THE PARADOXICAL COMMUNITY

An Honors Thesis (10499)

by

Royann L. Bannick

THESIS DIRECTOR - Dr. Whitney Gordon

Ball State University

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This paper is an interpretation of the perceptions and experiences the writer has known during the past three years as a resident of Muncie, Indiana. It is not expected that the conclusions drawn by the writer be accepted by the reader as concrete fact. This has not been an empirical study, but rather a descriptive one. The writer admits that emotional involvement in this study was intertwined with a cognitive approach. At times, making a separation has been difficult.

To those who read this paper and are offended by its content, I extend my apologies. To those who read it and become motivated to investigate the situation themselves, I extend my gratitude and wishes for success.

To all of those individuals who shared their knowledge and experiences with me, I wish to express appreciation. I am especially grateful to Dr. Whitney Gordon who has been an enthusiastic supporter of my efforts to gain a better understanding of the dynamics of Muncie, Indiana.
Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

"We believe our city captures the imagination of being the 'Ideal American City'. What, with pleasant homes located on shady streets, fine schools, churches, attractive stores and busy factories, the city typifies all that comprises the 'Middle West' in the best use of the term." Although this statement was written in 1944, it reflected the nostalgic attitude present in descriptions of the city in 1846 when it contained six hundred inhabitants and still prevails in 1974. Old timers and newcomers to the city share this blissful outlook.

Purpose

This nostalgic idealism has been a source of intrigue for this writer. The peculiar gap that lies between the articulated standards of the inhabitants and my perception of the real circumstances has led me to conduct this study.

As an example of this gap and an elaboration of my position, I have focused upon the county's method of handling abandoned and neglected children with emphasis upon the physical structure and policies utilized in operating the Delaware County Children's Home.
Organization

A historical review of child care provisions and techniques is presented. An emphasis is made upon the structure of institutional care since that is most relevant to this paper. Chapter III contains information regarding the position our nation presently maintains on the handling of abandoned and neglected youngsters. Chapter IV is a comparison of the Delaware County Children's Home to early child care institutions. It also contains the results and recommendations made following a year long investigation of that institution. Chapter V contains an expose of some of those attitudinal traits which are considered common in Indiana. There is a look at the local political system, religious philosophies, attitudes toward federal aid, and private philanthropy.

Method

The material for this paper was gathered in several ways. Information about the Delaware County Children's Home was gained largely through regular visits to the Children's Home over a one year period. Discussions with the staff and children as well as observations were helpful.

A review of related literature was made with relative ease due to the amount of research previously done on Muncie, Middletown and Delaware County.

The writer attended the meetings of the Ball State University humanists who were conducting a study entitled "Middletown Man: The Human Side of Life in Muncie, Indiana."
Robert and Helen Merrell Lynd's *Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition* were topics of discussion and interviews of local residents were conducted.

Further information was gathered through a select sample of interviews. Specific questions were asked of each person interviewed, but additional questions were asked when appropriate. This sample included persons only from the middle classes and covered persons in government, business, industry, education, social services, and the clergy. Many in my sample were listed by others as being leaders in Muncie.

Unstructured interviews and discussions over my three year residency in Muncie were most beneficial in gaining an insight of the underlying currents in this county.
Chapter II

AN HISTORICAL REVIEW OF CHILD CARE METHODS

Children, historically, have survived at the mercy of their elders. From the Massachusetts Public Records of 1646, I quote "...If a man has a stubborn or rebellious son of sufficient years of understanding, viz. sixteen, which will not obey the voice of his father or the voice of his mother, they should bring him to court and provide evidence of the stubborness and rebelliousness and disobedience and said son will be put to death." Such punishment was waived if it could be proven that the parents had been "unchristianly negligent" in the education of the child.

Parents were educated by the church as to how to "secure obedience and good manners and how to raise their children as faithful Christians and loyal subjects." Disposition of neglected, abandoned, or orphaned children was through indenture, (later known as foster care), almshouses, orphan houses, and houses of refuge.

Indenturing

In the 17th and 18th centuries, dependent and neglected children were placed in the care of responsible relatives. In the absence of responsible relatives, the usual process was for the Overseers to indenture them. This obliged the
child to serve as an apprentice to a person willing to train him in a service. This practice was derived from the English Poor Law of 1601 and was a means of social control. It was a way of finding substitute homes and it was intended to save the child from incompetent parents and unsuitable homes.4

The basic philosophy behind indenture was economy. Under the original indenture regulations, the family to whom the child was indentured would clothe and instruct him in return for services until the child was 18 years of age. When the child was released, he was to receive two suits of clothes - one suitable for Sunday and the other for employment. It eliminated all cost to the parish.

In 1842, the procedure changed. The sum of $50.00 was substituted for the clothing and a fine of $100.00 could be enforced on the family for neglect in fulfilling indenture conditions. A medical report on the health of the child was required annually.5

By 1875, indenture became disreputable, although some cases continued into the 20th century.

Almshouses

The first almshouse was established in Boston in 1664, but nothing is known of its size or character.6

Almshouses did not replace indenturing until much later. Records of the New York Almshouse between 1736 and 1746 describe fifty cases. The sample suggests that the institution was a place of last resort. One quarter of the residents were young orphaned or deserted children who were not yet of proper
age for indenturing.\(^7\) (This is probably children from age three to ten. Children were usually indentured by age fourteen.)\(^8\) Ten per cent were strangers and could not meet necessary residency requirements to receive outdoor relief. The remainder were elderly couples - probably both seriously ill, and mothers with their children, either so incapacitated that they could not care for them or caught in need while passing through town.\(^9\)

Going into the nineteenth century, the premises on poverty began to change and outdoor relief was challenged as an encouragement for the poor to remain poor. In 1824, the Secretary of State in New York conducted a study and saw outdoor relief worthy of criticism. He urged the extension of the almhouse system. His advice was followed by other states as well as New York.\(^10\)

Local rules existed for the operation of almshouses. The New York City rules demanded separation of children from other inmates, separation of sexes, provision of nurses, attendance of school, proper food and clothing, participation in sports activities, higher education, church attendance, and protection from injury.\(^11\) There is no evidence that such conditions existed in any almshouse. While occasionally, an almshouse was well kept and pleasant, it usually bore witness to the complete indifference of the community.

The Boston Almshouse was reported to contain no separation of classes or sexes. It housed sixty "insane or idiotic" persons, 130 ill and infirm, more than one hundred children, and two hundred listed as "unclassified."\(^12\)
The Ohio Board of State Charities revealed abominable situations existing in that state in 1867. In three of their infirmaries, they found little boys confined for constraint or punishment with the insane. They found one deaf mute boy locked in a cell opposite a violently insane woman who was throwing her excretion at him. He was locked there to prevent him from running away. They found blind children abandoned in bare rooms and all the children living under deplorable conditions. 13

Within thirty years of the time the New York Secretary of State encouraged the growth of Almshouses, they were found to be disgraceful and the slow process of removing children from them began. 14

**Orphan Houses**

The first orphanages were privately owned. Bethesda, meaning "house of mercy", established in 1740 in Savannah, Georgia was a controversial issue. George Whitefield, the benefactor and director of this home considered his primary concern to be that of "bringing young souls to Christ." The Georgia magistrates and trustees interpreted his purpose to be that of taking orphans away from homes of relatives to work on his five hundred acre farm. 15

Between 1800 and 1830, only fifteen privately sponsored orphan homes developed. Then, in the 1830's when the philosophy toward poverty and outdoor relief began to change, the orphan houses, like the almshouses, began to spread throughout the states. Institutions had made a flourishing
debut and trustees extended their claim to a wide variety of dependent children. They claimed abandoned as well as orphaned children and those with widowed or deserted mothers. They accepted minors of impoverished parents and those from families judged to be "immoral."\(^1\)

Fifty-six orphanages developed in the two decades following 1830. The general philosophy behind these institutions was to take the children from families seen as morally harmful and place them into a place of safety where "temptations to evil shall be put far from them."\(^2\)

**Philosophy**

The primary task of the orphan houses was to teach an absolute respect for authority through the establishment and enforcement of a rigorous and orderly routine. Strict training and firm discipline was considered imperative. Objectives were nil and the feeling that the children were better off than in their own homes was sufficient reason for having them there.

**Facilities**

The typical institution was of congregate style divided into "houses" or "divisions". The dormitories contained 16 to 20 beds set up in barrack style. A large central dining room served all residents at long tables while subscribing to segregation by sex.
Staff

The administration of the public institution was a group of commissioners, who superintended and managed the operation of the Orphan Home. A steward was appointed to oversee that proper meals were served and that the children were furnished all necessities. He kept accounts of all receipts and expenditures which were subject to examination by the commissioners. He resided at the orphan house and received necessary provisions for himself.

The matron acted as the school mistress and watched over morals and conduct. She preserved order in the house and saw to it that nurses and assistants performed their duties faithfully. She directed all children to a place of worship on Sundays.\(^\text{18}\)

Qualifications for staff members were not found. In one institution, the children of one division had to talk in whispers because the housemother had "nerves", and the sound of voices upset her. She had taken up this work because she wanted to "mother" something. She was torn between being loving and allowing natural behavior and keeping up the outward standards of the Home. Orderliness was necessary and if too much noise came from her division, a senior official came along and there was trouble.\(^\text{19}\)

Routine

A typical schedule would be to arise at daybreak and attend a chapel service, after which they would march quietly to the dining hall for the morning meal. Extra helpings were
attained by raising one's hand and if the request was proper, the server filled his wish. The children filed out following the meal. The remainder of the day was arranged into periods of school, work, and recreation.

**Rules**

This is a typical list of house rules for the 19th century orphan house.

"...pupils under expulsion shall not be allowed any play and converse with each other. Their food shall be bread and water, and when not at work or in school, they shall be confined in solitude."

"...The punishment allowed in the Institution shall consist chiefly in bad marks, loss of grade, deprivation of play, and confinement in solitude. A regular account charged with bad marks that he may have incurred for his faults, and credited with good marks, or the infliction of such punishment as their number may require; and the good marks may be rewarded at the discretion of the Superintendent."

"...When a child is received into the Asylum, he shall, if necessary, be thoroughly washed, and decently clothed. If thought expedient, he may be kept apart from the other pupils for a longer or shorter time, according to his age and habits of life. When a pupil is dismissed from the asylum, with the approbation of the Board, he shall be furnished with a suit of decent and comfortable clothing, a Bible, and such good advice as he may be thought to stand most in need of."

"...No play or conversation shall be allowed among the children, while engaged at their work, on parade, at meals, or after they have retired to their sleeping rooms."

"...The children shall be required to wash their faces and hands, and have their heads combed, at least once a day. As often as once a week they shall wash their necks and feet, and change their shirts and socks; and, whenever the season will permit, they shall have the benefit of bathing."

"...Every part of the house shall be swept daily, except on the Sabbath, and the floor scoured once a week, or oftener if required."
"...No communication whatever shall be allowed between the boys and the girls, nor shall they ever be permitted to pass into the apartments or yards of each other, unless directed to do so by an officer."

"...Permission may be obtained by citizens to visit the Asylum on Fridays only, between three and six o'clock in the afternoon, in summer; and from two to four o'clock in winter. This rule shall be varied only for the accommodation of strangers temporarily in the city. And in all cases, a permit from one of the Directors shall be required for admission."

"...The last Thursday in January, April, July, and October, from one o'clock until five o'clock in the afternoon, shall be especially appropriated to the visits of the parents and friends of the children, under such restrictions as may be prescribed by the Superintendent."

"...No pupil shall be retained in the Asylum who, from his character or other cause, is likely to interfere with the improvement of the pupils, or otherwise injuriously affect them."

"...No relative or acquaintance of any pupil shall interfere in the management of the pupil, or be permitted to visit him except in the presence of the Superintendent unless by special permission of the Visiting Committee." 

Regarding punishment, public embarrassment was commonly used with meal time service as a good time for the houseparents to openly discuss insolence to the Matron until the child was wrought with distress. Whipping was frequently used, but in general, little is known about the punishment used in the orphan houses except for what was written in the Rules as being permissible punishment.

Houses of Refuge

Houses of Refuge developed in the mid nineteenth century. They were to accommodate disobedient children. The broad admission policies allowed them to accept any children. Children could be turned over to a House of Refuge by any
judicial body or overseer for any petty crime. Parents could commit their own children if they found them unruly. The philosophy was that a good dose of institutionalization could only work to the child's benefit.22

Punishment in Refuge Houses is known to have been severe. Children were whipped, placed in solitary confinement, or put in leg irons and handcuffs for weeks or months. Such punishment was in response for children questioning authority, "slyness", quarreling, wetting the bed, or running away.23

According to the superintendents of Refuge Houses and Orphan Houses, the family served as the model for each institution. They viewed each institution as a family with the declared objective of providing a home interest and feeling to each child and to create and cultivate a family feeling.

Herein lies the gap between public declaration and real circumstances for the nineteenth century homes more closely resembled military order than family warmth.

The general philosophy of child care was for each locality to fulfill the minimum requirements of its obligation at the lowest cost.
Chapter III

RECOMMENDED CHILD CARE FACILITIES

Ideally, children can be maintained in their own homes by their own parents with financial aid, day care services or homemaker services being provided when necessary. But for many children, this is not possible. In 1968, 316,000 children, a rate of .4 per 1,000 under eighteen years of age were in foster family homes, institutions, or group homes. Seventy-five per cent of these were in foster homes, one per cent in group homes and twenty-four per cent in institutions. It is this twenty-four per cent that will receive elaboration here.

According to statistics, the use of institutions for dependent and neglected children is declining significantly. One reason is that problems which contributed to institutionalization of children have declined. Reduction of poverty and a decrease in the mortality rate have lowered admission. Fewer children are separated from their families for reason of poverty, and welfare programs have made alternatives to institutionalization more widely available. What is more important is that institutionalization as a means of child care has come under the critical scrutiny of professional thought in child psychology and child welfare.
Modern Institutions

There are groups of children who can be well served by small specialized institutions.

* The seriously maladjusted child who is unable until improved, to make a suitable adjustment to a foster home.

* Adolescents who are no longer dependent upon an adult for daily personal care and who can maintain a relationship with his natural parents although not living with them.

* Children over 6 or 7 years of age who need short term care only.

* Children whose parents feel threatened by a foster family and need a short time to decide if they are going to take them back or release them for foster care or adoption.

* Large groups of brothers or sisters who would have to be split up to go into foster families. An exception to this is infants and preschoolers as they cannot obtain the individual care they need in a group home.

For this select group of children, there are standards regarding licensing, facilities, operations and staffing of said homes. These standards are derived from recommendations and studies done by the Child Welfare League of America, Children's Bureau and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Philosophy

The Child Welfare League of America recognizes that "the ultimate goal of institutional care is for every child to return to family life in the community, either in his own home or in an adoptive, foster, or group home." Further, "It is not
desirable for institutional care to become a prolonged way of life, or for a child to remain in an institution throughout his childhood."

Facilities

Facilities should provide for not more than 100 children and these children should be broken into small family groups containing both sexes. Natural siblings should be kept together. "Nothing is more tragic then a system that divides children by age and sex and thus splits up families of brothers and sisters." 26 A preferable size for a group would be eight members, but never more than twelve, and there should be a male and female houseparent.

The physical structure should be scattered cottages. In older institutions, the family atmosphere can be achieved through lessening mass treatment, providing privacy, having living rooms for each family group and dining at small tables of 6 to 8 children. Facilities should include a place for each child's personal belongings.

Staff

According to a study conducted by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, staff was noted as the most important factor in determining the success of a home. 27 Good homes have a professional staff which includes a Director holding a Masters of Social Work degree, caseworkers, counselors, psychologists, and psychiatrists. Houseparents should be well trained and intelligent.
Interpersonal Relationships

It is fundamentally important that there be sufficient staff available to permit relationships to develop between a child and at least one staff member that is "his." A document from the Children's Bureau states that every child is "entitled to a guardian of the person...who will safeguard his interest, make important decisions in his life and with whom he can have a personal relationship." A child committed to an institution can be neglected and exploited if he is without a personal guardian to ask evidence occasionally that the care and treatment being provided is appropriate and in his best interest. 28 Visitation lies at the heart of a good institutional program for it is the family unit we wish to preserve. Parents should be free to visit their children regularly and they should be encouraged to do so.

Punishment

There should be neither confining nor corporal punishment. Physical punishment has not been found to be an effective means of changing behavior. It well bring about only temporary change and only in the presence of the punisher. What is more, since imitation is a primary means of learning, the child will learn physical aggression. It would seem that positive reinforcement through incentive may be more effective.

Licensing

The issuance of a license is certification that an institution meets certain specified standards. Those standards
reflect what the public recognizes and requires as necessary minimum protection for children. Today, all states have some kind of statutory provision for licensing.

It should be remembered that these standards apply to only those specialized institutions occupied by only those few groups of children who cannot adopt to a private foster home. General institutional care for other than those groups should not exist.
Chapter IV

DELAWARE COUNTY CHILDREN'S HOME

Having described our progression and regression in arranging care for abandoned and neglected children in an historical sense and having described our nation's basic philosophy on child care today, one might expect this section to describe where Muncie stands on fulfilling the nation's objectives. In an effort to circumvent wear, tear, and boredom on the part of the reader, I refer him back to Chapter II, page 7 which begins a description of nineteenth century orphan homes, for it is this writer's opinion that the Delaware County Children's Home deviates little from those described in that section.

This home is unspecialized in its function. It houses children who are emotionally disturbed, mentally retarded, epileptic, cerebral palsied, "delinquents" and the average socio-economically deprived children. It contains all ages with a current span from one and one-half years of age to eighteen years of age. Many of these children are permanent residents and can expect to stay there until they are eighteen years of age. This is in direct opposition to the philosophy of the Child Welfare League of America.

Facilities

The physical structure is that of an old farmhouse
built in the nineteenth century. It was the Uncle Poorhouse until the early part of the twentieth century at which time wings were added to form four divisions and it became a refuge for children. Children are divided by sex and age into each of the divisions each of which contains a living room, locker room, dormitory containing eighteen beds arranged in barrack style, and one open bathroom with three toilets and four sinks. All doors including closets are kept locked. Each time a child needs something, he must ask the houseparent for access and she accompanies him waiting until she can relock the doors. The segregation by sex is carried into the dining room, recreation room and playground.

Staff

The administrative hierarchy is basically the same as the mid nineteenth century home with a few exceptions. The ultimate authority in this county is the Circuit Court Judge and the County Commissioners appropriate the funds. These two levels are essentially uninvolved in the operation of the home. The Director, appointed by the Circuit Court Judge in return for party loyalty and one per cent of her salary, is the ruling authority and seemingly fills the same roles as the Steward and Matron of years gone by. Unlike the recommended Director who holds a Master of Social Work degree, this woman dropped out of school in the ninth grade and her own evaluation of her qualifications is that she, too, was a deprived child.

Other staff members are equal to the nineteenth century staff with the only known qualifications to be that they are free
of the vices of smoking, drinking, and the use of foul language. Also they must be willing to work endless hours at a salary equivalent to 50 cents per hour to care for up to eighteen children singlehandedly. These women tend to be elderly, despondent, uneducated and/or suppressed. Their training consists of learning not to disclose information about the home to anyone or to speak to visitors touring the home or to the Commissioners or Grand Jury making investigations.

Routine

Routine is not unlike that of the nineteenth century home. The children rise at 5:30 a.m. and in place of chapel service, they do housework, have breakfast and leave for public schools. They return mid-afternoon and are left with relatively little to do until bedtime. An hour is reserved in the evening for homework, but no space is provided, thus it becomes a futile attempt for those so inspired to even try. There is an air of boredom in all of the divisions. Reading material is either of religious nature, outdated, or purely for reference. (The Director has been known to refuse books and new magazine subscriptions from prospective donors.)

Attention is called to the house rules on page 10. This list of rules does not deviate much from the unwritten, but implemented rules of the Delaware County Children's Home as articulated by the Director, houseparents and children to this writer.

The rules as outlined in that section are the same with the following qualifying remarks.
Reference is made to the first rule which demanded solitary confinement and an altered diet for pupils who were expelled. Children who are being punished for running away today are not placed on an altered diet, but they are confined in solitude. The writer discussed this with two girls each of whom had been in solitary confinement for over a week. This means what solitary confinement has always meant - no visitors, radio, or reading material. The confinement is in the "sick room", and the child stays in pajamas and eats his meals alone.

Reference to the second rule on page 10, allows for punishment through bad marks, deprivation of play and solitary confinement. Since the Delaware County Children's Home does not contain a school, the "bad marks" do not apply. A demerit system does exist. In addition to the punishments listed in the rules of the nineteenth century, spankings, confinement in bed, standing with arms outstretched, standing next to bed for long periods, washing mouth out with soap, and forcing the child to eat a cigarette for smoking are current forms of punishment. These punishments are incurred for bed wetting, talking back, running away, noisiness, "cussing", and numerous other misdeeds.

Reference to the third rule provides for thorough cleansing upon admission and the appropriation granted at the time of dismissal. When a child is admitted to the Delaware County Children's Home, he is scrubbed down "as many times as necessary" in a shower used just for this purpose, but he is then placed directly in a division. It is common to hear the houseparents
complain of these new little "troublemakers" in his presence, of course. There is no introduction or support provided. He is expected to be grateful that he is there since he might as well understand that "nobody else cares about him." That the children frequently hear "nobody loves you and you might as well get used to it" is denied by no one including the Director who conveys that message. Most of these children enter this home following a traumatic experience such as mother's death, incestuous rape, brutality from foster parents, abandonment or severe neglect. Children who cannot adapt within minutes of arrival are labeled "troublemakers" or "retarded." Nobody assists them in this adjustment or explains to them why they are there.

The next rule prohibits conversation while children are at work, on parade, at meals, or in their sleeping rooms. At the subject institution, this is contingent upon the attitude and mood of the houseparent.

The fifth rule outlines personal hygiene restrictions and allows for weekly washings and seasonal baths. The children at the home in mention can bathe once a week on a specified day and shampoo on Wednesdays and Saturdays. This observer has never seen a bathtub on the premises, but assumes there is one in each of the houseparents' bedrooms.

The sixth rule which requires daily cleaning of the premises by the children is still true, but an interesting phrase "pick the carpet" was noted. Inquiry led to the explanation that the noise of the sweeper irritated the houseparent, thus they "picked the carpet."
The next reference is to the rule which prohibits communication between boys and girls. The enforcement of the separation of boys and girls in the Delaware County Children's Home seems to vary. There is a tendency for the separation to be enforced, however, and this is often true even under supervision.

The rule which governs visitation of interested citizens is inapplicable. For those people who care to visit, arrangements are flexible although somewhat difficult to arrange.

The ninth rule allows for parents to visit four times each year. There are "improvements" upon visitation. Parents, with permission, may visit their children the first Sunday of each month.

The tenth rule allows for the right to remove a child from the home who interferes with the improvement of other children. This refers to the "troublemakers". There is no room for deviance in an environment stressing obedience and conformity to unintelligible and endless rules.

The final rule prohibits relatives or acquaintances of a child from visiting with said child in privacy. Such is yet the case. The monthly visit is held in a large congregate area where all parents visit their children at one time. Other visits need Caseworker approval and the Director of the home must be present during the parent-child conversation.

Public embarrassment is relied upon heavily and meal time still serves best. Children are so tense in the presence
of the Director that the more sensitive ones frequently return to their rooms to vomit following a meal.

These children suffer a serious level of emotional neglect. Emotional neglect has not been incorporated into any legal definition of neglect and it is difficult to prove. Emotional neglect seldom brings legal action until it can be linked to evidence of physical neglect as well.29

Another enigma is the topic of licensing. All states do have provisions for licensing; however, such licensing only deals with the regulation of private voluntary and proprietary agencies and does not apply to public agencies.30 The state of Indiana does acknowledge responsibility for the protection of children through the Department of Public Welfare, but they do not give direct service. Rather, there are ninety-two county departments established under the provisions of the Welfare Act.31 Public agencies can be granted a state license, but they cannot be forced to close if they do not qualify for such a license. The Delaware County Children's Home has attempted to attain a state license, but has been denied it for reasons related to poor sanitation facilities.

Public Welfare Services Sub-Committee

The existence of the Children's Home has been challenged in the past. From March 29, 1968 until March, 1969, a Public Welfare Services Sub-Committee investigated the foster home program and the institutional care provided to children in this county. At the time of this study, the committee contacted all ninety-two counties in Indiana of which sixty-seven replied.
Of those sixty-seven, only six were still using custodial child care institutions.  

The argument of preserving the tax dollar by utilizing the institution is challenged by the following tables of cost taken from the Public Welfare Services Sub-Committee Report of 1969.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Cost</th>
<th>Average Annual Cost Per Child Assuming 65 Children in Home</th>
<th>Actual Monthly Average Number Of Children In Home</th>
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<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>$63,977.14</td>
<td>$984.26</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>$67,511.77</td>
<td>1,037.66</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>$60,625.42</td>
<td>932.70</td>
<td>23</td>
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**FOSTER AND RELATIVE CARE**

<table>
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<th>Total Cost</th>
<th>Cost Per Child</th>
<th>Actual Average Number Wards Per Month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1966</td>
<td>$75,889.21</td>
<td>$722.75</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>76,791.91</td>
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<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>79,317.86</td>
<td>701.93</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another point of interest is that in March, 1968 when the investigation began, there were 65 wards of the county of which only 19 were in the children's Home. The others were placed as follows:

- 147 - private, licensed foster homes
- 185 - placed with their own parents
- 84 - placed with relatives
- 30 - placed in other institutions

The Welfare Department was using 72 foster homes and had thirty to forty homes not being used. To this writer's knowledge,
the Children's Home seldom has had fewer than fifty children there during the past year.

The sub-committee concluded with the following recommendations. It suggested that the Children's Home be phased out as presently operated and that facilities be arranged for a receiving home to take care of emergency placements until wardship for children could be established through court proceedings. Because of the difficulty involved in placing adolescents in foster homes, it was recommended that two group homes be established. They recommended a program that approaches the family situation. They said an expanded and improved foster home program provides a better answer than the Children's Home. Such a recommendation is in accordance with the Preamble to the Juvenile Court Act, Section 1, Purpose and Basic Principle. "The purpose of this act is to secure for each child within its own provisions such care, guidance, and control preferably in his own home, as will serve the child's welfare and the best interests of the State; and when such child is removed from his own family to secure for him custody, care, and discipline as nearly as possible equivalent to that which should have been given by his parents." They further suggested that during the interim period (while new approaches were being implemented), that the Children's Home and the Child Welfare workers attempt to work together. They reported obvious animosity between the Children's Home and the Department of Public Welfare. They suspected political undertones were involved. They felt that a better job could be done with and for the children at the Home and suggested that an expanded effort on the part of the Welfare
Department caseworkers be made to work particularly with the emotionally disturbed children presently housed in the Children's Home. 36

The "interim" period has now been in excess of five years. There have been no visible improvements. The animosity between the Director of the Children's Home and the caseworkers still exists. This writer has been told that the caseworkers do view the Children's Home as inadequate, but due to a lack of foster homes must utilize the facilities available. Such a bland explanation leaves many questions unanswered. For example, why after a committee of twenty reputable citizens sponsored by the State Public Welfare Department, made a recommendation that the Children's Home be phased out, did the population of that home increase? Why can't a qualified person be hired to direct that institution if it must continue to operate? Why don't the caseworkers work with the children? Why aren't these children helped to make an adjustment to this strange new environment? Most important, why does Delaware County lag behind the nation in caring for its forsaken children?
Chapter V

MUNCIE: YESTERDAY AND TODAY

Muncie has become a national symbol considered typical of "Anytown, USA." The New York Times sends reporters here frequently to measure attitudes on just about anything. Is Muncie typical, however? In 1925 when Robert and Helen Merrell Lynd gathered research for Middletown, they were convinced that Muncie was Anytown, but when they returned to do Middletown in Transition ten years later, they became aware of some conspicuous factors that differentiated Muncie from other typical cities. The two major differences were the presence of the Teacher's College and the supremacy of the Ball family. Whether Muncie typifies every American city or speaks only for itself, the crux of the preceding situation probably lies in the attitudes of the people toward change.

The city from 1890 until 1925 was in a state of change, but during the next decade, there was no change, and there is little evidence that attitudes have changed much since then. During the first era of the Lynd research, Middletown man attended town meetings, church socials, discussion groups, Bearcat ball games, Klan activities, lodge meetings and visited with his neighbors. Now, according to the New York times, he watches television fifteen hours each week. Activity has been replaced with passivity.
There are some traits which have been considered to exist nationwide, but that take on special virulence in Indiana. For example, the ambition of civic administration is to do as little as necessary to keep people reasonably satisfied and to get by by keeping the middle of the road, the neck in, and moving only when one is sure of backing by the right people. There is an emphasis upon the average and a tradition of the competence of the untrained common man to direct public affairs. This is evident in our appointment system. The County Chairman of Delaware County makes all appointments for political patronage jobs. There are approximately one hundred jobs filled on the county level through appointment. Each appointee is required to pay one per cent of his salary to the treasurer of the political party holding power at that time. Most of the employees hired are party workers, precinct committeemen, friends or relatives of party officials. The system clearly is a matter of who knows whom and leaves no basis for hiring individuals with the highest qualities. There have been cases in the county where the recommended person scored too low on the examination given to qualify. Then the County Chairman can refuse to hire anybody and the test is regiven. This has been done as many as four times or until the recommended individual passed the exam. The Lynd's summarized the situation well by saying, "The present system, emphasizing revolt, home-grown officials in most of the
agencies, facilitates control by the city's leaders and mini-
mizes the danger of large interrupting ideas foreign to local practice..."^0

To continue the Hoosier traits, there is a pride that
is based upon "the good ole days" rather than the present.
There is also a distrust of planners, idealists, and intellec-
tuals."^1

Philotnthropic Growth

To attain any insight into this community's failure to
provide well for its abandoned and neglected children, consi-
deration must be given to the attitudes toward philanthropy
which have prevailed in our history.

In the eighteenth century, in the nation as a whole,
poverty was not viewed as a social disorder, and the community
felt they could handle the situation without acute strain. The
origins of dependency were not questioned and the poor were an
accepted part of the community.

In the eighteenth century, religion defined the presence
of poverty in the world as natural and just, and its relief as
necessary and appropriate. The relief of the needy was considered
the highest Christian virtue, and Clergymen linked this relief
with the winning of salvation. The doctrine of the day was that
poverty made money a blessing for it permitted men to act as the
steward of God's wealth."^2

The attitudes changed with the approach of the nineteenth
century. Americans began to break away from the traditional prac-
tices and to separate themselves from the conditions in England.
They could understand poverty in a land from which their forebears had rebelled, but they could not understand it in a nation when there appeared to be abundant land and employment. A new explanation for poverty was that the poor were responsible for their own dilemma, and that economic failure was due to moral failure. Another explanation was that outdoor relief awarding money and/or supplies to the needy to be controlled by the individual and used in his own home encouraged the poor to remain poor. The Protestant Ethic had gained a foothold and reform began by the implementation of the almshouses described in Chapter II.

The equality of strength between the concepts of "help thy neighbor" and the theory of "self help" have created an ambivalence toward philanthropy which has been prevalent in the twentieth century. Muncie's philosophy as portrayed by the Lynds in 1925 was "People in actual need must be helped, because 'you wouldn't let a dog starve,' but we must not make it too easy for them, and by all means let's get the unpleasant business over with and out of sight as soon as possible!"3

Prior to the nineteenth century, Christianity was deeply interwined with charity, but since that time, there has been a distinct separation. In 1925, the Lynds found that the churches were spending on local charity well under one dollar for every four dollars being raised through collections.4 The Social Service Bureau, Community Fund, and the township trustee were the leaders and organizers in caring for the needy. Individual church members were strong supporters of those agencies, but the churches as organizations were no longer involved.5
Today, people tend to select the "church of their choice" for social rather than spiritual or philosophical reasons. Civic involvement is usually incidental and is contingent upon presentation of a crisis such as the recent tornadoes. Other civic and philanthropic work is left largely to individuals in the parish or to small groups organized within the parish. For those churches which are most deeply involved in social services, such is not due to the philosophy of the church as a whole, but rather to the work of a few individuals.

When the depression hit in 1929, the "self help" versus "help thy neighbor" philosophy continued. An editorial during that period stated, "Now is a good time for people who can afford it to have all their odd jobs done to help the unemployed. The best help is helping others to help themselves. That is much better than outright charity, however necessary the latter may be in emergencies."

In the summer of 1930, free seed and vacant lots were provided for the unemployed to raise vegetables. An editor in 1930 voiced the mood of the community by saying "'Looking after people who are out of work is sort of your job and mine.'" As the depression wore one, the attitude began to change and the same editor reflected a different mood when he referred to the "'utterly worthless!'" individuals who were "'never worth feeding for any purpose!'" "'...Can't let the worthless starve?'" he writes. 'Maybe not, but if some plague were to come along... and wipe them all out, that would not be a tragedy but a gib relief.'"
That attitude was a product of Muncie's determination to continue "Christian charity" despite the vastness of the current poverty situation. Muncie's leaders attempted to blot out recognition of the social forces by resisting new programs. Public funds for relief programs were regarded negatively because of the philosophy of individual self-help which took precedence. The fear was that when charity involved large funds, it became necessary for someone to control those funds, and that could result in a dictatorial situation.49

The federal projects that pulled the nation out of its despair were rejected by Muncie. The State Employment Service which had been established following World War I had been discontinued by the city fathers and when it reopened late in the depression as part of the federal programs for reemployment, local businessmen refused to use it. Federal monies were used to establish a camp for transient men and it was successful in eliminating begging, but the people in the community saw it as having "socialistic features," and as soon as federal funds were withdrawn, the camp closed.50

Federal funds continue to concern the local residents. They feel that most projects can be handled with local funds. In caring for abandoned and neglected children, it was considered proper that we continue to finance at a local level and only then if we can't squeeze the funds out of the parents. In the event counties do not have adequate funds, it was considered proper to attain help from the state. Only one person interviewed by this writer recommended funds be attained through the reallocation of federal funds and that person was a realtor and disliked local property taxes.
Despite the pressures of the depression, Muncie remained committed to spontaneous charity. Private philanthropy remained predominant through the beneficence of rich men and middle class community efforts. Both followed the precept that those who furnished the money could determine how it would be spent. The Ball family were leaders in this area with their gargantuan contributions to this community which began in 1887 when they first arrived in Muncie. The following partial list of contributions made from 1887 until 1925 gives substance to the preceding statement.

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|}
\hline
\text{YNCA} & 150,000.00 \\
\text{Camp Crosley} & 200,000.00 \\
\text{YMCA} & 100,000.00 \\
\text{Ball State University} & \\
\text{Ball Gym} & 1,000,000.00 \\
\text{Lucina Hall} & 100,000.00 \\
\text{Arts Building} & 300,000.00 \\
\text{Frank T. Ball Dormitory} & 350,000.00 \\
\text{Ball Memorial Hospital} & \\
\text{Main Building} & 1,170,000.00 \\
\text{Nurses Home} & 370,000.00 \\
\text{Laundry} & 62,000.00 \\
\text{Medical Building} & 408,000.00 \\
\text{Masonic Temple} & 200,000.00 \\
\text{Temple Auditorium} & 195,000.00 \\
\text{Minnestrista Golf Course} & 100,000.00 \\
\text{American Legion Hall} & \\
\hline
\text{Total} & 5,730,000.00 \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

The Ball's made other large contributions to hospitals, colleges, and churches throughout Indiana, Michigan, and New York. With this same generosity, deficits in the Community Funds and other fundraising ventures were met anonymously and one could usually assume the Ball family was behind it.

The Ball Foundation continues to make outstanding contributions to the community, but their contributions seem to be far less conspicuous. The majority of residents with whom the
subject of leaders in community projects was discussed, did not
even mention the Ball Foundation or any of the men who control
it. Those individuals and groups considered to be leaders were
solely within the frame of reference of the individual being in-
terviewed and there was little continuity among the residents.

As to the question of "who gets things done for the poor?" it
would seem that an eminent individual philanthropist does not
exist.

J.C. Williams, a black minister, was the only individual
named as having made contributions to the poor. Agencies com-
monly named were Muncie Mission, Salvation Army, Gateway Chris-
tian Center and the Department of Public Welfare. One individual
in expressing his concerns about governmental agencies said that
he thought they were responsible for the "availability of services
to people who need to be sent away." One Township Trustee an-
swered that question by saying "Me, just me - that's all." Only
one other person mentioned the trustee as being a significant
individual in aiding the poor.

The Lynds found that civic giving was predominant at
Thanksgiving and Christmas. Rotary gave gifts to the local poor
house. Dynamo Club provided a banquet for 150 poor children.
The Eagles visited and gave gifts to inmates of the orphan's
home, and the boys of the Hi Y Club gave their annual "cheer
party" to the orphan's home. "If only some of these clubs
would remember that people need help at other times of the year!"
quipped a Social Service Bureau worker. Last year at Hallo-
ween, the parties at the Children's Home began early in October
and continued through Halloween night. The children were
exhausted and bored to death with parties before annual festivities came to a close. Then the whole thing was repeated a month later with Christmas. In contrast to this, it should be explained that there are three birthday parties each year — one every four months. Children who have a birthday during that period celebrate it at the group party. The remainder of the year is relatively uneventful with television taking first place as the most regular activity.

Muncie's residents tend to join organizations for the purpose of social stimulation and professional interest. People who were members of any of the country clubs also tended to belong to other clubs that were oriented toward social interaction and those persons who considered themselves nonjoiners belonged to Jaycees and were active on the Boards of such organizations as Crisis Intervention, Red Cross, and the Delaware County Mental Health Association.

Summary

The prevailing passivity of the population is activated to resistance in the face of social change. If the complaints are not loud and persistent, it is assumed that everything is operating satisfactorily and should not be disturbed. If there are active complaints, it can be assumed that the complainers are idealists and consequently can be ignored.

Political appointments give to one man unchecked power, and make way for unqualified persons to enter public office.

The nostalgia demonstrated by the native Hoosiers remind them how grand things were, but disallows foresight.
Religion and charitable work are no longer linked as necessary partners in gaining God's recognition. Federal aid as a means of supporting anything is frowned upon. Self help is considered the best and if that fails, the use of local funds is tolerated.

The Ball Foundation continues to offer financial support for civic projects, but appears to maintain more anonymity than in the past.

Civic organizations tend to be seasonal philanthropists with heavy indications that social rather than philanthropic work is the cause of their union, and nonjoiners may be more oriented toward civic improvement than joiners.
Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

What is the responsibility of a democratic society for the care of children and youth? The answer to this question is of vital importance not only to our children and youth, but to democracy itself. Children and youth are precious for they will shape the America of tomorrow.

From the Conference of Children in a Democracy of 1940 I quote, ... "What do our children and youth face today? Frustration, insecurity, fear, despair, resentment, confusion, lack of opportunity. The responsibility of our democratic society is to marshal every asset, every resource known to man to fortify our children and our youth against the insidious forces in our national life and in the world today, which would regiment them, depri ve them of their freedom, deny them equality of opportunity, ruin them morally in body and soul. It is the further responsibility of our democratic society to its children and youth to see to it that the home, the church, and the school teach the fundamental concepts of our democracy - the right of each person to life, liberty, happiness, equality of opportunity, freedom of the press, of religion, of assembly, and of petition."

It must be recognized that this community is not doing the best it can do for its children, and responsibility belongs
to all of us. There is a continual shortage of foster homes. Those people who would make fine foster parents do not come forth.

While local residents view the problem of caring for abandoned and neglected children as a local one, very few people know how it is being handled. Those few people are involved with the institution from a distance and from an administrative level. They are essentially unaware of what the nation considers basic standards of child care. The vast majority of residents are simply unaware of the proper procedure or the function of this local institution.

It is the writer’s opinion that we are using an archaic method of dealing with an important problem and in the event she is considered unjust or even shrill in relating our current method with mid nineteenth century tactics, she invites the reader to make anything more than a polar comparison of this institution with the recommended standards as developed in Chapter III.

Denial as a Solution

There has been an interest in secluding our problems from the remainder of the population so that this comfortable majority can unregrettably continue its passive, uninvolved existence. The key to happy middle class living seems to lie in the concepts of confinement and segregation. For example, during the post World War II years, plans were being developed for growth and improvements in Muncie. Improvements were contingent upon providing an area just for the Negro population. Suggestions were made for implementing this proposal. The two major ideas were first to attain FHA loans for five families
to construct homes in the northeast section of Whitely which was to encourage owners of surrounding properties to repair them; and the second idea was to recognize that garden spots and spacious lawns are the "backbone of American living" and should be a great way of stabilizing the black population. The objective was to elevate the value of property in other parts of the city and to make more homes available for an increased white population. The plea was that "this plan should be pursued for the good of Muncie and so that all of us may have a healthy and happy place in which to live and call our home." 56

Now, anything that occurs in the black community is not "our" problem, it is "their" problem. With the same detachment, the middle class can look upon the disposition of homeless children as a lower class problem and one which the middle class can turn over to that class to solve forgetting that it is the middle class which has all of the resources and runs the show.

With My Money Goes My Advice

We have seen that the use of any governmental funds beyond county taxation has been avoided by this community. Local residents do not want to have to answer to a larger more powerful entity and when federal and state monies are accepted, so must their rules and regulations be accepted.

The Delaware County Children's Home is supported totally with county funds, consequently there are no state laws to protect the children which become wards of the county. The state cannot set laws without providing monetary supplements. Licensing requires adherence to state regulations, but as explained
in Chapter VI, licensing can be avoided.

**Private Philanthropical Successes as Opposed to Local Public Efforts**

The Ball Foundation has supported local efforts aptly over the years and these recipient projects tend to flourish. There is no evidence that private funds are ever contributed to tax supported operations, however, and like the Delaware County Children's Home, they lag behind those which receive private donations.

**Political Positions**

The Lynde's reported two separate, but interdependent sets of cultural institutions. One was a set of "lagging political institutions fallen into disrepute because of the meagre calibre of the men who find it financially worthwhile in this culture to run for municipal office." The second was a set of economic institutions ably manned by the best abilities in the population. The latter group did not want to bother with the political structure, but injected just enough control to insure a tolerable tax rate and to maintain control over the working class.57 Many people believe today that the power of the men in political office is essentially nil and that they are instruments of powerful business and industrial leaders. That remains open to debate.

For the purposes of this paper, the real concern is that when quasi qualified individuals are given the power to appoint unqualified people to fill positions that demand top echelon professionals, the consequences are unfavorable. These unqualified appointed individuals, in turn hire even
less qualified people to comprise their staffs, and we conse-
quently are fitted with an administrative hierarchy which is
basically worthless in terms of the job we, as citizens, want
completed.
FOOTNOTES


3Ibid, p. 32.

4Ibid, p. 64.


7Ibid, p. 38.

8Brenner, Children and Youth in America, p. 667-668.

9Rothman, The Discovery of the Asylum, p. 39.


11Brenner, Children and Youth in America, p. 276.

12Alice Felt Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, p. 293.

13Brenner, Children and Youth in America, p. 665.

14Ibid, p. 663.

15Ibid, p. 226; 273-274.

16Rothman, The Discovery of the Asylum, p. 207.


18Brenner, Children and Youth in America, p. 275-276.

19W. A. Payne, Oliver Twisted, p. 9.

20Rothman, The Discovery of the Asylum, p. 228.

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29 Ibid
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