ritual kinship whose mem-
bers have a deep sense of obligation
to each other for economic assistance,
encouragement, support, and even person-
al correction. Sponsors of the child
at baptism and confirmation assume the
role of padrinos ('godparents') to the
child and compadres to the parents.
Witnesses at a marriage or close friends
also assume this role. Hijos de crianza
('children of upbringing') is the cultur-
al practice of assuming responsibility
for a child, without the necessity of
blood or even friendship ties, and rais-
ing the child as if he were one's own.
There is no stigma attached to the parent
for surrendering his child or to the child
who is given up. This may be a permanent
or temporary arrangement.13/

This characterization defines the traditional Puerto

Rican family. The question for those who plan and im-

plement services for Puerto Rican children, however, is

to what extent this type of family system is prevalent

in the Puerto Rican community today. As Emilicia Mizio

noted in her article:

> To write about the Puerto Rican family
> living in the United States as if there
> were a universal model would be deceiv-
> ing. Families are affected by strains
> in different ways, and the Puerto Rican
> family system must be viewed as being
> on a continuum. At one end is the ex-
> tended family system with traditional
> Puerto Rican values, and at the other
> end is the nuclear family system with
> an American value system.[14]

This qualification must be made for the Mexican

Americans as well. Montiel states that the recent

studies and surveys done of the Chicano community in-

dicate that the extended family is almost nonexistent.

He cites a finding by Ulibarri who surveyed migrant

families in the Southwest and found that the concept

of the extended family had been lost. He notes fur-

ther that Grebler and associates found that only 4

percent of the Chicano families in Los Angeles, Calif-

ornia and only 3 percent in San Antonio, Texas were

extended households. Montiel concludes that, "If these

studies accurately represent the urban Chicano family,

then the extended stable family has never been as exten-

sive as many social scientists have claimed".[15]   In

spite of the findings cited by Monteil, current litera-

.ture on the Mexican American is full of references to

the extended family unit and its importance as a child-

caring resource in the Mexican community.

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Ignacio Aquilar, for example, in his article, "Initial
Contacts with Mexican-American Families'," Social Work,
May, 1972 noted:

> To Mexican Americans the extended family
> is of great significance in their pattern
> of living; they take it for granted that
> in time of trouble they can always count
> on the family to help out. [16]/

In her article, "Mexican-American Interaction with
Social Systems," Social Casework, May, 1971, Marta Soto-
mayor, characterized the Mexican family including the
phenomenon of compadrazgo, as follows:

> In the extended family pattern, the mem-
> bers often rescue the head of a house-
> hold by sharing their goods to meet the
> daily needs of his family. ... Various
> members of the family assume the physical
> and affective care of the child when
> stress from the external system causes self-
> preoccupation of an individual parent.
> This process is also present at times of
> internal crisis, such as the birth of a new
> child, when the extended family gives care
> to the mother during her convalesence and
> to the older youngsters. . . . [17]/

The compadrazgo relationship has many similar char-
acteristics and functions: relationships assume familial
overtones in which the emotional and physical responsi-
bilities for children are also shared. Although it is
true that many Mexican Americans who migrate to this
country (and others who were in the Southwest before

the United States expansion into these territories)
brought with them the extended family pattern and the
phenomenón of <u>compadrazgo</u>, with its emphasis on kin-
ship and deep, lasting relationships, the changes ex-
perienced in this society have greatly diluted, if
not modified, such structures and their accompanying
relationships.

The degree to which the extended family exists in
the Mexican American and Puerto Rican cultures is an
appropriate subject for further systematic research,
expecially if service delivery strategies are to reflect
the extent and type of informal child-caring resources
available within these ethnic communities. The percep-
tion of the extended family pattern as a viable resource
also has implications for the way in which a worker will
handle a crisis. Alejandro Garcia, for example, in
"The Chicano and Social Work," <u>Social Casework</u>, May, 1974,
stated:

> Aware of the extended family pattern of
> the Chicano, the worker should not sug-
> gest out-of-home placement of the elderly
> or disabled relative. The Chicano has
> close family ties, and he assumes respon-
> sibility for those relatives who can no
> longer care for themselves. His training
> from early childhood has conditioned him
> to the tradition of the young and able
> person assuming the responsibility for
> the elderly and disabled.[18]

Blacks: How Acceptable Is Illegitimacy?

The social welfare literature is replete with myths

and half-truths about the Black community, but none has

so affected the planning and delivery of child welfare

services as the "acceptance of illegitimacy" myth. This

belief was articulated by Clarence B. Fischer, in his

article, "Homes for Black Children," Child Welfare,

February, 1971:

> The following are a few of the attitudes
> frequently expressed by workers in the
> field:
>
> After all, the Black culture does not
> permit the giving away of children;
> "Everyone knows the unwed mother and
> her illegitimate child are easily as-
> similated into the family in the Black
> community;" The statistics on unrelated
> adoptions do not take into account the
> higher number of related adoptions among
> black people. Those figures show that
> large numbers of black children are being
> adopted.19/

Fischer noted further that, based on a study done by

the United Community Services of Metropolitan Detroit

on Illegitimacy in 1968, the attitudes previously cited

were shown to be either myths or a way for the community

to absolve itself of guilt for the failure to provide

needed services. The study proved that black families

have little or no choice on adoptions.20/

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In an article, "The Ghetto: Some Perceptions of a
Black Social Worker," Social Work, October, 1969, Marie
Simmons Saunders discussed this misconception:

> The black family, first of all, is an
> extended family. Relatives readily
> share responsibility for child-rearing.
> The family usually comes to the aid of
> a troubled member: for example, it is
> unusual for a young black unwed mother
> to give up her child for adoption.
> More likely the baby will be accepted
> into the larger family and be reared by
> the maternal grandmother, behavior that
> although frequently the target of criti-
> cism by whites, reflects a human quality.
> The young white unwed mother, on the
> other hand, is likely to consider abortion
> first and, failing that, to go the adop-
> tion route. Contrary to popular statistics,
> the young black female is not more promis-
> cuous than her white counterpart. Nor
> do black families condone illegitimate preg-
> nancy; they simply have more compassion for
> the child once it has been conceived. 21/

FOOTNOTES FOR SECTION ONE

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  Social Casework, 51:10(December, 1970), p. 591.

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Annie D. Wauneka, "Avoidance of Emotional Disturbances,"
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  Indian Student in Boarding Schools," Workshop Pro-
  ceedings, Albuquerque, New Mexico, April, 1960, p. 1.

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Robert L. Bergman, M.D., "Boarding Schools and the Psycho-
  logical Problems of Indian Children." Unpublished
  paper prepared under the auspices of the Bureau of
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10/
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  American Indians," Unpublished paper presented at the
  National Conference on Social Welfare, Atlantic City,
  New Jersey, May 27-31, 1973, p. 7.

11/
Miguel Montiel, "The Chicano Family: A Review of the Re-
search," <u>Social Work</u>,18:3 (March, 1973), p. 25.

12/
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13/
Emilicia Mizio, "Impact of External Systems on the Puerto
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p. 77.

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15/
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16/
Ignacio Aquilar, "Initial Contacts with Mexican-American
Families," <u>Social Work</u>,17:3 (May, 1972),p. 68.

17/
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Social Systems," <u>Social Casework</u>,52:5 (May, 1971),
p. 322.

18/
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Casework</u>,52:5 (May, 1971),p. 276.

19/
Clarence B. Fischer, "Homes for Black Children," <u>Child
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Ibid..

21/
Marie Simmons Saunders, "The Ghetto: Some Perceptions
of a Black Social Worker," <u>Social Work</u>, 14:4,
October 1969),p. 86.

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Section Two

LACK OF RECOGNITION OF ETHNIC PATTERNS AND VALUES

A second theme which occurs throughout the literature
is the concern of minority group members for the lack of
recognition given in the planning and delivery of services
to their distinctive cultural patterns and values. The
examples presented in this section by no means represent
all the situations of actual or potential conflict between
an ethnic subculture and the dominant society. They are
illustrations, however, of areas in which recognition of
ethnicity is important if appropriate services are to be
offered to minority group clients. This is not to say
that ethnic group members adopt a homogeneous position in
relation to all of these issues. Factors such as age,
birthplace, education and extent of acculturation affect
the degree to which members of the group will reflect the
traditional values or changing cultural patterns. The
social worker may be called upon in situations where
culture conflict is involved, in particular in child
welfare, and awareness of ethnic group values, internal
stresses, and acculturation concepts are essential for
appropriate intervention.

Asian Americans

The Values of the Confucian Family

In an article entitled, "Assimilation and Changing
Social Roles of Chinese Americans" in Asian Americans:
A Success Story, edited by Stanley Sue and Frank Kitano,
Stanley M. Fong makes the following characterization of
the traditional Confucian family, whose basic value
system is still a part of Chinese American family life:

> The Chinese have traditionally been accustomed
> to live within very prescribed patterns of
> behavior. A social hierarchy exists in the
> family system which takes into account generation,
> age, and sex. The Confucian philosophy behind
> the family system is prescribed status which
> gives every man and woman a definite place in
> society. If everyone knows his place and acts
> in accordance with his position, social order
> is believed to be assured. In a traditional
> society, the members of the elder generation
> are superior to those of the younger generation,
> and within each generation the eldest has priority
> over the youngest. Additionally males occupy a
> superior position in relation to females. The
> relationship between father and son is especially
> emphasized, for it is considered to be the most
> important one in the family. This relationship
> is viewed as a link in an unending chain between
> generations, reaching up to ancestor worship
> and down to the "sin" of no posterity. Whenever
> economically feasible, the extended family system
> encourages the living together of blood relatives
> under one roof. Filial piety or loyal devotion
> to parents is a primary commandment to all
> Chinese. Since it is strictly tabooed to
> contradict or disobey one's elders, the young
> person must at all cost exert self-restraint.
> The line of authority remains indelible and
> clear-cut throughout life...[1]/

It is not difficult, even from the brief characteri-
zation presented by Fong, to note areas of conflict where

the values of the dominant culture will clash with the
Confucian tradition, especially for second, third, and
fourth generation Chinese Americans.

Fong goes on in his article to point out the nature
of this cultural conflict for the Asian-American child:

> . . . It is common in the American culture to
> teach the individual to make his own decisions
> and to assert his own independence, which is
> contrary to the Chinese approach. The bi-
> cultural child may then develop some conflict-
> laden identifications, with two social worlds,
> the one of the parents and the other of the
> teacher and peers."2/

A cultural pattern to which the helping person working
with the Chinese community and its children should be
sensitive is the special relationship which exists between
father and eldest son. Fong characterizes this relation-
ship in more detail:

> The Chinese admonish the male, as soon as he is
> able to understand, to obey his parents, especially
> the father, to the fullest extent; that it is bad
> behavior to question his wisdom or decisions;
> that it is good to do whatever he wants done
> without the slightest regard for one's own
> feelings; that it is not desirable to commit
> oneself to any independent line of action;that
> it is sinful to do anything which disturbs his
> father in any way....3/

The special stresses this places on the eldest son,
in particular, means that he will probably have the greatest
difficulty in resolving the cultural conflicts between the
Chinese traditional values and the values of the dominant
society in which he must function. This was discussed by
Majorie Sloan Nicol in a study she conducted in New York
City's Chinatown of Chinese American children who had
social and emotional problems. In a publication

entitled "Characteristics of Chinese-American Children

with Problems", <u>Smith College Studies in Social Work</u>,

June, 1966, she stated:

> The preponderance of first males in the study
> might indicate that they are the focus of much
> stress, both intra-familial and inter-cultural.
> Families "moor" the eldest son most securely to
> tradition, while currents of social change would
> tend to sweep him along. Eldest sons are expected
> to be most passive in absorbing cultural values.
> Passive individuals, however, may experience the
> greatest difficulties in acculturation. The
> eldest son would seem to be the most vulnerable
> to withdrawal and isolation or its alternative
> (found not infrequently in Chinese culture)
> pronounced aggression.[4]/

The Issue of Parental Authority

The whole issue of parental authority is not peculiar

to the Chinese. Many parents in the ethnic groups who

value obedience to parental authority, particularly that

of the father, find themselves at odds with their children

who are being socialized to different values in their many

contacts with significant others in the dominant culture.

Family conflicts should be understood in this context.

As Fong noted in his paper on the changing social roles

in the Chinese community:

> The tension arising from reduced authority of
> parents in modern American families are not
> unique to the Chinese. In a study of American
> Indians, for example, Erikson (1963) indicates
> that the "weakest relationship" ...seems to be
> that between the children and their fathers,
> who cannot teach them anything and who in fact
> have become models to be avoided.

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:.The consequences of social change on patriarchal
families in several ethnic groups seem to be
familiar. In their study of Japanese and Mexican
patriarchal families in America, Clark and Kiefer
(1969) reached the following general conclusions
about the younger generation:

'While they have been taught like their
parents that proper family relationships
are always respectful and based on
appropriate role behavior, they do not
share their parents' belief that, despite
the personal conflicts involved, formalized
interaction may be the best way of arrang-
ing things in an imperfect world. These
young people wish things were different
and some are angry and disappointed with
their parents because they do not have
greater intimacy and opportunity to
express emotional and individual needs...
The common complaint of young...Mexican-
Americans, like their Japanese-American
counterparts, is that there is no
communication between them and their
elders--that every thing is a game, a
ritual that they cannot escape and that
serves no positive purpose.5/

In her article, "Samoans in California", Social Work,

March, 1973, Pei-Ngor Chen, made similar observations of

the interaction between Samoan American youth and their

parents:

Young Samoans have problems similar to those
of other American young people. They are not
sure of themselves in a society in which their
roles are not clearly defined. They have
identity problems in relation to their families,
their island ties, and the strange city life
that surrounds them.

The problems of young Samoans are intensified
by cultural conflicts. Some who are over-
whelmed by new demands on them develop a deep
sense of shame and defeat....

At home the youth is told to obey the father
or Maitai, but in school he is told to obey
American laws - and there may be a conflict
between the two. The old cultural values
contradict the American values; in this country

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equality, democracy, and individuality are
esteemed above the family. The young Samoan
is told that he should compete to get ahead,
but the average Samoan youth is not geared
toward intense competition and attainment of
material possessions.

Young Samoans who are adjusting to the American
way of life begin to question Samoan values.
They cease to believe that the Maitai's word
is law, that the father is always right or
that they need to obey their older siblings.[6]

Mexican Americans

Machismo and the Issue of Parental Authority

In relating to the Mexican-American child, the child
welfare worker needs to be aware that the Mexican-American
family has traditionally experienced strong paternal
authority. Robert Hayden says of the Mexican American
family:

> The family is under the firm authority of the
> father, while the mother assumes the traditional
> subservient and severely prescribed role of the
> homemaker, the model of purity, bearer and
> trainer of children. This is a reflection of
> "hombria" or "machismo", i.e., the supreme male
> dominance, the male individualism, assertiveness,
> and extreme pride--attributes which strongly
> influence nearly all phases of Spanish-American
> life.[7]

This characterization of relationships is important
to understand, unless things be done which will inadvertently
increase conflicts between the Chicano child and his family.
In his address to the "Early Childhood-Special Education
Manpower Needs Conference" in Washington, D.C., December,
1971, for example, David Ballesteros presented a paper
entitled, "Understanding the Bicultural Child" in which he

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demonstrated how easily conflicts can be created for the

Chicano child when relevant cultural factors like _Machismo_

are not given due recognition:

> What makes the Spanish-speaking child appear
> "uneducable" is his failure in an educational
> system that is insensitive to his cognitive
> styles and cultural and linguistic background.
> An example of this would be the suppression of
> the male-dominant image-- that Mexican American
> boys bring to school. In school he is confronted
> by Anglo famale teachers (unlike in Mexico where
> the majority are male). If he is to succeed in
> school he becomes a feminized male, if he retains
> his _macho_ characteristics he more than likely
> becomes a failure and a discipline problem.
> He is rewarded only for behavior accepted by
> the teacher.[8]

When adequate attention is not given to the recognition

and reinforcement of cultural values and patterns which

the child learns at home, then the child will be conflicted

or have to make. a forced choice between his parents'

values and those of the outside society. As Ballesteros

notes, "The Spanish-speaking child feels forced to choose

between his teachers and his parents, between his Anglo

peers and his Spanish-speaking peers. The choice causes

great turmoil and tension. And so it is not difficult to

explain why Mexican American, Puerto Ricans, and other

Spanish-speaking children have higher drop-out rates and

absenteeism rates.[9]

Chicano parents who see their children being caug t

between conflicting value systems are beginning to express

their concern and take what they believe to be protective

measures. In Tucson, Arizona for example, Mexican-American

parents have been reported as removing their children

from an experimental educational program because of

differences in child-rearing patterns. In an article,

entitled, "Innovative School Losing Pupils: 'Cultural

Clash' Gets the Blame", which appeared in the October

3, 1973 edition of the <u>Tucson Daily Citizen</u>, Adolfo

Quezada reported that:

> Parents of some children trapped in a "cultural
> clash" at the former Miles Elementary School
> apparently have become disturbed at the results
> of an experimental program there and have begun
> removing their youngsters.
>
> ...Ronald DeWitt, principal of the Exploratory
> Learning Center, said that the innovative program
> is aimed at giving each child as much freedom of
> choice as possible. "This form of education is
> in conflict with those from more impoverished
> backgrounds, those with limited experiences,"
> DeWitt said, specifying that he referred to
> Mexican-American and black families in the
> program.

The article went on to relate some of the responses of

parents to the innovative program:

> "That school isn't teaching my children anything
> but how to be rude," said one mother. "They
> have no discipline and can talk back to anyone
> they want...
>
> ...You teach your children how to behave at
> home and they go to that school and lose it
> all"...

Summing up the major issue which is the challenge to

parental authority, the principal stated that:

> "It is true that we have a different set of
> values," said DeWitt. "Mexican-American families
> have an authoritarian system and what father
> says goes. But we teach the children to question
> and they end up questioning father," he said.10/

American Indians

Competitiveness vs. Non-Interference

One of the most deeply ingrained values of the dominant culture in the United States is that of competition. Both philosophy and actual experience have proven that if one is to succeed in this society one must be willing to compete on an individual basis. No philosop.., could be more antithetical to the value-system of Native Americans. In his paper, "The Concept of Self and Social Work with American Indians," Joe Braswell stated:

It is my opinion that there is more conflict between the traditional Indian values and the values of the dominant non-Indian society than with any other ethnic minority.

One example of value conflict...is between the. Indian value of generosity and sharing and the non-Indian value of material achievement. The Indian value is to get in order to give, while the non-Indian value is to get to keep.[11]/

Other authors have expressed similar views. In his article, "American Indian Mythis", Social Work, May, 1972, Herbert Locklear of the American Indian Study Center in Baltimore, stated that: "Generosity is still the paramount virtue among Indians. An Indian cares more about being able to work at a satisfying occupation and earn enough to share with relatives and friends than about putting money in the bank and purchasing a home in the city."[12]/ C re Jerdone, a child welfare specialist for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, noted in her article, "Day Care for Indian Children", Young Children, January, 1965, that this

characteristic of the Indian culture is related to the

conditions for survival on the reservation with its scarce

resources:

> Some of the characteristics he /the Indian/
> has developed through living on the reser-
> vation do not enable him to cope well with
> his new environment (urban). For example, on
> the reservation he is likely to have learned
> to be cooperative and to share with others,
> whereas, in the urban center, a competitive
> spirit and a responsibility limited to one's
> immediate family alone are necessary.13/

In an unpublished paper entitled, "Navajo Attitudes

Toward Mental Illness and Mental Retardation," Dr. Jarrold

F. Levy noted: "The competitive person who competes with

and expolits his peers is definitely a problem in the

Navajo culture and may be suspected of being a witch."14/

Charles Farris in his article, "A White House

Conference on the American Indian," Social Work, January,

1973, related the Indians' reluctance to accept competitive-

ness as a value to the Indian philosophy of non-interference:

> The Indian has always had a special concern and
> respect for each person's right to live his own
> life without interference as long as he does not
> hurt his fellow man. For example, an Indian
> prayer to the Great Spirit says: 'Before being
> critical of one's neighbor, one should walk a
> mile in the neighbor's moccasins.' This philosophy
> is further reflected in the Indian natural
> reluctance to be competitive or aggressive in
> personal relationships. He has always stood
> ready to give assistance to and share with his
> needy fellow men. Ironically, the settler's
> early survival depended on the help freely
> offered by the American Indians.15/

The importance American Indians place on self-
determination without competing and without interference
from others was stated by Carter Camp, Chairman of the
American Indian Movement (AIM). In an interview in
Akwesasne Notes Early Autumn, 1973, he stated:

> Our problems are only as far as they are related
> to the white economic system. Once we are divorced
> from that, we won't have to worry about 'upgrading
> our standard of living'. We can live by what would
> be considered a poor standard of life by white
> standards and still have a good life and be happy.
>
> That is one of the differences between us and the
> struggles of other minority groups. We are not
> concerned with having a $10,000 median income
> for our people. We are concerned with our people
> being free and living the way they want to live.
>
> ...We're not looking for a 9-5 job, a white collar
> job for all our Indian people. We're not looking
> for upward mobility in the social structure of the
> United States. We don't need that, we don't want
> that, we don't want anything to do with that.
> We're looking for our sovereignty, our ability to
> govern ourselves, and for every person to live as
> a free person. To live the way they want to live.16/

It is important for persons who are in a position to
plan programs for Indian children to be aware of these
sentiments, because Indian children will be aware of
parental values. Even something which may seem as trivial
as rewarding a child in the classroom for some small achieve-
ment can take on great importance, if cultural values such
as those expressed here are understood. In a paper prepared
by the Shirpock Indian Agency in New Mexico for use by its
staff, "Culture and Its Relationship to Values in Conflict
for Indian People," it was suggested that workers in a
school "Reward progress or advances made by a student in

such a manner that he will not gain the enmity of his
peers; gold stars opposite his name can be very
embarrassing to some tribal groups."[17]/

The Indian philosophy of non-interference also has
many implications for deciding which helping methods will
be most effective in working with Indian natural, foster,
or potential adoptive parents. In an article entitled,
"Native American Non-Interference," Social Work, November,
1973, Jimm G. Good Tracks wrote:

> ...all methods usually associated with the
> term 'social work intervention' diminish in
> effectiveness just to the extent that the
> subject has retained his native Indian
> culture. The reason is that any kind of
> intervention is contrary to the Indian's
> strict adherence to the principal of self-
> determination.[18]/

In addressing the child-care worker, Good Tracks noted:
"The Indian child is taught that complete noninterference
in interaction with all people is the norm, and that he
should react with amazement, irritation, mistrust, and
anxiety to even the slightest indication of manipulation
or coercion."[19]/

In addition to being aware of the culture patterns, the
the social workers need to understand the way the Indian
client evaluates the social work process, and adjust
helping methods accordingly. As Good Tracks stated:

From an Indian client's point of view, the
worker is expected to perform only the super-
ficial and routine administrative functions
of his office. ...These tasks involve no real
social involvement, as involvement is under-
stood by both Indians and non-Indians. The
Indian client does not allow or desire the
worker to have any insight into his inner
thoughts. That would not be a proper part
of work.

This expectation does not, of course, correspond
to the professional social workers' own concept
of his function.... Nevertheless, the workers
must not intervene unless the people request
an intervention and he is likely to wait a long
time for such a request. The credentials of
his profession, his position, status, knowledge,
skills, achievements, and authority, though
respected by the agency, are in most cases
completely without merit among Indians. Such
things belong to the Anglo culture and are not
readily translatable into Indian culture.[20]

In her article, "Ways of Working With Navajos Who

Have Not Learned the White Man's Ways," Navajo Times,

September 8, 1966, Kathryn Polacca, advised program

planners to be aware of the Indian value of non-interference.

She cited a statement by Paul Jones, Navajo Tribal Chairman

to reinforce her point:

We Navajos will look you over for a couple of
years, and then decide whether we are for you
or against you.

Polacca went on to state:

...One important thing for the person working
with the Navajos to remember is that they do
not like being pushed. No matter how eager
one may be to hurry things along, too much
pushing may slow down the progress.[21]

FOOTNOTES FOR SECTION TWO

1/

    Stanley M. Fong, "Assimilation and Changing Social
       Roles of Chinese Americans," in <u>Asian-Americans:</u>
       <u>A Success Story</u>? Edited by Stanley Sue and Frank
       Harry H.L. Kitano, Special Publication of the
       <u>Journal of Social Issues</u>,29:2, 1973, p. 116.

2/

   <u>Ibid</u>., p. 118.

3/

    Stanley M. Fong, "Identity Conflicts of Chinese Ado-
      lescents in San Francisco," in E.B. Brody, Ed.
      <u>Minority Group Adolescents in the United States</u>
      (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins), 1968, p. 114.

4/

   Nicol, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 254.

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    Stanley M. Fong, <u>Asian-Americans: A Success Story</u>?
      <u>op.cit</u>., p. 119.

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   Pei-Ngor Chen, "Samoans in California," <u>Social Work</u>,
      18:2 (March, 1973), p. 45.

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   Robert G. Hayden, "Spanish-Americans of the Southwest,"
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   David Ballesteros, "Understanding the Bicultural Child."
      Paper presented at the Early Childhood Special
      Education Manpower Needs Conference in Washington
      D.C., December 9, 1971, p. 5.

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      <u>Daily Citizen</u>, Wednesday, October 3, 1973, p. 23.

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   Braswell, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 8.

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    Herbert Locklear, "American Indian Myths," <u>Social Work</u>,
        17:3 (May, 1972), p. 77.

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    Clare Jerdone, "Day Care for Indian Children," <u>Young</u>
        <u>Children</u>,20:3 (January, 1965), p. 145-/4⁶

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    Jarrold Levy, Ph.D., "Navajo Attitudes Toward Mental
        Illness and Mental Retardation." Unpublished paper,
        p. 4.

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    Charles E. Farris, "A White House Conference on the
        American Indian," <u>Social Work</u>,18:1 (January, 1973),
        p. 83.

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    An Interview With Carter Camp, <u>Akwesasne Notes</u>, Early
        Autumn, 1973, p. 11.

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    "Culture and Its Relationship to Values in Conflict for
        Indian People." Unpublished paper, Reprint from the
        Shiprock Indian Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs,
        p. 5.

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    Jimm G. Good Tracks, "Native American Noninterference",
        <u>Social Work</u>,18:6 (November, 1973),pp. 30.

19/

    <u>Ibid</u>., p. 31.

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    <u>Ibid</u>., p. 33.

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    Kathryn Polacca, "Ways of Working With Navajos Who Have
        Not Learned the White Man's Ways," <u>Navajo Times</u>,
        September 8. 1966, p. 1.

Section Three

LACK OF APPRECIATION OF BILINGUALISM

For those ethnic minorities whose mother tongue is
a language other than English, the recognition of their
linguistic background is of crucial importance. The
literature of Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asian Americans,
and American Indians has all expressed concern that services
for group members be planned and implemented by persons
familiar with their language, as well as other aspects
of their cultural background. Members of these groups
have also expressed concern over the devaluation and
denigration of their language in many institutional
settings, especially the educational system, where this
pract.ce has had devastating consequences for the adjust-
ment of their children.

For example, as Robert Hayden pointed out in his article,
"Spanish Americans of the Southwest," <u>Welfare in Review</u>,
April, 1966:

> ...in many Southwest schools the use of Spanish
> is forbidden in class and on the playground;
> often there have been attempts to devalue it by
> ridicule and other means. It would be unnatural
> if such negation of Spanish did not create
> resentment and defensive reinforcement of loyalty
> to <u>la raza</u>. The aim of Anglo school authorities
> is to make Spanish-American students proficient in
> English. However, instead of this desired result

the unintended consequences are likely to be
alienation of the student from the Anglo world
and its language, early school leaving, reduced
respect for the process of education, rebelliousness
and delinquency, and a low level of aspiration.[1]

In his paper, "Understanding the Bicultural Child,"
presented at the Early Childhood Special Education Manpower
Needs Conference in Washington, D.C., David Ballesteros
stated, "We so often err in equating bilingualism with
a handicap, or at least with some sort of special problem.
A Spanish speaking child's state of socioeconomic dis-
advantage, which is usually accompanied by a lack of
knowledge or a limited knowledge of the English language,
is nearly always interpreted as a 'language handicap'."[2]

In their recently published set of guidelines entitled
Approaches for the Institutionalization of Bilingual
Bicultural Head Start Programs Serving the Chicano Child,
Interstate Research Associates suggested ways in which
educators can help the Spanish-speaking child not only to
appreciate his native language, but to develop proficiency
in both languages. They stated that educators should
attempt to foster the following:

> ...the enhancement of the child's self-concept
> by building on his cultural strengths and
> differences...
>
> ...ro link the home with the school by utilizing
> and/or recognizing the language, tools, decoration,
> food and customs of the home...
>
> ...enhance language development through the use
> of both languages...

> ...prevent educational gaps by allowing the
> child to learn akills and concepts in whichever
> language he best underatands...
>
> ...preserve the child's sense of history, culture,
> identity, and language.3/

For the American Indian child and his family, whose

languages at one time represented 550 distinct Indian

tongues, the importance of recognition and appreciation

of linguistic diversity is even greater.

Dr. Robert L. Bergman, in his working with Navajo

children in boarding schools, put himself in the position

of the Indian child forced to learn English. He suggested

the dilemma of the Indian child who must function in a

world which refuaes to recognize the validity of his

mother tongue, saying:

> I have been trying to learn Navajo and find it
> a very difficult language; it aeems reasonsable
> to assume that for the Navajo-apeaking child,
> English is equally difficult, yet these children
> are expected to come to a large, strange, crowded
> institution and manage in an almost totally English
> speaking environment. Elsewhere when children
> are expected to learn a second language, reading,
> writing, and arithmetic are taught in their native
> language and concurrently they are insdfucted in
> another language. It would seem logical to do
> this with Indian children, and start teaching
> English only when the children have reasonable
> mastery of the language. Submerging the student
> in English from the first is now so long established
> a custom, however, that it seems rarely to be even
> questioned.4/

Asian American children are also subject to similar

conflicts both within the family and in their relationships

outside the home because of language difficulties. In hia

paper "Identity Conflicts of Chinese Adolescents in

San Francisco," published in Minority Group Adolescents

in the United States, edited by E.B. Brody, Fong said:

> ...most Chinese parents want their children to
> learn the language, customs, and manners of their
> ancestors. In a manner, they have given the
> Chinese school the task of socializing their
> children. Many of the youths react negatively to
> this experience...
>
> When the child goes to American public schools
> he learns a new language, and he acquires
> greater facility as he goes through school, The
> time will come when he speaks mainly English with
> his peers. He speaks English increasingly at
> home with his brothers and sisters. The parents
> may soon find that they are losing contact with
> their children and some communication problems
> develop. At school the child also learns new
> skills and social values which may be foreign to
> those of his parents. It is common in the American
> culture to teach the child to fend for himself,
> to make his own decisions, to stand on his own
> feet. Instead of being led by an authoritarian
> figure the pupil is encouraged to be self-reliant
> and independent. In fact the child may be
> encouraged to assert himself.
>
> The seeds of cultural conflict are sowed, then,
> at an early age, and the mind of the sprouting
> child may be bent, at some point, by the winds
> of perplexities.... One wonders if the desire
> of Chinese parents to enroll their children in
> Chinese schools is to some extent to maintain
> cultural continuity with their children.[5]

The Office of Child Development stated in its Day Care

Handbook Number 2, that encouraging bilingual competency

for children who speak English as a second language should

be a priority in day care settings:

> Children should be encouraged to verbalize in
> more than one language.... .Teachers should be
> bilingual to serve as good listeners and speaking
> models. Teaching of standard English should not

be approached as a "phasing out" of another
language or dialect and a child should be
given recognition, praise, respect, and
encouragement in his use of both languages.
When appropriate, pre-reading and pre-writing
activities should be conducted in both languages.6/

Other references in the literature suggest that a

bilingual approach should be taken in the delivery of

services at all levels for those groups who speak English

as a second language. The New York Committee for the

Care of Puerto Rican Children, for example, stressed the

need for a bilingual approach in all phases of the foster

care process :

Information given to Puerto Rican families
about child welfare programs must be written
in Spanish as well as English...

There should be more extensive use of Spanish-
speaking personnel during the intake and home
study procedure and during the initial contacts
with Spanish-speaking natural and foster parents....

Foster parents should be provided information
in Spanish on all legal matters such as the
Foster Parents Preference Law and the 24 Month
Family Court Review, and the Subsidized Adoption
Law...

Bilingual-bicultural personnel should be used to
administer psychological tests and provide
treatment to children after they are placed.
Personnel with this background also should
analyze the test results. We are all aware that
Puerto Rican children have often been labeled
"retarded" or dull simply because of their
inadequate knowledge of English.....

The agency should n longer use the excuse that
the Puerto Rican family speaks little or no
English to rationalize lack of services. It is
the agencies' responsibility to hire Puerto Rican
personnel who can ensure effective communication
with the child and his family and with whom they
can identify.7/

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FOOTNOTES FOR SECTION THREE

1/ Hayden, op. cit., p. 17.

2/ Ballesteros, op. cit., p. 11.

3/ Interstate Research Associates. Approaches for the
   Institutionalization of Bilingual Bicultural Head
   Start Programs Serving the Chicano Child.
   Washington, D.C., 1972, p. 12.

4/ Bergman, op. cit., p. 3.

5/ Fong, "Identity Conflicts of Chinese Adolescents in
   San Francisco," op. cit., pp. 116-117.

6/ New York Committee for the Care of Puerto Rican Children.
   "Recommendations on the Care of Puerto Rican Children."
   Unpublished paper, p.1,3.

7/ U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare,
   Office of Child Development, Day Care Handbook
   Number 2. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government
   Printing Office, 1971, p. 25.

Section Four

THREAT TO GROUP SURVIVAL

Underlying most of the concerns of ethnic minorities
with respect to services for their children is the belief
that children must survive culturally, as well as physi-
cally and emotionally, if the group as a whole is to sur-
vive as a cultural entity. Two major themes in the liter-
ature serve to emphasize this point: the stress on the
priority of the natural family for child welfare services,
and the opposition of many group members to the transracial
adoption of their children.

As the socializing agent and conveyor of the culture,
the family unit becomes immensely important. In much of
the literature written by ethnic professionals about the
way in which child welfare services for their children
should be conceived, the maintenance of the natural family
if at all possible becomes a top priority.

As Billingsley and Giovannoni state in <u>Children of the
Storm</u>,

> . . . Adoption agencies should have more to
> offer natural parents than adoption. A
> fundamental issue arises here. If the pri-
> mary function of adoption is to provide
> babies for couples wishing to adopt, then
> the natural parents and their children will

remain of secondary concern. If, on the
other hand, the primary function is to
provide homes and services to children,
then the natural parents are a valuable
resource, and a multifunctional approach
becomes vital. The commitment to such a
function is one of the most fundamental
changes that agencies must make if they
are to adapt to the needs of Black chil-
dren.[1]

The New York Committee for the Care of Puerto Rican

Children, in its "Recommendations on the Care of Puerto

Rican Children," stated that priority must be given to

the maintenance of the natural family:

> Every effort must be made to avoid place-
> ment of Puerto Rican children in foster
> homes or institutions. Before these are
> considered as alternatives, attempts must
> be made to help the child remain in his
> own family.
>
> Very often because of a lack of understand-
> ing on the part of agencies of the family's
> importance in Puerto Rican culture, and
> their inability to communicate adequately
> because of the language barrier, the deci-
> sion is made to place a child in a foster
> home. How can a practitioner assess the
> needs of a family if he cannot communicate
> with them, How is he to judge the merits
> of over-all services, a step which directly
> involves his own values and personal back-
> ground, if these are different from those
> of the client family? The result has fre-
> quently been that families give up their
> children for placement without evaluating
> possible alternatives and that children re-
> main too long in placement after the major
> decision is made.

Agencies should emphasize services to
families that help maintain, support
and strengthen them so as to avoid the
separation of children from their homes.

In line with this aim, we recommend:

    (a) More extensive homemaker ser-
        vices
    (b) Group or family day care
    (c) Medical services
    (d) Counseling
    (e) Family planning information
    (f) After-hours emergency children's
        services, using home aides
    (g) Employment services
    (h) Emergency loans or grants

If a child must be placed, the natural
family must remain a priority. Effective
services must be established to expedite
the child's return home.[2]

Most child welfare agencies have affirmed a philosophic

commitment to guard against the unnecessary placement

of children when the natural family can be helped. Be-

cause of racism, misunderstanding, and lack of recogni-

tion of cultural patterns and values which shape the

life of the ethnic minority family, misjudgments have

been made about its adequacy to care for its own chil-

dren. Shirley Jenkins and Elaine Norman, in _Filial

Deprivation and Foster Care_, report on an extensive study

of natural families with children in foster care. In

discussing policy and practice issues, they stated:

Parental rights also emerge as a matter
of increasing concern. For any poverty
group, there is a built-in problem of
equity in access to available resources.

Children can be moved from and returned
to parental care for a range of reasons -
some appropriate, some not - and these
reasons may reflect arbitrary, discrimi-
natory, or capricious decisions. One
part of the problem in New York City, for
example, is that for the large Spanish-
speaking population decisions on child
care may be based on inadequate comprehen-
sion of language or life style.3/

Because the minority group family is so easily mis-

understood, it is often blamed for the short-comings

of children. As Miguel Montiel noted:

Casework services and early education pro-
grams for the culturally deprived are
essentially designed to improve the func-
tioning of individuals. The Chicano family,
as described by social scientists, possesses
certain characteristics that explain the
"failures"of its young. Thus it logically
follows that if these forces impinge on the
"proper" socialization of Chicanos they must
be replaced by traits that foster "successful"
socialization.4/

Foster care is one area in which the recognition of

ethnicity can be crucial. Many of the recommendations

being made by various spokesmen for the ethnic minorities

center around the maintenance of cultural continuity for

the child in substitute care. For example, in their

written report, the New York Committee for the Care of

Puerto Rican Children noted:

It frequently happens that, as a result
of faulty placement, Puerto Rican children
find themselves in foster homes where no
Spanish is spoken. The result is that when

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they do finally return home, they can no
longer communicate with their families
in Spanish. . . . Part of the training
in foster homes should be the teaching
of Spanish and Puerto Rican culture and
history.[5]

The Committee recommended that foster parents be of

the same ethnic and linguistic background as the child

and that everything possible be done to recruit Puerto

Rican foster parents when placement away from home be-

comes absolutely necessary.[6]

Recognition of Ethnicity in Adoption

The service area in which concern for preserva-

tion of the group is strongest is adoption. No subject

evokes more emotion and controversy in the child welfare

field than that of transracial adoption, in particular

the adoption of children of ethnic minorities by white

adoptive parents. At the meeting of its Board of Direc-

tors on November 20, 1972, the Child Welfare League of

America made the following amendment to its Standards

for Adoption Service:

In today's social climate, other things
being equal, we believe that it is pre-
ferable to place a child in a family of
his own racial background. We however
reaffirm transracial adoption as one
means of achieving needed permanence for
some children. Children should not have
adoption denied or significantly delayed
when adoptive parents of other races are
available.[7]

When minority groups have adopted positions on trans-
racial adoption, however, they have not been tolerant of
the practice. In his article, "On the Transracial Adop-
tion of Black Children", Child Welfare, March, 1972,
Edmond D. Jones, made the following statement:

> My basic premise in opposing placement of
> black children in white homes, is that
> being black in the United States is a spe-
> cial state of being. At a time of intense
> racial polarity, recognition of this fact
> is crucial to survival. I question the
> ability of white parents, no matter how
> deeply imbued with good will - to grasp
> the totality of the problem of being black
> in this society. I question their ability
> to create what I believe is crucial in
> these youngsters - a black identity. I
> suggest that creation of a black identity
> is a problem for many black parents also;
> the difference, perhaps is one of degree. 8/

Many Black professionals in the field, as well as
other Black people, feel that transracial adoption has
been a convenient substitute for a concerted effort on
the part of child welfare agencies to recruit, approve,
and maintain a supply of adoptive parents who share the
same ethnic background as the children they are supposed
to serve. Jones stated this belief in his article:

> . . . the Black Experience - it's the
> broad sense of family, community, and kin-
> ship, blood-related or not, that never has
> stopped the black community from caring
> for homeless children, with no regard to
> adoption as a legal course. It is crucial
> that solutions to the problems of black
> people, including homes for black children,
> be pursued and realized within the context
> of that community, for certainly at this
> time in our national development no other
> solution is viable or acceptable. I suggest

that the myth that 'no black homes avail-
able' is a social agency cop-out for not
devising innovative and creative ways of
facing up to the problem - a perfect ex-
ample of benign neglect. 9/

Billingsley and Giovannoni echoed the sentiments of

Jones, in their book Children of the Storm. They noted

several reasons for the controversy over the transracial

adoption of black children:

. Increasingly Black social workers are
voicing strenuous objections to trans-
racial adoptions as being based on
ignorance and denial of the Black child's
situation. This controversy can be ex-
pected to heighten. There are in fact
several reasons why agencies should be
discouraged from pursuing transracial
adoptions on a large scale. To date,
transracial adoptions have not made
nearly as sizable a contribution to the
placement of black children as have place-
ments with black parents. In the agencies
which have led in the adoption of black
children, the vast majority have been
placed with black couples. Those agencies
making the highest proportion of trans-
racial adoptions are also agencies that
place the fewest black children.

Second, the failure to recruit enough
Black adoptive parents for all Black chil-
dren in need of homes may well relate to
the agencies' failure to involve the Black
community. Persistent reliance on white
couples may only deflect energy away from
this more basic problem.

Still a third reason arises from past and
present undersupply of adoptable white in-
fants. Adoption, as we have noted, origi-
nated as a means of serving white couples
who wanted children. White infants for

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adoption are becoming increasingly scarce,
and some believe that in the not too dis-
tant future there will be very few at all.
However the pressure on the agencies by
white couples has not decreased. There
is the distinct possibility in such a situ-
ation that the white couples' desires will
be given priority over the needs and welfare
of Black children. 10/

The National Association of Black Social Workers

recently issued their position statement on transracial

adoption in which they take a firm stand against the'

transracial adoption of Black children because of their

conviction that white adoptive parents cannot develop a

sense of ethnic identity in the Black child nor teach

him the many defenses Black people have developed to cope

with the racism that is so much a part of their lives:

> We affirm the inviolable position of Black
> children in Black families where they be-
> long physically, psychologically, and
> culturally in order that they receive the
> total sense of themselves and develop a
> sound projection of their future. . . .
> Black children in white homes are cut off
> from the healthy development of themselves
> as Black people, which development is the
> normal expectation and the only true human-
> istic goal.
>
> . . . Identity grows on three levels of all
> human development; the physical, the psycho-
> logical, and the cultural, and the nurturing
> of self-identification is the prime function
> of the family. The incongruence of a white
> family performing this function for a Black
> child is easily recognized. The physical
> factor stands to maintain that child's dif-

ference from his family.   There is no
chance of him resembling any relative.
One's physical identity with his own is
of great significance.

The historically established and culti-
vated psychological perceptions and
social orientation of white America have
developed from their social, political,
educational, and religious institutions.
Consequently these are the environmental
effects they have to transmit and their
teachings are not consistent with the
realities of the social system for the
Black child.   He assumes then, their
posture and frame of reference, differ-
ent and often antithetical to that of
his ethnics which can only result in
conflict and confusion when he does become
aware of the social system in which he
lives.   Further internal conflict is in-
evitable by his minority status within his
own family.

The socialization process for every child
begins at birth and includes his cultural
heritage as an important segment of the
process.   In our society the developmental
needs of Black children are significantly
different from those of white children.
Black children are taught from an early age
highly sophisticated coping techniques to
deal with racist practices perpetuated by
individuals and institutions.   These coping
techniques become successfully integrated
into the ego functions and can be incorpo-
rated only through the process of developing
positive identification with significant
Black others.   Only a Black family can trans-
mit the emotional and sensitive subtleties
of perception and reaction essential for a Black child's
survival in a racist society. [11]/

Although Black people have been relatively more outspoken
with respect to their feelings about the transracial adoption
of their children, other ethnic minorities have expressed sim-
ilar feelings. In the Early Spring, 1972 issue of _Akwesasne_
Notes, a publication of the Mohawk Nation, an editorial entitled
"American Indian Groups Show Rising Signs of Resistance to
Adoption of Indian Children By White Families," stated:

> Perhaps we are prejudiced ourselves. But this is
> is not an appeal to white people to adopt Indians.
> It is an appeal to white people to help their own
> social agencies to consider Indian applicants. If
> you, as a person, are truly concerned with the
> welfare of Indian children, then help strengthen
> Indian homes and Indian families so that Indian
> people can look after their own young ones. And
> if you are Indian, this is an appeal to think
> about the young ones who need you to teach the
> language, to take them to the ceremonials and
> dances, to raise them so they will know the ways,
> and be Indian in their outlook. 12/

In another Indian newspaper, _The Nishnawbe News_, November/
December, 1973, there appeared an article entitled, "Hannahville
Potawatomis Win In Federal Court Decision" which reported on
a law suit brought by an Indian Tribe in Michigan. The suit
involved many of the issues referred to in the literature.
The article stated:

> The Wisconsin Potawatomis of the Hannahville
> Reservation, located in Michigan's Upper
> Peninsula have won a landmark decision in
> Federal Court, Marquette, which may well
> turn out to be one of national significance
> to the nation's federally organized tribes.
> The suit was filed against the Michigan
> Department of Social Services and concerned
> the removal of three Indian children from
> the reservation and their subsequently being

sent to Florida for adoption with distant
white relatives.

The parents were deceased. The uncle and
grandmother of the children - their closest
relatives petitioned for either adoption or
guardianship of the children. Reportedly,
however, the Michigan Department of Social
Services upon receiving custody of the three
children sent them to Florida for adoption
by a white family because they felt the
"reservation was an unfit place to raise
children."

U.S. District Court Judge, Albert Engel, in a
November 16 decision ruled in favor of the
Potowatomi Tribal community with the Court,
agreeing that indeed the Tribal community had
clear legal jurisdi'ion involving enrolled
children of their tribe. In a 45 page
decision the Court held the right of the Poto-
watomi Reservation to set up their own Court
system and Juvenile Adoption Procedures.

Because of other incidents of this nature
caused by a rash of adoptions of Indian
children into white homes, there has been
the formation of an organization known as
the Michigan Indian Adoption Advisory Council
to inform Indians throughout the State of the
problem and compile a list of Indian families
willing to ado   or provide foster care.

/members of the Council have stated7/

We are going to say to the Social Service De-
partment, We are the experts - use us . . . We
have to point out that cultural environment may
be more important to the child's welfare than
material provisions. Low average family income
is one of the major reasons why many Indian
families have not been considered as having
suitable adoptive homes and the Council made
the lowering of income requirements one of the
first demands. Further it was pointed out that
this policy has been accepted for the blacks and
that it is high time that it should be for
Indians as well.

> . . . To abandon our children to white homes
> now would be a crime on our parts . . . We
> are already such a small minority and now to
> lose our children . . . 13/

The issues raised in these four sections express the major

concerns: the prevalence of myths and stereotypes: the lack

of recognition of ethnic differences, culture patterns and

values: the lack of appreciation of bilingualism: and the

threat to group survival. But the thrust of the readings has

been positive, for the literature not only shows need for

change but points to directions for movement. These will be

discussed in Part Two of this review.

FOOTNOTES FOR SECTION FOUR

1/

Andrew Billingsley and Jeanne M. Giovannoni, Children of
the Storm: Black Children and American Child Welfare
New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Javanovich, 1972,
p. 204.

2/

New York Committee for the Care of Puerto Rican Children,
op. cit., p.12.

3/

Shirley Jenkins and Elaine Norman, Filial Deprivation and
Foster Care.New York: Columbia University Press, 1972,
p. 272.

4/

Montiel. op. cit., p. 25.

5/

New York Committee for the Care of Puerto Rican Children,
op. cit., p. 3.

6/

Ibid., p. 1.

7/

Child Welfare League of America, "Standards on Transracial
Adoption," New York,1972 (Mimeographed.) p. 1.

8/

Edmond D. Jones, "On the Transracial Adoption of Black
Children," Child Welfare,51:3 (March, 1972), p. 157.

9/

Ibid., p. 158.

10/

Billingsley and Giovannoni, op. cit., p. 198.

11/

National Association of Black Social Workers, "Position
Statement on Transracial Adoption."New York,
September, 1972 (Mimeographed.).

12/

Editorial Comment, "American Indian Groups Showing Rising
Sign of Resistance to Adoption of Indian Children by
White Families," Akwesasne Notes,published by the
Mohawk Nation, Spring, 1972, p. 6.

13/

Mike Wright, "Hannahville Potawatomis Win in Federal Court
Decision," Nishnawbe News, Marquette,Michigan: Organiza-
tion of North American Indian Students, Late Fall
Edition, 1973, p. 7.

PART TWO

PROPOSALS FOR CHANGE

It is difficult to draw a firm line separating out
the kinds of changes recommended in the literature. Some
changes are related primarily to staff and to training
both in agencies and in schools; and some changes are
more strongly related to programming and what goes into
activities with children. Finally, some proposals are
more global in nature, and while they involve both training
and programming, they go more to basic changes in the system.
These include changes in the law as well as changes in
the organization of social services.

Section Five

RE-EDUCATION AND TRAINING

A theme which ran throughout the literature, especially
that written by ethnic professionals, is that a process of
systematic re-education is needed to alter prejudicial
attitudes of agency staff and administrators which adversely
affect the minority child. Billingsely and Giovannoni stated:

> While all of the agencies surveyed by the
> authors, recognized the need for continuing
> staff education, and while the mechanisms
> for such education were established, the

continuing problem was, of course, what to
teach. Where in a white agency, embedded
in a white system, was the information which
would make the agency personnel more
appropriately respond to the needs of black
clientele? The issue of black community
control is relevant here. The matter is
not simply one of staff development, it is
one of re-education. White staff, adminis-.
trators and board members must enter into
the situation as pupils - pupils of ßlack
teachers selected by the Black people and
teaching what they think should be taught
not what the audience may want to hear.[1]

Later in their book, the authors cited above outlined
more clearly the purpose of such re-education:

The purpose of such re-education is to put
Black people into a more realistic and
positive perspective. Such education must
be intellectual and emotional. ...We must
learn a new concept of the Black community.
We must learn that it is a historical and
contemporary ethnic subsociety, sharing
important conditions, experience:, values
and sentiments. The rising moves toward
ethnic solidarity in the black community
must be understood in this context and aided
and abetted by the child welfare system. A
fundamental requirement is the abandonment
of two important misconceptions of the Black
community still current. One is the view
that there is no Black community, but only
individuals and families who happen to be
Black and who are sometimes forced to live
together because of prejudice and poverty.
This view precludes recognition that the
community has a meaningful institutional
and cultural life of its own. The second
view holds that there is a Black community,
but that it is a depressed, poverty-ridden
ghetto which should be destroyed or overcome.
In the second view the community values are
negative and dysfunctional for child care.
The children should be "rescued" and placed
in better surroundings by the white child
welfare system. This view underlies the
paternalism which characterizes the child
welfare system today.

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Finally, a remedial education program must
help us to develop a more realistic and
positive conception of the Black family
itself as it functions within the Black
community and within the wider white society.
The view is still common in child welfare
that the Black family life is disorganized
and unstable and that consequently not
enough qualified Black families can be
found to rear the large numbers of dependent
and neglected Black children who need
parents.2/

The Black Task Force Report of the Council on Social

Work Education has made recommendations emphasizing the need

to educate the social work student to the realities of the

Black community before he is in a position to do damage

because of prejudicial attitudes:

The social work student taking a practicum/
methods course for work in the Black community
needs certain basic knowledge to develop a
perspective that will enable him to work with
Blacks. This includes: a knowledge of the
history of Black people, conceived as a fusion
of past and present with predictions for the
future. The focus would be on the culture,
religion, family development (including child
rearing), marriage and the role of Black men,
women and children in the kinship system.
This type of knowledge should lead to an
appreciation of the Black family and community
on its own terms, rather than diverging from
the norm.

A knowledge of the political and economic
systems, social institutions, and social
welfare policies as they affect the develop-
ment of Black people.

A knowledge of human growth and development
that views the behavior of Black individuals,
families, and groups from a perspective that
recognizes the oppression of Black people
and evaluates behavior with regard to societal
forces that depersonalize and reject Black
people.3/

Other ethnic groups have also proposed developing
an appreciation of their culture and value systems through
re-education and training.

Alejandro Garcia, expressed the sentiments of a Chicano
on this subject:

> The delivery of social services for the
> Chicano client must be redesigned and
> agencies must re-evaluate their present
> practices and directions. Agencies should
> encourage their professional staff to
> improve their awareness of the Chicano through
> staff development programs and continuing
> education courses, and they should reward
> those staff members who have made special
> efforts to maximize their potential for
> working with ethnic minorities...Practitioners,
> too, should demand that their agencies
> afford them the opportunity to improve
> their knowledge base to work with the
> Chicano.[4]

The American Indian Task Force Report of the Council
on Social Work Education stated similar goals with respect
to educating social workers who will be working with American
Indians:

> ...Information covering the American Indian's
> development, history, culture, and contributions
> to American life should be imparted to all
> students and faculty. Particular attention
> should be placed on the contemporary problems
> generated by the encroachment of white culture
> and values upon the Indian community.

> The Task Force recommends that closer relations
> should be developed between schools of social
> work and Indian people. Closer relations
> should be developed through the first hand
> factual knowledge gained in systematic and
> extended field trips by faculty members and
> graduate students to Indian reservations.[5]

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The Asian American Task Force made the following recommendations:

>Graduate schools of social work should require their students to take a course which analyzes institutional racism and involves the problems and needs of Asians and Asian Americans...

>...graduate schools of social work in areas with large Asian communities should offer, to whites and non-whites, courses specifically related to Asian problems.... [All such courses] should have direct input from the Asian communities and should include Asians in the teaching process.6/

Both the Puerto Rican Task Force Report of the Council on Social Work Education and the New York Committee for the Care of Puerto Rican Children addressed this issue in their written reports. The New York Committee in its recommendations stated:

>...Improved in-service training for professional and clerical staff to help them become familiar with the special needs and problems of the Puerto Rican child and community should receive top priority.

>...All non-Spanish speaking personnel should be encouraged to learn the Spanish language to improve communication with Puerto Rican families.7/

FOOTNOTES FOR SECTION FIVE

1/ Billingsley and Giovannoni, op. cit., p. 187.

2/ Ibid., p. 218.

3/ Aracelis Francis, ed., Black Task Force Report. New
York: Council on Social Work Education,
1973, p. 9-10

4/ Alejandro Garcia. "The Chicano and Social Work."
La Causa Chicana: The Movement for Justice,
Margaret M. Mangold, ed. New York: Family Service
Association of America, 1972, p. 112.

5/ John Mackey, ed., American Indian Task Force Report.
New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1973,
p. 4.

6/ Murase, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

7/ New York Committee for the Care of Puerto Rican
Children, op. cit., p. 4.

Section Six

PROGRAMMING FOR CULTURAL CONTENT

This Section deals with a major concern expressed earlier,
the lack of recognition of different cultural patterns, needs
and values. Suggestions are specific and in many instances
reflect some innovative activities already under way.
"Black Practice" in Foster Care

Black professionals in the field are concerned with
assuring that recognition is given to what has been termed
"the Black experience" when services are developed for
Black children. Some agencies which are predominantly
staffed by Black people and which service principally or
entirely a Black clientele, have reported developing a
method of planning and implementing child welfare services
which gives maximum recognition to the ethnicity of the
Black child. This method has come to be known as "Black
Practice." One such example is the Children's Service,
Incorporated, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. In a written
report of the program, "A Black Practice in Foster Care,"
Willie V. Small stated:

> Black Practice at CSI is a functional service
> with a psychoanalytic approach in the determina-
> tion of the problem, and the development of
> problem solving strategies. The basic dichotomy
> is that in every experience of the Black child
> in foster care, white Racism is a major element
> in the content and process of that experience.
> We perceive paternalism as the most devious
> property of Racism because it negates the child's
> adequacy and entrenches a psychological dependency,
> whose malignancy gnaws its way through the self
> image fibre of generations. Black Practice is an

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operational antidote to the destructive influences
of Racism in the aspirations and development of
the Black child in foster care. 1/

Many specific aspects of the Children's Service,Incorporated,
program which give recognition to and pride in the cultural'
heritage of the clients are reported. For example, seminars
are given for both foster parents and biological parents.
Subjects such as"Black Manhood and Black Womanhood" focus
on adequacy and survival of the Black family in America, and
a study of "Experiences in African History and Culture" is
presented by African citizens . . 2/   It is noted
that the Foster Parents Black History Seminar lps "to close
the generation gap and provide an area of mutual interests
outside of the placement process."3/

Because the staff at CSI is primarily interested in the
maintenance of the Black community and the families which
comprise it as vital and functioning units, a concerted
effort is made to involve biological parents as fully as
possible in all levels of the placement process and the
administration of the program. For example:

> The language used in contacts with natural
> families conveys the real intent of the
> service. At CSI the traditional 'unwed
> mother' is a single parent: children born
> out of wedlock are children born 'to single
> parents'; a man and a woman 'living together'
> are a couple 'maintaining a household'.
> A 'paramour' is a 'male companion' deriving
> his title from his function. We make his
> presence credible so that the mother's guilt

is minimized and she and her companion are
more accessible to the children and the
agency. Stability of the relationship is
the CSI concern.

. . . Natural families are invited to par-
ticipate in the intake process, pre-place-
ment and placement services.

. . . Visitation between children and
natural families is unrestricted as to
frequency and locality.

. . . Special permission is secured so that
children who want to can visit prisons and
mental institutions at the request of parents.

. . . Workers attend affairs sponsored by
community groups to which natural families
belong.

. . . Natural families write for the Social
Work Handbook, serve on the staff of the
Newsletter to Parents (foster and natural)
and keep the agency family aware of "what's
going down" in their families and neighborhood.

. . . Natural families share in graduation and
other special achievements of their children,
with financial and moral encouragement from
the agency.

. . . Family strengthening experiences on
occasion have included all members of the
immediate family household, the natural
parents, grandparents, cousins, aunts and
uncles.

. . . At various points a full-time advanced
practitioner carries a direct service assign-
ment with natural families during post-
placement, helping to secure services from
community resources. The more success they
experience the more confidently and dis-
criminately they seek help. They come to
accept their worth and right to services. 4/

The philosophy at CSI is that, "...whether or not they take their children back into the home, natural families matter as fellow human beings, as citizens in a mutual attitude of Black Nationhood."[5]

Day Care and Institutional Settings: Involvement of Parents

For the minority group child who may spend much of his time in group or family day care, or who lives in an institutional setting, it is important that the patterns of his home culture - i.e., foods, language, decor, and dance, as well as the values of his group, be reinforced by the child-caring program.

In the Day Care Guideline Number 2, published by the Office of Child Development, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the following guidelines were proposed concerning "Ethnic Relevance":

> Regardless of the locale or method of grouping in a center, the varying ethnic and cultural backgrounds of the families involved must receive the closest attention. Almost every group of children will represent several cultures and often several languages. Programs should incorporate and preserve elements which reflect those ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Parents should have the opportunity to select or approve of the ethnic content of a given program. In this way both parents and children identify with day care center activities.
>
> In those areas of the country where families use two languages . . . both languages should be used and the children's familiarity with both strengthened. . .

A curriculum which values cultural dif-
ferences should be a part of the child's
program from infancy. In programs that
involve only minority group children,
bilingual, bicultural education must be
an integral part of all daily activities.
But in programs containing only a portion
of children from a particular group, two
arrangements might be made. An authority
figure (probably a parent) from a minority
group can be included in the program, and
special curriculum components in the area
of relevant language skills and cultural
awareness can be used. 6/

Involvement of parents is seen as a necessary com-

ponent if the program is to be culturally relevant. The

The Office of Child Development has stated:

Respect for the child's home should be
expressed through positive caregiver-child-
parent interaction. Parents should be
involved at a policy level in all areas
affecting the child's education: parents
should be encouraged to share the child's
experience in center activities. Care-
givers should promote and support the
concept of parents as authority figures:
they should also make home visits when
possible. 7/

Day care workers and planners on Indian reservations,

in particular, have found that because of the life-style

on the reservations mothers have much leisure time. This

situation provides opportunity to extend center activi-

ties to parents, as well as to make use of their experi-

ence.

In her article "Day Care for Indian Children," Young

Children, January, 1965, Jerdone stated:

The situation on many reservations pre-
sents a special opportunity to extend
day care program activities to parents.
Many parents, especially mothers, may
have considerable unplanned time.
Their concern for their children would be
an incentive for them to be closely in-
volved in such a service.8/

Erma Clark noted a similar situation on the Ute

Indian reservation. In an article entitled, "A Nursery

School on the Ute Indian Reservation," Childhood Educa-

tion, April, 1965, she wrote:

Because our program was novel for Indians,
mothers, grandmothers, sisters, and aunts
came with the children. We finally had to
have the Indian home agent come to the
nursery and set up sewing and cooking
classes to keep the extended family occupied
while the children were in session. 9/

Interstate Research Associates suggested several

methods which could be used to involve parents in Head

Start programs for the Chicano child. These are rele-

vant for most day care services for any group of clients,

but are of special significance for minority children

amd their parents:

1   Use parents as volunteers and develop
    a career ladder to move parents into
    job slots as vacancies occur,

2   Maintain constant contact with parents
    during the programmatic year, encouraging
    observational visits and parent input on
    direction in which the educational pro-
    gram should proceed,

3   Conduct classes in the child's home
and utilize the parent and the home
as an aid to education,

4   Hold regular sessions with parent
groups to assist in developing a co-
ordination of school or educational
activities with the activities of
. the home.10/

This group of experts also suggests, as was noted
in the Office of Child Development Guidelines, that the
child-caring program be seen as an extension of the
child's home. They state:

> . . . any program serving the Chicano
> child must be formulated as an extension
> of the home environment. The roles that
> different family members play in the
> family and the extended family concept
> held by the Chicano culture, must also
> be incorporated into the program. Pro-
> grams, in short, must attempt to dupli-
> cate the home environment so that the
> Chicano child does not have culture shock
> upon entering the pre-school program.11/

There are many talents which parents have which can
be utilized by centers to assure that programs are
ethnically relevant, as well as to provide a way to
involve parents meaningfully in center activities.

The approaches suggested by Interstate Research
Associates included the following:

> A   critical component of bilingual bi-
> cultural Head Start programs is the
> utilization of parent expertise on com-
> munity projects and local center
> activities. . . .

Areas of parental expertise which can be
of value in teaching teachers and chil-
dren the Hispanic culture are:

Early childhood development
Dancing talents
Drama talents
Role playing
Art
Special education
Folklore tales
Regional foods and their origin
Local, cultural modes and their
values 12/

Promotion of Pride in Ethnic and Racial Heritage

Regardless of the setting or type of child welfare

service being provided, professionals and parent surro-

gates have the opportunity and the obligation to instill

in the minority group child a pride in his ethnicity and

his cultural heritage. In many ways adequate recognition

of ethnicity in the initial stages of program planning

and implementation will insure that programs are ethnic-

ally meaningful to the child. However, there is a more

active role, above mere recognition, which can be taken

to build ethnic pride as an important part of the child's

ego development. In his paper, "A Black Practice in

Foster Care," Small outlines what he feels a Black child-

caring service must do to promote pride and a sense of

ethnic identity in the Black child.

. . . provide experiences which promote
a healthy image, self-worth, self-pride,
and self-confidence

. . . . incorporate opportunities to ex-
perience success and personal gratifica-
tion in the exercise of self-determina-
tion.

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. . . stimulate positive identity with his
neighborhood and the larger community, so
that he feels he has a stake in their sur-
vival and improvement.13/

Similar steps have been outlined by Interstate Re-

search Associates in its Booklet, "Approaches for the

Institutionalization of Bilingual Bicultural Head Start

Programs Serving the Chicano Child." These are:

The Chicano child must be taught in such
a manner so that he may maintain and
develop further the self-concept which
he has. The teacher must recognize and
be knowledgeable of the positive aspects
of the Chicano child, of who he is and
what he is.

. . . The Chicano child is usually aware
of his role within his family (both im-
mediate and extended). He must also
learn his role as a member of a culturally
pluralistic society. The Chicano child
should be helped to maintain his cultural
heritage and to realize its value and con-
tribution to the society. His identity
must be maintained as a Chicano, rather
than molded into an aspirant to the Anglo
culture.14/

The specific things mentioned in this booklet to pro-

mote pride in the Chicano culture are program components

which can be translated for application to any minority

group child:

. . . Provide for success of experience
as a Chicano.

Develop an awareness of Chicano culture
as being a combination of the Indian
Mexican Hispanic culture.

Room environment should reflect Chicano
as well as Anglo culture.

Use of Chicano foods in the nutritional
program.

Use of songs, games, dances, fingerplays,
stories, art activities, for both Chicano
and Anglo cultures.

/stress/ The contributions of the Indian-Mexican-
Hispanic culture by pointing out geo-
graphic names with Hispanic roots,
Spanish terms adopted by the English
language, emphasis on local history,
pointing out Hispanic architecture, and
the celebration of ethnic holidays.. . . 15/

The Office of Child Development has made similar

recommendations and has stated:

In order to meet the special needs of
ethnic groups, curriculum components
should include the following areas:

Self-identity: Children need to develop
self-awareness and a positive self-
image. It is recommended that there be
more than one language used in the learn-
ing process; and that there be focus on
the concept of skin color differences,
and the use of bilingual songs, games,
fingerplays, stories and games.

For children who must fulfill multi-
cultural roles a positive image of this
should be envisaged by the caregiver
and communicated to the child. Emphasis
should be placed on the value of being
multi-lingual and multi-cultural.

Cultural Awareness: The child should
identify with or relate to the two or
more cultures of which he is a part. He
should be educated to allow him to make
maximum contribution to those cultures.
Materials representing the culture should
be a part of all programs dealing with
minority children and room environments
should reflect these cultures. The nutri-
tion program should reflect a variety of
representative foods and minority group
holidays should be celebrated. 16/

FOOTNOTES FOR SECTION SIX

1/ Willie V. Small, "A Black Practice in Foster Care" unpublished paper presented at the Workshop: "Comprehensive Black Child Welfare" at the Fifth Annual Conference of the National Association of Black Social Workers in New York City on April 20, 1973, p. 4.

2/ Ibid., p. 22.

3/ Ibid., p. 24.

4/ Ibid., p. 25.

5/ Ibid.,

6/ Office of Child Development, op. cit., p. 25.

7/ Ibid., p. 26.

8/ Jerdone, op. cit., p. 151.

9/ Erma Clark, "A Nursery School on the Ute Indian Reservation," Childhood Education 42:7 (April, 1965), p. 409.

10/ Interstate Research Associates, op. cit., p. 12.

11/ Ibid., p. 45.

12/ Ibid., p. 25.

13/ Small, op. cit., p. 10.

14/ Interstate Research Associates, op. cit., p. 42.

15/ Ibid.

16/ Office of Child Development, op. cit., p. 25.

Section Seven

DEVELOPMENT OF A MULTIETHNIC SERVICE SYSTEM

In their book, Children of the Storm, Billingsley and
Giovannoni stated that practitioners in the child welfare
field must:

> ...abandon the notion that a single,
> white-conceived, white-dominated, and
> white-administered system of child
> welfare, hampered as it is by racism,
> bureaucracy, professionalism, and
> sectarianism, can possibly meet the
> needs of all children of all races
> and subcultures. We need to adopt a
> pluralistic, multiethnic conception
> of child welfare services, and to
> develop deliberately and systematically
> different child welfare services that
> will explicitly consider these ethnic
> realities.[1]

In this section three proposals suggested in the
literature for making the multiethnic service system a
reality will be presented: increased representation and
input from ethnic minorities at all levels of service planning
and delivery; changes in the legal basis as well as adminis-
trative regulations of existing programs to make them more
responsive to the needs of ethnic minority children; and
the creation of separate child-caring systems conceived and
administered by the ethnic group for its own children.

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Increased Minority Representation in the
Planning and Delivery of Services

That ethnic minorities have been underrepresented in
key planning, administrative and service positions in the
past has been documented in the literature, especially within
the last five years.

'In July 1968, for example, the Child Welfare League
of American undertook a study of the participation of
ethnic minorities in agency administration. The League
sent a questionnaire to 300 of its accredited, provisional,
and general member agencies inquiring into this matter. The
study findings were based on the complete and unambiguous
responses of 225 agencies serving a total of 356,700. children,
and revealed that:

> The staffing pattern of the public non-
> sectarian agencies and sectarian agencies
> follows roughly the picture of clientele,
> with non-white staff most often reported
> in public agencies and least often in sectarian
> agencies. A total of 54 agencies reported
> exclusively white staff - 3 public, 26
> non-sectarian and 25 sectarian. The problem
> of attracting and holding non-white staff was
> a matter of comment by several agencies.
>
> Non-white staff are more likely than others
> to hold certain positions. Thus the pro-
> portion of non-whites was higher in the
> group work-recreation, residential child
> care, educational and teacher aide positions
> than in the administrative-supervisory and
> caseworker positions.
>
> Agency boards are less likely to be integrated
> than clientele or staff. However, a large
> majority of the reporting agencies (147 of
> the 231 that responded to this question)
> had at least some non-white board members. 2/

Billingsley and Giovannoni note the lack of repre-
sentation of Blacks on boards of agencies, even where
Black children represent the largest segment of the client
population:

> Black representation on boards of directors
> does make some slight inroads into the
> control of [child welfare]..agencies, although
> such representation of the Black community is
> not overwhelming. . ..The Boards of social
> agencies have traditionally been composed
> of wealthy white citizens who are hardly
> representative of a wide spectrum of the
> white community or of white clientele.
> This rather skewed representation of white
> people is seldom challenged. When it comes
> to choosing Black board members, however,
> social agencies bog down trying to decide
> "who represents the Black community?" Such
> a question has delayed and stymied many an
> attempt to increase Black representation
> on social agency boards. Concern about
> representativeness would certainly be
> alleviated by doubling or tripling Black
> membership, providing for input from a
> broad spectrum of the interests of the
> Black community.[3]/

American Indians have voiced a similar concern over
their under-representation in the planning of programs for
their people. In his article, "A White House Conference on
the American Indian," Social Work, January, 1973, Charles E.
Farris stated:

> The Indian tribes have never been involved
> in a significant or meaningful way in the
> development of programs for Indians. It
> is essential that any program reform should
> directly involve the Indian tribal groups
> and reflect tribal thinking and planning.
> For too long there have been too many
> bureaucratic chiefs and not enough blanket
> Indians involved in policy making. In
> addition, program planners have ignored
> the diversity and heterogeneity of the more
> than three hundred distinct Indian tribal
> cultures...Unless the programs are compatible
> with Indian tribal life, they are doomed to
> failure.[4]/

The recently issued American Indian Task Force Report
of the Council on Social Work Educatior also advocated the
use of Indian expertise at all levels in the implementation
of programs for Indian people. The Task Force declared:

> ...there are very few Indian paraprofessionals
> working in American Indian organizations, or
> in any other social service agencies that
> service the American Indian population.
> It is imperative that the American Indian
> be thoroughly involved in any program
> seeking to develop solutions to American
> Indian problems. The Task Force would
> develop or encourage the development of
> training programs for paraprofessionals
> serving the American Indian.[5]

In speaking of Indian representation in the Bureau
of Indian Affairs under whose auspices many of the child
welfare programs for Indian children are conducted, Herbert
H. Locklear stated:

> Few Indian persons hold high administrative
> positions in the Bureau, probably less than
> twenty. The programs are primarily
> administered by persons of the white middle-
> class majority, some of whom accept as fact
> the myth that Indians do not want to work.
> Seemingly they assume that Indians do not
> want to take part in the program for lack of
> the necessary ability. They thus preclude
> the Indians active participation in the
> program's plans and operation and hinder his
> progress.[6]

Interstate Research Associates stressed the importance
of ethnic representation on the board and the staff in
programs for Chicano children. They requested the following:

> That the Director be bilingual, bicultural
> Chicano,
>
> That the staff (professional, paraprofessional,
> and volunteer) be bilingual and bicultural,

That the staff be recruited from the
service area,

That the staff be involved in other
community efforts.7/

In his article, "The Chicano and Social Work," Social
Casework, May 1971, Alejandro Garcia outlines the advantages
the Chicano social worker has in working with Chicano
clients:

Chicano social workers would be more
effective in working with Chicano
clients than would white social workers.
Without having to cope with communication
and cultural barriers, worker and client
can begin to work almost immediately on
the presenting problem.8/

Puerto Rican professionals are also recommending that
their numbers be increased on agency boards and agency staff.
For example, the New York Committee for the Care of Puerto
Rican Children, issued a position paper in which the following
statement was made:

As a general rule, agencies continue to
exclude Puerto Ricans from key positions.
There is little relationship between the
overwhelming proportion of their Puerto
Rican clientele and their Puerto Rican
staff. The correction of this situation
is a basic recommendation....

The Puerto Rican population in New York
is well over one million. Twenty-five
percent of the 27,000 children in placement
are Puerto Rican. Therefore, it is
imperative that agency personnel be
bilingual-bicultural.

Puerto Ricans currently employed by child
welfare agencies are at the clerical,
custodial, and paraprofessional level. It
is significant that less than 1 percent
of the staff at the Bureau of Child Welfare
- a mere 70 out of 2,000 - is Puerto Rican.

A similar situation exists in private
child-caring agencies. We support the
recommendation made by the Child Welfare
League in November 1972 regarding staffing
of agencies and community participation
by members of ethnic communities.9/

According to Emelicia Mizio, President of the
Association of Puerto Rican Social Workers, even the few
Puerto Rican social workers who are on agency staff perceive
themselves as being treated unequally. In an article which
appeared in Social Casework, entitled "Puerto Rican Social
Workers and Racism," she noted:

Puerto Ricans are not generally in the
powerful prestigeous positions in the
welfare hierarchy. It is time for a
dialogue between Puerto Rican social
workers and their fellow workers. Feelings
are strong because Puerto Ricans feel
themselves treated as third class pro-
fessionals. The hierarchy is clearly
white, black, and Puerto Rican....

The concept of maximum feasible participation
should not be limited to clients of the
welfare system...Assuring meaningful
representation to the members of minority
groups is not only just, it is essential
if we are to establish communication
between whites and non-whites and thus
expedite services....A welfare system
dominated by the White Anglo-Saxon
Protestant finds it difficult to respond
to the needs of those it was established
to serve, and cannot be attractive as a
career to members of minority groups.10/

Underlying the demand for increased ethnic repre-
sentation is the belief on the part of many minority group
members that they are the only ones who can adequately assess
their own needs. This position was taken by J. Julian Rivera
in his article, "Growth of Puerto Rican Awareness," Social
Casework, February, 1974. Rivera stated:

In general terms, the goal of Puerto Rican
leadership is to control, or have effective
input in those programs that serve or should
serve their communities. Such input should
be present at all levels, from the planning
stages to administration, implementation,
monitoring, and evaluation. As long as the
non-Puerto Rican agencies and organizations
plan, fund, administer and implement programs
and services intended to serve Puerto Ricans,
these institutions deprive Puerto Ricans of
the opportunity of developing expertise,
establishing the necessary contacts with
funding sources, acquiring positions of
leadership, and, in all probability,
receiving adequate service....

The essential element in the Puerto Rican
approach is the promulgation of the concept
that Puerto Ricans are the only experts on
Puerto Ricans. This message is being
conveyed to funding sources as well as to
the institutions that serve or should serve
Puerto Ricans. Predictably, this stance
brings Puerto Ricans in direct conflict
with institutions and individuals who may
honestly believe they can help and have
helped Puerto Ricans. The enforcement of
the stance has been manifested by boycott
of services, public exposure, and, more
recently, by legal action.11/

Asian Americans also express the sentiments already

noted for the other groups. Pei-Ngor Chen, in writing of

the Samoan American community in California, stated the need

for bilingual bicultural Asian workers:

...in social service delivery, the most
serious problem is the shortage of
bilingual bicultural social workers.
Coordination is needed to promote integrated
delivery of services. Social workers in
the larger community cannot adequately
assist Samoans in need because of the
communication barrier. Samoan immigrants
are fearful and shy in seeking social
services from people who cannot speak
their language, and they are reluctant
to go to available social agencies because
they distrust the larger community.

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...Bilingual bicultural social workers
should be employed by existing agencies
in the larger community so that the
services these agencies provide to the
Samoans may be relevant and meaningful.12/

Chen notes similar needs in the Chinese community:

...there are few Chinese speaking workers
in public civil services and few bilingual
social workers in private and public
agencies. The writer has only been able
to find one Chinese speaking psychiatrist
in southern California....

Most clients feel more at ease when they
talk with a social worker who speaks the
same dialect and who has the same cultural
background as they. Therefore it is important
for the social worker to be aware not only
of the values and norms of the Chinese
culture, but also of the fact that the
personality of the client may be different
from that of the Western client.13/

The need for bilingual bicultural staff was one of the

issues addressed by the Asian American Task Force of the

Council on Social Work Education which stated in its report:

Individualized services within given helping
situations are a prerequisite for effective
services, and it is in this context that we
must clearly see the need for training of
bilingual and bicultural workers who can
adapt or modify social work methods and
techniques to work effectively with Asian
American persons...it is essential to
establish special local ethnic group-oriented

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agencies staffed with service personnel who
share the same ethnic characteristics and
have deep understanding and empathy. The
workers should be trained to function
competently within the network of the
larger social and educational system.[14]/

Finally, the Task Force addressed the need for more

meaningful input from the entire Asian American community

at the policy-making level:

The Asian American communities aspire to
participate fully in the provision of
social services and resources to solve
social problems. Asian Americans demand
to be included in the development of
social service programs, in administering
the resources mobilized, and in having a
place in the policy making bodies to be
heard and to influence policy decisions.[15]/

Legal and Administrative Changes

To facilitate basic changes in service delivery to

meet the needs of minority children, several proposals

have been made for revisions in the legal and adminis-

trative aspects of social services. A suit against the
major child-caring agencies in New York City and their
administrators, Wilder vs. Sugarman, brought as a class
action on behalf of children in care by the New York
Civil Liberties Union and the Legal Aid Society, serves
to emphasize this point. In the suit, which is likely·
to have far reaching implications for the child welfare
field, it is lleged that Black Protestant children are
denied equal access to service because of New York City's
reliance on the purchase of care from voluntary sectarian
agencies. Attorneys for the plaintiffs have stated that
such a pattern results in "a child-care system permeated
by racial discrimination," as well as a lack of adequate
services for those children most inneed of care.[16]

The New York Committee for the Care of Puerto Rican
Children also calls for legal changes as a basis for
improved services, stating:

> A general overhaul of the legal provisions
> and the regulations of the State Board of
> Social Welfare is strongly recommended.
>
> The laws, regulations, guidelines and
> traditional practices governing agency
> operations are often antithetical to the
> real needs of Puerto Rican children.
> Many of these criteria were developed in
> another era with the needs of other
> children in mind.

> ...Cases in point are the high priority
> afforded religious background and the
> rules of the State Board on sleeping
> arrangements for children in foster care.

> We recommend that an official body, such
> as a commission composed of Puerto Rican
> religious and community leaders, be
> established to review thoroughly all laws
> and regulations related to the child
> welfare field.17/

The ways in which stated policies are implemented

can also affect outcome.   This is true in particular in

regard to adoption.

Among the arguments against transracial adoption, for

example, is the claim that child-caring resources could

be found within the ethnic communities, if the effort

were really made.   Many agency rules and regulations

which govern the selection of foster parents and adoptive

parents thwart this effort because they establish un-

realistic requirements in terms of the circumstances in

which most non-whites live in this society.

In his book, The Strengths of Black Families, Robert

Hill discussed the issue of adoption with respect to the

enormous rate of absorption of dependent children by child

caring resources within the Black community, and outside

of the established child welfare system.   He stated, with

reference to his own studies: .

> ...findings also strongly suggest that present
> placement policies and assumptions of most
> adoption agencies need to be radically

overhauled. The disproportionate number
of black children awaiting placement in
these agencies is often attributed to
reluctance or "apathy" of ;lacks to adopt
children, but this is not the case. Black
families are already adopting to a very
large degree.

In fact, each year black families demonstrate
their ability to "adopt" children with a
placement rate more than ten times that
of formal adoption agencies....Moreover data
from recent studies suggest that black
families are even formally adopting
children at a greater rate than white
families of comparable means....

Placement regulations of formal adoption
agencies would ordinarily prevent most
of these families from formally adopting
these children. They do not possess the
"right" credentials - they are most often
"fatherless" or "too poor" or "too dis-
organized." Since these families demonstrate
a capacity to absorb these children each
year, innovative placement procedures,
such as income subsidies to poor families,
should be widely expanded.[18]/

The National Association of Black Social Workers has

also expressed its concern over existing policies and

procedures:

Black families can be found when agencies
alter their requirements, methods of approach,
definitions of suitable family, and tackle
the legal machinery to facilitate interstate
;lacements....

The extended family of grandparents, aunts,
cousins, etc.,may well be a viable resource
if agencies will legitimize them; make them
their area of initial ex loration and work
first to develop and cement their potential.
This is valid and preferential even if
financial assistance is necessary.

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> We denounce the assertion that Blacks will
> not adopt, we affirm the fact that Black
> people in large number cannot maneuver the
> obstacle course of the traditional adoption
> process. This process has long been a
> screening out device. The emphasis on high
> income, educational achievement, residential
> status, and other accoutrements of the white
> middleclass style eliminates Black applicants
> by the score.[19]

Many members of ethnic minority groups cannot comprehend

the logic of a child welfare system which will pay a non-

relative a board rate to keep a child, often at great

expense to the State, but refuses to subsidize the

natural parents or extended family members to provide

care for their own children. The Indian editors of

Akwesasne Notes have stated:

> Some communities are caught in such severe
> economic problems that virtually everyone
> must rely on welfare payments. Homes are
> not the most luxurious. Social workers
> have foster mothers in the suburbs that
> are just dying to have an Indian child"so
> their son will have someone to play with."
> Regulations do not allow foster care
> payments to relatives....but a white foster
> parent can collect a monthly check. And
> another Indian child loses his people.[20]

There are many proposals in the literature for changes

in policies and practices so that the needs of the

minority children can be better served. One suggestion

frequently made, and now in practice in some States, is

to subsidize adoptive parents whose incomes would other-

wise make them ineligible to adopt.

Billingsley and Giovannoni commented favorably on

subsidized adoption, when they declared:

Perhaps the most promising development in
the late 1960's, and one intended primarily
to benefit Black and other minority children,
was subsidized adoption. Subsidized
adoption is identical to all other adoptions
in all ways except that the adoptive parents
receive financial assistance toward maintenance
of the child. It differs from long-term
foster care or quasi-adoption in that the
child is legally adopted....subsidized adoption
offers a most concrete solution for black
homeless children whose potential parents
must be drawn in large part from among those
who are economically unable to care for them
....subsidized adoption offers the promise
of a redefinition of "potential adoptive
parents" for Black children which can sig-
nificantly increase the total pool of homes.[21]/

The National Association of Black Social Workers also

supported this approach to providing care:

Convert some of the child care agencies into
extended family homes. This means that
instead of paying $10,000 per child for
institutional maintenance, the money will go
directly to those people who wish to adopt
children.

For example, the average current financial
cost for the operation of group homes with
around eight children is $150,000 (most for
agency staff, rent, equipment, etc.). Would
it not be better for the child to be placed
in a Black home and the money channeled to
the adoptive parent for whatever is needed
to sustain a decent standard of living?[22]/

One other alternative is that of quasi-adoption. Such

a program was developed by the Children's Aid Society of

Pennsylvania in 1964. In her article, "Permanent Placement

of Negro Children Through Quasi-Adoption," Child Welfare

(December, 1968), Roberta Andrews defined the quasi-

adoption program:

> While based upon what is known about
> sound adoption practices, it has distinct
> differences. One of the major differences
> is that quasi-adoptive families need not
> commit themselves at the outset to legal
> adoption, although the agency from the
> beginning lays the groundwork for making
> this outcome a distinct possibility.

> If an applicant family appears to be able
> to provide a·stable, healthy, loving
> environment for a child, it signs an
> agreement with the agency which sets forth
> certain conditions. These are that a
> weekly board payment and clothing and
> medical care can be provided, that casework
> interviews will be held.at regular intervals,
> and that approximately every six months
> there will be a review with the family of
> its decision with respect to adoption.[23]

Jones has suggested that other possible solutions

for Black youngsters are permanent foster care and small

group care within the Black community. These approaches

have particular relevance for the older child growing up

in foster care. By small group care is meant no more

than 6-8 youngsters in a house with professional house

parents.[24]

Creation of Separate Systems

In <u>Children of the Storm,</u> Billingsley and Giovannoni

express the need for the creation of separate child caring

institutions designed and staffed by Black people to meet

the needs of their children:

> However committed and professional the
> private white agencies may be, their
> major concern must still remain white
> children. However large the public
> agencies may be, their major concern
> must be·for all the children in need,
> and they must operate within certain

> universalistic principles which are in
> the final analysis subject to the white
> majority. Clearly, the public agencies
> cannot have the flexibility and
> particularistic character needed to
> create new ways to serve Black children.
> There is, therefore, a crying need for
> specially Black-conceived, designed,
> managed, and staffed agencies to serve
> in a specific way the needs of the Black
> children in the context of Black families
> and the Black community. ...The important
> thing about these agencies—the thing
> which makes them Black--is that the
> community would conceive them, design
> them, and make the important policy
> decisions about their structure,
> functions, staff, and services to children.25/

In their article, "Some Opinions on Finding Homes for

Black Children," Children (July/August, 1971), Herzog,

Sudia, and Harwood noted responses from the experience

survey which they conducted on the search for adoptive

families for Black children. The findings indicated that

some Black professionals have given considerable thought

to the creation of separate black child welfare agencies:

> Some suggestions were offered to counter-
> act "institutional racism." A few recom-
> mended wholly Black staffs and boards,
> since White social workers are, "not used
> to Black people." As one respondent noted,
> 'I think there has to be some exploration
> of all Black agencies. We have to be in a
> position to set up our own definitions and
> criteria. Often this amounts to a totally
> different definition of the family and the
> environment.'26/

Thomas C. Atencio in an article entitled "The Survival

of La Raza Despite Social Services," Social Casework,

May, 1971, expresses his point of view which is that

attempts to make existing social service institutions more

responsive to the ethnicity and special needs of the

minority client have largely failed, and ultimately

separate ethnic institutions may have to be established:

> ...To this date the Chicano nation still
> depends on the health, welfare, and
> educational institutions of this society.
> Nevertheless, despite our being subject
> to them, we have not received our due in
> relation to our culture or life-style, and
> many conditions—that is, conformity with
> the agenda of the dominant structure -
> preclude our using any service.
>
> We therefore have two clear alternatives
> in dealing with these institutions: (1)
> change them so they can better serve
> La Raza or (2) develop parallel systems
> and establish total independence. Clearly
> the latter is the ideal situation because
> previous attempts at reform have failed.
> Nevertheless, the former is the one that
> most of us would desire to try first.[27]

In an article about the founding and development of

the Puerto Rican Family Institute in New York City,

entitled "The Struggle to Develop Self-Help Institutions,"

Social Casework, February, 1974, Augustin Gonzalez stated

his belief that Puerto Ricans must develop their own

institutions if their problems are to be solved. He said:

> In 1961, equipped with an M.S.W. and much
> concern about the problems faced by the
> Puerto Rican on the mainland, I came to
> the conclusion that it should be up to us
> as Puerto Ricans to develop our own
> institutions. Otherwise, we would continue
> to be at the bottom of the ladder, without
> the proper services to the individual or
> to the community as a whole.[28]

Two main reasons have been expressed as rationale

for the creation of separate agencies or service systems.

One is to counteract the institutionalized racism in the

general service system. The other is to allow for maximum

recognition of ethnic values and group-related needs.

The Asian American Task Force Report of the Council on
Social Work Education, in a "Problems and Needs Perspective,"
has differentiated between common problems and needs that
Asian Americans share with the general population, and
those that require ethnic - specific perspectives. To
meet the needs a proposed "consortium-satellite" concept
is suggested, with a central apparatus for programming
and a satellite as a direct service agency. They stated:

> The satellite concept is based on the
> premise that each Asian ethnic group
> determines its own service requirements
> and specialized needs. Each of the Asian
> communities must determine and assess its
> priorities in terms of service requirements.
> Each of the communities differs socio-
> logically, economically, geophysically,
> and geopolitically. While each community
> shares common educational, employment,
> housing, health and welfare needs, there also
> exists specialized needs for mental health
> services, employment services, health services,
> welfare services, and the like.29/

FOOTNOTES FOR SECTION SEVEN

1/ Billingsley and Giovannoni, op. cit., p. 221.

2/ Lucille J. Grow and Ann W. Shyne, "Participation
of Ethnic Minorities in Service Administration,"
New York: Child Welfare League of America
(February, 1968) (Mimeographed.) p. 2.

3/ Billingsley and Giovannoni, op. cit., p. 183.

4/ Farris, op. cit., p. 83.

5/ Mackey, op. cit., p. 5.

6/ Locklear, op. cit., p. 75.

7/ Interstate Research Associates, op. cit., p. 23.

8/ Garcia, op. cit., p. 277.

9/ New York Committee for the Care of Puerto Rican
Childreh, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

10/ Emelicia Mizio, "Puerto Rican Social Workers and
Racism," Social Casework, 53:5 (May, 1974),
pp. 267-272.

11/ J. Julian Rivera, "Growth of Puerto Rican Awareness,"
Social Casework, 55:2 (February, 1974), p. 88.

12/ Chen, "Samoans in California," op. cit., pp. 41-48.

13/ Chen, "The Chinese Community in Los Angeles,"
op. cit., pp. 595-596.

14/ Murase, op. cit., p. 14.

15/ Ibid.

16/ Wilder vs. Sugarman, legal brief submitted by Marcia
Lowry and Risa Dickstein, Attorneys for the
Plaintiffs, Children's Rights Project, New York
Civil Liberties Union and Charles Schinitsky,
Attorney for the Plaintiff, Legal Aid Society,
Brooklyn, New York.

17/ New York Committee for the Care of Puerto Rican
Children, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

18/ Robert Hill. Strengths of Black Families: A National
Urban League Research Study, New York: Emerson
Hall, Inc., 1971, pp. 7-8.

19/ National Association of Black Social Workers, op. cit.

20/ Akwesasne Notes (Spring, 1972), op. cit., p. 5.

21/ Billingsley and Giovannoni, op. cit., pp. 199-200.

22/ National Association of Black Social Workers, op. cit.

23/ Roberta Andrews, "Permanent Placement of Negro
Children Through Quasi-Adoption," Child Welfare,
47:10 (December, 1968), p. 584.

24/ Jones, op. cit., p. 162.

25/ Billingsley and Giovannoni, op. cit., p. 228.

26/ Elizabeth Herzog, Cecilia Sudia, and Jane Harwood,
"Some Opinions on Finding Families for Black
Children," Children, 18:4 (July/August, 1971)
p. 144.

27/ Thomas C. Atencio, "Survial of La Raza Despite Social
Services," Social Casework, 52:5 (May, 1971),
p. 266.

28/ Augustin Gonzales, "The Struggle to Develop Self-Help
Institutions," Social Casework, 55:2 (February, 1974),
pp. 90-91.

29/ Murase, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

SUMMARY

This review of issues and proposals has quoted
extensively from the literature, using the references
as a data source from which to draw findings. The
findings are varied, but support the following con-
clusions:

1. There has been, especially in the last
four years, a burgeoning literature on ethnicity and
social welfare. The raising of key issues is no .
longer the sole province of politicians and community
leaders - professional social workers of all minority
groups are being heard on the subject of service
delivery. This move to professional literature has
not diluted the issues, but rather strengthens the
presentations, since the trained worker of the minority
group not only expresses the ethnic point of view, but
can also bring the educational background and work
experience to bear to measure the need, diagnose,
treat, and evaluate the service system.

2. The study hypothesis, that there will be
commonalities in problems among the groups, is well
supported in the literature. For each of the four
major concerns identified; prevalence of myths and

stereotypes, lack of appreciation of cultural patterns, lack of recognition of bilingualism, and threats to group survival, ample citations were found·from· the literature of all four grouos. There were also many common expressions in proposals for change. Proposals for re-education, training and programming of cultural materials were also generally expressed, as were suggestions for a multiethnic service system.

3. Given the extent of the literature, the growing professionalization in presentation of issues, and the multiplicity of proposals, it is apparent that a new area for social work concerns is emerging. The "state of the art," at present, is that many important but untried and untested proposals are before us. This is a propitious time for systematic study. Appropriate recogr tion of ethnic factors in child welfare should have measurable effects in meeting client, staff, and community nc ts. The next phase of study, beyond delineation of programs, is testing of outcomes.