

ACHIEVING BALANCED DOCUMENTATION: SOCIAL SERVICES FROM A CONSUMER PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT: The concept of documentation, with its emphasis on the need to understand a phenomenon in all its complexity and to identify the universe of available records as the basis for an informed selection for preservation, has profoundly affected the theory—if not always the practice—of acquisitions policy and appraisal. Much of the recent literature has focused on macro-level interinstitutional planning. This article draws on the experience of the Social Welfare History Archives to illustrate how the documentation concept can be applied to analyze and refine the collecting and appraisal strategy of a particular repository. It describes the emergence of archival interest in social service records, the growth of the service sector, and the increase in consumer activism. It discusses the extent to which agency and organizational archives reflect the participation and perspective of consumers and presents issues related to identification and acquisition of consumer-created records.

Introduction

As recently as fifteen years ago the concept of documentation as we now understand it was virtually unknown to American archivists. The term was not included in "A Basic Glossary for Archivists, Manuscript Curators, and Records Managers," published by the Society of American Archivists in 1974. It is more revealing that the Glossary, which is an accurate benchmark of the state of the archival profession at that time, contains only one term, "accession," that pertains to acquisitions or collecting, and none with policy or strategy implications.¹

The historian Howard Zinn criticized archivists in 1970 for their failure to collect the records and papers of women, minorities, the poor, and others outside the mainstream of American society. Gould Colman followed Zinn's plea with a brief, but eloquent, call for archivists to pay more attention to developing acquisition guidelines and to aspire to achieve a balanced documentation of culture. The program at the Society of American Archivists 1974 annual meeting was focused on the new concept of how to go about documenting a cul-

ture. F. Gerald Ham's presidential address delivered at that meeting was to become perhaps the most influential contribution to the archival literature in the decade.²

Colman and Ham were calling for the archival profession to proceed systematically by preceding actual collecting efforts with appropriate conceptualization in order that the records acquired represent a balanced documentation of history and culture. They addressed concepts such as informed selection, representativeness, bias, skewing, gaps, acquisitions strategies, and the universe of potential archival data that were largely underdeveloped in earlier discussions of archival acquisition. That we now routinely consider such concerns as a given, in theory if not always in practice, is a tribute both to Zinn, Colman, and Ham's vision and their timing. The archival profession in the early 1970s was seeking to define a role for itself that would distinguish it from the fields of librarianship and history, and the challenge of documenting our times offered archivists an opportunity to claim a unique and attractive piece of turf. To the extent that an objective of documentation was to diversify and enrich the collective record with an improved representation of the records of women, minorities, and the working class, it also provided an opportunity for many archivists to bring their social values to work with them.

A few examples from subsequent contributions to the archival literature will suggest how the concept of documentation has shaped the way we archivists approach acquisitions and appraisal activity. Robert Shuster's discussion of the ways that religious enthusiasm is manifested provides the basis for a better understanding of the fact that certain phenomena or aspects of human activity are less likely to be captured adequately in written records. Linda Henry cautioned against the particular vulnerability of special-subject repositories to having their collecting strategies defined by current historiographic interests. Andrea Hinding's insistence that collecting must be conceived of as an intellectual activity emphasized the need to understand a phenomenon in all of its complexity and to assess systematically the records generated by the phenomenon. A recent volume edited by Nancy Peace moved in this direction, defining appraisal as an archival function that should be grounded in a broad conceptual understanding of an area of activity rather than on narrowly focused characteristics of particular records.³

Recent applications of the concept of documentation have tended to emphasize macro-level policy implications. The collaborative efforts of the Joint Committee on Archives of Science and Technology and the SAA Task Force on Goals and Priorities stressed the need to develop a national-scale documentation strategy; to foster collaboration among creators, administrators, and users of records; to engage in cooperative interinstitutional planning; and to assess the value of archival records in the context of information contained in all media.⁴

The purpose of this article is more modest. It is intended to offer an illustration of how the concept of documentation can be applied to analyze and refine the collecting and appraisal strategy of a particular repository. The example draws on the experience of the Social Welfare History Archives at the University of Minnesota-Twin Cities in its efforts to document the development of voluntary-sector social services in the United States, with the assumption that the approach utilized by the Social Welfare History Archives can be applied in other settings as well.

To begin at the end of the story, the conclusion that we reached was that our existing collecting policy appeared to inadequately represent the perspective of the consumers of social services. In order to understand how and why this came to be the case and how the policy was corrected, it is necessary to describe two lines of development: an emerging interest in the subject area, i.e., the circumstances that motivated archivists to select and preserve records and researchers to use them; and the nature of those developments in the social services field that require documentation.

The Archival Context

Archivists sometimes bemoan the extent to which their collecting and processing emphases respond to prevailing research interests, and many aspire to anticipate future research trends as a means of breaking out of the reactive cycle. In truth, archivists and historians tend to move more or less in tandem, for both find their professional priorities shaped, at least in part, by prevailing societal values. Emerging archival interest in social service and records documenting such service paralleled a similar interest in the history profession and among the general public.

Until about 1960 there was very little collecting being done in the area of social services. Most likely to be collected were the personal papers of reformers such as Frances Perkins, Jane Addams, and Lillian Wald who were significantly involved in public policy debates. Relatively few repositories were involved; most notable were Radcliffe College, Columbia University, the Library of Congress Manuscript Division, and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Excluding public records in state and national archives, almost no organizational or agency records were under the jurisdiction of archivists and manuscript curators.⁵

During the late 1950s the Social Welfare History Group, a committee of historians and social work educators, identified as one of its chief concerns the need to preserve social welfare records under proper conditions. Vaughn Bornet, then of the Rand Corporation, spoke to a joint meeting of the Society of American Archivists and the American Association for State and Local History in 1959 on "the manuscripts of social welfare," citing the need for professional archival intervention to ensure the preservation of welfare agency records. Although he was not involved in any subsequent efforts, his remarks quite accurately anticipated the direction of significant archival activity during the following decade.⁶

Public perceptions and attitudes regarding social issues shifted sharply during the early 1960s. Replacing a previously held assumption that poverty was on the verge of being excised from American society was a recognition that it was in fact widespread as exemplified by President Lyndon Johnson's declaration of war on poverty in 1964. Symbolic of this rediscovery of poverty was Michael Harrington's seminal book, *The Other America*, which effectively captured the reality of being poor in the midst of abundance.⁷ In the context of this renewed awareness a number of new archival programs picked up on the cue and made the acquisition of the records of social service organizations and agencies a very important part of their collecting policies. The Social Welfare History Archives at the University of Minnesota was the only repository collecting on a nation-wide scale the records of national non-governmental

organizations in the welfare and service field. It was soon joined by four other university-affiliated urban archives—the Archives of Industrial Society at the University of Pittsburgh, the Manuscripts Collection at the University of Illinois-Chicago, the Urban Archives Center at Temple University, and the Baltimore Region Institutional Studies Center—all of them attempting, in Fredric Miller's words, "to collect and make available the records documenting the whole range of urban life." All were established between 1963 and 1973 and in each the records of organized social reformers and social service agencies represent an important segment of their total holdings. At the same time two existing repositories, the Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs at Wayne State University and the Chicago Historical Society, increased their collecting emphasis in the area of local social service agencies.⁸

These developments reached a point that some felt could become excessive. Writing in 1971, the historian Samuel P. Hays called attention to the "problem-policy" bias of social history, citing too chummy a relationship between the values of social historians and the social reformers about whom they wrote. The historians relied too heavily on evidence generated by the reformers, he said, because "organized social movements and written records of ideology are the most convenient sources for historical research." He was referring to the propensity of reformers to begin by analyzing existing conditions, assuming that no problem, properly understood and analyzed, could withstand the onslaught of rationally and systematically applied resources.⁹

The historiographic trend that Hays criticized was predicated almost exclusively on historians' reliance upon the records created by reformers. Hays was criticizing historians, but implicit in his remarks was a charge that mirrored the one that Howard Zinn had leveled at archivists: although there was generally no shortage of available records of organized social movements, archivists were on the verge of preserving a skewed documentary record that illuminated social reality from only one point. In all the previous efforts to secure the records of social service and social reform there was no perception that clients or recipients might also possess a unique perspective worthy of documenting.¹⁰

The Social Context

The notion that consumers have certain self-interests and that they might, from time to time, find it beneficial to band together to further those interests is hardly new. Although consumerism may be identified more with goods than with services in the popular mind, there is a long history of efforts on the part of individuals and groups to influence the nature and extent of the services they receive or wish to receive.

There are two trends of relatively recent origin that increase the importance of the service consumer. The first is the growth in significance and in absolute numbers of employees of the service sector of American society, to the extent that some analysts refer to the "service society" as an era in the same way that others speak of "post-industrial society." Whereas in 1950 the ratio of persons employed in providing services as compared to those involved in producing goods was roughly one-to-one, twenty-five years later it was better than two-to-one in favor of service providers.¹¹ These figures pertain to the entire service

sector, including transportation, finance, utilities, entertainment, and tourism, as well as human services. Even more dramatic increases can be cited in the case of the social services. Between 1950 and 1975 expenditures for public social welfare programs as a percentage of the gross national product tripled, and increased more than ten-fold in dollar figures. The number of old-age, survivors, and disability insurance beneficiaries increased ten-fold, while the number of children receiving child welfare services doubled. The number of vocational rehabilitation cases served increased by a factor of five, and membership in professional social work associations increased by a factor of five.¹²

Most of these statistics are drawn from just the public sector where tabulations are more readily available. Taken in the aggregate, they may be summarized simply by saying that dramatically more services are being offered to more persons than ever before. This remains true, even in the face of Reagan-era efforts to reduce both human services expenditures and the number of recipients. It should also be noted that service consumers are no longer limited to the poor and oppressed, if ever they were. An adoption agency, for example, might place most of its children with relatively well-to-do families. All of this suggests a phenomenon of a magnitude sufficient to demand careful attention by archivists committed to full and balanced documentation of contemporary American society.

The second trend is in some ways a predictable extension of the first, namely that there has been a marked increase in consumer involvement in the social services, most notably during the 1960s but certainly not limited to that decade.¹³ The manifestations of this consumerism are widely varied. Most obvious are the organizations that arise in response to problems associated with existing services—as in the case of the National Welfare Rights Organization—or as a self-help effort to provide services where no alternatives are available—as in the case of the National Association for Retarded Citizens, begun by parents of retarded children—or as some combination of these two variants, as is most often the case. Many of the attempts to create new or alternative services were initiated by groups alienated from traditional services, for example, youths seeking non-judgmental assistance from hotlines and drop-in centers.¹⁴

Other cases are characterized by efforts to obtain greater involvement in an agency's decision-making process. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 that created many of the human service programs of the "War on Poverty" required "maximum feasible participation" by consumers of the services. By 1972 there were sixty-five different requirements for citizen participation in fifty-seven U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) programs, and many private agencies felt the pressure to adopt similar community involvement structures. The application of the participation requirement was enveloped in controversy. Daniel P. Moynihan gained much of his public visibility through his critique entitled *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding: Community Action in the War On Poverty*.¹⁵ The controversy however, should not detract from the significance of the attempt to institutionalize consumer or citizen involvement. If anything it increases the likelihood of continuing research interest.

Another example illustrates the same basic forces at work under somewhat different circumstances. Settlement houses, as developed in the late nineteenth

century, were characterized by socially concerned middle and upper-middle class persons becoming involved in bettering the conditions in poor working class neighborhoods. The settlement workers, most of whom were young college graduates, believed in what Jane Addams called "the reciprocal relationship of the classes." Compared with charity organizers and other early social workers, they were remarkably sensitive to the needs and desires of the poor, but still they were outsiders, coming in from another culture and relying on the sympathetic support of wealthy philanthropists who provided financial support. During the 1960s, residents of the neighborhoods served by the settlement houses demanded control of the facilities and programs, which they considered "colonialist." The makeup of boards of directors and staffs changed dramatically, the latter being recruited increasingly from the ranks of the poor, out of the conviction that graduate professional degrees were not the most important qualification for or best predictor of effectiveness. The entire emphasis shifted toward allowing the least economically favored to help themselves, and many institutions entirely dropped the term "settlement" from their names in favor of "neighborhood center."¹⁶

There were other manifestations as well, particularly the provision of consumer advocacy or ombudsman services. This emerged most visibly in the health care field with the development of the patient bill of rights and the emergence of the Society of Patient Representatives as a unit within the American Hospital Association. Similar offices appeared in many other social service agencies and programs.¹⁷

Several common themes emerge in all of these developments. The key words are participation, accountability, and quality. There was an increasing assertion of the right of users of social services to participate in their delivery and to expect a certain level of service, rights that existed both in judicial decisions and in public consciousness. All of these developments marked an end to operating autonomy for agencies and their professional staff members, and to their ability to determine policy independent of outside forces. Since the 1960s and early 1970s the consumer movement has lost some of its crusading fervor and subsequent citizen participation has appeared, at times, to be ritualistic. But the machinery is still in place as is the conviction that consumers have rights. In that sense, documentation that failed to reflect the consumer perspective in social services would be seriously flawed.

Archival Implications

When seeking to document a particular subject, field, or phenomenon, a librarian begins by attempting to identify everything that has been published *about* that field, while an archivist must begin by conceptualizing a universe consisting of the written records generated or accumulated *by* the participants and observers of the defined field. Put another way, the question "what has been written?" must be preceded by "who would have had reason to write by virtue of involvement in the field?"

Application of this approach to the social service field can be represented by the grid in Figure 1. The universe includes both individuals and organizations, whose roles are designated as planners, providers, consumers, and third-party observers. The last category—the observer—includes individuals or agen-

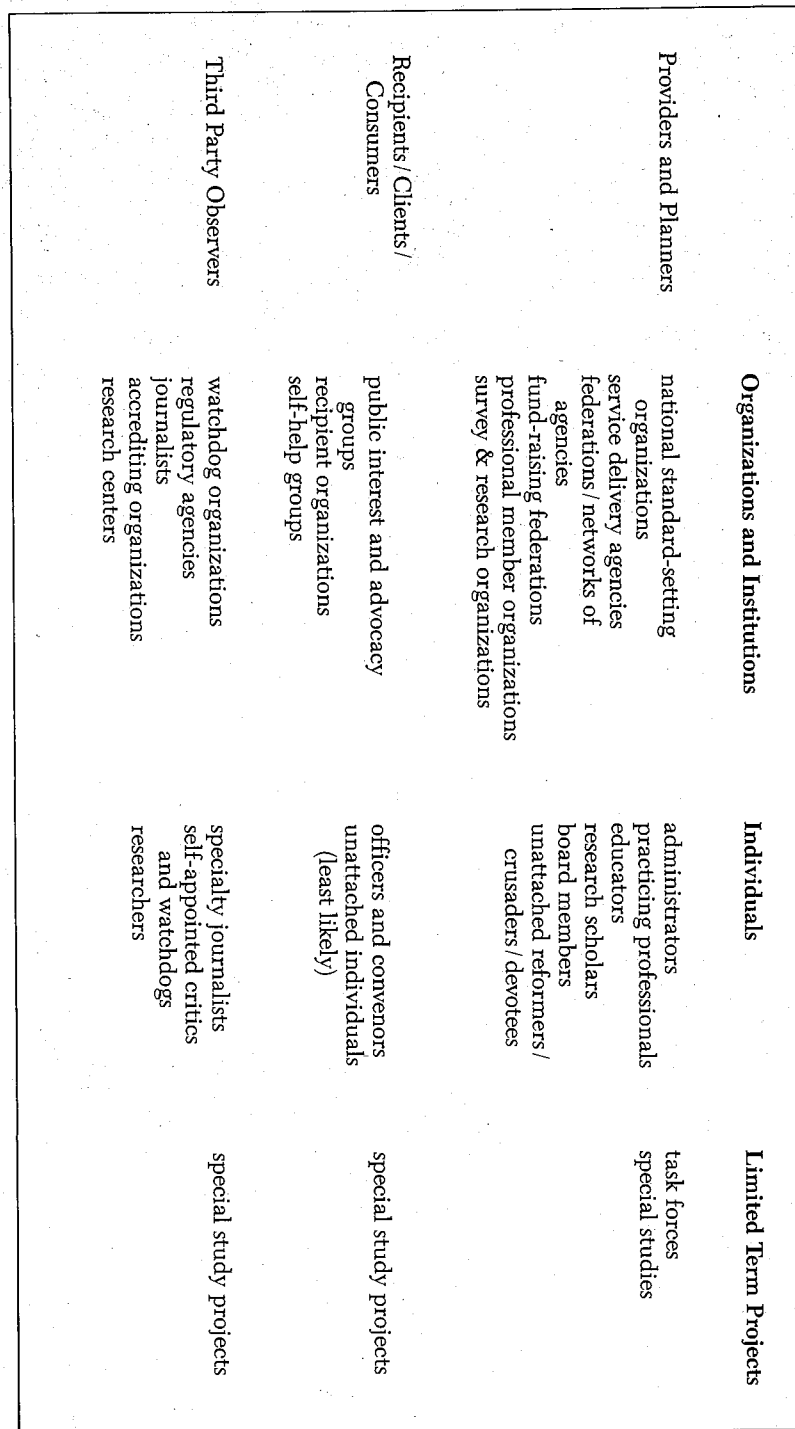


Figure 1
The Social Welfare Universe

cies whose involvement is not as direct, but who still have an interest in the issues and activities that could result in the creation and accumulation of relevant documentation.

The apparent simplicity of this theoretical construct is at once a strength and a weakness. It helped to clarify a collecting gap that we intuitively knew existed but had not been identified. Creating a consumer category, once done, appears to be perfectly obvious and logical. In fact, it represented something of a breakthrough. In many ways, it was not until we engaged in the formal task of explicitly categorizing the basic components of our universe of potential documentation that the existing pattern of collecting and its implications came into focus. The acquisitions policy of the Social Welfare History Archives had, from the beginning, emphasized the records of national voluntary organizations. They were readily identifiable, they represented a realistic collecting scale to which we could aspire, and they afforded a logical starting point. Not a great deal of attention was paid to what was not being collected.

On the other hand, the model oversimplifies reality in that the categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive. As has already been suggested, consumers have frequently organized to provide services for themselves. In fact, the self-help groups might almost be viewed as a distinct category altogether. Furthermore, roles change over time. What begins as a spontaneous, grass-roots response to problems with existing conditions and services can, and often does, lead to the establishment of a new agency or organization dedicated to the provision of a previously-unavailable service. The history of the social work profession embodies just such a shift from cause to function. The provider-consumer dichotomy implicit in the model can have the unintended effect of casting consumers in an exclusively passive-recipient role. Clarke Chambers argues compellingly that historians have focused too much on the formal social services and have failed to appreciate that for most persons the first and primary source of support in times of need was the informal network of family, friends, and church. Only when these failed, he suggests, were persons likely to seek or accept the intervention of public or private social agencies. Our application of the documentation model must be sensitive enough to take this phenomenon into account.¹⁸

The suggestion that we begin the documentation process by identifying all possible participants should not be extended to assume that one learns about consumers only by consulting records generated *by* consumers. To the extent that consumers have successfully penetrated provider organizations and agencies or, in the alternative view, been coopted by them, the institutional archives can provide a detailed picture of its consumers. Several examples will illustrate this point.

Case records provide a rich, and largely untapped, source of information about individuals and families. Problems associated with their bulk and confidentiality have discouraged both their acquisition and use. Social workers created records to differentiate one individual's circumstances from another's and, in doing so, created a record type every bit as complex as the interplay of circumstances, events, and personalities that it records. Researchers must allow for the biases and selectivity that are built into the recording process, but the intricacy and intimacy of information (which sometimes extends over a considerable length of time, in contrast to static census and survey portraits)

provides a unique research source. A recent dissertation by Beverly Stadum demonstrates how case records can be used to reconstruct the lives of poor women and the families for which they were responsible.¹⁹

The records of a settlement house that has been transformed into a neighborhood-based service center often reflect the shift to, and input from, its new power base. For example, the records of the United Neighborhood Houses of New York City include files on its government-funded preschool education programs of the late 1960s. Included there are records of policy advisory committees made up of parents, who were to be deeply involved together with their children in the preschool programs. Though heavily laden with evidence of the formal advisory process, the records also afford a source of specific information on individual families and their conditions relative to young children, which is available only because of the existence of the mandated participatory/advisory process.²⁰

The records of any of the Community Action Programs of the "War on Poverty" era will be replete with documents relating to the establishment and functioning of citizens' advisory committees—although they may tell researchers more about the process of attempting to achieve "maximum feasible participation" than about the substance of the viewpoints of the new participants.²¹ In other instances records of the office of the client advocate or ombudsman, the files of hearings resulting from grievances, the records of advisory committees, those that document relationships with client groups, and the records of the research office (to the extent that the agency engages in consumer or market research) all provide evidence of various kinds of consumer expression.

Valuable though these resources can be, they all reach the researcher only after passing through a filter. They represent the consumer's views only as mediated by the agency. At best they depict only a limited band of the broad consumer spectrum. Transcending these limitations will require a systematic collecting effort aimed at the consumers and their organizations. Without a doubt it is easier to identify the providers because the agencies are, for the most part, aligned with fund-raising federations and other networks of similar agencies. Consumer groups are often relatively short-lived, less formally structured, and not conveniently aligned with a federation or listed in a directory. The emergence of self-help groups—Alcoholics Anonymous, for example, and parallel groups for battered women, separated and divorced spouses, and chemically dependent persons—is sometimes attributed to a loss of faith in institutions and professional expertise. Such groups may discourage record keeping, let alone consent to transferring records to an archival repository. Consequently, archivists face a situation that is potentially difficult but by no means impossible.²²

The experience of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in assembling its Social Action Collection offers an instructive model, both in terms of a method for proceeding and a validation of the worthiness of expending the effort. During the 1960s and early 1970s the Society sought to document the civil rights, anti-war, and other movements for social change and social justice. It utilized graduate students as well as staff members, many of whom were active participants in the movements themselves, as field representatives. They assembled an unrivaled collection of unpublished records and papers and

associated print/near-print materials that might otherwise have gone unpreserved. On the other hand, the experience of the Cornell University Department of Manuscripts and University Archives in its efforts to document the experience of individual soldiers during the Vietnam War underscores potential difficulties. Problems related to the stability of the advocacy group on which Cornell relied for entrée to the veterans whose papers it sought, together with inadequate funding, limited the success of an highly imaginative project in terms of the quality and quantity of documentation that the project was able to assemble. Although it was not technically related to consumers of social services, the Cornell project's focus on documenting a large scale phenomenon from the individual, grass-roots perspective is sufficiently similar to serve as an instructive example. The contrasting results of these two projects suggest that an archival institution interested in grass-roots, consumer-generated records should be prepared to undertake a sustained project and to go to great lengths to establish its credentials in the community of potential donors.²³

To the extent that the records of agencies and other providers offer inadequate representation of the consumer perspective, the full and balanced documentation of public programs represents a special challenge. With the infrequent exception of repositories that handle local public records as well as private manuscripts, the scope of a typical government archives program does not include the acquisition of consumer records. This responsibility must be assumed by other repositories.

Assuming that we were to supplement the predominantly planner-provider sources by identifying and acquiring the records of various consumer-oriented groups and the personal papers of their leaders, what would we have accomplished? To answer that, it would be useful to try to visualize the basic types of inquiry that could be based on research in the sort of records that have been described. First, researchers could study consumers as part of the agency or service process with the focus on the process itself. Consumers would be important for the perspective they provide and the role that they play.²⁴

Second, researchers could study consumer organizations or individual activists in their own right. Such a study might want to investigate the nature, characteristics, internal dynamics, and functioning of a voluntary organization which just happened to be concerned with a particular kind of social service.²⁵

Third, the focus could be on consumers as representative of a segment of society, a group larger than the ones documented specifically—either the total consumer population (not just those actively involved in a group process) or even a larger socioeconomic class of which the consumers can be claimed to be a representative component.²⁶

The consumer-oriented records that we are most likely to acquire are those of consumer activists, i.e., the groups and individuals who assumed leadership roles in the effort to influence policy in some way. Their records and papers speak most directly and representatively to the first two categories of inquiry above, but they are less useful as a basis for documenting the experience of large segments of society. The Vietnam War Veterans Archives aspired to document the experience of the ordinary enlisted soldier, to transcend what would be contained in the records of veterans' organizations. That goal proved to be extraor-

dinary difficult to attain. Case records, or other systematically compiled data on individual clients, appear to remain the best source for studying the broad range of consumers and the socio-economic groups of which they are a part, assuming that such records are available.

Clearly, consumerism is not as passionately active or as ideologically inflamed in the 1980s as it was in the 1960s, or for that matter, in the 1930s; but it would be a gross oversimplification and distortion to suggest that it is dead. True, many community advisory boards may largely be going through the motions, and many of the alternative, youth-oriented services that emerged during the counter-culture years have disbanded. On the other hand, women's groups have continued to lobby effectively for nonsexist treatment and increased opportunity and the aged, seldom mentioned in consumer activist terms in the 1960s, later emerged in the form of the Gray Panthers and various senior federations as one of the best organized consumer blocs today. Some agency heads report that their more diversely-representative boards and committees continue to make a very important contribution, and that the community representatives are more sophisticated, if less shrill, in their participation. At the very least, the mindset that assumes that the right of participation and the right to have adequate service remains intact, as does much of the institutional structure set up to ensure such rights.

All of this suggests that the goal of full and balanced documentation does not come easily or naturally. It requires careful attention, both to the sources from which records are obtained and to the contents of the records. This is essentially a restatement of the essence of Goal One of the SAA Goals and Priorities Task Force Report: that collecting strategies and appraisal techniques of archival repositories must be developed in a way that achieves the identification and retention of records of enduring value.²⁷ The need to make a conscious effort to capture the perspective of consumers or persons affected by a particular type of activity is by no means limited to social services. College and university archivists face a similar challenge in documenting education from the student's perspective, as do religious archivists in the case of their lay members. The same can be said in almost any other setting. Formal institutional or organizational activities always lend themselves most readily to the transmission of an enduring record for future generations. While the concept of documentation offers no easy answers, its conceptual framework helps to identify the options available to us and provides the basis for making intelligent choices among them.

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NOTES

1. Frank B. Evans, Donald F. Harrison, and Edwin A. Thompson, comps., "A Basic Glossary for Archivists, Manuscript Curators, and Records Managers," *American Archivist* 37 (July 1974): 415-33. Andrea Hinding made the observation about the lack of acquisitions-related terms in "Toward Documentation: New Collecting Strategies in the 1980s," *Options for the Eighties: Proceedings of the Second Annual Conference of American College and Research Libraries*. Foundation in Library and Information Science, Vol. 17, eds. Virgil F. Massman and Michael Kathman, (Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 1982).
2. Howard Zinn, "Secrecy, Archives, and the Public Interest," *Midwestern Archivist* 2, no. 2 (1977): 14-26; Gould P. Colman, "The Forum: Communications From Members," *American Archivist* 35 (July 1973): 483-85; F. Gerald Ham, "The Archival Edge," *American Archivist* 38 (January 1975): 5-13.
3. Robert Shuster, "Documenting the Spirit," *American Archivist* 45 (Spring 1982): 135-41; Linda Henry, "Collecting Policies of Special-Subject Repositories," *American Archivist* 43 (Winter 1980): 57-63. Andrea Hinding, "Toward Documentation"; Nancy Peace, ed., *Archival Choices: Managing the Historical Record in an Age of Abundance* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1984).
4. Joint Committee for the Archives of Science and Technology, *Understanding Progress as Process: Documentation of the History of Post-War Science and Technology in the United States* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 1983); Society of American Archivists, *Planning for the Archival Profession: A Report of the SAA Task Force on Goals and Priorities* (Chicago: SAA, 1986). Joan Haas, Helen Samuels, and Barbara Simmons, *Appraising the Records of Modern Science and Technology: A Guide* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1985) spells out this approach in an explicit and helpful way.
5. For a listing of these early social welfare holdings, see Clarke A. Chambers, "The Archives of Social Welfare," in *Encyclopedia of Social Work*, ed. John B. Turner, 17th ed. (Washington: National Association of Social Workers, 1977), 80-84.
6. Vaughn Bornet, "The Manuscripts of Social Welfare," *American Archivist* 23 (January 1960): 33-84. Bornet identified the problems of bulk and confidentiality, advocated educating welfare agency executives to engage in intelligent weeding of their records, and recognized that not all material related to social welfare could be assembled in a single repository. The early concerns of the Social Welfare History Group are documented in the Group's *Newsletter*, no. 5 (April 1958), which contained articles by a historian, Barbara Solomon; a librarian, Margaret Otto; and an agency administrator, Clark Mock. See also Clarke Chambers's letter describing conditions in one library in issue no. 9 (May 1960) of the *Newsletter*.
7. Michael Harrington, *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (New York: Penguin Books, 1962). See also Dwight Macdonald, "Our Invisible Poor," *New Yorker Magazine*, 19 Jan. 1963, 82-132, a lengthy review essay of Harrington's book which took on a life of its own. Walter I. Trattner, *From Poor Law to Welfare State*, 2nd ed. (New York: Free Press, 1979), 248-52.
8. Fredric M. Miller, "The Current State of Urban Historical Documentation," *Drexel Library Quarterly* 13 (October 1977): 1-15; Miller, "Social History and Archival Practice," *American Archivist* 44 (Spring 1981): 113-24. David Klaassen, "The Archives of Social Welfare," in *Encyclopedia of Social Work*, ed. Anne Minahan, 18th edition, (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Social Workers, 1986): 150-56.
9. Samuel P. Hays, "A Systematic Social History," in *American History: Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Gerald Grob and George Billias (New York: The Free Press, 1971), 320-22.
10. Ibid., and Zinn, "Secrecy, Archives and the Public Interest." Analyses similar to that of Hays, critical of the narrowly institutional and administrative nature of most social welfare history were offered by Robert Bremner, "The State of Social Welfare History," in *The State of American History*, ed. Herbert J. Bass (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970), and by Raymond Mohl, "Mainstream Social Welfare History and its Problems," *Reviews in American History* 7 (December 1979): 469-76.
11. Alan Gartner and Frank Reissman, *The Service Society and the Consumer Vanguard* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 19.

12. Selected from "Statistical Data in Social Work and Social Welfare," in *Encyclopedia of Social Work*, ed. John B. Turner, 17th ed., (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Social Workers, 1977), 1611-70. See tables 20, 28, 35, 47, and 54.
13. For an analysis of an earlier wave of client organizing in the 1930s, see Helen Seymour, *When Clients Organize* (Chicago: American Public Welfare Association, 1937) and Richard Cloward and Frances Piven, *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail* (New York: Random House, 1977).
14. Joseph Paull, "Recipients Aroused," *Social Work* 12 (April 1967): 101-106, describes the origins of the National Welfare Rights Organization. For the development of the National Association of Retarded Citizens, see the essay by Robert Segal in *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of American Institutions: Social Service Organizations*, ed. Peter Romanosky (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing, 1978), 436-43. For discussion of the more general development of self-help groups, see Alfred H. Katz et al., *The Strength in Us: Self-Help Groups in the Modern World* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1976).
15. Daniel P. Moynihan, *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding: Community Action in the War on Poverty* (New York: Free Press, 1969).
16. Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967). Robert Fisher, *Let the People Decide: Neighborhood Organizing in America* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984), 5-13; Bertram M. Beck, "Settlements and Community Centers" in *Social Work Yearbook*, ed. John B. Turner, 17th ed., (Washington: National Association of Social Workers, 1977), 1262-66.
17. Constance Fischer and Stanley Brodsky, *Client Participation in Social Services: The Prometheus Principle* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1978); James K. Morrison, ed., *A Consumer Approach to Community Psychology* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1979); Robert Yin, et al, *Citizen Organizations: Increasing Client Control over Services* (Santa Monica: Rand Corp., 1973); Arthur Pearl and Frank Riessman, *New Careers for the Poor: The Non-Professional in Human Services* (New York: The Free Press, 1965).
18. Clarke A. Chambers, "Toward a Redefinition of Welfare History," *Journal of American History* 73 (September 1986): 420-27. See also Gerald Caplan and Marie Killilea, eds., *Support Systems and Mutual Help: Multidisciplinary Explorations* (New York: Grune and Stratton, 1976).
19. Beverly Stadum, "Maybe They'll Respect What I Done and Struggled: Poor Women and their Families; Charity Cases in Minneapolis, 1900-1930" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1986), based on research in the case records of the Minneapolis Family and Children's Service held by the Social Welfare History Archives. For analysis of the research potential of case records and the archival administrative problems they pose, see Dennis East, "Social Welfare Case Records: Valuable or Valueless for Working-Class History?" *Labor History* 17 (Summer 1976): 416-21; G. J. Parr, "Case Records as Sources for Social History," *Archivaria* 4 (Summer 1977): 131-36; Virginia Stewart, "Problems of Confidentiality in the Administration of Personal Case Records," *American Archivist* 37 (July 1974): 387-98; Peter Gillis, "The Case File: Problems of Acquisition and Access from a Federal Perspective," *Archivaria* 6 (Summer 1978): 32-39; R. Joseph Anderson, "Public Welfare Case Records: A Study of Archival Practices," *American Archivist* 43 (Spring 1980): 169-79; Roy Turnbaugh, "Welfare Case Files—A Closer Look," *For the Record: Newsletter of the Illinois State Archives* 4 (Summer 1980): 2-3; David Klaassen, "The Provenance of Social Work Case Records: Implications for Archival Appraisal and Access," *Provenance: Journal of the Society of Georgia Archivists* 1 (Spring 1983): 5-30; Dale C. Mayer, "The New Social History: Implications for Archivists," *American Archivist* 48 (Fall 1985): 388-99.
20. Susan Steinwall, "Inventory of United Neighborhood Houses of New York, Supplement" (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, Social Welfare History Archives, 1982).
21. See Joseph Tillman, "A Faustian Example of Betrayal: The Ramsey County Citizens Committee for Economic Opportunity," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1984), which was based on research in the Ramsey Action Program records in the Social Welfare History Archives; and Fisher, *Let the People Decide*, pp.110-20.
22. A compilation of information about 231 collections related to the consumer movement, held in 44 archives and manuscript repositories is available in Steven W. Gelston and Peggy Pascoe, comps., *A Guide to Documents of the Consumer Movement: A National Catalog of Source Material* (Mount Vernon, NY: Consumers Union Foundation, Inc. 1980). The perspective

- on the ideology of self-help groups draws on Chambers, "Toward a Redefinition of Welfare History," pp.427-31, and Katz, *The Strength in Us* pp. 2-33.
23. For discussion of the Wisconsin project, see Sarah Cooper's introductory essay in Menzi L. Behrnd-Klodt and Carolyn J. Mattern, *Social Action Collections at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin: A Guide* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1983). The Cornell project is described in Elaine D. Engst, "Establishing a Vietnam War Veterans Archives," *Midwestern Archivist* 10, no. 1 (1985): 43-52.
 24. An example of this approach is Tillman, "Ramsey County Citizens Committee." Another, in an institutional setting, is Barbara M. Brenzel, *Daughters of the State: A Social Portrait of the First Reform School for Girls in North America, 1956-1905* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1983), which is notable for its blend of administrative development and social history.
 25. Examples here include Guida West, *The National Welfare Rights Organization: The Social Protest of Poor Women* (New York: Praeger, 1981), and, although they do not rely particularly on archival sources, Piven and Cloward, *Poor People's Movements*, and Paull, "Recipients Aroused."
 26. Stadum, "Poor Women and their Families." To some extent, this study belongs in the first category because it does consider the relationship of the women clients and the social workers, but the emphasis is primarily on the women, taking advantage of the fact that their client status afforded a source of documentation by which to study their lives.
 27. SAA, *Planning for the Archival Profession*, 8.