VOLUME 2, ISSUE 2

OCTOBER 2015



Women and girls in the First World War

Lessons for today

In this issue Viviene Cree discusses khaki fever and the phenomenon of moral panic

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Published by Social Work History Network, London Articles © 2015 Social Work History Network ISSN 2056-8029

Editor: Sarah Matthews

Sub-editor: Stephen Martineau

On the cover: Young female munitions workers filling shells in a factory at an undisclosed

location during the First World War. © IWM (Q 110261)

About the Social Work History Network

The Social Work History Network (SWHN) exists to explore the nature and growth of social work in order to inform contemporary policy and practice. Founded in 2000, it is an informal network of social workers, historians, archivists, researchers, educators, students, and social work policymakers. The Network meets three or four times a year in the United Kingdom to discuss papers given by invited speakers. Meetings are open to all. The *Bulletin of the Social Work History Network* is an e-journal: it is available on the Network website and via email to those on the mailing list.

To join the SWHN mailing list or to confirm your attendance at a meeting please contact: **stephen.martineau@kcl.ac.uk**

The Social Work History Network is supported by The British Association of Social Workers (BASW), The Open University, the University of Chester, and the Social Care Workforce Research Unit at King's College London.

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Editorial

Sarah Matthews

Editor, *Bulletin of the* Social Work History Network

The range of contributions in this issue once again highlights the depth of interest in the history of social work and its relevance for today. Making connections between the past and the present, and between those who wish to preserve the past because of its relevance for the present is a strong theme throughout.

Mike Burt's piece opens with a recollection of the migration of 'destitute' British children to various parts of the British Empire; a welfare policy depicted in an exhibition which was held in Liverpool until early October and has now moved to London. Mike's report highlights the numbers of children involved, the length of time over which the policy was carried out and the reasons why. It is perhaps helpful to reflect today why this policy was then deemed acceptable and to consider how current welfare policies might also be judged; a sobering connection.

As promised last time, Viv Cree here writes of her latest work in which she suggests that the perception of women's behaviour towards men in uniform during the First World War or 'khaki fever' is best understood as a moral panic and that the reaction to the 'problem' was far greater than it needed to be; something which she goes on to argue has resonance for the way in which some sections of society are treated today. The historical lens is, Viv



argues, an important one for viewing things, linking very much with the current understanding and reflection upon former policies such as child migration.

The spotlight on a notable social work figure in this issue is Tilda Goldberg, a prolific researcher who was determined through her work to improve social work practice. Chris Helmsley, who has explored Tilda's life, summarises some of that work here but, as Chris recognises herself, this is a snapshot only. I look forward to further detail. Interestingly, the first fieldwork study by Tilda influenced the Younghusband Working Party and presumably the subsequent report, a review of which by Dave Burnham also appears in this issue, another noteworthy connection. One wonders what Tilda's view would be today.

Since the last issue I was fortunate to be able to attend the European Conference on Social Work Research which took place in the Slovenian capital, Ljubljana. This gave me the opportunity to meet Stefan Köngeter who, with John Gal, has now written a summary of the development of the Social Work History and Research Group initiated as part of the Conference. I also plan to attend the 2016 conference which is taking place in Lisbon and aim to provide an update of activity including contributions to the conference. I am sure you will agree that this is an important European link.

Continuing the Network's wish to make connections with other organisations interested in the history of social work, I am also very pleased to include an overview of the archives of the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) as provided by Fiona Robertson and Nigel Hall, archivist and project worker. Opening up archives to social workers and researchers is an aim to which this Network aspires. Tom Bray, one of our Steering Group is currently working on archiving our own records. It is of great interest to read about the IFSW project and the fascinating work which is being done to both preserve and make accessible their records. This link now made will be maintained and will also be of mutual interest to the European Special Interest Group.

Echoing the perception of what previously might be considered 'usual', Mike Stein in an article based on his book of the same, here discusses the development of the rights based movement for children in care.

Connections can again be made with child migrants and the review of the care of children in institutions including, for example, the Curtis Committee. The report of this committee formed much of the basis for the Children Act 1948, and so to our last connection, an obituary for one of the key civil servants involved in the Children Act 1989, Rupert Hughes.

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At the **Social Work History Network** November 2015
meeting:

Child abuse inquiries and their impact: lessons learned?

Tuesday 24 November 1.30pm – 4pm at King's College London

lan Butler: The Colwell case and
its presentation of social work

Jane Tunstill: The Clwyd inquiry – commissioning and suppression

David N Jones: The troubling history of Serious Case Reviews

To join the SWHN mailing list or to confirm your attendance at this meeting please contact: stephen.martineau@kcl.ac.uk

On their own – Britain's child migrants

Mike Burt

The Merseyside Maritime Museum in Liverpool's recent exhibition about Britain's child migrants moves to the Victoria & Albert Museum of Childhood in London on 24 October. Entry is free and it is being held '...against a changing political landscape, which culminated with the Australian and British Governments apologising for their role...' (exhibition website). The display represents a collaboration between the Australian National Maritime Museum, National Museums Liverpool and the Australian Government National Collecting Institutions Touring and Outreach Program.

The earliest recorded case of sending children overseas was in 1618 when the

Virginia Company took 100 destitute children to the colony to boost the population and provide labour. Details are provided about the expansion of the policy from the nineteenth century to 1967 when the practice ceased. More than 100,000 British children were sent to parts of the Empire from the late nineteenth century, a policy seen as a solution to the economic and social problems of the country and to expand the labour force in the colonies. Voluntary youth migration schemes for children older than 16 started in the early 1900s and continued until 1982.

The exhibition features the different circumstances of children who were sent,



The Sheltering Home for Destitute Children, Liverpool

portrays life on the ships which took them and illustrates the lives which they experienced following arrival. A wide range of artefacts is on display to bring the experiences of children to life. The photographs of smiling children on ships leaving Liverpool, Glasgow and Southampton are acknowledged to represent the interests of charities in gaining support. Personal accounts of the children are available to read and their trunks, belongings and mementos are displayed in glass cabinets. Maps, registers of children in homes, information about staff, newspaper cuttings and a six-minute film add to the wide variety of artefacts in an extensive exhibition.

The display features the involvement of emigrant children in both World Wars. Thousands of children enlisted in the Canadian Army during World War One, with a return to Britain as a way of re-establishing links with family and the homes from which they had been sent. The Liverpool Sheltering Homes, which opened in 1873 to rescue destitute and neglected children, was one institution which took children in with a view

to training them to be sent abroad. A plaque outside the building in Myrtle Street commemorates the home's children who were killed during the war.

The exhibition draws attention to two British government reviews carried out in Australia of the policy in the 1950s. In 1952 the report by John Moss (who had been a member of the Curtis Committee, many of whose recommendations were realised in the Children Act 1948) found some unsatisfactory conditions, but nevertheless supported the continuation of emigration as a welfare strategy. John Ross carried out a further investigation for the Home Office into child migrant institutions in Australia in 1956, following which five organisations were blacklisted. He recommended that wherever possible boarding out with foster parents should take place. Nevertheless, the Australian government's own review found that standards of care were generally acceptable.

Mike Burt is Hon. Senior Lecturer, University of Chester, and member of the Steering Group of the Social Work History Network.

At the May 2015 meeting: On integration



Derek Birrell, Professor of Social Administration and Social Policy at Ulster University, (left) spoke on structural integration in Northern Ireland at the May 2015 meeting of SWHN. He was joined by Terry Bamford, who also discussed the history of attempts to promote integration of health and social care.



Introducing the 'Social Work History and Research' Special Interest Group:

Connecting historical research on social work

John Gal and Stefan Köngeter





John Gal (left) & Stefan Köngeter on a new group dedicated to the history of social work

We are grateful for the opportunity to introduce the Special Interest Group on Social Work History and Research at the European Social Work Research Association (ESWRA) to readers of the Bulletin of the Social Work History Network. The Special Interest Group emerged from meetings during the annual **European Conferences for Social Work** Research. A year after the initial conference in Oxford, special interest groups were established in order to enhance collaboration among participants at the conferences. With the decision to found ESWRA, the special interest groups gained more attention. They are conceived as the backbone of the emerging association and are a key instrument to strengthen research collaboration and knowledge exchange between its members.

In April 2014 the Special Interest Group on Social Work History and Research was formally established by social work scholars from a number of countries in Europe and North America. After the first coordinator and initiator of the group, Professor Ian Shaw from the University of York, was elected chair of ESWRA, he passed the baton on to Professor Stefan Köngeter from the University of Trier and Professor John Gal from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who became the group coordinators.

Goals

The goal of the Special Interest Group is to provide a forum to bring together scholars with areas of interest in issues relating to history, archival research, and social work research. This includes the history of all aspects of social work as well as the history of research in social work.

Given the circumstances in which social work first emerged at the end of the 19th century and developed as a global profession during the last century, we see ourselves as an explicitly interdisciplinary forum that encourages research undertaken by various disciplines that are engaged in historical research on social work, social work research and welfare production. We regard archival research, broadly defined, as playing a pivotal role in this

context as it is the major instrument to explore the various historical facets of social work and research within it. As such, we see methodological reflections on archival research strategies as indispensable to advance social work historiography.

In line with the goals of ESWRA, we place particular emphasis on the ongoing interconnection of developments in social work across national boundaries in Europe and beyond. This transnational perspective places special emphasis on the flows and translation of knowledge, practices, theories and policies influencing historical developments in countries across the globe. These reflect the realization that social work is located in a conflictual space, with numerous actors, contrasting interests, and power differentials that are documented, archived, and interpreted in various ways. We are seeking to be an open forum for these diverging approaches to the history of social work and social work research.

Activities

During the last two annual conferences of the association (European Conferences for Social Work Research), the Special Interest Group held a number of well-attended symposia and workshops devoted to diverse methodological and thematic issues relating to the history of social work and historical research. At this year's conference in Ljubljana, three symposia and one session dealt with a broad range of historical issues, such as 'Shaping childhood in social work history: changes, controversy and consequences', 'Transnational social work research history', and 'Historical research on social work, services, welfare and social justice'.

Our meeting of the Special Interest Group was exceptionally well attended by over twenty researchers from Europe and North America. Encouraged by this successful meeting and the increasing interest in historical research, we also aim to publish special issues and edited volumes on the history of social work research. In order to display the scope of historical research we are delighted that the journal *Transnational Social Review* will publish a special issue on the 'Transnational Histories of Social Work and Social Welfare'.

Networking

As coordinators of the Special Interest Group, we are happy to note that the number of scholars with an interest in social work history participating in the conference and its discussions appears to be growing. We are particularly eager to strengthen the group's ties with like-minded colleagues, groups, networks, journals, and institutions. The Social Work History Network in the UK is just such an important group. We very much look forward to finding creative ways to work together to further historical research in social work and look forward to seeing members of the Network at the forthcoming ESWRA conference in Lisbon in 2016. We hope to organize a number of events at the conference devoted to social work history.

For correspondence, please contact either Stefan (koengeter@uni-trier.de) or John (john.gal@mail.huji.ac.il). See Special Interest Group on Social Work History and Research page on the ESWRA website. And see: Social Work, History and Research Yahoo Group.

Women and girls in the First World War: lessons for today

Viv Cree



Professor Viviene Cree, University of Edinburgh, spoke at the November 2014 meeting of the Social Work History Network

The First World War was a period of great social, political and economic upheaval. For many women from both working and middle classes, it was, as Braybon argues, 'a genuinely liberating experience', which not only made them feel useful as citizens but also gave them freedom and wages that only men had enjoyed until then. It also gave them opportunities to challenge existing ideas about what was acceptable feminine behaviour. This article introduces the story of 'khaki fever', and uses this as a vehicle to interrogate current ideas about women and girls who are perceived to be at risk of sexual exploitation.

Khaki fever appears

In late 1914, it was widely reported in the press and in parliament that an epidemic of 'khaki fever' had broken out across Britain: women, excited by the presence of soldiers in their towns and cities, had taken to the streets in large numbers and were engaged in risky, dangerous behaviour, drinking alcohol, flirting with men in uniform, having sex in doorways and parks, and generally behaving

immodestly. Many of the women were said to be between the ages of 13 and 16 years. While some were described as prostitutes, most were not, and were instead described as 'respectable' young women or 'casual' or 'amateur' prostitutes. A news story from *The Times* in 1917 provides a flavour of some of the news coverage:

'The most distressing feature of the evil as it exists here, however, is the number of quite young girls, between the ages of 15 and 18, who haunt the streets near the Australian Military Headquarters, and thrust themselves on men who, it must be confessed, are not always displeased by their attentions'.

The account continues:

'Hundreds of these girls are to be seen about the district every night, and the arrival of a thousand men or more from time to time invariably brings them flocking towards the Horseferry-road in even greater numbers.' Source: 'Bad Conditions in Westminster', *The Times* [London, England] 24 Feb 1917 p.6.

This was not the first time that there had been concern about women having their heads turned by men in uniform. Earlier in the eighteenth century, stories of 'scarlet fever' were widespread, illustrated in newspaper accounts and also in popular novels of the day, including those of Jane Austen. The policing of girls and young women in the name of protection was also visible at points

throughout the nineteenth century, as witnessed in the battles for and against the Contagious Diseases Acts in the 1860s (Acts that created 'no-go' areas for women around barracks and docks) (Cree 1995; Cree *et al.* 2014).

So the phenomenon of khaki fever came as no surprise to anyone. More than this, however, in focusing on out-of-control women, it touched fertile ground, because there was already a great deal of concern about the behaviour of women. This crystallised around two different factors. First, the battle for the vote had been at its most popular and most militant in the years before war, and politicians and others were very concerned about what women might do next. Second, changes in patterns of women's employment during the war meant that working class women had more freedom than ever before. More than 200,000 of the women who went into industry during the war had been working (and living) in domestic service. After war broke out, they were able to leave home and domestic service for cities and factories where they had their own wage packets and

autonomy for the first time. Overall, around 1,600,000 women joined the workforce between 1914 and 1918 in government departments, public transport, the post office, as clerks in business, as land workers and in factories, especially in the munitions factories, which employed 950,000 women by Armistice Day (Braybon & Summerfield 1987).

Controlling khaki fever

As soon as khaki fever manifested itself, so did attempts to control it. Two separate groups of middle class feminists laid claim to the right to deal with it: the National Union of Women Workers' (NUWW) Women Patrols Committee (later to change its name to the National Council of Women, or NCW, in 1919) and the Women Police Service, which relaunched as the Women's Auxiliary Service in 1921.

The NUWW had been established in 1876 as a social purity organisation to carry out rescue and reform work with young women; it was closely connected to the non-militant National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS). The NUWW states that it was khaki fever that prodded its members into action:



Workers in an explosives factory in Essex during World War One. Photograph: Jonathan Catton, Thurrock Museum

'Who and what are Women Patrols? They are not detectives, neither are they rescue workers... but they are friends of the girls. Girls, who, over-excited by the abnormal conditions caused by the great war, flock to places where men in khaki are stationed... It is small wonder our lads and lasses throng the places where soldiers are collected. But it is clear these places are not where girls should spend their leisure hours, and by so doing they run into grave moral danger.'

Source: M.G. Carden, Hon. Secretary, 'Women Patrols' (London: 1916, p. 1)

The Women Patrols Committee selected and trained paid organisers, who then recruited and trained volunteers; by October 1915, there were 2,301 women patrols in 108 places in Britain and Ireland, including 20 in Scotland. The NUWW also founded three Federated Training Schools, in Bristol (1916), Liverpool (1917) and Glasgow (1918). The women patrols always worked in pairs, not wearing uniform as such, but instead wearing dark coats and a recognisable armband; they patrolled streets and parks, cinemas, music and dance halls in the late afternoons and evenings.

At the same time, the Women Police Service (WPS) (initially called the Women Police Volunteers, or WPV) was established by a group of equal rights feminists who sought to open up police work to women. They were closely aligned to the militant Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU). Edith Smith from the WPS was the first paid policewoman in the UK. She was invited by the local police in Grantham, Lincolnshire, to prevent sexual liaisons between women and troops when a large military camp was set up there; a further 148 WPS officers were then taken on by local

authorities, police forces and voluntary committees between 1915 and 1920 (Jackson 2006). The women police did wear uniform, however, beyond this, their role was broadly similar to the women patrols. In other words, both were preventive organisations; neither had powers of arrest.



Commandant Margaret Damer Dawson and Subcommandant Mary Allen of the Women Police Service © IWM (Q 108495)

It is easy to accept that these individuals were early examples of women police officers.

What is more challenging is to consider that the work of the agencies was, in reality, a form of moral welfare. The middle class women who worked as either volunteers or paid staff saw it as their duty to befriend and protect the working class women whom they encountered on the streets. In doing so, they enjoyed much of the freedom and excitement of the women they sought to control; they

were, as Woollacott (1994) asserts, caught up in a khaki fever of their own. And it was through their work that they were able to lay claims to professional status and, again, autonomy as workers.

Lessons for today

I would like to argue that khaki fever is best understood as a moral panic (Cohen, 2002). This is not to suggest that there was not something to be concerned about, but that the reaction to the problem was far greater than the problem it sought to tackle; more than this, the consequences of the societal reaction were, at the very least, contradictory. While some women were undoubtedly given support and protection, the vulnerability of all women was reinforced, and women's passivity and lack of sexual agency were confirmed.

I believe that the same thing is happening today in our approach to child sexual exploitation. While there are, of course, some young women who have been exploited and abused and who are in need of our protection, we need to think very carefully about how our actions may heighten public concern, and so lead to unintended consequences, not just for women and girls, but also for men and boys. Jackson (2006) asserts that those who supported women's involvement in patrolling and policing during the First World War 'sought to make the streets safe places for 'vulnerable' women and children, but they also exhibited a desire for moral and sexual regulation that threatened other women's freedom' (pp. 18-19). What might we, likewise, be doing today in the name of child protection?

The story of 'khaki fever' was, I would argue, about care and control: the women patrolling

the streets controlled through care, and cared through control; their justification was the 'moral danger' that the girls and young women were in (Cree, forthcoming). Moral danger has been at the roots of much care and control of women and girls over the centuries, demonstrated in the incarceration of young women in Magdalene asylums in the nineteenth century (Mahood 1990) and in the large scale removal of Aboriginal girls from their families in Australia between 1900 and 1940 (White 1999). It was also central to the 1968 Social Work (Scotland) Act's delineation of the conditions governing children in need of compulsory measures of care, later ratified in Section 52(2) of the Children (Scotland) Act 1995. Moral danger is still a fundamental (although perhaps less visible) part of social work today: it is important to ask: when do our moralising judgements reinforce sexual double standards, and take away young people's agency and civil rights, as we seek to act 'in the best interests of the child'? These are not hypothetical questions for social workers. We work within a framework of legislation, policy and professional standards. But we also work within a societal context, one that (as this example shows clearly) exhibits gendered and classist ideas about children and young people and about sex. Burman (2014) argues that there has been a messy conflation between girls' and young women's vulnerability, risk, protection and control. This leads me to conclude that we must be careful of what we wish for; a historical lens helps us to see this.

Professor Viviene Cree, University of Edinburgh; @vivcree. See Prof Cree's Social Work History page and the moral panic blog.

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At the September 2015 meeting: On CPAG



Frank Field MP and Baroness Molly Meacher (pictured) were among the speakers when SWHN joined with the Social Care Workforce Research Unit (SCWRU) at King's in a seminar on the Child Poverty Action Group's ties with social work. Other speakers were Ruth Davidson, Geoff Fimister and Jane Tunstill. The chair was Professor Pat Thane. See Caroline Norrie's post on the SCWRU blog.



Tilda Goldberg: a life in research

Chris Hemsley

Chris Hemsley, spoke about Tilda Goldberg at the SWHN in September 2012. Photographs of Tilda Goldberg courtesy of the Tilda Goldberg Trust.

Tilda Goldberg OBE developed an extraordinary body of qualitative and quantitative research over her long career. Born to a German Jewish family, she was educated in Berlin at the Staatliche Augusta Schule during the inter-war years, where academic achievement and a progressive education prepared its girls for professional careers, at a time when this was not usual for women. It engendered in them 'a degree of underlying self-confidence, intelligent energy & individual assertiveness in a male dominated world' and prepared many to take up prominent positions in their own right (Fulbrook 2011, p. 121). These are characteristics which stood Goldberg in good stead throughout her life. She fled Germany in 1933, before completing her degree in Psychology and Economics, and settled in London, qualifying as a Psychiatric Social Worker (PSW) at the London School of Economics in 1936. She spent the next seven years at the Hertfordshire Child Guidance Clinic, an organisation influenced by thinking from America, which advocated a team-working approach between psychiatrist, psychologist and PSW (Ryan, undated). From here, she moved to Newcastle, working as a Regional Aftercare Officer (RAO), assessing the needs of people discharged from military psychiatric hospitals, and it was in this role that she conducted her first research project, a



national description of patients supported by the RAOs.

By 1949, Goldberg had joined the Medical Research Council, working at the Social Medicine Research Unit (SMRU) under Jerry Morris, who greatly influenced her thinking. Here, she learnt the rigour of medical research, and became increasingly of the view that this disciplined approach needed to be adopted in the field of social work research. During this period, she was also Editor of the British Journal of Psychiatric Social Work. Whilst at the SMRU, Goldberg conducted a number of studies into schizophrenia, duodenal ulcers and family dynamics. She also provided a Field Study Report which directly influenced the Younghusband Working Party, and presumably also the subsequent Younghusband Report (1959). One of the report's outcomes was the establishment of the National Institute of Social Work Training (NISWT). In a letter dated 12

February 1958, Younghusband tells Goldberg her work 'was really one of the best things that has been done in the field of social work in this country,' and that 'those administrative chaps paid you some very high compliments' (Younghusband 1958). Goldberg's early work began in the tradition of social casework, with an emphasis on assessing clients within their social framework, in parallel with a psychoanalytical approach. Her time as a PSW in Child Guidance and the SMRU introduced her to medical methodologies, which were reflected increasingly in her research. Her commitment to improving practice with effective assessment, clear aims, multi-agency working and timelimited interventions was evident from the start of her career.



By 1965, Goldberg had moved to NISWT, initially part-time as a Research Officer under Huws Jones, later becoming Director of Research. Goldberg was a member of the Seebohm Implementation Action Group, and Titmuss, Aves and Younghusband all addressed the Seebohm Committee on which Huws Jones sat. The resulting Seebohm Report (1968) formed

the 'blueprint for the reorganisation of the local authority personal social services' (Goldberg & Neill 1972 p. 21), moving away from the specialisms of the PSWs and Almoners, and promoting generic statutory departments with more autonomy (Walker et al. 1972). It 'implicitly criticised the social workers' comparative lack of interest in evaluating the results of their work', and highlighted poor collaboration between doctors and social workers (Goldberg & Neill, 1972 p. 21). Goldberg's research at NISWT continued in the tradition of social medicine, promoting inter-agency working, and building on her commitment to assessment, clear aims and time-limited interventions. The NISWT research programme divided into four types (Goldberg 1976). For the sake of brevity, I will mention only work involving Goldberg directly. The first type comprised small scale experimental studies resulting in: the Helping the Aged Randomised Control Trial (RCT) (Goldberg et al. 1970); Social Work in General Practice (Goldberg & Neill 1972); the task-centred casework studies (1973 to 1977) and studies into schizophrenia (1969-1974). The second were medium scale attitude studies: the Consumer and Social Worker Studies in Southampton 1972-3 and 1974-6. The third constituted national studies of service patterns, including the workload studies (1968-71) and, specifically, the Northern Ireland Study (Walker et al. 1972). Finally, there was Goldberg's action research, namely the development of the Case Review System (1972-1976), Goldberg's bespoke tool to quantify the 'vastness and vagueness' of social work, with clear links to policy and practice (Goldberg & Warburton 1979 p. 6). Goldberg retired in 1977, and was awarded an OBE. She continued to work throughout her retirement, including as a Senior

Research Fellow at the Centre for Studies in Social Policy. A staunch proponent of the need for effective care for the elderly, she died at her cottage at Ringshall in 2004, and her ashes were scattered by her executors in the local bluebell woods which she loved. She left her estate in trust for the foundation of a research centre, now the Tilda Goldberg Centre for Social Work and Social Care at the University of Bedfordshire.

This is a very brief overview of her life, and I have paid scant attention to her works, as I intend to write more on this for publication at a later date. However, I cannot close without some comment on her legacy. Goldberg was an extraordinary woman, who commanded the respect of her contemporaries. Those I have spoken to have mentioned that she was not an easy person to work with, but all agree that she was resolute in her determination to improve social work practice, using the research traditions of social medicine, at a time when resources were becoming increasingly scarce. Problems, Tasks and Outcomes (Goldberg et al. 1985) is considered by some to be the best piece of

British research on task-centred casework.
However, the Case
Review System, to her
great disappointment,
was not taken up in
statutory social work,
and others have
suggested this was for a
number of reasons,
including that she oversold it, coupled with
workers' resistance to
form-filling, and
difficulties analyzing data

pre-computers. However, the Case Review System was imported into the data base of the Kent Community Care Project (KCCP), and Bleddyn Davies acknowledges that her published approval of KCCP helped give confidence to KCCP (interview, 3 August 2011).

Arguably, Goldberg's greatest achievement was conducting the first RCT in social work. Helping the Aged proved controversial at the time. Titmuss' foreword was not effusive. Whilst complimentary about its ethical standards, interested in the consumer reactions, and considering it more advanced than similar American studies (Goldberg et al. 1970), Titmuss remained sceptical 'about the value of systematic evaluation' (Oakley 2000). While Titmuss remained politely doubtful, other researchers, such as Fischer (1972) pulled no punches, opining that so many variables remained uncontrolled in Helping the Aged that 'it is impossible to develop any meaningful interpretation of the data' (1972, p. 106). Yet Helping the Aged 'demonstrated that random allocation to different types of intervention is possible in a busy statutory setting' and that 'many

aspects of social work intervention can be defined and measured' (Goldberg 1976, p. 3). She also drew attention to the voice of the client in the same year as *The Client Speaks* (Mayer & Timms 1970) was published. *Helping the Aged* was groundbreaking as a 'successful attempt to consider "outcomes" on a variety of different levels and perspectives' combining 'different methods of data



collection and a detailed attention to the context for clients, service and research' (Forrester, unpublished). Over a period of 40 years, Goldberg produced a significant body of research. Indeed, her focus on clear aims, careful assessment of both need and the outcome of interventions, effective multi-agency working, and time-limited interventions remain central issues for current social work practice.

Chris Hemsley, Tilda Goldberg Centre for Social Work and Social Care.

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The Archives of the International Federation of Social Workers, 1847 – 1956

Fiona Robertson and Nigel Hall

Fiona Robertson is Archivist and Nigel Hall is Archives Project Worker at the International Federation of Social Workers

Overview

Preserving the past through opening up the archives of the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) is a way of honouring the social work profession and the institutional identity of IFSW. The task of preservation of IFSW's history is also about recording the professional contribution of the organisation and its members to human rights and human dignity through the turbulent periods of the twentieth century. In 2013, with financial support from the IFSW Friends' Programme, a project was initiated to make the Federation's archives accessible to all social workers and researchers. This article will chart the development of the IFSW Archival Project to date, and provide a brief overview of IFSW history from 1847 to 1956, when the current IFSW was constitutionally incorporated in Munich.

There have been two phases to this project so far;

 Phase one was completed after a thorough overview was undertaken of the old archives, kept in a basement at the office of the Swiss Association of Social Workers in Bern for many years. During this period key documents were reviewed, retained and then scanned, including published newsletters from 1962 to 2002 and other selected material, which is gradually being made available on the IFSW website.

 Phase two covered the reviewing, paper preservation and archiving and the digital filing of material dating from 1847 to 1956, which has mainly been completed, with the Archive now moving to Basel.

Phase three still has to be undertaken and will cover the period from 1956 to the present date, including the uploading of many photographs from various conference and project activities.

The period 1847 to 1932

The period up to 1932 was a period of transformation from international conferences to the setting up of the International Permanent Secretariat of Social Workers (IPSSW). The IFSW Archives provide a rich history of information, with links to these international conferences of social work as far back as 1847 when the International Penitentiary Congress of Brussels (IPCB) proclaimed the necessity of 'establishing contact between persons

engaged, in different countries, in improving the lot of the working classes and the indigent poor' (IPCB 1847). It was not until 1889 in Paris that a more socialwork specific event was held with the First International Congress on Statutory and Voluntary Assistance. This was followed by

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Some of the signatories at the July 1932 meeting in Frankfurt

conferences in Geneva in 1896, Paris in 1900, Milan in 1906 and Copenhagen in 1920. In addition in the United States, national conferences of social workers were held annually from 1874, and the IFSW records indicate that foreign speakers were specifically invited to meetings in

1919 and 1923. These conferences were attended by several thousand delegates from Canada and the USA.

The idea of holding international conferences of social workers proved popular, with the First International

Congress for Social Work held in Paris in July 1928. With strong patronage this brought together over 5,000 delegates, representing 42 countries. Despite the times of crisis in Europe, the Second Congress was held in 1932 in Frankfurt and was attended by 1,200 delegates from 34 countries.

The 1928 congress provided the foundations for the setting up of the International Permanent Secretariat of Social Workers (IPSSW) in 1932. Included in the IFSW Archives are the July 1932 meeting papers (which were distributed in different languages), including the minutes of a meeting for the foundation of a 'loose cooperation' of international associations of social workers, with the membership, aims, names, proposal for a secretariat and a series of

recommended tasks to be carried out (IPSSW 1932). Of additional interest is the signed attendance list of those participating in this meeting on the paper of the Grand Hotel, Frankfurt.

The aims of the Secretariat for the IPSSW were agreed as:

- Exchange of experience concerning all fields of welfare work
- Giving information referring to social work in the different countries
- Exchange of periodicals or other publications of the national associations
- Protection of social workers who visit foreign countries, and
- Observation of the working conditions of the social workers.

(IPSSW 1932)

The period 1933-1956

This period began as an era of disruption and turmoil with the impact of the Second World War and the upheaval of peoples being key factors. There is correspondence sent after the war from the International Permanent Secretary-General Dr Myšáková-Prokešová to various associations, which painfully recalls the oppression and lack of communication during the war years and enquires about the continued existence of associations, as all communication had ceased:

'I must excuse the silence since 1938 till 1946 with the terrible German terror combined with the difficult political situation...Almost the whole world was involved in the storm of war and very much things that were built up are now ruined. Therefore with great interest we renew our old international connection...We are expecting your letter with strained anxiety and beg for an answer as soon as possible'.

IPSSW was itself a casualty of the war and afterwards some of its member countries

were then governed by Communist and Socialist regimes and no longer able to participate in the remnants of IPSSW. The problems of the time were demonstrated in 1947 with a request through the International Congress for Social Work for assistance in dealing with the urgent problems in areas devastated by war. This included a call to assist with construction materials and help in dealing with health, housing and psychological problems. Included in this are discussions concerning the need to end dependence on help from 'abroad' and the need for self-reliance of the 'home authorities'.

The International Congress for Social Work in 1948 included discussions about reviving the IPPSW. The meeting revealed that 45 national associations distributed in 21 countries had expressed interest in again developing international liaison between social workers.

The delegates present at the 1950 International Congress for Social Work in Paris all agreed on the formation of an International Federation of Social Workers with its aims 'to create a Centre where Members may meet; to exchange ideas, to encourage and maintain in all countries a very lofty professional ideal; to represent the point of view of the professional Services on an International Scale' (IPSSW 1954: 2), and then set about the tasks of developing the provisional aims, rules for operation and a budget. These ideas were further developed in Toronto in 1954 with completion in 1956 and the modern day IFSW was then constituted. The first

meeting of the IFSW Executive was held in Switzerland in 1957.

This period was also concerned with the functions and working methods of social workers and the development of the profession of social work generally. Methodological aspects of social work developed along the lines of casework, group work, and community organisations and social administration. The role of industrial social work and personnel social work also features as an important 'method' of social work in much of the archive material.



Fiona Robertson in the Archive

Maintaining IFSW records into the future

IFSW has records which can be classified broadly as either paper records or electronic/digital records, which cover both the international body and its constituent national associations. Work began in 2013 to preserve these records, and to ensure guardianship of the records it was agreed that IFSW history was to be kept within IFSW and not to be given away nor passed to a third party for safe keeping. In this way IFSW ensures that its history is kept for the

current and next generations of social workers. If any members of the Social Work History Network are interested in working on these Archives this could be arranged through the IFSW Archivist and Secretary-General.

Fiona Robertson is Archivist and Nigel Hall is Archives Project Worker at the International Federation of Social Workers.

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A history from below: from order books to bin bags

Mike Stein



SWHN member
Mike Stein of the
University of York
spoke at the
February 2015
meeting about the
rights movement
of young people in
care

In 1973, most young people living in children's homes had to buy their clothes with order books and under strict staff supervision at a designated 'discount' shop. They weren't given money or the same choice of clothes as other young people, nor at that time, were many young people given money to pay for their school dinners. Instead they were to remain seated whilst their classmates queued up and were singled out as 'welfare cases'. These two injustices were taken up by the Leeds *Ad-Lib group* which met from 1973. In the following years several organisations have campaigned to improve the lives of young people living in and leaving care:

- Who Cares? (1975-1978)
- the National Association of Young People in Care (1979-1994) (NAYPIC)
- Black and In Care (1983-1985)
- and A National Voice (1998-today).

Care Less Lives, the first history of care 'from below', shows that it was left to some of the most vulnerable young people in society, young people in care, to challenge policies and practices that stigmatised and degraded them. Young people were rarely asked what they

thought, nor were they involved in decisions about their lives. For many of the young people who took part in *Who Cares?* and NAYPIC, 'care' gave them very little care: not a loving family who would care for them, not a good education, not skilled help to overcome past difficulties. Instead, their removal to care and the regimes they experienced, led many of these young people to suffer and to blame themselves and this was often reinforced by a lack of public awareness about care:

'People think that if you're in care you must have done something wrong. I met a girl and I wouldn't tell her I came from a children's home but she found out. I was so embarrassed. I was ashamed.'

It was a care more touched by the Poor Law than professional vision, even though this was a period which saw the dawn of the new professional era of social work. But *Care Less Lives* is not a story of 40 years of unstinting enlightenment, as might be expected given developments such as the move away from large residential homes to foster care and smaller children's homes, and the changes in law, policy and practice to consult with young people and involve them in decision making; changes directly influenced by the rights movement of young people in care.

There are recurring themes.

First, over these years, too many young people have spoken of their disrupted lives in care and the attendant painful consequences: moving between children's homes, foster care, their families, returning to care—on many occasions for some young people. Twenty five

years separate these young people's views:

'It's the coming and going that hurts. The first time you move to another place it hurts bad, so you build up a shell but one day the shell cracks.'

'I wish they didn't move me all the time, I can't settle down anywhere.'

A second recurring theme is that many of these young people have thought at the time, or more often on reflection, that they left care to live independently too young, often at just 16 or 17. Their journey to adulthood was shorter and more severe than most young people leaving their families. Again, 25 years separate these views:

'If you live with parents you're able to have a choice whether you leave home or not. But in care you get kicked out on your heels.'

'You should be able to leave care when you are ready.'



Third, as long ago as 1977, young people who attended *Who Cares?* spoke and wrote about the *'hitting business'*. The violence, discipline

and physical punishment was so common it was seen by some young people as a 'natural' part of their everyday lives in children's homes. The ill-treatment that many had suffered at the hands of their parents was, paradoxically, continued by their 'carers'. And it was not hidden, or unsaid, as is often suggested now, but widely known about.

Young people's revelations of abuse captured in *Who Cares? Young People in Care Speak Out,* were widely publicised in 1977 in both the public and professional media. They were the main news items on BBC television and radio:

'Some kids who wet the bed are made to sleep in it all night, then next night they make them sleep on the floor without any blankets.'

'When I first went to this children's home, if you did wrong, the housefather would grab hold of you and take you up to the bedroom and start beating you about, and he did this to me once. He threw me over the bed and he got hold of my brother and just threw him straight into the washing basin. And he went downstairs and didn't do a thing about it, just left him up there, cut all over his face.'

In 1982, NAYPIC, in *Sharing Care*, their Evidence to the House of Commons Committee Inquiry into Children in Care, also wrote about the emotional and physical abuse experienced by their members under the official label of 'discipline, punishment and control'. In 1986, NAYPIC submitted Evidence to the Government Review of Residential Care. This included their *Charter of Rights of Young People in Care: 'The Right not to be beaten or have other degrading punishments given'* was the first under 'Rules, Punishment and Discipline'. In 1990, London NAYPIC published

its report, *Abuse in the Care System, a pilot study,* highlighting very high levels of physical and sexual abuse voiced by young people.

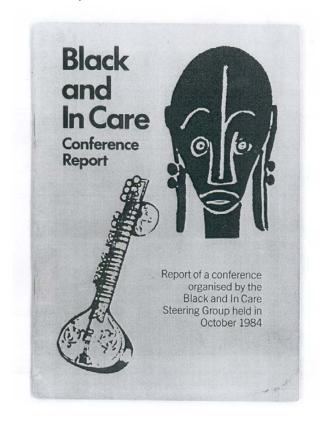
But none of these documents, although widely publicised and directed at policymakers, generated the public, professional or political response that would lead to Government action to safeguard these young people. It was not until the Utting Report, *People Like Us*, was published in 1997 that their voices were heard As the young people's views in this story reveal, societal attitudes during the 1970s and 1980s, still saw many young people in care as 'blameworthy' and 'criminals'—deserving of punishment.

Fourth, Care Less Lives also details how between 1983 and 1985 the Black and In Care group was formed in the context of research showing for the first time children and young people from Afro-Caribbean backgrounds and those of mixed parentage as being significantly over-represented in care. In response to these findings the Association of Black Social Workers and Allied Professionals in their evidence to the 1983 House of Commons Select Committee on Children in Care commented:

'The most valuable resource of any ethnic group is its children. Nevertheless black children are being taken from black families by the process of the law and being placed in white families. It is in essence 'internal colonialism' and a new form of the slave trade, but only black children are used.'

The Black and In Care group gave a voice to black and minority ethnic young people living in care for the first time. This revealed a 'white care' and a 'white life' that failed to recognise many of their needs at that time including: the

neglect of culture and identity; ignorance about diet, health, hair and skin care; the lack of black and minority ethnic foster carers and staff in children's homes; racism within care; the failure to recognise the identity issues for young people of mixed parentage; and, the separation from their own family and community.



Fifth, the campaign and surveys of the rights movement, most prominent during the NAYPIC years, have consistently exposed the wide variations in the quality of care young people receive. As the story has unfolded this has included evidence of unacceptable variations in young people's participation in their reviews, access to their personal files, the provision of guidebooks and information, the 'control' of sanitary protection, the availability of black foster and residential carers, the preparation and support for leaving care, accommodation after leaving care, and educational opportunities. And from 2003, A National Voice launched its 'Bin the Bag' campaign:

'Why are we given bin bags and not suit cases to move our belongings—bin bags are for carrying rubbish, what does that say about us'

As recently as 2010 a third of local authorities had not signed up to its 'no bin bag charter'—so the campaign continues.

This young people's history of care began in 1973 with the small voices of the Leeds *Ad-Lib* group. It has shown that the rights movement, including its struggles and campaigns over these years, has brought about significant changes in how young people in care were seen. It was their activities, including their local and national campaigns, their surveys, and their evidence to Parliament that led to the views of young people in care being recognised in law, policy and practice.

Key changes introduced by the Children Act 1989 owe a lot to their campaigns. This included complaints procedures, strengthening the law to assist young people leaving care, the recognition of 'racial origin, culture and language' and implementing the consultative rights of young people in care by taking into account the 'wishes and feelings' of young people. By 1984, the House of Commons Committee report on Children In Care, which laid the foundations of the Children Act 1989, drew widely on NAYPIC's evidence Sharing Care and reported, 'NAYPIC's growth has given children a voice of their own'.

Looking back, *Care Less Lives* is a story of both individual and collective resilience. It is also a

story of altruism, borne out of common suffering, as well as an anger to challenge the injustices they experienced. However, their story also shows that for some young people today their lives still remain *care less*: in providing *all* young people with a positive sense of identity and stability in their lives; in showing them respect and dignity, by not stigmatising them—from clothing order books and meal vouchers in 1973 to bin bags to move their belongings, still reported today—and in building a platform to adulthood, as most young people not in care can expect.

Young people should also expect to be offered good quality care wherever they live, and not be subject to territorial injustices and their attendant differential life chances. Also, too many of these young people were abused, perverting the very rationale of care—opportunities to intervene too often fell on deaf ears. A failure to meet young people's needs in these different ways severely undermines their ability to exercise their hard won rights. But, at the same time, it shows why a rights movement of young people in care is needed, and will always be needed, to make their lives *less care less*.

Mike Stein is Emeritus Professor in the Social Policy Research Unit at York University. This article is based on his book, Care Less Lives, the story of the rights movement of young people in care, London: Catch 22. Mike spoke at SWHN, 24 February 2015.

Cartoon on page 21 by Fran Orford

Rupert Hughes 1935-2015

Obituary by SWHN member Terry Philpot

Self-effacement and an apparent shyness masked the steely determination and persistence which enabled the senior civil servant Rupert Hughes to bring to the statue book the Children Act 1989, one of the most influential, respected and long-lasting pieces of post-war legislation.

It came in the wake of more than a decade of child deaths and resultant inquiries that caused public and political dissatisfaction with child protection, family capacity and legal remedies. This grew increased with the Cleveland scandal of 1987. The Act drew together, rationalised and codified the varied and confusing private and public law which governed the welfare of children – the courts, protection, adoption and fostering, family support, children homes, and care orders, among them.

But it also established what has become the absolute criterion to determine children's welfare: the best interests of the child. This concept became so culturally embedded that it is now used in matters far wider than the Act's remit. The Act, and accompanying statement of principles and guidance, created a legislative framework within which there was an acknowledgment of the potential for professional discretion.

Three remarkable things enabled Hughes to create a unique legacy. He was assistant secretary, children's services division, Department of Health and Social Security. First, the Act was passed when Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government was

instinctively antagonistic to state intervention. Second, Hughes effected an unusual achievement in those divisive times: whole-hearted cross-party agreement (there was one division in its progress through both Houses, and that was on a technical point). Third, with the actively benevolent support of Lord Mackay of Clashfern, the Lord Chancellor, and a liberal Health Secretary, Kenneth Clarke, Hughes also had a fairly free hand within his department. But he had not only to contend with politicians and other government departments. He also had to engage with, and ultimately command the respect of, a whole range of outside interests, from the police to charities - seeking consensus, and, if necessary, soothing egos and unruffling feathers.

In 1984 a Commons social services select committee had criticised the jumbled state of the law and made 200 recommendations. This led to an inter-departmental committee, which Hughes chaired. Here he believed strongly that policy and legislation should be informed by research, by no means common practice, then or now. The committee reported in 1985 after 14 months; the 74-clause bill was introduced in November 1988, becoming law a year later, and was implemented in 1991.

It was typical of Hughes' scrupulousness and commitment to impact, as well as design, that he set up 22 projects to test implementation of the legislation, as well as instituting nationally organised training sessions to equip

lawyers, social workers and judges to ensure the Act's efficient operation.

Baroness Hale, now deputy president of the Supreme Court, and then professor of law, Manchester University, and a member of the Law Commission, has been described as the "mother" of the Act to Rupert's "father". She described their joint endeavour as "a labour of love on both our parts".

Hughes was one of two sons of Rev CRG Hughes (and the grandson of a clergyman) and was brought up in Portsmouth. The family moved around as their father moved parishes, including on the Isle of Wight, where he held several livings. Rupert and his brother Michael were educated at Lancing College, Sussex, and Rupert gained a scholarship to read Classics at Worcester College, Oxford. He graduated in 1956 with a First.

In the light of this semi-peripatetic childhood, and not marrying and having children himself, it is even more outstanding that one fundamental tenet of the Act is that, where possible, children be brought up by their own families.

He joined the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries straight from university, later moving to the Cabinet Office. Then in 1984 he went to what was then the DHSS.

A friend and former colleague described him as "not a 'yes' man but a 'yes, but...' man". His acute intelligence and independent mind, combined with his willingness to listen, gave him an ability to make informed decisions, and along with a deep commitment to his work, made him an example of the best kind civil servant. That he was courteous and never

spoke ill of anybody, personally or professionally, must have eased the often politically charged atmosphere within which civil servants work.

In retirement after 1995 he lectured in Australia, chaired the Michael Sieff Foundation for three years and became one of the first fellows of the Centre for Social Policy, at Dartington, Devon, where he was chair for three years.

Tall and angular, he was remarkably fit enough to be climbing in Scotland at 80 (mountain climbing was a hobby he followed in the UK, Europe and elsewhere). He was affable, private, yet companionable; someone who liked good wine, valued friendship, loved the Reform Club and enjoyed classical music, especially opera. He had a sceptical intelligence that would test a companion's statement, with an impish look, with the question: "Is that really so?" or "Do you really mean that?"

These were, no doubt, the kind of questions which he asked in the discussions which led to the drafting of what became an exemplary piece of legislation. But that was all to one end – to promote the welfare of children. Hughes remained a questioning but convinced Anglican and his funeral took place at his parish church, the 18th century St Michael's, Paddington Green. He is survived by his partner, Priscilla Campbell Allen.

Rupert Paul Sylvester Hughes, civil servant: born Hampshire 5 January 1935; CBE; died London 15 August 2015.

This obituary first appeared in *The Independent*.

Book review

Dave Burnham



Our book review re-examines classic texts. Here, Dave Burnham discusses the first 'Younghusband Report', 1947

At the end of the Second World War social work was 'on a high'. Regional social workers had been employed to help with the disruption to families, almoners had found their forte in the chaos of bombing and with VD contact tracing, and Psychiatric Social Workers (PSWs) were helping with returning prisoners of war. This expansion of social work jobs highlighted questions about how social workers should be trained; the majority of training at the time being offered for specific occupational groups only—almoners, PSWs, Probation Officers etc. Following a successful review of training for youth workers, the Carnegie Trust asked Eileen Younghusband to chair a committee looking at social work training. Younghusband, 43 years old at the time, had been a tutor at the London School of Economics (LSE), a juvenile court magistrate and during the war had run a Citizens Advice Bureau (CAB) and been active in girls clubs. But it was the 1947 social work training report which 'made her name'.

The report itself, the *Report on the Employment and Training of Social Workers,* is

Cromwellian in its thoroughness. The first
third is a discussion of current employment

and training approaches, associated problems and a set of proposals, the principal one being that the Carnegie Trust support the establishment of a training course for social workers. This nascent version of the proposal eventually implemented at the LSE in the mid-1950s, was rejected by Carnegie (was it regarded as merely overambitious or simply impertinent?), but the die of Younghusband's subsequent career as a champion of generic training was cast.

The social work expertise on the committee consisted of Younghusband herself, Mr Astley of the Family Welfare Association (FWA, formerly the Charity Organisation Society, or COS) and Molly Batten, former secretary of the British Association of Residential Settlements. This narrow experience shows in the report, with great detail included about CABs, the decline of Settlements and 'family casework agencies'. But the report has a broad sweep too, damning current training arrangements—'Academic freedom,' Younghusband writes, 'coupled with the rich luxuriance of professional training bodies, have led to something approaching chaos' (p. 23).

Nevertheless an underlying theme is the centrality of social casework to the emerging profession. It seems that one of Younghusband's purposes in the report was to champion the FWA/COS pattern of family casework: clients coming voluntarily to an agency where investigations and possibly therapeutic work are undertaken using the social casework method, as espoused by American theorists such as Gordon Hamilton and Charlotte Towle. That's how it struck me anyway.

The document itself has two principal delights. The first is Younghusband's language. She has a crisp and wry turn of phrase, which makes reading it more fun than anything similar might conceivably be today. The second, a delight and a revelation, is the appendix, which takes up two thirds of the report. Here each of the scores of social work occupations is investigated and a note



Eileen Younghusband in 1964

made of the current numbers of paid workers, pay rates and training arrangements. Hindered by limited research capacity (how much did she do herself?) the result is patchy and a little London biased. For instance only the 67 Organisers in London Care Committees are referred to. Nevertheless, this is a more than comprehensive mid-century stock take—a uniquely fruitful archive of the breadth, minutiae and vibrancy of social work at the time—a key moment, remember, just before the Local Authority child care and welfare departments were set up. No book review can do it justice, but here are a few highlights:

- A full account is given of the Colonial Social Welfare Service (perhaps, in relative terms, the best paid social workers of all time!).
- Detailed note is made of the 500 full-time Salvation Army workers, the 700 almoners, 160 Juvenile Employment Officers and 274 National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC) Inspectors (the only workers paid weekly rather than salaried). 5,748 occupational welfare officers are mentioned but, as

they do not do social casework, they are not paid much attention.

• Public Assistance
Committees and Voluntaries
both employed a
considerable number of
boarding out inspectors and
home visitors for children—
hundreds, even before the
implementation of the 1948
Children Act. Infant Life
Protection visiting was
usually undertaken by 'Public
Health Visitors'. Forty local

Invalid Children's Aid Associations employed people to visit and support families.

 The work of Pacifist Service Units was noted and their wide influence already in evidence as two County Councils had already appointed social workers to work with 'problem families'.

The report also mentions the 50 social workers employed by local authorities to do Moral Welfare Work (in addition to the many employed by Moral Welfare Committees). Younghusband comments waspishly, 'it is to be hoped that the MW caseworker will...find a new name, less embarrassing to those who need her services' (p. 104). And she wonders why sexual conduct is picked out for attention above other ethical problems. Hers was indeed a fresh and determined eye looking at social work mid-century.

The Report on the Employment and Training of Social Workers is available from the Carnegie UK Trust.

Dave Burnham's latest book, The Social Worker Speaks: A History of Social Workers through the Twentieth Century was published in 2012.

Bulletin of the Social Work History Network 2015 Volume 2, Issue 2

The Social Work History Network is supported by The British Association of Social Workers,
The Open University, the University of Chester,
and the Social Care Workforce Research Unit at King's College London.

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