Bulletin of the Social Work History Network

Contents

On the cover: Child Welfare Centre at 9 Copperas Hill, Liverpool, c.1920. Photo courtesy of Liverpool Record Office. Mike Burt introduces 'Social Work: A Heritage Trail in Liverpool' in this issue.

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 emailing list or to confirm your attendance at a meeting please contact: **stephen.martineau@kcl.ac.uk**

kcl.ac.uk/scwru/swhn

@SociWorkHistory

Editorial

Sarah Vicary

Editor, *Bulletin of the* Social Work History Network

Our seventh volume is published towards the end of what has been an extraordinary year. First, a tribute to our late chair Terry Bamford. As you will read in the links to the obituaries contained in this bulletin Terry's sudden death in February has brought a huge sense of loss both to his family and friends, including the Social Work History Network. His voice nonetheless lives on in this volume not least through the write ups of the book he and Keith Bilton edited. We also include his piece on the Temperance Movement and links to Settlements, a paper he delivered at the European Social Work Research Association pre-conference Special Interest Group in Edinburgh, 2018. Some of the other papers delivered that same day have now been included in an edited collection on the Settlement House Movement Revisited, due to be published in December this year for which I am delighted to be a co-editor. Published books are indeed a strong feature of the Bulletin: Social Work: past, present and future; A History of the Roles and Responsibilities of Social Workers: from the Poor Laws to the present day; A History of the Personal Social Services in England: feast, famine and the future and; The Politics of Children's Services Reform: re-examining two decades of policy change. I hope that you enjoy the various summaries and that you are inspired to obtain copies. Such a feast is a remarkable testament to all involved. Second, the current public health crisis has been and remains a challenge. It has of course meant that the Network has been unable to offer its usual array of seminars. The Steering Group is in the process of planning events for 2021 most of which, if not all, are to be held online. Our first will be dedicated to Terry and his work. Further details will follow in due course.

Turning to the remainder of the content in this issue, we begin with a summary of events which will be of interest, including those being promoted by the British Association of Social Workers (BASW) and especially the Heritage Project to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation. Despite the current circumstances BASW has been able to offer a series of stimulating sessions which are well worth a 'visit'. There is also ongoing work such as the creation of heritage trails in towns and cities. Mike Burt provides an insight into the one being developed in Liverpool, the development of which should now be available for online viewing. We then move to three important aspects of social work. In the year when Social Work England became the current regulator for social workers in England, Mike Burt discusses the early attempts to form a representative body through various iterations such as the Association of Social Workers, The Standing Conference of Organisations of Social Workers and the National Institute of Social Work. It makes a fascinating read. Next, Peter Scourfield debates the teaching of social work history and his argument that it should be part of current curriculum for social work trainees. Outlining the guidance which suggests this should be so, Peter nonetheless laments, as others have before him, that such a plea is not new. Ian Shaw then challenges us to think about what constitutes social work and in turn what is meant by social work research. Ian outlines developments, limitations and uncertainties and the distinctions that need to be made. He also contends that empirical knowledge remains thin, as does the archiving of developments. We hope that the Network does make some progress in that

respect. Our book review focusses on material relevant to the residential care of old people prompted by the concerns about the impact of the current public health crisis. In his reflection Mike Burt refers on the one hand of the ability of this sector to assert the positive principles upon which residential care is based whilst on the other hand the crude exposition brought about by continuing restrictions in staff, training and care regimes, a thought which brings us full circle to our extraordinary year. I would like to thank each of the contributors whose input has made this such an interesting edition which I hope serves as a fitting legacy to the memory of Terry.

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In Brief

Terry Bamford 1942-2020
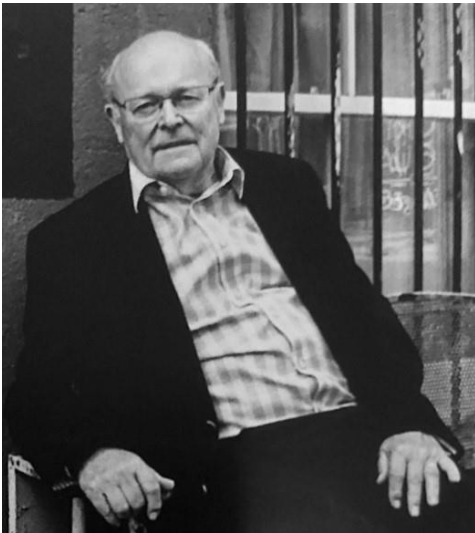
Terry Bamford died on 9 February 2020. Among the obituaries are those by Terry Philpot in *The Guardian* and David N Jones at the *International Federation of Social Workers* website.

In June 2020, Policy Press published *Social Work: Past, Present and Future*. Co-edited by Terry Bamford and Keith Bilton, it marked the 50th anniversary of the formation of BASW and of the Local Authority Social Services Act 1970. It was reviewed by Carl Purcell in the *British Journal of Social Work* and in this issue of the *Bulletin* by Jane Tunstill.
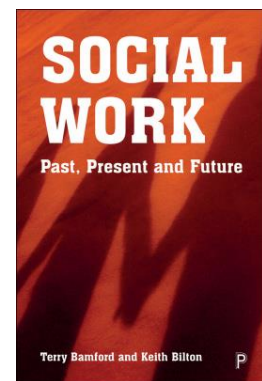
A History of the Roles and Responsibilities of Social Workers: From the Poor Laws to the Present Day
Introduced by author, Mike Burt
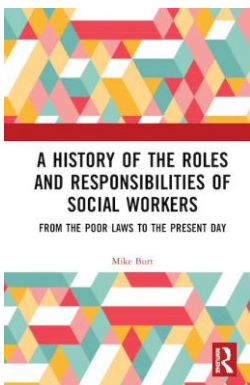
Using a chronological narrative, I have focused on the history of social workers as groups of paid and voluntary workers in England and Wales. In contrast to many histories of social work it draws heavily on archival sources including local authorities, representative bodies of social workers and government departments: utilising a significant amount of new material. Although set in the context of developments in the understanding of social need, social policy and legislation, structures and institutions, and professionalisation, the text traces the forming of a wide range of roles and responsibilities in posts, occupational groups and voluntary work from the introduction of the Poor Laws onwards. An introductory chapter discusses a range of issues related to historical interpretation, including history and social theory. One of the main objectives of the text is to provide a

longer historical context for interpreting the relative significance of the changing roles and responsibilities which social workers actually carried out and that it can contribute to further writing about the history of social work.

The statutory origins of social work roles and responsibilities are found in the work of overseers of the poor and relieving officers in the Poor Law, then highlighting their initial expansion within voluntary societies from the end of the nineteenth century onwards. The influence of the movement for social reform and the introduction of the terms social service, social welfare and social work are discussed and their use to describe the development of a wide range of social, health, educational, industrial, and recreational posts and voluntary work is discussed. Tensions between paid officers and voluntary workers in voluntary societies, municipal authorities and the Poor Law, arising from the need to develop common principles and training for social work are highlighted, leading to the formation of the British Federation of Social Workers by groups representing probation officers, mental health workers, psychiatric social workers, care committee organisers and public health nurses including health visitors, in 1935.

I have argued that many of the foundations of current social work were established during the inter-war period and that between 1939 and 1974 social work experienced a period of transition during which roles and responsibilities expanded significantly in local authorities. Starting with recognition given to the valuable work carried out by almoners and psychiatric social workers during the Second World War, the process during the 1950s and 1960s by which a more limited grouping of social workers collaborated to construct a clearer identity for social work is traced. Within that process the differentiation of social needs from health work and the increasing emphasis given to preventive work are highlighted. The consolidation of social work roles and responsibilities within social services departments and adjustments to provision made by voluntary societies from 1974 onwards are analysed. The involvement of expanding numbers of social workers and their involvement in child protection and community care are discussed.

The chronological narrative ends in 1997. Historians are cautious about writing a history of the recent past because of the difficulty in achieving a perspective on the meaning of events from what followed. The final chapter brings the story about social workers up to the present day by providing an overview and evaluation of a number of reviews of social work written in the next two decades with a view to clarifying the roles and responsibilities of social workers.

I have ensured that material relates to all client groups to ensure that roles and responsibilities in relation to children and young people do not dominate the narrative. Drawing on my 2015 study of the history of social work assessment and pointing to early limitations in its development I have preferred an interpretation of the restricted professionalisation of social work to its deprofessionalisation in the face of managerialism and neoliberalism.

The BASW Heritage Project 2020 October/November Update

'Reflections of Lockdown' by Russell Hogarth

> 'By the time I was 17 I had experience of being orphaned, homeless and rough sleeping. Just when I thought life could not deal me any more bad luck, I was involved in a near fatal car crash and ended up hospitalised for six months on a rehabilitation ward. That feeling of

fighting for my life, being in a hospital bed and locked out from the world stayed with me most of my adult life.

I became critically ill again in November 1990 with a rare form of pneumonia and did not reappear into the world until Easter 1991. I developed a fear of people carrying a fatal virus and had to leave pubs and restaurants if people were coughing.

This third experience of lockdown (Coronavirus) is a combination of my previous experience, fear of the unknown, potential virus carriers, my life expectancy if I contract this disease. I am not looking for sympathy, no not at all. We benefit from supermarket deliveries and neighbours have rallied round to give support. Technology has played a key role, helping me to keep in contact with friends, family, and colleagues.

I am mindful of the people that are struggling. People who are losing everything that they have worked for and the elderly who are isolated from family and friends.'—*Russell Hogarth, BASW Heritage steering group member.*

Read the whole article from www.basw.co.uk

Send your reflections to be published in the heritage newsletter to heritage2020@basw.co.uk

BASW Recorded Voices Sessions

On 1 October, this year for the International Day of Older Persons we celebrated the last 50 years of the association with a film to mark the wonderful careers of BASW members past and present. Neeta Baicher, Rena Phillips, and Veronica Thomas talk honestly and openly about their lives, careers, and experiences in social work. Watch again: https://www.basw.co.uk/basw-recorded-voices-celebration-international-day-older-persons

If you would like to get involved with the BASW recorded voices sessions please contact Gaby Zavoli: heritage2020@basw.co.uk

The BASW Heritage Project 2020 eBook:

Send your submissions to be published in the BASW Heritage 2020 eBook. The deadline for submissions is November 14th. Send us your reflections on social work, past, present, and future.

We still require: videos, podcasts, photography, artwork and music.

Full information about how to apply can be found on the

BASW website: www.basw.co.uk/call-essays-poems-and-visual-images-future-social-work

For information please contact Gaby Zavoli: heritage2020@basw.co.uk

Watch Again

Catch up on some of the exciting BASW heritage events from this year:

The BASW 50th Anniversary Virtual Festival June 22nd and 23rd 2020

Watch this again: www.basw.co.uk/basw-50th-anniversary-virtual-festival-0

The BASW Heritage Project 2020 Virtual May Webinar 'Talking Together'

Please watch the webinar at: www.basw.co.uk/basw-50th-talking-together-webinar

Virtual Heritage Trail

A UK wide interactive initiative to offer BASW members the opportunity to produce a virtual heritage trail. Research your chosen topic and present this using photographs, visual representations, text, or video. This can be a journey through the social work history of your town or city or the history of a community. The possibilities are endless, and we want to hear from you. If you would like to be involved please contact heritage2020@basw.co.uk

Get involved

If you want to get involved with the BASW Heritage Project activities, events and initiatives, please contact heritage2020@basw.co.uk

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Social Work: A Heritage Trail in Liverpool

One of the projects to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the formation of the British Association of Social Workers in 1970 is to create heritage trails in towns and cities. This trail draws on the rich and diverse heritage of philanthropy, social service and social work in the City of Liverpool from the Victorian era through to the establishing of the welfare state in 1948. It takes a route which finds statues, buildings, plaques, gravestones and windows which commemorate past achievements. Pioneering work in Liverpool in starting the Liverpool Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and a number of projects introduced by the Personal Service Society including its old folks' welfare committee and housing advice bureau, and the innovative Council of Voluntary Aid in 1909 which became Liverpool

Council of Social Service in 1935, is highlighted. Liverpool's early introduction of the Invalid Children's Association in 1891, Victoria Women's Settlement in 1898 and School of Social Science and Training for Social Work in 1905, are featured. The involvement of local authority health visitors and Poor Law officers in carrying out welfare work is also captured. The work of significant people in developing social work in Liverpool is featured, including Eleanor Rathbone, Elizabeth Macadam, Frederick D'Aeth, Father Nugent, Canon Major Lester, Dorothy Keeling and Margaret Beavan.

The initial format of the Liverpool heritage trail is an extended presentation, suitable for reading online, and illustrated with original and current photographs. It is expected that the trail will be ready in December 2020 for online viewing at the BASW website. —*Mike Burt*

Social Work history at the Global Institute of Social Work

We have been alerted to these pages which survey the history of social work.

Black History Month

Readers may be interested in two posts on the blog of the Health and Social Care Workforce Research Unit at King's College London by Unit academics: Prof Jill Manthorpe and Katharine Orellana cast a spotlight on social care in south London; and, Jo Moriarty and Prof Manthorpe discuss Paul Stephenson and other social workers to mark Black History Month.

Mark Stein

Prof Stein, previous speaker at SWHN, discusses *How young black people in care made their voices heard* at The Conversation.

Settlements and Social reform: the contribution of the temperance movement

Terry Bamford

The mid-nineteenth century was a time of unparalleled social change in Britain. The industrial revolution had produced opportunities for employment in factories, mills and mines with a mass migration from countryside to cities. Living conditions in the overcrowded urban areas were grim with poorly built housing and inadequate sanitation. While the industrial revolution had created a prosperous middle class, the experiences of the poor were very different.

Evangelical Christianity, the temperance movement and Victorian philanthropy came together to create the conditions for the explosion of social welfare in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The conditions for change flowed from two major pieces of legislation. The 1832 Reform Act resulted in modest extensions to the franchise but retained strict limits based on property. Pressure to extend the franchise further continued throughout the period. It was a key demand of the 3 great petitions initiated by the Chartist movement but not until 1870 was it significantly extended.

The Poor Law Amendment Act 1834 was the other piece of legislation which shaped social conditions for the rest of the nineteenth century. Designed to discourage poor relief it introduced the principle of 'less eligibility' with any payment of relief set below the lowest level of wages earned by able bodied labourers. To this end no able-bodied person was to receive money or other help from the Poor Law authorities except in a workhouse, and conditions in workhouses were to be made very harsh to discourage people from wanting to receive help. The staple diet was bread and gruel. Daytime was occupied by hard labour. Deterrence was seen as an essential element in protecting the social fabric. It was a major influence on the evolution of social reform in the second half of the century often finding expression in the quest for moral improvement of individuals.

It is hard for us – a century and half on – to understand the harshness of the Poor Law. It stemmed from the belief that poverty was a moral failure and an example of irresponsibility of the individual concerned. Samuel Smiles' books *Self-Help (1859), Character (1871) and Thrift (1875)* captured this "a man should, by his own efforts, provide for himself and his family, and that he could do so by the careful and thrifty use of all his endowments." [1]

Revolution and the fear of revolution were never too far away. The 1832 Reform Act itself was in part driven by fear of revolution engulfing Europe after the 1830 revolution in France. 6 million people signed the Chartist petition demanding change but even in 1848 – the year of revolutions in Europe – there was no violent insurrection.

The temperance movement was but one of the many movements seeking social reform. There were denominationally based charities, visiting societies and dispensaries for the sick. Activists sought the abolition of the slave trade, prison reform and mental health reform. The extraordinary growth and development of social work itself in the 1870s and 1880s came at the end of this transformative period for Victorian society.

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[1] Heasman K, (1962). Evangelicals in Action, London: Geoffrey Bles

Why temperance movement was so strong

Alcohol has always played a prominent role in British social life. Hogarth memorably captured the excesses of alcoholic consumption in Gin Lane in 1751 depicting a topsy-turvy world of mob rule. Gin was cheap and readily available, but it was consumed primarily by the poorer groups in society. The Gin Act in 1751 prohibited gin distillers from selling to unlicensed merchants, restricted retail licenses to substantial property holders, and charged high fees to those merchants eligible for retail licenses. The effect was to restrict sales to larger retailers and thus to reduce availability and consumption.

At this same time as his grim portrayal of Gin Lane Hogarth depicted Beer Street, which in marked contrast showed beer drinkers as good-humoured workers drinking after their labours. Beer was seen as a less damaging alternative to gin but was taxed which meant the cost of beer could be prohibitive to the working classes. Ironically, beer was safer to drink than water which at this time was untreated and dangerous to drink.

The Beerhouse Act in 1830 (the Act) was introduced by the Duke of Wellington's Tory government. It abolished the beer tax, extended the opening hours of licensed public houses, taverns and alehouses from 15 to 18 hours a day. The opening hours could be from 4am to 10pm. These were subject to the control of the local justices and a license was required.

The Act also introduced beerhouses and beershops, premises which could sell only beer. For a relatively small fee of 2 guineas payable to the local excise officer, anyone could brew and sell beer. Supervision of these establishments by local justices was severely curtailed which led to many complaints by magistrates and local gentry fearful of the excesses of the working classes in their area under the influence of alcohol.

The beerhouses provided not only beer, but food, games and some even lodging. In villages and towns many shopkeepers opened their own beershop and sold beer alongside their other wares. Beer would be brewed on the premises or purchased from brewers.

Within five years of the legislation 44,000 beerhouses had opened across the country, far outnumbering the combined total of long-established taverns, pubs, inns and hotels. Because it was so easy to obtain permission and the profits could be huge compared to the low cost of gaining permission, the number of beer houses continued to rise and, in some towns, nearly every other house in a street could be a beer house. The cosy warm welcoming pubs offered a contrast to the grim and overcrowded domestic environment.

As so often in social policy legislation designed to tackle one problem created another. The Act's supporters hoped that by increasing competition in the brewing and sale of beer, and thus lowering its price, the population might be weaned off stronger alcoholic drinks such as gin which since Hogarth's depiction of Gin Lane and Beer Street had been blamed for many social ills.

But if it weaned people from gin it led to another form of drunkenness.

Wesley had denounced the evil of drink in the late eighteenth century but there was no organised movement promoting temperance. In 1829, the Presbyterian minister Rev John Edgar initiated a temperance movement in Ulster by pouring a stock of whiskey out of a window.[2] With mounting evidence of the link between alcohol and social problems – poverty, prostitution, child cruelty – calls for temperance ceased to be the exclusive prerogative of the preacher and were taken up more broadly.

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[2] Fryer P (1965), *Mrs Grundy: Studies in English Prudery*: p144. Corgi.

The social problems linked to alcohol were exacerbated by two features. First some workers were often paid their wages in the pub particularly heavy labourers – dockers, stevedores, coal merchants.[3] Second the pubs were a focal point during elections with rival candidates using funds to buy drinks for their supporters and even possible supporters. In 1832 two thirds of election expenses went to publicans for the supply of beer.

A Temperance Society was established in Preston in 1832, the first of its kind in England, although one was established in 1829 in Ireland. Similar societies developed in urban areas although for many the initial commitment was not to total abstinence but to moderation. They shared the view of the time that beer was less of a social issue than gin. The first pledge of the Preston Society was: "we will totally abstain from the use of ardent spirits ourselves, and will not give or offer to others except as medicines; and if we use other liquors it shall be in great moderation."[4]

As Fryer observed "the great demerit of the temperance movement was that it largely ignored the social causes of drunkenness".[5] The same could be said of the contemporary war on drugs waged in many Western countries with little effect on usage.

The churches and temperance

The churches for the most part stood aloof from engagement in the movement. The Primitive Methodists were the first group to embrace total abstinence. They were differentiated from the body of Wesleyan Methodists by style of worship, social class and political beliefs. They were street evangelists often marching in procession through the streets singing hymns. Ranters was the label used to describe them. They tended to be of lower social class than their Methodist colleagues and more sympathetic to political action.

The debate between total abstinence and 'signing the pledge' on the one hand and the advocates of moderation divided the temperance movement. The disagreement was fierce, and the struggle was fought with ferocity. Wesleyan Methodists tended to favour moral persuasion. Alcohol of all kinds was viewed as poison and pamphleteers denounced those who minimised the damage caused by the demon drink. Chadwick noted that, "the demand for temperance was morally weak compared with a demand for total abstention"[6] and the abstainers gradually moved into the majority. Adherents of the temperance movement sought individual redemption with signing the pledge as the key to starting a new life.

But almost as soon as they acquired majority support there was renewed dissent within the temperance movement as a result of the establishment of the 'the United Kingdom Alliance' in 1853 with the objective of securing legislative action to suppress traffic in intoxicating drinks. A division arose between those passionate in pursuit of legislative change to secure prohibition and the traditional group led by Livesey[7] who favoured a pledge of personal abstinence.

If the temperance movement paid too little attention to the social causes of drunkenness, there were others to offer a vivid picture of the social problems created by the industrial revolution which had laid bare the gulf between rich and poor.

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[3]Mayhew, H (1861), London Labour and the London Poor, vol 1, p107, London: George Woodfall and Son
[4] Thornley, P T. (1931), Triumphant Torchbearers, p 7, London: Richard J James.
[5] Fryer P, op cit, p145
[6] Chadwick, O, (1987), The Victorian Church part One 1829-59, London: SCM Press.
[7] Joseph Livesey 1794-1884, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_Livesey

The 'Condition of England' novels

Writers such as Charles Dickens, Elizabeth Gaskell (Mary Barton) and Charlotte Brontë (Shirley) in what became known as the 'Condition of England' novels illuminated contemporary social problems through detailed descriptions of poverty and inequality. They saw social reform and legislation as the way forward. In the 1840s food shortages resulting from bad harvests were acute most tragically in the potato famine in Ireland where a million people – 1 in 8 of the population – died. Factories closed, banks failed, and trade unions threatened strike action. Gaskell described industrial poverty in Manchester during the 'hungry forties'. Disraeli wrote of two nations "'between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy; who are as ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts, and feelings, as if they were dwellers in different zones, or inhabitants of different planets ….' [8]

It was however the writings of Charles Dickens which had the most significant impact on public opinion. He depicted the living conditions of the poor in vivid detail. In Oliver Twist he tackled the injustices and cruelties of the workhouse "run according to a regime of prolonged hunger, physical punishment, humiliation and hypocrisy."[9] A Christmas Carol, Bleak House, Nicholas Nickleby and Hard Times dealt with different aspects of society from poverty, child abuse in schools, the creaking system of courts and the consequences of industrialisation. Lodge writes "On every page Hard Times manifests its identity as a polemical work, a critique of mid-Victorian industrial society dominated by materialism, acquisitiveness, and ruthlessly competitive capitalist economics."[10]

While Dickens promoted social reform and achieved change through legislation the Chartist movement favoured mass meetings and petitions in a bid to secure change. It was a predominantly working class movement with clear objectives – objectives which seem for the most part unobjectionable to contemporary eyes:

- a vote for all men (over 21)
- the secret ballot
- no property qualification to become an MP
- payment for MPs
- electoral districts of equal size
- annual elections for Parliament

The Chartist movement gathered strength at a time of social turmoil. Its petitions in 1839, 1842 and 1848 were all rejected although they doubled in number each time with the last petition claimed six million signatures. In order to discredit the 1848 petition opponents claimed some of the signatures were faked (identical claims were made about the 6 million signatories calling for another UK referendum in February 2019).

1848 was a year of revolution in Europe. It was feared that the Chartist movement would take a turn towards violence. It did not in part because Chartism had an ambivalent relationship with the temperance movement. Some suspected the links between temperance and religion. "Some Chartists feared that an undue emphasis on individual conversion might subordinate working men to the teetotal movement's middle class leaders".[11] But others fully embraced the movement establishing teetotal chartist societies. The leaders of the Chartists recognised the need to forge broader alliances with the

[8]Disraeli, B, (1845), Sybil, or the Two Nations, London: Henry Colburn
[9] http://www.victorianweb.org/authors/dickens/diniejko.html
[10] Lodge, D, "The Rhetoric of Hard Times", (1969) in Gray, E, ed. Twentieth Century Interpretations of Hard Times. A Collection of Critical Essays. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall
[11] Harrison B (1973), Teetotal Chartists, History vol 58, no 193, p195

middle class after the setback of the 1839 petition, but the two movements were competitors in recruiting activists to **promulgate** their message.

After the failure of the Chartists in 1848 the pressure for social reform was often led by the advocates of temperance. Evangelical teetotal MPs **played** a prominent role in securing legislative reform. They led the fight for public libraries and parks. The great Education Act 1870 was driven by W.E Forster who was teetotal. Thomas Cook started his career by organising cheap excursions for Leicester Temperance Society.

Evangelicals and temperance

The pioneering work of the Primitive Methodists found an echo in the strengthening evangelical movement. There was a religious revival in Ulster in 1859, which spread rapidly across England. "Large meetings led by famous preachers reinforced the momentum. As a result there was a substantial rise in the founding of non-denominational mission halls."[12] The revival is claimed to have produced more than 100,000 converts. Home missions were established located in the poorest areas providing some form of food relief and open air evangelism.

There is a clear interrelationship between the temperance movement, Victorian philanthropy and the home mission movement." The various agencies of the Home Mission Movement frequently had a temperance facet to their operations. Alongside and frequently intertwined with the missions and temperance lay a host of other charities".[13]

The plight of children was a driving force for evangelism coming together in the establishment of Bands of Hope which by the end of the nineteenth century had three million registered supporters. Established in 1847 its objective was to teach children the importance and principles of sobriety and teetotalism. Children were recruited from the age of six and encouraged to sign the pledge to avoid alcohol.

Evangelicals in the Anglican church looked to use the techniques of open air street corner meetings. Chadwick wrote "East London was invaded by revivalists who took up their stance at street corners, in parks, sheds, halls, tents and theatres".[14]

Of the revivalist preachers the most remarkable was William Booth. He was a prominent Methodist evangelist but became frustrated by his inability to work full time on evangelist campaigning and resigned from the church in 1861. Four years later he set up the Christian Revival society in Whitechapel where he developed his style. Chadwick notes acerbically that he was able to draw an audience "in almost any East London street almost any hour; get it by hymns if not by speech, by antics if not by hymns".[15] He won supporters and his wife Catherine was equally effective. By 1867 the East London Mission was using 11 halls and providing " one hundred and twenty services outdoor and in are held weekly, at which the gospel is preached on an average to 14000 people".[16] The East London Mission was one of some 500 Christian missions established in the East London slum areas. It set up a number of mission stations across East London with the aim of spreading the salvation message and feeding and sheltering the destitute. In 1870, Catherine Booth started a social scheme called "Food for the Million" aimed at helping the poor and destitute. Hot soup was always available day and night and a modest dinner of three courses could be bought for sixpence.

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[12] Horridge, G, (1993) The Salvation Army, 1965-1900, Godalming: Ammonite Press , p10
[13] Horridge G, op. cit. p10
[14] Chadwick O,(1987), The Victorian Church part 2, SCM Press , p286
[15] op.cit. p 289
[16] The Revival 6 February 1868 quoted in Horridge, G, op. cit. p17

The adoption of military uniform, brass bands and a hierarchical military structure came in 1878 with the adoption of the name the Salvation Army. The changes gave Booth total control and was followed by a remarkable period of growth. Between 1878 and 1883 the number of Corps increased from 57 to 519.[17]

Remarkably for the time there was broad parity between men and women with 41 female officers out of a total of 91.[18] Teetotalism became a condition of membership with adherents required to sign the pledge.

At first the Army tackled drunkenness through conversion and not by relief of poverty. But as it spread throughout the world it opened homes for prostitutes, for discharged prisoners and rapidly developed its mission. No longer was it concerned with the deserving poor but to all those in need – those sleeping rough, tramps, the unemployed, deserted wives.

The success of the Salvation Army attracted imitators. The Church Army was formed in 1882 amalgamating a number of Anglican parishes who had adopted revivalist street corner meetings with rousing music. Its founder Wilson Carlisle said, "we do not seek to drag the Church of England into the mud but to bring some of the social mud into the church." [19]

It required its adherents to be teetotal but was less engaged directly with the poor than the Salvation Army, Unlike the latter it believed in the sacraments and focussed on training lay evangelists for work in parishes.

While Booth was evangelising in the East End of London an Irish doctor, Thomas Barnardo, was shocked by the conditions in which children were sleeping and established a children's home. Barnardo himself had been an active revivalist preacher in Dublin before coming to London. He set up a Ragged School which was the basis for his East End Juvenile mission. The first home was opened in 1870 and having adopted the slogan 'no child turned away' further homes swiftly followed As well as putting a roof over their heads, the home trained the boys in carpentry, metalwork and shoemaking, and found apprenticeships for them.[20]

Studying the backgrounds of children admitted to his homes, Barnardo found that eighty to eighty five per cent came from homes which had broken up as a result of their parents' or guardians' addiction to drink. True to his revivalist origins he launched a temperance campaign and bought a gin palace and relaunched it as a People's Church and Coffee Palace.

Almost at the same time as Barnardo, Thomas Stephenson, a Methodist minister, established a home for children in Waterloo and others followed becoming known as National Children's Homes. So, the reforming pioneers of child welfare were both driven by a strong Christian faith and a temperance tradition. The focus had shifted from descriptions of social problems to finding active solutions.

One of the most direct links between temperance and social reform is in relation to probation. Frederick Rainer a printer and member of the Church of England Temperance Society (CETS), wrote to the society in 1876 expressing his concern about the lack of help for those coming before the courts. He sent a donation of five shillings (25p) towards a fund for practical rescue work in the police courts.

The CETS responded by appointing two "missionaries" to Southwark court with the initial aim of "reclaiming drunkards". This formed the basis of the London Police Courts Mission (LPCM), whose

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[17] The Christian Mission Magazine 1878 and Pocket Book 1884
[18] Sandall, R, (1947), The history of the Salvation army 1865-1878, vol ii,6, Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson
[19] https://churcharmy.org/Groups/290554/Church_Army/web/Who_we_are/Our_History/Our_History.aspx
[20] https://www.barnardos.org.uk/who-we-are/our-history

missionaries worked with magistrates to develop a system of releasing offenders on the condition that they kept in touch with the missionary and accepted guidance. By 1880 eight full time missionaries were in place and the mission opened homes and shelters providing vocational training and residential work. The success of court missionaries led to the establishment of the concept of probation in the Probation of First Time Offenders Act 1886 and the 1907 Probation of Offenders Act which led to the creation of the probation service.

Auerbach[21] tells us that Rainer's donation may have been influenced by the fact that his mother had a drink problem and a conviction for drunkenness.

The Charity Organisation Society and Poor Law attitudes

When Booth was actively setting up food relief through the Mission, and Barnardo and Stephenson were establishing homes for abandoned children, the Charity Organisation Society (COS) was established in 1870 with the objective of establishing a more rigorous and effective way of dealing with the problems of the poor. The recession of 1866 had produced a surge in the numbers claiming relief and that in turn prompted concerns about the cost to the public purse and potential for abuse of the system. The values of thrift, individual responsibility and self-control were in danger of being undermined by ready access to poor relief and charitable support.

The COS exemplified the prevalent attitude of the Victorians to poverty. It believed that social problems were the result of free moral choices. Poverty should spur individuals on to better their lot. Charity should step in to help the destitute only if they were morally upright, and then they should provide training in personal responsibility. Pauperism – dependence on welfare – was a social evil to be dealt with by harsh measures.

While some were content to rely on the traditional approach to preaching the gospel, the positive response to the successful muscular Christianity of the two Armies meant that in urban areas the social issues could not be avoided. With the development of homes for children as a direct response to need, the broader issues of the social structures which had produced the need could not be ignored. The challenge of the social gospel led many working in the cities to see their role as the practical expression of Christian socialism.

The Barnetts

Samuel Barnett was a Church of England vicar in Whitechapel. His wife Henrietta offers a vivid description of what they confronted there, "thieves and worse, receivers of stolen goods, hawkers, casual dock labourers, every sort of unskilled low class cadger congregated in the parish...whole streets were given over to the hangers-on of a vicious population people whose conduct was brutal, whose ideal was idleness, whose habits were disgusting".[22] Samuel Barnett was initially a supporter of the Charity Organisation Society and allied there with Octavia Hill. He welcomed the COS focus on individuals and families, and the characterisation of their problems in terms of moral behaviour. In common with others in the COS he opposed collective solutions such as state funded old age pensions. He served on Tower Hamlets Pensions Committee to provide charitable pensions *so far as its funds permit, for those poor persons who seem by their character and circumstances to be worthy of assistance outside the workhouse*. The pensions had to be deserved and were awarded sparingly.

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21 Auerbach S, (2015) Beyond the Pale of Mercy": Victorian Penal Culture, Police Court Missionaries, and the Origins of Probation in England, Law and History Review Volume 33, Issue 3

22 Barnett S, (1909) The Beginnings of Toynbee Hall in Towards Social Reform. London: Fisher Unwin

Barnett and his wife Henrietta were active in their Whitechapel parish committed to the local community. They opened evening classes for adults, served on the local board of guardians and on the managing committees of schools. They sought to offer intellectual as well as spiritual nourishment. Barnett described himself as a Christian socialist and in 1884 he proposed the establishment of a Settlement with the Head of the settlement who "must have taken a good degree, be qualified to teach and be endowed with the enthusiasm of humanity".[23] He envisaged a place where students from Oxford University and Cambridge could work among, and improve the lives of the poor during their holidays. The role of the settlement was to be educational with knowledge freely given. What he envisaged was an extension of what he and his wife had been doing but enriched by the students living in the area where they were working. The Head would have power "to recommend official positions, to some teaching, to some the organisation of relief, to some visiting the sick, and thus infuse new life into existing churches chapels and institutions."[24]

Barnett's vision was helped to become reality by an influential pamphlet *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*. This began trenchantly "Whilst we have been building our churches and solacing ourselves with our religion and dreaming that the millennium was coming, the poor have been growing poorer and the wretched more miserable, and the immoral more corrupt."[25]

The publicity given to the pamphlet and the concern it generated helped win support for Toynbee Hall established in 1884 by Barnett and his wife Henrietta. It reflected the growing realisation that enduring social change would not be achieved through the existing individualised and piecemeal approaches.

The radical vision was to create a place for future leaders to live and work as volunteers in London's East End, bringing them face to face with poverty, and giving them the opportunity to develop practical solutions that they could take with them into national life. In Barnett's visionary proposal "the settlement would be common ground for all classes. In the lecture room the knowledge gathered at the highest sources would, night after night, be freely given... At the weekly receptions of 'all sorts and conditions of men' the residents would mingle freely with the crowd."[26]

The social idealism in this vision is powerful. There was confidence that a committed group of young people could make a real impact on the culture of the area- culture in both senses. Not only would the area become more self-reliant and open to moral improvement but a knowledge of high culture- art, music and literature- would raise moral standards.

 Many of the individuals that came to Toynbee Hall as young men – including Clement Attlee and William Beveridge – went on to bring about radical social change and maintain a lifelong connection with Toynbee Hall.

The Annual Report for 1889 demonstrates the degree to which Barnett's original vision of engagement was realised. Of the resident members six were school managers, four were Charity Organisation Society Committee members, two were almoners, one was a Poor Law guardian, five organised children's holidays and nine organised boys' clubs.

The Barnetts in 1888 published *Practicable socialism: Essays in Social Reform*. This gave a vivid description of the lives of the poor in the East End. It looked at their diet, their housing conditions and

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23 Barnett S in Religion in Victorian Britain (1988), vol 3 Sources, Manchester: Manchester University Press/Open University
24 Op. cit. p292
25 Mearns A and Preston W, (1883) the Bitter Cry of Outcast London, London: James Clarke and co
26 Barnett S and H, (1888). University Settlements Reprinted in Practicable Socialism: Essays in Social Reform, London: Longmans

their income. Drawing on their experiences they wrote "Poverty in London is increasing both relatively and actually. ... Education and the spread of literature have raised the standard of living, and they who cannot provide boots for their children, nor sufficient fresh air, nor clean clothes, nor means of pleasure, feel themselves to be poor."[27]

They suggested that the organisation of unskilled labour should be encouraged and that charities should work together through a charity clearing house so that collaboration would replace competition.

The relationship with the Charity Organisation Society shifted over time. Initially, Barnett was a keen supporter, but he became impatient with some COS supporters "refusing to do anything except to clothe themselves in the dirty rags of their own righteousness".[28]

The Barnetts were prolific writers producing eleven books and over seventy articles between 1879 and 1913. They raised the profile of social reform and put forward numerous suggestions. Even the Jack the Ripper killings provided an opportunity for a letter to the Times pressing the case for efficient policing, adequate street lighting and cleaning, the removal of animal slaughterhouses and controls over tenement housing.[29]

Settlements beyond Toynbee Hall

The settlement movement expanded rapidly. Over 30 other settlements were established in Britain by the turn of the century. They took slightly different forms dependent on the sponsoring body usually university-based or church-based. Toynbee Hall reflecting the academic background of its founder took students from Oxford and Cambridge. Other university settlements had a particular focus on women or missionary work.

The majority of settlements established by 1900 were for women only. Henrietta Barnett, Samuel's wife, was active in encouraging these developments. A detailed account of the early years of Birmingham Settlement identifies six strands of work- support for disabled children, provident collecting (a form of weekly saving), work with widows and the elderly in need, play centres known as Happy Evenings , a girls club and a Poor Man's Lawyer service.[30]

The Settlement had as its aim: to provide a centre for resident and non-resident workers for systematic study with reference to social work and industrial conditions; to promote the physical intellectual and moral welfare, particularly of the women and children of the neighbourhood......In addition a chief object of the Settlement was the training of social workers. A course was established with the University as early as 1910.

Interestingly in assessing the success of Toynbee Hall, Barnett asserted that "it has tended to mitigate class suspicion ...and Toynbee Hall has helped to inspire local government with a higher spirit"[31]. He noted that in East London local government was gradually absorbing many of the functions of the Church and of charities.

What differentiated settlements from other forms of engagement, and in particular from the moralistic overtones of the Charity Organisation Society (known to its critics as Cringe or Starve), was the acceptance in 'starting where the client is' without judgment. Speaking to a COS meeting in 1884,

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27 Op. cit., p71
28 Letter to Frank Barnett (1888) in Barnett H, Canon Barnett: his Life, work and friends (1921), London: John Murray.
29 Op. cit., p695
30 Rimmer J, T (1980) Troubles Shared, the story of a settlement 1899-1979, Birmingham: Phlogiston Publishing
31 Barnett S, (1909) Retrospect of Toynbee Hall in Towards Social Reform, London: Fisher Unwin

Henrietta Bartlett gently rebuked the Society for the large numbers discarded as 'undeserving or ineligible' and being overly concerned with forms and records. Samuel Barnett and others believed that only by living and working alongside those living in poverty could one begin to identify and build on the strengths of the local community. Work was directed to building a sense of community and neighbourliness. But if the settlement movement was more accepting and inclusive than COS it retained a strong commitment to moral improvement seeking change in individuals.

But the settlement movement was dependent on gifted and inspirational leaders. It was the child of the sense of moral obligation carried by the successful and well to do in society reflected in the links established by Oxbridge colleges and public schools with boys' clubs in poor parts of major cities. These links continue. We have recent evidence of this with Rugby House being used as a centre for assistance for survivors of the Grenfell fire. Rugby clubs for young people were founded in 1884 and have been supported by the School since 1889.

The legacy of settlements

The more established Charity Organisation Society – much criticised now for its moralistic distinction between the deserving and undeserving poor – gave ideas to social work which are still relevant. It had a concern for meticulous record-keeping, systematic analysis, organisation and training of volunteers and matching resources to need. The central role of supervision was entrenched in the COS.

The tensions between COS and the settlement movement may have been overstated. As noted above many of the original settlement members including the Barnetts were active supporters of the COS. The settlement movement contributed the importance of understanding the needs of the neighbourhood and community and working with individuals and families building on strengths and resilience. While the concept of settlements as an outpost in the worst areas of towns and cities is no longer fashionable and can be seen as patronising, community work remains an important strand in social work. The Barclay report[32] in 1982 advocated a role for social work in mobilising community networks and explicitly endorsed the concept of working on a neighbourhood basis. The enthusiasm for 'patchwork' which followed the Report was short-lived as resources became tighter and centralisation of services was seen as a way of saving money. It has been left to small neighbourhood based services rather than statutory services to take on the mantle of community social work. But the concept of understanding the neighbourhood and working with the grain of existing local networks is still there and may re-emerge as the dominant model of provision. Such is the longevity of the ideas promulgated by the founders of settlements.

Would settlements have developed as rapidly as they did without the examples of urban missions with their commitment to temperance and the success of the Church and Salvation Armies? Each movement reflected the spirit of social reform, but settlements were influenced by their contemporary social movements.

[32] Barclay P, (1982) Social Workers: their role and tasks, London, National Institute for Social Work.

Social workers and registration

Mike Burt

Introduction

An early attempt to form a national representative body of social workers was the subject of a series of letters to *The Times* in 1917. A conference at the London School of Economics was convened at which reference was made to an earlier proposal by the Victoria Settlement in Liverpool which had the aim of improving the status of social workers, advising about training, starting a register and helping social workers to find work. However, there do not appear to have been further attempts to form a national association until the early 1930s. At a conference of organisations representing social workers in 1934 convened by Amy Sayle, chairman of the Women Public Health Officers Association (WPHOA) (and author of an article in *The Common Cause* in 1918 about the conference) it was decided to proceed with plans to form a national representative body. Six constituent associations initially formed the British Federation of Social Workers (BFSW) at a meeting on 11December 1935, with three others having joined by 1938.[33] Exacerbated by a membership which had grown to 14 by 1948, difficulties in establishing what the individual associations had in common led to it disbanding in 1951. A number of associations which had been members of the BFSW were involved in what would now be considered health, recreation, housing and community work. The Federation was replaced by the Association of Social Workers (ASW) in 1951, based on individual membership.

Consideration of registration by the ASW

In 1953 the ASW called an *ad hoc* meeting of representatives of a number of professional associations who it was thought would be interested in discussing the subject of registration of social workers. A study group, to which Mrs M Attlee served as honorary secretary, was formed which reported in October 1954.[34] Membership of the initial meeting comprised representatives of:

The Association of Social Workers
The Association of Child Care Officers
The Association of Children's Officers
The Association of Family Caseworkers
The Association of Psychiatric Social Workers
The Institute of Almoners
The LCC Children's Care Workers
The National Association of Probation Officers
The Mental Health Workers' Association (workers with 'mental defectives' later merging with duly authorised officers to form the Society of Mental Welfare Officers)
The Moral Welfare Workers' Association

Social workers around the country completed a questionnaire and enquiries were made about the registration of social workers in a wide range of countries and other professions in the UK. A survey of two large local authorities also provided a detailed analysis of people employed in both statutory and voluntary services in a complex picture of different types of social work carried out by a wide range of occupational groups. Two rough classifications were used, involving type of training (university social

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[33] M. Burt, *A History of the Roles and Responsibilities of Social Workers: From the Poor Laws to the Present Day* (2020), pp. 104-5. Abingdon: Routledge. The initial six members represented mental health workers, probation officers, psychiatric social workers, care committee organisers, public health nurses and members of WPHOA who included sanitary inspectors and health visitors. By 1938 moral welfare officers, metropolitan relieving officers and tuberculosis care committee workers had joined.
[34] ASW, *A Report on Registration and the Social Worker* (1954). London: ASW.

studies certificate/diploma, social work, specialist social work, and other professional training) and 'services to be considered as possible employment for social workers'. There were thirteen services involved: housing, education, health, 'physical defect', 'mental defect', childhood, old age, 'moral defect' and delinquency, income maintenance, local authority welfare departments, leisure, advice and general, and industry. Within those services posts in statutory and voluntary organisations were identified.[35] Difficulty in providing precise definitions of training and of social work was encountered because of the varied training available and the extent of 'work generally recognised as social work' in each of the posts. In relation to the latter, a contrast was made with 'posts in the social services in most of which the technical components are given more importance in training and selection than the welfare component'.[36]

In its discussion the study group suggested that the purpose of registration would be: protection of the public; a guide to employers; maintenance of standards and improvement of discipline; to defend the social worker from other individuals and bodies; and to promote better co-operation among qualified social workers. Advantages of registration were thought to be reflected in those purposes, together with emphasising the significance of education and training in achieving them. Disadvantages included a concern that 'the qualified might seem to discredit the work of the volunteer or the untrained worker in the social field' and that others might be discouraged from entering social work. It was further suggested that an emphasis on academic qualification might detract from the significance of personal suitability for social work and that in such a diverse profession there would be practical difficulties in setting up a register.[37]

One part of the main analysis differentiated between social work posts and social service posts based on the nature of the training which had been undertaken. Personnel managers were the only group with general and specialist university training who were placed in the social service group. The largest group in the social service group were the health visitors who were listed as having other professional qualifications. It was noted that some occupants of some posts engaged in social work for some of their time social work was not an essential requirement; for example, as a welfare officer in the housing department, a health visitor, in youth employment, disablement and rehabilitation work or in personnel management.[38]

Nevertheless, after considering a number of definitions of social work the most useful one referred to social workers' '(1) special knowledge of the nature and needs of individuals and groups, and of society; and (2) special skill in methods of helping individuals, families, groups and communities to meet their needs and make the best use of the social services available' p29.

It was anticipated that if a registering body was established to achieve prestige its Council would require a widely based membership including representatives of: the Joint University Council for Social Studies, including one person with experience of supervising practical work; the specialist social work occupations; government departments; local government; registered social workers by election; and independent members from other professions.

Particular difficulty was experienced in considering the criteria for registration of individuals because of the difficulty in agreeing a statement about the purpose of social work and because 'the period of professional training is inadequate in content, unequal in value and unsystematic in organisation'. In its

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[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 35ff.
[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 37-8.
[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-8.
[38] *Ibid.,* p. 37.

conclusion the committee highlighted that it had not been required to make a recommendation and expected that the material it had acquired and analysed would be significant in leading social workers in the country making an informed decision about how to proceed.[39]

Although the ASW became an organisation with individual membership its co-ordination of representative groups of social workers to consider the issue of registration was instrumental in highlighting a range of issues which social workers had to address in establishing its identity. Following the publication of the discussion paper, talks between representative bodies of social workers focused on the development of training rather than registration culminating in, and prompted further by the Younghusband Report, the formation of a Joint Council on Training for Social Work in 1959. In the context of subsequent progress towards a unified profession of social workers the membership of the ASW study group was significant for including the eight associations which ten years later formed the Standing Conference of Organisations of Social Workers (SCOSW). Those not represented on the SCOSW were the children's officers and London County Council care committee workers.

The Standing Conference of Organisations of Social Workers (SCOSW) and registration
Consultations between the representative bodies of social workers increased following the publication of the Younghusband Report leading to the formation of the SCOSW in 1963 Early into its work, in November 1963, the SCOSW was asked by the ASW to consider the subject of registration of professional social workers, referring to its Report in 1954 as a basis for discussion. A working party was formed, and report produced in December 1965. Because of its relevance to membership issues of a unified association a summary of the report was published in April 1968 together with relevant notes about decisions taken by the SCOSW in relation to unification and consequences for membership.[40]

At the time of the working party deliberations, registers as distinct from a list of association members, were held by the Institute of Medical Social Workers and Association of Psychiatric Social Workers. Admission to the medical social workers' register followed university qualification in social studies and a year of professional training approved by the Institute. Eligibility for the psychiatric social workers' register was based on the successful completion of a university post-graduate course approved by the Association. From 1st April 1965 full membership of the Association of Child Care Officers was only open to officers holding the Home Office letter of recognition, that is, a qualification recognised by the Central Training Council in Child Care. All appointed probation officers were eligible for membership of the National Association of Probation Officers.[41]

A number of important considerations informed the working party's discussion. Because of the inextricable link with statutory social services it was thought that a system of registration could only be introduced if it had public and government support and involvement 'in guaranteeing a standard of service'. Moreover, it would be necessary for related issues of approval of training courses, salary scales, recruitment, training policy and professional discipline to be considered. Whilst employing bodies would see registration as beneficial in general terms to raise standards of work, and were in the process of introducing training officers, it was considered that they also had a focus on the amount of work being carried out and being able to fill posts 'rather than developing skills'. At the level of central government, the division of responsibility between different government departments was regarded as a hindrance to the development of a statutory register.[42]

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[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 29-31.
[40] SCOSW, *Discussion Paper No. 3 Registration* (April 1968).
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

The working party recommended that consideration of registration was urgent and that the Conference should become involved in influencing a process which involved the forming of a statutory body with wide representation. It pointed to the arguments made in support of registration in the ASW report in 1954, adding that the importance of training had become even more evident. In that regard the working party concluded that there should be one body responsible for all qualifications in social work including the approval of courses. Members of current associations would be registered upon recommendation but after two years only social workers having completed a recognised course of training would be registered. There should be only one category of registration. To enhance standards even further it was suggested that consideration should be given in the future to 'candidates [who] have completed one or two years of approved practice under the supervision of a duly registered member'. In view of the close link between training and registration it was recommended that the Standing Conference should consider promoting the formation of a statutory body which would perform both functions, on which 'professional representatives predominate'. It was further pointed out that the existing Council for Training in Social Work which had been formed in 1962 to develop the new two year 'Younghusband Courses' (and whose terms of reference had allowed for an extension of its responsibilities) was relevant to the debate about registration.[43]

However, initial informal and confidential discussions held by the SCOSW clearly indicated that there would not be much support from government ministries responsible for the social services. A particular issue arose from the limited number of trained social workers making large numbers of social workers ineligible, particularly welfare officers. Although SCOSW representatives pointed out that the status of a register of trained social workers would act as an incentive to training, thereby raising the standard of social work, it was also pointed out that discontent could arise because of the limited availability of training.[44]

The issue of registration lay fallow until 1968. Added notes discussed interplay of factors relevant to deciding who should be a member or associate member of the new association immediately or at some further date. The notes sought opinions.

The British Association of Social Workers (BASW) and registration
The BASW's Memorandum and Articles of Association its Memorandum 3(i) stated its object was '[t]o establish and maintain a register or registers of social workers alone or in association with other persons or bodies'.[45] However, difficulties experienced in concluding discussion about its own membership initially took precedence. At its 4th AGM a motion was passed instructing the Council to produce a discussion paper about registration, although there was some resistance to the idea because it was regarded by many members as elitist.[46] The BASW strategy was to improve standards of social work practice by concentrating on issues of defining tasks and developing professional competence. The BASW AGM in October 1976 overwhelmingly passed a resolution which called on the association to 'seek to have a register of accredited social workers'. In her detailed historical review of the issue of

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[43] *Ibid*., pp. 6-7.
[44] *Ibid*., p. 1.
[45] BASW, *Memorandum and Articles of Association*, Memorandum 39(i) (1970).
[46] M. Malherbe, *Accreditation in Social Work: Principles and Issues in Context* (March 1982), pp. 28ff. London: CCETSW. In 1979 one of the CCETSW observers to the Joint Steering Group, Madeleine Malherbe, provided a comprehensive history of registration, an international comparative study and a detailed analysis of the issues involved in registration. She had previously been the honorary secretary of the Association of Psychiatric Social Workers and was a member of the SCOSW working party. The study was based on papers which she had provided to a working group of CCETSW members who were reviewing the discussion paper issued by the Joint Steering group on Accreditation in Social Work. In March 1982 the CCETSW decided to publish the paper, the original material but in a different format.

registration Malherbe concluded that 'over a period of four years support had clearly and steadily grown for the idea that social workers should control their standards of practice, that greater openness to public scrutiny was desirable and that definition of a social worker in terms of competence to practice based on training and experience was preferable to one dictated by job functions or occupations'.[47]

In December 1976 the BASW took an initiative to form a joint steering group of representatives of national social work organisations, including the Association of Directors of Social Services (ADSS) and Residential Care Association. BASW representatives were Joan Baraclough and Keith Bilton, observers from the DHSS, CCETSW and other organisations also attended. The Joint Steering Group on Accreditation in Social Work produced a discussion paper titled *The Future of Social Work*. Its Introduction emphasised the importance of the general public having confidence in the quality of social work practice. Drawing attention to the difficulties arising from anyone helping a person with problems being able to refer to themselves as a social worker, a determined case was made to stimulate discussion about the accreditation of social workers, which it was recommended would take place 'after a minimum period of two years post-qualification experience under the supervision of an accredited social worker'. The group further proposed that a General Social Work Council should be established with responsibility for developing, approving and maintaining standards of practice and training: it was suggested that social workers would form a majority of the members.[48] Malherbe argues that whereas in the 1950s and 1960s the main emphasis in discussion about registration involved the possession of a qualification, once that had been resolved by the introduction of the Certificate of Qualification in Social Work (CQSW) by the CCETSW in 1971, attention turned to the importance of establishing the competence of social workers: a development highlighted by the profile of public enquiries.[49] Nevertheless, earlier discussions had emphasised the importance of public confidence and there was a need to reinforce the formation of social workers as a single occupational group which had taken place in 1970.

The Barclay Report suggested that the formation of a General Social Work Council was sometimes thought of as an 'outward mark of 'professional' standing and received a submission from the BASW strongly in favour. Medical professions also argued in favour. The Residential Care Association supported the introduction of a General Social Services Council. However, whilst generally agreeing with the objectives outlined for a Council the National Association of Local Government Officers opposed its introduction. It argued that social work had not sufficiently defined its core knowledge and task in a way which would enable individuals to be admitted to a register. Also, in disagreement the National Council for Voluntary Organisations suggested that social work had become too professionalised, distancing itself from its clients. Although sympathetic to improving standards by establishing a Council the Working Party found itself divided and recommended that the present time was not appropriate to establish a Council. Other means which could be used to protect the public were outlined.[50]

The National Institute of Social Work and registration
In the autumn of 1987, the National Institute of Social Work (NISW) established a steering group to review the need for an independent body for the regulation and registration of social workers. Professor

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[47] *Ibid*, p. 30.
[48] *The Future of Social Work*, Social Work Today Vol 9, No 6, 4.1.77, pp. 7-9.
[49] Malherbe, *Accreditation*, pp. 32-3.
[50] *Social Workers: Their Role and Tasks* (1982), pp. 182-6. London: National Institute for Social Work. (Barclay Report)

Roy Parker provided a report on the subject on behalf of the steering group which was published with a view to inviting discussion about implementing his recommendation.[51]

Media and public criticism of social work following inquiries into the deaths of children in the mid-1980s was a factor in both the BASW and Association of Directors of Social Services (ADSS) advocating the establishing of a body to formulate standards of practice. In 1986 a discussion document the ADSS stressed the difficulties arising from differences in standards between local authorities and the importance of achieving public confidence in social work.[52] BASW advanced the case for a single body to be established which would oversee the development of social work, create a register of qualified social workers, establish minimum and increasing levels of competence and address the issue of who was able to refer to themselves as a social worker.[53] Some BASW members went further in suggesting that a single body should actively promote the value and development of professional social work. Critical to Parker's concluding recommendation was the Social Care Association's (SCA) assertion that public confidence could only be achieved by establishing a General Social Services Council which would include responsibility for registering all staff, whether qualified or not, who worked with people who needed care. Moreover, the association argued that a Council should be involved in promoting the work of the personal social services, have the responsibility of carrying out inquiries and conduct research.[54]

Parker concluded that there was a case for establishing a broadly based General Social Services Council because of changes which had taken place since the Barclay Report. He argued that a Council which only dealt with qualified social workers 'would have the effect of depressing the status of the large number of personal social services staff who were thereby excluded. This would be to the detriment of many users'. Parker was mindful of the need to regulate the expanding private sector and respond to increased expectations of the public as consumers. In response to the increasing number of public enquiries into allegations of serious incidents of professional incompetence or misconduct a Council would be in a position to bring some coherence to the different types of inquiry. Moreover, in relation to the workforce Parker pointed to the increased levels of responsibility carried by staff, for example in relation to community care for adults and children, and the significant increase in the number of social workers who were qualified, 87.5% in local authorities by 1988. He further argued that, despite widely held reservations, the planned identification of competences into education and training in social work and social care would provide a context in which performance could be assessed. However, it would be necessary for policy to be developed between employers and the Council in relation to disciplinary action taken against staff. Parker acknowledged that social work needed to address a number of different concerns about its general performance for which a single body would not necessarily be effective but proposed that it would need to liaise closely with other institutions.[55]

In response to Parker's report a BASW's project group circulated a document in November 1990 which invited a response to the position which BASW had taken and how it could be further developed.[56] In its Introduction the document noted BASW's longstanding support for a regulatory body for social workers. Referring to the increasing support for a General Council, including the CCETSW, the association

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[51] R. Parker, *Safeguarding Standards* (1990). London: National Institute for Social Work.

[52] ADSS, *Registration and a Social Work Council? A Discussion Document Prepared for the ADSS Parliamentary Sub-Committee* (1986), p. 2. In Parker, *Safeguarding Standards*, p. 18. The author of the paper became the chair of the NISW Steering Group.

[53] BASW, *The Case for a Social Work Council* (1987), p. 1. In Parker, *Safeguarding Standards*, pp. 15-16.

[54] *Ibid.*, pp. 19-21.

[55] *Ibid.*, pp. 93ff.

[56] BASW, *'Safeguarding Standards': The BASW Response to Roy Parker's Report'* (November 1990). Birmingham BASW.

accepted the need to include social care staff, nevertheless arguing that 'General Social Work Council' was a more appropriate title. In relation to the issue of potential difficulty arising from the responsibility for disciplinary matters being held by both employers and a Council, the BASW noted that although a person may be the subject of two proceedings it was also the case that a Council may highlight employers' shortcomings and lower standards which impacted on workers' practice.[57]

Accepting the principle of a broad Council and emphasising 'the need for an ethical values base throughout the continuum of care' the BASW anticipated that its formation would contribute significantly to the promotion of an independent complaints procedure for all service users and noted that the introduction of NVQ qualifications would facilitate the registration of a wider group of workers. The BASW recognised that its previous position that social workers should be registered after a two year probationary period would create a number of problems. In view of the enhanced Nevertheless, it drew attention to the expectation of employers that 'newly qualified staff are expected to assume responsibility for complex work from an early stage'.[58] Expanding on Parker's points, an appendix outlined a range of implications for and concerns about the disciplinary powers of a Council as a contribution to further discussion. Further appendices reproduced The Case for a Social Work Council: A BASW Briefing – March 1987 and provided a timeline of BASW and earlier work in relation to the formation of a General Social work Council.

Emphasis on the main reason for discussing the registration of social workers reflected the stage of development which social work was at. In Parker's report and the BASW response the emphasis which was given to the stated principal rationale for introducing a Council as the protection of the public reflected increasing media and public concern about the deaths of children for whom social services departments were responsible.

David Jones points to the strengthening of case for professional registration and regulation of social workers by the European Economic Community directives on mutual recognition of qualifications. Although Conservatives governments failed to act on the issue during the 1990s, the incoming New Labour government in 1997 quickly worked towards a wider programme of reform and regulation of social work and social care: in which the individual registration of social workers formed a part.[59]

Legislating for the registration of social workers
The Care Standards Act 2000 provided for the regulation of social work following the formation of the General Social Care Council (GSCC) in England, the Scottish Social Services Council, Care Council for Wales and the Northern Ireland Social Care Council. The GSCC register was opened in April 2003 for social workers on a voluntary basis. From April 2005 'social worker' became a protected title meaning that only social workers registered with the four regulatory Councils in the UK could refer to themselves as a social worker. A parallel development in 2003 was the introduction of a degree level qualification in social work which contributed to the enhancement of its professionalisation. The development of regulation in the last twenty years has led to a number of reviews and analyses of the roles and responsibilities of social workers with a view to providing more specific statements about what social workers are responsible for.[60] In particular, the impact of registration and regulation have been the subject of evaluation in the literature. For example, Worsley et al, using an international comparative analysis have pointed to the tension arising from the expectations which the profession has of

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[57] *Ibid*., pp. 10-12.
[58] *Ibid*., pp. 4-6.
[59] D. Jones, Regulation and inspection of social work: costly distraction or stimulus to improve? in T. Bamford and K. Bilton (eds), *Social Work: Past, Present and Future* (2020), pp. 44-45. Bristol: Policy Press.
[60] Burt, *A History,* pp. 260ff.

registration and regulation and the potential negative impact of its exposure to 'the pervasive narratives of managerialism and risk management…around western social work that may not be sympathetic to the complex nature of the professional role'.[61]

Discussions at various points about the registration and professionalisation of social workers took place in the context of a consideration of the broader position of social work in society. In World War One the concern of social workers was to bring their work to the attention of government departments, municipal authorities and voluntary organisations. The ASW report in 1954 reflected and contributed to the debate about the nature of social work and who should be referred to as a social worker. Having taken a lead in that process the member associations of SCOSW considered it necessary to assert the significance of qualifying education and training for social work. As social work became more visible and subject to public scrutiny during the 1980s the importance of public confidence was emphasised in discussions about registration. Wider reforms introduced in the 2000s expected that the quality of social workers' individual practice would be enhanced and that a process of registration would formalise social workers' accountability to make those improvements. —*Mike Burt, Visiting Professor, Faculty of Health and Social Care, University of Chester*

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[61] A. Worsley et al, 'Regulation, Registration and Social Work: An International Comparison', *British Journal of Social Work* 50, 2 (2020), p. 322.

Teaching social work history ain't what it used to be

Peter Scourfield

Despite the title, this article is not suggesting that there was ever a 'golden age' of social work education during which the history of social work in England was taught in depth on social work courses. In fact, given the discretion available to colleges and universities, it is practically impossible to know what exactly was taught on this topic or, indeed, how it was taught in different educational institutions. However, based on many years' involvement in both social work and social work education, my observation is that social work history gets nothing like the coverage it deserves on social work qualifying courses in England. In what follows I discuss why it is important for student social workers to learn about the history of the profession they are joining. The discussion then moves on to consider why social work history does not get taught and, finally, some suggestions are offered as to what to about this. But first, I need to explain what I mean by 'teaching social work history'.

By teaching social work history I mean that it should be taught coherently as a topic in its own right, that is to say as a stand-alone subject and not dispersed throughout the course in a fragmented and haphazard way. Preferably, social work's history should be traced back to its roots in various types of welfare activity that emerged in the 19th century. However, at the least, it should cover the development of the social work profession, since the end of the Second World War and the creation of the welfare state in the UK.

Teaching needs to avoid the history of social work being reduced to oversimplified linear timelines where a small number of 'key' events are seen as precursors, even determinants, of what happens now. Such approaches are both reductive and misleading in that they downplay the contested and contingent way in which the profession has developed over time (Hall, 1979). It needs to be explained that what appear to be determining factors in social work, for example, certain pieces of legislation or committee findings, can only be understood in their proper historical context. Equally, it is important that students do not assume that there is a single, straightforward, narrative to explain the way social work has developed. It can be approached from several, often conflicting, perspectives.

Social work history should include coverage of how social work has developed in other parts of the world, for example, North America, Europe and Australia. Comparing similarities and dissimilarities over time and across systems underlines the importance of understanding how social work policies and practices are shaped by particular political, social, cultural and institutional contexts (Payne, 2005; McDonald, 2006; Lorenz, 2007; Harris, 2008). It also demonstrates that social work can take many forms and include many activities other than those currently defined as social work practice.

Why teach social work history?

It might seem self-evident that anyone embarking on professional social work training should understand the reasons why the profession came into being and how it has developed to where it is currently. However, the fact is that coverage of social work history in contemporary social work education in England is probably, at best, sketchy, if it is covered at all. The failure to teach the history

of social work as a distinct part of social work education is not a new state of affairs and has been commented on many times in the past (e.g. Forsythe and Jordan, 2002; Doel and Shardlow; 2005 and Doel, 2012). Therefore, should it not be self-evident, it is worth highlighting some reasons why social work students need to learn about the history of their profession.

For a start, it is supposed to be a regulatory requirement. Currently, in the UK, the *Subject Benchmark Statement for Social* Work (QAA, 2016) requires that students be provided with:

> ….an understanding of Social Work's rich and contested history from both a UK and comparative perspective (p. 16)

This would to be a fairly unequivocal statement. However, this requirement is not stated anything like as explicitly in the Professional Capabilities Framework (PCF) which is the current framework for professional social work practice and learning in England (BASW, 2018). Arguably, knowledge of some aspects of social work history is implied in Domain One (Professionalism) and Domain Eight (Contexts and Organisations). The fact that it does not feature in the PCF explicitly, and therefore is not assessed, is probably one of the main reasons why social work history is not taught. However, there are other possible reasons that will be discussed later.

Learning about the historical development of social work helps to put contemporary issues – and the ideas about how to deal with them - into perspective. Payne (2005: 251) believes that, studying social work's development:

> …offers some understanding of the continuity of the issues that social workers face and the range of ways in which over the years social workers have struggled with them.

In history, questions of what constitutes continuity are complex. It is tempting sometimes to think that things now are the same as they were in the past when they are not. Nevertheless, it is useful for social workers to know that the type of problems with which they are involved are enduring in society and not easily solved. It is worth knowing that many different approaches been tried over time for different reasons and that there have been fundamental disagreements about what approaches to take. At times, the existing stock of knowledge has been added to and at others new knowledge has replaced the old. Often what are regarded as completely new innovations are remarkably similar to something tried in previous times.

It is also worth knowing that the 'problems' themselves have often been reconceptualised and reframed often using different terminology, which, in turn, reflects changing values, attitudes and discourse. For example, it is very useful to understand why social workers no longer thinks in terms of 'child rescue', but rather 'child safeguarding' – as much for the traces of past attitudes that persist as for those that have changed.

Studying the history of social work shows that changes in policies, practices and, indeed, values come about through the dynamic interaction of several factors such as political decision making, social and cultural developments, research findings as well as the reactions to critical events by the media and others. This also, highlights how little the profession itself has been able exercise control over its own destiny.

Studying the development of social work in England shows it to be a pragmatic, eclectic and constantly evolving profession, not defined by one approach, one role or a particular ideological position. Lorenz (2007) makes the important point that:

> There is little gain in celebrating our profession as one happy family, growing steadily and harmoniously, if we do not listen to the incredible diversity that characterizes our profession and face up to the discrepancies, the discontinuities and the disharmony which are also part of this history (p. 599).

Understanding this helps guard against having a misguided or romantic belief that there was some mythical period when practice just flowed organically and intuitively and it would be the answer to today's problems if only we go back to the 'good old times'. Having a realistic sense of social work's history mitigates against idealism and becoming persuaded that a particular approach is the 'magic bullet'. However, perhaps more importantly, it also helps counter the cynicism and sense of self-doubt that are also prone to dog the profession. If anything, it shows that standards of professionalism have risen in the face of the many and diverse challenges placed in its way.

If we believe that, as part of their overall professional development, students are required to develop a clear sense of professional identity, they can only really do this if they have an understanding of social work's long, complex and interesting history not only in Britain but also around the world.

Lastly, as suggested earlier, learning about the various changes that have occurred throughout social work's history highlights how little the profession itself has been able exercise control over its own development, which is an important point to consider in respect of the newly established requirement for social workers to practise professional leadership (McKitterick, 2015; Scourfield, 2018). Possibly the social work profession can learn from past mistakes in this respect.

Taking just these points into consideration, it is clear that being able to get across social work's history in all its complexity requires a range of knowledge but also sufficient time. The lack of both of these are quite possibly the main reasons why social work history does not get taught adequately, if at all, on many courses. However, there are other possibilities as will be discussed.

The challenges of teaching history on social work courses

Some years ago, Mark Doel (2012) made the observation that:

> The teaching of the history of social work is on the decline, squeezed out of the curriculum by competing topics such as the Common Assessment Framework (CAF)… (Doel 2012 p. 10)

It would be fair to say that this continues to be the case, although if not by the CAF, by the many other requirements of the Professional Capabilities Framework which, as has been noted, contains no reference to the need to understand social work's history. Therefore, with explicit knowledge of the history of social work not prescribed in professional guidance (certainly not for assessment purposes), it is likely that, for pragmatic reasons, teaching priority is inevitably given to the 'essential' knowledge that students are required to learn to pass the course and meet registration criteria.

The 'squeezed out' argument would especially apply on tightly-packed one and two year post-graduate courses such Frontline and Step Up to Social Work which are becoming increasingly popular in the UK. However, it is difficult to know whether not including social work history on the syllabus is the result of a deliberative process or whether social work educators so struggle to see its direct relevance to contemporary social work that it seldom occurs to them to even consider it. This will inevitably vary from one Higher Education Institution (HEI) to another depending on individual course leaders and the make-up of the teaching team. Therefore, whilst lack of space in the timetable is a plausible reason, to say it has been 'squeezed out' suggests that there is a palpable desire to teach social work history currently being thwarted by other topics having to take priority. But it is quite possible that there is little

appetite amongst most social work educators to teach history in the first place. If there is any basis to this supposition, the following points are probably relevant.

As Payne (2005) explains there are 'problems with a single historical narrative' (p. 7) in understanding social work's history. In fact, there are competing narratives reflecting different interests and perspectives (Doel, 2012). Pierson (2011), for example, argues that there are at least four ways of understanding how social work has developed – one, for example, being a Marxist interpretation. Arguably, to put such different perspectives across assumes a reasonable level of sociological as well as historical knowledge. Unfortunately, not only has sociology, as a distinct subject, also been squeezed out of the current curriculum, possession of either A level or GSCE sociology is not an entry requirement. So, basically, with relevant foundational knowledge often lacking, the job of the history teacher is made all the more difficult.

Compared to many other parts of the social work curriculum social work history is a challenging subject to teach. Consequently, faced with the challenge of covering a lot of ground, providing a 'balanced' view of a contested and complex subject and, all in limited time, it is not hard to see why educators might come to the conclusion that history might best be avoided altogether, so as to not fall in any of the traps of approaching in the 'wrong' way and not doing it full justice (see, for example, Evans, 1997 and its critiques).

Lorenz (2007) makes the point that there are aspects of social work's history, such as its religious, paternalist and judgemental foundations, that might trouble today's practitioners, possibly to the point that we are 'too embarrassed' (p. 599) to consider our professional origins. What Lorenz perceives as an eagerness to 'distance ourselves from the pre-professional beginnings' (*ibid*), could partially explain the reluctance to look at practices and values that might be regarded as clashing with how social work wants to define itself today. However, as Lorenz says, not only can we not escape our origins, we can learn a lot from understanding both continuities and discontinuities. There might well be something to this argument, but it assumes a depth of knowledge of social work's 19th and early 20th century origins that probably does not exist amongst many of today's practitioners – for the very good reason that they have never been taught it.

It is quite possible that we have arrived at a situation where not only the current generation of social work practitioners, but also the current generation of social work educators have never been formally taught the history of social work in any depth. Therefore, we find ourselves with a vicious circle. Because they were never taught the subject as part of their own social work education, today's social work educators are not confident enough in their knowledge to teach history to social work students. With these gaps in knowledge perpetuated from one generation to the other, it is little wonder that those who decide the curriculum do not see the relevance of including social work history.

As previously discussed, understanding social work's history provides an important foundation and context to many other parts of the social work curriculum, including professionalism, values and ethics, knowledge and professional leadership. Therefore, the fact that it is not taught properly as a subject in its own right ought to be addressed. In this respect it would help if *Social Work England* ensured that the regulatory frameworks currently govern social work education in England are in full alignment. That is to say that the PCF (which has already been 'refreshed' once) reflects the current *QAA Benchmark Statement for Social Work*. Not much will change unless students need to demonstrate their knowledge in this area in some way.

If this adjustment is made then, it is down to social work academics to ensure that they have the necessary depth of knowledge to meet this requirement. One would hope that this might stimulate a

resurgence in texts on the subject because, with some notable exceptions (for example, Payne, 2005; Rogowski, 2010; Pierson, 2011; Bamford, 2015) the flow of textbooks dedicated to exploring and explaining the history of social work have dried to a trickle in recent years. However, the key to making progress in this area is not to see history in social work as a discrete or 'bolt-on' subject. Every aspect of contemporary social work benefits from being understood in its proper (complex) historical context. If, as a result, social workers understand better the various (mainly external) factors that have combined to shape their profession then so much the better. It would certainly highlight that social work has more often than not lacked a strong collective voice. If students are equipped with a better understanding of social work's past, then they are all the better prepared to ensure it has a healthy future.

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Times Present, Times Past: the History of Social Work Research in the United Kingdom

Ian F. Shaw[1]

'What I always tell my students is that fossils are never what you expected. It's not possible, no matter what we connive and plan and try to predict what the past was like, it's never what we thought it was going to be.' Elwyn Simons Palaeontologist (Wolpert and Richards, 1997: 154)

'Time present and time past
Are both perhaps present in time future'
(T. S. Eliot 'Burnt Norton')

The history of social work research in the United Kingdom.[2] The easily read words hide a deceptively challenging cluster of questions. The most apparent such questions are what constituted social work at any given time, and what has been meant by research.

Social Work

To take a single example, what now we regard as 'social work' would puzzle many of our forebears. Eileen Younghusband, while preparing for the first Carnegie Report, *The Training and Employment of Social Workers* (1947), recalled her association with the London School of Economics (L.S.E.) in the mid and late 1920s, and remarked,

> 'I remember the whole concept of what constitutes a social worker and where a social worker should be employed was extremely vague, amorphous at that period compared with what it is now. For instance, in many quarters personnel managers, women housing managers, youth employment bureau secretaries, were regarded as being social workers. Those were some of the employments into which social science students went.' (The Cohen Interviews. 'Eileen Younghusband.' p. 12.)

'Why was it that certain task areas became part of social work and other parts did not?' (Abbott, 1995: 546). What come to be accepted as domains, fields and disciplines represent the current collective majority view. Disciplines emerge as a consequence of negotiation and territorial claims – and this is as true for social work as for any other discipline. They are neither intrinsic entities nor homogenous or self-contained fields of work. What we today take for granted as the 'natural' division of social science into separate disciplines, including social work, was the outcome of decades-long development (Lengermann and Niebrugge, 2007) and, we might add, one which there is no reason to regard as final.

Research

There are consequences for how we understand boundaries of social work research. Social work, social care, human services are distinctions that overlap and blur boundaries. The remarks of a leading UK social work research scholar capture the way such distinctions play out:

> 'I was … one of a group that moved away from studying social work as an activity on its own, to studying a) the resources that social workers use (probation hostels, children's homes, and foster care in my case) and b) the formal and informal network of individuals and service providers that surround the individuals with whom social workers interact and have a major influence on their effectiveness. To a lesser extent I have studied the organisational context within which social workers operate.'[3]

This summary of a career pathway directs us to possible ways of distinguishing the nature and focus of social work research. An early suggestion by the American scholar Ernest Greenwood was as comprehensive as any that have been put forward.[4] He distinguished practice theory, measurement theory, historico-sociological knowledge, and operational information (Greenwood, 1957). I introduce this largely forgotten, albeit comprehensive and careful framing, not to invite agreement but to illustrate the degree of elaboration that may be called for in setting out a plausible characterization of social work research. Assuming we could agree a formal definition of social work research, referencing the history of social work in the USA illustrates a further problem when writing about social work research 'in the United Kingdom.' For various reasons the limiter is also a limitation. The dominance of the USA in the development of social work research, for good or ill, is a central part of the picture.[5] When research on either side of the Atlantic is compared, this often is in terms of the relative emphases on empirical rigour and theoretical strength. An over-simple way of expressing this tension occurs when British social work research is thought by some European colleagues to be unduly aligned with USA empiricism and hence 'Anglo-Saxon.'[6] Gazing from the USA towards the UK, some commentators may suspect that British research gives undue emphasis to social theorizing, or is 'European' (c.f. Padgett, 2003).

Less obvious, but profoundly important, is that the phrase 'in the United Kingdom' is quite different from, for example, 'United Kingdom social work research', which would take us through direct and indirect routes to social work research in countries such as Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, Hong Kong,[7] Ireland, the Nordic countries, parts of Africa, and even the USA.[8] Late colonial policies, globalization, the impact of war on welfare and social work all surface in this context.[9]

Even discounting this limitation, in the process of doing history priorities are selective. It is odd, for example, that almost no work has been undertaken on the history of research practices within social work.[10] Speculatively, perhaps this is a consequence of the apparent general view that, while various arguments have been advanced that social work in terms of its values, aims and intervention methods may be in some ways distinctive, no-one seems to believe that social work engages in domain-specific research methods. Indeed, I have argued something akin to the second part of this position (Shaw, 2007). However, I touch on research methodology and practices later in this paper.

Part of the difficulty when looking back stems from 'reading history backwards' (Seed, 1973: x) – a view of history that reads back distinctions and categories (e.g. 'research' and 'social work') which have less kinship and continuity than we may assume. The Younghusband and Abbott references make this point clearly.

The relatively straightforward, largely narrative representation that follows should be read with these introductory caveats in mind. I start with a brief conventional tracing of social work research in the UK

from one period to the next, albeit making only general points regarding the years prior to 1919. From there I look at how the institutionalisation of research has been shaped by its shifting, often equivocal, relationships with government, the universities and service delivery. I then rough out some preliminary observations regarding the practice and doing of social work research, the strategies employed, and the forms of social work research scholarship. I close with some lingering preoccupations and hesitant possible conclusions.

Sketching Timelines

Someone once remarked to me, 'You will, of course, want to say that social work education and research developed hand in hand, building from the work of giants like Jane Addams.' Here we encounter several difficulties. Leaving aside the idea that there is something foundational about social work education and research in the USA, we have the fact that when invited to join the academic staff of the University of Chicago Addams apparently declined, remaining little more than an occasional lecturer.[11] What 'of course' one should say is rarely clear. Have social work education and research developed in tandem or indeed with shared purpose? Furthermore, we have the difficult reference to social work 'giants', which makes it risky to draw critical judgements regarding the research-related merits of some – or the demerits of others. There is an unhelpful tendency in social work to have heroes and villains, which closes off critical appreciation and assessment of either.

Social work and the social sciences more generally began 'not as distinct fields but as part of a general impulse for social science that emerged out of the reform activism of the nineteenth century' and from practical concern with effectively administering aid, stemming back to the early Poor Laws (Lengermann and Niebrugge, 2007: 63). But we should beware of seeing social work as developing in clear stages and possessing its own internal logic of practice and research. For example, by and large social work's predecessors a hundred years and more ago held a far more optimistic view of science than do we, although the picture was not monolithic.

In the UK that position has often been detected in the work of Charles Loch and the Charity Organisation Society. 'The tradition of philanthropic visiting linked with the rising vogue for social investigation and the concern with collecting verifiable "facts" provided a strong rationale for methodological development' (Oakley, 2019: 2). But it was equally evident among many who backed the Settlement movement. The work of science was seen as part and parcel of the work of social reform. To quote Clement Attlee, 'There are numbers of social workers who find in the work of research and investigation the best outlet for their desire for social service… the scientific motive takes its place as one of the incentives that lead men to devote themselves to social service.' 'Each group of social workers, each Settlement, has been a laboratory of social science in which new theories are tested' (Attlee, 1920: 14-18 and 230).[12]

The Interwar Years

The difficulties of tracing 'social work' and 'research' in this subsequent period stem in part from how social work within universities developed. Cree, drawing on Robert Pinker, concludes that, while social work began to find a presence within the universities, 'the academic reputations of the new departments were built on research in social administration, while the social work courses concentrated on raising standards of professional practice and establishing close working relationships with employer agencies' (Cree, 2019: 12).

The picture may be less clear-cut. A glance at an interview with Sybil Clement Brown in the invaluable study conducted by Alan Cohen[13] is illuminating. She entered Bedford College in 1919, studying philosophy, psychology and sociology. 'At the end of the degree course', she recalled, 'there was a

chance of a minor scholarship for going into some kind of social research.' This took her to Birmingham to study girls and delinquency. 'During the course in Birmingham I was expected, by the conditions of the fellowship, to do research, and I had very little knowledge or experience of what this meant.' This led in turn to her being awarded a Laura Spellman Rockefeller Fellowship and going to the USA in 1924. She remembered 'travelling right across the USA visiting juvenile courts and spending time in institutions for delinquent children in the main cities, finally finishing up in California where I spent 18 months, partly doing research again on delinquent girls.' On her return to the UK in 1927 and following a period working in the child guidance field, she moved to the London School of Economics (The Cohen Interviews. Clement Sybil Brown. p. 7). She observed that 'From time to time I was aware of criticism of my own emphasis as being too much concerned with the relationship between social circumstances and individual problems, this being sometimes described as "too sociological."'

One may observe from this single life story how understanding of research methods may have been gained in slightly *ad hoc* ways, and perhaps especially by those with exceptional aptitudes. Also, her research commitments were strengthened by her broader social science orientation – albeit an orientation that she perceived as regarded with some suspicion by her LSE colleagues. In addition, it illustrates the shaping influence of experience in the USA and the effect of association with scholars working in other disciplines.

Yet enlightening though her account is, there are other factors influencing – in ways poorly understood – the development of research commitments, programmes and methods in this period. For Beatrice Webb, and for many others, the Great War undermined the earlier confidence in science 'now that we have learned, by bitter experience … to what vile uses the methods and results of science may be put' (Webb, 1926:146).[14] Furthermore the profound impact on welfare of the recession that hit many countries in the second half of the 1920s is little understood. In the USA there was a serious attempt to assess the consequences of the Great Depression for social work and research (Chapin and Queen, 1937), although nothing similar seems to have been undertaken in the UK.[15] It seems plausible to suggest that the seeds of radical community based intervention can be found in the late 1920s and 1930s, with consequences for how the role and values of the researcher would be envisaged, especially from the 1960s.[16]

From 1945

Following the Second World War two wider contexts shaped the arena within which social work developed. The establishment of the welfare state determined the contexts for both practice, service development and research in the 1940s and 1950s. But the consequences of the 1963 Robbins report for post-war social work and social science should also be emphasized, which led to an expansion of metropolitan universities and the proliferation of social work programmes in the years that followed.

It may be possible to detect several turning points during these years. They are not strictly linear but help illustrate recurring shifts, tensions and exchanges. I suggest them here not as a settled consensus, but as helpful triggers for critical judgement (see Box 1).

Readers may believe there is reason to grumble at what is missing – or included – in this boxed text. A brief sketch of the institutionalisation of social work research, for example, calls for recognition of the role of the National Institute for Social Work (from 1961 to 2003), JUC SWEC (The Joint Universities Council Social Work Education Committee, Cree, 2019), the Home Office Research Unit, the role of government sponsored and other significant research units in universities such as Bristol, Cardiff, Exeter, the L.S.E., Stirling and York, and the general contribution made through the Social Care Institute for Excellence from 2001 (aspects of which are reviewed by Fisher, 2016). The emergence of the Research Assessment Exercise (now Research Excellence Framework) in the late 1980s has also cast a framing shadow over all university-based research.

Breaking out of psychotherapeutic traditions. Geoff Pearson's *The Deviant Imagination* (1975) raised the possibility of a well-read sociological critique not previously visible in social work thinking. More broadly, it started a tradition of reaching out to other disciplines, to enrich rather than lambast social work.

Friendly Fire. Brewer and Lait's *Can Social Work Survive?* 1980, and the attempts of some writers to force through an unquestioning positivism. The two have slight connection. Sheldon and Macdonald later wrote 'In 1980 a much despised book, *Can Social Work Survive?*, was written by Brewer and Lait, a psychiatrist conspiring with a social work academic…Let us however extend them some credit: they were opponents but they were also fellow empiricists' (Sheldon and Macdonald, 2009: 31).

Redemption through critical but sympathetic response. *Social Work Decisions in Child Care* (DoH, 1985) - *aka* the 'Pink Book'. This brought together a series of Department of Health and Social Security and ESRC studies on social work decision-making, which was critical but sympathetic, placing social work research (or at least research about social work by people sympathetic to its aims) centre stage in policy-making.

False starts. This is a matter of judgement, although units in Wales and Scotland perhaps unfairly struggled in the medium term through the ill-advised invisibility of much research taking place outside the metropolis. The Social Work Research Centre, in Stirling (c.f. Cheetham, 1994), accomplished good solid work which failed to engage policymakers and eventually fizzled out.

Pedagogical research sponsored by SCIE 2000-2010 on the increasingly important political question whether social work education was effective. This work also brought social work up to speed on systematic reviews as a key method largely absent from social work research to that point (e.g. Sharland, 2012). The SCIE work on research capacity and funding showed the relative poverty of investment in social care research (Marsh and Fisher, 2005), rather than social work *per se*, although it did contribute to establishment of the School for Social Care Research within the National Institute for Health Research - but its mission is not to provide a sympathetic home to social work research.

Work demonstrating the presence of research by practitioners. In the last fifteen years such research, hitherto hidden, has been more noticed within UK research. This also has fed into the emergence of 'practice research', referred to elsewhere in this paper.

Concern to reflect the views of people with lived experience. Research by Noel Timms (with the American scholar John Mayer, 1970) and Eric Sainsbury first led this strand. Others continued until it morphed into the more critical research dealing with involvement and empowerment through Peter Beresford and others.

The evidence-based practice movement has had a deep influence on social work. A satisfactory history of is development is yet to be undertaken, but rhetorically it has had a central place in social work, stimulated and expanded in part in the UK by the explicit commitments of the incoming Labour Government in 1997.

Box 1: Moments and Turning Points

The part played by agency-based research units is less clear. The establishment of Social Services Departments following the Local Authority Social Services Act, 1970[17] was marked by a brief period in which most such departments hosted their own research units. The Act, under 'Schedule 1 ENACTMENTS CONFERRING FUNCTIONS ASSIGNED TO SOCIAL SERVICES COMMITTEE included:

> 'Research into matters relating to local authority welfare services' and
>
> 'Research into matters connected with functions under enactments relating to children and young persons; provisions relating to children in respect of whom parental rights assumed by local authority; assistance of persons formerly in care.'

Major voluntary organisations, such as The Church of England's Children's Society and Barnardo's also carried significant research functions. The work of agency research sections began to decline in volume before the end of the 1970s although some significant research lingered, especially in the more influential voluntary agencies.[18]

The significance of research under the auspices of the Home Office Research Unit deserves to be placed on record, especially because much of the work (important with the benefit of hindsight) is hidden away in long-forgotten reports and papers. From 1964-76 the Home Office's Probation Research Project, driven by the administrative demands of the government Department, set out to test the idea that an increase in the intensity of social work supervision in the community would reduce the likelihood of further offences. The positive results were limited (e.g. Folkard *et al*, 1976). The Home Office Project did however deliver findings that threw positive light on the social context of young male offenders.

The Probation Research programme may now be history, but its impact on policy was significant – partly by facilitating the development and testing of diverse intervention strategies but also by highlighting inappropriate confidence in some emerging approaches to intervention with offenders. There is no doubt that the long-term effect of the Home Office's initiative in undertaking or commissioning large-scale research has been to detach the Probation Service in England and Wales from its former social work base and to locate it more firmly within a corrections framework.

2000 and On
We are perhaps too close to assess the significance of shifts and developments in social work research in the years since the turn of the century. However, several strands perhaps can be pulled out. While some of these were identified earlier (Box #1), there have been specific developments that may prove to have enduring significance.

First, the opening decade saw a period of vigorous work undertaken through the Research Sub-Committee of the Joint Universities Council Social Work Education Committee (JUC SWEC). Social work figures such as Audrey Mullender, then Principal of Ruskin College, Oxford, gained membership of key Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). The Research Sub-Committee led a sustained lobbying of the ESRC resulting in the recognition of social work-specific doctoral training descriptors for social work in 2004, drafted from within this committee. Members of the committee were also active in linked areas. Butler, for example, drafted a frequently cited proposed code of ethics for social work research (Butler, 2002). Others were successful in securing ESRC funding for a series of annual doctoral workshops.

Second, there was an expansion of writing on social work research. Some of this was consolidated in the *Sage Handbook of* Social *Work Research* – an international project edited from the UK (Shaw et al, 2010) – and in a later four-volume 'Major Work' from Sage (Shaw, Hardy and Marsh, 2016).

Third, the Social Care Institute for Excellence (SCIE) was a home for a major sequence of practice and service-relevant research through much of this period, led by Fisher and colleagues at SCIE. The open access nature of that material was a major factor in the spread of this material.

Fourth, the JUC SWEC Research Sub-Committee committee was the major UK supporter of the need for a European level conference forum for social work research. While there was a certain level of resistance from elsewhere within the UK social work academic community, this resulted in the first European Conference for Social Work Research in 2011 at Oxford, and, by 2014, the inauguration of the European Social Work Research Association (ESWRA).[19] The success of both the conference and the wider membership organisation is reflected in the year by year expansion of the conference and ESWRA's role as the lead social work research body for Europe, running parallel in some respects to the Society for Social Work Research in the USA. Two of the first three Association chairs (Shaw and Sharland) came from the UK. From 2018 the Association runs a series of social work research publications through Policy Press.

Finally, there has been a distinctive preoccupation with the often-weary question of the relationship between research and practice, in ways that have given fresh vigour. Early after the turn of the century there was a commission of ESRC seminars on what was termed 'practice-near' research. Lyn Froggett and Stephen Briggs led this seminar series (Froggatt and Briggs, 2012). The general issues raised by ideas of nearness to and distance from practice are reviewed by Winter *et al* (2015). However, the development that may prove to be more durable relates to the development of interest in practice research. Following the first small international seminar on this theme held in the UK in Salisbury, and cited elsewhere in this article, a run of conferences has taken place in European countries, the USA, Hong Kong and, in 2020, in Melbourne. Statements issued following each of the conferences endeavour to capture the essential elements of such research, and a *Handbook of Practice Research* is in the final stages of preparation at the time of writing. A difficulty lies in the recognition that the more one wishes to claim for practice research, the more diverse and heterogenous becomes the territory covered by the notion – everything from instrumental, operational research by practitioners to academic research about practice that may not involve practitioners at any stage (c.f. Shaw and Lunt, 2018; Uggerhøj, 2011a and 2011b).

Publishing Research: Journals

The two premier British social work journals in the post-war period were *Case Conference* (1954-1970) and *Social Work*, a journal that traced its lineage directly back to the first journal of the Charity Organisation Society. They both disappeared with the establishment of the British Association of Social Workers in 1970, the former being roughly replaced by the now no longer published *Social Work Today* and the latter more directly by *The British Journal of Social Work (BJSW)*, first published in 1971.[20] While other journals emerged towards the end of the last century and the first years of the present one,[21] a glance at these two journals best serves a sense of the historical development of social work research.

Clare Winnicott – a doyenne of the social work and psychotherapy world, and also at the LSE in the early 1950s – recalled a conversation with the founder and only editor of *Case Conference*, Kay McDougall, the year before it commenced, remembering that 'the journal was not to be a learned journal for the few, but to be essentially for practitioners.' McDougall herself reaffirmed 'I had never planned to produce a learned journal' (McDougall, 1970: 514). Of the twelve main articles in the final three issues of *Social Work*, five were directly empirical,[22] and throughout were unambiguously focused on social work. Of the fifteen sole or joint authors four were women and eleven men. All but one of the articles were by UK authors, the only exception being a reprint of a USA piece by Martin Rein in the final issue.

Olive Stevenson, the first editor of the BJSW, immediately set a contrast. 'The Journal must speak for itself and justify—or fail to justify—its claim to be "a learned journal", comparable to those in other professions and academic disciplines.'[23] She expressed the ever-difficult balance of the academy and practice:

> I make no apology for the fact that the assessors are all academics. For this is the expertise which is needed for this purpose and the representatives of the field on the Editorial Board will ensure that our intellectual aspirations do not run away with us—or run away from the field… It will not always be easy to find a proper balance between scholarship and readability. For we are conscious of the fact that unlike some 'learned journals' the readership is mainly composed of busy practitioners.

The journal would later change in its readership towards the academic community, at least as measured by later metrics such as downloads. The nature and weight of research-based social work writing in the journals has been explored for the *BJSW* (Jobling et al, 2017).[24] With the partial exception of this journal, British-led journals are written almost entirely by academics. The BASW journal *Practice* set out to have practitioner content, but this seems to have proved elusive.

The Practice and Methodology of Social Work Research

At the inauguration of the European Social Work Research Association in 2014, the vision enshrined in the association's goals included 'to provide an environment for the application of research methods and approaches by those from a wide range of disciplines within and beyond the social sciences, in forms which have relevance for social work practice and research' (Taylor and Sharland, 2014; c.f. https://www.eswra.org/bylaws.html). Yet little has been written regarding the development of research methods within UK social work. Just as it is hard to have a picture of the social worker at work (Timms, 1970),[25] so it is troublesome to separate the practice of the social work researcher from fluctuating rhetorics, whether of the evidence-based, hermeneutic or postmodern varieties.[26]

The relationship and relative weight afforded qualitative and quantitative methods requires an article in its own right, raising a range of issues that, though deeply relevant, fall outside the scope of this paper. There have been occasional laments that British social work research is weak in regard to quantitative methods.[27] Speaking of the 1960s Ian Sinclair, asked to identify his own contribution, said:

> 'I was one of a group of researchers who kept alive the tradition of quantitative research that had its origins with Roy Parker and the Home Office Research Unit (both of which went back to Wilkins)[28]. …I have been one of a relatively small group of researchers (others would include Tilda Goldberg, Jane Gibbons, and Alan Rushton) who have undertaken RCTs.'[29]

Perhaps the best publicly available trend data is from a recent study of a systematic sample of the content of the *British Journal of Social Work* over the first forty years of its existence (e.g. Jobling et al, 2017).[30] Measured by volume of studies, it is certainly the case that qualitative methods form a clear majority of the 289 research-based articles in the sample. However, the difference is not, perhaps, as all-embracing as may be thought, in that almost a third of the research articles carried by the journal in the first forty years of its existence drew solely on quantitative data. The absence of any wider comparable study of the research content of social work journals regarded as primarily UK domiciled slightly limits the weight of these conclusions, but in length of publishing history and aspiration to be a 'journal of record' the limitation may not be serious.

Preferences and fashions in methodology change over time, and the dominant methodologies in *BJSW* articles show signs of shifts. However, the change does not appear to be in a linear form. Leaving aside mixed methods, which constituted a minority of research articles in all periods, quantitative methods

had a period of relative ascendancy in the middle years of the journal but have fallen off rather dramatically since the turn of the century. Qualitative studies have changed in a mirror image, being dominant in the early period, falling off considerably in the middle years, before rising again in the last decade. These are, of course, proportions. The actual *number* of quantitative social work studies has risen steadily, as the size of the journal has grown. But of course, the rise in absolute numbers is even more striking for qualitative studies.

On all measures there were four methods that stood out. *One-to-one interviews*, not perhaps surprisingly, dominated.[31] Just over half of all research studies employed one-to-one interview methods, and they accounted for just over one third of all methods employed. If various forms of group interview are included these figures rise to almost 60 per cent and 39 per cent. *Sample surveys* were adopted in almost 23 per cent of research studies accounting for 15 per cent of all methods. *Observation* and *ethnographic methods* accounted for just over one in ten of the main methods and were present in just over 16 per cent of all research studies. In rather similar proportions, *organizational and administrative documents* were the main method in just over one in ten studies and present in 17 per cent of all research studies. Experimental or quasi-experimental studies accounted for just under 4% of the methods deployed and were present in just under 6% of all studies.

The significance one attaches to figures of this kind is a matter of judgment. Case studies, ethnographies, experiments, systematic reviews and various forms of longitudinal studies often require extended investments, and small numbers may not do justice to the place they occupy, in whatever journal they appear.

Reflecting on the history of research suggests a sidestep observation about the prevalence of historical research. Writing just over twenty years ago about the USA Fisher and Dybicz observed that 'historical research was an accepted method for doctoral research in social work, but its use has declined over time… Through the 1950s almost 13% of all social work dissertations were historical… Now this is much less the case. In the 1990s fewer than 2% of all doctoral dissertations in social work are historical' (Fisher and Dybicz, 1999: 105-06). There is no immediate comparison data for the UK. However, there are straws in the wind suggesting some fresh interest in historical research, which no doubt is reflected elsewhere in this special issue. For example, the very first 'special interest group' to be formed in the European Social Work Research Association provided a forum for those interested in historical research.

Another question of historical interest is the extent to which research practice choices are related to gender. In the same *BJSW* study 60% of qualitative articles were first authored by women. Of those first authored by men, 60% were quantitative.[32] The scale of the difference is considerable, but its meaning and consequences are less simple. For example, there have been arguments, sometimes from feminist science, suggesting that quantitative positions represent masculinist methodology (c.f. Westmarland, 2001). This is a difficult argument partly because it explains too much. Almost two in five quantitative articles in this study were first-authored by women. Speaking of her career Oakley says at one point 'I discovered that in our excitement to dismantle patriarchy I and other feminist social scientists had mistakenly thrown at least part of the baby out with the bathwater. Women and other minority groups, above all, need "quantitative" research, because without this it is difficult to distinguish between personal experience and collective expression. Only large-scale comparative research can determine to what extent the situations of men and women are structurally differentiated' (Oakley, 1999: 251).[33]

Conclusions: a Staging Post

The ground covered in this paper allows few firm conclusions regarding the history of social work research in the UK. What limitations should be observed in reading this article?

First, the shifting understanding what counts as social work makes for fluidity and uncertainty as to what forms, patterns, and cultural themes of practice mark the field. 'The great problem of social work history' of how social work came to be constituted as presently understood (Abbott, 1995: 546) troubles efforts to draw conclusions. Distinctions certainly seem needed between research directly about social work practice, the contexts, organizations and the influence of social work's social and cultural capital.

Second, nothing has been said in this article regarding the centrally important question of the presence of UK social work research as a presence mediated through other countries – the difference between 'social work in the UK' and 'UK social work research' that we noted in the opening paragraphs. Third, while there are the beginnings of empirical work on social work research practices, in both the past and present, our knowledge remains thin. This is especially the case for understanding research by practitioners.[34]

Fourth, there are numerous gaps in our basic knowledge. Perhaps strangely, there is little tradition of careful archiving of developments as they take place.[35]

All of this makes it difficult to detect underlying general understandings of our history held by predecessors and contemporaries, or develop a plausible account, at least for the present.

Acknowledgements

Biographical note

Ian Shaw is emeritus professor at the University of York and a graduate student at Sheffield Hallam University. His career has run in parallel to some of the developments discussed in this article.

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[1] This article is a summary of a longer unpublished paper available from the author at ian.shaw@york.ac.uk.

[2] I am not aware of any existing history of social work research in the UK or more widely and must seek readers' forbearance for the various self-citations as shorthand links to specific elements for such a history. Also, knowing that this bulletin is read largely within the UK, I have taken the liberty of leaving various names unexplained, believing that interested readers will understand the references or readily be able to track them down. Among various matters not addressed in this article, I say nothing regarding the fluctuating place of research teaching in social work programmes at qualifying or graduate level. Nor do I discuss the development and significance of the multitudinous metrics that frame almost all research and practice domains. Bastow and colleagues (2014) provide the best available theoretical and empirical examination of the demand that science and research should have 'impact. For a general discussion of research impact in social work see Shaw, 2016b, Ch. 9.

[3] Ian Sinclair. Quoted with permission.

[4] Greenwood is of additional interest for his attempts – along with Stuart Chapin – to develop a form of *ex post facto* experimental design appropriate to the circumstances in which intervention problems arise in social work (C.f. Shaw, 2019).

[5] I have considered this in Shaw, 2018, Chapter Five.

[6] One effort to find common ground between 'English' and 'German' approaches was made by Gredig *et al* (2012).

[7] Hong Kong is, of course, not a country but adds to this general point.

[8] Edith Abbott, the influential early Dean of the Graduate School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago spent a year in London in the first decade of the last century and attended Beatrice Webb's lectures at the LSE. This left an indelible imprint on her research teaching for the remainder of her career.

[9] The role of the now largely forgotten Colonial Social Science Research Council, set up from 1944 under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940, offers a fascinating case example from a related field (e.g. Richards, 1977). This also raises the question of how such cross-national influences are not in one direction. Jan Fook, the Chinese Australian social work figure, moved to the UK and almost immediately led the establishment of the first of a series of international meetings on practice research resulting in the Salisbury Declaration in 2009.

[10] But see Lee, 2018 and Shaw, 2015a.

[11] The evidence for this is within the University of Chicago Special Collections.

[12] I have written more fully on this topic in Shaw, 2014 and 2016b.

[13] Clement Brown's life is sadly too little known. For one exception see Walton (1975).

[14] One of the numerous lacunae in the constraints of this article is the way the reference to 'pre' and 'post' war bypasses the consequences of war for social work research. Very little has ben attempted, although for a wider account of the development of British social science in that context see Steinmetz, 2013.

[15] Interestingly, the confidence in science seems less dented in the USA than in the UK. Chapin and Queen remark 'One of the great values of scientific method is in the attitude towards life that it develops. It is an attitude of confidence that encourages effort as worth while in itself, as well as because effort is part of an indefinite future of attainment' (Chapin and Queen, 1972: 107).

[16] The evidence for this connection needs further work. I have set out part of the argument for how this may have shaped community-based intervention in the USA in Shaw, 2015b.

[17] http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1970/42/enacted

[18] This is, admittedly, impressionistic, but could be elaborated with further work.

[19] https://www.eswra.org/

[20] The final report of a history of *The British Journal of Social Work* can be seen at https://www.york.ac.uk/media/spsw/documents/research-and-publications/History_of_BJSW-2.pdf

[21] For example, *Child and Family Social Work, Qualitative Social Work,* and *The Journal of Social Work*

[22] Three drew on archival or contemporary agency records, one was a brief survey, and one was based on a substantial interview study of GPs in York.

[23] The quotations from Stevenson in these paragraphs are all from her Editorial in the *British Journal of Social Work* 1 (1): 1-3.

[24] A parallel analysis of research content in the journal *Qualitative Social Work* can be seen in Shaw and Ramatowski with Ruckdeschel, 2013; and Morris, 2019, although this is not a specifically British journal.

[25] Writing at the close of the journal Social Work and looking back at a century of predecessor journals Timms remarks 'In the midst of this exploration over a period of almost one hundred years social workers themselves remain somewhat elusive. We can reconstruct their real world with difficulty. Rarely do we encounter some reference to the pattern and quality of their lives' (Timms, 1970:5).

[26] The same is slightly less so for the USA and also for sociology, although it is British writers who have had more to say (e.g. Lee, 2018, Platt, 1996, Shaw, 2015a).

[27] The 2008 Research Assessment Exercise concluded that 'Quantitative research in social work is small in volume but of high quality. This is an area which would benefit from continued investment and development' (Cited by Sharland. C.f. http://www.rae.ac.uk/pubs/2009/ov/. Sharland concluded in her later report that 'most consultants agreed that good examples are few and far between.'

[28] The papers of the criminologist Leslie Wilkins are held at the London School of Economics.

[29] Quoted with permission from an email conversation in September 2019.

[30] The various extracts from this study are drawn from the final report which can be seen at https://www.york.ac.uk/media/spsw/documents/research-and-publications/History_of_BJSW-2.pdf It is searchable, and I have not cited detailed pagination in this article.

[31] This is not special to social work. Many years ago Benney and Hughes remarked that sociology had become the 'science of the interview' (Benney and Hughes, 1956).

[32] While the association of methods and gender was not examined by Shaw and Ramatowski, it is noteworthy that 69% of all articles had been first authored by women in *Qualitative Social Work* (Shaw and Ramatowski, 2013: 741). Morris found 'this trend had continued to increase with 82% of the 295 sampled articles having women first-authors' in the period since the Shaw and Ramatowski study (Morris, 2019: 749).

[33] Understanding the character and development over time of social work research preoccupations with problems and topics is another area where the evidence remains slight (Jobling et al, 2017).

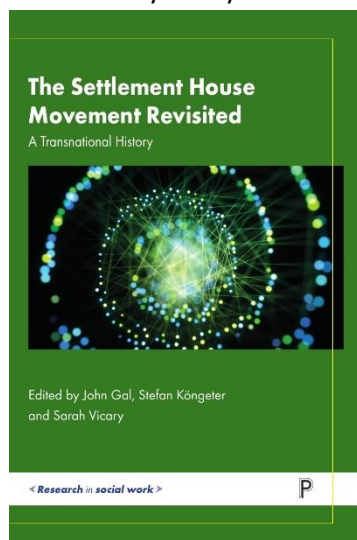[34] For some evidence on this see Shaw and Lunt, 2011, 2012, 2018.

[35] Practice in the USA in this regard is much better than in the UK.

Book reviews

The Settlement House Movement Revisited - A Transnational History

Edited by John Gal, Stefan Köngeter and Sarah Vicary.

Published by Policy Press 2021 ISBN 978- 1- 4473- 5423- 9 hardcover.

Review by Steven Malies

The source of most of the chapters in this book was an event organised by the Social Work, History and Research Special Interest Group that the three editors jointly coordinate. The group, which is part of the European Social Work Research Association (ESWRA), held a pre-conference meeting on the Settlement House Movement at the 8th European Conference for Social Work Research in Edinburgh in 2018. The success of this event and quality of the papers presented encouraged them to invite the presenters to contribute to this volume. The book considers that settlement houses are really a staple in any historical account of the development of social work and the dominant approaches and enduring practices in the profession. At the ESWRA conference it became clear that there was a consensus that the settlement house movement played a crucial role in the development of social work and social work research internationally.

The book is divided into four main sections. Part I. The transnational transfer of the settlement house idea. From the social deprivation and conditions that led to the foundation of the first settlements in London, the transfer and adaptation of the model to the US, and its successful dissemination across that nation, and, finally, to major capitals in continental Europe and beyond. They enabled social work to establish an identity as a progressive profession but missed its broader meaning for the trans-nationalisation of social welfare. Here it aims to address this in looking at Houses in Berlin, Maison's Socialles in France, Chicago's Hull House and Palestine.

Part 2. The interface between the Settlement House Movement and other social movements. Here the authors look at the research undertaken by the settlement houses and radical social interventions initiated by them and how other social reformists worked alongside them.   In London the university extension classes held in the community; the tensions between social reform and social mission in early 20th century Berlin; Poor Man's Lawyer and social work, circa 1890-1939 and the dilemmas of Jewish assimilation into English society.

Part3. Research in settlement houses and its impact. Putting knowledge into action: a social work perspective on settlement house research and an interesting look at Chicago settlement's use of numeric and aesthetic knowledges to render its immigrant neighbours and neighbourhood knowable and how the social- spatial geography defined what they called home.

Part 4. 'The soul of the community'. Two social work practitioners reflect on history, place and community in two community-based practices from 1980 to 1995: St Hilda's Community Centre in Bethnal Green and Waterloo Action Centre in Waterloo, South London. These two settlement houses are still at the heart of their communities and have evolved a range of services that meet local need.

Ultimately, the goal of this book is to employ historical methods to better understand the impact of the settlement house movement on social work and social welfare. Given that social work is a profession that is reluctant to look at its own history it's a really valuable document on its beginnings.

Roles and responsibilities of social workers

Mike Burt, *A History of the Roles and Responsibilities of Social Workers: from the Poor Laws to the present day,* Abingdon, 2020, Routledge, 320pp.

Review by Karen Lyons

This fascinating book describes and evaluates the roles and responsibilities of 'social workers' in England and Wales from their forerunners in the Tudor period to the 1990s. The material is organised chronologically over 11 chapters, identifying the shift from relieving officers and charitable and voluntary interventions in the 19th century (chapter 3), through specialised and expanding roles and responsibilities (chapters 4 and 5, 1890-1914 and 1914-39 respectively) to the identification of a 'common core' and wider recognition of the term, social worker, through to the 1960s (chapter 8, 1963-74). Along the way, attention is paid to the role of social workers in World War II and in the first 15 years of the Welfare state (chapters 6 and 7, 1939 through to 1963). Discussion of the unification of many (but not all) occupational groups within Social Service Departments (chapter 9, 1974-89) and the impact of managerialism (chapter 10, 1989-97) precede a concluding chapter (11) reviewing the roles and responsibilities of social workers in England and Wales.

The book derives from the PhD research of the author and draws heavily on material in archives and contemporary literature. As such, it is a scholarly book but it is clearly written and makes a wide range of sources accessible to a varied range of readers, be they social work professionals (including students and academics) or historians. After the Introduction (focus and structure), Chapter 1 presents a useful discussion of the historiography of social work, noting the relative neglect of this topic by both social workers and historians, and orientating those of us who are not historians to the particularities of writing, reading and researching 'history'. Personally, I found the historians' way of referencing the text (numbers in the text and notes at the end of each chapter) less 'readable' than the Harvard system commonly used in the social sciences but this did not detract from the quality and range of references used. As one might expect, the book is prefaced by Acknowledgements and Abbreviations and concludes with References and an Index: it is nicely dedicated to 'Those who cared'.

Part of the originality of the book lies in its more in-depth and longer term analysis of the different strands of social work. These include early and ongoing local and national state organised forms of intervention (under legislation common to England and Wales) relative to many conventional 'histories' which have tended to focus on the activities of social workers in the charitable and voluntary sector in the late 19th century and their continuing role in the third sector up to the establishment of the welfare state and beyond, or more recent statutory services (e.g. Bamford, 2015). The author also refers to the vexed question of understanding 'roles and responsibilities' in the context of the times, relative to current understandings and values. Many social workers of the past no doubt 'cared' for human rights and social justice, but were themselves conditioned and operating in eras predating the articulation of

these values, and their activities might be seen as, at very least, 'misguided' if judged simplistically by today's mores. This seems topical in relation to current debates about racism and colonialism neither of which term appears in the index. However, passing reference is made, for example, to services developed for immigrants from the Caribbean region (e.g. in Liverpool in the 1950s, p. 150) and also to roles of social workers in the voluntary sector sending 'orphans' to Australia and Canada in the first half (and later) of the 20th century (p. 157 and see Lyons, 2020, p. 215)

A particular strength of the book lies in its coverage of the roles and responsibilities of social workers as they developed in relation to different user groups over time – and also in different places. The book has a wealth of 'local detail' reflecting not a systematic picture of social work in a particular location but drawing examples from many parts of England and Wales. These vignettes are likely to be of particular interest to readers in different places and are skilfully woven together to give the bigger picture. The use of relevant source material from the period means that the language (terminology) used e.g. in relation to people with mental health problems or physical disability, can seem archaic (and even offensive) to the modern ear but this and the reference to voluntary agencies and titles of workers now long gone (e.g. 'Moral Welfare Workers') evokes a picture of the times and may even connect with memories from their early careers in the case of older readers. Overall, this book makes an important contribution to our knowledge about the history of social work, including both changes and continuities, and contains much of interest to a wide range of readers throughout the UK and beyond. —*Karen Lyons, PhD, CQSW, Emeritus Professor, International Social Work, London Metropolitan University, London, UK.*

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A social work trilogy for our time

Bamford, T & Bilton K, (eds, 2020) Social Work: past, present and future. Bristol. Policy Press.
Jones, R. (2020) A History of The Personal Social Services in England: feast, famine and the future. Cham, Switzerland. Palgrave Macmillan.
Purcell, C. (2020) The Politics of Children's Services Reform: re-examining two decades of policy change. Bristol. Policy Press.

Review by Jane Tunstill

Social worker readers in search of an escapist trilogy with a reassuring ending for diversion at the end of a typically frustrating week at work would be ill advised to pick these three recent volumes. On the other hand, if in search of impeccably researched and referenced sources to help make sense of those frustrations, they would be in luck. Not because these volumes provide a diverting alternative to Wolf Hall or The Forsyte Saga, but because, both individually and collectively, they provide a multi-layered framework for understanding the current state of social work in general in England and Wales as of 2020. The outer layer, for want of a better image, comprises the fascinating, ruthlessly researched and almost detective story-like evolution of social work within the wider context of wider personal social services. This storyline, beginning in 1970 with the Seebohm Report, is addressed by both Bamford and Bilton, and Jones. Purcell explores many of the

same issues within the forensic, and helpfully retrospective lens of children's services reform over the last two decades. Within this wider context, readers can access accounts of policy and practice in respect of a series of citizen-specific services for adults, children and families. And at the end will be left with a very clear sense of the perennial themes, or as John Stewart called them, many years ago, the wicked issues which bedevil the delivery of social work in the here and now.
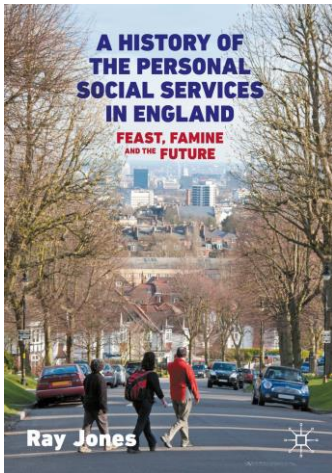
Taken together the books cover the key milestones and major issues in social welfare policy over a fifty year time scale, from 1970 to the present, and locate the evolution of social work policy and practice within this wider context. Like any good trilogy a familiar list of characters recurs, including politicians, campaigners, social workers and social work researchers and teachers. The fact that both Jones and Purcell have employed qualitative methods in their research, so can draw on rich and fascinating interview data from many key players, adds a real sense of immediacy and sometimes intrigue to the accounts. There is, however, one, perhaps potentially sad drawback to this methodology. Some of these important interviewees and commentators – including one of the authors, Terry Bamford – are now dead, and they will have been our friends, colleagues and heroes. So, to be able to hear the voices of people like Bob Holman, Rupert Hughes, as well as Terry himself has considerable appeal, even if, as for me, tears may well be shed by some readers.

There is a range of intention and scope on offer: 'Social Work: past, present and future' edited by Bamford and Bilton is intended to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the British Association of Social Workers. The editors explain their aim was to present a range of perspectives on the evolution of social work since 1970, rather than present an official or unofficial history, and contributors cover key topics including regulation and inspection; social work education; the role of service users as co-producers; and the impact of scandal on social work. Jones, as ever, provides an extremely detailed account of the post-development development of personal social services. Characteristically, he pulls no punches in confronting the role of ideology and politics in that journey and the narratives provided by interviewees

vividly illuminate current debates. Purcell's account of 'The Politics of Children's Services Reform' records the child care policy story from 1997-2019; and drawing on fascinating interview data from key players, provides a detailed account of what is arguably the most politicised area of personal social services. His account captures the perennial battle between 'family service' or 'child protection' as to what is the dominant driver of service design and social work policy and practice. The tenacity of the latter means it survives against a backdrop of 'local service failure', the priorities of party leaders and ministers, and, what some see as the 'incorporation' of some Non-Governmental Organisations.

All three volumes highlight the ongoing challenges for progressive social work. Beyond the shadow of austerity and snazzy titles for successive social policy initiatives, such as Every Child Matters; the Better Care Fund; and Think Ahead, there lurk the same perennial tensions. These include central government v local authority control; prioritising prevention v protection; the role of public v private

sector provision; the construction of a knowledge base (especially the nature of research evidence); and the role of rights for those using services.

Albeit unplanned, their coincidental publication provides a sweeping panoramic historical perspective on social work, and indeed, depending on your values, a humbling or frustrating one. Across the three volumes it becomes crystal clear just how far from inevitable any fixed identity or status for social work has been within the post-1970s welfare universe. Debates around Seebohm implementation are of course familiar to many, including the jostling for power between respective professional social work client – groups such as children and mental health, but more complex tensions are long-lasting. More recently, the 1998-2000 design and implementation of the Sure Start initiative showed up a more widely held and enduring mistrust of social work. I was asked to present data from my government commissioned research data on 'social work with children in need services' (alongside Dame Gillian Pugh, on early years; and Professor John Bynner, on poverty and inequality) at possibly the first seminar convened at the Treasury, in January 1998, by Norman Glass, to take forward his comprehensive spending review brief (Glass 1999). As Chair, he made it very clear – to both the audience and to me – that 'social work was not to be part of the grand plan'. Subsequent implementation data, collected by the National Evaluation of Sure Start bore this out (Tunstill and Allnock, 2007) and Purcell records, quite recently, a director of children's services who commented:

> When ECM came in, now I think there was an idea that we'll get all this early intervention going, Sure Start and Children's Fund, and actually we won't need all this nasty child protection stuff, and of course it didn't happen. I think there was a kind of mindset about, they didn't really like some of this social work stuff.... (Purcell, 2020 p. 68)

Having had the pleasure and privilege of reading all three of the books, I was left with a very clear impression of the unenviable 'paradoxical Hobson's choices' which recur for social work throughout the course of recent wider social policy. It can often appear that within a political or social policy era which might be regarded as 'more progressive', social work faces a constant challenge to prove its own progressive values. On the other hand, in a 'less progressive' overall era, social work faces a constant battle to maintain its own progressive values. For those who don't weaken at the prospect of joining or indeed remaining in what appears to be a permanently contested profession, these books will be balm to the soul. And fascinating and fun to read.— *Jane Tunstill is Emeritus Professor of Social Work, Royal Holloway, London University. She was Director of the Implementation Module of National Evaluation of Sure Start. She is joint author, with June Thoburn, of the chapter on the Children Act 1989 in Bamford & Bilton.*

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Residential Care for Older People

Mike Burt
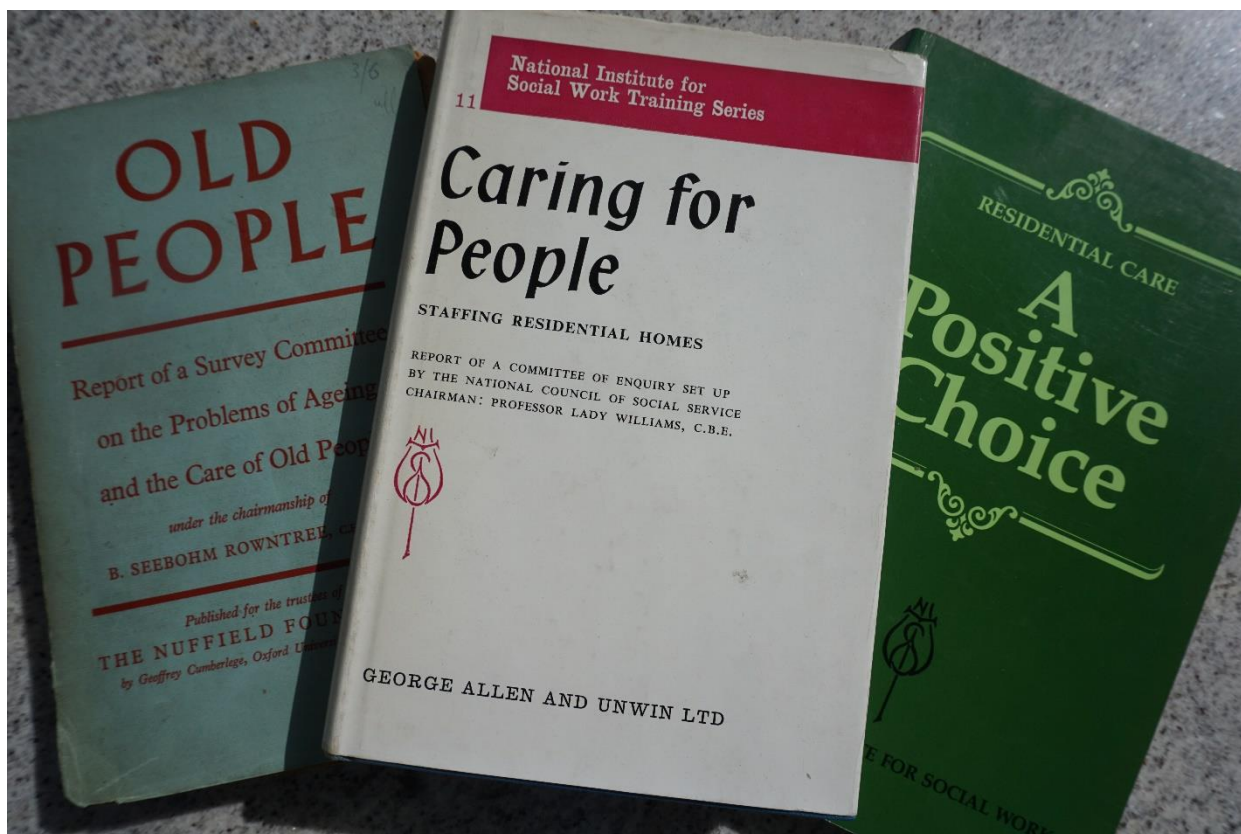
The book review section for this Bulletin provides an overview of material relevant to the residential care of older people, prompted by current concern arising from the impact of the coronavirus epidemic. It focuses on the findings and recommendations of three reports; the Nuffield Report (1947), Williams Report (1967) and Wagner Report (1988), the latter two reviewing residential care for all client groups.[1] Additional material between the reports is included to provide historical context. Their genesis reflects the circumstances of their time. The Nuffield Report was produced by a voluntary organisation whereas the Williams Report reflected the increasing influence of social work and recognition of the need for training during the 1960s. It is perhaps significant that the investigation into staffing of residential establishments was set up in 1962 by the National Council of Social Service and published five years later as part of the National Institute for Social Work Training Series. The Wagner Report was commissioned by the secretary of state for health and social services in the context of developments in community care and an increasingly demoralised residential care sector.

The focus of the book review is on findings and recommendations about staffing, training and the role of social workers with older people in residential care: using the terminology of each report. Space does not permit the consideration of social workers' critical involvement in older people entering residential care, or the development of regimes for their care. The issue of residents' respective needs for both

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[1] *Old People: Report of a Survey Committee on the Problems of Ageing and the Care of Old People* (1947). London: The Nuffield Foundation; *Caring for People: Staffing Residential Homes* (1967). London: George Allen & Unwin; *Residential Care: A Positive Choice* (Wagner Report) (1988), London: National Institute for Social Work.

social and health care, concern about the staffing, training, and regimes of homes was the subject of recommendations throughout the period 1948-1988.

Improving Poor Law residential settings

In 1947 a Survey Committee was established by the Nuffield Foundation to collect information about the 'various problems - individual, social and medical – associated with ageing and old age'. In relation to institutional care it found that on 1 May 1946 there were 62,957 aged persons in public assistance institutions (PAIs) and homes run by local authorities in England and Wales. Homes run privately for profit unless registered as nursing homes were not required to make their work known. In the 1930s some local authorities started to provide smaller, less regimented, more informal and more comfortable Homes. Some charities, religious organisations and private homes did the same. In general older people in those Homes were selected because of choice, mobility, and level of contentment. Private individuals could have one or two lodgers to live with them. The Survey analysis distinguished between the conditions and regimes of PAIs and Homes, whilst pointing out that some PAIs had made progress in improving their provision by separating groups of people, increasing comforts, activities and the kindness of staff.[1]

The Nuffield Report prefaced its discussion of the 'long-term sick' by stressing that 'hitherto not nearly enough attention has been paid to the problem' and pointing out that the term included a wide range of conditions and stages of recovery. Alternative views about their care following hospital diagnosis involved either the provision of special accommodation which would be linked with and effectively part of a hospital, or movement to a nursing home or an ordinary Home but which would require increased levels of staffing, medical support and adaptations. The report envisaged that because of the shortage of hospital accommodation PAIs and Homes would continue to be the main provision. Whilst recommending the closure of PAIs for most aged people the Committee recognised that it would not be possible for some time and that they would remain necessary for old people with 'senile dementia' and who were not suited 'by nature or temperament' to the type of accommodation provided by the Homes.[2]

Following the creation in 1948 of the NHS and the duty laid on local authorities to provide accommodation, difficulties were experienced in deciding whether an old person should be cared for within the NHS or by local authorities: an issue which Ministry of Health Circular 14/57 attempted to clarify following a review of all services for people who were chronically sick and elderly.[3] The Royal Commission which reported on the law relating to mental disorder concluded that '[t]here is at present a clear need for more residential accommodation, of the type which should be provided by the local authorities, for persons suffering from a degree of mental infirmity which is manageable in such a home and which does not require care or treatment under specialist medical supervision'.[4] The Commission regarded it as appropriate for small numbers of nursing staff to work in local authority welfare homes.[5]

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[1] Nuffield Foundation, *Old People,* pp. 55ff.

[2] *Ibid*., pp. 72ff.

[3] Ministry of Health, Survey of Services available to the Chronic Sick and Elderly 1954-1955 (1957). London: HMSO. (Boucher Report)

[4] Royal Commission on the Law Relating to Mental Illness and Mental Deficiency (May 1957), para 628. London: HMSO.

[5] *Ibid*., para 724.

In 1972 a seminal text by Peter Townsend shed a light on all aspects of residential institutions for old people.[1] Townsend's wider proposals for the care of old people in their own homes, with relatives, and in a broader range of sheltered housing, anticipated a considerable reduction in the number of communal Homes. Accordingly, Townsend proposed that whereas all non-medical domiciliary services and sheltered housing should become the responsibility of a separate local authority department '[h]ospital management committees would be responsible for all institutional accommodation, including short-stay and communal Homes', providing an effective convalescent service but which would need to address the problem of institutional regimes.[2]

A Ministry of Health Memorandum in 1965 to local and hospital authorities updated guidance about their respective responsibilities for the care of elderly people. Included in their joint planning and operation, local authorities were advised to close former PAIs and develop an informal environment in their homes, and hospital authorities should introduce an effective hospital geriatric service. The Memorandum noted that a number of local authority homes accommodated so many people who required nursing that it was necessary to employ qualified nurses. However, the objective should be to prevent concentrations of sick people in residential homes and avoid the diversion of scarce nursing staff from hospitals and home nursing services. It further advised that arrangements should be made for home nurses to visit, training for non-nursing staff in basic procedures, and recognising when qualified help was required.[3]

With the purpose of establishing and meeting need rather than relying on the services provided by local authorities for elderly people, a government social survey carried out research into thirteen local authorities, published in 1968, in which attention was drawn to the use of accommodation and the role of welfare officers.[4] The survey found that there were purpose built homes which were usually conversions of large houses, ex-PAIs, and joint use establishments i.e. welfare wards in hospitals. Many more 'mentally confused patients' were found in PAIs and hospitals and in those larger institutions nursing staff were more likely to be employed. Patients leaving hospital were more likely to go to an ex-PAI, possibly because it was easier to arrange through the exchange system with a hospital which operated in many areas. Voluntary homes were in a position to be selective about the people they admitted and there was some evidence that in local authority homes elderly people from more deprived areas were placed in poorer accommodation. Although there was a considerable expansion of housing and homes for elderly people, a gap was highlighted because 'some elderly are too infirm to be admitted to a Welfare Home, yet do not qualify for admission to hospital as they do not need hospital medical services'. Although there were some criticisms made of the work of welfare officers the researcher emphasised that in all of the areas visited officers had caseloads 'far in excess of what they could reasonably be expected to deal with'.[5]

There was an expansion of housing and homes for elderly people in the 1960s. However, pointing to the gap in provision between elderly people who were too infirm to be admitted to a welfare home but not

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[1] P. Townsend (1962) *The Last Refuge: A Survey of Residential Institutions and Homes for the Aged in England and Wales*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 413-5.

[3] Ministry of Health, Memorandum for Local Authorities and Hospital Authorities, Care of the Elderly in Hospitals and Residential Homes, 15th September 1965.

[4] A. Harris, *Social Welfare for the Elderly. A Study in thirteen Local Authority Areas in England, Wales and Scotland* (1968).

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 44-58 and p. 58.

in need of hospital medical care, the researcher advocated that '[w]hat appears to be needed, to relieve both Welfare Homes, hospitals, and to help the very frail elderly, are establishments more on the lines of nursing homes'.[1]

A vision for residential care

Demand for an enquiry into the staffing of residential homes came from workers in the field of residential care, because of growing concern about the shortage of staff, the increasing complexity of the work, and an awareness that difficulties were likely to increase. Addressing the historical background, the Williams Report pointedly referred to the Ministry of Health's assertion in its annual report for 1948-9 that local authorities were 'busy planning and opening small comfortable old people's homes "where the old master and inmate relationship is being replaced by one more nearly approaching a hotel manager and his guests" [as] overly optimistic'. It reported that in 1965, 27,000 people still lived in the old PAIs. Although over 60% of those in local authority care were in new style homes with under 70 places, the increasing number of very frail people in residential care had not been anticipated.[2]

A questionnaire specific to old people's Homes was issued to local authorities, voluntary organisations and private owners, the latter resulting in a much lower response rate. It was calculated that about half of all Homes were run by local authorities where about two-thirds of old people in residential care lived, and that in local authority Homes two thirds of all care staff were non-resident. Staff turnover was high and annual wastage was equal to one quarter of total care staff employed. Described by the report as disturbingly high, 82% of full time care staff had no formal qualifications; in local authorities the figure was 85%. Nearly all those who were qualified had nursing qualifications and only 2% had taken the 14-week course run by the National Old People's Welfare Committee. The lack of qualifications was even more marked among part-time staff at 89%.[3]

Particular concern was expressed about the conditions of work for staff in residential care as a whole. Long hours of work resulting in reduced free time for own family contact and involvement in leisure activities, isolation of a home from the local community, and the 'physically exacting and emotionally exhausting' nature of the continuous contact with residents were found to be major contributing factors to the high staff turnover. Nevertheless, the review also found that there was a large number of staff who found their engagement with residents thoroughly rewarding and would not consider another type of job. Difficulties between staff sometimes arose from their different outlook on the work, including between part-time and full-time staff, and in relation to lack of privacy in living-in accommodation.[4]

Emphasis was placed on the need to address problems arising from the extent of the commitment expected of staff in some settings and the hours and conditions of work in all residential care. A critical question arose of whether it was necessary for most staff to be resident themselves, concluding that there should only be a requirement for one person or a married couple to be permanently resident. It was expected that the field for potential staff recruitment would widen, for example, it was anticipated it would be necessary in the future to rely more on married women with their own families returning to work. Moreover, it was argued that homes would be able to become more associated with their neighbourhood, avoiding the tendency towards a closed community. In relation to old people's Homes

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 58.
[2] *Williams Report*, pp. 39-40.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 44ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 123ff.

it was suggested that more contact between a Home and its neighbourhood and informality between staff and residents would lead to less apathy which was often noticed by visitors. To provide an opportunity for heads of Homes and staff to discuss the particular problems arising from working in residential care and to enhance communication between residential staff and other professionals, the report recommended the appointment by local authorities of Advisers.[1]

Whilst recognising its proposals for training were ambitious, the Williams Report pointed out that the need for training in residential child care had been recognised. In addition to the benefit of individual learning about the responsibilities and potentialities of residential care the report pointed to the importance of the development of the staff group as a whole and the importance of staffs' relationships with relatives and other professionals, including doctors and social workers. The report anticipated that the availability of qualifying courses in residential care would make it wasteful of their skills and unnecessary, with a few exceptions, to appoint a trained nurse as head of residential Homes. Even in those cases it was desirable for a head to also be qualified in residential care.

The Williams Report recommended a comprehensive two-year course, based in colleges of education, as the standard form of qualification for people intending to make residential care a career and a one-year course (equivalent to the course for residential child care workers but held by only 18% of staff) for other staff working with elderly people and people with disabilities for staff with experience. In addition the report recommended increasing the amount and co-ordination of in-service and staff development schemes, and advanced courses for experienced residential workers.

In advocating a closer working relationship between residential care workers and field social workers the report suggested it would be unhelpful for a separate training body to be established and that because 'the common knowledge that the existence of three national Training Councils concerned with social work in the fields of child care, probation and health and welfare is a source of embarrassment and overlapping', the Williams Report hoped that the government would bring the work together in a Council for Training in Social Work and Residential Care.[2]

Difficulties in implementing change in residential care for older people

In the newly formed social services departments in 1971 residential care as a whole formed a significant part of the new departments, usually managed in a separate section, with a significantly higher budget, and often by managers who had little experience of the work. In 1972 the Social Work Service of the DHSS carried out a brief review of services for elderly people.[3] Miss Hope-Murray acknowledged that because legislative duties and powers towards elderly people during the 1960s had been confined to the provision of residential accommodation, meals and recreational facilities, the latter two provided mainly through voluntary agencies, limited thought had been given to how the provision of services should develop, and that the scale of being able to meet elderly people's needs was only beginning to be appreciated: including difficulties arising from limitations in health and other local authority provision.[4] She identified that there were substantial staff increases in residential homes in 1972 although staff turnover remained high. It was expected that staff would be able to spend more time with residents and that institutional patters of care would reduce. A wide variation was found between

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 133ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 160ff.

[3] E. L. Hope-Murray, Development of Services for the Elderly provided by Social Services Department in England in 1972, in *Social Work Service*, Number 3 (1974) pp. 14-23.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

departments in the priority given to staff training. Although some departments restricted the involvement of residential staff because of difficulties in providing shift cover, Hope-Murray suggested that the situation overall had improved significantly during the previous few years, in which training officers had played an important role. The main development was in response to approved CCETSW in-service study courses for senior and assistant staff, some of which were organised jointly with staff from children's homes.[1] She further noted that '[t]he inadequacy of present contact between field workers and homes was regretted…There was some evidence that the longer established practice of continuing contact between fieldworkers and children in the child care service might be a useful influence'.[2]

Nevertheless, limitations remained in the development of residential care regimes for old people. The Barclay Report referred to the significance of the organisational divide between residential and fieldwork services in social services departments and suggested that relationships could be impacted by the determination of many social workers to avoid people entering residential care. It suggested that the issue was also partly due to the continuing stigma associated with the Poor Law.[3] In working as heads of homes and in middle management positions the report suggested that social workers would be in a position to influence the development of progressive regimes. As direct care givers social workers could be employed in roles which, as well as 'tending' activity, involved them in developing forms of learning, counselling, and liaison with families and communities.[4] From a wider radical perspective, the need for change was asserted because of limited developments in making homes for older people into places where residents were able to exercise choice, experience privacy, and become involved in constructive activity. Chris Phillipson, for example, acknowledged that changing the culture of hierarchical institutional management which was resistant to change was difficult but asserted that social workers had a role in working with residents, relatives and staff in arguing for more resources and bringing about change. To achieve that change Phillipson argued that 'social workers have a major role to play in challenging the attitudes of other workers in the health and social services field'.[5] A report by the Audit Commission concluded that '[m]ost of the professions interviewed during the study agreed that providing care for the elderly mentally ill in general, and those with behaviour disorders in particular, is an increasingly important aspect of social services planning. Yet there seems to be little consensus of view amongst these professionals about which forms of care provided the best value for money for this group'.[6]

Renewing residential care

The Independent Review of Residential Care was commissioned in 1985 to review residential provision for children, young people and adults. Its introduction noted that it was set up at a time when residential services, particularly in the statutory sector had become demoralised, considered of low status, utilised only as a service of last resort, and still carrying the stigma of the workhouse. Although the review found it reassuring to receive reports about people with experiences of being treated with respect, who felt secure and had been well cared for, there was also disturbing evidence of insensitivity to the rights of individuals and examples of cruelty which caused both mental and physical suffering to residents. Letters from residential care staff referred to the low esteem in which they were held, lack of

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 17ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[3] *Social Workers: Their Role and Tasks* (1982), p. 52-3. London: National Institute for Social Work.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 67-8.

[5] C. Phillipson, *Capitalism and the Construction of Old Age* (1982), pp. 114-5. London: The Macmillan Press.

[6] Audit Commission, *Managing social services for the elderly more effectively* (February 1985), p. 58. London: HMSO.

training and knowledge about wider practice in residential care. Changes were required which would result in admission to residential care becoming a 'Positive Choice'.[1]

In its overview in chapter 1 the review highlighted that the complexity of individual need was understood better than had previously been the case but that residential provision had not generally developed to meet specific needs, for example elderly people who were mentally infirm. In particular, it observed that ethnic minority communities were poorly served. The review argued that residential care needed to be integrated better into the range of a local authority's services with local authorities' role involved more in planning and coordinating all provision in their area including the voluntary and private sector, and securing the involvement of community health and education services in appropriate cases. To achieve that aim it was emphasised that information and advice would need to be available, new resources would be required and valid options available. Attention was drawn to the importance of residential care serving the interests of residents, requiring 'adequate staffing levels; clear recruitment and selection criteria and procedures; sound management and supervision in the workplace; an integrated career structure and conditions of service for levels of staff…continuing provision for staff development and training…and opportunities for qualifying training'.[2]

Individual letters written by staff in evidence to the review drew attention to the cycle of low pay, lack of interest or opportunities in training, shift work, and a shortage of applicants, often resulting in the appointment of unsuitable people and a high staff turnover. On the other hand, staff who remained in the work wrote about the high level of satisfaction which they gained, primarily from their relationships with residents and the security which a home provided. Staff felt that improvements could be made to residential care by: publicising its achievements more widely; and being more open with strengthened complaints and inspection systems, together with more visits by social workers, relatives and friends.[3]

Formal evidence from organisations demonstrated an awareness of developments which needed to take place whilst acknowledging the difficulties involved in making the necessary improvements. In relation to staffing, evidence from organisations was mostly in support of national guidelines being provided whilst recognising the span of different types of care. The respective merits of personal qualities of staff and need for training were highlighted in a way which valued the importance of both. Persistent undervaluing of the work of residential care staff was considered to be a problem in recruitment and the need to provide support to staff in dealing with the multiple stress factors was essential in retaining staff. In relation to the latter it was suggested that the keyworker system was significant in maintaining commitment and morale of staff.[4]

The review set its recommendations in the context of a wider consideration of the importance of individual assessment. In creating the opportunity to make a positive choice it stated it was necessary that '[i]ndividuals and their families should have available to them the skills of a nominated social worker (who could be a field or residential worker) whose primary responsibility is to act as their agent, and who should be trained in the individual assessment of needs…'. It was argued that a social worker should always be appointed where a user had no relative and was thought to be unable to make an effective choice. A social worker would become involved with the user and their family to help them identify how and where the user wanted to live their life on the basis of clear and realistic information about the availability of services, which would nevertheless require expansion if a 'needs-led rather

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[1] Independent Review of Residential Care, *Residential Care: A Positive Choice* (Wagner Report) (1988), pp. 1ff. London: National Institute for Social Work.
[2] *Ibid*., pp. 7ff.
[3] *Ibid*. pp. 129ff.
[4] *Ibid*., pp. 161ff.

resource-led' choice was to be made available. The importance of social workers having delegated budget responsibility and accountability was emphasised together with remaining in touch with users who they had assisted, for the purpose of review.[1]

In the context of recognising the stress that was involved in residential care work the review described the distress and feelings of loss for residents and the strain for staff of being directly exposed to those difficulties for the whole of their working day, including where they resulted in incidents of fear, anger and violence.[2]

Reference was made to a survey by the Local Government Board in 1986 in which the lack of qualified staff in residential care was highlighted. It found that for residential and day care staff only 7.5% working with adults and 11.5% working with children had a social work qualification, rising to 24% and 34% respectively when other qualifications were included: compared with 67% in field social work. It was therefore not surprising that the review found references in the formal evidence to training occurred nearly twice as often as any other subject and that it impacted on a wide range of other staffing issues. There was no consistent expectation among individual local authorities and employers in the private and voluntary sectors about qualifications for senior staff. Moreover, it was clear that needs of residents could not be fully met by staff who lacked formal training and qualifications. Proposed changes in social work qualifications by the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work were welcomed, involving the combining of the Certificate of Qualification in Social Work with the Certificate in Social Service in a Qualifying Diploma in Social Work, and the introduction of a Certificate in Social Care which was planned for development within National Council for Vocational Qualifications framework. The report of the Independent Review forcefully argued that people in managerial and senior posts in residential work required a full social work qualification and that all other training should include an element of social work. A training plan for each establishment was required which should involve further and advanced training as staff progressed in their careers.[3]

In reflecting in 2020 on 50 years of social work as a single profession and the establishing of social services departments, announcements during the course of the current coronavirus pandemic by representatives of the residential care sector has demonstrated its ability to independently assert the positive principles on which its work should be based, including the individualisation of care and importance of family relationships. Although at the same time continuing restrictions on investment in staffing, training and care regimes have been crudely exposed, those announcements, and supporting interviews, have provided evidence of meeting the expectations of qualified social workers in 1970 that social work principles should influence the wider provision of social services departments including residential and day care. Space has not permitted a historical account of the significant responsibility of social workers in the assessment of need for residential care.[4] In the review of social care which has been announced by the Conservative government, particularly if serious consideration is given to residential care becoming part of the NHS, it will be necessary to assert the extent of social workers' experience in that role. —*Mike Burt, Visiting Professor, Faculty of Health and Social Care, University of Chester*

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 28ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 87ff.

[4] For a detailed study of the historical development of social work assessment see M. Burt, *From Ascertainment to Assessment: The Development of a Social work Role in Local Authorities, 1950-1993* (2015), unpublished PhD, University of Chester.

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