

Dr. Ernest Greenwood  
Interviewed by Frances Lomas Feldman  
In his Oakland, California Home  
April 18, 1994

*Ernest Greenwood, Professor Emeritus at the University of California, Berkeley, School of Social Welfare, describes his entry into the field of social work, having earlier obtained advanced degrees in sociology and embarked on a career teaching research. His own early years in an orphanage and later conviction that his interest lay more with people-related research led him to work in the field of social work, acquiring an MSW in the process. He combined his interest in social sciences theory and statistics with social work, writing several well-received books on social work as a profession and related research theory. These have been translated into several languages and have been important tools in the teaching of social work research by him and others. He was influential in the shaping of social work doctoral study at UC Berkeley.*

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FELDMAN: Ernie, the purpose of this interview is to learn something about you and your role in social work and the broader field of social welfare, for the Social Welfare Archives.

GREENWOOD: Well, Frances, what do you want to know that you don't already know?

FELDMAN: You might start with some vital statistics, like when you were born and where.

GREENWOOD: I was born in a city in the capital of the province of Transylvania, which was part of the Austria-Hungarian Empire, on December 26, 1910. My father brought the family to the United States when I was ten years old. I celebrated my tenth birthday in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean. We landed in New York Harbor on New Year's Eve, 1921.

FELDMAN: Tell me who was in your family. I met your sister in Santiago, Chile.

GREENWOOD: Yes, and I have another sister. She lives in Vancouver. They all lived in Santiago at one time, but since they were fairly wealthy people, factory owners, there was the possibility that their possessions would be socialized when the government changed. They decided that they would leave Chile. In the end, it was not socialized because it never happened long enough to socialize it. They had decided, my sister, Magda, from Chile, whom you met, to go to Geneva because her husband became connected with a bank there. My other sister went to Vancouver, and they set up a plastics factory because that is what they had in Santiago, and they have done very well.

FELDMAN: When you came at age ten to the United States, where did you stay?

GREENWOOD: We settled in Brooklyn, New York, in a Jewish neighborhood, and we lived there for about a year. My mother died during that year from pneumonia. We stayed there for two or three years, and our social worker was a woman by the name of Helen Powshick. She

became our aunt and became very famous in social work.

FELDMAN: Did she come to Los Angeles?

GREENWOOD: No, this was all in New York. Her aunt, with the same name, Helen Powshick, was with the Jewish Family Service in New York City and also was famous in social work. The one who became my aunt was a young social worker just out of the New York School, and she became our social worker. We remained friends throughout her life.

FELDMAN: Did she influence your decision to go into social work?

GREENWOOD: I don't know whether she was that influential. I can come to that. My father remarried in about two or three years. He met another woman, also an immigrant, whose family he knew in Europe. She was much younger than he. She made us a very wonderful mother. When our family became reunited, he moved us to northern New Jersey to a small industrial town called Beseg, which was a textile town. There they bought a grocery store, and she ran the store during the day, and he was a tailor by occupation. He worked in various garment factories in New Jersey. There was a large number of factories in northern New Jersey that were called runaway shops. They ran away from New York City because of the union organizing; the Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. There was plenty of work at fairly low wages, and we managed somehow.

FELDMAN: Did you have all of your schooling in New Jersey.

GREENWOOD: I regard New Jersey as my home town. I went to my elementary school there. I graduated from elementary school, and I went to high school there, and that is my home town. From there I went to Fordham University in New York City. I was going to become an attorney. I used to commute because it was within commuting distance from Beseg to New York. In my sophomore year I took a course in sociology, and I was hooked. I decided that instead of

becoming an attorney--all of my friends were becoming attorneys--it just didn't seem romantic enough, and sociology seemed very, very unusual. I decided that I would become a sociologist and people would ask me, "What can you do with it?" So I decided that I would become a teacher of social science and come back to my home town and get a job because everyone knew me. The principal knew me, the superintendent of schools knew me. I went to Ohio University in Athens, Ohio. I went there because it was a state university, tuition was minimal, and that year I got a fellowship from the Beseg County Council of Jewish Women. It was just enough to cover living expenses. I hitch-hiked out to Ohio University and, as I say, tuition was very small. I picked it up by working in the summer; working as a waiter. That is how I was able to finish my two years at Ohio University. I got my degree in Sociology; with a minor in the School of Education. I practiced teaching in a rural high school because I wanted my teaching credentials, and I wanted to go back to Beseg. I graduated in June of 1933. In March of 1933, FDR came into power, and he instituted immediately the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Ohio University was located in Athens County, Ohio. It was a coal mining area. The Board of Supervisors in the County asked the Chairman of the Department of Psychology to set up the FERA for Hawkin County because he was known as a good organizer. When he set it up, he went to the Sociology Department and recruited graduates from the department to become eligibility investigators. That summer I spent the entire summer with FERA as a relief worker. That was my first act with social work.

FELDMAN: You then decided you liked it enough to stay?

GREENWOOD: Well, not yet. Bu that time I had a fellowship. I was going to become a sociologist because my mentor said, "You don't want to teach high school. You got the stuff to teach maybe in a small college." They secured for me a fellowship in Sociology at the University

of Cincinnati, at the other end of Ohio. When I finished my work in Hawkin County in September, I went to the University of Cincinnati. They gave me a fellowship, a three hundred dollar fellowship. It was thirty dollars a month. One dollar a day was enough for food if you ate in the student cafeteria.

FELDMAN: You were relatively rich.

GREENWOOD: Yes, and I didn't have to pay tuition because I had a fellowship. All I had to do was work. They had a social research laboratory, an urban research laboratory. I worked in the urban research laboratory, and I graded papers and so forth. So far, nothing about social work. When I finished my Master's degree in 1935, they said, "You shouldn't stop with a Master's degree, you should go on and get a Doctorate." But I was flat broke by then. I was just .....

FELDMAN: You spent too much money on meals.

GREENWOOD: I was skinny as a rail. I used to send pictures of myself back home, and they would write me long letter telling me to eat and say that I was not eating enough. I finished my Master's and I decided that I had had enough of school. I had no money and the time had arrived to do some work and save some money for a doctorate. The chairman of the Department of Sociology had a very good friend in the Court of Domestic Relations. I got a job at the Court of Domestic Relations. The Court had three divisions; Divorce and Alimony, Juvenile Delinquency, and Aid to Dependent Children. The ADC was under the judge of the Domestic Board of Relations. They used to put ADC anywhere where they could put it. I was there for four years in the Juvenile Department, and I became a Juvenile Probation Officer. I became very friendly with the head of the ADC section. The judge would hold court in Domestic Relations for two days or three days, hold court in Juvenile Relations one day, then administer the Aid to Dependent Children's program. He was a remarkable man.

FELDMAN: That is also a remarkable arrangement. It is a good arrangement.

GREENWOOD: It is a very good arrangement. He handled all adoptions and everything, all in that court. He belongs to the generation of Judge Ben Lindsay. He was an innovator and a pioneer. We had the first detention home, we had psychologists giving psychological tests, all the probation officers were college grads. The head of the ADC program, a woman by the name of Ruth Jones, a wonderful lady, was a graduate of SSA in Chicago and had done her field work under Jane Adams at Hull House. She started working on me. She was a single lady, an elderly lady, and her staff of social workers, ADC workers, would meet at her home for parties and brunches and I was always invited. I became very comfortable among social workers. They were a wonderful lot, but I couldn't give up sociology. When I had enough money, I went to Columbia University and got a doctorate in sociology. Midway I ran out of money. I went back to the institution where I had been a kid because I remembered that so many of our counselors were students at the various schools and universities in New York. I got a job as a resident counselor on the basis of the work that I did at the juvenile court and on the basis of the fact that I knew the workers of the institution as a kid. I was a resident counselor there for about two or three years. I wrote my dissertation there, but I did not write my dissertation on the institution. I should have though. I minored in statistics at Columbia, and I wrote my dissertation in the field of methodology. One of my teachers was a statistician and suggested that I review the literature of sociology for the previous twenty years and gather together all the studies that use the experimental method. I reviewed the literature and at that time the experimental design was beginning to be used everywhere because a test of significance was developed, randomization. Probability theory was being developed at that time, and he wanted me to appraise the rigor of these experiments. I completed the dissertation; it was quite good, and my supervisor suggested

that I revise it for publication. He said he would help me get it published.

FELDMAN: It was published by whom?

GREENWOOD: This is an affiliate of Columbia University Press. I am going to go off on a tangent. He was my mentor, and he wrote the preface. Let me show you. He became a very outstanding sociologist.

FELDMAN: So this is 1945.

GREENWOOD: Yes, and by that time I was already teaching sociology; but something happened in between. These things take time. As I was working on this, don't forget, I was in the institution; the war broke out. I got my degree in 1942, and the war broke out and I couldn't get a job in sociology. All the universities, the young men were going into the army, the professors were going to Washington and the whole teaching business collapsed. I was still in the institution. I had at least a roof over my head and three meals a day. I was very friendly with a professor by the name of Willard Waller, a sociologist. He did excellent work in the field of the family. I had taken a course with him. He badgered me all the time that I should do my dissertation on the institution, the institution as a contained community, the conflicts and the problems that prevail when you have people living together, and it was an institution with eight hundred kids all in one building, one huge building, with about three dozen counselors.

FELDMAN: Were they all orphans?

GREENWOOD: Orphans in those days, but by the time I came back, they were putting orphans in foster homes. These kids were pre-delinquent kids, dependent and pre-delinquent kids. They were problem kids. There was already a casework staff. They didn't have a casework staff when I was there, but they had a caseworker right on the premises working with these kids. He was intrigued by that set up, Waller was. He was thinking of writing a book on organized groups. He

was gathering case studies. He had gathered a study of life in a prison, life in an army camp, life in a boarding school, and even life in a concentration camp; the refugees were coming in from Germany. He wanted me to do a study of the institution, and he would put that all in a book and write a preface, a theoretical framework, and a conclusion. When I was waiting for a job, I went up to see him and I said to him, "Look, you wanted me to write this thing. I will write it for you. I have nothing else to do." I wrote a description of life in the institution. It ran about fifty pages. We began working on it together.

One day while I was in his office, he showed me a telegram. It was from a man by the name of Gardner Cook, on the faculty of the School of Social Work at the University of Louisville, Kentucky, writing on behalf of the head of the Welfare Council, the Council of Social Agencies of Louisville. They wanted to start a research program and wanted to know if he could recommend somebody, a sociologist, to start a research program. Wallace showed me the telegram and I said, "I am not interested. That is going to derail me. I want a teaching job. I want to be around here when the request comes in. Sooner or later a request is going to come in. Everybody is going to Washington; there are going to be openings." He said, "Look, take it. You are perfectly suited for it. You got a good statistical background, a good sociology background, and a good welfare background. Take it. It is a wonderful experience and when the war is over, and when everything goes back to normal, I will get you a job teaching, and you will be worth a lot more than any kid coming out with a new doctorate."

So I took it, and I went to Louisville, Kentucky. I was there as a head of a one-man research department of the Louisville Council of Social Agencies. I was there for two or three years. It was a wonderful experience. It was just a marvelous experience. It was a tightly-knit community, and the elite of Louisville were very proud of their social agencies. They were



involved in every phase of it. They were on the boards. I became sort of a luminary among them. The studies that I did with committees--I always had to make public presentations--and my name began to appear in the newspapers. It was a small town paper. My name was there regularly. I became a sort of a celebrity. Then I would go up to Cincinnati on weekends; it is not far away by train. I would look up my old friends in Cincinnati, my old mentors. My old mentor one day said to me, "Look, I am losing another man. He is going to Washington. I can't afford it. I need someone to teach sociology. Would you come and do it?" Well, when a man like that asks you to do that and furthermore, I wanted to see whether I really would like teaching sociology after that wonderful experience in Louisville, I resigned my Louisville job, and I went up to Cincinnati and I taught Sociology for about two or three years and it was boring. I realize that there is more to sociology than teaching SOC 1 courses to students.

FELDMAN: I laugh because I taught sociology for one year, and I couldn't wait to quit.

GREENWOOD: It is really a very interesting field as a general field. Eventually I would have gone back to the other place because he called me. He was setting up the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University, which became the first applied research center in the country. Then Michigan set up one and then other places set up one. By that time, as I will show you, I was doing other things. When I went back to Cincinnati, I taught sociology. The summers I spent at the juvenile court. I was in analysis at that time and I needed money. There was no summer school in Cincinnati in those days. They just didn't have the money. I was able to get a job with the Juvenile Court, my old job, as a probation officer because, during the summer, probation officers go on vacation. I renewed my acquaintance with Ruth Jones, who was head of the ADC. When I got tired of teaching sociology, she said to me one day, "Schools of social work are opening up all over the country, and they are in desperate need of faculty. Why don't you try?"

I will try to get you a fellowship at SSA. Try it for one year. You already know a great deal about the field. Try it, you can always go back to sociology.”

She got me a tuition scholarship, and I went back to SSA in 1946. Helen Wright assigned me to become a research assistant to Alton Lindford, who was teaching the public assistance course; but he didn't work me very hard. He really was very good to me. My basic field work at SSA was at Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, with a black clientele. We didn't call them black in those days. My advanced field work was with Lydia Ripple at the Research Department of the Welfare Council. Instead of staying just one year, I stayed two years. They renewed my tuition fellowship, and I got the degree. So I had a Bachelor's, a Master's in Sociology, a Doctorate in Sociology and a Master's in Social Work. Then I read about California. I had a miserable time every winter in the mid-west; that terrible climate. I always used to say when winter came that that was the last winter I was going to spend there because I was going west. I didn't know what the west was, but I was going west. Finally, when I finished at SSA, I was at a crossroads. I didn't know which way to go. By that time my book came out, and F. Stuart Chapin, at the University of Minnesota, reviewed it in the *American Sociological Review*. He wrote me and offered me a job as assistant professor of sociology, teaching research courses. The University of Michigan wrote. Theodore Newcomb offered me a job on the basis of this book. There were organizing their Survey Research Center. Reed college in Oregon offered me a job just teaching. I was at a crossroads. I didn't know what to do. There was something about social work research that drew me very intensely.

I had a friend in Los Angeles for whom I had done a study when I was a student at Columbia. He was with the National Jewish Welfare Board. His name was Myer E. Fishman. By that time Mickey was out on the West Coast setting up his Jewish Center Association. I wrote him and said

I would like to spend a little time to dry out. I was at the student infirmary practically every second week getting drops and so forth. The doctor had said, "Why don't you go to Arizona and dry out." So I wrote to Mickey and I said, "I would like to go to the West Coast just for a little while to dry out." That is how it all happened. First I wrote to Mickey. No, Mickey had written to me and said, "There is a man by the name of Ralph Beals at UCLA who is now putting together a social work program. Write to him. You have exactly the background for that." I wrote to Ralph Beals and he said, "If you are ever out here, I will talk to you, but right now we only have a one-year program, and we don't have room for research. That should come in the second year."

FELDMAN: Don Howard hadn't yet come then?

GREENWOOD: No, Don Howard came after, because Ralph Beals handed it over to Marge Drury. He was asked to do it, but he really was not eager to do it. I came out and I visited him. Before I wrote to him, I also wrote to Arlien Johnson. Arlien wrote back and said, "Look, we don't have anything right now, but if you are ever out here, come and visit with us." So I had these possibilities and, in addition, the Jewish Welfare Federation was beginning a study of the needs of the aged, the Jewish aged in Los Angeles. Mickey thought that maybe I could have that study, but I couldn't get out there early enough. I wanted to finish my work and get the degree. So I had these possibilities; Arlien Johnson and Beals. I had read in a magazine called the *Community*, a report that Gen Carter had given at the National Conference on Social Work. It was in San Francisco in 1947. She had given a paper, and the methodology intrigued me. I just sat down and wrote her a letter. I said, "I am going to be out here, and I read this article of yours, and I am intrigued about the methodology, and I would like to drop in and talk to you if and when I am out there." She wrote back a very nice letter and I still have it. So I had these prospects. I came out and landed at the YMCA on Figueroa Street. That was my headquarters, and I went

out to visit Mickey, visited Beals, visited Arlien, visited Gen. I could see that Arlien was sizing me up. I had a very long talk with Arlien. She was a very bright woman. She said, "You know, what you need-- true you have a good background--but what you need is a little more experience in research before you go out and test your wings as a teacher of research. It is true you did research at the Louisville Council, but you need a little bit more experience. I am going to send you to see Genevieve Carter." I said, "She is on my list." She said, "I will telephone her. You go down there and see her."

FELDMAN: They were very close friends.

GREENWOOD: I went to see Gen, and we had a very nice talk, and as I walked into the office, those offices where they have glass partitions, in the next office I see a woman who is very familiar to me. She turned out to be Helen Dean. When I was at the Welfare Council in Louisville, I went to a number of national conferences called by the Children's Bureau, and I met Helen Dean there. I said to Gen, "I know that woman." Gen said, "Well, we'll call her in." So we had a three-way conversation, and Dean wanted to know what I was doing there. I told her I was looking for a job. That ended it.

FELDMAN: It is interesting, because at lunch today with Jim Leiby, we were talking about Helen Dean, who had written, and we found not long ago, an unpublished document about the history of social agencies in Los Angeles until 1925. We are planning to put it out as a monograph.

GREENWOOD: She wrote that when?

FELDMAN: She wrote it in 1930.

GREENWOOD: In 1930. Then I got a telephone call at the YMCA to come up. Helen Dean had an idea, and she had collected an enormous amount of material, and she wanted time to write.

She needed a job because she could not give up the entire job, but she would go on half time. She wanted me to fill in the other half time and wanted to know if I would do it. I told her yes, just like that.

When I went out to Los Angeles, I went on borrowed money. I borrowed five hundred dollars from a friend of mine in Cincinnati. He was a dentist who had done my teeth when I was a poor student and did it for nothing. We became very good friends, and he loaned me five hundred dollars. He said, "I wish I could go with you." It was on that five hundred dollars that I was living. I used to eat in that cafeteria on Union Square, that crazy one. It was Clifton's. He fed the homeless. I had a little room. Mickey Fishman got me a little room on Los Feliz Boulevard with a family. That is where I began. I was there for about a month. I had to put out *Trends*. That was their publication, and I had to set up standard family budgets because agencies would call in and want to know what we recommended for assistance. Then the City of Long Beach wanted to have a study done on the recreational needs of the city and they called on Bradley Buhl and Associates, Community Research. Do you remember?

FELDMAN: Yes. Bradley Buhl did a lot of these kinds of studies.

GREENWOOD: He would go out and set up the study.

FELDMAN: He didn't do it himself.

GREENWOOD: He needed staff. Gen loaned me to Buhl for six months.

FELDMAN: This was when? 1947?

GREENWOOD: No, this was already 1948. They liked what I did. By that time Dean had quit. Something happened there. Helen Dean quit. There was some sort of a blow up, a bust up, or Whitt Pheiffer (director of the Welfare Planning Council) had some sort of conflict with her. So an opening opened up for me. That is how I began as a research associate and from research

associate, I became assistant director. I was there for about four or five years. Then an opening for research for teaching opened up at the University of Pittsburgh under Neustader. He offered it to me. I went to Gen and I said, "What do you think I should do?" She said, "You really should take it. You have outgrown this place." Had Gen known that she would leave, move on, she probably would have groomed me for it.

FELDMAN: Yes, but she didn't know that in advance.

GREENWOOD: I also became friendly with Marge Drury. I used to go up there and deliver a lecture every now and then in her research course. I became acquainted with Don Howard, and he hired Helen Witmer. She went off on leave for one year, and Don Howard hired me as an acting researcher. I taught one course and supervised; in those days they had theses. I had a notion that Helen Witmer would not come back and that Don would hire me. We negotiated and we talked and in the end, Don said, "You better take the Pittsburgh job." Apparently Don wanted to fill that position with a high caliber man. So I lost that opening, but it was very good that I went to Pittsburgh because one of those students I supervised in the doctoral dissertation course was on the faculty here at Berkeley. We didn't have a doctoral program in those days. She went to the University of Pittsburgh. The University of Pittsburgh had an arrangement with the Menninger Clinic. You did your field work there, and you did your classwork at Pittsburgh. She was the one who recommended me to Dean Chernin and that is how I came out here.

FELDMAN: That was when?

GREENWOOD: I came out in 1953. So that is the story of my life.

FELDMAN: Well not quite the story of your life, just some highlights.

GREENWOOD: Yes. Did I cover everything?

FELDMAN: Well, you covered a lot very succinctly and interestingly. When you came to

Berkeley, what was your assignment?

GREENWOOD: When I came to Berkeley, the senior man who was ahead of me was a man by the name of Davies Macintyre. He was an economist. Chernin had hired him from the economics department, from the Institute of Industrial Research, Industrial Relations, which was then headed by a man named Clark Kerr. He later became chancellor. Davies was promised by Chernin that he could go to Europe, to Italy for his first sabbatical. Chernin needed a researcher very badly because he was not going to break his promise to Macintyre. Macintyre was a very important man to Chernin because then Kerr became chancellor and Chernin had a direct bond to the chancellor's office through Macintyre. Macintyre was the only one who called Clark Kerr, Clark. Chernin was very eager to have somebody. Macintyre, as I said, was really an economist. He was very much interested in land reform. He went to Italy to study land reform. I took over all of his courses. The arrangements were that I would teach a basic course in research in the first year. They divided the entering class into two sections. I taught one section the first semester, the second section the second semester. It was a basic formal course--what is research, and what is its role in social welfare, and how does it differ from sociological research, and what can you do, and what you cannot do because of the nature of the data? The second year they had group research projects instead of theses. Theses became outmoded. It was just too much. Now I am teaching the basic course in research which I really enjoy. I even wrote a little syllabus. Are you familiar with that syllabus that I wrote for my basic course?

FELDMAN: I would like to see it. I see it was reprinted three times.

GREENWOOD: Well I used it and when the supply ran out, we would run off another. The University of California Press did it. Just very simple.

FELDMAN: It is impressive and comprehensive. Do they still use it?

GREENWOOD: No. Other people have other agendas.

FELDMAN: But the basics have not changed.

GREENWOOD: They have a new crop. There is a good bit of philosophy here; the philosophy of research and what is theory? What is a concept? What is a hypothesis? What is measurement? What do you do when you measure? When can you measure and when can you not measure? What is proof? What is validity? What is reliability? It was highly philosophical, but the students liked it.

FELDMAN: I would think so because it gives them a very good basis for branching off in any direction they want to. They have the essentials.

GREENWOOD: They don't like techniques. Practitioners don't need it and don't use it. I think the teaching of research has become highly quantitative. I saved that for my doctoral level course. That is a different thing. I taught in the first year, I taught in the second year. The second year I carried two group research projects of about ten students each and supervised the faculty because we had something like seven faculty members carrying research projects. Someone had to coordinate it, systematize it, and make it uniform; students had a tendency to compete with one another for faculty, especially if the mode of instruction was very varied. If it is uniform the students are satisfied with whomever they are assigned. I had to see to it that every year we had enough projects to accommodate all second year students. So that was my job, both teaching and a certain amount of administration. When Macintyre came back I continued to do this because Macintyre developed other interests. He was longing for a joint appointment with the Gianini outfit, the Gianini School of Agricultural Economics. He eventually got that dual appointment.

FELDMAN: Did that move to Davis or did remain at Berkeley?



GREENWOOD: No, it is still there. So his duties were shifted. When we began the doctoral program, his duties were shifted into the doctoral program and he practically abandoned the Master's level teaching and supervised dissertation and so forth.

FELDMAN: Then as you continued at Berkeley, did you always concentrate on teaching in the research arena?

GREENWOOD: Things have changed since my retirement. Today, you don't do that. You have to teach substantive courses. If I had, what I would have done would be to teach a course in the history of social work as a profession, professionalization of social work and how that came about and what obstacles were encountered. Social work as a profession, I would have taught an advance course in that on a doctoral level.

FELDMAN: When did you stop teaching?

GREENWOOD: I was at Berkeley for twenty years. I stopped teaching in 1972 or 1973.

FELDMAN: What have you been doing since?

GREENWOOD: Well, the first thing that I did was this. I spent a year and a half in Chile teaching at the University of Chile. Did you know that?

FELDMAN: No.

GREENWOOD: I taught at the University of Chile at the Instituto De Servicio Social, Universidad De Chile, in the Facultad de Ciencias Sociales. I took the lectures, and I got the grant for the Institute of Latin American Studies. I hired a student, a Chilean student, who was getting his doctorate here in the Sociology Department. In those days we had an exchange program. I went down there on that exchange program and these students would come up here and get their doctorates here. That was a very interesting development. He helped me to put my lectures, I delivered those lectures in Spanish with my very, very poor Spanish.

FELDMAN: You just sounded fluent.

GREENWOOD: Well, I put up a good front. He had a hard time. He was paid for it, putting those lectures into publishable form. He also improved them. He also added a lot of good material. I had that published, (let's see if I can find it), by an Argentinean Publishing House. Investigacion means research.

FELDMAN: Ernie, do you have a list of your publications?

GREENWOOD: Yes.

FELDMAN: One that I can have? Or if you have it, I will copy it and return it.

GREENWOOD: What I will do is I will mail it to you. I have it somewhere.

FELDMAN: All right. I see there are various editions.

GREENWOOD: The others were in that same series. The man who helped me incidentally-- and this is now used in Chile--do this, a sociologist, was a man by the name of Hermancia Diaz. Mind you this was about twenty years ago. Hermancia Diaz, today, is Minister of the Interior of the new Eduardo Frey Government of Chile.

FELDMAN: You were dealing with very august people. I have seen him reported in the Los Angeles times recently.

GREENWOOD: You mean Eduardo Frey, the new president. He is the son of the president that I knew. I met the old man when I was teaching there. He was a very approachable man. He was flying out of meetings and conferences and cocktail parties and he was great. I just got a letter from him. When he was a student here, his son was born. He was here for about four or five years. Now his son is twenty-five or so and wants to come to Berkeley to get a doctorate. He wrote to me and said that his son is coming to Berkeley.

FELDMAN: What is he in, economics?

GREENWOOD: I don't know. He doesn't say. So that is one thing I did. Then another thing was I had a student, one of my doctoral students, who became interested in administrative research, policy-oriented research and taught for a number of years at the University of North Carolina in the School of City and Regional Planning. He used the outline that I always gave to students who were planning their doctoral dissertations. I used an outline and he used that outline in his basic course in research, but applying it to administrative policy-oriented research. He once sent me an outline of a book that he wanted to write using that framework, but applying it to policy-oriented research. I encouraged him to do that. Midway in the book, in writing, he got stuck. He asked me if I would collaborate with him. This is the book that culminated with that.

FELDMAN: This one was 1980. When you send me your list, I want this too.

GREENWOOD: This has been translated into Indonesian. This book, the first book of mine, was translated into Spanish and into German. I still have the Spanish translation.

FELDMAN: I think it is great to spread your influence so far.

GREENWOOD: It is because of this that I was invited by the Chileans. They used this in Chili. Then the other thing I did was this. You know many years ago, as part of the group research project that I ran, what emerged from one of those projects was a paper on the professions. Remember *Attributes of A Profession*? That has received a lot of recognition, quotes and footnotes. I wrote a kind of an update, a kind of revision of it.

FELDMAN: I think that was a classic.

GREENWOOD: That has been reprinted in many publications. It was reprinted in *Sociology and Research*. Remember Bogardus?

FELDMAN: Of course.

GREENWOOD: He edited that journal and he asked me to do that.

FELDMAN: They are still publishing this at USC.

GREENWOOD: That is wonderful! That is great! This was *Attributes of a Profession*.

FELDMAN: This is the original?

GREENWOOD: That is the original. This other one is the follow-up.

FELDMAN: *Attributes of a Professional Revisited*. This was edited by Gilbert. Where did this other one appear, the original one?

GREENWOOD: It appeared in *Social Work*.

FELDMAN: Oh, in the NASW publication.

GREENWOOD: This appeared in the second edition of this book. Then when I got through with all that, I started to work on the history of my family. This is what I have done so far.

(Holding up three typed volumes).

FELDMAN: Did you know any of them; your grandparents and so on?

GREENWOOD: Some of them I knew. The others I got from talking to people.

FELDMAN: Then do you make copies of this available to your family?

GREENWOOD: Every member of my family gets one of these when I finish, chapter by chapter. I make twelve copies and I send them out.

FELDMAN: At what point are you now?

GREENWOOD: This is volume two. This is the history of my parents. I am now at the point where my father is ready to get married. Let me show you what he looked like.

FELDMAN: You have a strong resemblance to him. They came in 1921?

GREENWOOD: Yes, so this is all about the European phase.

FELDMAN: Have you started the American phase?

GREENWOOD: Not yet. I have one more chapter to do about when they get married. Then

the war breaks out. The War of 1914. He was drafted into the army. Before that he was trained as a custom tailor and instead of doing custom tailoring, he opened up a business selling materials to custom tailors. In those days the European method was that a well-to-do man or a middle-class man didn't buy ready-made clothes. He had it custom made. Ready-made clothes in those days were of very poor quality. So my father opened up a business where he sold materials to other tailors, and he did very well. We had a very nice life. Nice, typical, middle-class European life. Then came the war, and he was drafted. He was a young man, and he spent the last two years of the war in the Austro-Hungarian Army.

FELDMAN: He was not yet married?

GREENWOOD: Oh, yes he was.

FELDMAN: So you had been born already?

GREENWOOD: Yes, I was born in 1910. Magda was born in 1912 or 1913, and Olga, the other sister, was born. So the three children were already born before he went into the army. That period soured him on European life and after the war, the economic conditions were very, very bad and then there was a wave of anti-Semitism. The Austria-Hungarian Empire, which is a large land empire, was broken up by the allies and little countries were created from it; Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Transylvania was given to Romania, and Austria was left just a little country. Transylvania became Romania and the Romanians are notoriously anti-Semitic, and he couldn't stomach this. That is why we came to the United States. So I got to write the period where he gets married, we are born, and we have this very brief nice existence and then he is drafted and comes back from the army. The Romanians, when they moved into Transylvania and took it over, were very vindictive toward the Hungarians because the Hungarians, previous to the war, used to mistreat the Romanians who lived in Transylvania.

FELDMAN: Very reminiscent of today, isn't it?

GREENWOOD: Yes, and so my father violated a curfew one day. They had a curfew. They dragged him in, and he got five lashes on his body. It wasn't the way the guy is gonna get it in Singapore. It soured him on Europe; the whole situation soured him. So that is why he came to America. I have to write that area.

FELDMAN: Where do you get your material? Do you know your grandparents and parents well enough to get this information from them?

GREENWOOD: When my mother died, and I acquired a new mother and a new set of grandparents; they were here in this country. I grew up with them. I knew the whole family. I knew their background. I used to listen to stories that were told. My father, when he came to this country, resorted to tailoring. Tailoring is a very strange occupation. They had tailor stores in New York and, for a while, in Beseg, New Jersey. A tailor can do his work and talk at the same time. As his fingers moved deftly over the garment, I would sit and listen to him reminisce. I was always a note taker ever since I was a kid.

FELDMAN: So you have notes?

GREENWOOD: Yes, I do.

FELDMAN: No wonder you became a researcher.

GREENWOOD: Then Magda and Olga married Chileans. See, these Chileans came up to the United States on business, and they met the girls and they married them and took them down there. They kept writing back saying that if my father went down to Chile, he could do very well opening up a factory making ladies garments. There were no factories in the late 1930s in Chile to mass produce garments. He learned this mass production while working in the garment district in New York and in New Jersey. He had a very good organizational mind. He decided that he was going

to try his luck down there. In 1939 he went down. It was just before the war broke out. If he waited a few more months, he would not have been able to go. He went down there. I was at Columbia then getting my doctorate. I had a feeling that I would never see him again. I don't know why I had that feeling. I had this picture of immigrants leaving Europe and never going back and never seeing their relatives. I said to my father, "Papa, you have told me so much about yourself. Would you be willing to sit down and tell the whole thing all over again so I can write it down?" He said, "All right, I will do it as soon as I can liquidate my business, buy the ticket, and pack up everything." He had a couple of weeks left over. It was maybe about a month. In those days you went by ship. You had to book months ahead of time. He had about a month left over. He had nothing to do. I would come out from Columbia (I was already in the Institution every weekend and during the week) if I could get time off. We would sit at the kitchen table in our home in Beseg, and he started from the beginning. He talked and he talked and when he was through, I had fifty pages of full stuff, yellow pages on both sides, two lines to a space; that is what I am using.

FELDMAN: That is marvelous.

GREENWOOD: When he died--he had remained in Chile--he did very well there.

FELDMAN: Did you see him again?

GREENWOOD: I used to see him often. It just happened that my first sabbatical year was the year that he contracted lung cancer. He was a heavy smoker. I went back to Chile, and I was there for about three months, and I was there when he died. When he died, my stepmother and I were going through his belongings, and we discovered in the corner of his closet--she didn't even know it was there--a large package wrapped in blue paper and red ribbon. We opened it up and there were family pictures going back many years. There were also induction papers into the

army and vaccination certificates for me and marriage license with my first mother. It had everything. So I have it all.

FELDMAN: That is marvelous. I am going to take a picture of you. Is that all right? Before I take your picture, tell me about your special things at Berkeley.

GREENWOOD: Well, Chernin was collecting this interdisciplinary faculty; I came from sociology, Macintyre came from economics, Chernin came from political science, he got another man from anthropology, Henry Maas came from human development at Chicago, and Gordon Hearn came from group dynamics. Chernin's idea of a doctoral program was that it would be grounded in the social sciences. That was a new concept in those days. It wasn't any more than two months later when he said, "I am setting up a committee headed up by Henry Maas. I want you on it. I want Gordon Hearn on it. I want you to lay the basis for the outlines for a doctoral program." We worked on that program for about six or seven years. When Macintyre came back, he sat on the committee. Henry then had to leave because he wanted to do a study on children in need of parents. I took the committee over, and we designed a doctoral program which was turned down by the graduate council.

FELDMAN: Because it was too interdisciplinary?

GREENWOOD: No, they approved. They felt it was a very good program, but they didn't like the idea that an applied discipline should have a Ph.D. They said we could get it provided we take a DSW. So we accepted. What they actually did was this. The School of Education here at Berkeley has two doctoral programs, a Ph.D. program and an EDD program. The Ph.D. program is much more theory and research oriented and the other is more applied and more administrative. That is what they wanted us to introduce. They felt that the purity of the Ph.D. should be somehow protected and it would be protected if side by side there was another doctoral program



which would be a professional program rather than a doctor of philosophy. They said they would grant us the program provided we had two programs or would accept only a DSW. We didn't want two programs. We felt that sooner or later, when you have two programs, one of the programs becomes a bargain basement program where you shove the questionable students. So we accepted a DSW. We had a DSW for twenty years. Then when Chernin left, the new dean reapplied and the whole atmosphere had changed. We had demonstrated that our graduates were first-rate students and that our dissertations were very well performed. Now the university has given us a Ph.D.

FELDMAN: If I remember correctly, they converted all the DSWs to Ph.Ds.

GREENWOOD: I did a lot of work on that. I was the only one on the committee consistently. The others would come on for a year and they had other commitments. Gordon Hearn went off to Toronto to teach for a year. I was the only one who was always with the program. I feel pretty good about that.

FELDMAN: I think you should because some very good people have been there.

GREENWOOD: When we started that program, I was hoping that Macintyre, being my senior, would teach the doctoral level course in that program, and he would let me take over the Master's program entirely. But it was not to be. Chernin wanted him to teach the courses in administration because he has two Master's degrees; one in economics and one from Harvard in administration. Chernin felt that he was the logical person to teach that course. So I had to teach the doctoral level course and research, for which I am not sorry. I think I produced a pretty good course, Elizabeth McBroom took that course. Really, it's from that course that that book evolved. Well, that is about all.

FELDMAN: I thank you very much. You agreed to send me a list.

GREENWOOD: I am going to send you a list of publications.

FELDMAN And if you find anything else that you think might be of interest to us.

GREENWOOD: Like what?

FELDMAN: If you have any copies of old publications, extra copies, that can go into our archives. The scholars can use them. We do have a lot of queries about papers that are no longer in print especially research papers. So anything you come across, like these pictures.

GREENWOOD: Correspondence?

FELDMAN: Yes, if it sheds some light on what the development of social work or social work education was. Anything that gives us insight into the kinds of problems in the community as well as after. Also problems in social work education. Any of those things.

GREENWOOD: I have copies of all of the studies that I did at the Welfare Council. I gave them all to Leiby for the archives.

FELDMAN: Okay, he and Ruth are checking on what each one has. That is fine because we are working out a system to know who has what. Ernie, thank you for this interview. I look forward to your sending your CV, the publication list, and other things you locate that might cast some light on the history of social welfare in the Los Angeles area.