
CHAPTER XV

ADMINISTRATION AND THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

Because many of the newer public-aid programs are complex in operation and their underlying philosophy is not yet everywhere understood, there is urgent need to enlighten the general public both as to the objectives of these programs and the specific benefits they make available to needy or otherwise eligible persons. It is essential that those who are potential or actual users of any public-aid program should know what assistance is available to them and how to go about securing it. For example, more and more the unemployed or those seeking work must be urged to register with the public employment service and employers must be shown the usefulness of the service to them. Indeed, the orderly development of public-aid programs will depend in great part upon an increasing public appreciation of their actual and potential accomplishments. The need for the dissemination of information is the greater because of the absence, as already noted, of any single office at the local level capable of supplying information regarding public facilities.

However, informing the immediate beneficiaries of the services available to them is but one phase of public relations. It is equally essential in a democracy that public agencies operate in the full view of public knowledge about their work. Unless the public is in a position to evaluate the weaknesses as well as the strengths of current programs and the efficiency of their administration, there is a danger that the release of information by the agencies about their own activities may degenerate into "pressure" upon the public and the several legislatures to continue or strengthen a particular service. "Education" and "publicity" may thus become propaganda.

Public aid has not only become a recognized function of Government but, as is evident from the preceding pages, these activities now touch the lives and the purses of a significant proportion of the total population. Public-aid policies have become a vital national issue. It is therefore the more important that the governmental agencies which now administer these programs should, in the exercise of their responsibilities, preserve a critical attitude toward their own programs and supply the citizens of the country with the data necessary to make a proper evaluation of the national achievement.

As the provision of aid to the needy or low-income groups has been increasingly taken over by larger units of Government and administered by Government offi-

cial, the need for utilizing every device that will protect the applicant against undue bureaucratic rigidity and permit the citizen in appropriate ways to exercise some check on issues of public policy has been greatly intensified. The enlistment of citizen cooperation in the development of social policies and the avoidance of any sense of official regimentation is indeed one of the major tasks faced by a democracy with a highly developed series of public-aid programs.

This chapter is concerned with two aspects of this broad problem: first, the extent to which the public is today supplied with information that makes possible an intelligent understanding of the problems presented by economic insecurity and the appropriateness and effectiveness of the measures taken by Government to grapple with it; and second, the extent to which use is made of the opportunity to enlist lay cooperation in policy formation and appropriate aspects of administration.

Dissemination of Information by Federal Agencies

All the Federal departments concerned with public aid maintain information services, many of which have been very active in recent years. Their activities in general comprise both the issue of printed materials, news releases, and radio scripts and the furnishing of speakers and information to various organized groups such as labor unions and employer organizations. The supply of information of these types has been especially noteworthy in regard to the social-insurance programs. In view of the unfamiliarity of such measures, it was necessary for both the Federal and the State agencies to undertake a vast educational campaign to inform the public of the character of the new legislation and the insured population of their rights and of the procedures required to establish claims.

It can scarcely be claimed that all Federal agencies now administering public-aid programs have placed the public in a position to judge the appropriateness of the programs in relation to the problems presented by economic insecurity or to evaluate the efficiency with which each agency carries out its tasks. In the absence of any continuing body charged with responsibility for surveying developments in the field as a whole, the annual reports of each agency might be expected to be the first and obvious source of such information. In fact, these annual reports vary greatly

in quality. At the one extreme is the report of the Social Security Board, which not only gives a full account of the activities of the various operating bureaus and the major problems which have been faced during the year but also contains comprehensive data which make possible comparison of the development of programs from year to year and in different parts of the country. Furthermore, in each annual report the Board directs attention to the extent to which the stated objectives of the various programs have been attained during the year and to other outstanding problems, and frequently indicates its own views as to desirable policy changes, with reasons therefor.

At the other extreme, the National Youth Administration did not publish any formal annual report until the fiscal year 1940. The annual reports issued by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation (now the Surplus Marketing Administration) have hitherto been brief and sketchy, and have contained little statistical or other detailed information regarding the work of the Agency.¹

The Work Projects Administration issues a more comprehensive annual report presenting usually a brief history of the program, physical accomplishments, data on project employment and project workers, finances, and analyses of trends. However, there is little critical evaluation in the report. The major emphasis is placed on accomplishments, and few data are presented which would enable the reader to attempt an independent evaluation. A detailed and extensive report is also issued annually by the Railroad Retirement Board, covering its two main functions: the administration of railroad retirement legislation and of railroad unemployment insurance. It comprises not only a general review of the operations of the Board in these two fields, including financial operations, but also a detailed analysis of the various types of beneficiaries under railroad retirement legislation. The annual report of the Farm Security Administration, while presenting an admirably clear and simple picture of the functions undertaken by the agency, does not provide data basic to any critical analysis of the agency's program.²

¹ There is, for example, little discussion of how the Corporation actually conducts its purchases and distribution program or maintains relations with the vitally important State public-welfare departments. Nor does the statistical material presented make possible comparisons, by States and by commodities, of the costs and quantities purchased and distributed, the processing costs met by the Corporation, and transportation, storage, and other handling charges.

² The report, although containing statistical information, does not permit comparisons on a year-to-year basis. No detailed information is given as to the characteristics of the FSA clientele, of the extent to which the program is in operation in different States or areas, or the principles and standards of need used in selecting beneficiaries. This omission is only partially offset by various statistical analyses available for special purposes.

Many of the agencies supplement the information available in their annual reports by the publication of periodic reports or bulletins and reports of special research or studies. This is notably the case with the Social Security Board and the Work Projects Administration, whose technical and special publications have reached a high standard of excellence and throw much light on various phases of the agencies' activities. The *Social Security Bulletin* published by the former agency is indeed the chief source of information in the field of public aid which is continuously and readily available,³ although the fact that it is issued by an agency which is only one of several operating in the field necessarily restricts the scope of data presented. In general, however, the majority of the monthly bulletins issued by the various agencies provide chiefly statistical information, and their content is necessarily predetermined in large measure by the administrative requirements peculiar to each agency's program.

It is true that more extensive information concerning the operation of all the Federal programs is available in the hearings of congressional committees, especially the hearings on appropriations. This is notably true of the Work Projects Administration, the National Youth Administration, and the Farm Security Administration. Indeed, congressional hearings are often the sole or the chief public source of documentary information regarding important aspects of the programs administered by these agencies.

But as a source of information to the average citizen the congressional hearings have many shortcomings. The type of data presented changes from year to year, often reflecting the special interests of individual members of the committee or an ephemeral public interest in some aspect of the agency's operations. There is thus no uniformity in the type of information presented from year to year. The presentation of data is frequently interrupted by lengthy and irrelevant discussions, and to elucidate and compile the data requires research techniques which the average citizen cannot be expected to possess. Finally, the circumstances under which the information is made available—namely, the fact that it is part of the agency's justification for the appropriations requested—tends to produce only a type of data to serve the particular purpose at hand. These conditions inevitably lead to an over-emphasis upon facts which indicate the need for financial support of the particular work the agency is

³ One section of the *Monthly Labor Review*, issued by the Department of Labor, is also devoted to articles under the general heading of "Social Security," while the Railroad Retirement Board's *Monthly Review* contains not merely current statistics but also articles dealing with various aspects of unemployment insurance and retirement operations.

performing and give prominence to aspects of its work which invite favorable publicity.

Dissemination of Information by State and Local Agencies

The public is even less adequately supplied with information concerning the operation of programs administered by State and local authorities, despite the fact that a few States issue full and informative reports. In general it may be said that relatively more attention is paid to the problem of public relations in those States where the State administers one or more programs or exercises supervision over the activities of the subordinate political units.⁴ It will be recalled, however, that while there now exists a single State agency responsible for the administration or supervision of each of the special public assistances, only 36 States exercise any responsibility for general relief and in many cases, such responsibility is extremely limited and does not apply to all local units or to all groups of persons served by general-relief programs in those States.⁵

While in every State there is someone designated as responsible for public relations in the field of public assistance, in the majority of instances this individual is one of the administrative officers having other functional responsibilities.⁶ In at least 20 States there appears to be a regular program of public-relations activity; in the remainder there appears to be only sporadic or no formal public-relations activity.⁷ Twenty States were reported as making a positive effort to interest organized groups such as labor, civic, religious, professional, educational, and patriotic groups. Twelve States indicated little effort in this direction, while 11 States were doing nothing in this field beyond the occasional delivery of speeches. The major emphasis in the public-relations activities of the States appears to be on factual information.⁸

⁴ The State of Pennsylvania, for example, has made an outstanding attempt to inform the public.

⁵ See ch. XIII.

⁶ As of September 1939 (the latest date for which comprehensive information is available), 13 States had public-relations representatives. The representatives in 5 of these States seemed to have responsibility for both informational and public-relations activities, the final authority on public-relations policies appearing to rest with administrative officers.

⁷ Thirty-six States reported in September 1939 that professional staff members participate in public-relations work, primarily through making speeches, preparing newspaper and magazine articles, and giving advice to county officials and groups. In 15 States, the State board members are active in public-relations matters while in 6 additional States, governors, State officials, and board members take an active part. In 13 States, no activity by either the State board or other State officials was reported.

⁸ Eight States reported, however, that they were giving time to the dissemination of interpretative material as they were attempting to clarify common misunderstandings of the program and to answer public criticisms.

Reports to Officials or Official Bodies

It is evident that the main vehicle for the dissemination of information which would enable the public to appreciate the nature of the problems created by loss or inadequacy of private incomes and the effectiveness of public efforts to grapple with them must be the printed reports and other publicity issued by the agencies themselves in the form of periodic or occasional publications. In general, such publications constitute reports which are submitted, on the State level, to the governor or the legislative body or both and, on the local level, to local lay boards, or boards of county commissioners or both, or to city managers, mayors, and city councils. These reports often represent a large part of the agency's planned public-relations program and upon them is put the burden of explaining, interpreting, and defending. Moreover, the fact that they are frequently directed toward no special public or, at best, toward a legislative body voting on appropriations, tends to inhibit their effectiveness as instruments for securing popular understanding of the problems and programs at issue. A report prepared primarily for a legislative body or for a governor or mayor, for example, seldom has those characteristics which make it readable to the nonprofessional reader. Yet it would seem that the usual practice among public-welfare agencies is to use the official report of the agency concerning its legislative needs for general interpretation of its activities to the community.⁹

There is little evidence that the client of the agency has been recognized as part of the agency's public, at least to judge by the character of the published information. Some question-and-answer pamphlets have been devised, particularly for the special public assistances, covering eligibility requirements, grant procedures, etc. On the whole, however, it would seem that other methods (personal contact, client committees and the like) have been utilized to interpret the agency to the clients.

⁹ In some cases, however, the report prepared for the legislative group is deliberately designed for a larger public and in these cases is apt to be more useful for general distribution. A recent biennial report of the Washington State Department of Social Security (*Working Toward Social Security: Biennial Report, 1937-1939*, Olympia, 1939), submitted to the Governor, has been reviewed as follows:

"The Report serves well its principal purpose of interpreting to the public the scope and nature of the department's work, the organizational and financial problems involved, and the many aspects of an undertaking designed to meet the primary needs of human beings in which individual attitudes and feelings must be considered." (Review by James Leake in the *Social Service Review*, XIV (March 1940), 200.) Other examples of excellent descriptive and interpretative reports on agency activities are furnished by the State of New York, *Report of the Department of Social Welfare for the Period of July 1, 1936-June 30, 1939*, Legislative Document (1940) No. 75, Albany, 1940; and State of Wisconsin, *The Public Welfare Department Report, January 1, 1937-June 30, 1939*.

Whether these published reports are intended primarily for a selected group, such as legislators or boards, or for consumption by the general public or by large groups in that public, they do not seem to represent on the whole an effective medium for evaluating the agency's activities either separately or in relation to those of other agencies. This observation is based on content, presentation, and format.

From the standpoint of content, the principal value of these reports seems to lie in their descriptive nature. A person not previously familiar with the operations of the agency could secure from most of the reports a fairly good idea of the kinds of programs the agency carries on and how they are financed, and some conception of the organization for their execution. However, it is the exceptional report that attempts to interpret the narrative content or to explore the problems inherent in the particular characteristics of each activity and its relationship to other phases of the program and to other social and economic forces in the community. There are, of course, examples of reporting of this nature, but they are the exception to the general pattern.¹⁰

In many States the local agencies, operating under the supervision of a State agency, do not issue reports for general consumption. Hence, the State report must include the activities of the local agencies if much of their story is not to remain untold. Unfortunately, the latter is often the case.¹¹

¹⁰ Outstanding examples of State reports which present the subject matter in the cultural setting of the community are those published by the Emergency Welfare Relief Commission of the State of Michigan. In the third report of this agency, which covers a 6-year period, a definite attempt is made to present the problem of emergency relief in terms of the economic structure of the State and the social characteristics of the relief group in terms of the general population. (State of Michigan, State Emergency Welfare Relief Commission, *Emergency Relief in Michigan, 1933-39*, Lansing, 1939.)

In some instances local agencies have been able to place the contents of their reports in the local governmental structure by issuing them as part of a municipal report. In Rochester, New York, for example, the report of the Department of Welfare appears as one section of a report on city government prepared especially for Rochester citizens. The foreword points out that the report "gathers information concerning all phases of municipal operations during 1939 and presents it in non-technical language and simple form." (Rochester Department of Commerce, Division of Public Relations, *Rochester's Government: Municipal Report for January 1, 1939, to January 1, 1940*, Rochester, 1940.) Ten thousand copies of the booklet were published.

Still another example of the local agency report which presents its information from an interpretative standpoint is the Erie County, New York, publication for the year 1939. It describes the activities of the department in terms of the characteristics of the relief problems and its influence upon those activities. (*Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare, County of Erie, New York, Year Ended December 31, 1939*, Buffalo, 1940.)

¹¹ There are, however, exceptions. In Alabama one section of the annual report of the State Department is entitled "Public Welfare in Operation" and contains excerpts from county reports. The reason for incorporating this material in the annual report of the State Department is one that many agencies seem to have overlooked: "Recognition is given to the fact that a sound welfare program in the State from the standpoint of both support and administration is, in the last analysis, dependent upon enlightened public opinion concerning its objectives and performance. In order that some appraisal may be given to the achieve-

The complexity of the information which an agency is obliged to present creates in itself an initial problem in the effective interpretation of the agency's programs. Instead of attempting to emphasize certain information which might have greater appeal or greater significance to its audience, the agency is apt to present material in a routine manner in order to cover all its activities or discuss some of its most important problems in obscure sections of the report where they are not easily identified.¹² This would seem to be especially true of those points where the agency is faced with basic problems needing immediate attention—whether they be legislative, economic, or administrative.¹³ In some few instances, general publications of an informational nature, including descriptive material on departmental activities, may supplement the more technical aspects of the official report. However, it does not seem to be a general practice to issue such publications.¹⁴

In format, the reports usually show a conservative makeup in either printed or processed form, with little attempt to present the material in an attractive typographical form. Simply written and well presented reports are the exceptions. That it is possible to prepare reports which meet these criteria is evident, however, from the existence of certain exceptions.¹⁵

ments in the fields of major endeavor during the past year, excerpts from county annual reports have been selected to portray the effectiveness of the county agencies in assistance giving and in service." (State of Alabama, Department of Public Welfare, *Annual Report of the Fiscal Year October 1, 1938, through September 30, 1939*, Montgomery, 1940, p. 26.)

¹² Such is the case in a report of the Louisville Department of Public Welfare in which, on page 21, half-way through the report, there appears a discussion of the problem of inadequate general-relief financing which has been of prime importance to this agency the past few years. (City of Louisville, Kentucky, Department of Public Welfare, *Annual Report * * * Fiscal Year Ended August 31, 1939*, Louisville, 1939.) In reports of other agencies, when recommendations are given, they very often appear at the end of the report, following description of programs, organizations and administration, and even description of plant and equipment.

¹³ For example, on page 126 of the first annual report of the Rhode Island Department of Social Welfare appears a statement relative to employability status as a measure of eligibility for relief. This is a problem of prime importance in the State, where a local relief program is provided for unemployables and a State unemployment relief program for employables; yet the department's statement of its urgent need for a re-appraisal of this whole problem is buried under pages of statistical tables on other programs. (Rhode Island State Department of Social Welfare, *First Annual Report to the General Assembly at its January Session, 1940*, Providence, 1940.)

¹⁴ Exceptions to this general rule are provided by the reports issued by the Kansas State Board of Social Welfare and the Washington State Department of Social Security. (State Board of Social Welfare of Kansas, Bureau of Public Relations, *A Study in Public Assistance and Other Phases of Social Security: The Kansas Social Welfare Program, Topeka, 1938*; State of Washington, Department of Social Security, *A Program of Social Security for the State of Washington*, Monograph 34, Olympia, 1940.) Cf. also State Board of Public Assistance, *A Decade of Public Assistance in Pennsylvania, 1930-40*, Harrisburg, 1940.

¹⁵ The annual report of the New York State Board of Social Welfare, for example, is brief, simply written, and attractive though conservative in makeup. (State of New York, Board of Social Welfare, *Social Welfare in New York State: Annual Report for the Year 1939*. Legislative Document (1940) No. 67, Albany, 1940.) Given the technical

A further observation may be made with regard to the public-aid reports published by State and local agencies. Taken together they do not make possible a comparable picture of State and local programs for the nation as a whole. Indeed data necessary for such comparisons are not always available even in regard to the different programs operating within a given local area.¹⁶ There is no uniformity in regard to even a minimum number of aspects of the agencies' activities on which data are to be supplied. Information which one agency might consider essential may not appear in the publications of another agency. With the exception of standardized reporting such as appears in monthly statistical bulletins issued by most States, it cannot be said that the same material receives the same treatment or even that the same material is used. Nor can the absence of any agreement as to the aspects of the programs that call for comment be explained by the fact that local needs and local problems justify so high a degree of variation. The impossibility of securing a picture of the effectiveness of public-aid programs at the local level is also not infrequently impeded by the fact that the different agencies adopt different reporting periods.¹⁷

Periodicals

The periodical publications of both the State and local agencies, usually monthlies or quarterlies, are

facilities, a report of a so-called popular nature can be produced, as evidenced by the annual report of the Caddo Parish, La., Department of Public Welfare for 1937. The text is brief and amply illustrated with human-interest figures, and the typography would meet commercial standards. (Caddo Parish (Louisiana) Welfare Board, *From Under the Shadow*, Shreveport, 1937). The use of photographs, unusual in State or local publication, appears in New York City, Department of Welfare, *The Reorganization of Public Assistance, Report for 18-Month Period, January 1, 1938-June 30, 1939*, New York, 1940. Outstanding among the more attractive State publications is State of Indiana, Department of Public Welfare, Division of Supervision of State Institutions, *Four Years of Public Welfare in Indiana, A Report of Four Years' Public Welfare Administration in Indiana, 1936-40*, Indianapolis.

¹⁶ Cf., for example, the comment of the American Public Welfare Association in its survey of San Antonio, Tex.: "With few exceptions research and statistical data in the local public and private agencies are either nonexistent or too incomplete even for adequate administrative control. This factor is basic to the inadequacy of public reporting and interpretation and results in a lack of understanding of needs and programs which is evident in San Antonio." (American Public Welfare Association, *Public Welfare Survey of San Antonio, Texas*, Chicago, 1940, p. 3.)

¹⁷ When the American Public Welfare Association made a survey in Thurston County, Wash., it found that practically every agency involved in the study had either a different reporting or a different fiscal period. It was pointed out that: "Today, with the operation of programs involving all levels of government as well as the inter-relationships of agencies on the same level of government, it would seem that this situation impedes progress which the agencies might take in the direction of further coordination. * * * Energies now used in attempting to provide comparable figures could conceivably be released for concentration on the problems of the service itself so that the persons responsible for long-time planning of the national, State, and local programs, might consider what is involved in attempting to bring about a uniform fiscal and reporting period." (American Public Welfare Association, *Coordination and Integration at the County Level*, Olympia, Washington, 1940, ms., pp. 244-245.)

generally statistical bulletins. At the local level, it is principally the larger agencies in urban centers that publish such bulletins. Some agencies, more particularly at the State level, issue interpretative magazines which attempt to reach a larger audience and present current information on public-welfare programs in terms of the whole field of social welfare and related problems. Sometimes the publication is a combination of these two forms, representing statistical summaries for the period and interpretive material on specific phases of the program in each issue.

Practically all State public-welfare agencies issue statistical summaries following a more or less general pattern—number and kinds of persons served, costs, and some information on related programs, such as the WPA, and the CCC. This information is usually presented on a county or other local unit basis. Combined information of this sort on the special public assistances and general relief is available in those agencies having an integrated program and exhibits a degree of uniformity and comparability due in large measure to the influence of Federal reporting requirements for the federally aided programs. However, some other State-wide agencies, which are not responsible for supervision of general relief, incorporate general-relief figures in the report.

Without having specific information from the States, it is difficult to estimate the circulation of any of these types of publications. The guess may be hazarded that, in general, statistical bulletins are for administrative use, while those publications which contain interpretative material have a larger circulation in direct ratio to the amount of such material.

Special Studies

The publication of special studies, reports, and other information limited in subject matter or scope appears to follow no regular pattern among either State or local agencies.¹⁸ Many such studies have been published, evidently based to some extent upon the immediate need for information or specific local interest in some subject or problem. Some State and local agencies have made outstanding contributions toward the understanding of public-aid problems through such special studies.¹⁹

¹⁸ Reference is here made only to the studies made under the direction of public-aid agencies. The extent to which they are supplemented by related studies conducted or stimulated by other groups such as private welfare agencies, governmental and legislative research bureaus, State colleges and universities, planning boards, and governors' and citizens' committees will be indicated below.

¹⁹ The following list of special studies is suggestive but not exhaustive. **Historical Research:** City of Minneapolis, Division of Public Relief, *Historical Review—Four Years of Depression, 1931-1934*; State of New York, Department of Social Welfare, *The Road Upward*, Albany, 1939, the first of a public-information series tracing the history of public welfare in New York State from early colonial times through 1938:

These studies and reports usually originate in the research and statistics unit of the agency. They have embraced historical and social surveys (including statistical material) and administrative research. Much of the latter type of study, however, seldom appears in printed form.

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Welfare, *Poor Relief Administration in Pennsylvania*, Harrisburg, 1934; State of Washington, Washington Emergency Relief Administration, *Poor Relief in Washington, 1853-1933*, Publication No. 1, Olympia, 1934; Wisconsin Public Welfare Department, *General Relief in Wisconsin, 1848-1935*, Madison 1935.

Social Surveys: Nebraska Emergency Relief Administration, *Nebraska Survey of Social Resources*, 1936; Washington State Department of Social Security, *Community Surveys of Washington Counties*, Olympia, March 1937-June 1938.

Finance: City of Minneapolis, Board of Public Welfare, Division of Public Relief, *1939 Financial Analysis of Relief Costs*; Wisconsin Public Welfare Department, *Financial Condition of Wisconsin Counties, 1938*, Madison, 1939.

Agency Practices and Procedures: Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, *Budgetary Standards and Practices in Illinois during October 1938, 1939*; State of Indiana, Governor's Commission on Unemployment Relief, *Results of a Survey of Usual Rates Charged for Medical Services for Township Relief Cases, 1938, and Report on Poor Relief Administrative Policies and Procedures in Calumet, Hobart, and North Townships in Lake County, Indiana, 1939*; Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Public Assistance, Division of Research and Statistics, *Average Weekly General Assistance Grants per Case as Related to Size of Case*, Harrisburg, 1940; Philadelphia County Board, Department of Public Assistance, *Size of Visitor's Case Load as a Factor in Efficient Administration of Assistance*, Philadelphia, 1939, and *A Study of Intervals in the Application Process*, Philadelphia, 1940.

Composition and Analysis of Caseload: State Relief Administration of California, Division of Special Surveys and Studies, *A Study of the Case Load Composition*, San Francisco, 1936; Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, *Illinois Persons on Relief—1939*, Releases 1-5, Springfield, 1940; Chicago Relief Administration, *Preliminary Report on Survey of Unemployable Cases Open on the Chicago Relief Administration Rolls May 15, 1937*, Chicago, 1937; Michigan State Emergency Welfare Relief Commission, *Unemployable Persons on the Emergency Relief Rolls of Michigan*, Lansing, 1935; New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies, *Analysis of Relief Case Load of Thirty New Jersey Municipalities*, Trenton, 1938; Nassau County (N. Y.) Department of Public Welfare, Section of Research and Statistics, *Social Data on Home Relief Case Loads in Nassau County, New York, as of February 1, 1938, and July 1, 1938*, Garden City, 1938; Buffalo (N. Y.) Emergency Relief Board, *Thirty-Three Thousand on Relief, 1937*, giving the economic and social characteristics of the total home-relief caseload as of June 30, 1937.

Studies of Special Problems: State Relief Administration of California, Division of Special Surveys and Studies, *Transients in California*, San Francisco, 1936, and *Unemployment Relief in Labor Disputes*, Los Angeles, 1939; State Relief Administration of California, Bureau of Resident Projects, *The Resident Projects of the SERA*, Los Angeles, 1940; Connecticut Emergency Relief Commission, *Relief Problems of Transiency*, Hartford, 1936; Chicago Relief Administration, *The Unattached Non-Resident Man*, Chicago, 1939; Kansas State Board of Social Welfare, Division of Research and Statistics, *Medical Assistance in Kansas*, Research Study No. 4, Topeka, 1938; City of Minneapolis, Department of Public Welfare, Division of Public Relief, *Housing of the Relief Population of the City of Minneapolis, 1937*, and *A Study of Unattached Women on Relief in the City of Minneapolis in April 1940*, and *Supplementary Income of Resident Relief Population, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1936, 1939*; Public Welfare Board of North Dakota, *Report on Indian Relief Situation in North Dakota*, Bismarck, 1939; Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Public Assistance, Division of Research and Statistics, *The Pennsylvania Medical Assistance Program*, Harrisburg, 1939, and *Report of Aliens Receiving Public Assistance in Pennsylvania*, Harrisburg, 1939; Washington State Department of Social Security, *Care in County Institutions and Medical Care of Recipients of Public Assistance*, Monograph No. 38, Olympia, 1938; Wisconsin Public Welfare Department, *Medical Relief in Three Wisconsin Counties*, Madison, 1937, and *Relief to Indians in Wisconsin*, Madison, 1937; Worcester (Mass.) Board of Public Welfare, *The Housing of Relief Families in Worcester*.

General Comment

In summary, it may be said that *the need of the public for information on which evaluation of State and locally administered public-aid programs could be based is very inadequately met in many parts of the country. Volume and variety without comparable coverage might be said to characterize the reports which have been published by State and local public-assistance agencies during recent years.* While some general practices can be identified, such as the issuance of annual or biennial reports, even these do not seem to be common to all 48 States. And where reports are issued, they are unsatisfactory in certain important respects. Much of the published material lacks an expertness in presentation which hampers its effectiveness. The lack of clarification within the agencies as to the relations between the interpretative and the research functions of the agency results in a lack of realization of the effectiveness of research material, if appropriately presented. Finally, the variations in policies and in methods in the presentation of published material make it impossible to secure either a comparable picture of State and local activities for the nation as a whole or, for many areas, an evaluation of the functioning of all the agencies operating within a given locality.

Public Participation through Advisory Committees

The association of lay persons with the administration of public aid, either in an advisory capacity or in the performance of specific administrative functions, is a recognized method of facilitating the development of the public services in accordance with public opinion and at the same time protecting those with whom administrators deal from the potential arbitrariness or rigidity of bureaucracy.

Federally Appointed Advisory Bodies

A number of the Federal agencies have enlisted the cooperation of lay persons in policy formation through the appointment of advisory committees.

National Youth Administration.—A national advisory committee of the National Youth Administration was established by Executive order in June 1935. Its chairman and 33 members, consisting of representatives of labor, business, agriculture, education and youth, were appointed by the President.²⁰ The functions of this body had not been very specifically defined

²⁰ Five other members were subsequently appointed. The members received in addition to necessary traveling expenses an allowance of \$25 for each calendar day while away from home on work for the Committee.

up to June 1940,²¹ but in general it evaluated the program as it affected the various organized groups represented. It published a number of special surveys and projects related to the agency's program.²² The committee met very infrequently.²³

The NYA has also appointed a State advisory committee in each State, and in addition there were in the fall of 1940 some 1,860 local committees.²⁴ The majority of the local committees had general functions, although 92 had been set up to advise on specific problems. At both the State and local levels by far the largest representation of membership came from the field of education. Representatives of youth made up about one-fifth of the membership at the State level and less than that proportion at the local level. There are indications, however, that representatives of youth-serving agencies have been considered youth representatives, although it is known that in many cases they were mature adults with long experience.

Both Federal and State NYA officials recognize that local committees are unquestionably important from the point of view of the operation of the program. Consequently, at one time great emphasis was placed upon development of advisory committees, but it is now recognized that at that time they were artificially stimulated, and some of the less effective ones have since ceased to exist.

There appears still to be considerable difference in the effectiveness of the State and local NYA committees in different areas. Much seems to depend upon the extent to which the State administrator and his staff, including local area supervisors, can devote time to working with them,²⁵ and much depends also on the quality of the committee members and the amount of time which they can give to committee work. In general, however, the committees do not appear to have shown great initiative. In 18 States there was no meeting of the State committees during the year prior to the most recent survey, while in 11 other States only one meeting was held. In certain areas, however, the

committees have proved a valuable aid in furthering the purposes of the program and adapting it to the special needs of their locality.²⁶

Employment Service.—The Wagner-Peyser Act, which provided for Federal grants-in-aid for the development of a national system of public employment offices, required the creation of a Federal advisory council consisting of men and women representing employers and employees (in equal numbers) and the public. The purpose of the council was to formulate policies and discuss problems relating to employment and to ensure "impartiality, neutrality, and freedom from political influence in the solution of such problems."²⁷ The first Federal advisory council, consisting of 60 men and women representing employers, employees, and the public, was appointed by the Secretary of Labor with the advice of the Director of the United States Employment Service. It appointed a subcommittee on vocational rehabilitation and one on veterans' placement service. The Council has met approximately once per year and has discussed such topics as methods of personnel selection, cooperative relationships between the Social Security Board and the United States Employment Service, participation in the work program for needy unemployed, and participation in the administration of unemployment insurance. Even after the body was transferred to the Social Security Board in 1939, its activities still consisted of approximately one meeting per year. In the spring of 1940 the Council met to

²¹ In general it was supposed to assist in finding jobs for youth in private industry, in providing economically underprivileged youth with opportunities for education, and in providing needy and unemployed youth with jobs on projects of benefit to youth and the community.

²² These included a survey of recreational facilities and needs, and a special consideration of the problems of rural youth. It also authorized the preparation of a book presenting the results of an independent survey of the activities of the NYA. (Lindley, Ernest and Lindley, Betty K., *A New Deal for Youth*, New York, Viking, 1938.)

²³ By June 1940 there had been only five meetings of the full Committee since its establishment. During 1937 it did not meet at all. Six meetings of subcommittees had been held.

²⁴ The National Youth Administration Survey, dated October 1940, was based on data obtained through a questionnaire circulated to the States August 20, 1940.

²⁵ In the fall of 1940 there was established in the Washington Office a unit charged with the study and evaluation of advisory committees and the duty of promoting their sound development.

²⁶ Many of the special advisory committees and subcommittees of general committees on the local level have rendered specific services with respect to job placement. Others have sponsored training courses, classes on job getting, community surveys, youth conferences and recreation programs for NYA workers, provision for health education, medical care and physical examinations, counseling, and project libraries. They have also rendered assistance on certification problems and general program planning. Through community fund-raising campaigns, local committees have made provision for improved housing facilities and purchase of needed materials and equipment. (National Youth Administration, *Information Exchange*, Bulletin 5, Washington, April 25, 1940.) The experience of committees in Ohio indicates the fruitful use which can be made of an active and interested committee. In September 1940 the NYA State officials initiated a series of meetings with responsible Negro groups concerning the underrepresentation of Negro youth on the program. A continuing advisory group has been set up to enlist Negro leadership in formulating and executing a program that would be more useful to young Negroes and has already proved of great value. In Cleveland, Ohio, the Personnel Men's Association has a committee to work with the NYA on shop development. This was achieved after some preliminary work on the part of the State administrator with individual members of the Association as well as through the medium of the meetings of the Association. This advisory committee has selected the shop man to be in charge of the shop program developed in Cleveland and has set up the type of training to be given. From the vantage point of their experience in personnel work and their knowledge of employment trends and local employment needs, committee members were in a position to guide the program effectively. They also set up the machinery to facilitate the placement of all young people trained on the program.

²⁷ Wagner-Peyser Act, sec. 11 (a). The body was transferred, with the Employment Service, to the Social Security Board in 1939.

discuss problems arising in connection with defense activity.²⁸

Social Security Board.—Although not a continuing body, the Advisory Council on Social Security represents an interesting example of successful enlistment of lay opinion in policy making. The Council was appointed by the Senate Special Committee on Social Security and the Social Security Board in May 1937. It consisted of 6 representatives each of employers and workers and 12 members and a chairman representing the public. The Council was charged in cooperation with the Social Security Board with assisting the Senate Committee in studying the advisability of amending Titles II and VIII (the old-age insurance provisions) of the Social Security Act in certain specific and vital respects.²⁹

The Council held meetings and finally reported in December 1938. It is generally conceded that its work was outstandingly successful. Its report attracted widespread national attention, and its unanimous nature and clear discussion of the issues involved paved the way for the far-reaching changes in the old-age insurance provisions of the Social Security Act which were carried through in 1939, most of which closely followed the lines recommended by the Council.

The success of the Council and reports of the achievements of the well-known British Statutory Committee on Unemployment Insurance have stimulated suggestions for the appointment of a permanent Federal Advisory Council on Unemployment Insurance.³⁰ As yet, however, no such council has been appointed.

²⁸ For an account of the State advisory councils appointed in connection with the unemployment compensation laws and the employment service, see below.

²⁹ More specifically, its terms of reference were as follows: "It is desired that the Advisory Council on Social Security cooperate with the Special Committee of the Committee on Finance of the United States Senate and with the Social Security Board in considering the following matters: (1) The advisability of commencing payment of monthly benefits under Title II sooner than January 1, 1942; (2) the advisability of increasing the monthly benefits payable under Title II for those retiring in the early years; (3) the advisability of extending the benefits in Title II to persons who become incapacitated prior to age 65; (4) the advisability of extending the benefits of Title II to survivors of individuals entitled to such benefits; (5) the advisability of increasing the taxes less rapidly under Title VIII; (6) the advisability of extending the benefits under Title II to include groups now excluded; (7) the size, character and disposition of reserves; (8) any other questions concerning the Social Security Act about which either the Special Senate Committee or the Social Security Board may desire the advice of the Advisory Council.

"It is understood that the Social Security Board will make all necessary studies and furnish all necessary technical assistance in connection with the consideration of the foregoing subjects. It is further understood that these subjects will be considered jointly by the Advisory Council, the Special Senate Committee, and the Social Security Board." (*Final Report of the Advisory Council on Social Security, December 10, 1938*, Washington, 1939, pp. 3, 4.)

³⁰ Cf. Malisoff, Harry, "The Emergence of Unemployment Compensation," *Political Science Quarterly*, LV (June 1940), pp. 257-258. Senator Wagner introduced on January 16, 1940, a Senate Concurrent Resolution to create an Advisory Council on Employment Security (S.

Farm Security Administration.—The Farm Security Administration has appointed State advisory committees in all the States and in Puerto Rico and Hawaii.³¹ They consist of nine representative citizens identified with agriculture, of whom at least four are *bona fide* farmers, with the State Director of Extension as an ex officio member. These committees serve in an advisory capacity with respect to all phases of the FSA program and especially in the adaptation of national policies to local needs. Many of their recommendations appear to have been effective in shaping policy.

Work Projects Administration.—The remaining Federal agencies have made less use of the device of the standing advisory council.³² Only one of the divisions of the Work Projects Administration has attempted to utilize advisory committees to any extent. In the spring of 1940 a National Advisory Committee, composed of 24 lay members, representing the fields of recreation, nursing, public health, education, etc., was appointed for the Division of Community Service Programs. This national committee has met once and plans to meet twice per year in the future. The committee will serve in a general advisory capacity for the community service programs, and individual members of the committee will hold meetings of similar lay groups in their own sections of the country.

In addition, in more than 50 percent of the States there are advisory committees for the WPA community service programs. In approximately 50 percent of the States there are also some local and district advisory committees for the same programs. The Division of Community Service Programs has definitely adopted the policy of stimulating the growth and use of such

Con. Res. No. 34, 76th Cong., 3d sess.). The American Association for Social Security has also supported the proposal of an advisory council. (*Social Security*, XIV (February 1940), 3, 5.) R. A. Hohaus and F. S. Jahn, actuaries of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, in their paper "Unemployment Compensation in the United States," (*Transactions of the Actuarial Society of America*, XLI, pt. 2, (October-November 1940) New York, 1940, p. 462) also suggested the appointment of a Federal Advisory Council "to study the unemployment compensation problem in its entirety."

³¹ In addition, in 42 States there are State Farm Debt Adjustment Committees. These bodies, in addition to functions in connection with the county Farm Debt Adjustment Committees, watch State legislation dealing with farm debts, contact large creditor organizations (*e. g.*, insurance companies) in regard to over-all policies, and by virtue of their local standing interpret the program to their communities. Their effectiveness appears to be greatest in those States where the farm debt adjustment program is well developed. As of July 1, 1941, the functions of the farm debt adjustment committees were to be absorbed in most States by general advisory committees.

³² It may, however, be held that some lay representation is introduced through the fact that the Railroad Retirement Board consists of 1 representative each of railroad employers and employees together with a public representative who acts as chairman. In addition, the fact that the members of the Social Security Board are not normally appointed from the official hierarchy and not more than 2 of them may be members of the same political party may have served initially to inject a nonofficial point of view into the administration. When the now purely official advisory council on CCC education was originally set up, it contained lay members, but these were shortly dropped.

advisory committees. The State-wide committees are composed of official and lay representatives from the fields of education, public recreation, libraries, public welfare, employment offices, labor unions, official planning bodies, and various other interested groups. Members range from 5 to 30 persons, the average committee being composed of about 20. These committees meet regularly and assist in determining community needs, in planning recommendations for both long and short periods, and in giving advice to community service program administrators on public relations. The committees do not advise on routine administrative matters but are encouraged to exercise initiative in guiding the administration in developing plans and projects and in promoting the acceptance of these plans among other official and nonofficial bodies.

Children's Bureau.—Some of the Federal agencies concerned with service programs, notably the Children's Bureau, have made outstanding efforts to enlist lay participation through advisory committees and similar devices. From the very first, the Children's Bureau recognized the importance of enlisting the interest of lay groups in the welfare of children.³³ With the passage of years, the Children's Bureau has organized or taken an important part in Nation-wide conferences and campaigns for the improvement of conditions surrounding children, with the active cooperation of citizen groups. Outstanding are the decennial White House conferences, the most recent of which, the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, was held in 1940.³⁴ These conferences have been followed up by the appointment of committees on which lay persons are represented in all parts of the country.

In addition, as of March 1, 1941 the Children's Bureau had 11 advisory committees,³⁵ on which profes-

sional experts and representatives of private citizens' and welfare groups served in addition to State officials. Except for five of the committees for which no term of office is specified, the term ranges from two to three years. All committee members are chosen because of their knowledge and interest in specific fields and, with the exception of the Pediatric Advisory Committee,³⁶ are selected by Federal officials. In size the committees range from 2 to 39 members, although the majority are composed of 12 or more. The functions of the committees are advisory, and meetings are held on call, usually once a year.

Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities.—Enlistment of public interest in health problems was also fostered by the National Health Conference in 1938. This conference, which was organized at the suggestion of the President by the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities, was attended by delegates and observers from large organized groups, such as labor, farming, industry, women's organizations, and civic bodies as well as representatives from social-work and public-welfare agencies and professional medical organizations.

Office of Education.—The Office of Education operates the vocational-education grant program with the assistance of a Federal Advisory Board for Vocational Education which consists of the Commissioner of Education, three cabinet officers—the Secretaries of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor—and three lay members representing agriculture, manufacturing and commerce, and labor. The function of the Board is to advise the Commissioner on various phases of vocational education. In addition, special advisory committees dealing with particular types of vocational work have been appointed.³⁷

Advisory Bodies Appointed by States and Localities

In many instances committees have been appointed to advise administrators of public-aid programs at the State and local levels.

Employment Service and unemployment compensation.—Advisory councils for the Employment Service and for unemployment compensation are found in most States. The Wagner-Peyser Act requires in each co-operating State the appointment of advisory councils paralleling in composition and functions the Federal

³³ Cf. *Annual Report of the Chief, Children's Bureau, 1913*, Washington, 1914, p. 12, ff. For an account of more recent activities of the Bureau see "The Children's Bureau in its Niche," *Survey*, LXIII (January 24, 1920), 456; Lenroot, Katharine F., "The Federal Government and Desirable Standards of State and Local Administration," in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work * * * 1937*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1937, pp. 432-39; and "The Federal Children's Bureau," in *Americana Annual 1940*, pp. 27-30.

³⁴ See U. S. Children's Bureau, *Proceedings of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, January 18-20, 1940*, Publication No. 266, Washington, 1940. For a list of participants in the conference, see *ibid.*, pp. 97-125. The Conference on Better Care for Mothers and Babies, held in 1938, represents another example of the attempt made by the Bureau to enlist citizen interest and participation in the problems with the agency is concerned. See U. S. Children's Bureau, *Proceedings of Conference on Better Care for Mothers and Babies*, Publication No. 246, Washington, 1938.

³⁵ Pediatric Advisory Committee, Obstetric Advisory Committee, Advisory Committee on Current Statistics, Advisory Committee on the St. Paul Project in the Prevention and Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency, Advisory Committee on Occupations Hazardous for Minors, General Advisory Committee on Maternal and Child Welfare Services, Advisory Committee on Maternal and Child Health Services, Advisory Committee on Services for Crippled Children, Advisory Committee on Community Child Welfare Services, Special Advisory Committee on

Training and Personnel for Child Welfare Services (Children's Bureau) and for Public Assistance Program (Social Security Board).

³⁶ Members designated originally by two national medical societies and a national child health agency at the request of the Chief of the Children's Bureau.

³⁷ Thus the Technical Advisory Committee on Trade and Industrial Education consists of three representatives each of employers, workers, and vocational-education experts.

Advisory Council. As of the end of 1940 such advisory councils had been appointed in 44 of the 51 States and Territories.³⁸

Thirty-three of the State unemployment compensation laws also require the appointment of advisory councils representing employers, employees, and the public, while the appointment of such bodies is specifically permitted by the laws of seven other States. Only 29 of the 33 "mandatory" States had appointed such councils by the end of 1940, while in five of the States where councils are permissive such bodies had been appointed. In the 11 States where the law makes no mention of unemployment compensation councils, two States had nevertheless set up councils. In addition, in seven of the 33 States in which State councils are mandatory, local or industry councils or both are also required; in 17 they are permissive; no mention of local councils is made in nine laws. Little is known regarding the existence and functions of the local councils, but it appears that their use is not general.³⁹

The close connection between the Employment Service and the administration of unemployment compensation which, as already indicated, has led to a high degree of administrative integration at both the Federal and State levels, has suggested the desirability of setting up a single joint advisory council for the two services. This policy has been fostered by the Social Security Board, and at the end of 1940 such joint or combined councils were in existence in 20 States. In 15 States there were separate councils for each service, while in nine there was an employment service council but none for unemployment compensation.⁴⁰

While the Wagner-Peyser Act requires equal representation of employers, workers, and the public on the Employment Service councils, there appears to be some departure from this principle in the unemployment compensation advisory bodies.⁴¹ In the majority of States for which information is available, however, the "equal-thirds" principle appears to be adopted. Little

³⁸ In four of the remaining States, councils were in process of organization.

³⁹ Available information indicates that local advisory councils have been established in connection with at least 8 State employment services. In 4 of these States, however, only 1 council is appointed; in 3 States the number established is from 5 to 8; and 1 State had 65 local councils. (Information from the Bureau of Employment Security, Social Security Board.)

⁴⁰ In addition, 1 State had an Unemployment Compensation council but none for Employment Service.

⁴¹ According to 27 laws the council is to consist of equal numbers of employer and employee representatives and such representatives of the public as the agency may designate; in 9 States employers, employees, and the public are to be equally represented; in 2 States the council consists of 2 employers, 2 employees, and 3 persons with special experience in unemployment compensation problems; in 1 State (Delaware) there are 3 employers, 3 employees, and 1 public representative; while in 1 State (Wisconsin) the council consists of equal numbers of employers and employees and a salaried commission employee who acts as chairman.

is known concerning the types of persons selected as public representatives.⁴²

The Employment Service councils exercise functions at the State level similar to those prescribed in the Wagner-Peyser Act for the National Advisory Council.⁴³ The unemployment compensation laws in 27 States follow the provisions of the Social Security Board's draft bill of January 1937 which specified the functions of State advisory councils as follows: "Such councils shall aid the Commissioner in formulating policies and discussing problems related to the administration of this Act in assuring impartiality and freedom from political influence in the solution of such problems." In 13 States, however, broader or more specific functions are prescribed in the law. In some cases they are given broad investigative powers, while in others certain topics such as experience rating, the actuarial status of the system, amendments to the law, or problems of seasonal or partial unemployment, have been referred by law to the council for study. In addition, in five States, the councils can legally concern themselves also with administrative and operational problems.⁴⁴ Except in one State where the council is permitted to have its own staff, the unemployment compensation councils are serviced by the administrative agency. The fact that in the majority of States the councils are appointed by the administrative agency rather than the governor⁴⁵ seems to indicate that they are subordinate to the administration and do not have direct access to the legislature or to the public.⁴⁶

Little is known concerning the operation of these advisory councils, but *the available evidence suggests great variation in the extent of their activities, in the interpretation they have placed upon their functions, and in the attitude of administrators toward them.* Reports to the Social Security Board of the activities of 25 Employment Service councils, 18 unemployment compensation councils, and 13 joint councils as of July 1, 1940, indicate that the majority had held no meeting during the preceding fiscal year. In general, the joint councils appear to have been more active than either

⁴² From information available for 39 of these State councils, it is known that 22 of them include among their representatives of the public at least 1 person from the field of education, 10 include a member from veterans' associations, 9 include a member from vocational-rehabilitation workers, and 5 a member from welfare organizations. Other representatives are chosen from a variety of professional, business, and service groups.

⁴³ See above.

⁴⁴ Thus in Ohio the council must issue appropriate rules or regulations if the board of review differs with the administrator as to a proposed rule or regulation regarding employer records and reports or proof of claim or benefit calculation; in Massachusetts, rules and regulations affecting property rights must be approved by the council before adoption.

⁴⁵ In only 11 of the 33 States with mandatory councils are the members appointed by the governor.

⁴⁶ In 6 States the councils are specifically required to report to the governor and legislature, while in 1 State they report to the legislature.

of the other two types, while the unemployment compensation councils had been more active than the Employment Service councils.⁴⁷

In most of the States where the councils were active, they appear to have been very helpful in securing the acceptance or enactment of legislative changes in the unemployment compensation laws. In other States they have counteracted the efforts of organized groups to defeat proposed changes. Many studies and recommendations have been made regarding experience-rating plans, benefit formulas, and other features of the laws. In a number of States the councils have also been successful in securing better clearance of labor through public employment offices by acquainting both labor and employers with the purposes, practices, and policies of the Employment Service. On the other hand, where the councils have extended their functions to embrace consideration of purely administrative questions, their activities appear to have given rise in some cases to difficulties with the official administrators. *There seems still to be some lack of clarity as to the type of responsibility which can most effectively be discharged by advisory bodies of this type.*

Special assistances.—In a number of jurisdictions local advisory boards are mandatory or customary in connection with the administration of the special public assistances.⁴⁸ Little information is available concerning the extent to which there is effective lay participation in the administration of the special public assistances. The traditional practice of enlisting cooperation of lay groups with the public-assistance agencies is through the appointment of lay persons to both State and local boards of public welfare. Through their other contacts, interest in the work of the public welfare agency is generated. These same lay persons participate in policy formation in many State and local agencies by virtue of the administrative or policy-making functions or both of the board of which they are members. In those States where the boards

⁴⁷ Of the 25 Employment Service councils, only nine had met during the preceding fiscal year. During the same period eight of the 18 Unemployment Compensation councils and eight of the 13 joint councils had held meetings.

⁴⁸ In Ohio, local advisory committees are required by law in connection with the administration of old-age assistance by subdivisions of the State Division for the Aged. County commissioners and county court judges who respectively administer aid to the blind and aid to dependent children may appoint local advisory boards. In South Dakota the State Department of Social Security which administers old-age assistance and aid to dependent children appoints local advisory boards of 3 to 5 members. In Washington, county commissioners as local administrative agents for public assistance may appoint an advisory committee of 5 or more local citizens selected on the basis of known interest and experience in public welfare, child welfare, employment, health, and education, to serve 2 years. Although such bodies were appointed in all 39 counties during the biennium 1937-39, few of them appeared to be functioning in 1940. Citizens advisory committees have also been organized in Washington, D. C., in connection with the special-assistance programs.

are purely advisory, of course, the participation in policy formation is less direct.

General relief.—In the field of general relief there is also some representation of lay persons on local relief boards. In many areas, however, the fact that the poor laws, under which such relief has been traditionally administered, concentrated local administrative responsibility in the hands of county, city, or town officials left little leeway for the participation of persons who were not an official part of the local governmental machinery. In certain areas, where more recent legislation has provided for county units of administration and where the local administration of general relief has been incorporated into the public-assistance agency responsible for the administration of the special public assistances, there has been a movement toward the utilization of lay boards or representation on local boards of lay persons as well as officials of local government.

The available evidence indicates that by 1940 perhaps as many as one-quarter of the membership of local relief boards consisted of lay members, the remainder being local officials.⁴⁹ The extent of the participation of these lay persons, however, appears to vary greatly with the different types of local authority. City boards seem to be about equally divided between lay and official members; however, there is apparently no lay participation in the directing boards of local general-relief agencies in towns, townships, and villages. Even in the county boards, where the largest number of lay persons occurs, there is a predominance of official members, due in large measure to the fact that county boards of commissioners or supervisors in many instances constitute the local board.

While a numerical predominance of official participation in local relief boards is thus indicated for the country as a whole, it should be remembered that the town-and/or-township type of organization is characteristic of only the Northeast (particularly New England) and the Middle regions of the country. Practically all of these town, township, or village agencies, representing a total estimated board member-

⁴⁹ Based upon information obtained from a study of organization for the administration of general relief as of January 1940 made by the Division of Public Assistance Research, Bureau of Research and Statistics Social Security Board. In making estimates of the number of persons serving on local boards, the term "lay" member has been used to designate a person who is not an official of the local governmental unit. The table upon which these estimates are based specifies the local officials who serve on relief boards. For the purposes of these estimates the remaining persons are considered to be "nonofficial" or "lay" members. The estimates of the total number of persons serving on local boards have been secured from the table by multiplying the number of local units by the average membership of the boards which operate in these units. On this basis, it is estimated that the membership of boards for local general-relief agencies totaled approximately 28,100 persons, of which 8,100 were "lay" persons and 20,000 were local officials.

ship of almost 10,000 officials, are located in 10 States in New England and the Middle West.⁵⁰ The membership of city relief boards is also concentrated in these two areas, indicating that of the estimated 20,000 officials who are serving on all local boards, half are concentrated in a relatively restricted area where extremely small units of government serve in the administration of general relief.

Of the 40 States which use the county unit for all or part of the administration of general relief, only 15 States have no lay participation on the county boards. In all, there are 19 States in which local relief boards have no lay members, regardless of the local unit of government responsible for the administration of general relief. In the remaining States, about 5,500 of the estimated 13,100 board members are lay persons.

In addition to persons serving on these administrative or policy-forming boards, some relief administrators have appointed special advisory committees with either general or specific functions.⁵¹

In certain areas the representation of lay persons on policy-forming boards concerned with general relief represents a carry-over from the period when private philanthropy through a variety of private agencies was the principal source of aid for the economically insecure. Such private agencies have always been sponsored, financed, and administered by boards composed of citizens (frequently prominent business men or wealthy members of the community) who had a special interest in a particular phase of community welfare. With the entrance of all levels of government into the field of public welfare on an unprecedented scale, the carry-over of board members from the private agencies to the public bodies has in some cases meant that the interests and sympathies of such boards have been more restricted than the concepts of public welfare embodied in the newer legislation. Experience has shown that lay boards of this nature are apt to reflect the narrower concepts of special-interest groups at the expense of the larger group whose interests are more directly identified with public-aid legislation which is dependent for financial support upon a broad base of taxation and which in some manner touches the lives of all the persons in the community.

Service programs.—Advisory bodies are also found in the States and localities in connection with some of the service programs. The policy of appointing committees to advise in connection with planning and operating trade-and-industrial-training programs has

been followed by a number of States for more than 20 years. Recognizing the value of the cooperation of the three groups most concerned in the program of vocational education reimbursed from Federal funds—namely, employers, workers, and educational authorities—the United States Office of Education has advocated and encouraged the appointment of State and local advisory committees—general and craft—upon which equal representation is provided for employees and employers and educators. The function of the State advisory committee is to advise the State board for vocational education on all matters relative to training in vocational education; and that of the local advisory committees is to advise the local school authorities on all phases of local vocational-education programs.

A recent survey of the extent of use of State and local advisory committees indicates that general advisory committees or advisory committees in one or more fields of vocational education—agricultural, trade-and-industrial, home-economics, and distributive education—have been set up in 36 States and Territories. In some instances, States have set up advisory committees in those services in which they feel it is needed and not in others.⁵² There appears, however, to be no recent critical evaluation of the activities of these committees.

Advisory committees in connection with vocational rehabilitation have been set up in about one-third of the States. These committees, which serve without pay, consist in the main of representatives of labor, management, social-welfare and health groups, the medical profession, workmen's compensation, and the State employment services. There appears to be little information concerning their activities.

Finally, it should be noted that in connection with grants under the Social Security Act administered by the Children's Bureau, advisory committees have been appointed by many State agencies. Local committees have also been set up in some areas. The Children's Bureau, however, does not have any direct relationship with these committees.⁵³

⁵⁰ By June 30, 1939, more than 500 local general advisory committees had been set up in 30 States and Territories, and 1,343 craft or occupational advisory committees had been appointed in 34 States and Territories. General advisory committees are provided for in the State plans for vocational education in 26 States and Territories; agricultural advisory committees in 33 States and Territories; trade-and-industrial advisory committees in 42 States; home-economics advisory committees in 35 States and Territories; and distributive-education advisory committees in 33 States and Territories. (U. S. Office of Education, Vocational Division, *Digest of Annual Reports of State Boards for Vocational Education to the U. S. Office of Education, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1939*, Washington, 1940, pp. 10-11.)

⁵³ Advisory Committees on maternal-and-child-health services are appointed by the State health agencies—those on services for crippled children by State crippled children's agencies, and those on child-welfare services by public-welfare agencies in some States.

⁵¹ In Indiana, for example, there are 1 016 local units administering general relief through 3,048 township trustees.

⁵² Thus, in Illinois, in some local units, citizen advisory committees have been established for general-relief activities.

Lay Participation in Administration

Enlistment of lay participation in the more routine aspects of administration is less usual but is not unknown. It is the policy of the Farm Security Administration to appoint county rehabilitation advisory committees consisting of from three to five farmers and businessmen. Such committees now exist in about 90 percent of the counties, although only about half of them are functioning. In every county there are, however, one or more informal consultants for the FSA personnel. It is the duty of the committees to advise with the county supervisor on eligibility of applicants and their ability to profit from the program, and also to advise on the handling of problem cases. These committees play an important role in the administration of the loan program and frequently assume additional functions which help the loan clients achieve complete rehabilitation.⁵⁴

Nonofficial persons also play a large part in connection with the administration of the NYA student work program. In each participating educational institution⁵⁵ there is a committee on work scholarships, which is a standing unpaid committee set up for the purpose of passing on applications for student work. The planning of the student work projects is also the responsibility of the staff of the institutions, who receive no remuneration for this work.

There is also some evidence that occasionally efforts are made by CCC camp commanders to obtain cooperation of local lay groups to assure the camp of the friendly interest of the surrounding community. In general, however, the CCC program is administered without much consultation with local groups other than local government representatives who may have to function in their official capacity with regard to road building, rights of way, and similar matters.

The nature of the social-insurance programs leaves relatively little scope for lay participation in administrative work, because the realm of administrative discretion in these programs is restricted. This is especially true of old-age insurance. Even here, however, the present old-age and survivors insurance provisions for payments to aged dependent parents will call for the exercise of judgment by the administrators, in regard to which there may be differences

of opinion between applicants and officials. These differences may need to be reviewed by advisory committees.

Lay participation in the appeals mechanism of the old-age and survivors insurance is slight. Nevertheless, the membership of the recently appointed central reviewing authority or appeals council, reflects a desire to enlist the participation of nonofficial persons.⁵⁶ The council has the function of directing the work of a staff of referees, reviewing their decisions, and formulating suitable procedural regulations and instructions. The council formulates the guiding policies of the hearing and review system as well as the decisions in particular cases.

Some measure of lay participation in the appeals machinery of the railroad retirement system is provided through the membership of the single appeals council created in November 1937, which hears and passes on all appeals. This council consists of a lawyer as chairman, and four other members, two of whom are especially familiar with the problems of personnel from the point of view of management, the other two having experience which would make them familiar with the point of view and practices of labor organizations and their members.

The administration of unemployment insurance and especially the provisions for disallowance on account of refusal of suitable work, availability for and capability of employment, and participation in industrial disputes raise many more issues calling for the exercise of administrative discretion.⁵⁷ Decisions in such cases not only call for a wide knowledge of industrial practices and conditions of employment but also raise vital issues of public policy. It might have been expected therefore that administrators would find it desirable to enlist for this phase of their work the advice of persons familiar with industrial practices and standards or with the broader implications of these policies. In fact, however, although 32 State unemployment compensation laws provide for the hearing of initial appeals before either a salaried referee or a board with a salaried referee and one representative each of employers and workers, in practice the 3-member boards

⁵⁶ In announcing the function of the council, the Social Security Board stated that its membership would be so chosen as to include persons with legal training and experience, administrative experience in social insurance, labor legislation, or related fields, and understanding of the needs and points of view of the beneficiaries of the old-age insurance system. (Social Security Board, *Basic Provisions Adopted by the Social Security Board for the Hearing and Review of the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Claims*, Washington, 1940, p. 36.) The council is assisted by a consulting referee whose major function is the review and coordination of the regional referees' decisions.

⁵⁷ Cf. Clark, Jane P., "Individual Claims to Social Benefits," *The American Political Science Review*, XXXV (August, October, 1941), 665-682 and 872-885.

⁵⁴ Lay county committees are also appointed in conformity with the provision of the Tenant Purchase Program under the Bankhead-Jones Act, and there are also some 2,900 voluntary farm debt adjustment committees. As of July 1, 1941, there was being set up in each agricultural county an FSA council, composed of from 3 to 7 members, depending upon the extent of local need. The council is to include all members of the agency's committees in the county. Council members will receive remuneration for a specified maximum number of days.

⁵⁵ In June 1940 there were 14,476 institutions participating in the student work program. Of these, 1,392 were on the college level.

have seldom been used for this purpose.⁵⁸ Only the Minnesota law provides specifically for the hearing of initial appeals by a salaried referee and one representative each of employers and workers, while in Nebraska both initial and final appeals are heard by a 3-member board on which employees and workers are represented. In 30 of the 51 laws the final administrative appeal is heard by the administrative agency itself. Sixteen laws, however, provide for final hearing before an independent board of review of three members.⁵⁹ In general these boards provide for representation of employers and workers.

In certain areas lay participation in specific aspects of general-relief administration has been provided for.⁶⁰ Thus in Pennsylvania lay committees have been set up to handle work refusal cases.

Nonofficial Organizations of the Public

Before the first World War, private social agencies played a significant part in shaping the patterns of the social services and in effecting coordinated community plans. The charity organization movement had its origin in the need for an integration of relief services in large cities on the eastern seaboard. Although this movement did not encourage the development of the public services, it did seek to bring together the various voluntary efforts and, in some instances, to tie in these efforts with attempts at modification of corrupt municipal poor-relief administration. The charity organization movement also served as a central planning medium, a fact which is often overlooked today. For many years, the annual reports of the largest of the private agencies presented a review of social and economic changes and the measures accomplished or required to meet the problems resulting from these changes. "Improvement of social conditions" was as much a concern of private agencies in the pre-war period as the treatment of individual need. The social survey, professional education for social work, and educational media such as the *Survey* magazine were the offspring of voluntary social agencies.

Social-reform movements, usually national in scope, date largely from the period before the first World War. The organized attack upon child labor, anti-

tuberculosis efforts, and the drive for labor legislation were all voluntary efforts which gained Nation-wide support. Most of these movements, however, were devoted to a single purpose; none could be said to seek a rounded welfare program.

An outstanding example of organized voluntary effort for improvement of welfare services on a front larger than the local community is the New York State Charities Aid Association which, since the latter part of the nineteenth century, has worked for the development and refinement of public programs of health and social welfare for New York State as a whole. There were a number of early attempts to emulate the success of this agency in other States, but the only vigorous similar organizations to be found at the time of the depression were the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania and the California and Wisconsin State Conferences of Social Work.

Just before the first World War, a new coordinating movement in social work sprang up. It began in the establishment of federations of social agencies for joint enterprises such as money-raising, research, and other common services. It took the form of councils of social agencies and community chests. The organization for welfare programs of the war period gave impetus to this movement. In the twenties, the federation movement achieved stability in most of the principal cities in the country. These councils and chests served as a central planning body for private social agencies and, in some notable instances, for both private and public endeavors. The geographical scope of the individual chest and council was, however, always limited. As a planning medium, its primary influence extended only as far as the limits of the territory of its member agencies, which was, at the most, usually the metropolitan area of a city. The federation movement was (and still is) as parochial in its administration as most public poor relief before 1930.

In urban sections of the country, private social work took the lead in setting up measures to meet the tremendous relief needs brought on by the unemployment of the depression. Councils of social agencies and community chests in many instances conducted the first drives for unemployment relief funds and furnished both planning and personnel resources for the earliest State and Federal efforts for unemployment relief. With the establishment of Federal and State agencies for unemployment relief and, later, with the reorganization of old State and local public-welfare agencies and the building up of permanent Federal, State, and local machinery for the special public assistances and the social insurances, the part played by these federations in the public-aid programs has become less sig-

⁵⁸ Social Security Board, *Comparison of State Unemployment Compensation Laws as of October 1, 1940*, Employment Security Memorandum No. 8, Washington, 1940, p. 117.

⁵⁹ In the remaining States the final appeal goes to a board of review separate from the administrative agency and having similar appeal functions under other labor laws (3 States), to one member of an independent 5-member board of review known as the unemployment compensation commission (1 State), or to a special appeal tribunal (1 State).

⁶⁰ Cf. Stevenson, Marietta, *Public Welfare Administration*, New York, MacMillan, 1938, pp. 98-100.

nificant. In many communities today, these councils and chests represent a united front of private social work rather than an over-all local planning body. Although most public agencies retain nominal membership in the federations, governmental representation is never in any sense commensurate with the volume of social-welfare programs for which the government is responsible. A voluntary day nursery caring for 50 children may have the same status in a council of social agencies as a public agency caring for thousands of families. Furthermore, the local branches of important State and Federal relief programs may not be represented in the council of social agencies at all.

By the decade of the twenties, the private social agencies that are the lineal descendants of the charity organization movement had become "family welfare societies." Some of these agencies assumed "emergency" responsibilities in the early thirties until public programs could be organized, but by the latter part of the decade they had again become largely service-directed. Improvement of social conditions through research, planning, and social legislation has largely disappeared from their roster of activities.

With the shift of direction and control of public-relief efforts from the locality to the State and the Federal governments, there has been no comparable change in emphasis of voluntary social work. It is still largely directed toward the problems of the local community. The State charities aid movement in New York and Pennsylvania is a notable exception.⁶¹ These agencies have recognized an even greater responsibility to further State efforts in public welfare. However, neither has shown evidence of any considerable interest in such newer programs as unemployment insurance and old-age and survivors insurance. A State-wide movement of a similar character has emerged in the past decade in several other States where the State conference of social work has departed from the forum

⁶¹ Since 1937 the New York State Charities Aid Association has stimulated the creation of county public-welfare committees in New York State. These committees are composed of a voluntary group of private citizens, with the executives of the local public-welfare agencies serving as nonvoting ex-officio members. The lay members represent a variety of common interests but serve as individuals rather than as representatives of any groups or agencies. The committees are serviced by a part-time professional secretary supplied by the Association. A number of these committees have made extensive studies of the problems of public aid in their areas which aim not only to reveal the characteristics of the relief population and the causes of their poverty but also to assess the adequacy and efficiency of the locally operating public-aid measures. Six of these committees (in Alleghany, Clinton, Cortland, Oneida, Schuyler, and Washington counties) had by 1940 completed and published reports, all of which bear the title "Public Welfare in * * * County." The reports contain information concerning the types of relief granted in the county, the number of recipients, present monthly costs of relief, and the trend in relief costs, the organization policies and procedures of the different public-relief agencies, and the characteristics of the relief population, as well as recommendations for further action.

pattern to become a planning and propaganda body with the State as its base.

No nonofficial planning or propaganda effort representing wide citizen participation in a concern for the public-aid program as a whole has as yet emerged on the Federal level. Most of the national reform movements established before the first World War have continued, and some have expanded in scope. Most of them, however, still limit their endeavors to one or two aspects of the total welfare program. None appears to have gained a degree of national strength proportionate to the amount of administrative and legislative responsibility now found at the Federal level.⁶²

In recent years there have been signs of an increasing awareness on the part of citizens of the importance of understanding and evaluating the new public-aid programs and the nature of the problem with which they are grappling. While some part of the impetus to this movement derives from a desire on the part of taxpayers to keep expenditures to a minimum, not all of the growing public interest in the newer social policies can be thus explained.

Outstanding among the newer organizations is the American Association for Social Security. Formed in 1927 as the American Association for Old Age Security, the organization broadened the scope of its interests after 1934 to cover the entire field of public-aid measures. Through the holding of annual conferences, the publication of the journal *Social Security*, and active propaganda, the Association has exerted an influence far greater than might be expected from its relatively small membership. It has continually subjected social security legislation and its administration to critical comment, actively fostered amendments to existing laws and extensions of protection to new groups, and has vigorously opposed utopian and unpractical panaceas.

The American Youth Commission, another type of nonofficial body organized in 1935 by the American Council on Education, was instructed to "develop a comprehensive program for the care and education of youth." The objectives of the commission were stated to be: "(a) To consider all the needs of youth and appraise the existing facilities and resources for serving those needs; that is, gather facts; (b) To plan experi-

⁶² Neither the American Public Welfare Association nor the American Association of Social Workers can be regarded as nonofficial planning bodies in the welfare field. The former is an association of public-welfare officials. Furthermore, it is prohibited by its chief source of financial support from engaging in legislative efforts. The American Association of Social Workers has been active on a national front, but its influence and scope are limited by the fact that its constituency is limited to social workers meeting certain professional standards, and its resources, to its membership dues. Neither of these bodies represents a broad citizen movement. Both are regarded by legislators and administrators as special-interest groups.

ments and programs which seem to be most effective in solving the problems of youth; that is, experiment and prepare recommendations; (c) To popularize and promote desirable plans of action through conferences, publications, and demonstrations; that is, get something done about its recommendations."⁶³

Another manifestation of public interest in the local operation of public-welfare programs is the fact that local surveys have been conducted at the request of interested citizen groups. For example, during 1940 the American Public Welfare Association made local surveys in Grundy County, Tenn., at the request of the County Citizens Committee on Relief,⁶⁴ and in San Antonio, Tex., under the sponsorship of the Citizens Welfare Survey Committee of San Antonio.⁶⁵

⁶³American Youth Commission, General Plan of the Commission, Washington, American Council on Education, March 1935.

⁶⁴The study arose out of the concern of "community leaders, public officials, and various organized groups" in the county about the relatively large proportion of the county population in need of relief. The Commissioner of the State Department of Public Welfare was asked to enlist the services of an organization which would make a social study of the community in cooperation with other agencies. As a result, the APWA conducted a study of relief and welfare requirements of the county, analyzing the present organizational structure and the local tax structure in terms of economic conditions and local welfare needs. (American Public Welfare Association, *Public Welfare and Related Problems in Grundy County, Tennessee*, Chicago, 1940, ms., p. 1.)

⁶⁵The survey "developed from a confluence of two expressions of interest in the welfare of the city * * * first, the interest on the part of a few civic and social welfare leaders in a more adequate relief program; second * * * a concern by city and county chief officials in an improved administration of governmental services." (American

Other local surveys which have been conducted in recent years, although not always initiated by citizens groups, have enlisted the interest and cooperation of nonofficial groups and individuals, and have served to promote a wider understanding of the welfare problems faced by the communities concerned.⁶⁶ In yet other areas, studies of public aid and related problems have been directly undertaken by local citizens' committees, and in many States governors' commissions have freely utilized lay committees. Finally, a number of studies have been carried on by local private welfare agencies, local bureaus of governmental research, and taxpayers organizations. To the extent that lay participation is a part of such activity, these also indicate organized lay interest in public-aid problems.

Public Welfare Administration, *Public Welfare Study of San Antonio, Texas*, Chicago, 1940, p. 1.) It was preceded by the appointment of a Social Welfare and Fact Finding Committee of 11 citizens who held a series of hearings on the need for relief, current relief expenditures, and methods of administrators culminating in a report of October 1939. The object of the APWA survey was to determine the nature of the welfare needs of San Antonio, the extent to which they were being met by public and private agencies, and the extent of inadequacies of facilities and to suggest ways in which improvements could be made.

⁶⁶An analysis of 212 such reports and studies appearing between 1932 and 1939 showed that only 57 out of 155 published studies were undertaken by State public-welfare agencies. Educational and research organizations were responsible for 43 studies. (Cull, Erma M., *Studies and Reports in the Field of Social Welfare Conducted by State-Wide and Local Agencies in the 48 States, 1932-1939*, Washington State Department of Social Security, Olympia, 1940.)