

school social work

NATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON
PRACTICE IN SCHOOLS

EDITED BY *Leticia Villarreal Sosa,*
Tory Cox, AND Michelle Alvarez



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SCHOOL SOCIAL WORK

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Tory Cox, MSW, LCSW, Clinical Associate Professor, is Assistant Director of Field Education for the University of Southern California (USC) School of Social Work and the field coordinator for the Social Work & Business in a Global Society Concentration. Since 2010, he has been an academic advisor and field liaison for Foundation and Concentration Year MSW students and taught Integrative Seminar and Leadership courses. In these positions, he has helped train a new generation of social workers dedicated to the ethics and principles of professional social work. Previously, he was a school social worker for 13 years with the Long Beach Unified School District (LBUSD), serving as a field instructor for MSW student interns, among other duties. During this time, he helped train new school social workers as field faculty, adjunct lecturer, and field instructor for students at the USC School of Social Work, as well as at California State Long Beach, the University of California at Los Angeles, and California State Dominguez Hills social work programs. As the Lead School Social Worker for LBUSD from 2006 to 2010, he helped lead a team dedicated to prevention and intervention across the district through federally funded grant programs, community collaborations, attendance initiatives, and site-based direct practice. His current work on nonprofit boards includes Standards & Practice Chair for the SSWAA; President of the California Association of School Social Workers; and Board Member/CEU Coordinator for End Abuse, Long Beach (EALB), a child abuse and domestic violence prevention council. He is the current Trends & Resources editor for the journal *Children & Schools* and is a contributing author to journals specializing in school-based social work. In 2013, he received the Abuse Prevention Award from EALB and commendations from local, state, and federal legislators for his work in training future social workers. In 2010, he received the "Social Worker of the Year" award from NASW-CA's Region I, Long Beach Unit, and "Most Inspirational Professor" for his work at the School of Social Work at California State University,

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Chris Ahlman, MSW, PhD, Adjunct, Boise State University. After receiving her MSW from the University of Illinois at Chicago, in 1986, she began her school social work career at Rutland School District, contracting out to six school districts (nine schools). She became a member of the Illinois Association of School Social Workers and then SSWAA. In 1993, she earned her PhD in social work from the University of Illinois at Chicago. In 1996, she accepted a position at Aurora University, where she was the school social work coordinator until 2004, when she relocated to Lewis–Clark State College in Idaho. She is a founding member of the Idaho School Social Work Organization and remains active there, as well as being on the board of the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) Idaho. She has continued to publish and present on issues related to working with parents and students. Currently, she is working part time and teaching for Capella University.

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Stefan Battle, MSW, EdD, is Assistant Professor at Rhode Island College School of Social BSW Program. For 25 years as a social worker, he has worked with children and their families in various organizations (community-based, public health, and city government). He has held the position of School Social Worker/Guidance Counselor in various school districts, both urban and suburban. Working with children and their families, he focused his practice on children and families of color, specifically Black families. His research interest involves examining the social

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Andrew Brake, MSW, PhD, is Assistant Professor in the Department of Social Work at Northeastern Illinois University. He received his doctorate from the University of Chicago, School of Social Service Administration, where he worked as a research assistant and lecturer in the school social work program of study. His research broadly examines social and academic supports in urban, public high schools, with a particular interest on the role of trust and trust-building in teacher and social work practice. His dissertation examined the development and impact of ninth grade teacher-student relationships in one neighborhood public high school in Chicago. Combining his research and practice experiences in youth development, school social work, and teacher and social worker training, his scholarship highlights the potential of social workers to lead in the alignment of academic, social-emotional, and culturally responsive practices in urban public high schools.

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Randy A. Fisher, MSW, LCSW, received his M.S.W. in 1973 from the University of Illinois at Chicago and began a 31 year career as a school social worker for Mannheim School District 83, in west suburban Chicago. He was active in the Illinois Association of School Social Workers and the Midwest Council of School Social Work. In 1994 he became the interim chair of the School Social Work Association of America (SSWAA). He then became the first President and later the first Executive Director of SSWAA. He retired in 2012 from the School of Social Work at Aurora University after 8 years. He was a frequent speaker on across the United States and in Japan, Korea, Singapore and Sweden. He authored a number of articles with a special interest in the history and the organization development of the state, regional and national school social work associations.

Cynthia Franklin, MSSW, PhD, LCSW, LMFT, is the Stiernberg/Spencer Family Professor in Mental Health and Associate Dean for Doctoral Education in the School of Social Work at the University of Texas at Austin. She also holds a faculty fellow appointment at the Meadows Center for Preventing Educational Risk in the Department of Special Education. During the past 25 years, she has worked as a therapist, consultant, trainer, and researcher for schools and mental health agencies. She is a clinical fellow of the American Association of Marriage and

Family Therapy. Her research includes a meta-analysis of randomized controlled trial studies on school mental health services; efficacy and effectiveness studies on solution-focused brief therapy (SFBT), and studies and systematic reviews of SFBT for the purposes of developing SFBT into an empirically supported treatment. Studies and systematic reviews have resulted in SFBT being recognized by federal agencies such as the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration's National Registry for Evidence-Based Programs and Practices (2013). *Taking Charge*, an intervention that she helped develop for Latina adolescents, was also recognized as a promising practice by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention and was added to the Crime Solutions model programs guide (2013). She has more than 150 publications in the professional literature and is a world-renowned scholar in school mental health. Her research examines the practice and effectiveness of solution-focused brief therapy with children and adolescents. She is Editor-in-Chief of the *Encyclopedia of Social Work* and is author of several books, including *The School Services Sourcebook: A Guide for School-Based Professionals* (Oxford University Press, 2012) and *Solution-Focused Brief Therapy: A Handbook of Evidence-Based Practice* (Oxford University Press, 2011).

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Mary Beth Harris, MSW, PhD, a licensed clinical social worker, teaches in the Families and Children concentration, as well as in the foundation year practice sequence. For more than 20 years, she was a clinical social worker with families and children in the border region of Mexico and West Texas. As a clinical administrator and family therapist, she worked with child sexual abuse and domestic violence victims, and she served as an assessment trainer in the family court systems of West Texas, New Mexico, and Oklahoma. Recently, she developed a school-based group intervention for adolescent mothers designed to support high school graduation and economic self-sufficiency. She has conducted several effectiveness studies of the program and coauthored the book, *Taking Charge: A School-Based Life Skills Program for Adolescent Mothers* (Oxford University Press, 2007), which includes the treatment manual for the program. Harris is also coeditor with Cynthia Franklin and Paula Allen-Meares of *School Services Sourcebook* (Oxford University Press, 2012), a comprehensive resource for school social workers and mental health practitioners.

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Kimberly Israel, MSW, MPH, LCSW, is the Coordinator of Community Outreach for the Escondido Union School District in Escondido, California. In her current role, she is responsible for overseeing the operations of 23 family engagement centers staffed with family liaisons and providing linkage between the school district and community and governmental agencies in Escondido. She formally served as the Project Director of the CARE Youth Project, a multimillion dollar grant program that launched the develop of a multi-tiered system of support for students and families at all 23 EUSD school sites. She began her career as a middle school and high school teacher before receiving her Master’s in Social Work and Public Health from the University of Michigan, and, in 2003, obtaining her License in Clinical Social Work. In her 16 year tenure with the Escondido Union School District, she has expanded the School Social Work Program from 1 full-time school social worker to 26 full-time school social workers and fifteen school social work interns, established a district-wide family engagement program, and she has been the district lead in the development of grant programs bringing in more than \$6.5 million in student support services to district students, staff, and families. In addition to her role to expand school social work services in Escondido, she has led advocacy efforts on a countrywide and statewide level to increase social workers in California schools. This advocacy led to the development of school social work programs in multiple San Diego County school districts.

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interplay of race and constrained social capital in the lives of students in the urban setting. Her work has been supported by grants from the Fahs–Beck Doctoral Dissertation Fund, UChicago Consortium on Chicago School Research, and the Hymen Milgrom Support Group: Successful Pathways from School to Work Grant.

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Julie O'Donnell, MSW, PhD, has been Director of Research for the Child Welfare Training Centre in the Department of Social Work at California State University, Long Beach (CSULB), since 1992. She has continually partnered with community agencies to improve children, family, and community well-being, particularly in the downtown Long Beach community. She has written more than \$25 million in grants to fund juvenile delinquency prevention, community development, after-school, family involvement, and community school programs. She is a board member for the California Association of School Social Workers and, as chair of the Los Angeles region, led the planning committee that launched the first school social work conference in California. In addition, she has served CSULB's Department of Social Work as the chair of the Personnel Committee, chair and co-chair of the Research Sequence, chair of Strategic Planning, and as a member of the Curriculum and RTP Committees. She currently teaches school social work, thesis, and community projects. She has been the principal investigator on multiple grants that have been funded by organizations such as the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, De-Witt Wallace Reader's Digest Foundation, California Department of Child Abuse Prevention, James Irvine Foundation, California Community Foundation, the Marguerite Casey Foundation, and the Stuart Foundation. She also consults on and evaluates numerous projects that emphasize education and community development in low-income, culturally diverse communities in the Long Beach area.

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Christine Anlauf Sabatino, MSW, PhD, LICSW, C-SSWS, is Professor of Social Work, Catholic University of America, and Director of the Center for the Advancement of Children, Youth, and Families. She is a certified school social work specialist (NASW) and a licensed independent clinical social worker in Washington, DC. Her professional experience has been in public and private school systems as a direct practitioner, program director, clinical supervisor, and consultant. Her research interests are school mental health, school consultation, and school social work practice. She has served on several national school social work task forces for the National Association of Social Workers and the School Social Work Association of America. She serves as an editor for *Children & Schools* and the *Journal of Child and Adolescent Social Work*.

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Gary Lee Shaffer, PhD, associate professor, was a leading experts on social work practice in North Carolina and a staunch advocate for children; particularly advocating against the use of corporal punishment within North Carolina's public schools. He died in 2009 at the age of 62. Shaffer earned his MA from the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago and his PhD from the School of Social Work at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Shaffer joined UNC-Chapel Hill's School of Social Work in 1986 as director of the field education program. Shaffer served as a member of the N.C. Professional School Social Work Standards Committee, and also supervised more than 300 MSW students within North Carolina school districts. He was responsible for licensing school social work practitioners through the N.C. Department of Public Instruction. Shaffer demonstrated equally passionate support for an anti-school bullying bill, which North Carolina legislators narrowly adopted in 2008. The act protects students from harassment for numerous reasons, including on the basis of race, religion or disabilities. Some state lawmakers and opponents' groups criticized the law for including language that specifically protects students for actual or perceived sexual orientation. In 2007, Shaffer was named "Social Work Advocate of the Year" by the North Carolina chapter of the National Association of Social Workers.

Kari Smith, MA, MSW, is currently a doctoral student at the University of Illinois at Chicago. She has her MA in Teaching, Social Leadership, and she has her MSW from the School of Social Work, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. She received her BA in social work from Arizona State University. She is also President-Elect for the Illinois Association of School Social Workers.

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Frederick Streeck, MSW, is Executive Director of SSWAA. After receiving his MSW from Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1973, he worked in community mental health day treatment programs for 6 years as a school social worker in Washington State for 18 years, and as Executive Director of Student Support Services in a Washington State school district for 10 years. In 2008, he began consultation work and university teaching part-time. He has been Executive Director of SSWAA since 2009. He was treasurer of SSWAA at its inception in 1994.

and served 8 years in that role. Before 1994, he was president and treasurer of the Washington Association of School Social Workers and was president and a founder of the Western Alliance of School Social Work Organizations.

Danielle C. Swick, MSW, PhD, is Assistant Professor at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Her areas of interest and expertise include evidence-based practice, school-based interventions, child and adolescent mental health, community-engaged research, and quantitative analysis. Her current research focuses on the impact of school-based mental health services on children's academic and socioemotional outcomes. She has taught such courses that include "Research Designs and Data Analysis for Social Work Practice" and "School Social Work."

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SCHOOL SOCIAL WORK

INTRODUCTION

LETICIA VILLARREAL SOSA, TORY COX, AND MICHELLE ALVAREZ

If we understand the historical complexity of our profession, then putting our profession into action requires that we situate ourselves and our professional development in that complexity.

Miguel Meza, school social worker, Argentina

As we wrote the introduction to this book, I (Leticia) was in four different Latin American countries. I spent 2 weeks working with school social workers in Rosario, Argentina, with Miguel Meza, whom I just quoted. Part of my work in Argentina was to provide professional development to school social workers. During one of the workshops that Miguel Meza presented, he made the statement I quoted previously. I quickly wrote it down and decided that it had to be the introduction to this book because this quote reflects our goals for this text and also reflects contributions that can be made to the profession when we see our work through a different lens. Throughout my travels in Latin America, I have had the opportunity to explore social work through the Latin American lens, which can offer a great deal to the challenges we face in the United States.

The profession of school social work in the United States has evolved significantly in the past two decades, with school social workers assuming new roles and visions for the future. This book is an update to a previous edition of *School Social Work: From Theory to Practice*. In this updated edition, we provide a contemporary understanding of school social work practice given numerous changes in practice and policy that have altered the landscape of specialized support services, including school social work services. Due to policy and context changes such as increased privatization, an emphasis on the Common Core, increasing concern about issues of equity and inclusion, and an increasing emphasis on data-based decision-making, the role of school social workers has been and is evolving. Along with these changes, the profession has responded with proactive steps to develop a national model of practice that considers and responds to this changing context. This book is aligned with the newly developed national practice model developed by School Social Work Association of America (SSWAA). Each chapter was designed to align with every aspect of the SSWAA model.

In this book, we hope to give readers special insights into the roles, responsibilities, ethical principles, legal expectations, political landscape, and future of the school social work profession. As primarily employees of educational entities, school social workers face a complex working environment in which educational outcomes are of primary importance, not social services. Within this environment, we have to understand that different motivations regarding the welfare of students exist. In a nuanced approach to his or her work, the skilled school social worker recognizes the political environment of school settings and utilizes his or her relationship- and rapport-building skill set to bridge differences and create coalitions mobilized to support students and families. Of particular interest for school social workers are those marginalized populations that have traditionally faced substandard academic institutions, dilapidated facilities, and inexperienced teachers, all contributing to poor educational outcomes. These marginalized populations can be seen through the lens of the common usage of the phrase “achievement gap” in which Whites and many Asian subgroups have higher standardized test scores than students of different ethnicities or racial groups. This term has become a part of the educational lexicon to the degree that its binary, categorical, and segregationist implications have entered mainstream dialogue and become a paradigm for viewing student potential, remediation, career versus college likelihood, and lowered expectations.

School social workers need to be armed with tools of interpretation and advocacy to combat these paradigms at each tier of the multi-tiered systems of support, with particular focus on students immersed in generational poverty. School social workers carry the responsibility to advocate for different educational futures for children and families in Individual Education Program or Student Success Team meetings; universal prevention activities or targeted interventions; and inclusion, push-in, or pull-out services. Going along with the prevalent school administrator’s opinion about a student and his or her family is an insufficient course of action to initiate change. We carry the beacon of belief for students, often being the only person in a room of professionals who can see through the disruptive and defiant behavior and envision the future success for a struggling student. Our strength-based perspective allows us to be merchants of hope for populations trained to believe that bright futures are for the “other kids.” We employ systems theory and an ecological perspective in understanding and validating the family stressors that impact educational outcomes while working to build bridges of understanding between school personnel and children, youth, and families who experience cultural dissonance with educational systems. Because we can specialize in direct clinical practice or macro-level program development, grant writing, and school leadership, we have the skill set to change perceptions and expectations that other school professionals may have for students. We may be the last advocate on behalf of a foster youth about to be sent to a continuation school because of credit deficiency; a youth experiencing homelessness who is told he does not belong; or a pregnant teen ostracized by her friends, family, and community. We cannot carry these responsibilities lightly.

Utilizing case studies throughout the book, connections between theory and practice are made, representing school social work throughout the United States in a variety of settings. This book also features, wherever possible, school social work practitioners collaborating with school social work researchers and academics, providing a clear connection between theory and practice as well as modeling the possibilities of academic and practitioner partnerships.

We view this text as a process of entering into dialogue with the evolving changes and perspectives. This dialogue includes a critical understanding of the policy context and neoliberal reforms as presented in Chapter 5 by Stone and Moragne-Patterson. This would also include an

emphasis on intersectionality as the approach to issues of diversity, which pushes us to consider the complexity of the lives and various intersecting social identities of our students and of our own social identities.

As a response to efforts to promote equity and appropriately support the needs of an increasingly diverse student body, this book considers issues of diversity from an intersectionality perspective. Understanding students and their lived experience from this intersectional perspective addresses the need for increasing cultural competence among school social workers. Considering issues of social diversity from an intersectional perspective provides the framework for the incorporation of the experiences of marginalized groups as a core feature of the book throughout each chapter rather than an “add on” chapter featuring one or two groups. In this way, we are not considering a particular cultural or ethnic group but, rather, the multiple identities and intersecting systems of oppression that are present in students’ lives. This perspective goes beyond race, class, and gender to include, for example, migration, documentation status, language, sexuality, and ability.

An intersectionality perspective is grounded in the work of women of color who insisted that race, class, and gender are interlocking oppressions that are all simultaneously experienced (Mehrotra, 2010). This approach will allow the practitioner to account for the unique experience of students based on migration experience, sexuality, race, ethnicity, and gender, among others. In addition, an intersectionality perspective allows social workers to consider not only individual identity formation as we have been trained to do (i.e., Erikson, Piaget, Phinney, etc.) but also to move to a place where we understand that our students come to us with fluid and hybrid social identities based on the various communities to which they belong. School social workers should understand their students not just from a perspective of who they are as individuals but also from a perspective of who they are as members of a social group, often a social group stigmatized by society, and how that impacts their experience in an educational institution in which stigmatized social identities become salient. For example, a Mexican American student who comes into the school building is not only an individual but also a member of a social group that has had to struggle for educational access and has been viewed within the school system as intellectually inferior. The way in which this student understands his or her own experiences within the school context will be shaped by this knowledge of being a part of this social group that has been historically oppressed.

Additional key elements to an intersectionality approach include placing the lived experiences of marginalized groups at the center of our theorizing, understanding and acknowledging within-group diversity, avoiding the essentializing of social groups, and promoting social justice and social change through acknowledging not just social diversity but also interlocking forms of oppression (Dill-Thornton & Zambrana, 2009). Finally, an intersectional perspective also challenges the practitioner to consider her own social position and understand her own privileged or oppressed identities and how this shapes her own perspectives and work as well as how she is viewed by others. We hope that this approach will provide school social workers with the tools to better understand the lived experiences of their students, help students to navigate these complex social identities, understand how their own social positions shape the work, and advocate for students on a systemic level helping to create schools that value students’ various social identities. In doing so, we will further our role as school social workers in promoting educational rights and advocacy, a core feature of the new school social work model developed by SSWAA.

As noted previously, the US educational system has experienced major changes in recent years. With the advent of the Common Core State Standards (CCSS), national standards have

been adopted by 90% of the US states, territories, military schools, and the District of Columbia. Although criticism of the CCSS is prevalent, this change in educational policy presents school social workers with the opportunity to further align their work with educational standards. We have the opportunity to establish a new level of collaboration with teachers and administrators tasked with implementing new ways to teaching an increasingly diverse and technologically savvy student population. We encourage school social workers to better understand how their work can link with the expectations of CCSS or their state's standards. We believe that this policy change opens up a doorway of collaboration between school social workers and teachers not seen before, specifically regarding the teaching of standards in which school social workers have specialized skill. Some of these areas include the speaking and listening standards and the national social-emotional learning standards set by SSWAA for school social workers. As we synchronize our work with standards and engage in dialogue with teachers and administrators using their terminology, we become even stronger parts of the safety net of multi-tiered systems of support that children, youth, and families need to succeed.

We have often watched from a distance as principals, vice principals, counselors, and other school-based personnel meted out discipline to students. Some of us may have been asked to take on the disciplinarian role at our schools and can appreciate the challenges of providing therapeutic interventions while balancing the role of enforcement. These types of juxtaposed responsibilities are germane to educational systems and highlight some of the complexities of working in that system. Because studies have confirmed the inequitable distribution and severity of discipline toward non-White children and youth with a particular detrimental target of African American males, school social workers need to intervene when these practices are being carried out in school(s).

The cradle-to-prison pipeline includes a substantial amount of time in schools, particularly in early years when patterns become established and parent-school relationships become entrenched. Disciplinary practices have been used as a means to systemically disenfranchise children and youth as sanctioned by school boards, legislators, and society at large. Whether it is overrepresentation in emotionally disturbed special education classes or inappropriate use of home-based suspensions, these accepted practices of systemic segregation are now being called out and named as inequitable practices. School social workers need to step into this new reality around disciplinary practices and lead in-services on how to appropriately address behavioral issues. We need to harness the elements of trauma-informed care in our consultative and coaching work with teachers and administrators. We can help transform our schools into institutions in which maximal learning can occur because we have ensured safe environments for all students and warm, welcoming, and hospitable interactions with parents.

In this book, we hope to inspire you to pursue school social work as your profession or to enhance your existing skill set by seeking new knowledge about school social work. We hope you critically appraise the information in this text and consider how you might improve your practice by integrating the information into your daily work. We have a vibrant profession built on our contributions to free and appropriate education for all students with a particular focus on those most in need. We need to continue to take this responsibility seriously—to commit our energies and passions to transforming schools into safe learning environments in which children, youth, and their families can thrive and work together for a brighter future.

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CHAPTER 1

HISTORY OF SCHOOL SOCIAL WORK

GARY LEE SHAFFER AND RANDY A. FISHER

INTRODUCTION: ANTECEDENTS OF SCHOOL SOCIAL WORK SERVICES

Social work practice in public schools dates to 1906–1907 with the establishment of visiting teacher services in New York, Chicago, Boston, and Hartford, Connecticut. At its inception in the early 1900s, school social workers were known, among other things, as visiting teachers, school counselors, and home and school visitors. In 1945, a US Office Education survey identified 50 different titles used to designate social workers in the schools. Titles for school social workers continue to vary. Recently, a survey of school social workers in Louisiana found seven different titles in use for school social workers (Richard & Villarreal Sosa, 2014). *School social work services* and *school social worker* are used in this chapter except for historical accuracy.

Settlement workers, women's civic leagues, child welfare practitioners, and others who studied "child maladjustment" viewed the schools as an excellent environment for intervening with "problem children and youth." Although these early programs began at approximately the same time, this field of practice did not spring up spontaneously but, rather, evolved from educational, social, political, and economic developments, such as the establishment of common schools, compulsory education, child labor legislation, and the onset of the Progressive movement in the 1890s. School-age populations increased rapidly, fueled by the flood of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe combined with the migration of African Americans from the agrarian South to the industrialized North. Thus, the considerable ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic diversity of the public schools, coupled with the convergence of new knowledge in such fields as education, psychology, and mental health, pressured schools to change and modify many long-held beliefs and practices.

THE COMMON SCHOOL MOVEMENT

Common school reformers of the 1830s and 1840s established a pattern of public education that continues to exist in many forms today. Horace Mann lent direction to this movement that replaced the “charity schools” for the poor and provided educational opportunities to the masses that previously had been accessible only to children of the wealthy. The common schools were publicly financed, conservative, bureaucratic, uniform in curriculum and method, and slow to change. The reformers “believed that education could be used to assure the dominance of Protestant Anglo-American culture, reduce tensions between social classes, eliminate crime and poverty, stabilize the political system, and form patriotic citizens” (Spring, 2001, p. 103). Public schools placed a premium on punctuality, standardization, and routinization—skills important for America’s industrial revolution.

COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE

The first compulsory attendance law was passed by Massachusetts in 1852 when children between 8 and 14 years of age were required to attend school at least 3 months out of the year for a minimum of 6 consecutive weeks. Exceptions were made for poor children, those with mental or physical disabilities, or those able to demonstrate previous mastery of the content. By 1900, more than two-thirds of the states had compulsory attendance laws, and by 1918 compulsory attendance statutes existed in all states. Required ages for attendance, exemptions from attendance, and length of the school year lacked uniformity, and truant enforcement remained uneven for decades because staffing, credentials, administration, and services varied across jurisdictions (Peterson, 1985; Richardson, 1980).

CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION

Compulsory attendance was both opposed and ignored at times but generally proved to be ineffective without legislation that prohibited or severely limited the workforce participation of children and youth. Industry’s demand for child workers was enormous, and by 1900 18% of children 10–15 years old were employed. In 1904, the National Child Labor Committee was organized to investigate and dramatize child labor dangers in concert with lobbying for protective legislation. Organized labor supported such legislation in part because it reduced job competition from the child labor force. Although numerous states outside of the South responded to this lobbying effort, other attempts to secure uniform federal child labor laws were stymied by conservative church and farm organizations as well as the US Supreme Court until passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1939. This legislation limited the number of working hours for school-age children and prohibited child employment in certain industries (Trattner, 1970).

MIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION

African American migration from the South to the cities of the North, combined with the flood of southern and eastern European immigrants to the cities of the East and Midwest,

rapidly expanded the school-age population and exacerbated social unrest. Between 1880 and 1890, immigration increased by 5.25 million people (Cohen, 1958). The immigrants came primarily from eastern and southern Europe; many were Jewish victims of Czarist Russian pogroms. By 1890, two-thirds of the population of New York City lived in hastily constructed tenements that often lacked proper sanitation, utilities for lighting, and fire safety.

It fell to the social settlements, private philanthropies, churches, and local civic authorities to address the urban filth and disease because state and federal governmental intervention was minimal. Congress and the courts objected to involvement in social reforms, and social Darwinism and laissez-faire philosophies were popular. Educational reformers tried to address the needs of the desperately poor, illiterate, and unskilled immigrants and migrants; however, their efforts proved both constructive and destructive. For example, immigrant parents felt their parental authority and respect undermined by the schools' "Americanization" or "deculturation" programs (Nelson, 1987; Spring, 2001).

THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT AND THE SOCIAL WELFARE EFFORTS IN THE SCHOOLS

Similar to the earlier common schools reformers, the Progressives viewed the schools as a means to address poverty and decrease crime, but their approaches to the situation differed significantly. Common school supporters sought these goals through education in the classroom, whereas the Progressives sought these ends by expanding the social welfare function of the schools. For example, Jacob Riis's widely read and influential muckraking exposés, *How the Other Half Lives* (1890) and *The Children of the Poor* (1892), called for "strengthening and more effective enforcement of compulsory education and child labor laws; municipal provision of truant schools, nurseries, kindergartens, manual skill training, school playgrounds, and the opening of the schools in the evening" (Cohen, 1964, p. 10). However, systems could not respond quickly enough to the rapidly expanding school-age population, and thousands of students in urban settings were turned away as public schools were overcrowded, underfunded, and often in such poor physical repair as to endanger the inhabitants (Spring, 2001).

CONVERGENCE OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WORK

During most of the common school era, children were required to "fit the school," and social services, if they existed, were provided by personnel from outside the school. As the concept of individual differences emerged from the field of psychology, there was greater recognition that individuals could adapt to their environment and that the environment could be altered to meet individual needs (Irwin & Marks, 1924). Social work began to employ new findings from psychology and psychiatry to better understand the mental and emotional life of the child and to emphasize prevention and early intervention in the schools. The mental hygiene movement took root and influenced practice for decades. Educators began to recognize that the home and community influenced the child's education and that academic success required attention to both the intellectual and the social development of the child.