Needing, Kneading, and Eating Black Bodies: The History of Social Work and Its Concern for Black Citizenship in the United States

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Abstract: Social workers have been on the frontlines alongside marginalized communities since the profession's emergence. This stance continues with supporting the Black Lives Matter Movement and centering the structural inequities that the COVID-19 pandemic highlights. A narrative that centers the history of social work's concern for Black citizenship in the profession's formation is neglected in the literature. This historical review traces the genesis of the profession's work to expand access to the entitlements of citizenship among Black communities. Thematic analysis of secondary sources is used to investigate the formation of the profession and its work to ensure access to resources among Blacks communities. Study findings identify that the profession emerged from the bonds between the Abolitionist Movement and the Women's Suffrage Movement, then moved away from working with Black people during the Settlement Movement and did not return to addressing the needs of these communities until the 1960s during the Civil Rights Movement. Black social workers answered the call to support Black and non-Black communities in the absence of the profession's national organization's presence. Social work needs, kneads, and eats Black bodies by being in complicity with systems of oppression. The history of social work and its concern and lack of concern for Black citizenship is a pedagogical innovation that addresses the historical amnesia that White domination fosters. The findings of this analysis call social workers to task to disrupt White dominant epistemologies of ignorance by incorporating this historical context into their social work pedagogy.

Keywords: White domination; history; social work with Black communities; African Americans; Jane Addams; Mary Richmond; radical social work

The Ongoing Second-Class Citizenship of Black Communities in the U.S.

Blacks/African Americans were granted citizenship status in 1866 through the 14th Amendment (Lee, 2012) yet continue to be barred from the necessities and entitlements of full citizenship status, including adequate health care and non-stigmatizing social welfare programs (Dattel, 2009; DuBois, 1935; Mills, 1997; Roberts, 1996). Citizenship is the legal relationship between individuals and the governing state or country that the person pledges allegiance to. This legal contract explicates the rights and responsibilities of the citizen to fellow citizens, and the state or country to its citizenry (Britanica, 2021; US Immigration.org, 2021). Citizenship bestows the entitlement to move freely within the borders of the country of allegiance while guaranteeing equal protection to all citizens (Lee, 2012; National Archives, 2021). Citizens are granted rights and held accountable to

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responsibilities that are not extended to or expected of people without this status. The responsibilities of any country's citizenry generally include allegiance, adherence to the law, participation in the political process, service in the military, and taxation. Second class citizenship is when people within a country have citizenship status and are held accountable to the responsibilities of citizenry but do not receive equal access to the entitlements of being a citizen.

Before the U.S. could be built on immigration, it was built *by* the forced labor of First Nation Indigenous Peoples, low-income Whites/European Americans, Blacks and African Americans (Bennett, 1993), Latinx communities, Asian communities, and various othered communities of color (Snowden, 2015). The 14th Amendment guarantees access to all basic rights of the U.S. Constitution to all U.S. citizens and was extended to Blacks in 1866 (Lee, 2012). However, Blacks/African Americans continue to be more likely to be incarcerated, live in poverty, and are less likely to collect social security than any other group of citizens in the U.S. (Butrica & Smith, 2012). Black communities continue to be under siege by disproportionate rates of negative health outcomes, poverty (Jones et al., 2018) and criminalizing systems of injustice (Gramlich, 2020). These structural inequities are rooted in White domination (Hadden et al., 2016; Rodriguez, 2020; Snowden, 2018; Tolliver et al., 2016). COVID-19 has further highlighted the already existing federal, state and city disinvestment in access to life sustaining services amongst Black communities, resulting in lack of access to basic needs, such as quality healthcare (Artiga & Orgera, 2019; Kaiser Family Foundation [KFF], 2019; Ndugga & Artiga, 2021) and housing (Hutchinson, in development; Rothstein, 2017).

The main provisions of the Affordable Care Act (ACA) went into effect in 2014 and significantly expanded access to insurance coverage amongst Black, African American, and Latinx communities (Snowden, 2018) in the U.S. (Artiga & Orgera, 2019; Baumgartner et al., 2020). The rates of being uninsured amongst Black, White, and Latinx adults dropped to historic lows (Baumgartner et al., 2020). Racialized disparities in being insured narrowed in most U.S. states regardless of whether or not eligibility criteria for access to public health insurance was expanded. In 2019, Black adults in states that expanded eligibility for public health insurance reported being insured at rates that were comparable to or better than states that had not expanded the criteria to qualify for Medicaid (Baumgartner et al., 2020). African American communities significantly benefitted from the ACA, despite disproportionately living in 15 states that did not expand access to public health care programs (Baumgartner et al., 2020). The increased access to health insurance coverage that the ACA instituted led to widespread reductions in barriers to this basic need. However, these medical advances have slowed down and, in some areas, have been receding, over the past four years (Artiga & Orgera, 2019; Baumgartner et al., 2020; KFF, 2019). The COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated epidemics that were already worsening amongst Black and Latinx communities, and communities of color in the U.S. (CDC, 2020a; Rodriguez, 2020).

In February 2020, the community transmission of COVID-19 in the U.S. was first detected. Less than a month later, COVID-19 had been reported in New York City, Washington, D.C., and in all 50 states of the U.S. (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC] COVID-19 Response Team, 2020). Black, African American, and

Latinx communities that are disproportionately low-income were, and continue to be, most immediately affected by this virus. As of August 2020, Black communities were twice as likely to die from and almost five-times as likely to be hospitalized for COVID-19 (CDC, 2020a). The COVID-19 pandemic in the U.S. began at the start of 2020. However, comparable public health crises, such as HIV and AIDS among Black communities, have lasted almost 40 years (Snowden, 2015, 2018).

Black communities are more likely to test HIV-positive and to have low-income status in the U.S. (CDC, 2020a; 2020b). Researchers identify that racial status is a stronger predictor of proximity to COVID-19 transmission than income, with Blacks and African Americans being amongst the groups that are most at risk (Adhikari et al., 2020). These study findings underscore that "…racism kills" (Adhikari et al., 2020), and reiterate earlier research findings that the U.S. remains a high-risk social, economic and political system for Black communities (Wheeler et al., 2010).

In 2019, Blacks/African Americans accounted for 23.8% of people living in poverty, despite comprising only 13% of the U.S. population (Creamer, 2020). Poverty in the U.S. continues to serve as a pathway for viral and bacterial transmission through enclosed spaces, inadequate ventilation, crowded situations, and close physical contact that low-income communities often endure (CDC, 2020a, 2020b, 2020c). People of color, including Black and Latinx communities, are also more likely to serve on the frontlines of viral and bacterial communicability (CDC, 2021; Thorbecke, 2020). In other words, Black and Brown bodies being needed for the day-to-day functioning of municipalities also kneads their bodies as buffers between privileged communities that are not essential workers but are in need of essential worker-services. This process illustrates the second-class citizenship of Black communities in the U.S. that McKittrick (2013) coined "plantation futures" to refer to a conceptualization of time-space that compares the enslavement plantation to being a prison within impoverished and destroyed city sectors (p. 3). The concept of a plantation future brings into sharp focus the ways that the plantation is an ongoing locus of anti-Black violence and death.

Income and race are also linked with disproportionate incarceration. The number of people incarcerated in the U.S. is declining, however, Blacks continue to outnumber any other race or ethnicity among people that are in prison (Gramlich, 2019). National, international and global-level economies thrive on the maintenance of poverty that disproportionately laminates the lives of Black/African American communities (McKittrick, 2013). In other words, having the basic needs of access to quality medical care, housing, and equal protection under the law serve as buffers to negative outcomes. These buffers are the entitlements of U.S. citizenship (Roberts, 1997). Lack of access to these basic entitlements of citizenship indicates that Black/African American communities continue to experience second class citizenship in the U.S. and a status closer to subject of the U.S., rather than a U.S. citizen (Clarke, 2018). The plantation system during and after transatlantic slavery permeated Black life by contributing to the interlocking workings of dispossession and resistance. This interlocking working is prevalent in every major U.S. city through gentrification, police violence and humiliation as a side dish to the ultimate erasure: death (Laymon, 2018).

Second class citizenship functions as kneading Black bodies by predisposing them to negative health outcomes, needing Black bodies as frontline workers, and eating Black bodies as the fuel or input for systems of domination. Social workers are intricately involved in needing, kneading, and eating Black bodies in the doing of social work (Chapman & Withers, 2019). Social work's role in the doing of these three processes is owing to what is taught to social workers as education for practice. The focus of clinical practice continues to see and "treat" human behavior and conditions as the function of individual failure (Kennedy, 2008). The profession's dependence on ego psychology, object relations theory and other individual-focused psychological theories has separated social work from its historical focus on social and economic contexts that eviscerate people at the bottom of a caste system in a capitalist economy (Wilkerson, 2020).

Social Workers and the Legacy of Their Fight for Black Citizenship

Social workers have been and continue to be on the front lines of supporting communities to pressure political administrations and organize for equitable access to the basic foundations of citizenship in the U.S. (Hadden, 1998, 2019; Roberts, 1996; Rodriguez, 2020; Snowden, 2015, 2018; Tolliver, 1993). Historically and presently, social workers continue to partner with community members to expand awareness of viral infection and safer methods of prevention, engage in social welfare policy formulation, support communities and advocate for their needs to be met, provide one-on-one and group counseling, ensure that individuals and families have the resources that they need (Snowden, 2015), assist in planning, carrying out and successfully debriefing social demonstrations (Rodriguez, 2020), engage in research that centers the perspectives of marginalized communities (Hadden, 1998; Hadden et al., 2016; Tolliver et al., 2016), and provide quality social work education that is relevant to today's context (Snowden, 2018).

Social work professionals in the U.S. have carried out these roles and activities since the profession's emergence in the 1800s. This legacy continues with social workers actively supporting the Black Lives Matter Movement 2013-present (Rodriguez, 2020) and serving on the frontlines of COVID-19 testing, treatment, and prevention (NASW, 2020; Truell, 2020). The role of social workers has included working as guides for social, economic and political well-being, and has been to equip individuals, families and communities for citizenry since the onset of the profession (NASW, 2020; Wilensky & Lebeaux, 1965). The work, ideals, and professional affiliations that this role has translated into have inextricably taken shape within the context of Eurocentric ideals of nationhood and have been in service to an exploitive market-based society (Roberts, 1996; Wilder, 2000). These ideals of U.S. national identity continued to be core tenets of the forming and on-going professionalizing of the social work profession (Kennedy, 2008; NASW, 2020).

White dominant ways of knowing continue to be deeply rooted in social work higher education. The inclusion of narrative that centers the history of social work and its concern for the well-being of Black people in the profession's formation is largely neglected in the formal preparation of social workers. This narrative includes that the formation of social work has its roots in communities organizing for the emancipation of enslaved Africans and their Black/African American descendants, and the equal rights of women. The

knowledge that this study produces better equips social work educators in higher education to prepare social work professionals to interrogate their role in either maintaining or challenging the second-class citizenship of Black communities. Finally, the findings generated from this research serve as an opportunity for social workers to re-examine how they teach their positionality in all forms higher education classrooms.

Analysis Questions and Theory

This historical analysis poses five (5) questions that investigate and explore the history of social work as a means of tracing the genesis of its work to support the well-being of Black communities in the U.S. These questions include:

Q1: What is the history of social work in the U.S.?
Q2: If there were efforts of early social work professionals to address the needs of African American communities in the U.S., what were these efforts?
Q3: What accomplishments, if any, did these efforts achieve?
Q4: What are the legacies of these efforts?

This study hypothesizes that early social work in the U.S. began in the 1880s and that professionals were predominantly formally educated White/Euro-American women that primarily provided social work services to White, Euro-American, or European communities that recently immigrated to the U.S. According to this hypothesis, early formally trained social workers did not serve or interface with Black and African American communities. Critical race theory serves as the theoretical framework for this historical review.

Critical Race Theory is the practice of interrogating the centrality of race and racism in U.S. laws and the disproportionate outcomes that racialization produces (George, 2021). Crenshaw (2011) and Bell (1995) asserted this theoretical framework to counter the legal discourse that the Civil Rights Movement (1936-Present) had realized its purpose of extending equal access to the entitlements of citizenship to Black/African American communities. Critical Race Theory evolves in its critique of the construction of social identities. This critique is situated within the context of how racialization relegates Blacks, African Americans, and all othered communities of color to second-class citizenship within a race-based caste system in the U.S. (Crenshaw, 2011; George, 2021; Wilkerson, 2020). The profession is an extension of social welfare policy, which makes Critical Race Theory relevant to social workers.

The profession's ability to broker and provide services to the most amount of people possible expands or contacts according to the U.S. welfare state and its social welfare policies (Jansson, 2005). The larger the welfare state, the greater the need for social workers to distribute social services. Racialized social welfare laws impede on the profession's ability to actualize the social justice mandate of the NASW (2021) *Code of Ethics*. Social welfare policies determine the role of social workers as either serving as the moral police, gatekeepers, or supporters of the liberation of marginalized communities. Finally, the conundrum of social work is that its formal credibility as a profession is extended to it by the same status quo communities that social workers are mandated to

challenge. Using Critical Race Theory to interpret the genesis of the profession enables social workers to center racialization in the history and the emergence of their concern for Black citizenship. The study findings are presented from the positionality of the authors being Black, cis-gender, and serving as social work practitioners, educators, researchers, and a Bachelor's of Science in Social Work [BSSW] social work student/scholar that serves as a burgeoning practitioner, educator, and researcher.

Pivotal events in the profession's presence in or absence from supporting the full citizenship of Black communities within the context of macro-level factors, such as the enslavement of Africans and African Americans, women's suffrage, ensuing poverty, and the passing of the 14th Amendment, are made sense of within the lens of racialization as a structural factor. These events predate the development of Critical Race Theory. However, Crenshaw (2011), Bell (1995), and Snowden (2018) remind social workers that the Civil Rights Movement (1936-Present) and its most recent incarnation, the Black Lives Matter Movement (2013-Present), demand that legal citizenship be fully extended to people of African descent in the U.S.

Previous research identifies that the profession was historically developed with White/Euro-American formally educated women at its frontlines (Snowden, 2015). However, there is a dearth of research that investigates if, when, where, and how the profession was or was not present in the fight for social justice alongside Black communities prior to the Civil Rights Movement (1936-Present). An extensive literature search that investigated the emergence of the social work profession in the U.S. was executed. The search primarily accessed secondary sources. Some of the secondary sources included primary sources and historical documents that had served as data from previously conducted research, such as Addams (1910/2017), Richmond (1917), the Hull House Museum (2021) Roberts (1996), Gordon (1994), Lasch-Quinn (1993), and Berson (2004).

All of the sources were accessed either online through the Hull House Museum (2021), at a local library in New York City, an out of state library in the U.S., or in-person at the Library of Social Sciences and East European Studies of the Freie Universität Berlin in Berlin, Germany. All of the texts used in the analysis were in English. The study scope was expanded to investigate the time period that spanned from the first arrival of the English in the U.S. in 1609 to the present. This was done as a means of ensuring the validity of any findings regarding the emergence and subsequent themes in the genesis of social work. In other words, the years and social climate that occurred before the onset of the formation of social work were examined to understand how the social work profession became the only possible and plausible outcome of the events that necessitated its creation. The themes that emerged from an exhaustive review of the literature (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) indicate that the social work profession has its roots in the common ground between the Abolitionist Movement (1783-1888) and the Women's Suffrage Movement (1848-1920) in the U.S., then abandoned Black communities as early at the Settlement Movement (1880s-1910), leaving Black social workers to pick up the slack until the 1960s, during the Civil Rights Movement (1936-Present). Thirty texts were read and used in the analysis. Six (6) themes emerged, and they include:

1. Anti-Slavery and Anti-Black: Early Social Workers and Social Motherhood
2. Jane Addams and Mary Richmond: Social Workers of the Same Struggle
3. The Progressive Era (1890-1920) Social Work
4. Black Social Workers
5. The Civil Rights Movement and the Social Work Profession
6. Radical Social Work

Each theme identifies a component of the simultaneous evolution of social work and its role in ensuring that the needs of Black communities are met. All six themes are outlined in detail and presented in chronological order.

Results

Theme 1: Anti-Slavery and Anti-Black: Early Social Workers and Social Motherhood

Working to protect individuals, families, and communities from the hazards of industrialization served as a platform for White/Euro-American women to renegotiate their role in 19th century U.S. society. Early social workers effectively advocated that working to maintain social order by ameliorating social problems was a form of community motherhood (Harkavy & Puckett, 1994; Wencour & Reisch, 1989). Social or community motherhood meant working to maintain social order as being an extension of woman's work outside of the home (Harkavy & Puckett, 1994). Settlement houses and charity organization societies provided a socially acceptable and at times, profitable professional outlet for a labor force that was predominantly comprised of college-educated White/Euro-American women (Wencour & Reisch, 1989). However, influencing public opinion, and persuading financial sponsors and White Euro-American male gatekeepers of the professional status of social work meant underscoring the second-class citizenship of Black communities.

Advocacy and activism for European and White/Euro-American women to have more sanitary working conditions, access to higher education and opportunities for careers outside of the home was born out of their work in the Abolitionist Movement (1783-1888) in the 1830s (Davis, 1983). White/Euro-American housewives and "mill girls" experienced their respective oppressions as a shared lot with enslaved Blacks and African Americans (Davis, 1983, p. 33). White/Euro-American women were actively drawn into the Abolitionist Movement (1783-1888) and the Women's Suffrage Movement (1848-1920) simultaneously (Davis, 1983). Reflective of the ideals of the abolitionist movement and despite the success of the Freedman's Bureau (Dubois, 1935), by 1870, political administrations, buoyed by public opinion, had determined that African Americans were incapable of being assimilated into U.S. nationhood (Dattel, 2009).

Whites/ European Americans that were in defense of enslavement believed that Blacks were biologically inferior to Whites. Abolitionists believed that slavery had irreparably damaged the ability of African Americans to effectively participate in the nation's citizenry (Dattel, 2009). Earlier research has found that anti-slavery had gone hand in hand with anti-Black racism (Genovese, 1989). While Blacks continued to be locked by racialization into continuing to mine cotton, the large-scale immigration of Europeans replaced women and

children in factory work in the North (Wilensky & Lebeaux, 1965). Cities were not growing fast enough to accommodate the rapid urbanization of previously rural communities. Factory work and community life took place in squalid conditions (Wilensky & Lebeaux, 1965).

Industrialization within the context of a free-market added on to what was already intense social upheaval and further highlighted a need for social, economic, and political change (Molina, 2006; Wilensky & Lebeaux, 1965). Politicians and stakeholders identified cultural differences among newly arrived European immigrants as the social problem and cause of the foul living conditions of city life (Berson, 2004). By the advent of the Settlement Movement in 1890, social welfare services were only accessible to abandoned White/Euro-American women (Roberts, 1996) and European immigrant communities (Wilensky & Lebeaux, 1965). The fate of Black people as racially inferior was sealed by demographer Fredrick L. Hoffman's interpretation of 1890 census data (Muhammad, 2010/2019). Hoffman mined census data from a half dozen cities from Chicago to Charleston and concluded that Blacks were inherently prone to criminal-behavior. These findings were used to persuade policy makers that Black people, many of whom were 25 years post-slavery, were identified as not deserving of an investment of federal, state, or local dollars.

Theme 2: Jane Addams and Mary Richmond: Social Workers of the Same Struggle

In the latter half of the 19th century, organizing the distribution of charity and adapting European immigrants to U.S. cultural norms through settlement houses coexisted together. Both approaches to social work epitomized the themes of the Progressive Era (1890-1920): social reform and social uplift (Wencour & Reisch, 1989). Jane Addams believed that research, residence, and immersion in the communities of the people she and her staff acculturated would alleviate poverty (Berson, 2004; Hull House Museum, 2021). Addams' community-based approaches to making sense of poverty and its causes predate the first university sociology courses in the U.S. (Harkavy & Puckett, 1994). Jane Addams and the University of Chicago worked together in engaging in social research and ensuring its direct use for the benefit of European immigrant communities (Harkavy & Puckett, 1994). The Scientific Charity Movement (1877-1893) among charity organization societies was simultaneously quickly gaining in prominence in the U.S. (Hansan, 2013; Waugh, 2001).

Charity organization societies worked to blend pre-industrial revolution alms-giving with new scientific methods of the progressive ideals of social uplift and philanthropy (Waugh, 2001). Settlement house supporters and charity organization society sponsors agreed that the industrial economy simultaneously produced immense wealth and vast poverty (Addams, 1910/2017; Hull House Museum, 2021). Charity organizations answered this dilemma by encouraging members of prosperous upper classes to sympathize with the harsh realities of the poor by financing solutions to poverty (Waugh, 2001). However, while the settlement movement sought to Americanize European immigrants, charity organization societies used punitive approaches to reduce poverty (Waugh, 2001). These early social work approaches to addressing social problems reinforced the belief that the reform of the individual was essential to enabling them to become an independent and

productive member of U.S. citizenry. Both the settlement and charity organization workers utilized what they had identified as scientific methodological approaches to social service delivery and poverty reduction, despite the differences in these approaches to community well-being (Wencour & Reisch, 1989; Wilensky & Lebeaux, 1965).

Settlement houses and charity organization societies modeled their approaches after the prevailing features of corporate management, such as investigation, organizational structure, and curtailing any superfluous spending to solve the problems of poverty (Wencour & Reisch, 1989). The notion of "scientific charity" had advocated doling out all charitable relief in a businesslike, scientific, and efficient manner as a means of alleviating the lot of the poor (Wencour & Reisch, 1989, p. 31). Modeling corporate structure fortified racialized attitudes about the behaviors of poor people and had already informed social service policy and delivery. Implementing these changes included restricting access to services and support, while eliminating any input from the social service user in determining the goals of service outcomes (Wencour & Reisch, 1989). Mary Richmond marketed this new approach to corporate sponsors of charity organization societies (Richmond, 1917; Wencour & Reisch, 1989) while Jane Addams worked with the University of Chicago to institutionalize social activism en route to social reform (Harkavy & Puckett, 1994).

Mary Richmond's new approach later evolved into the "casework" method of social work (Richmond, 1917; Wencour & Reisch, 1989, p. 97), which continues to be the primary commodity of social work services (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2020). Mary Richmond's (1917) response to Flexner's (1915) question helped social workers to shape their professional identities and exert their expertise by embracing scientific practice methods (Harkavy & Puckett, 1994; Wencour & Reisch, 1989). These methods included an emphasis on detailed case records, scientific nomenclature, social diagnosis, and an exhaustive investigation. Casework had become social work's main service commodity in its use of psychoanalytic approaches to helping individuals to adapt to their surroundings (Richmond, 1917; Wencour & Reisch, 1989). The shift moved social workers and the social work profession even farther from its focus on social change, social uplift, and social justice, especially among Black communities.

The political climate shifted to a more rigid focus on adapting the individual to the greater society at the close of the Progressive Era (1890-1920) and following WWI. By 1920, universities of higher learning had fully distanced themselves from social reform (Harkavy & Puckett, 1994). Natural science and scientific rigor circumscribed the focus on social problems (Harkavy & Puckett, 1994). Empirical science was no longer deemed compatible with social action, social justice, or direct democracy. Eugenic ideas that took shape in the 1800s gained increased corporate sponsorship and state-level legislative support at the turn of the century.

In the early 1920s, medical approaches to achieving social unity were now considered to be the cutting edge of social reform. Addams' and Richmond's structural approaches entailed the active support for forced sterilization and or permanent institutionalization for communities that were identified by early social workers and their financial sponsors as incapable of assimilation, such as African Americans (Kennedy, 2008; Washington, 2006).

Sterilization and permanent institutionalization served as common ground between Addams' settlement house approach and Mary Richmond's (1917) social diagnosis approach to social problems (Kennedy, 2008). By 1920, public service was left for public agencies while social work professionals generally moved onto working in private agencies with middle/upper class communities (Harkavy & Puckett, 1994; Wilensky & Lebeaux, 1965).

Theme 3: Progressive Era (1890-1920) Social Work

The Progressive Era (1890-1920) refers to a time when the economic and social problems that industrialization in a capitalist context introduced to the U.S. were believed to be most effectively addressed by providing quality education to children, a safe environment for communities, and a safe workplace for workers (The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Project, 2015). Early progressives, like Jane Addams, believed that government could be a tool for change in ameliorating the social and economic problems that society faced. The campaigning of social workers like Jane Addams and Mary Richmond achieved the remarkable feat of changing the understanding of public welfare and single motherhood (Roberts, 1996).

Addams and Richmond advocated for mothers' aid programs which called for prevailing laissez-faire approaches to social welfare and poverty to be recast. The activist work of Progressive Era organizers also aimed to remove public assistance from the stigma of earlier forms of social alms-giving (Roberts, 1996). Through the work of these and similar reformers, public opinion and federal sponsorship had been convinced that single motherhood was an urgent social problem that would most effectively be addressed through institutionalized social welfare programs (Roberts, 1996). As a result, federal-level aid was provided to female survivors of misfortune and male irresponsibility (Dauber, 2013; Gordon, 1994). Black communities, in general, and Black women, in particular continued to be more likely than White women to be in need of social support, and less likely to benefit from this economic safety net (Gordon, 1994; Roberts, 1996).

Theme 4: Black Social Workers

Despite its roots in the Abolitionist Movement (1783-1888), the profession did not provide services to Black and African American communities until the 1960s of the Civil Rights Movement (1936-Present). Blacks and African Americans did not wait for the profession to take an interest in their struggles in order to help themselves (Carlton-LaNey, 1999, 2001; Snowden, 2018). During the Progressive Era, African American social workers were concerned with the individual-level challenges that Black individuals, families and communities were facing, while simultaneously working to address larger macro-level systems, such as racialization. For Black social workers, effective practice necessitated and entailed a micro and macro-orientation (Carlton-LaNey, 1999). Black social workers worked tirelessly to start settlement homes, open schools, provide classes, create the option for repatriation to African nation-states, engaged in social activism against lynching, and distributed public assistance among African American communities (Carlton-LaNey, 2001; Lasch-Quinn, 1993). E. Franklin Frazier, an African American

sociologist turned social work practitioner, worked to establish and accredit the first African American School of Social Work (Chandler, 2001).

Theme 5: The Civil Rights Movement and the Social Work Profession

Charles Hamilton Houston, Dean of Howard University School of Law, was instrumental in developing the strategy that led to Brown vs. the Board of Education. The first case that was used to build towards this series of legal challenges to the constitutionality of segregation was litigated in 1936 (Jamar, 2004). During the earlier years of the Civil Rights Movement (1936-Present), the Kennedy Administration, followed by the Johnson Administration, had increased funds for community development through housing assistance, equal opportunity employment, public assistance and communities organizing (Roberts, 1996). Low-income communities that were disproportionately Black now served as "new markets" for social work services, especially since these contracts included a community clause that mandated the involvement of community members. Social workers served as service brokers and community supports. The profession did not have the same influence in federal or state level conversations regarding social welfare funding and program design as it did during the Settlement Movement (1880-1910). Less access to these federal and state level conversations was a direct result of the profession's move into private practice and out of communities living on and closest to the margins of the U.S. (Carlton-LaNey, 1999, 2001). This shift affected the profession in two ways.

First, with the exception of Andrew Young, social work had wielded less political pressure than in prior administrations and had little influence in the design of the funded programs (Carlton-LaNey, 1999, 2001). Social workers working with low-income Black communities were largely funded through Civil Rights and War on Poverty-based grants and programs. When a majority of the Civil Rights legislation was defunded by 1972 by the Nixon Administration, so were most of the federally-funded contracts that social workers had acquired. Social workers responded to being out of the job market by leaving Black communities and returning to fee-for-service work and private practice in predominantly White middle and upper class enclaves (Specht & Courtney, 1994). Social workers re-entered private practice while social welfare was shifting from social insurance to returning to its earlier iteration of punitively executed public support (Roberts, 1996).

When Black communities had attained access to social welfare support, public assistance served as a tool of institutionalizing social control over and legislating the behaviors and the lives of the disproportionately Black poor (Piven & Cloward, 1993). When the funding dried up, the social work profession and social work practitioners distanced themselves from working with low-income communities of color at a time when these communities might have benefitted most from the support of the profession (Roberts, 1996, 1997). Individual social work practitioners continued to serve Blacks and African Americans, despite the flight of the profession from Black communities. These practitioners include and are not limited to Dr. Elaine Pinderhughes (Pinderhughes, 1983), Dorothy I. Height, Whitney M. Young (Carlton-LaNey, 2001), and many Black social workers that were not named in the historical texts accessed for this study. On May 8th, 1968, a group of Black social workers attending the National Conference on Social Welfare

walked out of this meeting and formed what became the National Association of Black Social Workers (NABSW; Reid-Merritt, 2010). Dr. Shirley Better, Lenny Barry, Joan Coleman, and their peers recognized the ongoing social injustices that communities of color continued to experience despite the achievements of the Civil Rights Acts and the Great Society programs (Reid-Merritt, 2010).

The NABSW has become the foremost advocacy group that was established by Black social workers to address social inequities and concerns of Black communities throughout the U.S. (Bell, 2014; Reid-Merritt, 2010). The formation of the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) reflected a need among social work practitioners for greater unity within the social work profession. Practitioners had also expressed desire for an organizational structure where resources for social workers could flow more freely through and be utilized more effectively for supporting social welfare programs (Bell, 2014; Reid-Merritt, 2010). Despite the formation of NASW speaking to these needs, providing social work services to Black communities was not placed at the center of these efforts. The formation of the NABSW addressed this gap in services and was formed to support Black communities receiving all of the entitlements that citizenship entails (Reid-Merritt, 2010). Notwithstanding valiant effort, access to all of the entitlements that citizenship entails still eludes Black, Indigenous, Latinx, and people of color.

Theme 6: Radical Social Work

Radical social work is the theorizing and practicing of social work with a philosophical leaning toward the importance of identifying the primary causes of oppression, while transforming the insights gained from individual-level experiences into direct social action that challenges macro-level structures (De Maria, 1992). Moving from structural analysis to structural practice is a core tenet of radical social work practice (Reisch & Andrews, 2002). Radical social work pulls on a class analysis to reduce poverty by addressing economic injustice and develop radical social work approaches (Reisch & Andrews, 2002). Radical social workers promote radical ideas and practice techniques by providing forums for developing critical awareness of social issues, clarifying views, sharing experiences, and discussing current events (Bailey & Brake, 1975; Reisch & Andrews, 2002).

All radical social workers may share the common ground of focusing on macro-level structures as producing micro-level deficits, with some working to establish redistributive tax programs, and others working to transform capitalist institutions into publicly run industries (Jansson, 2005). Critical social work theory, feminist social work, and structural social work have their roots in radical social work. All of the sub-theories of radical social work theory center transforming power-relations at every level of social work practice (Ferguson, 2013). In its formation, radical social work theory centered class-based oppression. Contemporary radical social work theory has expanded to include that all forms of oppression need to be eradicated. Radical social work existed as organized approaches to addressing the social problems that individuals faced from the mid-1930s to the present (Ferguson, 2013; Reisch & Andrews, 2002).

Only a few radical social workers existed prior to the New Deal. Radical social work practice continues to draw support from social work students, community level

practitioners, world renowned academics, and researchers. However, it has never been the primary approach of the social work profession in the U.S. (Ferguson, 2013; Reisch & Andrews, 2002) except in the work of Black social workers and their allies. Jane Addams is frequently identified by radical social work theorists as one of the earliest radical social work practitioners of the profession because of her focus on cross-class connections, policy level change, and the necessity of cultural expression classes at Hull House (Ferguson, 2013; Reisch & Andrews, 2002). In this lens, Addams' Hull House policies of prohibiting service to Black, Latinx, and Indigenous/First Nation Peoples communities (Ferguson, 2013) and her strong support for forced sterilization of members of these communities (Roberts, 1996) are seen as congruent to her radical social work approaches. Interpreting Addams' work as demonstrating radical social work practice illustrates two flaws within radical/critical social work theory and providing services to Black communities.

The formation of radical social work was largely influenced by Marxism and centers class-based oppression with little to no focus on White domination. This trend continues in more recent theories that have grown out of radical social work theory, such as critical social work theory and structural social work theory (Ferguson, 2013). More recent off-shoots of this theory center all oppressions without a clear and focused approach to race. Racialization is interpreted as one of many forms of oppression that may or may not interlock, despite the unique history or on-going maintenance of race in the U.S. Current directions in critical social work theory include a post-modernist approach to mapping the location of individual level identity in working to challenge and change macro-level structures (Ferguson, 2013). These approaches conceptualize racialization as one of several identities that has been created by imperialist, macro-level structures. According to radical social work, race-based identities, like gender-based identities and able-body based identities, must be eradicated in order to embrace the belief that all people belong to one race/group: the human race (Ferguson, 2013). Radical social work and its contemporary off-shoots mirror the 1980s-1990s cartoons, The Flintstones and The Jetsons, with Black people depicted as non-existent in the past and unimaginable in the future (Goldberg, 2017; TV Guide, 2003).

Implications for Social Work

Social work *needing* Black bodies to add credence to its calls for social change, and abandoning Black communities until the 1960's, *kneaded* Black bodies according to the profession's aspirations for formal recognition. Consuming Black bodies en route to professionalization feeds on Black communities as fodder for maintaining systems of oppression. Despite social work's inclusive beginnings, the profession moved away from its work with Black communities as early as the Settlement Movement (1880s-1910) and did not return to serving the needs of these communities until the 1960's Civil Rights Movement (1936-Present). Black social workers answered the call to support Black and non-Black marginalized communities in the absence of the profession prioritizing the well-being of these communities. The findings of this analysis inform social work in at least five (5) key ways, including:

a. Exemplifying for social workers and social service recipients how the profession has and can continue to uphold its commitment to ensuring full access of the entitlements of citizenship amongst Black communities.
b. Underscoring that interventions that simultaneously incorporate individual and societal-level approaches are needed and possible.
c. Informing social workers that White domination and the U.S. caste system (Wilkerson, 2020) are the primary sources of the second-class status of Black communities.
d. Expanding social work education to include the narrative of this study's findings as a pedagogical innovation that challenges the historical amnesia of White domination's impact on social work education.
e. Reminding social workers that the extent to which the profession challenges the second-class citizenship of Blacks/African Americans is contingent on the actions of social workers on micro, mezzo and macro levels of U.S. society.

The findings of this historical review exemplify for social workers and social service recipients how the profession has and can continue to uphold its commitment to ensuring full access to the entitlements of citizenship amongst Black communities. The impetus that led to the call for the professionalization of social work stemmed from the solidarity of members of the Abolitionist Movement (1783-1888) and the Women's Suffrage Movement (1848-1920). Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, and the Grimke sisters were activists that were engaged in social change by joining the agendas of both movements (Davis, 1983). The roots of the profession are embedded in the linking of the liberation of Black communities with the liberation of White communities from ideologies of domination, such as transphobia, sexualization, racialization, patriarchy, ableism, ageism and all othering binaries in the matrix of domination (Collins, 2004). However, the formation of the profession, itself, took shape as the voice of White/Euro-American middle/upper class women to prepare White/Euro-American and European immigrant communities for citizenry, while inherently and directly participating in the denial of full citizenship status to Blacks communities – the requisite price exacted by the U.S. caste system to the coveted White identity and professionalization.

The narrative that the settlement movement utilized a structural approach to social problems, while charity organization societies employed a micro-level approach to remedying pauperism is flawed. Both approaches to social work practice worked to fuse structural approaches with micro-level service distribution, albeit each accomplished this in their own ways. Both approaches shared the common ground of designating Black communities as unworthy of the entitlements of full U.S. citizenship, including childbearing (Kennedy, 2008; Roberts, 1996, 1997). A Critical Race Theory frame is indispensable in identifying that even in the context of supporting an anti-Black hierarchy of belonging, social work with mothers that were challenged by economic insecurity and newly arrived immigrants took the form of social control, moral policing, and pressure to adapt to the U.S. caste system (The Combahee River Collective, 2009; Crenshaw, 2011; Schulz & Mullings, 2005). White/ European Americans living in poverty and European immigrants were treated as being both deserving of public support and in need of being reformed, bettered, educated, and acculturated into whiteness. The profession abandoned

Black communities as early as the 1890s and returned to providing services to Black communities the during the 1960s because there was federal money available to support social work services in Black communities.

Study findings add to the evidence that interventions that simultaneously incorporate individual and societal-level approaches are needed and possible. Black/African American social workers designed their interventions to access planned change in communities and community-level institutions while working to locate, develop, link, and harness community resources. Advocacy for mothers that were outside of the patriarchal wife/husband binary as deserving of support expanded access to social services and problematized poverty on a national level. However, limiting advocacy for social welfare to mothers alienated everyone living in poverty who was not a White/Euro-American female or a child. The deserving poor were exclusively identified as women and children. More progressive and universalist approaches to social support that included men, Black communities, and adults were also being advocated at that time, but were defeated in favor of more excluding legislation (Gordon, 1994). By supporting deserving/undeserving approaches to social welfare in place of more progressive and universalist proposals, the profession co-signed on and reinforced ability, class, gender, sexual-identity, and racialization-based disenfranchisement. This advocacy for maternalist legislation during the Progressive Era (1890-1920) is the origin of the U.S. social welfare system's stratified structure (Gordon, 1994; Roberts, 1996).

The themes present in the literature interpreted within the context of Critical Race Theory further inform social workers that White domination is the primary source of Black communities still experiencing second-class citizenship status. At its foundation, federal/state-level aid provides citizens with the necessary prerequisites to fully participate in the social life of the community and the political-decision making of the nation (Roberts, 1996). A minimum sense of dignity, well-being, and security are necessary for people to fulfill the responsibilities that citizenship entails (Gordon, 1994). Social welfare in all of its forms is a badge of membership in the U.S. national community and a basic necessity to fully participate in this membership and the political process (Roberts, 1996), including voting. Blacks have historically been barred from the entitlements of U.S. citizenship with Black social workers working tirelessly to ensure that the needs of Black and non-Black communities are addressed. Despite the profession's work to serve as a force for social justice, acquiescing to racialized ideals of U.S. nationhood undermines social work's potential to actualize this long-held value, especially in regard to Blacks having full citizenship (Roberts, 1996; Rodriguez, 2020; Snowden, 2018).

Findings from this study identify that social work education does not include this significant history. Incorporating this narrative interrupts the historical amnesia that racialization necessitates. Using Critical Race Theory to center racialization as the primary source of Black communities' experiencing second-class citizenship status addresses how the absence of settlement or community-level practices has contributed to the maintenance of the status quo (Harkavy & Puckett, 1994). Addressing this pedagogical lapse is also an opportunity to contextualize radical/critical social work theory and its contributions to the profession. These contributions include radical social work being a deliberate call to the development of critical consciousness for all social workers.

Fanon (2005), Freire (1970/2000), and Pinderhughes (1983) highlight the importance of coming to consciousness in the work to create a new society. In addition, radical social work calls on social workers to be deliberately active in working with communities living on the margins to achieve the social change that these communities envision. Radical and critical social work theories, and their more recent iterations, support creating spaces for critical conversations and dialogues about the second-class status of Black Americans. An outcome that these theories may offer is for social work to organize itself to develop the needed resources to engage in this work making it possible for social work to fund, finance, and maintain social services without overly relying on status quo communities (Michals, 2015; Washington, 2018). It is important to note that Critical Race Theory includes what radical/critical social work theory do not: *a centering of racialization*.

Without deliberately centering Black communities and working out the contradiction of what becomes fee-for-social-change-services, radical social work continues in the same tradition of the social work profession by falling short of supporting the social justice that is stipulated in the *NASW Code of Ethics* (NASW, 2021). The findings of this research call social workers to update the *NASW Code of Ethics* (2021) to include a clause that social workers challenge White domination as a means of challenging the second-class citizenship of Blacks/African Americans. Finally, the themes of this review remind social workers that whether or not the profession challenges or carries out White domination is contingent on the actions of social workers on micro, mezzo and macro levels of U.S. society. In other words, social workers have a responsibility to incorporate these findings into social work education in higher education and social work pedagogy.

Including this history of social work may make social work professors and students more knowledgeable of the past and more aware of the injustices in society that continuously occur. Pedagogues and social work learners may find that learning how Blacks challenged injustice and took matters into their own hands informative and inspirational, especially in relationship to NASW's mandate to address social injustice (NASW, 2021). Tolliver (1993) identifies that social justice is exactly what African American social workers advocated for by opening schools and starting their own settlement homes because they were not thought of in the 19th century when Jane Addams first started Hull House. Learning this fuller history of social work can further prepare social work students to face injustice in the U.S. History is repeating itself through the disproportionate rates of the COVID-19 Pandemic. These rates reiterate how Blacks were denied access to the same opportunities as European immigrants. Knowing the history, events that occurred, and how these events affected othered communities enables social workers to uphold the *NASW Code of Ethics* (NASW, 2021). The *NASW Code of Ethics* serves as guidance and a reminder for social workers and soon-to-be social workers of why we became social workers in the first place (NASW, 2021).

Analysis Limitations and Future Research

A limitation of this historical analysis is that most of the sources utilized are secondary sources, as opposed to firsthand accounts, case notes, case records, or archival material of the formation of social work and its concern for the citizenship of Black communities. A

follow up to this historical analysis could include a series of in-depth archival reviews of documents containing narratives of people that were directly a part of the social work profession's efforts to ensure the well-being of Black communities. Data collected from these interviews or archival materials could further inform the future analysis of social work's advocacy for Black citizenship and improve the efforts of the social work profession to challenge White domination. A second limitation of this study is that some readers may infer that the study premise may assume that White/Euro-American social workers share the same anti-Black biases despite different life and or educational experiences. All Whites/European-Americans benefit from White domination, however, these communities may not all benefit in the same ways (Lipsitz, 1998). Future research is needed to investigate the biases that White/Euro-American social workers may and may not have in order to ascertain how they re-enact and or deliberately challenge their racialized privileged status in the social work professional relationship.

Conclusion

Full access to the entitlements of U.S. citizenship may be the missing link in Black communities accessing the resources central to the meeting of their basic needs. If so, study findings underscore support for micro-level social work approaches being supplemented with full access to all of the entitlements of citizenship to enhance efficacy. This change necessitates that social work practice approaches include practices for service users to engage in community dialogue to problematize the impact of structural oppressions, such as White domination, in addition to promoting individual level adaptation to oppressive conditions methods, such as condom use, access to personal protective gear, and access to Pre-Exposure Prophylaxis [PreP]. The evidence continues to suggest that macro-level factors cannot be covered by condoms (Snowden, 2015), face-masks, vinyl gloves, or mediated by early detection. The history of social work and its concern for Black people receiving all of the entitlements of U.S. citizenship present at least five implications for social work professionals.

The uppermost suggestions of how to incorporate the study themes into social work are the need to expand the *NASW Code of Ethics* (2021) to problematize White domination and for pedagogical innovations among social work educators to address the historical amnesia that White domination fosters in all facets of knowledge building in the U.S. This thematic analysis calls all social workers to act to disrupt White dominant ways of knowing in social work education by incorporating the presented history in classroom pedagogy and internship training for social work practice, research, and policy. These findings implore social workers to understand that if service users "…[have] 99 problems…," White domination is all of them (Jay-Z, 2004). Doing so enables the profession to honor its roots of grassroots organizing and actualize its ethical commitment to social justice, integrity, service (NASW, 2021), and supporting communities to access all the entitlements of U.S. citizenship and belonging (Rodriguez, 2020; Snowden, 2018).

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