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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with identifying and analysing the major features underlying the development of British social work and social work education over the past century.

It begins with a discussion of the clients of social work and examines the manner in which social work has emerged as one of the major regulatory strategies of the State concerned with specific 'problematic' sections of the working class: problematic to the State and capitalism because of their inability to contribute productively in the social system, and compounded by the high costs they incur through their dependency on social services. An appreciation of the clients of social work and the manner in which they have been defined as a 'social problem' is regarded as crucial for understanding the theories and methods of social work, and consequently the content of social work education.

In this thesis an 'ideology of citizenship' has been posited as being central to social work practice and theory in this country. It is this ideology which provides the underpinning theme to the development of 'modern' social work since the time of the Charity Organisation Society, while at the same time it allows for the changes which have occurred during the past hundred years. Very briefly, it is an ideology of considerable sophistication which continues to emphasise those 'great' values of the bourgeoisie, self-help and self-reliance, and which attempts to impose a supra-historical consensus and commitment to the prevailing social system and so by achieve social solidarity and stability.

Throughout the study a macro approach has been adopted in order to demonstrate the way in which social work's growth and development must be understood in terms of general social change including political, economic, ideological and social dimensions. Consequently, the thesis is critical of the prevailing style of social policy historiography, particularly in the area of social work where it has tended to ignore important political and social indices, preferring instead to focus narrowly on certain specific 'great moments or individuals' in the occupation's development.

Finally, this study takes seriously the question of how contemporary capitalist societies set about the production of social control agents/state officials - in this specific instance social workers - who can be trusted and or regulated to undertake their allotted duties. Moreover, it draws attention to the manner in which regulatory activities such as social work, have to be and are flexible and capable of change in order to perpetuate and make more effective their role in a society where class divisions and conflicts, between as well as within classes, are endemic.
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>i-viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SECTION ONE</strong></td>
<td>2-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>2-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter One</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Charity Organisation Society and the Deserving Poor.</td>
<td>5-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Two</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SECTION TWO</strong></td>
<td>59-196a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Knowledge Base of Social Work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>59-66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Three</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Objectives of Social Work: Theory and Method I.</td>
<td>67-118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Four</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Content of Social Work Education: Theory and Method II.</td>
<td>119-196a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SECTION THREE</strong></td>
<td>197-279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Work Education and the Making of 'Super-Citizens'.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>197-198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Five</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Work Education: The Divine Ideal.</td>
<td>199-225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Six</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Super-Citizens': The Selection of Students and the Qualities Expected of Social Workers.</td>
<td>226-261</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter Seven

The Placement. 262-279

Chapter Eight

The Politics of Expertise: The Foundations and Development of Social Work Education. 280-331

APPENDICES 333-386
Curricula Appendix 333-353
Methods Appendix 354-364
Placement Appendix 365-369
Selection and Assessment Appendix. 370-376
Statistical Appendix 377-386

BIBLIOGRAPHY 387-458
There is an apparent timeless quality about schemes for philanthropic reform and the eradication of pauperism. They seem to originate when the plight of the poor is discovered by the well-to-do, and when disorder among the lower classes threatens the security of property. Concerned elites then take action which oscillates between compassionate efforts to alleviate distress and harsh policies to deter the poor from becoming clamorous. (Gettleman 1975:49)

The maintenance of a class-structured mode of production poses a variety of problems centring on ensuring or enforcing the commitment of the subordinated classes to their ascribed roles in that system. In capitalism, the central institutional locus of this 'disciplining' of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie was, and remains, the work place itself. Nevertheless, the controls and discipline which can be exercised through the work place are not of themselves sufficient to inculcate and maintain the whole range of habits of mind and behaviour necessary to the untroubled development of a bourgeois order. Most importantly, these controls do not have the necessary range or power to extend themselves to the non-work spheres of social life. (J. Clarke 1975:1)

We are talking about how a ruling class rules and how ruled classes are ruled. (P.R.D. Corrigan 1977:5)

The Other Class acts and forms too: the middle class has problems, decisions and revisions. Labour historians have tended to ignore these, as have some organised socialists. 'the class struggle' is a way of seeing forms and activities within movements as well as between classes.. (Yeo 1977:6)
PREFACE

Generally doctoral theses are of two types, one of which makes an exhaustive examination of a particular incident or institution within a relatively narrow time span, while the other type undertakes a much wider and longer view of some aspect of social life. Both approaches have their drawbacks and their advantages. This thesis is an example of the latter type and constitutes an attempt to provide a broad analytical framework for understanding the development and character of social work and social work education in Britain.

My concern to write such a thesis was informed by a number of features which are worth recounting in this preface as it places the study in perspective. The main impetus came through my own experience of a professional social work course which I undertook as part of a combined four year social science/social work degree course in a London polytechnic. Many of the courses in the social science stream of the degree encouraged the students to take a critical and historical perspective. There was also a general consensus among most of the left wing staff and students that the social work option should be avoided; it was after all an occupation of social control and with its liberal and humanitarian facade best left to the "girls from 'good' homes - generally from the Home Counties" who seemed well suited for such 'good works'. This attitude betrayed a number of prejudices then evident on the Left, including sexism and a particular political 'morality' which is still present although less pronounced. This morality was well captured at the time in the "Our Norman" cartoon which appeared weekly in the International Socialist's paper Socialist Worker. That is, 'good' politics was that which focused on the factory based working class or well defined incidents of imperialist aggression such as Vietnam, South Africa and then Chile. One consequence of this narrow political perspective
was that whole areas of activity were deemed to be politically dubious or irrelevant. Probably the most notable of these was the growing activity of women against sexism, many of whom left socialist groups in anger at their narrow economism to form independent Women's Groups.

Another consequence of this political stance was reflected in the social policy field where despite its richness for observing the State in operation, socialist activity or study was met with taunts of reformism.

While some areas of social policy like education have received attention from socialists (c.f. Simon 1965, Young 1971), vast areas have been ignored. At a recent meeting of the newly formed Socialist Social Policy Group a number of lecturers bemoaned the paucity of critical studies and the lack of resources they could recommend to students. Most of them admitted that they still distributed reading lists on which the articles of Saville and Thompson written in 1957 formed the basis of the debate and discussion on the character of the Welfare State. The critical literature has expanded in recent years with the publication of Kincard's (1973) study on poverty and social security, Coates and Silburn's book on St. Anne's (1970) and the CEP (1977) pamphlets, but there is still a desperate shortage. In the social work field the position is worse still.

It was the absence of virtually any critical reading material on social work apart from well-worn copies of Wootton's (1959) lively criticisms that I and fellow radical students confronted when we began the social work option in 1972. Case Con which was then being regularly published provided some sustenance, but its propagandist and sloganist line at the time could be easily dismissed and countered. Our main ammunition came from related subject areas such as the sociology of deviance and the works of Laing and Cooper (1968, 1971) in psychology and above all, our understanding of Marxism. But in our challenge to the social work orthodoxy per se we were forced, usefully, on to our own resources and we had to work out collectively our responses.
However, as any student on a social work course will testify, time is a scarce commodity. Social work training involves a seven day week if the stipulated requirements are to be met. There is very little free time in which to develop alternative explanations and critiques. The same situation applies to those in full time practice where high case loads and the often depressing nature of the work leave little time or energy for reflective study and writing. It is therefore appropriate that I should acknowledge at this juncture the assistance of the Social Science Research Council and the Sociology and Social Administration Department of Durham University for providing the time and excellent resources which allowed this study to be written. I have always felt, and still do, that research of this kind should be done 'in the field'; in contact with practicing social workers and their clients. However, this is not possible at the moment, and so I am indeed grateful for the opportunities given to me at Durham.

In recent years there has been a significant increase in the number of socialists and radicals engaged in social work and undertaking social work training. Accompanying this there has been considerable thought about the possibilities of radical social work. One example of this development was the 1976 National Deviancy Conference's annual meeting which was devoted exclusively to social work, and attracted nearly three hundred people, many of whom were either practicing social workers or students. Since then there have been innumerable meetings around the country which have debated and discussed radical strategies. As many people are now aware there are countless problems facing radical social workers (c.f. M. Clarke 1976). The whole question of whether it is even possible to engage in such a thing as 'radical social work', and what that means, is still disputed. Some writers have even maintained that the left critiques of social work have paralysed radical action:

The heavy Left has produced such a damning critique of social work's social control function that many so-called radicals have
ceased to function at all. Where radical rhetoric has been translated into radical practice it has tended to take place between 5 p.m. and 9 a.m. thus ironically ensuring the continuance of a conservative style of casework which is often of a non-directive variety. (Evans 1976:18)

A similar message was recently delivered by Cohen (1975) who urged radical social workers to tell those non-practicing critics of social work "to get off (our) backs" (ibid:94).

Many of the difficulties confronting radical social workers stem from an unclear and imprecise understanding of social work in society. Many of the avenues which they have explored have led to dead-ends or untenable hypotheses such as the suggestion that clients could form a potential revolutionary vanguard. This position tends to ignore that many clients are faced with real and acute problems and equally important, forgets that clients are often isolated from and stigmatised by the majority of the working class population. The most prevalent activity of radicals at the present time is within their trade unions, usually NALGO or NUPE. Given the character of social work this may be the most appropriate strategy to develop if it also leads to the best service possible being given to clients. There is certainly an element of truth in Ewan's statement that some radicalism is reserved solely for the non-working hours of the day. It is my contention that many of the difficult issues which the question of radical social work raise, demand an awareness of the place of social work within the contemporary welfare matrix and how it has arrived there. As one militant Probation Officer noted:

New directions in social work will prove as under-productive as the old ones unless they are based on a clear understanding of our role in society. (Beaumont 1976:74)
It is the elucidation of the role of social work in society that constitutes the central objective of this thesis. The study is not directly concerned with establishing blueprints for radicals but rather with identifying the character and development of social work on the basis that such an analysis is necessary if radicals and socialists are to develop appropriate strategies. More simply stated, if the 'beast' is to be challenged we need to know what sort of beast it is.

In attempting this task of elucidation the thesis has been divided into three sections which examine the clients of social work, its knowledge base and the 'making' of social workers. Given the historical materialist perspective I have adopted, the discussion is wide ranging for it is my contention that the development of social work and social work education cannot be considered in isolation from general changes in the social structure. As I argue throughout the study, changes in production, demographic structures, the condition and character of the labour market and not least in the balance of class forces, have all impinged on the way in which social work has developed, including the construction of its knowledge base and the pattern of education it has adopted for training and socialising social workers, as well as its place within the overall welfare apparatus of the State.

The historical dimension of the thesis is intended primarily to highlight these inter-relationships rather than as an end in itself, and above all, to challenge the prevailing orthodoxy within much social work and social policy literature that the development of welfare policies in this country has been informed essentially by humanitarian concerns.

In examining the reasons which gave rise to social work and its subsequent development I focus mainly on the dominant classes and the State; their perception of social problems and the strategies they have constructed. In this examination social work education has been taken as a most useful standpoint from which to investigate the character of social work. Part
of this focus was informed by tactical considerations, for social work, especially between 1945 and 1970 was a ubiquitous activity fragmented among number of specialisms. Social work education was however, for most of that period, largely common to all the specialist branches, and in some ways could be said to have constituted the heart of the activity. This status is again reflected in the fact that most of the leading theorists and writers of social work have been social work teachers. Thus, it is thus stature of social work education as a 'common denominator' of a fragmented profession, and as the place where the ideology and theories of social work were and still are articulated to neophyte workers which makes it such a useful standpoint for examining the profession as a whole. Furthermore, social work is an activity which ultimately depends on individual practitioners. Consequently, if we are to gain any adequate understanding of the ways in which this activity is sustained and implemented we must examine the processes by which social workers "are made".

Almost inevitably in a thesis of this kind which analyses one branch of the contemporary State apparatus from above, there is a tendency for the activity to appear as homogenous, co-ordinated and effective. The question of its effectiveness has however, only been considered tangentially. In some of the chapters I indicate certain issues which strongly suggest, as I would suspect, that social work has great difficulty in realising its objectives. Similarly, the recent emergence of radical practitioners and a few radical courses does signify that social work is neither 'closed' nor tightly regulated and controlled.

Consequently, this study can only be considered as one part of an overall analysis of social work. Apart from developing further some of the arguments raised in the following chapters there is a great need for empirical studies of the actual day to day practice of social work and the teaching of social work students. In both areas forms of resistance have been and are being developed which would shed further light on the
character of social work. Furthermore, from such studies we may hopefully begin to grasp more clearly how sections of the working class population come to be clients, and the ways in which they perceive their problems and the activities of social workers. In terms of developing alternatives to, and extending our critical awareness of social work, these studies would be invaluable.

Despite these drawbacks, I do feel that this thesis can contribute to our understanding of social work and social work education and help bridge "the wide gap to be filled in the need for a critical perspective within the profession" (Bailey and Brake 1975:1).

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My visits to a few social work education departments, and my discussions with practicing social workers, teachers and students, were always
heartening and made me feel that it was worth continuing with the project, and I would like to thank: the staffs of the social work departments at Aberdeen, Bradford, Newcastle and Warwick Universities: Dame Silleen Younghusband; and Mr. R. Wright and Sir Derman Christopherson of the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work.

As Durham University is one of the few institutions of higher education in Britain that does not run a social work course this research placed a great burden on the Library staff and I am greatly indebted to the workers in the Inter-Library Loan section of the University Library for their kindness and efficiency in supplying the many books and articles I required. Similarly, I would like to thank Pat who has successfully typed her first thesis.

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SECTION ONE


Introduction.

CHAPTER 1
The Charity Organisation Society and the Deserving Poor.

CHAPTER 2
Section One


Particular sections of the working class which constitute the primary client populations of the social work enterprise, are its material base - without them there would be no social work. It is a central argument of this thesis that the clients of social work, and the way in which they have been selected and perceived as being problematic, are among the crucial determinants of social work's practice, its methods, its educational programme and theories, and of the trajectory of its development since the latter part of the nineteenth century. The transformation of philanthropy, and the emergence of modern social work which took place under the aegis of the Charity Organisation Society (COS) in the period between 1869 and 1914, and then its re-emergence as an increasingly important State agency of social control in the post 1945 period, are both inextricably related to ruling class perceptions of certain sections of the working class as problematic and requiring remedial or supervisory intervention. Moreover, the form and content of social work intervention have been formulated within the parameters of these definitions of the problem; they are not formulated in isolation or abstractedly. While I would not want to dismiss the undoubted compassion and humanitarianism which has motivated many social workers it would be a grave mistake to treat the origins and subsequent development of social work, or the Welfare State, as primarily the result of compassionate impulses among the middle and upper classes, or as one of the more obvious indices of a progressive and rational civilisation, in which class barriers have been largely dissolved, and which operates in the best interests of all the people. This study has as one of its objectives to counter this type of explanation of the origins and development of social work which has been advanced by many writers;
the British Empire was created in a fit of absence of mind, the Welfare State has been no less the result of a fit of conscience or, rather, as the story of its progress will have shown, of a whole series of fits of conscience.
(Bruce 1961:259)

it can be seen that the increased demand for social workers is also a product of the increased sensitivity of the community to the needs of its individual members. Social workers themselves have played a large part in creating that greater sensitivity.
(Forder 1966:19)

An historical analysis of the growth of the health and welfare services as they concern us shows that these, like other social services, come into existence in different forms at different times because some individual enthusiast or group of pioneers became deeply conscious of a need and tried to meet it, or else because social reformers struggled to arouse their fellow citizens to awareness of the hardships suffered by the more unfortunate of their number.
(Younghusband Report 1959:36-37)

The sentiment of human benevolence, and its practical expression, derived directly from religious influence....There is no doubt that the greatest single urge to help the less fortunate...sprang from deep religious experience.
(Young and Ashton 1956:41-2; cited Clarke 1975:5)

Compared with other State agencies such as the police, the judiciary, and earlier institutions like the Workhouse, which have dealt with similar populations, there is a clear sense in which social work can be conceived of as predominantly compassionate. Its vocabulary for example, abounds with terms such as 'care', 'help', 'love' and 'acceptance'. But this 'soft' approach was not the mere consequence of religiously rooted sentiment but was instead a different strategy with the same intentions as the more punitive and obvious control strategies. Some social work writers have nevertheless, recognised that social work does contain a central regulatory strand, although they still hold to the notion of its ethical and religious foundation:

Although its framework is based on religious and ethical beliefs prevailing in our society at the time it came into being, its justification is economic rather than humanitarian, and it is industrial society which provides its raison d’etre. The collective provision is required to enable individuals to function effectively in a competitive world...
(Heywood 1964:39)

And Pollard has noted that:

Doubtless, social caseworkers are intended for the sake of the sufferers themselves, to offer an individualised service which alone can relieve their difficulties effectively. But individual maladjustments to common social patterns have also a great nuisance value in a highly organised state, and caseworkers are employed by statutory social agencies at
least partly to keep this nuisance within bounds.
(Pollard 1962:2)

Shifts over time, in the regulatory apparatus of the State, and the emergence of 'soft' approaches alongside and complementary to more punitive ones, have been directly related to the changing perceptions of the client populations and of the problems they have been deemed to present to the smooth functioning of society. It is a major concern of this thesis to show the way in which these perceptions have been crucial determinants of the development of social work, its practice, knowledge and education. The study starts therefore, with a discussion of the clients of social work and will attempt to delineate why they were perceived as problematic, and why social work has been regarded as the best means for dealing with them.
CHAPTER ONE

The Charity Organisation and the Deserving Poor.

Working class poverty and destitution, and related factors such as unemployment which inevitably precipitate poverty whether it be relative or absolute for those who depend on the sale of their labour power for survival, have been, and continue to be viewed as problematic and a threat to social stability (c.f. CDP 1977: chp 5). But, despite the continuity of the problem per se, there have also been some very important changes in the way that problem has been perceived which have been determined by historically specific features. Moreover, the status and importance which has been accorded to working class poverty has differed according to the particular historical period. Thus, in some periods it has been seen as the major social problem of the time, while at others it has been relatively ignored. Some indication of this movement is apparent in the social policy literature which discusses "discoveries and rediscoveries of poverty"; a movement which, as Coates and Silburn (1970:14ff) have rightly pointed out, does not reflect any major changes in the actual extent of poverty, but rather in its perception by the non-poor.

In the period from the mid nineteenth century until the outbreak of war in 1914 the problems associated with working class poverty and destitution assumed massive proportions. It was a concern that was to have far-reaching consequences for the development of the State and the subsequent development of social welfare policies in this country. Indeed, this period has been rightly identified as marking one of the most significant periods for the establishment of what is now known as the Welfare State. By 1914 there were such 'modern' welfare schemes as old age pensions, labour exchanges, national health insurance and social work, to name just a few. Taking the case of social work, which is the central concern of this study, Cormack...
could write in 1964 that;

by 1914 social work had attained a position of real influence, and already possessed so many familiar features that many of us would find ourselves almost at home in its small world - much more so than in many other Edwardian circles.

(1964:30)

That working class poverty could occasion such an impressive response from the State and the ruling classes in this period was due to a cluster of features which when combined together made the "condition of the working class" so problematic and threatening that something had to be done.

In this chapter I want to consider primarily the Charity Organisation Society which developed social work as a means for dealing with the problems of working class poverty (1). While social work may have been only one of many responses, it was nevertheless influential and important. The activities of the COS not only had far reaching implications for the future development of social work, but its theories and methods had wide ranging significance throughout this period until 1914 for the entire field of social policy.

The Charity Organisation Society was formed in London in 1869. From its inception it attracted some of the most notable social reformers of the time into its membership, including Lord Litchfield, Henry Solly, and Lord Shaftesbury. It also received active support from numerous other public figures such as the Bishop of London, General Cavenagh (Price 1892) as well as countless peers and members of parliament, clergy and lawyers (Bailward 1907:59). (2)

1. There are now available a number of studies which have thoroughly explored many of the important debates and developments which took place between 1880 and 1914 over the issues of unemployment and poverty. I do not attempt to repeat all their arguments or material and would therefore recommend the following for providing further detail on some of the issues raised in this chapter; Abrams 1968; Harris 1972; Harrison 1966, 1973; G.S. Jones 1971; Lynd 1945; Novak 1977; Searle 1971.

2. The class character of the COS's membership has been noted by Yeo:

"The Church of England, law, medicine, the services and the civil service were the main sources of COS activists, with the addition of some City and aristocratic patronage. Industrialists did not figure significantly in the Society".

(1973:viii)
As one leading member of the Society noted when reviewing its work at the beginning of the twentieth century:

The early vigour of the Society was remarkable. Within eighteen months of its birth district committees had been established in every part of London – a fact sufficiently noteworthy when it is remembered that, only a few months earlier, the rent and expenses of the central office had been defrayed by the chairman. (Bailward 1907:58)

The attractiveness and early success of the Society in drawing in innumerable ‘experts’, many of whom had been active in the Social Science Association (c.f. H. Bosanquet 1914:16; Abrams 1968) which had been founded in 1857 to discuss the special problems associated with working class poverty, was due to a growing feeling among large sections of the professional and upper classes that existing forms of philanthropy were having a deliterious effect upon a huge section of the London working class. One writer estimated that during the winter of 1868 when unemployment was rife among the large population of casual workers in the East End of London, that over half a million people were being ‘pauperised’ through the liberality of "silly and ignorant women" from the West End (cited H. Bosanquet 1914:12). In fact in London, between 1861 and 1869 the number of charities grew from 640 to 1143, and it was claimed that by 1871 their combined income was around £3 million (Woodard 1961:64).

This explosion of philanthropy among the wealthy of the West End of London was primarily fueled by fear that the working class poor, which congregated in the East End of the city would be driven by their poverty and squalor to rebellion and riot (c.f. C.S. Jones 1971). Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century there were constant warnings that industrial and commercial progress and success had brought in its wake a social system that was both unstable and volatile. The physical separation of the population into what Disraeli aptly characterised as two nations, "the rich and the poor" (1845/1954:173) was compounded by the absence of any substantial 'bridging' apparatus that could ensure a quiescent working class and its
development within the confines of a capitalist society. Jevons, writing in 1882 maintained that:

The greatest evil of the present day (is) the entire disunion of the labourer and the capitalist.

(1882:163)

And a few years later Sir John Gorst warned that the working class poor, may swell to such proportions as to render continuance of our existant social system impossible.

(1894, cited Simon 1965:80)

Certainly, the traditional forms of social regulation outside of the work place such as the established church were no longer the powerful influence they had been (Mayor 1960:22), and many workers had become alienated from it due to its rigid attitude on social reform and its notion of poverty as a dispensation of Providence (P. Jones 1966:59; c.f. Inglis 1963) (1). It was in the absence of any substantial mechanisms which could bridge the gulf between the classes that the middle and upper classes began individually or collectively to penetrate actively into the working class districts of London to pursue the objective which was accurately expressed by White in the British Weekly of October 1895:

Let the working man and the capitalist be taught that they are members of one another, and let the relations between them be based on brotherly considerations of the common needs of life, and there will be no cause for the rich man to 'howl' or the poor man to conspire and confiscate, under the pretence of social equality.

We can say with some certainty that virtually all the thousand or so organised philanthropic organisations and initiatives that were established in London and other major cities at this time (c.f. M. Simey 1951 for details of such activities in Liverpool), were concerned with re-establishing the rule of the dominant classes among an urban working class which appeared to be growing out of their control. The strategies adopted by the different

1. The extent to which the established church had been primary institution for regulating the working class earlier in the nineteenth century has been fully discussed by Inglis, who noted that between 1809 and 1820 parliament voted £100,000 annually to the Church of England to enable it to expand (build churches) in the newly forming urban areas.
organisations were by no means uniform or co-ordinated. The Settlement movement, which was one of the more influential initiatives, was concerned to re-introduce in the East End of London a 'ruling-class' who in the words of its leader Canon Barnett, would "see that the laws are carried out and generally keep the social life going" (cited Adderley 1916:48). For this purpose Barnett made regular visits to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in order to persuade the students to come and spend some time living in the settlements he had established in the East End such as Oxford House in Bethnal Green. As Canon Scott Holland noted, the message delivered to the students was, "come and be the squires of East London" (cited, ibid):

The resident settlers are designed to take the place of the fugitive natural leaders. They ask the East End not to judge the educated classes by the absentees to whom they pay rent and render work, but to accept them as their true representatives. (Kenson 1889, cited Inglis 1963) (1)

However, the predominant response to the threat of working class unrest and their physical and ideological separation was dole giving philanthropy. This strategy was on the whole less well organised and spasmodic, although extensive. It was estimated that between eight and ten million pounds were distributed annually by the philanthropists in the East End throughout the latter decades of the nineteenth century (Woodard 1961:64). The underlying objective of this activity was not hard to grasp, being based on the old notions of duty and patronage whereby the donor expected the recipient poor to behave acceptably and with due deference in return for the alms they received (Wilson 1977:47). This ideology of dole giving charity was succinctly expressed by Engels:

The English bourgeoisie is charitable out of self-interest; it gives nothing outright but regards its gifts as a business matter, making a bargain with the poor, saying; "If I spend this much on benevolent institutions I thereby purchase the right not to be troubled any further, and you are bound thereby to stay in your dusky holes and not to irritate my tender nerves by exposing your misery. You shall despair unseen, this I require, this I purchase with my subscription of twenty pounds for the infirmary!"

It is infamous this charity of a Christian bourgeois.
(1845, 1952ed:279)

1. For other examples of such strategies see Harrison's work on Girls Friendly Society (1973) and John Taylor's study of working men's clubs (1972).
It was in response to the prevalence of this form of philanthropy that the COS was formed in 1869. The Society became the focus for all those progressive reformers who believed that dole giving was a totally inappropriate strategy for dealing with the poor, and furthermore, that such action was undermining the already precarious social discipline of the working class as a whole.

The Charity Organisation Society shared with the dole givers, whom they called 'indiscriminate almsgivers', a concern about the separation of the classes and the threat posed by an independently organised working class. The emergence of socialist parties such as the Social Democratic Federation and the increasing organisation of workers in trade unions which took place during the last two decades of the century were only two of the most obvious portents of such a threat. But the Society steadfastly maintained that a materialist response such as alms and doles was totally inadequate to avert or quell class antagonisms, and that the strategy was based on a fundamental misunderstanding of the structure of contemporary society and the causes of poverty and destitution. Thus as the very name of the Society denoted, one of its major objectives was to control and regulate all philanthropic activity and to ensure that it operated along the lines the Society laid down as being 'scientific' and in accord with the prevailing and required needs of society.

It was the contention of the Society that there had to be a return to the principles and theories which had informed the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act. As one COS member noted, this Act had resulted in an "enormous reduction of

1. The following two passages cited by Lynd (1945) reflect this fear of the power of an independently organised working class:

"The organisation of labour is year after year becoming more complete, and under existing arrangements there is no adequate protection against an abuse of power which that organisation has placed in the hands of a few men by whom it is controlled." (The Economist vol 48 (1) 1890:360)

"The shadow of the working man lies dark over the House of Commons. The horny hand is at its throat" (Lucy 1892:355)
pauperism", but;
By the early sixties the lessons of 1834 had been, to a great extent forgotten, and the pendulum had begun to swing in the old direction. There was a violent recrudescence of pauperism. (Bailward 1907:56-7)

According to the Society, the Poor Law enshrined a cluster of principles about the character of destitution and the working class which were as valid at the end of the nineteenth century as they had been half a century earlier. Among the most important of these was the notion that poverty was an inevitable condition of the working class and wage labour. (1) Moreover, it was a necessary condition for it compelled workers into wage labour, and it was one of the objectives of the 1834 Act to prohibit and regulate all those forms of poor relief which were directed at alleviating poverty on the grounds that such relief diminished the necessity of workers to engage in wage labour. As the Report of the Poor Law Commissioners' noted:

It has never been deemed expedient that the provision should extend to the relief of poverty; that is, the state of one, who in order to obtain a mere subsistence is forced to have recourse to labour. (1834:227; cited Novak 1975:10, my emphasis)

Although wage labour only provided a subsistence income, it was argued by the Society that it need not mean a 'bad life' for the worker and his family as it did provide the means for that most hallowed condition of self-reliance and independence:

The normal life, the right life, is a life of independence. Hard work, continual endeavour, and a small income mean neither unhappiness nor hardship. To be a poor man is an honourable estate. (Shairp 1910:12)

Pauperism and destitution, especially of the able-bodied was condemned and stigmatised precisely because it entailed dependency. Both the Poor Law Commissioners and later the COS consistently maintained that the primary

1. This point was clearly made in Colquhoun's Treatise on Indigence (1806): "Poverty is that state and condition in society where the individual has no surplus labour in store, and, consequently no property but what is derived from the constant exercise of industry in the various occupations of life; or in other words, it is the state of everyone who must labour for subsistence. Poverty is therefore a most necessary and indispensable ingredient in society, without which nations and communities could not exist in a state of civilisation." (Cited Rose 1971:47, my emphasis).
cause of such dependency was the inadequate and bankrupt character of the destitute. There was no structural reason they argued, prohibiting any able-bodied individual from being self-reliant and independent. Thus, as the monthly journal of the COS, the Charity Organisation Review (COR) noted in 1881:

There can be no doubt that the poverty of the working classes of England is due, not to their circumstances (which are more favourable than those of any other working population of Europe); but to their improvident habits and thriftlessness. If they are ever to be more prosperous, it must be through self-denial, temperance and forethought. (vol 10:50) (1)

It became the central platform of the COS's programme both in terms of its development of social work and its critique of indiscriminate almsgiving that character was the crucial and all important factor for understanding the causes of destitution and squalor. In the writings of the leading members of the Society - Charles Loch, Octavia Hill, and Helen and Bernard Bosanquet - it was stressed time and again that any relief strategy which was intent upon improving the condition of the working class must focus upon the character of the poor, and attempt to ensure that the working class adopted as their own, attitudes of thrift, self-reliance and independence. (2). If this was done they argued, destitution could be prevented, poverty could be made tolerable and social harmony and stability strengthened.

The following passages illuminate the primacy which the COS accorded to character as being the determinant of the destitutes' condition. Helen Bosanquet, a leading theorist of the Society wrote that:

the amount of money which passes through their hands is not insignificant. I speak confidently, with full knowledge of all the difficulties of a small income, when I say that there are comparatively few families in London through whose hands there had not passed in the course of the year sufficient money and money's worth to have made a life free at any rate from hunger, and cold, and with much in it of good. (1902:101-2)

1. It should be noted here that the term poverty came to take on an increasingly looser meaning during the nineteenth century and came to be used interchangeably with destitution. It did not remain restricted to the condition of wage labour alone.

2. In chapter 3 I shall be examining in detail the theoretical grounds which informed this insistence on character as the pivot of social reform.
The squalid housing of the working class in the slums of East London, was, like their destitution, also attributed to a lack of morality:

The people's houses are bad because they are badly built and arranged; they are tenfold worse because of the tenant's habits and lives are what they are. Transplant them tomorrow to healthy and commodious houses and they would pollute and destroy them.

(Hill 1884:10)

And the 23rd Annual Report of the Society stated that:

Speaking broadly and after all due deductions made, one may say that character is the key to circumstances, he therefore, that would permanently mend circumstances must aim at character. All that can be done externally to improve circumstances should be done, but there will be no lasting betterment without internal change.

(1891:9)

It was on the basis that the squalid condition of a large section of the urban working class was due "to moral causes - to weakness of will and poverty of spirit" (Loch 1906:xvi), that the COS developed a relief programme and social welfare philosophy which insisted that the focus of intervention be on the character of the poor and thus, that strategies should be primarily of an educative rather than material nature. Moreover, it argued, given the prevailing immorality of the poor, not only would material relief in the form of doles have no regenerative effect, but it would also reinforce such vices as dependency, and so fund the bad social habits of the poor:

Soup kitchens, philanthropic societies, country holiday funds, ragged school funds, funds from all the enterprising newspapers, and funds from all the political clubs in the district; church funds and chapel funds; missions and mother's meetings, all are engaged in pouring money into a slough of poverty which swallows it up and leaves no trace of improvement. No one is richer for all the thousands of pounds which are squandered in the parish... It has even been suggested that the amount of charity which comes into the parish bears a certain fixed relation to the amount taken by the public houses; but it would be difficult to prove any causal connection.

(H. Bosanquet, 1896:37)

It was the contention of the Society that the Poor Law system established in 1834 was the correct type of relief strategy to deal with the destitute. If an individual could not sustain independence and self-reliance it was essential, the COS argued, that that person should have to enter the workhouse, for the punitive administration of the 'house would either have a salutary effect on the individual's attitude toward the necessity for independence through wage
labour, or would ensure, if the pauper's attitude did not change, that he would be strictly controlled and prohibited from contaminating "good workers" who were striving to maintain self-reliance. Thus, one of the Poor Law Guardians in the St. George in the East district of (east) London, A.G. Crowder noted that:

Firmness and uniformity are essential for producing an effect on the habits of the poor.
(cited Loch, 1890:28)

On all accounts, the Society argued, the administration of the Poor Law must remain harsh and punitive if it was to exert a moralising influence on the whole of the working class. Towards the end of the nineteenth century there was evidence that some Poor Law unions were taking a more liberal view of the plight of the elderly and infirm destitute, letting them for example have newspapers (1), and exempting them from doing work in the 'house. Similarly, there was an extension in the provision of out-door relief to able-bodied destitute and their families. (1). All of these liberalising trends were trenchantly criticised by the COS as undermining the independence of the working class, that is, removing the necessity for the working class poor to support themselves and carry the burden of reproducing and maintaining their labour power. Thus, on the consequences of liberalising the Poor Law relief for the elderly and the infirm, the Charity Organisation Quarterly noted that:

If the condition of the inmates of the workhouse were to be regulated so as to invite the aged and infirm of the working class to take refuge in it, it would immediately be useless as a test between indigence and indolence or fraud— it would no longer operate as an inducement to the young and healthy to provide support for their later years, or as a stimulus to them, while they have the means, to support their aged parents or relatives.
(September 1900; cited Todd 1964:33)

1. Much of this liberalisation of Poor Law policy was due to the agitation of the poor, and was an attempt to pacify their demands for more adequate and less punitive relief. Bailward gave an example of this agitation when he wrote that:

"Certain boards of guardians in East London were sitting under police protection, besieged by threatening crowds of paupers, and the rates were going up by leaps and bounds." (1907:57)

And in November 1908, the Chief Metropolitan Poor Law Inspector reported that:

"There appears to be throughout London a general organisation which for political ends is exerting pressure on Boards of Guardians to give undue relief." (Cited Harris 1972:273)
If the lax administration of the Poor Law led to dependency among the working class, the tightening up of the regulations and abolition of out-door relief were, as Mr. Bland-Garland a Guardian in the Bradfield Union argued, as startling in their effects in enhancing independence and good social habits. Thus, in 1888 when the Bradfield Union abolished out-door relief, Bland-Garland maintained that:

I can reply with perfect confidence that the condition of the people has much improved; that it never was so good as now, although ages are considerably less than they were in the earlier years .... They have learnt in a great measure to depend on their own exertions, to provide against a rainy day, to support their aged parents, and the demands on private charity are much less than when they were recipients of the miserable pauper dole, or were looking forward to obtaining it. (Cited Loch 1890:31-32)

Following on from the COS's assertions about the centrality of the Poor Law in the relief and regulation of the working class destitute, and its role as a moral influence over the entire working class, the Society was intent upon circumscribing charitable activity, both in order to prevent it from under-mining the Poor Law and demoralising the working class poor, and to ensure that it was operated in accordance with the philosophy which underpinned the Poor Law. That the relief policy of the Poor Law required an extra (charitable) dimension at all, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, was due, the COS maintained, to the increasing heterogeniety of the working class destitute. The Poor Law was established and administered on a unitary perception of the working class destitute as being morally bankrupt and so lacking in appropriate social habits that they required the harsh 'treatment' of the workhouse. An extra dimension to this relief policy was considered essential by the Society because not all the destitute were so demoralised and, like the working class as a whole, could be differentiated into three categories:

a) The type that vastly prefers to fight his own battles and looks to no one to help him.
b) The type to whom the idea of self-maintenance and struggle is abhorrent, and whose first object is to off load on to someone else the effort involved in his maintenance; and
c) a very large intermediate class which will show energy in self support in the presence of a general expectation that it will do so, but will readily acquiesce in dependence if this is in the vogue and made easy.

('X' 1918:9)
Thus, according to the COS, the Poor Law was both appropriate and necessary for those destitute drawn from category 'b' who were deemed to require a strict approach, but not for many of those from category 'c' who had a tentative and precarious grasp of the virtue of independence, for as one COS worker explained:

Poor relief is necessarily restricted, so far as the able-bodied are concerned, to providing simple necessaries. It may keep a man alive, but it cannot do much to render life worth living. Once down, although it will not leave him to starve, it will do nothing to help him up again. (Sturge 1895:261)

Consequently, as Loch explained, the poor law system "is in the main deterrent, rather than reformatory" (1890: 8), and any improvement in the character of the paupers that did occur was through the paupers themselves realising the error of their ways, rather than through any positive, reformatory action taken by the staff of the Poor Law institutions. Thus, as Lodge argued, there was a sense in which the Poor Law was designed to keep the destitute as paupers:

It / the Poor Law / cannot help people to rise; if they rise they rise in spite of it; its tendency is rather to keep them down, to ensure their being absolute failures. The essence of the Poor Law is that the failures of the society are to be maintained at public cost, only on condition of the loss of their self-respect. (Lodge 1901:211)

This stance of the COS towards the deterrent and non-reformatory character of the Poor Law was not condemnatory or critical. According to the Society there was a substantial section of the working class destitute, which they called the 'Residuum', which were beyond any hope of reformation. The leaders of the Society were adamant that for this section of the working class poor a deterrent workhouse was a necessity, and Bernard Bosanquet maintained that it was a grave mistake to think that anything else could or should be done:

The Industrial Residuum is not a true self-propagating class; it is a mass of social wreckage, and must necessarily cease to exist, in so far as the causes are arrested which are perpetually renewing it. The error which I impute to popular theory on the subject consists in clinging to the illusion that "something can be done" for this class as such, while it remains such as it is. (Bosanquet, 1895:116)
And in a paper entitled 'The Industrial Residuum', Helen Bosanquet also presented the Society's position that this section of the working class (1) was beyond redemption:

it is impossible to organise dead matter from the outside, and the true Residuum is economically dead. It may be possible to galvanise it into a temporary appearance of life, to raise up a social monster that will be the terror of the community; but the best that can really be hoped for it is that it should gradually wear itself away, or in the coming generation be reabsorbed into the industrial life on which it is at present a mere parasite.

(1893:616)

Given this conception of the Residuum it was hardly surprising that the COS concurred with the deterrent essence of the Poor Law for this group, and that it should also come to support other strategies such as penal labour colonies (J. Brown, 1964, 1968) and emigration to the colonies (Rogers, 1911:11) in order to remove this section of the working class from society and prohibit its reproduction.

However, it is important to note that such conceptions of the Residuum and the discussions of methods to rid society of such people only came to the forefront during the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century. The reasons for this were related to the upsurge of unemployment at this time largely occasioned by the trade depressions (see table 1 in the Statistical Appendix and Beveridge 1909/1930; Alden 1905).

1. The characteristics of the Residuum were described by Helen Bosanquet:

"Measured by the economic standard they are rather negative than positive. The ideal economic man, as we know, is remarkable for his foresight and self control; in the Residuum these qualities are entirely absent. In the place of foresight we find the happy faith which never fails, that 'something will turn up', and instead of self control the impulsive recklessness which may lead indifferently to a prodigal generosity, or an almost inconceivable selfishness. The true type of this class lives in the present moment only; not only is he without foresight, he is also without memory, in the sense that his past is so completely past that he has no more organised experience to refer to than a child. Hence his life is one incoherent jumble from beginning to end; it would be impossible to make even a connected story out of it, for every day repeats the same mistakes, the follies and mishaps of yesterday; there is no development in it; all is aimless and drifting...

The absence of economic virtues is of course only one aspect of a very strongly marked type of character; it accompanies a low order of intellect, and a degredation of the natural affections to something little better than animal instincts."

(1893:601)
High unemployment meant that there was an ever larger pool of surplus labour available. (1). The Residuum, which had been one of the major sectors of the industrial reserve army of labour throughout the prosperous period of the nineteenth century, especially on the docks of London and Liverpool (2), were no longer required as the ranks of the industrial reserve were swelled by 'better' labour due to the decline in the economy. Whereas at one time the Residuum were considered as functional for the labour market (although always of dubious character), they were now seen as a cancerous and parasitic core who through their poor work habits and social discipline were contaminating good labour as well as being a drain on relief provisions. It was in this context therefore, that great efforts were made to differentiate between the categories of the unemployed for the reasons noted by Alden:

We must differentiate between the genuine unemployed man who is in search of work, and the vicious vagrant who is in search of opportunities for plunder and who has not the slightest intention of working. The latter is a danger to all peaceful citizens and a useless drain on the funds of the community.

(1905:18)

The COS was very much in the vanguard of this movement of differentiation and discrimination of the unemployed destitute. It was the Society's policy that charity should be reserved only for those destitute who had some vestige of 'character' while those who had none had to be left to the Poor Law as the Annual Report of the Stoke Newington and Dalston COS explained:

The principle for which our Society has always stood is to make a man or a women self-supporting. We do not approve of a system of doles or indiscriminate charity. We think that where a distressed person still has some character left in his nature and he is neither deprived nor completely broken down by adversity he should be helped in so adequate a manner as to render him independent of all help for the future. But we feel that those who have passed beyond this category can only be dealt with by the State.

(1910/1911:5)

1. I have discussed in more detail elsewhere (1975) the substantial debate about the re-structuring of the reserve army of labour which was central to many of the welfare policies which were enacted in this period. It cannot be over-emphasised how central the reserve army of labour issue was to the social policy debates of this time.

2. This point was noted by a Fabian Society pamphlet of 1886: "From this great mass of permanently unemployed the criminal classes are recruited: from thence also the Dock Companies draw, day by day, as they require it, their casual labour." (1886:4)
Similarly, Lord Thring, a member of the Society's policy-making Council, announced that:

All were agreed that charity ought to take care of the deserving poor, and that the profligate and the improvident should be left to the sterner rule of the Poor Law and the workhouse test.

(1895:25)

It was therefore, the intention of the Society to add an extra dimension to the relief policy of the Poor Law, whereby the Poor Law would retain its deterrent function and deal solely with the disreputable destitute, while charity would concern itself with the deserving poor:

Our conception has been that the Poor Law - the great relief system of the State... does not so cover the field of social work that charity can be extruded from its true and proper service, but that, on the contrary, without a contingent and parallel service of charity the action of the State is insufficient and fails.

(Loch, 1923:83) (1)

Thus, the selection of the deserving poor as the only appropriate category of the destitute that should be given non Poor Law assistance, charity, was determined by political, economic and ideological considerations. The recurring trade cycles and depressions, the mounting competition from Germany and the United States, and the relative decline of the old staple industries (coal and iron), were all having a decisive effect in increasing the levels of unemployment from the 1880s until the outbreak of war in 1914. (2)

Whereas it was possible for reformers to sustain a simple causal connection between destitution and immorality in the periods of capitalist expansion, and accordingly advocate and administer a punitive relief system, it became evident from the 1880s onwards, that material factors such as trade depressions and capitalist reconstruction were also important precipitators of unemployment and thus destitution. (3)

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1. The late date of this passage (1923) is due to it being taken from a posthumously published collection of papers by Charles Loch, who as secretary of the London COS from 1875 until 1913, has been recognised as one of the Society's most influential and significant spokesmen and leaders. (Mowat, 1961:63ff).

2. For details of the crisis in Britain's industry during this period see Hobsbawm 1974: chps 6 and 7.

3. Alden noted for example, how developing technology was making many skilled occupations obsolete (1905:67), and Harris (1972) has also indicated how the commercial crisis in the first decade of the twentieth century had a particularly severe effect on skilled artisans, especially in the heavy industrial area of the North East (cited Holbrook 1977:16)
Among the social reform groups there was both concern about the plight of those 'good' workers who had become unemployed, and considerable debate over what were the appropriate strategies to deal with them. One of the important aspects of the intra-class disputes about what appropriate strategies should be developed to assist the deserving poor and genuine unemployed, as they were also called, concerned the degree to which they were in fact deserving or genuine. In other words, to what extent their destitution was caused by economic factors beyond their control, or their character, which was within their control. The Charity Organisation Society was the principal proponent of the primacy of character, and maintained the view that the deserving poor only had a tenuous attachment to the 'correct' economic virtues and proper social habits. This precarious character of the deserving poor, the Society argued, meant that in periods of trade depression and squeeze on employment, they would be among the first workers to be laid off, as the Editorial of the COR explained:

No one who has given any thought to the matter will ever disregard the economic causes of unemployment; but however much weight we attach to them, the fact remains that an employer, in considering whether to engage or discharge a worker, is determined by whether or not he is 'worth his wages'. Does he render services which are worth the remuneration he demands for them? In this sense the personal factor is decisive. Nay, it even happens that an employer with a capable high class set of workers will prefer keeping them on through slack times, when one with an inferior set will dismiss them.  
(October 1909:248-9)

The COS was opposed by the Fabian Society and influential social commentators like John Hobson (1909), who, while they did not dismiss the importance of character, attributed the primary cause of unemployment to the machinations of the market:

While the personal factor of character explains why particular men are unemployed, it does not explain unemployment. Nor could any educative influences operative upon personal character prevent a recurrence of this malady.  
(Hobson; cited ibid:248)

And in a general policy statement in 1896, the Fabian Society declared:

That the existence of a class of unemployed willing but unable to find work is a necessary result of the present industrial system, in which every improvement of machinery throws fresh masses of men out of work,
and the competition of capitalists for the market produces recurring commercial crisis.
(1896:11)

Such differences in the conception of the problem of the unemployed had important consequences for the type of strategies which were deemed to be appropriate, and above all, about what role the State should play in their administration and development.

Despite the differences among such important social reform groups as the COS and the Fabian Society, there were many broad areas of agreement, and a shared concern about the dire consequences which they thought would flow from inadequate policies to deal with the deserving and genuine unemployed.

Both Societies agreed that the Poor Law was inappropriate for dealing with this section of the working class destitute, and that their inclusion under the Poor Law scheme would lead to their pauperisation and total demoralisation.

Thus one Fabian maintained that:

> The present system / of the Poor Law / of lumping together every man and women and child who receives relief out of the rates, regardless both of their past history and their future prospects, and also of the kind of relief required, may be convenient to the officials, but it is certainly both unscientific and unsatisfactory... The first step towards the humanization of our system must be the adoption of a radically different treatment for the deserving and the undeserving. Those who deserve relief must be separated from those who require punitive or restrictive action.
> (Oakeshott, 1849:9)

It was argued that Poor Law relief for the deserving destitute would embitter them as they would not be afforded any recognition for their attempts to maintain independence, and they would develop a heightened sense of injustice, as the workhouse operated on the assumption that they, rather than the market, were primarily at fault for their destitution. And it was also maintained that this form of relief would destroy what commitment the deserving poor did have to independence, and undermine their labour discipline, for as Sir John Gorst argued:

> Nothing degenerates from lack of use faster than the capacity to work, and the unemployed sank into the ranks of the unemployable.
> (Preface to Alden, 1905)
The concern to 'save' this section of labour from deterioration and from entering the growing Residuum was central to the objectives of the COS, and to government initiatives as the Chamberlain Circular of March 1886, which advised local authorities to establish relief works solely for the genuine unemployed. The following extracts from that Circular illustrate the government's concern that 'good' labour which became unemployed during slack periods of the economy should be maintained at a level that would prevent their physical and moral degeneration, to provide an active reserve of labour which could be drawn on once the market improved. Moreover, the Circular demonstrated a considerable awareness that the relief offered to the genuine unemployed had to be of such a type that it did permit the maintenance of an active reserve of labour that could be rapidly emptied when it was required. Thus, while it had to be 'better' than the Poor Law relief it should not be so attractive that it restricted the reserve's re-entry into the labour market:

"The Local Government Board/ are convinced that in the ranks of those who do not ordinarily seek poor law relief there is evidence of much and increasing privation, and if the depression in trade continues, it is to be feared that large numbers of persons usually in regular employment will be reduced to the greatest straits. Such a condition of things is subject for deep regret and very serious consideration. The spirit of independence which leads so many of the working classes to make great personal sacrifices rather than incur the stigma of pauperism, is one which deserves the greatest sympathy and respect, and which it is the duty of the community to maintain by all means at its disposal. .... It is not desirable that the working classes should be familiarised with poor law relief, and if once the honourable sentiment which now leads them to avoid it is broken down it is probable that recourse will be had to this provision on the slightest occasion. .... What is required in the endeavour to relieve artisans and others who have hitherto avoided poor law assistance, and who are temporarily deprived of employment is -
1. Work which will not involve the stigma of pauperism;
2. Work which all can perform, whatever may have been their previous avocations;
3. Work which does not compete with that of other labourers at present in employment;
And lastly, work which is not likely to interfere with the resumption of regular employment in their own trades by those who seek it."

(Cited Alden, 1905:145-7) (1)

1. We should not fail to recognise the similarity of that concern with the contemporary government initiatives such as the Job Creation Scheme and the Manpower Services Commission which are attempting to ensure that the young unemployed are not permanently lost from the labour force through the demoralisation of unemployment. (See T.B.S. 25/3/77, Holland Report 1977, and, for a slightly earlier period, Conant 1961:163).
Connected with this concern that the deserving poor would be lost to the labour market if they were left to the Poor Law, was the fear that their destitution would lead to their becoming contemptuous of capitalism which could either impel them towards socialism, or, to hopelessness. One contemporary commentator of the riots of the destitute in Trafalgar Square during February 1886 (c.f. G.S. Jones 1971:298) noted how the intrusion of 'respectable unemployed workmen' and socialists transformed the character of the mob, and introduced organisation thereby giving the destitute a sense of direction:

Off they went, these men - of the crafts of barber, cabinet maker, painter, cobbler, printer, window cleaner and labourer were they, themselves only a little less needy and out of elbows than the ragged army of want - to preach and proselytize. ... At first the majority of their listeners were the shiftless flotsam and jetsom of the community. Day by day, partly through publicity in the newspaper press ... the numbers increased of the more respectable unemployed workmen... The mob had now become articulate and capable of suggesting methods of extending the system. Not 'charity but work' was their formulated position.
(Burleigh, 1887:773-774)

And, John Burns, prior to his incorporation in the 1906 Liberal Administration, similarly drew attention to the increasing political character of the unemployed:

The extension of the franchise, education and trade unionism, Socialist propaganda, the broad and rising labour movement, have altered all this. The unemployed worker of today is of different stuff. He has a grievance, and he thinks he has a remedy.
(1893:14)

Moreover, Abrams has correctly noted that much of the concern to investigate and understand poverty as typified by the work of Booth (1902-1903) and Rowntree (1901) was underpinned by the assumption "that out of helplessness poverty bred socialism" (1968:36). Whereas the undeserving destitute and paupers were considered a menace to society because of their parasitic existence and criminal activities, they were not considered to be as potently -ially dangerous as the deserving destitute and genuine unemployed, who had links with the labour movement and were capable of organisation. Between 1889 and 1890 the number of trade unionists rose from about 860,000 to just under two millions (Morton and Tate 1956:192-193), and the vast majority of
these came from unskilled or semi-skilled occupations; the very constituency of the deserving poor. In the same period the Social Democratic Federation were actively involving themselves among the unemployed (Harrison 1974: Chp 8; Morton and Tate op cit: 174-175). Thus, it was no academic debate that the reform intelligentsia were involved in when they discussed the ripe breeding ground that destitution provided for the development of socialism.

Consequently, the many and diverse reform strategies which were developed in the latter part of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth centuries, and in which the foundations of modern social work were established, were all concerned with strengthening, from the view-point of capital, a particularly precarious section of the working class; the deserving poor. That is not to say that the immediate sections below, the Residuum, or above, 'the labour aristocracy', were not problematic to the ruling classes, and it was inevitable that concerns such as the spread of socialism were applied to the working class as a whole. But the immediate target group of reform organisations like the COS and later the Liberal Government of 1906 was this intermediate category of the working class who were regarded as gradually slipping out of the control of capital, both physically and ideologically. (1)

1. The impact of the Boer War was considerable on social policy reform due to the evidence that it uncovered concerning the physical capacities of the working class. Rowntree's survey of 3,600 recruits from York, Leeds and Sheffield between 1897 and 1900, discovered that 55% had to be rejected because of poor health (cited Gilbert, 1966:83). And the Inspector-General (Recruitment) stated that: "the one subject which causes anxiety in the future, as regards recruiting is the physical deterioration of the physique of the working classes, from which the bulk of the recruits must always be drawn." (cited, Watt-Smyth, 1904:13-14).

This evidence of physical deterioration among the recruits was quickly appreciated for its wider application to the working class as a whole, and its consequences for the productive efficiency of the workers (Searle, 1971:235). Lt. Col. Duke, Hon Sec of the Lads Drill Association maintained that: "If a man is not good enough to soldier, he is in fact, as a general principle, ... a fortiori unfitted for industrial competition." (1903:8) It was following the discovery of such widespread deterioration that free school meals were introduced (1906) by the government, as well as school medical inspection. Similarly many schools introduced physical education for the first time, as well as military drill (c.f. Summers, 1976:110ff).
The Demise of the COS; The Deserving Poor and the State 1900-1914.

The extent to which the selected client group of social work constitutes the crucial determining variable of social work's very existence, its influence in society, its importance as a regulatory institution and its subsequent methods, knowledge base and educational programme, was highlighted in the first two decades of the twentieth century when the Charity Organisation Society 'lost' its principal client group, the deserving poor, to the State.

The most important factor which accounted for the demise of the COS's central position in the social relief field and the related ascendancy of the State was simply the mounting evidence that philanthropy, no matter how well organised, was not sufficient for the task of incorporating the deserving poor, and ensuring that they could be physically maintained in periods of unemployment. In discussing the need for State intervention, Kirkman Gray noted how private philanthropy did not have the resources which were required, in this instance for providing school meals for poor children:

> The force of the future citizen must not be impaired by the underfeeding or malnutrition of childhood. But although large funds have been subscribed to private feeding associations they are very far from being adequate. This is one reason why it is proposed to supersede 'private charity' by public support. The philanthropists have taught the country the importance of doing a work which private funds cannot dispatch. (1908:293)

The same point was made by Alden, although in relation to unemployment:

> The unemployed question is largely an economic question for which charity however generous is no solution. It is the first duty of the State, as also its highest and truest interest, to set on foot such constructive reforms as will check the wholesale demoralisation of large sections of the working classes, and to restore to the people the assurance so long denied, that honest work will carry with it a just and certain reward. (1905:144)

Apart from the material inadequacy of private charity, Alden also noted that State intervention was required because of its ideological functions; "to restore to the people the assurance so long denied, that honest work will carry with it a just and certain reward". Rather than easing class conflict
and antagonisms, the COS was very unpopular with the working class. (1). This unpopularity stemmed from the Society's investigative procedures, which were used in order to ascertain whether the claimant was deserving, and from its position on the causation of destitution and unemployment. The working class came to reject both, and as Treble recently noted, the spokesmen for the unemployed of Glasgow at the beginning of this century were:

> critical of what they regarded as the artificial distinction drawn between the deserving and the undeserving, and angrily repudiated the assertion that drunkenness and unpunctuality were the principal routes to unemployment.
> 
> (1976:20)

And Treble also cited A.J. Hunter, Secretary of the Glasgow Trades Council, who stated that:

> many of the workmen have at all times had very strong objections to being subject to the investigations of the Charity Organisation Society.
> 
> (ibid:26)

The organised working class were beginning to offer radically different interpretations of the causes of poverty and unemployment and similarly, different strategies. At a special conference in 1905, Keir Hardie declared that:

> Unemployment is not caused by scarcity of land, of capital, of national wealth, or by incapacity to consume, because in times of depression, such as we are now experiencing, the wealth producers are compelled to starve in the midst of plenty. /The real causes, he continued, were/ the existence of monopoly and the burdens which the non-producing sections impose on the industrial classes together with the lack of such organisation of industry as will prevent alternate periods of overwork and unemployment.
> 
> (cited, Morton and Tate: 1956:220)

Literally thousands of workers and unemployed took to the streets during this period (K. Brown, 1971:59ff) in protest against existing relief provisions. The banners they carried took on a noticeable socialist flavour, bearing such slogans as "Workers of the World Unite", "The Poplar Unemployed Demand the Right to Work", and "Work for our Men - Bread for Our Children" (cited 1. As Bernard Bosanquet remarked in 1915:

> "The wage-earning class won't look at you as long as you have the word charity in your title. Of course, this is only a general assumption."
> 
> (1915:388)
And a great boost was given to the workers struggles by the Russian revolution of 1905, which:

added a new and potent element to the profound stirring of ideas and growing activity of the working class movement which was already actively campaigning on unemployment and the threat to the foundations of trade unionism...

(Morton and Tate, 1956:222)

It was this conjuncture of mounting working class pressure and developing socialist consciousness which compelled State intervention. If the working classes were to be pacified, seemingly new strategies had to be implemented which would take away the force of their discontent. The new social policies which were introduced in this period - Unemployed Workmen Act (1906), Old Age Pensions (1908) and the National Health Insurance Act (1911) - were among the main elements of the State's response to out-manoeuvre the working class, and constituted a classic example of "Bourgeois Socialism" described by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto:

A part of the bourgeoisie is desirous of redressing social grievances, in order to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society. ... The Socialistic bourgeoisie want all the advantages of modern social conditions without the struggles and dangers necessarily resulting therefrom. They desire the existing state of society minus its revolutionary and disintegrating elements. ... it requires in reality, that the proletariat should remain within the bounds of existing society, but should cast away all its hateful ideas concerning the bourgeoisie.

(1967:113-114)

In 1895, Balfour had shrewdly noted how social policy legislation could be used to defeat the spread of revolutionary socialism among the working classes:

Social legislation, as I conceive it, is not merely to be distinguished from socialist legislation, but it is its most direct opposite and its most effective antidote. Socialism will never get possession of the great body of public opinion ... among the working class or any other class if those who wield the collective forces of the community show themselves desirous to ameliorate every legitimate grievance and to put society upon a proper and more valid base.

(cited Halevy, 1951:231)

It was on this basis that Winston Churchill, a leading member of the 1906 Liberal Administration, supported the 1911 Insurance Act:

The idea is to increase the stability of our institutions by giving the mass of industrial workers a direct interest in maintaining them. With a 'stake' in the country in the form of insurance against evil days these workers will pay no attention to the vague promises of revolution ary socialism ... it will make him a better citizen, a more efficient
worker and a happier man,
(1909, cited Harris, 1972:365-6)

The emergence of a major government initiative in welfare policies during the
first decade of the twentieth century was however ambiguous, both for the
bourgeoisie and the working classes. Harris' study (1972) has admirably
portrayed the hesitancy which surrounded the implementation of many of the
social policies enacted by the government, and the wish that such policies
should not be needed. But as she noted, the government was compelled to
intervene:

At each stage the intervention of the central government - through the
Chamberlain Circular, the Unemployed Workman Act, and the Liberal
measures of 1909-11 - was primarily pragmatic in its motivation and
aims, evoked partly by the fear of being politically out-maneuvered
and partly by the practical inadequacy of existing forms of unemployment
relief.
(1972:363)

In the face of considerable opposition from fractions of the bourgeoisie,
such as those in the Charity Organisation Society, who maintained that State
relief policies would demoralise the working class and encourage dependency
(c.f. Strachey, 1906:5ff, which provides an excellent example of this
sectional opposition to State intervention and bourgeois socialism), the
State was forced by working class pressure and discontent to take on part of
the costs of reproducing and maintaining the labour force. A task well beyond
the scope of private philanthropy.

Similarly, organisations such as the COS were too self-evidently part of the
bourgeoisie, and unlike the State could not be presented as acting in the
'national interest'. If the working class were to be kept within the bounds
of existing society, there was a growing awareness that they would have to
be shown that society could shift to accommodate their demands and aspirations.
Moreover, the debate within the bourgeoisie about the appropriateness of
State intervention in relief itself assisted in ensuring that those State
policies which were enacted took on the appearance of being victory for the
workers; certainly much more so than if there had been no intra class
However, concessions won by the working class have always been ambiguous, representing both real gains and some losses. The Unemployed Workman Act, the Old Age Pensions Act and the National Health Insurance Act were all only intended for the deserving unemployed and elderly. Provis made this clear with regard to the Unemployed Workman Act in the brief he provided for Gerald Balfour who introduced the Bill in parliament:

The aim of the Bill is, by enlisting the co-operation of all the local governing bodies, to assist the more deserving cases among the unemployed and to prevent those from coming upon the Poor Law. (cited Harris, 1972:161)

Similarly, Llewellyn Smith, who as the Permanent Secretary of the Board of Trade played a central role in the drafting of the National Health Insurance Act, stated that:

The crucial question from a practical point of view, is therefore, whether it is possible to devise a scheme of insurance which, while nominally covering unemployment due to all causes other than those which can be definitely excluded, shall automatically discriminate between classes of unemployment. .... the operation of the scheme itself will automatically exclude the loafer, .... The scheme must aim at encouraging the regular employer and workman, and discriminating against casual employments.... the rules relating to benefit being so devised as to discriminate effectively against unemployment which is due to personal defects, while giving a substantial allowance to those whose unemployment results from industrial causes beyond the control of the individual. (cited Beveridge, 1950:265-6)

Thus despite the undoubted gains achieved through these various pieces of legislation, they were not gains for the class as a whole, but only for those sections which the State was concerned to preserve. Moreover, despite the partiality and smallness of the gains they were sufficient to substantially defuse the profound unrest and discontent. In this context, it is interesting to note the comment of Lloyd George, who was a major figure in the 1906 Liberal Government, when he said that should future historians become interested in him, it would be because, "in the first country to be highly industrialised, I did something to mollify class conflict" (cited Semmel 1960:239-40).

Concluding Remarks.

The main purpose of this chapter has been to identify the cluster of features, ideological, political and economic - which accounted for the remarkable
upsurge in social reform activity from the 1870s until 1914. In the vanguard of these policy developments was social work, under the aegis of the Charity Organisation Society, which pioneered the notion of differentiated relief strategies in dealing with the working class destitute. Even ardent critics of the Society such as those in the Fabian Society admitted to the important influence of the COS on transforming philanthropy:

There is no doubt that its influence on public opinion has been very important and, to a large extent excellent. ... The views and methods of the society, though they never became really popular, were listened to with respect; and it has certainly done a great work in training public opinion concerning the duties and responsibilities connected with almsgiving and in initiating orderly and efficient methods of social work. It has checked well meaning muddlers, has taught how to sift for helpable cases, and how to choose the right modes of help. It may lay claim to initiating in England the reign of the enquiry form and the 'dossier'. Even the country parson and the district visitor are falling into line, while many of the paid investigators for Royal Commissions and the London County Council have owed their efficiency to its training.

(Townshend 1911:5)

The COS's selection of the deserving destitute and its insistence that this category of the working class should be kept out of the Poor Law, and, if possible, assisted in such a way that they could be easily reabsorbed in to the labour market, had immense influence, and marked what has continued to be a primary function of social work to this day, as the next chapter will illustrate (c.f. Galper 1975:47ff).

Despite the COS's failure to establish 'The Ideal of Charity' (Woodard 1961a:14), and thus achieve its primary objective of creating a two dimen-
-sional relief strategy comprising of the Poor Law for the undeserving and social work for the deserving, it would nevertheless be difficult to argue that the Society was a failure as many recent students have argued:

Essentially the Society was a failure. It was a failure because as events were to prove, it lacked the capacity to evolve a viable theory

1. Interestingly, Nairn, has argued that it was in this period, that the "last truly great debate ... occurred in Great Britain itself... (it) was a profound and antagonistic dispute upon the nature and orientation of an empire, and its meaning for the quality of life in the domestic society at its centre... it exacerbated class conflicts, divided and stimulated the intellectuals and engendered a new left... The way in which the conflict was resolved proved decisive for the later development of the nation." (1973:5-6)
of social casework, and hence valid methods of social diagnosis and
treatment. (Todd 1964:8; c.f. Todd 1958:95)

Woodard has similarly maintained that the:

COS, along with the advocates of frugality banks, and teetotaler pledges,
moral regeneration and Poor Law reform, faded into a twilight of
contemptuous oblivion.
(1961:12)

And that the COS was a "Plutarch of Failure" (ibid:13). Woodard's principal
argument for his assessment of the COS was on account of its ideology and
perception of poverty:

This notion, that, the condition of the working class is but a reflection
of their own moral character, is foreign to modern reform... And to my
mind, the primary justification for making a study of the COS is that it
helps explain the rapid demise of a venerable tradition - one that,
perhaps as much as any, distinguishes the twentieth century from the past.
(1961:18)

Not only does contemporary social work contradict this position as I shall be
discussing in the next chapter, but none of these assessments take adequate
account of the wealth of material which suggests the great importance
attached to the COS by both opponents and supporters alike. It was some
Plutarch of Failure which provided six of the members on the Royal Commission
on the Poor Laws, 1905-1909. (1) Similarly, these accounts of the COS have
tended to underestimate the influence of the Society on the very measures
which they opposed. For example, Bailward, a member of the COS's policy
making council wrote that:

Last year /1906/ the Society vigorously but ineffectually opposed the
Unemployed Workman Act, which it believes to be a surrender of a vital
principle in the reformed poor law, and a recognition by the State
that it is its duty to find work for the unemployed.
(1907:72)

Yet, Lloyd George described the machinery of this Act in the Times (8.8.1905)
as constituting a statutory Charity Organisation committee, and Keir Hardie
complained that "every line" of the Act's regulations had, "COS stamped

1. These included Charles Loch, Octavia Hill, Helen Bosanquet, Hancock Nunn,
Rev. L.R. Phelps and Rev. T.G. Gardiner (c.f. H. Bosanquet 1912:275; Mowat
across its face" (cited Harris 1972:174). (1) Thus any interpretation of the influence of the COS must take account of the manner in which the State policies absorbed large chunks of the Society's methods and philosophy; a movement which Kirkman Gray termed 'State Annexation' (1908:134), and which, he continued, generally followed after a policy of 'partition':

Before the intervention begins the whole realm is occupied by private enterprise, so far, that is, as it is occupied at all. In time voluntary action appears inadequate to the task, usually of course because the work is seen to be greater than was supposed. (ibid:131)

Perhaps the most important factor which accounted for the demise of the COS and the dormant state of social work until the post 1945 period, was not that its theories and methods were inadequate or invalidated, but that they came to be seen as not wholly appropriate for the deserving category of the surplus (labour) population which the Society selected out as their client group. As we have already noted, this shift in perception came about through a variety of pressures which included that of the working classes themselves who rejected the notion that destitution and unemployment were a reflection of their character, and the very scale and multi-dimensional nature of the problems which invalidated the labour intensive social work strategy, as well as the growing awareness that the problem could be dealt with by measures which were more suited to the political, ideological and material requirements of the period.

But, as I shall be discussing throughout this thesis, the social work apparatus which was established by the COS, and which included family casework, a sophisticated set of theories about 'social pathology', a system of social work education, identical in form and strikingly similar in content to that

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1. Slater (1930) who was involved in organising the relief works set up under this Act in Woolwich, has given an excellent account of how they organised the programme on COS lines: "...We were anxious rather to deter the ordinary casual, or low grade worker not unfamiliar with poor law relief, from coming on to our register at all. Accordingly as the applicants arrived they were presented with our form, which asked for particulars with regard to age, previous occupations, number and ages of dependents, membership of a Friendly Society or Trade Union (as evidence of thrift...). This device moderated the flow." (366) He then adds, that when the elections came, "we were emphatically informed that it was very unpopular." (367)
of the present time, re-emerged with a vengeance after the Second World War, when a different category of the working class, were selected out as being appropriate subjects for social work. Unlike the deserving poor clients of the COS, there was a consensus of opinion that the condition of this new client group was predominantly determined by their character: a view that resonated with and was supported by, the notion that the post-war welfare measures combined with full employment had abolished most of the major material causes of poverty. As I will be discussing this point in some detail later, I shall merely note Crosland's comments which give some indication of the links between this conception of poverty and the re-emergence of social work:

But if our present rate of economic growth continues, material want and poverty and deprivation of essential goods will gradually cease to be a problem. We shall increasingly need to focus attention, not on universal categories, but on individual persons and families; not on the economic causes of distress, but on social and psychological causes. ... We shall rely less on broad, sweeping measures of expenditure than on concentrated measures of aid to limited groups, based on patient, empirical social research into the real nature of need. And the aid will often take the form, not of cash payments, nor even of material provision in kind, but of individual therapy, casework and preventive treatment. The tone of social expenditure may be set less by old age pensions, than by the Family Planning Association, child care committees, home visitors, almoners and mental health workers. (1956:155-6)
CHAPTER TWO


The Family Connection

The culture of a civilisation is determined largely by the quality of its family life, for it is in the home that the cultural foundations of each generation are laid. Every child receives its fundamental education at the hands of its parents and no influence can equal that of the home in moulding the character and personality of each individual. The health, vitality, and morality of the family are, indeed the prime guarantees of the future of mankind and it is therefore axiomatic that the first social duty of the community must be to foster and protect its family life.

(Stephens 1947:1)

The importance of these relationships inside the family could not be exaggerated, because it was inside the family that one got the first beginnings of the learning and exemplifying of moral values. It was there that people had, for the first time, to exercise in relation to each other the ordinary and elementary virtues of kindliness, tolerance, self control, unselfishness, justice, patience, and suchlike; and also the tougher virtues of discipline, obedience, self-denial, and courage. .... it was not surprising that the family should be regarded as the root of virtues and vices in society at large. The health and soundness of family life was a pretty reliable index to the soundness or unsoundness of the life of the community at large.

(Wolfenden 1959:11)

His attitude towards those outside the family depends primarily on his development within the family. Only if his family relationships are harmonious are the common educative mechanisms of example, precept, praise or blame, reward or punishment for good or bad behaviour, likely to have their intended effect. .... a child may, unhappily develop a disturbed emotional relationship with his parents or those in whose care he is, and from rejecting a parent or step-parent, may come to reject the influence first of his family, and then of society.

(Home Office 1951:44-5)

If we allow children in certain areas and districts to pass through a phase of delinquent or near delinquent behaviour because of the lack of proper opportunities in that area we are allowing them also to run the risk of acquiring anti-social attitudes and false standards which vitiate their whole lives and might in time, threaten the structure of our society.

(Ford 1957:148)
Introduction

Critically handled, a history of social work in Britain since the outbreak of the Second World War might help to clarify some of the fundamental problems of the role, function and purpose which, to the individual worker, seem so perplexing today. For social work this has been a period of momentous change; a period which has witnessed developments in public recognition, in employment, in education and professional organisation which would have seemed unthinkable in 1938. Nevertheless, despite these advances, there is still much confusion about the present position and future of social work. (Titmuss 1954:5; my emphasis)

For social work, the period between 1945 and 1977 has been one of momentous change, with the most significant feature being the State's increasing take-up of social work. One index of the State's expanding involvement in, and sponsorship of social work is provided by charting the increase in the output of qualified social workers. The steep rise in that output, as shown in figure 1, (page 36) has only been possible through State finance in terms of both grants to the students and to the educational institutions which have allowed them to run the courses. (1)

Between 1946 and 1970 a long stream of government reports have been published(2) which have argued for the importance of social work in the alleviation of social problems and urged an expansion in the numbers of social workers.

Commenting on these developments, Titmuss has noted how social work has come to be regarded as a major strategy of the State in the social welfare field: during the last twenty years, whenever the British people have identified and investigated a social problem there has followed a

1. See the Statistical Appendices for further details on the recent expansion of social work.

2. Amongst the most important were the reports of: the Curtiss Committee, 1946; Mackintosh Committee 1951; Cope Committee 1951; Underwood Committee 1955; Youngusband Working Party 1959; Albermarle Committee 1960; Ingelby Committee 1960; Seebohm Committee 1968, and the Birch Report 1976.
FIGURE 1

ANNUAL OUTPUT OF QUALIFIED SOCIAL AGRICULTRA.

Sources:

a) B.H. Rodgers, 1964, p. 13
b) COSTS' Report 1, 1973, p. 27
c) COSTS' Bulletin 4, 1976, p. 18
national call for more social work and more trained social workers. (1965:1)

In his address to the Institute of Almoners in 1964, Sir Charles Morris also attributed a central role to social work in society:

Tremendous things are beginning to be thought to be possible through the social services; and it is coming to be recognised that the size and quality of its army of social workers is one of the things by which the health and happiness of a society, and also its future, depend. ... it is now coming to be agreed that the health and happiness of a society, and also its future, depend upon the size and quality of its body of social workers. (1964:56)

And a similar assessment of social work has been made by Younghusband, one of the most influential figures in post war social work:

No profession is more deeply involved in problems of the rights and responsibilities of the individual and those of society, nor so close to practical problems of implementing the great democratic ideals of liberty, equality and justice in all the complexities of peoples' lives. (1970:5)

Notwithstanding Wootton's incisive criticisms of social work's tendency to be pompous and boastful about its impact and effectiveness (1959, 1959a, 1969, 1975), it is undoubtedly the case that the financing, sponsorship and expansion of social work services by successive governments since 1945, has been in the belief that social work can perform important functions which are deemed to be necessary, and which cannot be undertaken as satisfactorily by any other State agency. It is the contention of this chapter that the rise of social work in this period, and its subsequent elevation to the status of a State institution - more commonly referred to as a public service profession - is rooted in its presumed ability to deal with juvenile delinquency and problem families. Although social work does deal with other 'problem' groups, it is my argument that problem families and juvenile delinquents constitute the most important social problem groups which primarily determined the re-emergence of social work and the character of its development during the past thirty years. Thus, this chapter sets out to explore the numerous features which led to the perception of these two groups as 'social problems about which something needed to be done' and the development of social work as the appropriate strategy.
Labour Shortage and the Emerging Problem

In 1948 PEP published its report on population policy, which was followed one year later by the Report of the Royal Commission on Population (cmd 7695). Both of these reports drew attention to the changing demographic structure of the British population, and expressed considerable concern about the consequences of an ever increasing dependent, elderly section of the population while the birth rate was continuing to decline. Ensor, who was a member of the Royal Commission, noted that the population for the decade 1931-41 was sixty per cent greater than that of 1871-81, but, that the number of births in the 1930s was fewer by 3 million than for the earlier decade:

See what that means. The children born 1931-1941 will be the men and women aged 20-30 in the decade immediately before us, the fifties of this century. On them we shall have to depend for our main fighting man-power if war breaks out; on them, too, we must depend for the physically strongest and mentally most adaptable elements in the occupations of peace. And we shall actually have 3 million less of them than Victorian Britain had in the last decade of the nineteenth century. (1950:128)

The Report of the Royal Commission similarly noted the consequences that the declining birth rate could have on the structure of the labour force and the performance of the economy:

Younger men and women form an ever diminishing proportion of the labour force, and these are its most mobile and adaptable members. (1949:119)

It thus seems possible that a society in which the proportion of young people is diminishing will become dangerously unprogressive, falling behind other communities not only in technical efficiency and economic welfare but in intellectual and artistic achievement as well... (ibid:121)

These demographic trends were a cause of considerable concern in a post war context of labour shortage; a shortage that was giving rise to the search for and utilisation of previously (relatively) untapped pools of reserve labour, such as women and immigrants. But as both these sources of labour were not without problems, such as the effect on the family of the inclusion of wives and mothers in the labour force (c.f. Council for Children's...
Welfare, 1965:32-33;) (1), attention was directed to ensuring the most
efficient use of the smaller numbers of young people and children available.

As Martin argued:

It should not require the cold statistics of the sociologist to
awaken the official conscience. Nevertheless, the declining birth
rate and the ageing population make it imperative that, quite apart
from humanitarian considerations, every child should be given the
maximum chance of survival, and more important still, should reach
adult life in as perfect state of physical and mental health as is
practicable.
(1944:106)

In this period, when the shortage of labour greatly accentuated concern over
demographic trends, we can get an unusually direct insight into the real
character of social policy formation and its relationship to the economy.
Stripped of its humanitarian gloss, the problems with which social policy
was attempting to deal were directly tied to the issue of enhancing the
quality of the rising labour force. In such periods as these, economic
criteria predominate, and 'the people' are judged according to their product
ive potential; they are perceived with unique clarity as simply units of
labour and 'human capital'. Thus, the elderly are discussed by Ensor as a
drag on the economy:

for the mainstay purposes of the nation, whether production in peace-
time or defence in war time, I am afraid that nearly all of them must
be rated as passengers, not crew. Therefore their enormous increase

1. The importance of women as a reserve of labour required in the labour
market was clearly stated by the Economic Survey of 1947:

"The need to increase the working population is not temporary, it is a
permanent feature of our national life.... women now form the only
large reserve of labour left and to them the Government are accordingly
making a special appeal."
(Cited, E. Wilson 1977:156)

However, the demand for women in the labour market contradicted the central
domestic role attributed to women as mothers and wives, and it was widely
argued that working mothers were weakening the family (McGregor, 1960), and
failing in their duty to adequately reproduce the next generation of labour,
as Goldberg noted:

"Yet another assumption which is often made about family life is that
families can only function well and children thrive if mothers stay at
home and do not go out to work. Working mothers have been blamed for the
rise in juvenile delinquency, for disturbed and backward children, and
for unruly adolescents."
(1959:26)

(Note continued on page 40)
so far from mitigating the loss of those three million young adults, actually makes it worse, since there is a much larger burden for the few shoulders to carry. (op citi:129, c.f. Phillipson 1977)

Whereas children are discussed in terms of their economic necessity:

regarding labour as the continuous flow of one agent, the provision of children to grow up and replace the worn out units is an economic necessity, to be included in full current 'cost of production' just as surely as a fund for replacement of other producing agents. (Lord Stamp; cited Rathbone, 1940:25)

It was this post-war context of labour shortage, both immediate and projected, that was largely responsible for the changed attitude towards problem families, and to a lesser extent juvenile delinquency. The term 'problem families' gained currency during the evacuation programme of the second world war (Titmuss 1950) and was used by the Women's Group on Public Welfare in their study of this programme to describe the poorest sections of the working class who were congregated in the slum areas of the industrial

(continued from page 39)

This problem of working women was most clearly expressed by the PEP report:

"From the point of view of the community, the conflict between work and motherhood is particularly acute at the moment. Women are the nation's largest reserve of labour, and at present every additional pair o' hands is badly needed. The Government's manpower policy has emphasised the need for women to enter industry. But if both the quantity and, even more important, the quality of the future population are to be safeguarded, women must be given more time now to the bearing and rearing of children."

(1948:170)

Not surprisingly, the issue of working mothers and the consequences they had on their families and children, became an area of intensive research by social scientists (c.f. Bowlby 1965; Yudkin and Holme 1963; Baars 1954; West 1969; Douglas and Blomfield 1958; Henriques 1955.) Much of this research gave credence to a compromise which argued that mothers with children over the age of five could work without causing too much damage to their children, whereas mothers with children under five should be discouraged from work (Yudkin and Holme, 1963:67,78). All the research supported the PEP conclusion that employers should take into account the family commitments of working mothers in their construction of the working day. The latest manifestation of this being the adoption of flexi-time, and the most wide-spread being part-time work for women and the introduction of 'house-wives shifts'.

In referring to this section of the working class as constituting the "submerged tenth", the Women's Group had correctly established their study as carrying on in the tradition established by Charles Booth, and despite the change in name, were once again discussing the Residuum which, they argued, was like a hidden sore, poor, dirty and crude in its habits, an intolerable and degrading burden to decent people forced by poverty to neighbour with it. Within this group are the problem families, always on the edge of pauperism and crime, riddled with mental and physical defects, and in and out of the courts for child neglect, a menace to the community of which the gravity is out of all proportion to their numbers.

Stephens (1947) of the Pacifist Service Units, which were established in the war to work with problem families, noted the following characteristics of these families, which bore remarkable similarity to those attributed to the Residuum by the COS in the nineteenth century. He noted that these families were often in abject poverty and squalor, had a high level of unemployment and what employment they did get was generally of a casual and irregular nature, and that they suffered from particularly bad housing conditions, which were partly due to the war time conditions, but equally often to misuse by tenants; sinks and lavatories are choked, windows broken and woodwork used for the fire.

Like the Residuum of the nineteenth century, the defining characteristic of the problem families was their character and behaviour with their evident lack of 'appropriate social habits' such as self-reliance, independence, and

1. There has never been any great attempt to quantify the numbers of problem families. Timms estimated this group, "at 80,000 families with 300,000 children (presenting) serious problems in terms of wasted public money and human unhappiness." (1954:236)

2. There was an explicit consciousness of the 'Boothian' tradition. For example, the flyleaf of the Women's Group's study carried a passage from the final volume of his Life and Labour in London, and David Jones, who was then Secretary of the PSU wrote in a paper on problem families: "At the end of the last century, Charles Booth said of the submerged tenth: 'It seems time that we should find some means to carry voluntarily on our own shoulders the burden which otherwise we have to carry involuntarily around our necks.' This statement still remains true of the problem family today." (1950:6).

3. Shortly after the war they changed their name to the Family Service Units (FSU).
labour discipline:

Perhaps the most obvious feature of these families is the disorder of their lives.... Most of the mothers and nearly half of the fathers in these families must be regarded as inefficient: the mothers disorderly and incompetent in the management of the home and the children, the father unable to hold down any better work than casual labouring. (p.4)

Excessive expenditure on drink has been observed in about a quarter of the homes; in four it has been a major problem; but prodigal waste on cigarettes, cinemas and children's pocket money probably accounts for even more than drink. (p.3) (Stephens, 1947)

Irvine, who has been one of the most influential social workers and a leading spokesman for social work in the contemporary period, offered an exception - a very clear account of how problem families lacked, what could be called, bourgeois social values:

The literature is full of examples of inability for sustained and planful activity, so that appointments are not kept, arrangements not carried out. Foresight is lacking, so that money which will be needed for necessities tomorrow is squandered today on luxuries, attractive rubbish, or daydream stimulants such as the 'pictures'. There is in fact "no sense of the value of money", "no sense of time", and often, "no sense of property": in fact, a failure to grasp three of the most important elements in our culture. (1954:26; my emphasis)

Similarly, in her discussion of the children of such families, Wilson maintained that:

Cleanliness, punctuality, obedience, the handling of small articles like pencils, scissors, the folding over of a page in a book, polite -ness and respect for others, ability to take one's turn, to use a handkerchief, to go to the lavatory, to sit still, to pay attention, to express oneself clearly - all these skills go far beyond the capabilities of the child from this subculture. (Wilson, 1966:10)

And in a later article, on the same theme, she contrasts these character -istics with those which she argues are required:

Modern industrial society requires certain skills for a successful life. Success will come to those who, from an early age, have been trained to be resourceful and self reliant; who have learnt to subordinate immediate satisfactions in the interest of long term objectives; who are able to exercise forethought and plan their time; who are responsible, well mannered and courteous; and who have learnt to cultivate technical and or academic skills. In other words, modern Western Society is an Achievement Society, and the old Protestant virtues of ambition, thrift and industry, combined with a healthy respect for property, will guarantee a place in the sun to those who practice them. (p.255)

The culturally deprived child has not grasped the meaning of the Achievement Society. (256) (Wilson, 1969)
The major differences between the contemporary period and the earlier period
discussed in the last chapter, was not in the conceptions of this residual
section of the working class - which Marx termed the "stagnant" category
of the relative surplus population (1970:602) - but rather in the strategies
proposed to deal with this 'social problem'. And it is here, that the
supply and demand of labour is of crucial importance in understanding the
changes in approach to this category of surplus labour. In the latter
part of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth century there
was a large surplus of labour occasioned by the trade depressions and the
early stages of industrial modernisation (Harris, 1972:Chp 4). Such was the
size of that surplus pool of labour that the State only needed to concern
itself with maintaining a reserve army of labour comprising what was deemed
the good and deserving unemployed. In terms of labour needs, the Residuum
were superfluous. This superfluousness of the Residuum was reflected in
the strategies used to control and contain it which were primarily of a
repressive rather than ameliorative character, such as penal labour colonies
and withdrawal of all relief other than the workhouse. Similarly, as I
shall argue in the next chapter, this conception of the Residuum was
reflected in the social work theories developed by the COS, which asserted
that the Residuum was beyond reclamation. However, in the immediate post-
war period, when labour was in short supply, there was a shift away from
predominantly repressive strategies, to those approaches which were concerned
to change the behaviour of the problem families in order that they could
be absorbed into the labour market. This shift in strategy was remarked
upon by Lawrence of the Family Welfare Association:

In the past, the families who today we are trying to treat with
special concern and are calling problem families were probably written
off as 'poor law cases' or 'feckless and unhelpful'.
(1950:1)

And, as I shall be pointing out later, it was in this context of a compelling
need to utilise all sources of potential labour, that theories such as
psycho-analysis were taken up and an ideology emerged which asserted that
these families could be assisted and their behaviour changed as Lawrence stressed:

One must believe in the possibility of good in everybody....
(ibid:2)

Which was reiterated by the United Nations Report on social work:

Most people, even those who are mentally ill, defective or continually deprived, are capable of some degree of growth and change, especially through a steady relationship which gives them hope and confidence, and is expressed in achievement of better social functioning and greater personal satisfactions.
(1958:198)

Another element in the heightened concern about problem families and juvenile delinquents was their status as 'high cost citizens', for as Spitzer has recently argued, sections of the working class such as problem families can be a threat to capitalism not through posing a direct political challenge, but rather through the enormous resources they utilise, so that they come to "represent a significant impediment to its maintenance and growth" (1975:642). Virtually all of the many hundreds of studies that have been published on problem families (1) since 1945 have drawn attention to their high social costs as being a primary feature of their problem status:

What is the real social problem? This might be assessed fairly well in terms of the cost to the community in social services such as children taken into care, children and adults appearing in the courts, the dilapidation of housing etc... More intangible would be the lack of family training of future citizens.
(Howarth, 1953:767)

These families are delinquency producing, and consume a disproportionate high share of social security benefits, of social services and social worker's time...
(Cooper, 1965:96-7)

In England and Wales there are about 114,000 'criminal families' known to the police from generation to generation and creating an apparently insoluble problem. These families bear predominant responsibility for Britain's crime, and their activities cost more than £1,140,000,000 a year, by a most conservative process of reckoning.
(Portia Trust, 1976:1)

1. One indice of the remarkable interest in the problem family was the number of studies published on the subject. The bibliography in a 1957 study by Philp and Timms lists over 150 items, of which all but half a dozen were written after 1940.
Nor, as they point out, are these costs merely restricted to the resources they utilise, or to those costs which are incurred in controlling them, such as the police, prison service, mental hospitals and so forth. Home Secretary Rees for example, noted that vandals were doing damage estimated at £100 millions annually (Timms, 29.4.1977), and Ford, an influential juvenile court magistrate in London, maintained that:

No one can assess the cost of delinquency; the only certainty is that it goes far beyond the cost of provision of services to deal with the detected delinquent and the assessment of property damaged, destroyed and lost as a result of such activities. There is also the cost of lives wasted, from the communal point of view, the lack of contribution to the community of the unemployable adult. (1957:133-4)

Problem families and delinquents are seen as high cost citizens because of this compounded nature of the costs they incur. Thus, Wynn (1970) in her study of family policy noted that "in the course of a life time a well-trained man may add £100,000 or sometimes much more to a country's flow of goods and services", whereas a delinquent or problem family not only added nothing to "the wealth of the community" but, "cost the state thousands of pounds" (ibid:22-3).

There was however, a further feature of importance attached to eradicating the problem family which underpinned many of the passages already cited in this chapter. The problem family was taken to be the primary core of many social problems, (1), and was deemed to pose a great threat to society due to the manner in which such problems were passed on, one generation to the next. In his account of the self-generating nature of problem families,

1. Stephens (1947) attributed the following problems to these families:

"The dirt diseases such as scabies and impetigo will never be stamped out as long as there are neglected children. All kinds of vermin are transmitted from dirty homes to cleaner ones.... The alarming spread of V.D. is taking place to a large extent among girls of low morale who come from wretched, undisiplined homes. Not only prostitutes, but the homeless, unemployable youths and hardened tramps who form a considerable part of the chronic prison population, are largely a product of the same kind of family. The case for the total eradication of this evil is overwhelming." (pp.5-6)
Henriques argued that:

Nearly all these mothers are bad, negligent and stupid mothers because their own mothers were bad, negligent and stupid. They had never learnt anything different when they were young. But the ghastly tragedy of it all is the probability that the children of these mothers will also grow up to be bad, negligent and stupid mothers, for that is what they have been taught to be. And so the horrible circle is perpetuated.

(1955:84)

Problem families tend to reproduce themselves in the next generation and cost the community an expense out of all proportion to their numbers.

(Ministry of Health 1954)

Many of the Society's cases concern victims of a vicious circle of depression, repeating a pattern of living going back for generations - chaotic, smelly houses, often filthy throughout, the children ragged and neglected.

Their parents were like this and lived like this and without the Society's help their grandchildren, perhaps unwanted and unloved, would in turn create similar breeding grounds for delinquency.

(NSPCC, 1975:iv)

Certainly, as Schlossman (1974:152) and Westergaard and Resler (1976:22) have indicated, the 'culture of poverty' and 'cycle of deprivation' theses both have histories stretching well over a hundred years as explanations of the nature of the urban poor and did not originate with the abundant social scientific contributions of the 1960s (O. Lewis 1968; H. Lewis 1967; Valentine 1971), nor with the well known pronouncements of Sir Keith Joseph (see Jordan 1974:Chp 1) in Britain, or Moynihan in the United States (see Rainwater and Yancey 1967). However, what these recent pronouncements on the cycle of deprivation and culture of poverty did signify was a new offensive by the State to break the cycle of deprivation, which was marked in the United States by the 'War on Poverty' and in Britain by a more fragmented cluster of policy initiatives, which included the administrative unification of the social services in 1970, education priority areas following the Plowden Report 1967 (C.F. Syer 1976), and the establishment of the community development projects (CDP 1977:52ff; Mayo 1975).

Juvenile Delinquency, (1)

Throughout the preceding discussion of problem families, juvenile

1. See the Statistical Appendices (Juvenile Delinquency) for details of incidence.
Delinquency has been mentioned as a related problem area, which reflects upon the manner in which juvenile delinquency has now come to be seen as one symptom of the problem family. Nearly all of the writers on juvenile delinquency and problem families have identified these families as a major cause of delinquency:

The key to much delinquency, juvenile and adult, must be sought in the problem family...
(Women's Group, 1943:51)

We arrived at the striking conclusion that the chance of a delinquent coming from a home with an abnormal atmosphere was three or four times as great as the chance of a delinquent coming from a home with a normal atmosphere.
(Carr Saunders, Mannheim, Rhodes, 1943:150)

The basic cause of child delinquency, maladjustment, criminality, whatever you like to call it, is defective home life.
(Watson, 1951:538-9)

And Wilson maintained from her survey, that children from problem families are very delinquency prone; in fact the rate of delinquency was eight times as high as the general rate for boys in Cardiff...
(H. Wilson, 1966:5) (1)

Some of the features which make delinquency so problematic for the State have already been discussed, such as the high costs involved, both in terms of control and the damage caused. But as with problem families, juvenile delinquents are perceived as constituting 'resources' which are wasted; potential labour power which through criminal activity was becoming unusable (2). Although this argument is not currently prevalent given the high levels of unemployment, in the post war period of labour shortage most of the concern expressed about the rapid increase in the levels of juvenile delinquency, and the plight of the ('neglected') children in problem families,

1. This argument is now firmly entrenched, and the following sources are merely intended for the reader who might want to examine it in more depth: Burt 1927; Bowlby 1946; Bagot 1940; Department of Education and Science 1965; Home Office 1949; Ingleby Report 1960; Seebohm Report 1968; Irvine 1954; H. Wilson 1958, 1962, 1969; Scott 1956/7; Wolfenden 1959; Ford 1957.

2. For a particularly useful account, which deals in detail with juvenile delinquency from this perspective, see J. Clarke 1975.
was in terms of the waste involved, which the "nation" could ill-afford:

From the national point of view we cannot afford to lose 120,000 children, or to have their lives wasted.  
(Lindsay; Hansard, vol 452, 28.6.1948; 3rd Reading of the Childrens Bill.)

And as the Royal Commission on Population reported, given the demographic changes which were resulting in an ever increasing proportion of the population becoming dependents (the elderly), it was crucial that all those who were capable of labour should be fully productive:

The only moral, therefore, of this prospective change in the proportion of producers to consumers is that implied by any inevitable process which damages our economic position. It makes sound economic policy all the more necessary, increases the importance of productivity, and reduces the margin for waste or inefficiency.  
(1949;112)

Or, as Bell noted:

If children become, in a sense a nation's most crucial resource, then one has to pay much more attention to what happens to children and to families with children, and where and why a society loses its resources.  
(1957; cited Wynn 1970:19)

And similarly the P&F report argued:

To cut down the wastage of human assets is to reduce the difficulties which confront a population policy.  
(1948:137)

As with the problem families, preventive and rehabilitative policies were seen to be required for juvenile delinquents on two inter-related grounds. One being to restore them to the labour market and the other to reduce the massive social costs incurred by their criminal activities. Thus while the traditionally 'hard' and punitive control measures have not been abandoned for these categories of the working class population, there has been a constant drift in the post-war period towards the predominance of the 'soft' treatment strategies, with the more punitive control measures being reserved for the hard core recalcitrants. There are two major considerations underpinning the increased emergence of 'treatment' strategies such as social work, in the post war period; these are effectiveness and cost awareness. While there has been no major study in this country of the effectiveness of social work (c.f. Leonard 1968a:63), and there has been a general reluctance among
social workers to submit their work for evaluation (1), there has been a considerable amount of work showing that the traditional alternative of institutionalisation, has very little success and can create more problems than it can solve. Bowlby's work on juvenile delinquency (1946) and maternal deprivation (1951) indicated that institutions for children could lead to disturbed personality development that extended throughout an individual's life (2). It is in the area of juvenile delinquency, and crime generally, that there has been the most sustained research which has demonstrated that institutions have had very little success. A report published by the Home Office in 1975 claimed that the reconviction rate among delinquents sent to community homes was 70%, and as the Guardian noted:

This is not the first survey to show the ineffectiveness of residential institutions for reforming juvenile offenders. (Guardian, 16.12.1975)

It is in this context of the failure of the traditional institutional measures that alternatives such as social work with their emphasis on treatment in the home situation and in relation to the family, have come to be perceived as attractive. Moreover, this mode of intervention, focused on the family, followed the logic that the family was at the root of the problems with the assumption that strategies which intervened in the family would be more effective than those which split the family. Thus, throughout the contemporary post-war period, there has been a gradual but decisive shift in policy which has emphasised and re-iterated the centrality of the family, and insisted that effective policies must be situated in the family units themselves:

The whole spirit of the Children Act /1948/ is against the avoidable

1. Rodgers and Dixon gave some indication of social workers' attitudes to evaluation of their work when they noted that social workers were: "Convinced of the need to help people - perhaps on emotional rather than intellectual grounds - they feel social work is worthwhile whatever the chances of 'success' or 'improvement'. Not depending for its justification on its results, no failure can therefore discredit it. (1960:155)

2. Recently this dominant conception of the damage which can be done by institutional care has been challenged (Rutter and Madge 1976:206ff).
separation of children from their families and the duty is clearly laid on local authorities to prevent, wherever possible, the separation of children from their families and from people and places which are familiar to them. (Birmingham Children's Department, 1953:17) (1)

Moreover, this shift in policy has been encouraged and supported by social workers and the State on the grounds that it is both effective and cheap:

The method of social work intervention in the family has attractions other than clemency and efficiency; it is cheap. In 1958 for example, the Probation Service dealt successfully with 74% of the delinquents placed on probation at an average cost of something in the region of 10 shillings per head per week. By contrast, treatment in Borstals and prisons cost something like £12 and £8 per head per week respectively. In addition, a delinquent on probation and in employment is able not only to make a contribution to the economy of the community but also to maintain his dependents and himself by his own efforts. (Herbert and Jarvis, 1961:14-15)

The wastage of human material and of economic resources in dealing with the problem of juvenile delinquency ... is out of all proportion to the relatively small number of families that are involved in creating the problem. Two children in an approved school cost the nation more than the salary of an experienced social worker, who by carrying a caseload of a dozen families with six children each would help to keep many more children out of a delinquent career. (H. Wilson 1962:163)

And similarly, the Seebohm Report argued that 'more effective' measures such as a unified, family based and oriented social services department would:

prevent children having to be taken into residential care (and) could save heavy expenditure in other directions. The cost of keeping a child in a remand home is now £20 per week or over £1,000 per annum; the cost of keeping a child in an approved school is nearly as much, and the cost of keeping a child in a residential home is about £12 per week. A qualified social worker earns £1,060 - £1,435 a year to which must be added the cost of supporting services. If an additional social worker can remove the need for two children coming into residential care, the benefit to the community in terms of money is obvious. (1968:16) (2)

1. The Home Office Circular of July 1948 which was sent to the newly formed local authority childrens departments, advised the Childrens Officers that: "To keep the family together must be the first aim, and the separation of a child from its parents can only be justified when there is no possibility of securing adequate care for a child in his own home."

This concern with the costs of the strategies used to control and regulate the working class residuum has been an important factor in the State's take up of social work since the second world war. Leaving aside for the moment the claims which have been made for the effectiveness of social work and its preventive capacity, the cheapness of social work as against the high cost of institutional care, has clearly been one of its most attractive features, at least so far as the State is concerned. Moreover, it is cheap because the social work strategy is based in the home where the costs of maintenance are born by the family and not by the State. The emergence of community care policies (c.f. Rodgers and Stevenson 1973:310-327; Ministry of Health 1963) is a particularly clear example of the State's attempt to ensure that the working class carry most of their own 'burdens'. The Younghusband Report noted, for example, that:

> There is also clearer understanding of maintaining the elderly and the mentally and physically handicapped in the community wherever practicable... The services are now more consciously planned and administered so as to help the family care for its own member. It has been put to us that the new emphasis on preventive and domiciliary care is sound economy as well as sound social policy, and that it is certain to prove less costly than the alternatives of admission to residential care.

(1959:para 551)

The continual increase of State intervention in the working class family during the post-war period, via the development of social work, health visitors (Robinson 1955:76), nursery schools (Wynn 1970:247), and a whole variety of other welfare and social policies, marked the emergence of a new phase in capitalism's attempt to create productive labour from the generally unproductive and under-employed sections of the working class. Closely allied to this, and indistinguishable at the level of the strategies implemented, was the concern to prevent wastage of labour, whether in the form of criminality or neglect in the family. The preventive, treatment policies of social work re-emerged in this period for it was thought that they could transform these residual sections of the working class into self supporting citizens and "enhance the quality of earning power of the next generation"
1. There was a widespread commitment throughout the fifties and sixties to enhance the productiveness and thus the quality of the working class. This was especially evident in the numerous reports on education and the subsequent changes in the education system. Ennor writing in 1950 noted that:

"The nation's egalitarian policies do not merely provide 'ladders' of opportunity, but we toothcomb the whole school population in our endeavour to find able children to climb them."

(1950:113, my emphasis)

And the Newsom Report (1963) started by stating "at the outset the economic argument for investment in our pupils. The need is...for a generally better educated and intelligently capable labour force to meet new demands." (p.5, cited Wynn 1970:22).

Similarly the Robins Report on Higher Education (1963) was concerned with untapped resources and wastage and reported that:

"if, as we believe, a highly educated population is essential to meet competitive pressures in the modern world, a much greater effort is necessary if we are to hold our own." (p.265, cited Syer, 1976:50).

The recent 'great debate on education' initiated by Williams, Callaghan and the CBI is situated within similar economic/productive parameters.

2. Despite these avowed intentions of social work, there are now many signs that it is incapable of achieving these objectives. For example, one of its major concerns has been to keep the family together, but as Holman noted, the result has been quite different:

"The creation of the Children's Departments following the Children Act (1948) led to a rise in the numbers in public care in England and Wales. There were 39,000 children in care of the poor law authorities in 1939, 55,000 in the care of local authorities in 1949, and 64,000 in 1952. The present number is over 90,000, although children who were previously committed to approved schools are now included in the definition 'in care'."

(1976a:17; c.f. Stevenson 1977:2)

Similarly, the shift to the treatment perspective of social work, which following the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act, now constitutes the major part of the State's juvenile delinquency control apparatus (c.f. Hilton, 1972; Bottoms 1974), has not led to any decline in the delinquency rates. In their attack on the Act and its underpinning treatment ideology, the Committee of the Society of Conservative Lawyers noted that:

"The frightening feature of the latest statistics has been a 127% increase in the crimes of violence during 1972 committed by girls under 14 together with a 45% increase in similar crimes committed by boys of that age."

(1974:6)

The rise of social work in this field of delinquency control has led to growing tensions and conflicts within the State apparatus, especially between the police (c.f. Guardian 20.5.1976; Daily Telegraph 19.4.1976) the judiciary (Times 21.10.1976) and social work (Social Work Today, 8.7.1976). Some of the consequences of this growing conflict for social work and social work education will be discussed in the later chapters.
Concluding Remarks.

These first two chapters have been concerned to identify the principal client groups and the clusters of social problems to which social work has been directed and developed. That the first section of a thesis on social work and social work education should have been concerned to uncover the character of these client groups and their relationship with other relevant features, especially the state of the labour market, in the historical contexts discussed, had been prompted by two inter-related objectives. The first of these is elucidation. As I shall be arguing throughout many of the following chapters, social workers have from the time of the COS, consciously or otherwise, disguised and obfuscated the class character and political dimensions of social work. One aspect of this disguise has been the presentation of social work as being essentially the product of a humanitarian impulse by the middle and upper classes towards their 'less fortunate' fellow citizens as I noted in the introduction to this section. The pervasiveness of this legitimating presentation cannot be under-emphasised (c.f. ASW 1959:5; Towle 1954:13; Younghusband 1954:13), and as I shall be arguing in the last section of the study, it plays a crucial role in the socialisation of professional social workers. (1) A further

1. This chapter has been primarily concerned to examine the material features - labour shortage, wastage, declining birth rate, high costs of problem families and delinquents - which gave rise to the State's development of social work in the post-war period. Nevertheless, it should be apparent from much of the material discussed, that social policy, including social work, has an extremely important ideological dimension. This dimension will be taken up throughout many of the next chapters, but it is worth noting here Beaumont's recent statement about the ideological functions of Probation, which apply equally to social work:

"The Probation Service performs other functions in support of the prevailing order. At first glance it is surprising that so little effort is made to evaluate the effectiveness of probation work, or to measure the degree to which probation resources benefit clients. This suggests that the Service fulfils much of its function simply by existing. It is the acceptable face of social control providing a liberal veneer which deflects any concern felt by the general public for the welfare of deprived members of society."

(1976:75)
aspect of the disguise, which applies to the entire field of social policy, has been in the way that client groups and social problems have been classified. Categories such as juvenile delinquents, problem families, the elderly, one parent families, the mentally and physically handicapped, and so forth, all lack any class dimension, and above all, belie the preponderance of the working class in these 'problem' groups (c.f. Miliband 1974). However, juvenile delinquents, problem families and the like are problems "about which something needs to be done", precisely because they are aspects of certain working class responses to living in this type of society. As Helen Bosanquet (1902:36) noted, there were undoubtedly sections of the dominant classes which also lacked 'good' social habits and labour discipline but these were not nearly so harmful to society as the working class families who betrayed a similar absence of these moral virtues if only because the former could carry the costs of their failings. The burdens of an immoral working class family however, fell on the State, and like a malignant cancer drained it of resources and was capable of contaminating its neighbours.

This leads on to my second objective, that of analysing and identifying the factors which have underpinned the development of social work, its methods, knowledge and education. For despite the depoliticisation of social work and the emasculation of the class dimension which has ensued as a result of fragmenting the working class into specific, discrete problem groups, this very process has taken place in reference to a reality which can yield and support a very different set of explanations.

Thus Marx, in volume one of Capital, clearly explained how the process of capitalist accumulation necessarily results in the growth of a differentiated reserve army of labour:

The greater the social wealth, the functioning capital, the extent and energy of its growth, and, therefore, also the absolute mass of the proletariat and the productiveness of its labour, the greater is the industrial reserve army. The same causes which develop the expansive power of capital, develop also the labour power at its disposal. The
relative mass of the industrial reserve army increases therefore with the potential energy of wealth ... The more extensive, finally, the lazarus layers of the working class, and the industrial reserve army, the greater is official pauperism. This is the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation.
(1970:627; emphasis given)

More recently, the Community Development Projects, quite contrary to the Home Office's expectations, have published studies which have argued that poverty is caused primarily by the decline of the industrial base in the older urban areas (1977:54) and is inextricably linked to general movements in the economy. This is hardly a novel interpretation, and certainly not to the working class who, from the origins of wage labour have steadfastly maintained this position. The significance of the CDP statements lies in their rebuttal of the "official" interpretation of poverty as a "problem of people and not of industrial change" (ibid) which was classically outlined by the then Secretary of State for Social Services, Sir Keith Joseph, in June 1972:

Why, he asked, did deprivation and problems of maladjustment so conspicuously persist, despite improvements in living standards? His answer was that "perhaps there is at work here a process, apparent in many situations but imperfectly understood, by which problems reproduce themselves from generation to generation ... The problems of one generation appear to reproduce themselves in the next. Social workers, teachers and others know only too well the sort of situation I am referring to, where they can be reasonably sure that a child, because of his background, is operating under disadvantage and prone to run into the same difficulties in his turn as his parents have experienced.
(Townsend 1974:18)

Again, as the material in chapter one suggested it has been a long standing position of the ruling class to assert that the primary cause of poverty and squalor was the character and behaviour of the poor themselves. One important change over time however, has been the increased sophistication with which these concepts have been articulated. Social work provides an excellent example of this change in articulation, whereby the traditional moral superiority of the social worker has given way to the technocratic expertise of the professional, and as a consequence, has taken on an increasingly
neutral and scientific appearance. (1)

Nevertheless, the power and influence of the ruling ideas on poverty and its causation should not be under-estimated. There is no disputing the evidence that social workers and others have presented on problem families, and some of that evidence, such as the dirt and squalor of the homes, does support their position that something is the matter with the character and adjustment of the family concerned. Similarly, as Coates and Silburn (1970) have noted in their study of St. Anne's in Nottingham, poverty did occasion certain responses among the poor and the related theses of the cycle of deprivation and culture of poverty are not self-evidently contradicted by the empirical data. Moreover, as Williams noted:

Any governing body will seek to implant the 'right' ideas in the minds of those whom it governs, but there is no government in exile. The minds of men are shaped by their whole experience, and the most skilful transmission of material which this experience does not confirm will fail to communicate. Communication is not only transmission; it is also reception and response. (1971:301)

Thus, it is not at the level of appearance but rather at analysis and interpretation that the critique must be directed. Consequently, the delineation of the class character of social work's client groups is not merely an academic question, but rather the starting point of a two-pronged practical analysis. The first theme, which can only be treated tangentially throughout this study, involves an examination and understanding of the manner in which capitalism generates poverty and a differentiated working class, and the ways in which poverty and squalor can distort and damage the

1. Offe (1972) has similarly remarked that; "welfare states everywhere demonstrate that the tendency of being transformed, is less a matter of politics than a matter of technocratic calculus" (485). However, Offe has failed to distinguish between the appearance and the reality of transformation. The new technology of welfare policies is no less political than the earlier and more explicit welfare morality.
lives of those forced to live in and with it. (1) This approach is the
converse of that adopted by social work since the time of the COS, which has
asserted the primacy of consciousness over existence, and which is
representatively typified in Our Towns:

Poverty and child neglect are often found together, because both are
the result of certain deficiencies in the parents— for example, the
unstable father who never keeps a job, or the mentally defective
mother unable to manage either money or children.
(Women's Group on Public Welfare, 1943:54)

The second aspect of the analysis, which is closely related to the first,
concerns the establishment of a class framework in which social work can
be situated. By starting with a focus on the clients, and uncovering their
class position from behind the screens which have been imposed by generations
of social workers and social reformers, we can begin to identify from a
materialist perspective, the role of social work in society and its
relationship to other State agencies, and to explain the uneven trajectory
of its development since the time of the COS.

This first section has hopefully cleared some of the ground and in particular
has established social work as being one of the strategies which has been
developed by the ruling classes and the State to deal with problematic
sections of the working class. The manner in which groups of that class have
been defined as constituting a 'problem' is central for understanding the
very emergence and existence of social work, and in the subsequent chapters
I will be examining the ways in which those definitions have informed the
development of social work's practice, its knowledge base and its educational
programme.

1. The reports of the CDP (1977) are a beginning in this area, as is the work of
Novak (1977) on social security.
And as Marx noted:

"It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but,
on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness...
(1859:11, cited Williams, 1971:259)
SECTION 2

THE KNOWLEDGE BASE OF SOCIAL WORK

Introduction

Chapter 3  "The Objectives of Social Work: Theory and Method I."

Chapter 4  "The Content of Social Work Education: Theory and Methods II."
Section 2

The Knowledge Base of Social Work.

Introduction

The concern of both this chapter and the next is to elucidate the objectives and character of social work. This is attempted not by a close empirical analysis of contemporary social workers' in their everyday practice but rather by examining the literature generated and produced by social workers since the time of the Charity Organisation Society.

In an article on the social work methods of the COS, Timms argued that most of the existing studies of social work history were,

marked .. either by strong reliance on secondary sources, or by an exclusive concern with the theory of casework. These are necessary areas of study, but undue emphasis upon them may result in a systematically misleading view of the history of social work. Social workers are primarily practitioners, not writers, and a study of their actual practices is essential for a complete understanding of the historical development of their activities.

(1961:259) (1)

More recently, Timms (1977:20) has criticised E. Wilson's (1977) analysis of social work, and in particular her use of social work literature. (2)

While I would not agree with all of Timms' points he does raise some important questions about the status of social work literature and its relationship to social work activities, which have a crucial bearing on this study.

To begin with, social work writings have to be considered along two, inter-related dimensions, which I have categorised as 'professional' and 'public'. By professional I refer to the manner in which social work texts are

1. The studies referred to by Timms are Young and Ashton (1956) and Todd (1960).

2. Timms argued that:
"One of the current assumptions about social work (is) that reputedly so ineffective in practice, it is decisively powerful through its pages."
(1977:20)
concerned with elaborating the theories and methods of social work. These studies are primarily internal documents, for social workers and largely written by social workers and have the status of practice manuals. Of course, these studies vary in stature according to the status of the author within the profession. Most of the recognised 'leaders' of social work since the mid nineteenth century have been prolific writers who have been concerned to establish uniformly high standards of practice, and thus been dedicated to an educative task. Consequently the studies written by Loch, the Bosanquets, Urwick and Hill in the earlier period, and Younghusband, Irvine, McDougall, Perlman and Hollis, among contemporary social work leaders, are important, and provide a legitimate and necessary source for analysing the social work occupation.

It is most important that we recognise that social work theory and the texts in which that theory is presented, can not be divorced from the practice concerns of social work. From the time of the COS, social workers have insisted upon the close unity of theory and practice within social work. One consequence of this insistence has been social work's predominant concern with 'pragmatic' issues and a general antipathy towards abstract theorising. (1) Thus, in his discussion of the social work syllabus at the London School of Sociology, Urwick, who was the Director, maintained that:

What is wanted at the present time is the man of action who knows enough to reject obsolete methods, and to seize upon and to apply methods which embody sound principles. The course of teaching outlined above is far too likely to produce the doctrinaire reformer, or possible the philosopher, who - pace Plato - is not the best

1. The most common expression of anti-intellectualism has been that too much theory will 'spoil' the social workers' "human touch" with their clients: "Fears have been expressed to us in some quarters that systematic training would make the attitude of the workers concerned too academic, and might even spoil their natural homely touch with the children and unfit them for the performance of the necessary and daily domestic duties of the posts." (Curtis Committee 1946:2; see also Timms 1964:195 who recorded how the Association of Psychiatric Social Workers turned down the idea of establishing a higher, training course, because it thought that it would destroy the students' 'feeling responses'.)
administrator or ruler... Passing by the advantages which would certainly result from a fuller and more widespread understanding among educated people of the science of social life, we will side with the practical man in insisting that there shall be no divorce between practice and theory. The chief value of social education from our point of view, depends upon the close connection with experience and practical work. In other words, it will not be enough to establish a course of teaching on the lines of a University curriculum leading up to a degree... In close connection with it must be practical work. (1904:187; see D. Wilson 1971:6 for a contemporary statement.)

Social workers themselves have conceptualised the relationship between theory and practice by referring to social work as an art, (1) which in turn, determines the manner in which the theoretical base is to be constructed. As Bernard Bosanquet indicated:

A Science has knowledge for its purpose. The subject matter of science is single, coherent and shaped by an inevitable logical growth. An art has practice for its purpose; the matter with which it deals is many sided and falls in the province of not one, but of many sciences, from each of which the art borrows, without any rule beyond practical necessity, such information as may throw light on the particular cases submitted to it. (1893:174-5)

The pragmatic and eclectic stance of social work theory has become ever more explicit as the social sciences have expanded over the last three quarters of a century. Thus we find Perlman writing that:

It is our particular and identified practice problems that should determine what we look for in any body of knowledge, social science or any other. Selectivity based on our knowledge of what we are after, what we lack, what we need to understand, and on the relevance or fit of any given bit of knowledge for our work, this is our necessity. (1965:174) (2)

It is this long standing concern of social work leaders and theorists to construct a knowledge base that is directly relevant to practice and congruent with their practice problems that makes social work literature such a good vantage point from which to examine the social work enterprise.

1. Priscilla Young, an influential contemporary social work theorist wrote that: "The practice of social work is an art. The knowledge which supports it is drawn from the social sciences, medicine and psychiatry, but when the pract -itioner uses his knowledge to give help to people in trouble, he is practicing an art."(1967:6)

For the knowledge base embodied in their studies and texts has never been arrived at abstractedly, and the concern has always been to relate it to the on-going problems and issues social work attempts to deal with.

In his seminal essay on the ideology of social pathologists, Mills rightly maintained that the pragmatic eclecticism and the low level of abstraction which characterized their texts could not be accounted for merely in terms of a general 'theoretical weakness' (1934:166). And, he continued:

even though the perspectives of these texts are usually not explicit, the facts selected for treatment are not 'random'. One way to grasp the perspective within which they do lie is to analyze the scope and character of their problems. What then, are the selecting and organizing principles to be extracted from the range and content of these texts? What types of fact come within their field of action? (ibid:168)

As Mills himself noted, one of the salient characteristics of the social pathology (work) texts was their focus on particular 'practical problems' and the construction of 'middle-range' theories. Most importantly though, and this is evident in nearly all social work texts, the problems are taken as self-evident problems and are not defined within the occupation. Thus, the dominant definitions of delinquency, problem families, deserving destitute, paupers and so on, as social problems form an unproblematic base-line for social workers and those other groups of social pathologists(1).

It is an inevitable consequence of this approach to social problems which accepts the existing social structure of capitalism as 'normal' and deviants from the norm as 'pathological' that the knowledge base of social work

1. In this study I am primarily concerned with elaborating the dominant and established social work ideology. There is now a growing, albeit still small, radical caucus within social work which is beginning to challenge this ideology. A contributing factor in the emergence of this caucus was the shift within the sociology of deviance during the 1960s in which definitional issues of social problems came to occupy a central position. As Spitzer noted: "Instead of adopting conventional wisdom about who and what is deviant, investigators have gradually made the definitional problem central to the sociological enterprise. They have begun to appreciate the consequences of studying the powerless... both in terms of the relationship between knowledge of and control over a group and the support for the hierarchy of credibility that such a focus provides." (1975:638).

Some of the consequences of this radical shift will be discussed in the later chapters of the study.
becomes both conservative and reformist. Nevertheless, the middle range, pragmatic and eclectic character of that knowledge base does not mean that it is not sophisticated. Similarly, social work’s unproblematic acceptance of the problems it confronts does not mean that its ‘middle range’ theoretical base has been already determined or that it merely fills in a given theoretical structure. Rather, social work’s concurrence with the given definitions merely established the parameters of its theoretical agenda and practice methods.

Thus, this section of the thesis examines how the particular approach, theories and methods of social work emerged. Chapter 3 has as its major focus the Charity Organisation Society for it was this Society which was primarily responsible for transforming philanthropy from its feudal roots of patronage and establishing the foundations of social work, its bourgeois successor. A period of transformation, such as occurred in the social policy field between 1880 and 1914, is not only interesting in itself, but provides a peculiarly illuminating moment when the debates within and between classes are clear and apparent. In the area of social work and philanthropy, the COS had to struggle to transform the field and to educate its own class in the methods of relief which it thought appropriate. Consequently, basic assumptions had to be explicated and theoretical models adumbrated, not only of the middle range but also of the social system as a whole, if adherents were to be gained and, most importantly, if power and influence were to be achieved, for the COS had to be able to show how their approach was congruent with the concerns of capitalism as a whole whereas the ‘old’ philanthropy was not.

This in turn leads on to what I termed earlier as the ‘public’ (1) dimension of social work literature and knowledge. By this I refer quite simply to the fact that social work knowledge is not solely directed ‘inwards’ towards

1. In chapter 4, I also call it the ‘ideological dimension’.
social workers but is also concerned with creating a 'public image'. In the last chapter I examine some of the image creating activities of social work so only a few general points will be made here.

In the course of capitalist development a considerable number of social control agencies have been created. The principal foci of all these agencies, schools, police, welfare groups et al have been the working classes. Furthermore, while the State has controlled all of these 'professions' they in turn have been given a definable 'space' (often referred to as autonomy) in which they have been able to establish their own particular methods and ideologies. Some, such as social work, have generated what have been termed permissive or treatment control strategies, whereas others like the police operate along more punitive lines. Here then is clear example of the importance of 'middle range' theories, for both the police and social work have, over recent years come to operate within a similar field in which both groups would accept and share the same notions of say, delinquency as a social problem, but have devised seemingly different strategies and ideologies to deal with it. This in turn has sometimes led to conflict between State control agencies. The police and judiciary have for example, been particularly bitter about the powers which have been accorded to social workers under legislation such as the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act in the area of juvenile delinquency (1).

L. The following are a collection of recent examples of this conflict. In December 1976, Lord Wheatley, Lord Justice Clerk over-ruled a social worker's recommendation that probation should be given to an apprentice accused of violence and claimed that social workers were unrealistic in their attitude to serious crime, "because they looked at the case only from the point of view of the accused person,... and seem to forget that the court has to take into account public interests." (cited Times, 8.12.1976).

At their annual conference in 1976, Leslie Male, the Chairman of the Police Federation attacked social workers for 'conniving against the law' and he continued "we have to put a stop to the ridiculous situation in which the social workers more or less decide for themselves what is best for the child and are able completely to ignore the decision and the intention of the court." (Cited Guardian, 20.5. 1976). In April 1976, the Deputy Chief Constable of West Yorkshire, Austin Haywood attacked what he termed 'softly-softly, namby-pamby, pussyfooting social workers' who were playing softly with the culprit instead of declaring war on them. At the end of this article, Greville Janner (Lab M.P.) is quoted as claiming that the criticism of social workers was unfair and that if there were more social workers there would be less (Continued on page 65)
Certainly, the history of social work's development since the time of the COS is the history of a struggle for power and prestige; to become recognised as a major and viable instrument of control and regulation, which could from the perspective of capital "permanently improve the condition of the working class". Social work's status as a State agency was only consolidated recently with the passing of the 1970 Local Authority Social Services Act, until then, and even currently, social work's major struggles have been against other elements of the middle and ruling classes which occupied other functions within the State. It is due to the character of this struggle that the 'public' dimension of social work's knowledge base and its concern to create an expert image is such an important theme in the development of social work in this country.

In chapter 4 the focus is on contemporary social work theory and methods, and extends the analysis developed in chapter 3 to demonstrate continuities as well as explaining changes of style. Throughout this section, and in the thesis as a whole, a materialist stance is adopted which implicitly and explicitly draws on the material presented in the first section. It is one of the objectives of this study to present an account of the development and character of social work and social work education which is firmly situated within the framework of a class society and thus all the struggles and tensions that such societies necessarily involve. A materialist stance has enormous consequences for the style of this presentation and analysis of social work theory and method. Theories are not considered in isolation

(Continued from page 64)

After these attacks, Terry Bamford, the Assistant General Secretary of the British Association of Social Workers (BASW) replied that; "The Police Federation is conducting a sustained campaign of denigration against social services and social workers". (Social Work Today, 13.5.1976:121)

Another example of conflict between state institutions is the more recent proposal from BASW which recommends that social workers should never support sending juvenile offenders to detention centres or borstals (Social Work Today, 21.6.1976:2)
from the historical and social contexts in which they are formulated and
developed. Consequently, the construction of a 'body of knowledge' in
social work is not perceived as some narrow process of knowledge accretion
- akin to the stocking-up of a larder - which takes place in a social
vacuum and determined by such abstract criteria as 'truth' or 'science'.
Instead, specific historical contexts are seen as major determinants of a
theory's emergence and the status it subsequently achieves.
CHAPTER THREE

The Objectives of Social Work: Theory and Method I


The Function of History

The Socialist Labour Party, since its inception, has insisted upon the need for a clear and comprehensive grasp of the evolution of society and its various social institutions. We have emphasized this need, not because it is our desire to breed a group of 'intellectual' theorists in our midst, but rather because we are convinced that clear thinking must precede intelligent action. It is necessary to know the past in order to understand the present, and by clearly grasping the salient features concerning both past and present we can more clearly discern the future. The study of the past, therefore, throws a penetrating light upon the nature of existing social institutions, and clearly shows the functions they perform. To the Socialist the study of history is neither academic nor an intellectual form of recreation. It is, on the contrary, an imperative duty.

(Paul 1917:iv)

It is one of the central arguments of this study that the activities of the Charity Organisation Society mark the origins of modern social work and that many of the principles, methods and theories which the Society established have remained central to the contemporary social work enterprise. A great deal of lip-service has in fact been paid to the COS as one of the major landmarks in the development of social work (c.f. Younghusband 1952: 718) but that acknowledgement has tended to be part of a larger idealist account which begins with the 'religious motive':

Historically, social work, like most other voluntary effort on behalf of one's neighbour, sprang from the religious motive.... The obligation to give personal service - to feed the hungry, to heal the sick - was due to a perhaps more profound religious motive. In both Christianity and Judaism at their best there is a call to comfort the weak hearted, to raise up them that fall, to loose those whom Satan has bound: a call which has contributed most powerfully to our modern desire to rehabilitate the offender and the disabled, to provide kindly care for the old and ailing and to understand and to help rather than to condemn the social misfit.

(Younghusband, ibid:717)

Similarly, McCormick, an influential American social work writer, has
stated that:

The efforts to 'do good' to them /the poor/ took shape in the Monasteries of the Middle Ages, in the workhouses of the 17th century, and in the Poor Law reforms of 1834. They continued in the Charity Organisation Societies of the 19th century, the family and children's services of the 20th century.

(1965/1970:21)

I am particularly concerned to confront critically this 'Whiggish' account of social work and its development, which has great currency within social work, and which functions to mystify and confuse students who are led to believe "that they are being ushered into an altruistic fellowship of shining knights and devoted maids" (Gettleman 1974:155). In offering a radically different interpretation I shall be following Gettleman who has correctly indicated the importance of such work in transforming the character of social work:

Their /social workers/ professional lives will be complicated enough without the extra burden of ahistorical mystification. Also the recent concern in the profession about whether social workers should be advocates or not ought to be informed by a historical perspective. The profession's past, when realistically viewed, suggests that social workers (and their forebears, whether 'friendly visitors', 'charity workers', or whatever the vocabulary at particular times) have always been advocates, usually of a conservative persuasion. Raising this historical legacy to the level of consciousness is a necessary precondition to the struggle to overcome it. And, only through struggle can social work realize (not alone, but in conjunction with other forces) its potential for transforming society.

(ibid)

The idealist account of the history of social work also has more specific limitations. It has the tendency to assume that very little changes over an incredibly long time span (c.f. Timms 1970:15), in which fundamental political, economic and social changes have taken place. While there are important continuities between specific historical epochs which need to be recognised there are also changes which also have to be documented, and both the changes and continuities have to be situated in a materialist context if their significance is to be appreciated. Ruling ideologies of the dominating classes and the State may have the appearance of being divine and immutable (I) - Gramsci's work on 'organic intellectuals'

1. McShane has noted for example, how in 1885, Pope Leo XIII declared the State to be of divine origin (1974:ix).
of the bourgeoisie (1971:chp 1) has incisively pointed to how this appearance is created and maintained - but in fact they are the product of class conflict, both between and within classes. The development of social work from the time of the COS provides just one example of the struggles which are involved in the creation of one State institution. Moreover, as I shall go on to amplify, it was not a conflict that was won and lost in one specific historical moment. The COS's struggle to transform philanthropy was an undoubtedly important battle, but the Society's victory did not end the war.

As I argued in chapter one, it was one of the principal concerns of the COS, between 1869 and the beginning of the twentieth century, to eradicate indiscriminate almsgiving. In the maturing capitalist society of late Victorian Britain, the Society maintained that this 'feudalistic' response to working class destitution and subsequent social instability was totally inappropriate. Certainly, the supporters of the COS vigorously rebuked all those engaged in such philanthropic work:

Indiscriminate almsgiving is a crime against society. It is opposed to the divine order. It saps the very foundation of the self-respecting home. It destroys the best elements of true society. It destroys citizenship and those active powers of the human soul that put it in sympathy with the divine ideal.
(Slocum 1892:10-11)

Indiscriminate charity was 'feudal' to the extent to which it encouraged dependency among the working class destitute; as Sewell noted:

Many of the forms it takes cannot be accounted for otherwise than as traditional, and its language clearly carries its history, as, for instance, when we speak of our 'dependents', of the 'claims of our inferiors', of our 'humble friends', and 'their duty towards their betters', even when we talk of the 'working' classes, not as opposed to the leisureed, but as opposed to the cultured.
(op cit:287)

The forms of indiscriminate charity in late Victorian Britain were many and varied. The estimated £10 million which were distributed each year in the east end of London throughout the last decades of the nineteenth century
(Woodard 1961:64), was divided among activities such as soup kitchens, free school dinner associations, holiday funds for children of the destitute, as well as the unorganised distribution of small sums of money to beggars and the like (H. Bosanquet 1914:7-14). In London, as in other major provincial cities such as Liverpool (c.f. Simey 1951), the scale of this form of philanthropy generally reflected the changing plight of the working class poor. Thus it always increased in the winter, when the bad weather hit the outdoor and casual industries, (principally the docks and building), and during periods of labour unrest. One of the most graphic examples of this fluctuation in relief was after the riot of the unemployed and destitute in Trafalgar Square in February 1886. The Lord Mayor of London’s Mansion House Relief Fund for the unemployed which was static at £3,000 before the disturbance had rocketed to £20,000 four days after the riot, had doubled again after another five days, and a fortnight later had passed £60,000 and was still rising (Lynd 1945; G.S.Jones 1971:298ff). As we noted in Chapter One, there is nothing specific to indiscriminate almsgiving, in this type of fluctuation, but rather it reflects a general tendency of ruling class reform policy to become activated only when threatened with large scale disorder and unrest. As Hutchinson observed:

Not that it can be said there is anything novel or unusual in the fact that many worthy men and women are laid idle through want of work. This has been at all times a regular occurrence. And it is only now, when socialist unrest by which we are surrounded has become accentuated, that attempts are being made to find 'cures' whereby the cloud of unemployment which lowers darkly over many a workman's home can be dispelled, and work and its resulting wages resumed, along with the comfort and contentment they invariably bring in their train. (1908:331; my emphasis) (1)

1. Arguments such as these are often dismissed as representing a 'crude conspiracy thesis'. Such criticisms, however, sadly miss the point, and in their search for 'sophistication' obscure the consciousness of the ruling classes who do think and plan and are often (mostly) aware of the consequences of their policies as Corrigan (1977) has extensively illuminated in his work on 19th century statesmen. As with in his report to the Cabinet in 1911 on labour disturbances provides merely one more example, not of conspiracy but of planning: "it looks as if we were in the presence of one of those periodic upheavals in the labour world such as occurred in 1833-34, and from time to time since that date, each succeeding occurrence showing a marked advance in organisation on the part of the workers and the necessity for a corresponding change of tactics on the part of the employers." (cited Winter 1974:27)
Note also that they do have a strong grasp of history!
The COS and its supporters however, maintained that responses such as the Mansion House Fund and all other forms of material aid were short-sighted, sentimentalist and above all damaging. Farrâe, discussing philanthropic activities in Liverpool argued that:

If you are going to do nothing else, if you are going to satisfy your conscience on one hand, and provide a doubtful safety valve against social upheaval on the other, by lavish charity, then I say without the slightest hesitation that it would be better to let the destitute — men, women and children — die of cold and hunger in the street. (cited Simey 1951:107)

It was this hard line approach of the COS to relief, which incidentally aroused considerable opposition within the upper classes, some of whom accused the Society of being hard-hearted, anti-Christian and anti-humanitarian (H. Bosanquet 1914:118-124), that distinguished the COS's approach to social reform and relief strategies. Insofar as the COS was concerned with strengthening British capitalism their criticisms of indiscriminate charity were undoubtedly correct as was evident by the support which their philosophy came to attract both from the State and other sections of the reform intelligentsia (1).

The COS's criticism of indiscriminate charity was that it was totally inappropriate and based on a misguided conception of current social needs. Whereas indiscriminate charity might have been an appropriate strategy for maintaining a dependent and subservient working class under feudal conditions, a modern capitalist society demanded a qualitatively different form of working class. Thus, it was a central argument of the COS that indiscriminate charity was undermining the labour discipline of the working

1. While, as we have noted earlier, the COS strategy was challenged, their philosophy was widely supported. Beveridge (1909) the Fabians (c.f. Townshend 1911) and innumerable civil servants (Braithwate 1970:80; Davidson 1971:231) all acknowledged the importance of the COS's influence.
classes and also supporting an ever growing mass of beggars and paupers.

As Bernard Bosanquet observed:

The difficulty of living by regular work, and the ease of living without it is the long and short of the matter; not merely because of the immediate attraction of the easier course, but because of the educational influence of such a state of things.

(1895:113)

And according to the COS leadership the 'educational influence' of indiscriminate charity was of dramatic and 'epidemic proportions':

Money given is only spent on drink;... unless the case is exceptional, the effect on the class will be bad; existing ties and responsibilities are none too numerous to keep men to their duty. What a man sees done for his neighbour, he thinks he is entitled to himself, and he yields to self-indulgence, well aware that there is charity in the background ...

There is abundant evidence in proof of this.

(Loch 1906:1-11)

The mischief spreads down the street like an epidemic.

(H. Bosanquet 1896:73)

Similarly, Huntington contended that:

Human nature is so constituted that no man can receive as a gift what he should earn by his own labour without a moral deterioration, and the presence in the community of certain persons living on public relief has the tendency to tempt others to sink to their degraded level.

(1893:164)

Helen Bosanquet also cited a leading article from the Parochial Critic (March 23, 1870) as an example of the consequences of widespread indiscriminate almsgiving in subverting labour discipline and encouraging mendicity:

tens of thousands of mendicants (should) march forth every morning - not to work or to seek work - but to beg; not to contribute, by their industry, but to prey upon those who do ...

(1914:4)

Moreover, as Loch explained, all forms of dependency, whether pauperism or mendicity were:

the social enemy of the modern State. The State wants citizens. It cannot afford to have any outcast or excluded classes; citizens that are not citizens. All are citizens in name; it must see that they are in reality. It must do its utmost to change the dependent sections of the community into independence. It cannot do with chronic indigence and social feebleness of any great mass of citizens - with paupers, who
are paupers indeed, whether they be classified in public returns or are habitual recipients of the casual bounty of the rich and charitable institutions. Accordingly it becomes a duty of the State by some means to prevent pauperism and of citizens to give their service for that purpose.

(1890:10)

Loch's and the COS's emphasis on citizenship is crucial for understanding the ideology and subsequent strategies of social work. The COS placed citizenship at the centre of its programme and came to define charity as the 'science of citizenship'. Holman reported that restoring the (deserving) destitute to citizenship was one of the great guiding principles of the COS:

Help those who need help only in such a way and to such an extent as will enable them to help themselves to the greatest possible extent in regaining their full and efficient citizenship, i.e., to restore them to a proper self-dependence and independence while preserving their self respect, and strengthening rather than impairing it. Our highest success is to help our fellows to be good citizens, and the essential element in the good citizen is that self respect which leads to respect for others, and an active endeavour to protect, advance and preserve both. To achieve this is a difficult and delicate task, and demands high qualifications, and much patient and courageous work. (1912:26)

Atlee, who was a social work teacher at the LSE for a time similarly argued that social work "is essentially the duty of citizenship not only to the city and the State but to the world" (1920:5).

For the Charity Organisation Society citizenship was about an individual's "membership of society", which according to Loch entailed satisfying the following four conditions:

The member must be physically self-sustaining. ...In old age (also) the member falls out partially - so far as he cannot sustain himself and then also depends on reserves - somebody's reserves. The member must be economically self-sustaining. Failing in this he ceases to be an efficient and reciprocating member. He does not support society but is a burden on it.

...the member must also be morally competent. If he is not, he will not be a reciprocating member but an isolated member, according to the degree of his shortcoming; and this is a contradiction in terms. Lastly, the member must be competent as a civil member of society. He must, according to his status, be competent to fulfil the duties of citizenship. The end of charity then is the development of membership in society, that the members may fulfil these four conditions according to their several status in social life by their independent worth and by social reciprocity one with another.

(1910/1923:45-46)
The concept of citizenship as proclaimed by the COS was the distillation of all its objectives, and was the cornerstone of its activities. Moreover, it was a concept of some sophistication in that it pointed not only to a particular relief policy, but indicated that social harmony had to be struggled for on the ideological rather than the material plane.

The attack of the COS on indiscriminate philanthropy, was a reflection of the changing character of British capitalism. Social change does not advance along a broad front in a uniform manner, rather it is very uneven. This unevenness was reflected in the emergence of the COS and its concern to prohibit patronage forms of material charity which might have been appropriate in early and pre-capitalist society but its persistence in maturing industrial capitalism was deemed to be undermining the social relations of wage labour.

As one writer noted at the time, this 'class' of 'Lady Bountifuls' was a "danger":

the lack of any understanding of labour questions or feeling for citizenship, a patronising attitude toward the manual working class, with pity and regret for their ignorance, all these are pitfalls for the unoccupied, untrained, well-to-do women of today.

(Hutchins 1913:51)

According to the Charity Organisation Society indiscriminate doles were subverting the need for the working class poor to seek employment which would bring them into the capitalist framework and under the rule of that pivotal disciplinary mechanism, the work place. Moreover, such doles had no force for ensuring the organic solidarity of the classes on a permanent basis. Instead, they provided the material means for the survival of a growing section of the working class 'outside' of capitalism, something which the Poor Law reforms of 1834 had directly sought to curtail. Thus, as the Society often complained, the attempt to bridge the gulf between the classes through the distribution of doles was being exploited by the rapacious working class poor and sustaining an independence which was proving to be
very costly and potentially highly dangerous, (1)

The COS were not opposed to the objective of reasserting the personal ties between the classes and the casework method which was adopted by the Society was, apart from anything else, intended to bridge the chasm with personal friendship (Loch 1906/1923:29). However, the COS was concerned with the long-term objective of "permanently improving the condition of the poor and repressing mendicity" (COS Manual, cited COR Nov 1900:312); or, as Loch noted, 'the development of membership in society.' This they argued, could only be achieved by developing within the entire working class the concept of citizenship which entailed the working class internalising a particular set of values and beliefs. In other words, the working class had to be self-governing, and every effort had to be made to reinforce the values of self-help, independence and self-reliance. But in asserting the notion of working class independence it was both implicit and explicit in the COS's writings that it was to be an independence within the social relations of capitalism. As Nichols and Beynon have recently pointed out:

A tendency exists... toward the self-supervision of workers /in the factory/, but this...is subject to a most important proviso that capital must not lose control. (1977:45; my emphasis)

This proviso was always central to the COS's conception of working class independence and, as I shall note later, to the concept of client self-determination which is the equivalent for contemporary social work theory.

Citizenship, as it has been developed and articulated by social work has always meant far more than a narrow concern to eradicate dependency and enhance the productivity of all sections of the working class. For as the COS made clear, citizenship was intended to be the new cement of social

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1. In his discussion of indiscriminate almsgiving, Huntington commented that: "One of the most patent facts about this side of the matter is, that the charities of the rich are an insurance which they pay for the security of their possessions and the continuance of their gains. Of late years the premium has risen somewhat...." (1893:190-191)
cohesion and stability. The old personal nexus between servant and master was to be replaced by the new bond of citizenship, which was to be a bond between the individual and the State. And according to the COS, as with all those who have subsequently supported it, citizenship was a bond characterised by a series of reciprocating privileges and duties between the individual and society. (1) This essence of citizenship was expressed by Slocum, who also indicated what many Society workers held to be the beneficial consequences which would flow from the promotion of citizenship among the destitute:

Once more we must awaken in the one for whom we work an idea of the privileges and obligations of citizenship. If he has been a pauper, he has thought of society only as the force that has the power to punish him or to take care of him. But the moment he feels that he is a citizen then it is possible he may be a factor in his country's welfare, then a new strength and nobility enter into his life, and his conception of manhood is broader and deeper. (1892:13)

It was clear in many of the writings of the Society's members that they regarded citizenship as the key to social stability in a growing and complex society. Massive cities, the ever increasing fragmentation of the labour process with the introduction of new machine technology, the cyclical trade depressions, the separation of the classes were all taken as potentially disruptive features of social order during this period. The reform intelligentsia such as those in the Charity Organisation Society certainly did not over-estimate the commitment of the working class to wage labour in such a society - "existing ties and responsibilities are none too numerous to keep men to their duty" - as Loch had observed. It was in this context that citizenship emerged as a powerful legitimating ideology of the bourgeoisie; it was, and remains an ideology of the 'cog in the

1. Thus as Huntington wrote:
"the development of society involves the development of the individuals that make up society, and requires that these individuals should become more clearly conscious of the relations that bind them together, and should voluntarily correspond with those relations. (1893:159)
machine' in which the individual is feted as the 'important' cog and capitalism the machine. It is an ideology that strips away the potentially divisive language of class, and replaces it with the homogenous category of citizen, but above all, portrays society as an organic entity which like the machine relies on all the parts no matter how big, weak or powerful, operating efficiently and in harmony. (1)

The many dimensions and implications of citizenship and its centrality for the social work enterprise will be explored as the study progresses. But before going on to discuss in detail the strategies of social work which have been concerned to develop citizenship among its clients, it is worth noting how the social work leadership have, from the time of the COS, situated social work philosophy as being the expression and distillation of dominant social values. In an article entitled 'If Citizens be Friends' Loch maintained that:

Charity is not general philanthropy or any of the diverse forms of relief, but a social principle. Accordingly it has a social purpose; it requires a social discipline; it works through sympathy; it depends on science; and in fervency it is religious. ... Ultimately society is based on Charity - on love working through the individual and social life; and social advance depends largely on the ability of the people to realise this principle and to act upon it. (1923:19)

He also argued on many occasions that charity, as defined by the Society was "science - the science of life in operation - knowledge doing its perfect work" (1899/1923:101) and Bernard Bosanquet was making the same point when he stated that the principles advanced by the Society were not simply COS

1. The development of citizenship among the working class was also a goal of the Fabian Society, and Sidney Webb in his discussion of Poor Law Reform noted the important 'internalisation of the State' dimension involved in the concept:

'It seems desirable to promote in every way the feeling that the 'Government' is no entity outside of ourselves, but merely ourselves organised for collective purposes. Regarding the State as a vast benefit society, of which the whole body of citizens are necessarily members. (1890:104)
principles but the right principles:

Even 'principles' we were told in the Council the other day, should not be recommended to us as COS principles, but only as the right principles. They should not be a shibboleth, dividing us from the rest of humanity, and they should be supported because they are right, not because they are ours...
(1916:124)

Contemporary social workers have tended not to be so loquacious as their predecessors in the COS (1), nevertheless, many of their writings do convey the same leit motif of social work as being centrally concerned with implementing and strengthening the core values of society, which are not perceived as either dominant or bourgeois, but, rather as 'right' and 'natural':

It is the main responsibility of the social worker to maintain an unswerving identification with the social conscience.
(Towle 1948, cited Hollis 1968:196)

Social work then, is our society's invention of an instrument, publicly and privately forged and supported, by which its aver red goals for human welfare may be actualised. What social work has invented are the ways and means, the strategies, the modes of action by which these values may be realised. 
......
We survive as a profession when we represent and carry into action our culture's values and beliefs and commitments.
We thrive as a profession when we can forge and demonstrate the ways by which these desired and desirable goals may be approached, reached for, and occasionally even grasped and actualised.
(Perlman 1976:383, 390)

This position of social work vis a vis society's dominant values is of great importance for understanding the political character of social work in all its dimensions - practice, education and theory - as it will become increasingly apparent as the study develops. Social work is much more than just a reflection of dominant values, rather it has actively sought them out

1. Much of the explicitness and eloquence of the COS leaders such as Loch, the Bosanquets and Octavia Hill was derived from the struggle they were engaged in to end the practice of indiscriminate almsgiving and to establish the 'ideal of charity'. As B. Bosanquet noted: "The science of relief work had to be entirely created, and, broadly speaking, has been created by the Society, and the Society must continue for an indefinite time to be the chief guide and authority on all that concerns such work." (1898: 129-130)
and placed them in a pivotal position within its frame of reference. With regard to particular 'problem' sections of the working class it has taken on the role as one of the principal purveyors of such values and has been engaged in attempts to implant them among its clients. Howard Jones has indicated this stance of social work, and has importantly drawn attention to the form in which it has been articulated:

What we have of course been witnessing in the evolution of professional social work has been the gradual scientisation and humanisation of the basic ideology of capitalism.

(1975:169)

Social Work as the Articulation of Citizenship.

Despite important differences in the historical contexts under discussion, which are crucial for understanding the respective influence of social work in the two periods, the core objective of social work — to restore its clients to citizenship — has remained unchanged. Citizenship, as I have discussed above, is essentially about the nature of an individual's relationship to society — a social contract. The clients of social work, whether they were the deserving destitute, problem families or juvenile delinquents, have, and continue to be viewed as 'outsiders' or non citizens, who, for political and economic reasons have to be restored to citizenship. The title of Simmons' Home Office Report on approved schools (1945), 'Making Citizens' is indicative of this central concern.

The leaders of the COS were never less than sure that it was the absence of citizenly virtues which were the cause of destitution and pauperism (1). According to Loch, the individual should;

provide against hunger, nakedness, and want of shelter; the father against these things both for himself and his wife and family. The

1. They also maintained that social instability and the portend of socialism were the consequences of the precariousness of citizenship among the working classes as a whole, for as Rogers noted, socialism "cries out for rights instead of insisting on duties" (1911:37).
ordinary contingencies of life which fall within the range of ordinary foresight, should for the individual's own sake and for society's sake be met by the efforts of the individual. (1906:xv)

And, as I noted in the first chapter, the failure of an individual to fulfil these basic duties of citizenship was deemed to be due "to moral causes, to weakness of will and poverty of spirit" (ibid:xvi), or as Bernard Bosanquet argued, "in social reform, then, character is the condition of conditions" (1895:vii):

Here then, seems to be the true meaning of social work. Wherever it may start its goal is the same; to bring the social mind into order, into harmony with itself. Social disorganisation is the outward and visible form of moral and intellectual disorganisation. This does not involve saying that it can only be combated by directly moral and intellectual ends; but it does involve saying that it can only be combated by means, which, all things considered (this is really the important point) make for moral and intellectual ends. (B. Bosanquet 1901:297. Emphasis in the original.)

After 1945 when the combination of welfare measures and economic boom sustained a widespread belief that structural poverty had been eradicated (E. Wilson 1977:77), we once again find the rigorous articulation of this conception of poverty:

Material deprivation of the type common when our founder began his work is, of course, practically non-existant. Higher wages, abundant opportunities for employment and much social legislation have produced this very desirable result. Nevertheless, the problem of children deprived of home life still remains with us. Destitution as known in the Victorian era has been replaced by what might be termed a 'moral destitution'. Today we find the children suffering because of a widespread decline among a large section of the population of a sense of moral values. (Annual Report of Dr. Barnado's Homes, 1946, cited Beveridge, 1949:239-40)

Social work is no longer primarily concerned with poverty and material relief; it deals now more often with mental confusion and the relief of anxiety, with the readjustment of temporarily dislocated lives, and with social activities designed to prevent dislocation. (Kitchin, 1952:698) (1)

In both periods, social workers looked to the family of the client populations as the root of the problem for the reasons stated by Loch in 1890:

> We take it that the family is the civic unit. A sweet and wholesome family life is the first condition of good citizenship. (1890:10)

There are a number of reasons why the family has been considered to be so important by social workers and the State. The most self-evident (and discussed) being its socialisation role. Long before the works of Freud or Bowlby, the family was considered to be of vital importance in socialising the children, and as Loch insisted, was one of the principal 'disciplining' institutions of society:

> The means of discipline are the family, the school and its life, apprenticeship - the schooling of industry, friendly influence and military service. Through all these and these only... can new social habit be made. (1910/1923:52)

It is from such a basis that social workers have insisted that the family is at the root of most of their client's 'inadequacies' and thus, social problems. In her influential study, entitled *The Family*, Helen Bosanquet argued that:

> A proletariat residuum is impossible where all young people who go out into the world are trained to habits of labour, and obedience, as well as being strong and capable. (1906:99)

And in 1953, the Family Welfare Association (1) made the similar point that:

> the problems facing the caseworker are rooted in the life of the family

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1. In 1946 the Charity Organisation Society changed its name to the Family Welfare Association. The change of name is generally remarked upon as 'significant' (Hall 1952:131) and marking a new departure for the Society with the explicit emphasis on the Family. However, as the announcement of the change of name in Social Work noted, the Society had been seriously considering a change of name since at least 1913 and that "if the COS had stood for anything in the last 75 years it has stood for the well being of the family, and the strengthening of family ties and family responsibility," (October, 1945:180)
In her study, Bosanquet was clearly influenced by the work of Le Play (1877-9; c.f. Abrams 1968; Wells 1939:425ff) who had conducted a massive survey of the French working class, taking the family as a microcosm of society, in order to find those "conditions which favour, and those which impair, social prosperity and stability" (Wells 1939:425). Like the COS in England, and now contemporary social workers, Le Play identified among the working class a cluster of families which he termed 'Unstable Families', as constituting a major social problem. Bosanquet described their character-istics:

there is the unstable Family, of which the members care little for home, and are eager for a change. It is formed by the marriage of parents, increased by the birth of children, diminished again as these leave home, and is finally dissolved by the death of the parents. There is no continuity or authority, and little, if any, assurance of the well-being of its various members. These unstable Families Le Play finds in all the poorest and most distressed regions which he visits; each generation as it reaches economic independence breaks away from the preceding one, and each generation from its fellow members; the father has little or no authority, and the children drift out into the world undisciplined and untrained. Such Families neither secure the well-being of individuals nor contribute anything to the prosperity of the community. We are only too familiar with them today... They are indeed at the root of most of our social difficulties. They are like baskets with holes in them; they let the old people drop out at one end, and the children at the other, to be picked up by the State, or take their chance of passing charity.

(op cit:95-97)

The Unstable Family of Le Play was the Residuum of the COS and the Problem Families of contemporary social work. A continuity that was exemplified by the Mental Deficiency (Wood) Committee of 1929:

Let us assume that we could segregate as a separate community all the families in this country containing mental defectives of the primary amnesia type. We should find that we had collected among them a most interesting social group. It would include, as every one who has extensive experience of social service would readily admit, a much larger proportion of insane persons, epileptics, paupers, criminals (especially recidivists), unemployables, habitual slum dwellers, prostitutes, inebriates, and other social inefficients than would a group of families not containing mental defectives. The overwhelming majority of the families thus collected will belong to that section of the community, which we propose to term the 'social problem' or 'subnormal' group. This group comprises approximately the lowest ten per cent in the social scale of most communities.

(Cited Blacker 1968:217)
However, a major difference between the COS and contemporary social work was that the Society were convinced that such families were impossible to help by social work intervention and that they should be left to the Poor Law or even starvation. Whereas for social work since 1945 they have been considered an appropriate and important client group.

But in both periods a similar set of explanations were developed to explain the survival and existence of this 10% of the population. According to Bosanquet "the question of ultimate importance comes to be":

"Why are there sections of society which are stagnant, uninterested, even brutalised; which do not respond to the higher ideals, which are lacking in those attributes which we regard as more distinctively human?"

(1902:6)

Predating the rhetoric of Sir Keith Joseph (c.f. Townsend 1974:8) by seventy years she offered an explanation which identified the family life of the working class as the key determinant:

"The power of acquiring interests is itself largely a question of early training, and the mind that has acquired the habit of bearing itself intelligently towards life will be secured against the habits which would enslave it at a low level. It is to the acquirement of wrong habit then, that we must look for one chief cause why progress is checked at a low level of development. It occurs of course, in all ranks of life, and is a question of early training and education. But there is no doubt that its effects are felt most seriously when the life becomes subjected to habit, in the absence of progressive interests, amongst those in 'poor circumstances' ... it is much more uncomfortable, and probably much more harmful to the community inasmuch as such habits are infectious."

(ibid: 35-6)

In an earlier article entitled the 'Psychology of Social Progress' Helen Bosanquet set out to explain why the COS was justified in refusing to assist the Residuum and why it should focus exclusively on the deserving destitute.

As is evident from the passages already cited, Bosanquet was committed to social progress or 'civilisation'. It was an inherent feature of civilisation she argued, for it to be continually progressive, just as it was one of the defining characteristics of man. History therefore marks the passage from 'primitive wants' to ever 'higher wants':
When men have their fill of food and clothing, they begin to desire luxuries and ornaments; when their appetites are satisfied, they turn their attention to dancing and music; the poet, the story-teller, and the artist then find a demand for their services, and so on until the primitive cycle may be almost lost sight of. (1897:267)

The Residuum, and paupers generally however, appear as an "unprogressive 'knot' in the flow of human progress" who seem content to pass their lives at the level of the 'primitive cycle', "eating, drinking, and sleeping, with intervals of comparative quiescence, and are absolutely free from the stimulus of progressive desires" (ibid 267-8).

Borrowing from the work of Stout (c.f. 1902 Chp 6) and entwining it with the strong idealist tradition of the COS (1) she went on to develop what we might term a sophisticated 'psychology of citizenship'. According to Bosanquet, individuals pass through two distinct stages on the way to becoming fully self-actualising citizens. The first, in early childhood, is dominated by the 'principle of association', in which human behaviour is determined by satisfying instinctual needs, such as hunger, warmth and rest:

A 'vital series' takes place when the equilibrium of mental elements has been disturbed by some shock or stimulus, and they are seeking a readjustment. In creatures still confined to the primitive cycle of wants the stimulus or shock will generally be due to such organic disturbances as lack of food, and the vital series will take the shape of a series of efforts to obtain food and so to restore the disturbed equilibrium. Then a period of more or less total quiescence or unconsciousness—...—will set in. (ibid: 268)

The second stage, which is concerned with the organisation and development of 'higher interests' was said to be dominated by 'noetic synthesis'. Essentially, what was involved at this stage, Bosanquet maintained, was the individual's beginning to grasp an underlying 'purpose' or 'idea' of experiences and to make connections between them:

1. The COS at this time was a stronghold of British Idealism, containing in Bernard Bosanquet a leading spokesman of British Idealism who with Loch had been a student of Green at Balliol (Richter 1964 and especially Corrigan 1977:393ff). I shall be returning to the idealism of the COS later in the analysis.
stages of development it ceases to consist of mere trains of perceptions, thoughts, and ideas linked together by associations of time, space and similarity, and has a definitely organised and complex content, dominated in its workings by definite interests and principles. Neotic synthesis is the term which Mr. Stout uses to describe this organization in the higher levels of intelligence. ....

All purposive, rational thought and action, then, is guided by neotic synthesis; all casual, aimless speech or action, all chatter, punning or mere trifling, much narrative, and again all automatic action is guided by association alone.

(ibid: 275)

Needless to say, the Residuum were dominated by the principle of association:

Their lives certainly show the... absence of neotic synthesis; day drifts after day in the same aimless fashion, all is ordered by habit, chance, association; nothing by purpose. Theirs is the very type of character formed by the great principle of association, for at every movement they sedulously avoid the immediately unpleasant and seek the immediately pleasant.

(ibid: 276)

According to Bosanquet and the other leading theorists of the COS, the Residuum and paupers had become locked at the first stage of personality (citizenly) development, because of their upbringing. It was the inevitable cycle of deprivation passed on from generation to generation, whereby the children were never, so they claimed, encouraged to explore or seek out the purpose of life, but rather to survive as painlessly as possible:

The child who is never made to do things for himself, to find the solution to his own problems will be slow to develop higher interests....

(ibid: 271)

Improvident early marriages and the neglect of children, thousands of whom never know what it is to be decently fed, clad or housed, dependence upon charity when sickness or disaster visits the home; these and many other evils common to the industrial classes were brought about in a great measure because the husbanding of resources has never been properly inculcated in early life in the home or in the school.

(Wyatt 1900:143-4)

The COS's description of the Residuum was remarkably similar to contemporary social work's characterisation of problem families:

A problem family is one that lives in squalor and is apparently content to do so. It apparently suffers from domestic and possibly social ineducability. Its members may be distinguished by lack of character and by mental backwardness, sometimes associated with relatively numerous children, child neglect, intemperance, etc.

However, unlike contemporary social workers, the COS maintained that such families were unhelpable. Bernard Bosanquet argued that the idea that "something must be done"
is in and by itself a potent factor in the creation of the miserable class whose existence we deplore; and all attempts to palliate the mischief by twining ropes of sand in pretending to organise the unorganisable material simply aggravate the disease by furnishing that partial and discontinuous employment which is the poison that corrupts these people's lives.
(1895:113-114)

And according to Helen Bosanquet, the absence of neotic synthesis and the dominance of the principal of association (1) precluded the possibility of social work intervention, such that the first step in any ameliorative strategy should be to ensure that they are not assisted in any other way than by the Workhouse:

you must let them feel the consequences of being drunken, or idle, or improvident and then they will strive harder against it.
(1897:277)

On the whole, the COS adopted the eugenicist position which advocated that every effort should be made to withdraw or prohibit all assistance to this class so as to allow the Spencerian struggle of the survival of the fittest to continue unfettered by interference:

He/ Spencer/ believed for example, that there was a principle of social selection operative in human history, and that because this was so, it was extremely important that men didn't interfere with it, and in particular, that governments didn't interfere with it. He opposed state aid to the poor on the grounds that this would preserve the weaker and less successful members of the race.
(R. Williams 1972:696; c.f. Searle 1971)

1. Certainly, Helen Bosanquet argued, the Residuum could not achieve citizenship merely through a strategy based on the principle of association:

"If this were a sufficient account of the matter, the well-trained dog or idiot should be capable of developing character as the wisest man, for in both the principle of association can be made active."
(1897:275)
Thus Whetham, who was an influential spokesman for the eugenicist position, argued that:

In dealing with men and women of this character, where we cannot hope to accomplish individual radical cure, we must, as with the feeble minded, organise the extinction of the tribe. In the old days the law attempted this extinction by hanging, a preventative of the sternest and most efficient nature. ..... For us, ... the old methods are impossible. We must attain the same result by the longer and gentler system of perpetual segregation in detention colonies, and with all mitigations that are practicable.

(1909:214-5)

A particularly cogent summation of the Eugenicist position was offered by Crackenthorpe in his essay 'Eugenics as a Social Force':

The Eugenicist takes *this* same view of drunkards and rather than eliminate the drink would eliminate them.

(1908:968; emphasis in the original.)

Certainly, we should be careful not to under-estimate the importance of eugenicist ideas in social policy formations, and it is not surprising that the Eugenics Society was at the forefront of the work on problem families in the post 1945 period (c.f. Blacker 1952). Even though not all the tenets and implications of social darwinism and eugenics have been subscribed to in social policy legislation – especially the notions of genetic determinism as a total explanation of class differences – most social policies do address themselves to the fundamental eugenicist question:

Will it tend to favour the growth of those elements which are already known to be of national worth? Will it tend to check the reproduction of those whom the present fragmentary knowledge points out as detrimental to the community?

(Whetham 1909:7) (1)

1. Just as social workers have argued that their methods and philosophy are no more than the articulation of dominant (bourgeois) social values, the same can be said of much eugenicist material, which reflects the ruling classes' concern with the productive potential of the population. Despite their particular prescriptions for action, which may or may not be influential, the eugenicists do perform an important role for capital in monitoring population developments and in reporting on the consequences which policies have on encouraging or inhibiting the reproduction of "those elements known to be of national worth". Thus both the 1948 PEP report and the 1949 Royal Commission on the population contained strong eugenicist arguments about the dire consequences of the differential birth rate for 'national efficiency', and the need to encourage a greater rate of reproduction among the middle and upper classes (Ensor 1950, recommended tax incentives),

(Continued on page 88)
Returning to the COS's theories of destitution, and the role of the family, it was their contention that the deserving destitute were helpable because they were educable, by which they meant that such destitute had given an indication in their past behaviour of having some tentative grasp of 'higher interests' and the need to fulfill the duties of citizenship. Time and again, the Society maintained that education was the necessary and only appropriate form of relief strategy if the deserving destitute were to be permanently improved:

The only way of really helping a man is to strengthen him by education, timely assistance, opportunities, what you will, to meet his own difficulties and organise his own life; and so also of any class in the community, only by their own efforts can they develop progressive interests, and only by purposes and progressive interests can they organise their lives successfully. (H. Bosanquet 1897:227)

Material relief, whether distributed by the State or by the multitudes of 'Lady Bountifuls', was considered to be entirely illegitimate if it was unaccompanied by an educative strand. It was on such grounds that the Charity Organisation Society based many of its criticisms of socialism (including both Fabian and revolutionary variants), for any programme which concerned itself primarily with material issues was deemed to be narrow and unprogressive:

Any propaganda, for instance, which appeals only or mainly to material needs, will fail to raise its followers to any high level of civilisation or happiness, for it is concentrating the attention of the self on comparatively narrow and unprogressive issues. (H. Bosanquet, ibid:280)

(Continued from page 87)

while inhibiting reproduction among "the obstinately refractory residuum" (PEP 1948:156). The PEP report similarly supported the establishment of the Marriage Guidance Council as being a "good eugenic device" (151), and like Whetham supported segregated colonies for the residuum: "Segregation in such colonies may also be regarded as an effective means of reducing the fertility of mental defectives, which is for eugenic reasons a matter of great importance." (136)

It should be noted that the Mental Deficiency Committee 1929 (Wood Committee) was largely instrumental for changing the name of the Residuum to mental defectives. This debate in the late forties was identical to that of the first decade of the 20th century, when there was a similar concern about the dire consequences of the differential birthrate. For an excellent example of this concern see Webb (1907, especially 16-17).
In contrast to the 'socialists', the Society maintained that the 'good life' and 'civilised existence' which they were dedicated to strive for among the working class poor, could only be realised when individuals began to organise their lives "in correspondence with the wider interests of the community" and harmonised "their lives with that of the community, and so (to) share in as well as (to) advance its progress" (ibid:280-1).

For the COS therefore, as it is for contemporary social work, the task with clients was to make them into self-actualising citizens. It is a task in which material and structural features are only of secondary importance. The message of social work was quite clear; if clients could only be convinced of the benefits of living their lives in harmony with the prevailing values and norms of society then all would be well for both themselves and 'society' at large.

**SOCIAL WORK METHODS**

The notion that the destitute could be categorised in two major groups - the undeserving Residuum who should be either left alone or referred to the workhouse, and the deserving who were the appropriate group for social work - necessarily involved the Society in developing an inquiry procedure which ensured the selection of the right candidates for COS intervention:

> investigation shall precede relief, and that only in such cases shall be relieved as are deserving and likely to benefit by the relief, and that cases found to be undeserving or of a permanent character shall be reported to the Poor Law ....

*(Annual Charities Register 1906:cclxxiv)*

The COS's investigative procedures were a corner-stone of its social work method, and had the twin objectives of both separating out the appropriate clients from the mass of destitute -

> investigation... will indicate who are curable and will limit the field of charity ...

*(Loch 1906ixx)*

- as well as being the crucial 'diagnostic' stage of identifying the areas which needed attention from the social workers:

> Inquiry, careful and thorough inquiry, becomes a manifest duty, for without sufficient knowledge of the circumstances of the individual
or the family we may not only encourage idleness and imposture, but we may fail to help those whom we most desire to make better by our relief.

(Loch 1890:34)

The Society's insistence on the importance of inquiry was one of the more self-evident differences between indiscriminate almsgiving and 'social work':

Inquiry startles the novice as a revelation of new knowledge; it gives him eventually a security in his work, which imposes on him many restrictions and requires of him perpetual thoughtfulness, but it is a high road compared with the fool's paradise in which he formerly walked boldly along. Inquiry, also, throws into prominence the imperative necessity of nourishing and bringing into operation all the finer elements of charity - personal influence, a long suffering patience, a quick sympathy, the setting aside of social prejudice and patronage for charity's sake.

(Loch 1906:xx)

The Society very rarely assisted individuals, particularly able-bodied destitute men as they were unlikely to have any fixed abode, were usually mobile, and by being able-bodied and destitute were virtually by definition undeserving:

The Society does not try to find work for ordinary, able-bodied men.

(28th Annual Report of the COS, cited Richmond 1899:39; emphasis in original)

Instead it was a central principle of the Society that its charitable work should be based on the family, as Richmond noted:

It has been said that the home is not only the true unit of society but that it is the charitable unit as well, and that when we deal with anything less than a whole family, we deal with fractions.

(1899:44)

This concept of the family as being the 'charitable unit', the focus of social work intervention, derived from the Society's conception of the family as a microcosm of society. The family was perceived like society as an inter-dependent institution in which there was a division of functions and labour. Thus a healthy family was like a healthy society in which the members were expected to fulfil certain duties to one another; where the 'wider' (or as the COS termed them 'higher or progressive') interests of the family predominated over the 'narrow' interests of the
individual. In an essay entitled the 'Duties of Citizenship', Bernard Bosanquet posited the family as the 'half-way house' on the journey towards citizenship:

Thus the family will stand between its members and the community, not as a blank wall may stand between the sun and the eye, but as the half-way house may stand between the beginning and the goal of the journey. For thus our English homes will be nurseries of citizenship and the symbols of the social will, and become more, not something less than they are today.

(1895/1927:277)

The Society's focus on the family was no mere philosophical exercise for it was their profound conviction that if all families were functioning effectively there would be very little destitution and thus a greater degree of social cohesion. We have already observed how the COS denied any substantial material base to destitution, but they were not unaware of the difficulties involved in living off wage labour, and maintaining self reliance throughout the life cycle (c.f. H. Bosanquet 1898:14). Families however, were seen as the crucial means which allowed for working class independence. The combined incomes of all the wage earners within a family group were considered easily sufficient to ensure economic independence, and even to cope with those in the family who through age or illness were no longer able to contribute:

It seems clear then, that this grouping together of individuals into economic units comprising both the weak and the strong elements would be in itself, if it were nothing more, a most successful device for maximising the economic efficiency of the people. There are other conceivable methods of providing for the weaker members of a community, but none which call out the best qualities of the average man and woman to the same extent.

(H. Bosanquet 1906:224)

Consequently, the family was considered not only as a central socialisation institution but also as the basic economic unit in the reproduction and maintenance of labour power:

the home is the centre, both in the material and moral sense, from which he starts each day a fresh, and to which each day takes him back at night.

(H. Bosanquet 1906:204, my emphasis)
Thus, the objective of COS social work was to strengthen the family in all its functions and;

In deciding whether relief should or should not be given, or what assistance should be provided, the family must be taken as a whole; otherwise the strongest social bond will be weakened. Family obligations - care for the aged, responsibility for the young, help in sickness and trouble - should be cast as far as possible on the family.

(Loch 1906:ixviii)

The granting of relief was only a very small part of the COS’s activity with their client families, and was never given independently of the 'charitable transaction' between the charity worker and the family:

With regard to individual cases the aim of the Society is stated to be fitting action, and fitting action is such action as may lead to permanent results, either with or without the granting of relief. To give relief only may not indeed be fitting at all, or it may form but a very small part of a really beneficial charitable transaction.

(Anon 1900:312)

However, whenever there was a question of a family requiring some form of material relief, the COS insisted that 'the family' should bear the costs wherever possible. Thus in their work, the COS operated according to an extended, sometimes very extended view of the family, and would send letters to relatives all over the world in order to get them to contribute to the relief of the destitute family unit:

Whenever it is possible, therefore, the relations should be required to do their part. The disgrace of leaving the fulfillment of their duty to strangers should be insisted on, and a definite scheme of help should be submitted to them, with a request for assistance of a definite kind or to a definite amount. No trouble should be spared to reassert the family bond.

(Loch 1906:111) (1)

1. Bernard Bosanquet admitted that this way of raising relief funds was very troublesome and time consuming, but, that it had "immeasurable advantages": "It enforces family ties, and neighbourly or other duties, instead of relaxing them. .... Though we must, for the present, administer relief, we certainly ought not to provide it."

(1893:261-2; emphasis in the original)
Table 1 gives a breakdown of the sources of the relief issued by the Battersea Committee in 1899/1900 which clearly illustrates how the COS throw the burden of relief on the shoulders of the destitute's 'family' and their personal friends.

Table 1.

The Sources of Relief Funds Distributed by the Battersea Committee, 1899/1900.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Relief</th>
<th>Amount ($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Contributions from applicants and their relatives</td>
<td>165 11 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Contributions from employers</td>
<td>24 17 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Contributions from personal friends of applicants</td>
<td>424 16 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Contributions from local clergy</td>
<td>113 4 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Contributions from charities; local and general</td>
<td>15 6 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Contributions from local committee and friends</td>
<td>308 18 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Refunds from convalescent homes etc</td>
<td>22 2 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Payments from other COS committees</td>
<td>44 8 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Results of appeals through the Golden Book, (1)</td>
<td>107 4 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(From, Anon: 1900:319)

Relief given without thought and without enquiry, as a rule, ignores the moral obligations of relatives, whereas true charity surely demands that in every case the possibility of help being obtained from relatives should be ascertained before an appeal is made to outside sources.

( Ibid: 319-20)

In order to ascertain the morality of the claimants, the Society established a set of guidelines which were issued to the charity visitors (examples of these are reproduced in the Methods Appendix), and there were also regular

1. The 'Golden Book' was a regularly published pamphlet which listed the deserving clients of the Society, giving brief details of the 'case', some of the reasons why they were deserving, and the amount of relief which the Society's visitors had assessed as being required. On the basis of this information contributions were invited from the public.
articles in the Charity Organisation Review, which were intended to guide
the caseworkers. One of the most detailed of such articles appeared in
the issue of April 1895 and was entitled 'How to Take Down a Case' which
elaborated in considerable depth how the caseworker should set about
completing 'COS Form 22', which was the major inquiry form. The article
being intended for beginners was resplendent with warnings about the
'peculiarities of the working class' which the new or novice visitor
should be aware of:

It must be recollected that the poor differ from the more educated
in their standards or morals, their code of honour, and their
public opinion. To some the legal tie in marriage seems of little
importance. Rent is often held of less obligation than other debts,
Early marriages and large families are common, and no stigma attaches
to those responsible for them. Chivalry is sometimes conspicuously
absent. Wives are sent to the relieving officer or to apply for
charity while their husbands loaf and smoke at home.
(Anon 1895:143)

The visitor was particularly warned to watch out for fraud (1) and
innumerable devices were suggested to ensure that the claimant was genuine,
for example:

If able to do so the applicant should be made to spell his name, as
otherwise it may easily be so entered as to conceal his identity,
e.g., Wyatt may be set down as White, or vice versa. So also if
the name of the street in which he lives is strange, he should be
asked to spell it; and if he is lodging in a common lodging house
the letters C.L.H. should be written after the address. The
applicant should also be asked whether he has ever applied before,
and the accuracy of his answer tested - at the time or later - by a
reference to the office index.
(ibid: 145)

It is worth noting that one of the strands in the recent call for social
workers to be qualified has been that without training the social worker
may be 'manipulated' by the client. For example, Philp argued that:

Where a worker has little training in understanding family relationships

1. As the 'Society for organising charitable relief and repressing mendicity'
the COS was particularly active in its struggles to eradicate begging and
scrounging. For instance, it maintained a card index of all begging letters
which by 1900 contained 20,700 references, and each year 'a cautionary card'
was issued to all subscribers of the Society which advised them to consult
the card index before giving any assistance (COR Nov 1900:317).
or little insight into his own responses, he will most likely be used by clients to support their inner phantasies and his action will tend to confirm the families' problems.
(1963:284)

All the steps taken by the visitor in the inquiry procedure constituted an exhaustive attempt to assess the moral status of the applicants, and included interviewing neighbours, local tradesmen (to discover if they had any debts), past and present employers and the local clergy. The case papers on the Hadwen Family (1) give some indication of the charity worker's approach:

I inquired among the neighbours and tradesmen in the immediate neighbourhood of applicant's residence - and everybody seemed to have a good opinion of the family - the man is described as being sober and industrious, but not of strong constitution.
(Report dated 15th Feb 1875)

Not surprisingly, the COS advocated that its social workers should always visit the homes rather than make their assessment of character on the basis of an applicant's visit to the office. It was only in the condition of the home - the quantity and quality of possessions, its cleanliness, the habits and manners of the children and all other members of the family - that the worker could arrive at a full assessment of the applicant's morality (COS Ann Report 1907/8:18). In an article in the COR a Miss Hunt of Gloucester COS was reported as having:

insisted on the importance of visiting the homes and giving relief there; then it would be apparent if the want was real, especially if the visits were unexpected.
(COR 1895, vol 11:263-4; my emphasis)

Among the various criteria of morality and citizenship, some, such as evidence of thrift in the family were invested with paramount importance:

We the advocates of thrift, have always insisted on the value of constructive saving -saving embodied in the health and well being of

1. Among the COS records held by the GLC Library (County Hall) there is a bundle of case notes from a variety of COS offices dating from the early 1870s until the 1940s. The Hadwen Family case notes are taken from this bundle.
the family, and in niceness of the home... Thrift is, for us, the germ of the capacity to look at life as a whole and organise it.

(Bernard Bosanquet, 1893i; my emphasis)

The importance attributed to thrift among the working classes by the ruling class has a number of dimensions. In one sense it has been regarded as one of the material forces which link and tie the worker to the society, for as Greg noted, thrift:

(is) a matter of deep interest to the State; for the man who has invested a portion of his earnings in securities, to the permanence and safety of which the peace and good order of society is essential - will be a tranquil and conservative citizen.
(1852; cited Supple 1974:224) (1)

It should also be noted here that the family has similarly been regarded as a material link, and an 'investment' which moderates the individual workers' behaviour:

The man who has a family dependent on him is likely to be a far more productive member of society than the man who has only his own needs to consider. The children provide a motive power to the parents which few other interests are strong enough to afford to the mass of mankind.
(H. Bosanquet, cited Marshall 1949:343)

And Rathbone, who was a leading figure in the movement for family allowances in the 1930s and '40s (c.f. McNicholl 1976), also maintained that:

Most people would also agree that the Family as an institution has a special value at the present time as a bulwark against certain explosive and disruptive forces. A man with a wife and a family may talk revolution, but he is much less likely to act than one who has given society no such hostages.
(1940:14) (2)

Strachey, (then editor of the Spectator), argued in his book The Citizen and the State another widely held aspect of the importance of thrift:

There is another duty closely connected with the duty of making the

1. Rothstein (1929) in his important book on the development of the labour movement in Britain from the mid 19th to the beginning of the 20th century, has argued that the development of saving/friendly funds among the trade unions had precisely this effect. Strikes and militant action were often rejected in fear of jeopardising these funds.

2. The truth of this has been well shown in Beynon's study of workers at Ford's car plant at Halewood (1973/5: chp 5). Moreover this study demonstrated how the Ford management actively encourages the workers to build up overheads (mortgages, hire purchase commitments) as a strategy for discouraging militancy and strike action.
best of ourselves and of our powers of work which must not be
forgotten. It is the duty of saving - thrift. It is only by means
of saving that the world has been able to move forward, and the lot
of man improved.... Those then who save money, even if it is only a
few shillings or a pound, add to the capital in the country.
(1914:11) (1)

And, not least of all, thrift was enthusiastically advocated as being one
of the major ways to prevent working class destitution:

The promotion of thrift and providence is a more effectual exercise
than the relief of distress; just as the prevention of disease is
better than its cure. Distress there will always be, and a consequent
demand for wise help in special cases of misfortune, but anything
like frequent or continuous distress is unnatural and unnecessary.
Against this evil the working classes can protect themselves and the
best work of charity consists in helping them to do so by the
practice of foresight and self-control.
(Ann Report of the COS, 1903-1904:12-13) (2)

In a paper, "read by invitation at a meeting of the Fabian Society",
Bernard Bosanquet succinctly outlined the relation of thrift to the social
theory of the COS and their disagreements with the 'Economic Socialism'
of the Fabian Society. Bosanquet argued that the COS stood for 'Moral
Socialism', "the view which makes Society the moral essence of the
Individual" (1890:358). Moral socialism as presented by Bosanquet was the
idealistic theory of citizenship, which has as its objective to engender in
individuals of all classes the notion that society was the embodiment of
the 'general will', and that a fully developed (self-realising) individual
was one who acted in accordance with the social purpose of that 'general
will'. Milne in his discussion of Bosanquet's theory clearly elucidated

1. The importance of pension and insurance funds for contemporary finance
capital clearly substantiates Strachey's argument.

2. To promote thrift the COS established a Thrift and Savings Sub-Committee in
1904. Their activities included persuading the local education authorities
to teach thrift in schools and to adopt the COS's thrift syllabus (4th Ann
Report of Sub-Committee in COS Ann Report, 1907-8:53-4). It should also be
noted that some thrift was considered dangerous if it allowed the working
class an independence, however tenuous, from the control of capital. The
Co-operative Movement and some Friendly Societies were thus ambiguously
perceived; sometimes as evidence of thrift which was virtuous, and at others
as tentative alternative social formations which by-passed capital (c.f.
Novak 1977:chp 5).
The man who acts in accordance with his real will is more free than the man who acts only in accordance with his day to day will. The real will is to live and act as a citizen and that means to live and act in conformity with the complex of laws and institutions of one's society, a complex which is given unity and direction through political organisation. (1962:250-1)

Thus, according to Bosanquet (and the COS), thrift was a crucial element in "the social constitution of the individual will" (1890:359):

I appeal with confidence to anyone who has practical familiarity with the character and distresses of the working class, to say whether experience does not show that thrift among them goes with unselfishness and a sense of duty, and unthrift with selfishness and self-indulgence. It should be clearly understood that thrift, in the shape of a resolution to bear at least your own burdens, is not a selfish but an unselfish quality, and is the first foundation and the well-known symptom of a tendency, not to Moral Individualism / which he claimed was the Fabian view of society/, but to Moral Socialism. This point is not met by saying that it is hard to save on 19s a week. We are speaking of a quality in moral character, which determines the happiness or misery of those who possess or do not possess it, in a way that goes far deeper into life than by mere success or failure in laying by a sum of money. The man who looks ahead and tries to provide for bearing his own burden is the man who can appreciate a social purpose, and who cares for the happiness of those dependent on him. Him, if he fails in part, you may safely help for a time; if he fails altogether, by exceptional misfortune, you should, I incline to think, distinguish him in your Poor Law treatment from the man who shows no such sign of such a disposition. But to try and take away from him the one thing which his manliness and his chance of happiness depend, by speaking lightly of the duty of carrying at least one's own burden, betrays a standpoint which is not that of Moral Socialism. (ibid:364)

Similarly, Loch maintained that thrift

is the outcome of a healthy moral existence; it is the sign that we are breathing a pure moral air. Without it we must die or deteriorate. It demands the play of many virtues; consideration for others - a sense of the needs of the whole, be it household, factory or nation; self control and the twofold knowledge that comes of sympathy and of intelligence. Waste on the other hand implies the lack of all these things. (1923:176)

The prescriptions for action in the idealist philosophies of Green (see especially Corrigan 1977: chp 5) and Bosanquet were taken on whole-heartedly by the COS (Bosanquet 1898: 122-123). They thoroughly informed the casework
of the Society and underpinned its social theory. It succoured the charity worker's focus on character for happiness or ruin; social stability or disintegration ultimately depended on the extent to which the individual will embodied the social purpose, the social will, and no money will make up to a man for a broken mainspring in his social will. (B. Bosanquet 1890:366)

It was also crucial in its bearing on the concept of citizenship and the COS's critique of indiscriminate charity. The mature social will involved recognising a responsibility for one's actions and the effect they can have on others who one can never get to know on a directly personal level. Thus citizenship was the central unifier of a complex and highly differentiated capitalist society, which could no longer be held together by bonds of personal loyalty but rather by people recognising their public responsibilities:

I do not think that Economic Socialism appreciates the depth of individuality which is necessary in order to contain, in a moral form, the modern social purpose. Each unit of the social organism has to embody his relations with the whole in his own particular work and will; and in order to do this the individual must have a strength and depth in himself proportional to and consisting of the relations which he has to embody... the individual in modern Europe might be compared to a centre on which there hang many, many millions. (ibid:368) (1)

It should be evident from the many passages cited in relation to the Society's idealism that their concern to establish a firm knowledge/theoretical base was not a self contained activity peculiar to social work but, was an inextricable aspect of the multi-faceted debate between and within social classes, about social policy formation, the nature of society, and, above

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1. Professor Adams noted that this 'idealist' conception of the social order was not mere "sentiment; it is, at the same time, a social necessity":

"Specialisation in modern life has increased the dependence of men and classes to such a degree that inter-dependence is a thing which is felt, rather than an idea to be reasoned about. Society is coming to be in fact organic, and (it is) the claim of a perfect organism that all parts should find harmony of life in the recognition of a common aim." (1893:xii)
all, the working class (Corrigan 1977:387). In particular, the COS'S advance of citizenship was in opposition to the bourgeois socialism of the Fabians and the revolutionary socialism of the working classes. Central to the concept of citizenship was the denial that the social structure was based on irreconcilable class difference (1). Instead society was presented as being differentiated according to a division of labour and accompanying functions in a symbiotic relationship. Thus, Helen Bosanquet argued that while society could be divided into social classes, these; class distinctions have their origin in difference of function, and that our Standard of Life differs in detail according to the particular function we have to fulfil in the community. In other words, according to the occupations which they follow men's standards will vary in kind, without our being necessarily able to say that this or the other is higher or lower. (1898:5–6)

Consequently, the theorists of the COS presented an argument very similar to that of Durkheim's in which they maintained that the division of labour creates a solidarity that binds men together and makes them interdependent (2). It was on the basis of this organic interdependence that the Society urged that individuals should recognise their purpose in the social whole irrespective of their place in the social hierarchy. As presented by the Society it was a literal support for the status quo, and there was no imperative for the working class to try and improve their condition or

1. "The 'antagonism of interests' as between Capital and Labour has proved itself to be not permanent, and if there is any permanent antagonism it is to be found between different classes of producers". (H. Bosanquet 1898:113; emphasis in the original)

"There are no longer any insuperable chasms between classes, but each class melts by indistinguishable degrees into that above and that below. We should not be far wrong in saying that the number of 'social classes' in England today is almost as great as the number of different employments, and that it is possible for a man to choose what class he or his son will belong, in about the same degree that it is possible for him to choose their kind of employment."
(Albid:11)

2. The work of Durkheim was available to the COS, and Loch in his essay on 'The Main Line of Thought in Sociology' acknowledged the importance of Durkheim, especially in making society an "object of science" (1911/1923:777, 78–80). Nevertheless, Durkheim, as Richter has noted (1960:187f) differed significantly from the COS in proposing a more active involvement of the State in the provision of social services.
place within the social pyramid:

It is not that people ought to jump out of the circumstances which put them in these conditions, but that, while remaining in some recognised groove, some accepted form of duty, they should bear in mind that their little life only has value as embodying some element of the common good. Therefore, while faithfully working in their groove, they must apply to it the best conception of human welfare that they can. They must criticise it, as we say in philosophy. Starting from this idea they will find improvements to make—simple little daily improvements. They will be pressed and coerced by moral necessity to this and that piece of work which their position and place brings to hand, falling well within conditions which they are familiar with in practice... 


However, should any of the working classes want to be upwardly mobile, this was now a possibility:

functions and employments are no longer hereditary in any strict sense of the word. It will of course always remain natural that other things being equal, a father should teach his son his own trade; and thus there will always be a tendency for families to continue in the same employment. But there is no longer any artificial barrier erected by tradition and custom, and it is possible for any boy on leaving school, if his intelligence is not below the average, to choose among a dozen different occupations. There is now nothing in the nature of the case to prevent e.g., an artisan from giving his son an education which will enable him ultimately to enter the ranks of the professions. 

(3. Bosanquet 1898:10-11)

These claims by Bosanquet would be considered wildly ambitious even in the 1970s when there have been a number of advances in educational opportunity for the working classes, but in a sense this piece of unreality did not detract from the central message, which was, that the goal of human existence—being a good citizen—could be achieved at any point of the social structure. The essence of life was to fulfil one's duties to the common good, the higher one was situated in the social hierarchy the more arduous the duties, but in the long run, society, namely capitalism, depended on everyone doing their duties to the best of their abilities.

Although I profoundly disagree with the theories and methods of the COS, it is difficult not to admire their sophistication and coherence. Not only did the Charity Organisation Society establish what we can now
acknowledge as being the firm foundations of social work, but they also actively confronted the 'feudalistic' mentality of the indiscriminate almsgivers and the bourgeois socialists who were pressing for State intervention. In terms of challenging those regulatory occupations such as social work which have been imposed on the working class, I regard it as important that we should recognize their underlying consistency and sophistication. Such recognition is important on two grounds. Firstly, theoretical and ideological coherence lends considerable strength to social work. Within the parameters of capitalist society it enables social work to present often convincing and widely accepted arguments about the nature and causation of social problems: arguments which not only sustain social workers in their tasks but can also influence the general orientation to social problems in society as a whole. For social work does not merely reflect dominant conceptions, but it is also active in their creation. Secondly, a serious appraisal of social work's theory and ideology, recognizing its strength and sources of power, is necessary if any transformation of social work and society is to be attempted. Far too often the criticisms of social work presented by radicals have been mere caricatures and clichés which are easily dismissed by social work theorists. Certainly some of the early articles in Case Con exhibited this tendency. It is easy to set social work up as a knock-about straw man, but it rarely leads us anywhere. If we are ever to develop critical strategies a necessary first step must be to take seriously social work's formulated positions and to recognize its organic relationship with capitalism. It is on such a basis that alternatives can be constructed and that links can be engendered with militants in other spheres of activity in the struggle to bring socialism nearer.

Returning to the discussion of the social work practice of the CGS, the methods adopted to attempt the restoration of the deserving poor to full citizenship centred around family based casework, whereby each family was taken individually by a charity worker, who through the conscious use of
'friendship' hoped to "strengthen habit and to strengthen the Family" Loch 1903:2). This friendship, "tact and goodwill" (Richmond 1899:14), was and still is, regarded as being the key to the social worker's success, for it is through 'friendship' that they hope to establish a rapport with the clients which is a necessary precondition for the educative, moralising aspects of social work:

It would seem that this help can reach those in need of it through but one source, and that is through the encouragement which comes from a proved and wise friend, a friend who gives himself in his gift of advice, whatsoever it may be. (Bannatyne 1900:67)

And as we better understand the workings of the mind, we desire to make yet other ministrations more personal and more real. For vaguer influences we would substitute those expostulations of friendship that are most direct and most regenerative. (Loch 1923/1906:29)

Like traditional philanthropy, the G03 regarded 'friendship' as being a potent cohesive force, which could bring the classes closer together and, as Buzelle noted, could humanise society and bring the working class destitute back into the fold:

Even the relation established between the man who is to be helped and the society or institution which exists to help him must be carefully guarded by the individual friend, or, as we have been painfully taught, through this relation comes not help, but harm. A recent visitor said to Miss Octavia Hill, the best friend the poor of London ever had, "The question upon which I seek light is not how to construct a benevolent society or institution, but how to connect the society or institution with the individual for whom it exists." The instant reply of Miss Hill was, "That is the question." (1886:185)

Any material relief given to the clients was always intended as a means for enhancing citizenly virtues rather than an end in itself, and as the relief was so self-evidently important for the clients, it was recognised by the charity workers as being a powerful "lever" (Richmond 1899:190) by which to change and modify behaviour. David Jones who was then secretary of the Family Service Units, has similarly argued this function of material assistance in connection with problem families:

Material assistance is usually necessary so that the family may have the means to live decently. The units, however, are not relief giving bodies and normally such needs are met from existing sources.
The value of material assistance lies in its use as a tactic in the whole process of rehabilitation. The same considerations apply to the manual and practical work performed by the units. Such work not only provides a form of assistance not obtainable in other ways, but its psychological and educational effects, and the stimulus given to the family to make the required efforts themselves, are of great importance.

(1950:4-5; my emphasis)

And Handler has documented how contemporary social workers use material assistance as a regulatory and manipulative device:

In one case, which I don't think was particularly unusual, the electricity was cut off and the mother asked the child care officer for help with the bill. The following appeared in the case file: "I noticed the family smoked the most expensive cigarettes." They were unable to explain why they made no attempt to pay their way when Mr... was working." Although these people are wanting help, I feel a little uncertain about whether just paying off the arrears will really be doing Mr... a good service." Despite repeated requests, the officer refused to pay the bill for two months. During this time, it was made plain that this lever was being used until more co-operative efforts were forthcoming. The officer wanted a better work effort from the husband and a change in attitude as to what the family thought was owing to them from the welfare state.

(1968:486)

He continued:

The operative social work principles in the children's departments today are remarkably similar to those of the Charity Organisation Society, founded about 100 years ago. The close supervision of the spending of money is little different from the old system of relief in kind; poor people cannot be trusted to spend money that isn't 'theirs'.

(1968:487)

The major difference however, between the COS and contemporary social work was over the question of State intervention and the status of social work within the welfare programme as a whole. It was these issues which brought the members of the COS into conflict with other sections of their class. The COS leadership firmly believed that through its activities and by its presence there was no call for State intervention in this particular area. Loch clearly indicated this belief in a paper he presented to the Council on 'The Development of Charity Organisation':

Such an organisation, I thought, could do more than Parliament, or preaching, or books, or pamphleteering. But such an organisation might bring to bear on the removal and prevention of evils a combined force that would far exceed in weight and influence any yet existing.
It could make legislation effective, and could see that it was enforced. Apart from all legislative interference and with the use of means and influences more far-reaching it could renew and discipline the life of the people by a nobler, more devoted, more scientific religious charity. It could turn to account all that newer knowledge would bring to the help of charity. It could eventually provide out of all classes and sects a great army of friendly, and by degrees, well-trained workers.

(1903:6)

As more and more commentators are coming to appreciate (Cromwell 1966, Goldthorpe 1964, Brebner 1948, Corrigan 1977, Novak 1977), the long standing debate about the role of the State (c.f. recent Conservative Party policy statements) was and is about the extent of intervention and the spheres of intervention, rather than about 'pure' laissez-faire versus intervention:

We shall not find anyone who is a pure Benthamite, just as we find the much quoted 'law' of laissez-faire (in J.S. Mill's mid-century formula) immediately followed by several pages of political justification for excluding educational provision by the State.

(Corrigan 1977:vi-vii)

The Charity Organisation Society provides us with an excellent example of a section of the dominant class which adhered to a theory of the State which was laissez-faire in some areas and interventionist in others. Thus, according to the COS, it was legitimate for the State to intervene in order to create and sustain the parameters in which citizenship could flourish:

I understand by the State the power which, as the organ of the community, has the function of maintaining the external conditions necessary to the best life.

(B. Bosanquet 1917:271)

The State is in its right, when it forcibly hinders a hindrance to the best life or common good.

(B. Bosanquet 1920; cited Milne 1962:269)

Among the hindrances to be hindered by State intervention the COS included insanitary conditions, squalid working class housing, and the casual labour market. On all these issues the COS were active in pressing for State legislation which Bailward has catalogued in some detail (1907:59-66), for, as Bernard Bosanquet argued, "physical needs are not to be neglected" (1907:27). Therefore, although the Society maintained that
some social problems emanated from the 'bad' character of the working classes they did not totally disregard material or economic factors, as they made clear in the Majority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws:

Economic causes are constantly at work to alter social conditions and to place within the reach of people both many opportunities for good wages and many obstacles resulting from the instability of industrial and commercial life. But after making all allowances for these, the vital issues in the problem are rather moral than economic.

(1909:41)

Thus although the Society did not by any means, place material reforms at the centre of their programme, they did accept that insanitary dwellings and areas (Horsfall 1900:126-9), the existence of a large casual labour market in the docks (Loch 1906:xvi), hindered the development of citizenly virtues among the working class and that the function of the State was to create and sustain a basic material framework which would allow character to develop. Consequently, as Bosanquet noted, while the Society would continue to hold "the time honoured principle of the promotion of individual character and personal responsibility" at the centre of its programme, this did not mean that it advocated a "policy of pure abstention" for the State, "nor the restriction of our social activity to the preaching of temperance and thrift" (1907:16). Bailward, who was a leading spokesman of the Society during the early years of the twentieth century, explicated the Society's position on State action, and at the same time defended it on the grounds of its special expertise in the domain of poor relief:

We have never, for instance, criticised State action qua State action, but only in so far as it has dealt with poor relief, upon which we may be presumed to have special knowledge. We have, indeed, often advocated State action in many directions, such as housing reform, sanitation and the like. We have taken a leading part in promoting further legislation in regard to the feeble-minded, and of course have always recognised the necessity of a State Poor Law.

((1912:133-4)

And, it should be of no surprise that the Society regarded the State's control of education to be wholly appropriate and legitimate, even though it was not entirely satisfied with the results - "the education is not practical enough - in the sense that it does not educate sufficiently
for the purposes of life" (Loch 1909:204). (1)

What the Society did steadfastly object to was State intervention in the relief of poverty other than through the provisions of a deterrent Poor Law, and it was this objection which gave rise to most of the attacks on the Society from other reform groups. According to the COS:

State regulation will not make people sober, law abiding, unselfish, chaste, provident, energetic, or careful of children, even if it does not actually discourage thrift, initiative, and the sense of parental and filial duty.

(Rogers 1911:15)

The basis of the COS's critique of State pensions (1908), provision of free school meals to needy children (1906) and relief works for the unemployed (1905), was similar to their critique of indiscriminate charity, namely that all these policies weakened social obligations among the working class, encouraged dependency and would therefore have no positive moralising function. On the question of State pensions, Loch maintained that they were

a deplorable departure from the principle of treatment and help, the Act touches the very heart of family obligation and weakens it.

(1910:460)

And Helen Bosanquet argued that:

Old age pensions are unnecessary where the Stable Family combines young and old in one strong bond of mutual helpfulness.

(1906:99)

The same attack was made on the provision of free school meals which Octavia Hill had outlined as early as 1891 in her critique of private

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1. An example of 'good practical' education was given in the COR in an article on domestic education for girls in Irish reformatories:

"Cookery, housekeeping, housemaid's work, laundry work, dairying and dress-making are all taught in a thoroughly practical manner. The children about to leave school are able to cut out and make all their own clothes. The six senior girls for the time being take all their meals at a separate table. Each in turn acts as a housekeeper and cook for a month, being allowed a tradesman's wage to support a family of six. After entering in her passbook the weekly costs for house-rent, coals, clothing, light etc., she has the balance to spend on food. She purchases this at market value from the school stores. She has a small American stove to do her cooking, and is pretty sharply criticised by the members of her family for the way in which it is done. These girls when they leave school, give the greatest satisfaction to their employers."

(Nov 1900:324)
feeding associations:

All honour to those whose hearts go out in pity for starving children, and who desire to feed them. It is no pleasure to this Society to urge the benevolent to hold their hands; it realises well how school managers and teachers must feel when children come hungry and neglected to school. But one must follow them to their homes to see the results of this wholesale feeding of them which is advocated...

I say I can imagine no course so sure as to increase the number of underfed children in London as the wholesale feeding of them by charity. I myself know family after family where the diminution of distinct responsibility increased drunkeness and neglect, where steady work is neglected and lost, training for work abandoned, house duties omitted, all because of our miserable interference with duties we neither can nor should perform, and in no way is this evil clearer to me than in the provision of free food for the apparently hungry.

(cited H. Bosanquet 1914:255-6)

Similarly Loch asserted that:

To supply meals on this scale, does it not imply a serious misunderstanding of our social life? To give by wholesale is bad, but to take 'meals and the child' and not 'help and the family' as the basis of the organisation of aid, is a blunder for which society cannot but pay dearly.

(1913:326) (1)

In relation to the relief works which were established by the government following the Chamberlain Circular (1886) and then extended by the 1905 Unemployed Workman Act, the COS complained that the State was directly supporting the deleterious system of casual and seasonal occupations by regularly providing work during the winter. Thus, in London the relief works were seen as sustaining a reserve of surplus labour which was in excess of the requirements of the metropolitan economy and, as Mackay argued at the Council meeting

prevented labourers from moving away from unprofitable to more

1. The Society's criticisms of many of these State intrusions have a definite modern ring about them. For example, on the subject of free dinners Loch insisted that apart from all their dire demoralising consequences their principal failing was that they were only palliatives and would fail to break the on-going cycle of deprivation. Thus, Loch maintained:

"We shall not therefore feed the children so as to remove that obligation from the parents; but we will use every method that keeps them to their duty under a really strict discipline and does not permit the creation of a new generation of parents who do not feed their children."

(1910/1923:54; my emphasis)
profitable employment. It was not in the true interest of these poor people that the migratory movement should be checked. (Proceedings of the Council, COK 1895 vol XI:71) (1)

At the same meeting, the Council also proclaimed that:

Charity was wider, more effectual, more adaptable, more personal. It was, in the best sense more economical ... A large association of well trained workers was worth any number of relief works. It would create no expectations, for it would refuse as justly as it gave charitably, and would promote that foresight and self dependence which after all, were the best preventatives of the evils of want of employment.

(ibid:69; my emphasis)

One of the great failings of State aid the Society argued, was its 'wholesale character', by which they meant that there tended to be a lack of differentiation among the recipients (i.e., the separation of deserving from undeserving), and the absence of an effective moralising/educative component. "History has proved", Loch wrote,

that demoralisation results from wholesale relief whether of the mass of citizens, or of the able-bodied, or of the children....

(1910:350)

Which was exemplified he continued, in the State's policy over free school dinners:

The treatment of many of those who apply lacks the thoroughness of good casework, a condition which is indispensable if good is to be done. The continuous provision of meals is often the cause of permanent dependence, especially when the distress has been temporary and might have otherwise been met. The meals often screen the actual trouble, neglect and backsliding, and prevent their being dealt with.

(1913:325)

These remarks of Loch are entirely congruent with the COS's claim that "most of the questions called economical were more ethical and psychological",

1. It was a central argument of the COS that unemployment in areas such as London and Liverpool, where there were large pools of surplus labour maintained around the docks, could be greatly reduced by the implementation of Labour Bureaux which would encourage a greater mobility of labour and "transference of surplus labour from congested areas" (Clay 1905).

Labour Exchanges were in fact established on a local level under the 1905 Unemployed Workman Act and then extended nationally following the 1909 Labour Exchanges Act (Beveridge 1907).

Stocks (1955:9) similarly criticised the Welfare State for restricting labour mobility and thus damaging the economy.
and that "habits and motives were at the root of so-called economic problems" (Bryce 1913:146). State relief policies therefore were considered inadequate for the problem, and dangerous in their consequences for the character of the working classes. Their wholesale, mass approach made it difficult the Society argued, to treat each case or family separately, which was the essence of the social work approach:

The ultimate problem of bad areas or bad conditions is that of the individuals and the families who are effected by them and are in a bad plight. How shall he succeed in regard to them who does not know the elements and the resources of casework?... We want not large and wholesale intervention, but quiet procedure and simple directness. Those with good courage, persistence and co-operation will promote reform as nothing else, for the 'social' depends upon the 'personal', the 'personal' on the 'social'.

(Loch 1923/1912:202:3)

Furthermore, dire results were predicted by the Society should these ill-advised policies be continued:

To shift the responsibility of maintenance from the Individual to the State is to sterilise the productive power of the community as a whole ... It is also to demoralise the individual. No social system of rewards and punishments - prison discipline for the habitual vagrant; the bread and water of affliction for the empty headed and unsettled; the gospel of State labour for the 'deserving' poor - will be a substitute for the influence of the social law by which energy, honesty and ability have their reward, and failure in these things carries with it its own penalty. If our natural morality were a mere artificial system, such methods might avail. But it is of the very stuff of which we ourselves are made; and these artifices of legislation will but touch the merest surface of our social life.

(Loch, COR April 1895)

Whether the State provided free school meals, old age pensions or employment for the deserving/genuine unemployed, the consequences would be the same, the Society maintained; self-reliance, independence and all the associated virtues of citizenship would be diminished, as individuals would inevitably look to the State rather than to their own efforts. For example, free school meals would teach the child to look to outside help for things he has a right to expect from his parents, a lesson he will not be slow to remember when he himself is a parent. The child needs before all things in the present day to learn the lessons of self-reliance and self-respect.

(COS Occasional Paper No.8 (4th Series); cited Townshend 1911:10)

The intransigence of the Society's opposition to State intervention in relief work made the Society increasingly unpopular from the mid 1890s. 
onwards (Bailward 1907). The most interesting, and in many ways the most influential opposition, came from other reformers, reform groups and politicians, that is, from members of the same social class as the COS. Many of the critics, like Canon Barnett who was one of the leaders of the Settlement Movement, and Violet Markham, an influential Poor Law Guardian and member of the Liberal Party, were once members of the Society, and both regarded much of the work undertaken by the Society as being valuable and important:

So far as the actual work of relief is concerned, case papers, investigation dealing with the family as a whole, building up self-respect of the individual, etc., it seems to me that its principles are on a rock. Whoever administers relief, to administer it helpfully must do it on those lines.

(Markham 1912:129)

The Society is dear to me, .... Of the method adopted, and of the persons engaged no praise can be too high. The method of uniting the benevolent in each district, of associating with them people of goodwill from other districts, of bringing their combined knowledge and interest to bear on the needs of the neighbour they know, has again and again been proved by success.

(Barnett 1895:336-9)

and we have already noted, how Townshend in her Fabian critique of the Society (1911) acknowledged the "very excellence of the Society's work" (p.6). This character of the criticisms is important, for it was not directed at the social work practice of the COS - its methods or principles - but rather at the Council's policy of opposition to State intrusion:

This body /the Council/ represents the Society to the public. By its action the Society is known, and by its voice rather than by the work of the District Committees the Society is judged. The unpopularity of the Society has seldom, I think, been caused by the action of Committees, which in many districts are popular. It rises rather from the resolutions, the debates, and the letters of the Council.

(Barnett 1895:339)

Both Barnett and Markham were representative of a growing opinion that State intervention was necessary for the political and economic reasons outlined in chapter one. There is a considerable danger when examining the debate among the bourgeoisie at this time about the role of the State in relief policies to construe the debate around two poles; one being the State as an end represented by the COS and idealist philosophies.
and the other being the State as a means, represented by the Fabian Society and New Liberalism (c.f. Abrams 1968). Admittedly, both fractions were influential in the debate and both produced their own notable spokesmen and 'theoretical' support systems; Hobhouse (1913; c.f. Abrams 1968 and Collini 1976) for the New Liberals and Bernard Bosanquet for Moral Socialism and the COS. (1). However, despite the often vigorous and public differences between the two groups there was a substantial 'middle ground' of agreement (c.f. Corrigan 1977:423). It was a middle ground in which both parties acknowledged a debt to T.H. Green (Clarke 1974:162; H. & B. Bosanquet 1897:112) and where the 'progressives' (Hobhouse, Wallas, W. Clarke et al) and the 'individualists' (the COS) held to an ostensibly idealist conception of the State (Clarke op cit:164); although the progressives allowed the State more room to act as a neutral regulator -

The State was to be a secular God or Umpire intervening wherever 'evil' should be found.
(Corrigan 1977:422)

- whereas the COS was concerned to limit "the functions of the State to that of merely keeping the ring" (Markham 1912:130). And not the least important was their common and united stand against revolutionary socialism which was the primary agenda of these organic intellectuals of capitalism:

In the thirty years before 1914 many British intellectuals came to see the new sociology and the new Liberalism – the Liberalism of free education, unemployment insurance, town planning, old age pensions, guaranteed minimum wages, and a managed labour market – as theory and practice of a last stand against socialism.

Both Markham and Barnett were concerned to persuade the COS Council that the objectives of State intervention in extending and liberalising relief to the deserving poor were of pragmatic necessity;

Take the doctrine of parental responsibility. I recognise all the difficulties of feeding the children of worthless parents; most

1. For a more thorough account of the issues involved see Corrigan (1977:chp 5) and Collini's essay on Hobhouse and Bosanquet (1976).
assuredly in remedying one evil we must look to it we do not create another. But some of us feel the State cannot for the sake of its own future tolerate a hungry child; neither can it tolerate the worthless parent who is a peril to the community. In the long run we feel that the State must deal with both, but it must save the child first. And we feel also that authority of the State will have to be invoked more and more in the future to deal with the extraordinary complications of the problems before us. Private charity and private effort cannot meet the need. But if this task is to be rightly accomplished it must be the 'Godbearing' State with a spiritual aim; not the cheap policeman State run by rapacious officials;...

(Markham 1912:130) (1)

And, rather than State money and control being, virtually by definition, demoralising, as the COS argued (Barnett 1895:341), the State could in fact perform the conciliatory and spiritualisation functions which the COS reserved solely for their own activities, and on a larger and thus more effective scale.

While not wishing to belittle the principled opposition of the Society to State intervention, there is some evidence to suggest that the Society's reactions were in part an expression of pique:

"There is a feeling" wrote Markham, "that the Society is very unwilling to encourage social experiments which do not come within the four corners of its own tenets. The Society, for instance, held aloof from the Conference on the Prevention of Destitution held last year because it suspected the gathering was organised to promote the aims of the Sidney Webbs (sic). Sir William Chance, in your own Review, shows that fear was incorrect, and that the Conference was a genuine effort to bring all classes of thought together." (1912:131)

Markham also noted that the Society had given no support to the Insurance Bill even though it was based on the contributory principle which the Society had always supported. Beveridge had argued that by limiting

1. In this passage Markham has indicated the dilemma which faces the ruling class in the construction of social policies and which Rankin has raised more recently; namely:

"these so-called 'reckless' and undeserving parents often have very deserving children and it is usually impossible to help or punish the one without helping or punishing the other; there is the well founded fear that if the penalties of being a social failure are made too severe this will drive the poor person either into criminal and anti-social behaviour or will encourage him to escape into physical or mental illness. In either event, this means has become an increased burden on society ..." (1970:20)
benefits to contributions which would keep the Residuum out of the scheme that:

it gives the scheme a better appearance morally by treating men's lives as a whole. This is in accordance with COS principles and may therefore secure valuable expert support.
(1909: cited Harris 1972:315)

Such was the stance of the Society on so many reforms which clearly embodied 'their' principles and objectives that Harris has argued that:

The Society as a whole was less concerned with either promoting working class sufficiency, or with denying the economic effect of unemployment, than with keeping the treatment of the problem under its own control.
(ibid:106)

The COS however, if nothing else was a resilient organisation. Despite its formal opposition to State policies its active involvement in managing and implementing the policies belied its dogmatic assertions about the nature of the State, and graphically illustrated the extent to which the objectives of the COS were similar to those of the government and others who had supported the State policies. Thus Markham "most gratefully recognised";

that after groaning over the necessity for State intervention, the COS steps in and makes statutory bodies such as Care Committees, Boards of Guardians, School Clinics etc., far more efficient than they would otherwise have been.
(1912:132)

And Loch stated in 1913 that the COS had had to accept State involvement as a fait accompli and should re-direct its work accordingly:

What the Government has established, be it rightly or wrongly, assumes such large proportions and involves so many interests, that to people, or those interested in any branch of relevant work, have by a kind of social compulsion, to arrive at the conclusion that they must make an effort to back the Government venture and do their best to make it work well.
(1913:323)

The task before the Society he continued, was to work within the new policies and,

if it be possible to humanise the action of the State, to keep alive, in spite of it, the initiative of the people, their spontaneity of character, and their independence... It would prevent institutions from crushing individuality. It would apply close tests to all schemes and mark sharply what good they produce, or what weaknesses
Thus the ideal of Loch was to see the Society as an institution independent of the State, but which would assist in implementing State policies to ensure that citizens' virtues were strengthened:

We would take no money from Government sources... We should preserve our freedom, though we would be anxious to do all we can to raise up armies of good and well trained volunteers, capable of turning to the best account whatever machinery the Government may create.... Thus with our eyes fixed steadily on the preservation and development of personal independence, we may help to make the use of co-ordinated and non-pauperising methods of assistance a standing and accepted rule in voluntary work, while we also promote the adoption of methods and purposes consistent with the principle of self-support and self-maintenance in the Poor Law and those manifold philanthropic agencies of the State which Parliament has been so busily creating in the last few years.

(ibid:331)

By 1914 there were clear signs that the COS's criticisms of State intervention were weakening. Foss and West accepted that their (COS) strategy was no longer sufficient, especially in relation to unemployment, that "problem of problems":

The solution is too complex and on an altogether too large a scale to be appreciably helped by small bodies of philanthropists.

(1914:73)

The following statement in the Annual Report in 1918 would have been impossible a decade earlier:

State help was needed, especially in large populations because the volume of work exceeded the capacity of voluntary effort, especially in bad times.

(COR April 1918:146)

Needless to say, the report continued to stress the importance of the voluntary effort of the Society, for there were "difficulties necessarily incident to State action":

State officials could not give the individual treatment to cases which voluntary effort could; their action must be governed by rule and precedent, and could not be elastic. Besides sympathy was the secret of success. It put the voluntary giver in the right
relation with life in a way which his payment of his poor rate could not put him. (ibid:146) (1)

The State, Social Work and Citizenship.

The declining influence and the increasing marginalisation of the COS - "the larger the field its/the state/ enterprise covers, the more does it reduce the enterprise of social workers to that of assisting the Government, /it/ becomes an authorised sub-service" (Loch 1913:322) - does not signify a defeat for the philosophy of citizenship so central to the COS's programme. As I have already indicated, the concern with developing citizenship was not peculiar to the COS but was embraced by the ruling class as a whole. It was a concept which emerged to the forefront of social policy formation at a time when actual or potential class war was thought to pose a major obstacle to the continuance of capitalism, and has remained there ever since. (2)

Although the COS did not succeed in its primary objective of establishing itself permanently alongside the Poor Law to form the major welfare institution of the State, I would reject as inaccurate and misleading those assessments which explained its failure by seeing it as an anachronistic Victorian institution which crumbled in the 'new air' of the twentieth century. In many ways the COS signified a new departure in social welfare policies, and its success in discrediting indiscriminate almsgiving, which was widely acknowledged and supported by the progressive

1. The Report also went on to note that:
"The lessons of Petrograd were writ large but not new. The whole structure of society could not be altered without danger" (p.146).

2. It is again worth re-iterating that class conflict can take at least two major forms, both of which are threatening to capital. One is the self-evident form of working class militancy which may or may not be explicitly socialistic. The other is withdrawal and or contempt.
sections of the ruling class, should not be forgotten. Moreover, many of the methods the Society introduced, including individualised casework, and the attendant bureaucratic systems of offices, committees, files, case papers and inquiry forms, constituted an important development in the 'modernisation' of welfare practices; developments which became accepted practices throughout the welfare field and remain so to this day. Many of the ideas and theories advanced by the Society were not its original contributions, and a substantial core of them such as the focus on the character and behaviour of the working class poor, and the notion that alms undermined the labour discipline of the working class, had occupied central positions in the Poor Law Reports of 1834 (c.f. Novak 1977:chp 3). What was significant however, was the COS's application and further articulation of these bourgeois ideals to the field of philanthropy, in order to transform and co-ordinate the activities of the middle and upper class in their attempts to regulate the urban working class poor. Just as the working class was forming and organising during this period so too were the dominant classes. In this one aspect of social life the COS played a central part in assisting the formation of an organised ruling class response to the threats posed by an increasingly organised working class. It is even possible to regard the Society's policy as an 'ideal type' of welfare policy for capitalism. Their concern with enhancing labour discipline, family functioning, citizenship and organic solidarity in society, were all the pure distillates of the dominant ideology. Even the COS's view of State intervention in the specific field of relief for the working class poor was one that most people who had a 'propertied stake' in the status quo supported. But the 'failure' of the Society rested in the final analysis on the distance between the 'ideal' and the practical and pressing needs of the period. Working class discontent and evidence of widespread physical deterioration were two of the major factors that precluded the possibility of implementing the COS ideal. The
ruling classes were thus forced into developing State strategies which incorporated substantial sections of the COS's policy, but which in the social welfare field, have sometimes had an ambiguous class character and purpose. This ambiguity has been reflected in those analyses of the 'welfare state' which have maintained that the policies signified concessions won by the working class (D. Thompson 1957), in contrast to those which maintain that they reinforce the rule of capital (Saville 1957). The ambiguity is that both are partially correct. Consequently, State welfare policies are not unproblematic in their consequences for the ruling classes or for any class, nor can they be solely conceived of as the products of a class struggle in the favour of the dominating class, but are more often, the very site of continuing class antagonisms (c.f. Paul Corrigan 1977).

Thus, it was primarily on the strategic plane that the 'pure' policies of the COS gave way to the 'hybrid' versions of the State. Casework methods and principles were regarded as inadequate for the material and political requirements of the time and of insufficient potential for the successful incorporation of the deserving destitute. But, in the changed context of the period after the Second World War when problem families and juvenile delinquency were perceived as 'social problems about which something needed to be done', social work re-emerged. In the next chapter I shall examine the theories and methods of social work in order to show its continuing identity with the core values of capitalism and the way in which its knowledge base - at least in its 'middle range' - has been constructed and adapted in accordance with the particular needs and problems of contemporary society.
CHAPTER FOUR

The Content of Social Work Education: Theories and Methods II.

Introduction

For the most part, the previous discussion on the theories and methods of social work focused on the activities of the Charity Organisation Society; at the same time it is a central argument of this study that the philosophy and methods adopted and developed by the COS are essentially those which are held by contemporary social work. The continuity of social work's objectives and values from the time of the COS to the present can probably be best illuminated by examining the content of social work courses. A spotlight on the content of courses is useful for a number of reasons. First of all, as all social work teachers are quick to point out, social work education is a professional education and,

professional education is vocational. It is therefore concerned with helping the student to become a competent practitioner. Thus a professional education implies that the student will acquire not only scientific knowledge basic to his profession but also a set of techniques and skills which will enable him to put his knowledge to use.

(Vanden Berg 1968:263)

Social work education moreover, directly concerned with the socialisation of social work students (Pearson 1975:127-130), and as Boehm, among many others, indicated, social work education is probably the most important of all social work's socialisation institutions:

Acculturation takes place primarily, although not exclusively in the course of professional education. It is in professional education that certain prescriptions for professional conduct are learned.

(1959:122)

Thus, within social work courses we can expect to find an explicit articulation of social work's values and objectives, an account of its 'world view' and its prescriptions for action. It provides a ready made focus for analysing the character of social work. Following on from this,
an examination of the content of social work courses allows us to trace the continuities within social work and the manner in which social work 'knowledge' has been constructed over time.

Social work, unlike the more established professions such as medicine or teaching, has had an interrupted development. Its place within State welfare strategies has by no means been consistently secure. Younghusband (1965:18) and Leonard (1966:21) have both drawn attention to the peripheral role of social work during the inter-war period, when social work per se flourished only in the relatively marginal areas of child guidance work and in the hospitals (almoners). Certainly, the strong identity established by the COS, in terms of which social workers had carved out an area of action and established the firm parameters of social work as being concerned with educating the deserving destitute in the values of citizenship, was largely eroded in the inter-war period. Many of the functions which social workers had exclusively claimed as their own had been taken over by other welfare groups including Poor Law relieving officers, medical officers of health, school teachers, and State schemes such as national insurance.

When one examines the nature of social work's development after 1945 it becomes clear that social workers have been engaged in a considerable struggle to re-establish a discrete identity for themselves. Even when the State recognised the value of social work as a strategy to combat problem families and juvenile delinquency social work was administratively fragmented. Thus there were child care officers, health and welfare workers, medical social workers and psychiatric social workers, each with their own professional organisation, their own training schemes, responsible to different government ministries and yet all claiming to be social workers. As Richan and Mendelsohn noted:

Social workers are ubiquitous and at every level of society, performing every role from worker to top management. They serve
in host agencies such as hospitals, which are dominated by another profession. Sometimes they are an entire agency in themselves. Their specific tasks are as diverse as the places in which they work. (1973:20)

In social work's struggle for power and professional status since 1945, social work education has had a vital role; a role moreover with internal and external dimensions. The internal dimension has been concerned with creating and sustaining a professional social work identity within the profession itself, and via the professional socialisation of students has attempted to cement and unify the profession (Younghusband 1956:244; Pernell 1972:1). The establishment of generic/common courses in social work, which were started by Younghusband at the LSE in 1954, preceded by sixteen years the administrative unification of the social work services, and despite certain factional and personal rivalries (c.f. Donnison 1975; Timms 1964:38ff) these courses have been widely acknowledged as being crucial to the re-establishment of social work identity:

Generic courses themselves are helping to lower barriers that have unfortunately existed between the several disciplines that make up the profession, although at present one feels that the more powerful and wealthy disciplines tend to monopolise the allocation of places available rather than the merit of individual students... It is hoped that those responsible for the formal training courses and the professional associations will work more closely together in the future, for their problems merge and their goal is surely the same. The principles and methods governing our work are valid whatever the setting in which we apply them. (Page 1961:3, my emphasis)

The related, external dimension, has been directed toward establishing and promoting an expert image for social work; a social and public identity which is necessary to the exercise of the power to intervene in people's homes and lives.

In this section of the study, however, I shall be primarily concerned with examining the internal dimensions of social work education, principally through a focus on the content of social work courses since the Second World War, although reference will be made to the earlier period of the COS, in order to highlight certain continuities as well as differences.
Structure and Control of Content.

The selection of course outlines and syllabi given in the appendices demonstrates that the structure of the courses has remained largely unchanged. The social work courses established in the pre 1914 period are like those of today; then, in both the one and two year courses students were expected to spend half their time out on placement under the supervision of a qualified social worker, more often than not in a Charity Organisation Society Office. And in their academic content, we can see the same clusters of courses in social work methods, theory, psychology, sociology and social administration, as are present in contemporary courses, even though the titles of the courses are slightly different. Leubuscher commented after examining the form and content of the first social work courses that:

In reading their prospectus and syllabuses one is struck by the degree to which they embodied principles and methods which, with few modifications have been retained up to the present day. (1946:20-1)

According to Matheson (1912) social work courses had two key objectives. The first was educational, "i.e. to influence the state of the mind of the students" which entailed running courses in "social philosophy, social and industrial history, economics, ethics, psychology, or elements of pedagogy". The second was technical, and included,

- History and administration of the Poor Law and of Local Government,
- Industrial History and Legislation, Laws affecting Children, and methods of relief.

The same distinction has been made by CCBT5W (1) which discussed the need

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1. The Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work (CCBT5W) was established as an independent, statutory body to co-ordinate all social work training in 1971 following the administrative unification of social work services in 1970. It took over all the training functions and responsibilities of the specialist professional bodies; the Association of Psychiatric Social Workers (APSW), the Institute of Medical Social Workers (IMSW), and the earlier training councils: the Central Training Council in Child Care (CTC), the Council for Training in Social Work (CTSW), the Training Committee of the Advisory Council for Probation and After-Care (ACFAC) and the Training Council for Teachers of the Mentally Handicapped (TCMH).
for social work students to acquire both skills and knowledge (1975:21)
and, like the early pioneers of social work education, it identified a
vast range of subject matter as being relevant for students:

Sociology, developmental, social and general psychology, philosophy,
political science, law, social anthropology, and economics are
disciplines which make vital contributions to the education of social
work students for social work practice, together with concepts from
medicine, psychiatry, and education.
(ibid:25)

The actual arrangement of the courses has been largely left to the
educational institution which hosts the course, and the training councils
restricted their activities to validation and the laying down of guidelines
rather than issuing detailed curricula. Thus, the Central Training
Council (CTC) which was responsible for child care training maintained that:

The CTC's concern is that students should achieve sufficient ability
to work as Child Care Officers, and regards the following as minimum
syllabus content: Human growth and development and its application
to casework; appropriate legislation; casework in court work, adoption
and reception into care; child health and disabilities, sensitizing
the students to the needs of others and to his own responses to those
needs: four weeks residential experience.
(Social Administration Committee, JUC, Jan 1968)

Similarly CCETSW has recently stated that its policy over curriculum content
is restricted to that of establishing parameters:

The Council does not issue a central syllabus nor lay down in detail
what material shall be included in a course beyond the areas of
study listed in the schedule to the Rules, namely:
Principles and practice of social work.
Supervised practice in social work.
Applied social studies including:
  i) Human growth and behaviour.
  ii) Social policy, social administration and social services;
  iii) Aspects of the social sciences relevent to social work.
(CCETSW 1976:15)

Nevertheless, the training councils of the past, and the current training
council, are not wholly permissive in their control of courses and curricula.
The universities and other institutions of higher education which run social
work courses (polytechnics, technical colleges etc.) are controlled in a
variety of ways by the social work profession (1). Herold (1972) has noted in his study of social work education that the training councils exert considerable control over the institutional organisation of the courses. The main channels of this control are through the validation and review of courses which CASW regularly undertakes, and the council can refuse to acknowledge a course as constituting a sufficient training for social workers. Thus the students would not receive the Certificate of Qualification in Social Work (CQS) if the course was not validated. Furthermore consistent, if less explicit control, is maintained by the agencies themselves which are responsible for the placement component, have representatives on the management committees of the courses, and can fail students on the basis of their placement work. In fact, "social has recently argued, that the fieldwork supervisors "are the key people in the social work education process" (1976:240). And Herold has argued that in terms of the students' success on a course the agency is often more important than the school (1972:94). Moreover, the profession's insistence that the specific social work subjects on a course should be taught only by those experienced in social work has been far

1. Donnison in a recent account of the establishment of the Applied Social Studies Course (the generic social work course established at the USS with funds provided by the Gulbenkian Foundation end run by Younghusband), has clearly illuminated some of the controls a university faces from the social work profession and employing authorities: "The professional courses' involvement with the outside world posed special problems for the university. They depended on the continuing support of the local authorities and central government departments which provided the grants to enable the students to attend them, the social services which provided the field training, the supervisors themselves, central government departments which occasionally contributed to the salaries of the supervisors, and professional associations...which recognised University qualifications as entitling people to membership and hence to certain posts and salary scales. A determined refusal to co-operate in any of these quarters could bring a course to an end." (1975:257, my emphasis.)
from insignificant in terms of its control over the courses:

It was essential that teachers in the universities should be qualified and experienced practitioners themselves; close co-operation and interlocking was necessary between the activities of the universities and of the practical workers in the field. (T.S. Simey 1949:14)

staff attached to the course who are not social workers will not be expected to carry out comparable responsibility for professional development of the students, e.g. arranging practical work placements, giving guidance to practical work teachers, tutorial work, visits to placements in areas where there is a special need, undertaking some practice teaching. (CCETSW 1976:19)

Loch, as early as 1907, had insisted that the teaching of social work students should not be entrusted to anyone, but, only to those who "had proved their right to be teachers in this branch of science" (1907:49).

Moreover, he continued:

The teachers should themselves have passed through the severe discipline of casework; for in my opinion there is no discipline like that, either for the teacher or for the pupil. (ibid:49)

The concern that the teachers of the principal subjects on a social work course - social work methods, values and principles, and human growth and behaviour - should be qualified social workers and thus committed to the profession and its well-being, reflects in part the professional social -isation aspect of the total educational programme. Thus Younghusband has argued that:

No one is in a more crucial position in relation to the whole development of the social work profession than the teachers of social work. It is primarily they who must transmit to the coming generation of students, professional values, clarity about the changing purpose of social work and much of the knowledge and way of thinking that underlies professional practice. (1969:25)

Similarly, Smalley has argued that it is not only important that the key courses should be taught by professional social workers, but that those 'service' teachers from other disciplines who are involved in the course should also respect the values of social work:

Faculty who are professional social workers will have committed
themselves to social work, its values and its purposes and their
implementation through methods peculiarly appropriate to the
profession before entering teaching... Members of social work
facilities who come from other disciplines may never develop an
equal depth of identification with the profession. However the
values of faculty from other disciplines—sociology, psychology,
psychiatry or whatever, must not be incompatible with the values
of social work.
(1969:21)

Despite the wide range of subjects and options offered on social work
courses (see Curriculum appendix) the crucial and 'professional'
(Heywood 1964:15) elements of the courses are, social work methods, social
work theory and principles, human growth and behaviour, and the placement.
All these components are obligatory for students and occupy the largest
proportion of their time (Herand 1972:161-3). It is primarily through
these courses that social work skills and values are transmitted, and
the professionalisation of students undertaken.

Human Growth and Behaviour.

Every professional course in social work has as a basic and vital
part of the curriculum the teaching of human growth and development.
This should give balance and perspective to the individual experience
of the student in practical work. There is a great relief in
knowing what may be hoped for or reasonably expected from certain
sorts of people... on the basis of certain accumulated knowledge.
(Stevenson 1961:45-6)

In a study of the social work course taught at Edinburgh University,
Michael noted that of all the core subjects, human growth and behaviour,
given by the Senior Lecturer in the Department, held pride of place
both in the programme, in the staff value system, and in the student's
world.
(1976:216)

According to Heywood, this part of the social work course constitutes the
"professional as distinct from the more liberal part of his training"
Appropriate knowledge of human behaviour is a very professional part of our skill.

Younghusband has also maintained that it is this course which is most concerned with teaching students the major theoretical assumptions which underpin the casework method:

This is the subject which imparts the systematic knowledge and understanding of human nature on which the caseworker's practice is based. It must therefore, be substantial both in length and academic standing. It should run the whole gamut from the hereditary endowment of the unborn infant through babyhood, childhood, adolescence, adulthood and old age. It should include the interaction of psychological and physiological elements in the personality, for example, in the early stages of development, and in psycho-somatic illnesses. It should also explore the dynamics of family life; marriage, reactions to stress with such typical breakdowns as occur in delinquency, illness, death, and other situations of loss or irreparable injury. Consideration should also be given to which early authority patterns and sibling rivalries repeat themselves subsequently in for example, work situations. The rational and irrational (or unconscious) motivation in human behaviour should be stressed throughout the course.

In order to understand the centrality of this course within social work education and the character of its theoretical sources, particularly Freudian psychology, we must relate it to the dominant conceptions of the social problems which social workers are being delegated to tackle, and for which the State was training them. The need to situate the content of social work education in a social and historical context has largely determined the 'style' of my presentation. That is, I have regarded it as important to consider a wide array of social and political features rather than focus narrowly on the content of social work education as laid down in the text books or the syllabi. It is my contention that by doing this it is possible to arrive at a deeper understanding of the character of social work and social work education and its role and function in society including its relationship to other elements in the
'welfare' matrix. Moreover, it has the added and important advantage of allowing social work to be understood not as some discrete and isolated activity created by a small band of dedicated social workers, but as an activity which is firmly linked to, and informed by, general social change.

At a conference on social work education held at Nuffield College Oxford, shortly after the war, Marshall asserted that psychology was a vital subject for all social work students:

Psychology, however, comes in all along the line. Without it one cannot analyse social structure and processes, and it is obvious that, whether trained in the subject or not, every social worker will make psychological judgements, both in deciding how to tackle a case and in estimating the nature of the problem he is investigating. Therefore, as much guidance as possible should be given, and instruction should move quickly to the application of psychological principles to social problems, the problems of the family, of employment and unemployment, leadership and subordination, education and recreation, social adjustment and delinquency, and should include a study of the psychological development of the individual and of the measurement of intelligence and character.

(1946:16)

That psychology should be seen as so vital a part of the social worker's equipment is, at one level, unproblematic, for as we have already noted one of the defining features of social work is its focus on the individual, an individualised conception of social problems and poverty, and a strategy which holds that social problems can be alleviated by changing the behaviour of the problematic clients and their families. Thus, taking an overall view of social work since the time of the COS it would be difficult to maintain that there was ever a period which could be classified as a 'psychiatric deluge', or a Kuhnian 'scientific revolution' where there was a paradigmatic shift from an economistic
reform perspective to an individualistic, psychological perspective (c.f. Gottschalk 1974:131) (1). Many of the accounts of the take-up of Freudian theory by social work have however suggested such a paradigmatic shift. For example, Bailey and Brake recently argued that:

Psychoanalysis provided a skill which was rewarding to the social worker, who felt helpless before problems which were the results of political decisions and material deprivation. It encouraged a feeling that something could be done, and gave to the newly emerging profession a distinct skill distinguishing them from the layman and the amateur. Social problems became individualised, and the profession became immersed in an ideology which devalued collective political action. The poor and the deviants progressed from moral inferiority to pathology. (1975:6) (2)

1. In 1905 for example, we find Urwick, who was the director of the School of Sociology, stressing the importance of psychology as an area of study for social workers:

"... social science must be quite incomplete if it does not include part at least of the special science of psychology. In the first place it is seen clearly enough today that all true help must be educative, in the second place we cannot hope to understand or guide the impulse towards a fuller development of all members of society of the best that is in them, unless we know something of the mental processes on which that development depends." (p.23)

A year earlier, he wrote that:

"little argument is needed to show the importance of psychological analysis to the Sociologist. To him, it is true, the structure and functions of the brain matter comparatively little; but the social relations among individuals, which alone interest him, are themselves always and only thought relations and feeling relations. The social affections - love of family, loyalty to a group - the bases of social action - habit, example, initiation, initiative; the social virtues and dispositions; even character itself, the root of all good and all evil in social being and doing; turn where he will the Sociologist must still look to psychology for the first steps on the road to understanding. (1904:185)

Similarly, Loch in his essay on the 'Work of the School of Sociology' stressed the importance of psychology in its curriculum (1907:45).

2. The notion that there was a 'psychiatric deluge' in social work has been most strongly advanced in the United States. The deluge is then said to have crossed the Atlantic to Britain in the late 1940s and early fifties (c.f. Wootton 1959). Recent re-appraisals of the 'deluge' theme such as that by Alexandar (1972) are suggesting that the notion has been overstated.
While not discounting their comments on the advantages that psychoanalysis had for the professional status of social work, their suggestion that Freudian theory gave rise to an individualised stance to social problems within social work is misleading. Not only has an individualistic approach always been a feature of social work, which is epitomised by the long standing dominance of the casework method since the time of the COS, but it has also been a crucial determinant in the construction of its knowledge base. A point that was also exemplified in the 'theoretical' works of the COS leadership.

In the specific case of Freudian theory, Sedgwick (1974:30) has correctly argued that it can, and has been, taken to conform with a variety of radically different 'political' perspectives from Marxist to conservative. And as I have already indicated, social work approaches the construction of its theoretical base in an exceptionally pragmatic and eclectic manner:

Because the education of the social worker is directed towards social action and problem solving, the social work teacher is committed to helping students to be 'opportunists' with respect to the theoretical concepts they use in structuring their view of particular problems. This eclectic approach demands that teachers should provide students with experience of examining divergent theories and selecting from each propositions that can be used to explain a particular problem. (Leonard 1968:65)

If the behavioural science concepts are too abstract, too general or too philosophical and therefore cannot be translated for application in any part of the casework theory, it is likely that practitioners will abandon, in whole or in part, the behavioural science base and the social casework theory in favour of a search for techniques that work, unconnected to any frame of reference that can guide professional operations. (Simon 1970:359)

The point at issue so far as the content of social work education and the selection or use of 'knowledge' are concerned, is not simply its pragmaticism or eclecticism, but rather the 'domain assumptions' (Gouldner 1970) which underpin and decide what is selected or used from the various theoretical inputs. Leonard for example, who has now embraced a Marxist perspective, recently presented a "paradigm for radical practice" (1975) which differed significantly from the established models of social
work not only in its content but also in the explicitness of its Marxist perspective which was the central determinant of what was selected for inclusion in the radical paradigm. In a slightly different context, Brian Simon in a lecture to social work teachers did not dismiss their attempts to synthesise the various approaches to man in society, but he was critical of the manner in which such a synthesis was attempted whereby they tried to "integrate mutually exclusive theories", and "emulsified" differences which led to a superficial eclecticism (1967: 16-17).

Consequently, the problem to be confronted regarding the construction of social work's knowledge base is the identification of those features which determine the eclectic and synthesising processes - exactly what determines the selection of this or that aspect of social science theory into social work's theoretical system.

In the construction of social work theory and knowledge there are two inter-related factors at work, namely material and ideological, which correspond approximately to the 'internal' and 'external' features of social work education referred to at the beginning of this chapter. By material factors I refer to the manner in which social work theory and knowledge is constructed according to and congruent with the prevailing definitions of social problems which have been selected as requiring social work rather than any other type of intervention. A brief example would be that the definition and perception of problem families and juvenile delinquents gave rise to the incorporation of certain aspects of Freudian theory into the social work frame of reference, rather than Freudian theory being the main determinant of the definitions and perceptions of problem families and delinquents as social problems requiring social work.

Ideological processes in the construction of social work knowledge are taken to indicate the very important manner in which the theories and explanations generated by social workers, or for that matter any group of 'social pathologists' (Mills 1943), are part of a generalised strategy of
depoliticisation - "the privatisation of public ill" - barely large sections of public and political concerns are removed to the realm of 'neutral' experts, social technocrats and engineers (c.f. Habermas 1971: chaps 5 and 6; 1976:36-7). Although I will be discussing these themes in the last chapter, it is worth noting here that many commentators (such as Baule, and Brice cited above) have argued that one of the important features of psychoanalysis's attraction for social work was in the 'scientific gloss' it gave to their knowledge base. Thus, the language and concepts of Freudian theory enabled social work to distance and close itself off from the 'profane' intrusions of the 'public' and consequently supported its claim for professional/expert status, as Parker noted:

The claim of social work to a professional competence derived from psychological disciplines, especially psychoanalysis. It was this which shifted social work education towards questions of individual treatment and adjustment...This close link with psychiatric theory was the key to professional development in social work. (1972:115-6) (1)

At the present however, attention will be restricted to the material factors involved in the design of social work courses such as human growth and behaviour, although it should be recognized that the ideological issues are continually and inextricably related.

The first section of this thesis described the main characteristics of social work's client group and introduced the argument that an adequate understanding of social work practice and education must be related to the way in which the clients are defined and conceived of as 'problematic' (c.f. H. Clarke 1975:48-9). The take-up of Freudian theory by social work in the period since 1945, and its position of dominance in its

1. Yet again, we can see how some commentators have mistakenly taken the absorption of Freudian theory into social work as signifying a fundamental shift in its approach to social problems.
Theoretical schema until at least the late 1950s (1), provides us with an excellent example of how material considerations deriving from the particular problematic of 'problem families', influenced and determined the mechanics of social work's pragmatic and eclectic approach to theory construction. As Carmichael has observed, the most important parts of Freud's theory taken up by social work were those concerning "the ever present influence of the unconscious in determining attitudes and behaviour" (1976:15). Also important in its influence on social work was Freud's stress on infantile life and the family and its consequences for the development of the personality (Yelloly 1975:363). Brinton noted that:

The discoveries of Freud and his followers, and those of workers in other schools of dynamic psychology, have stressed the importance of childhood experiences in later development and have been little short of revolutionary in their effort on attitudes to children, and to family life and social life in general. The growth of the child guidance movement during the last twenty years is one proof of this influence and the application of psychological knowledge can now be seen in almost all branches of child care. (1954:171)

And Yelloly has made the important point that psycho-analysts themselves were demonstrating the "obvious relevance and significance of psychoanalysis for social work practice" in their work on child development and through their involvement in the 'treatment' of juvenile delinquency (1975:307).

Freud's conception of the unconscious as being the source of irrational behaviour (Hilsebrand 1972:413) was rapidly seized upon by social work theorists and teachers (Irvine 1956a:40). The idea that some people,

1. The major influence of psychoanalysis on social work has been almost universally acknowledged, c.f. Carmichael 1976; E. Wilson 1977:64-6; Leonard 1966:chap 1; Cohn 1975:13; Yelloly 1975; Joseph 1951; Mason 1956; Aldridge 1950; A. T. H. Wilson 1951; and was typified in the conclusion of Ginsburg's paper on 'Freud's contribution to the philosophy and practice of social work':

"There can be no doubt that we who are practicing social work today owe our philosophy and method to the basic concepts which Freud evolved. By experimentation and study, new concepts and methods are being developed which apply specifically to social work, but however new and whatever the terminology, their ultimate roots are in Freud. Our is an effective profession today because he lived and worked." (1940:379)
because of their upbringing in the family could be dominated by the unsocialised Id, and thus exhibit irrational behaviour patterns. Resonated exceptionally strongly with social workers' experience of problem families and juvenile delinquents. Virtually all accounts of problem families (c.f. Trim and Philp, 1957:1-20) emphasized their bizarre and often self-defeating behaviour. Similar accounts have been forthcoming about juvenile delinquency and vandalism (c.f. Cohen 1955, Cloward and Ohlin 1965) which stressed the 'mindless' and 'irrational' character of many of the 'crimes' - not at all dissimilar from the COS's notions of the Residuum. As early as 1923, the Home Office was suggesting that the concept of the unconscious could provide the much searched for key in coping with delinquency:

If it is true, as certain psychological writers have recently said, that the hypothesis of the unconscious motive is one of the greatest discoveries of modern science, a great deal of light may eventually be thrown on the conditions which lead children to commit offences, and on the right methods of dealing with them. Even if the claims advanced for psychoanalysis as a means of treating juvenile delinquency prove to be extravagant all who are responsible for the care and training of children must acknowledge the renewed stimulus thereby given to the subject of child study which is likely to lead to more enlightened handling of young people by parents, teachers and others.

(Cited Yelloly 1975:254) (1)

The concept of the unconscious and the attendant notion that the roots of the clients' irrational behaviour had to be located within their own

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1. In 1926, Carr-Saunders, who was then head of the social science department at Liverpool University and was later to become Director of the LSE, went to the United States where he was clearly impressed by the influence of psychiatric theory on social reform policy and theory. "There are few things" he wrote, "more important than the development of psychiatric work in this country and especially of what I should call the psychiatric point of view in all fields of social administration. It is something that must enter into our ways of thinking and thus come to modify and so improve our personal contacts." (cited Clement Brown 1970:162)
personalities and family background -

Motivation of behaviour cannot be wholly explained by what is consciously willed nor by causes outside the individual. The acceptance of unconscious motivation opens a door to the understanding of irrational behaviour and of human needs and aspiration. (Hogarth 1951:321) (1)

- also resonated with the growing conviction that problem families and juvenile delinquency, despite their common class background of squalor and poverty, were in such a plight because of their individual pathologies. For example, Goldsmith observed that the vast majority of juvenile delinquents who came to the social work agency had come from the "lower socioeconomic stratum of the population according to standard sociological criteria", but he continued, "delinquency is certainly not a function of class level". Rather,

Almost always the delinquency reflects an expression of deeper social and personal pathology. (1959:15)

The pervasiveness of Social Darwinism as an explanation of social differentiation was exemplified by one influential probation officer who argued that the clustering of delinquency - and we could add problem families - in the lowest sections of the working class was not a product of class forces, but rather of social selection whereby the maladjusted sink to the bottom of the social heap:

The filtering effects of social positioning and prosecution practice, greatly increase the chance of conviction of the most compulsive, socially inadequate, psychologically disturbed and socially disadvantaged offenders. It is not surprising to find therefore, that services traditionally concerned with the treatment of offenders have been occupied with the problems of the deteriorating urban environment with marginal employability in a period of unprecedented technological advance, with the pathogenic family and the criminogenic sub-culture. (Hunt 1970:108)

1. According to Irvine;

"Social work was greatly handicapped in the early years of its development by the lack of a workable psychology (that is, a psychology which included an account of irrational and self-defeating behaviour)." (1969:3)
This explanation was also prevalent in the PEP's discussion of problem families:

Certain families are likely to sink into the social problem group even under favourable social and economic conditions. The determining factor in a substantial number of cases is an intellectually defective and uneducable mother who is unable to benefit from social services and wholly unfit to rear children. (1948:133)

These arguments had considerable force in the 1950s when, as we have already noted, there was a widespread feeling among the middle and upper classes that thanks to the arrival of the welfare state structural poverty had been largely eradicated. But it was not simply that belief which led support to social work's selective adherence to Freudian theory. Both Van Houtte (1972) and Korner (1960) have argued that there was in the fifties a widespread belief that a qualitatively new post-capitalist society was in the process of being born:

The years since the early fifties have echoed with the claim that the old class structure of capitalism is steadily dissolving. The labels attached to that new order of society, which is believed to be emerging from the ruins of the old - the 'welfare state', the 'affluent society', the 'house-centred society', the 'war society', 'de-capitalism' and so on - have become the catchwords of contemporary rhetoric. Their variety and repetition reflect at some of the uncertainties of diagnosis and prognosis. But the descriptions offered of a new order, generally have such in common: the assertion that the old sources of tension and conflict are progressively eliminated or reduced; the belief that the structure of contemporary society is, in some way, a modified or middle-class; the assertion that all for all the more age and foreign travel, smoking, radio and television, reading matter, betting, football pool competition, paid entertainment and games, cosmetics and household equipment. The other quarter are the rich who have had to pay more in taxes and death duties. This remaining quarter of the nation's households have been forced to spend less by paying proportionately much higher contributions to the state... We have spread the characteristics of a town-dwelling, industrial middle-class nation of shop keepers over the entire nation. (p.359)

(Continued on page 137)
Although subsequent events and much research (c.f. Abel Smith and Townsend 1965; Costes and Silburn 1970; Kincard 1973; Miliband 1969; 1973) have now discredited the notion of a qualitative change in society and have shown that class differences have not been eroded, that income and wealth has not been re-distributed, that the locus of power have not shifted and that Western societies have remained firmly capitalist, the changes and improvements in health, welfare and educational provision for the working class in the post-war period combined with economic prosperity and rising living standards, did fuel the belief that a new society was being born.

It was in such a context, in the face of an apparently significant extension of opportunity for the working classes that social workers could once again argue that the condition of the residuum of problem families could only be understood in terms of their particular personalities which made them incapable of grasping and utilising the new opportunities before them. As Carstairs has argued, social work took up Freudian theory at this time when,

the welfare state was genuinely thought to have abolished poverty. Indeed by comparison with the pre-World War II situation that seemed true. Unemployment was at minimal levels, all the children wore shoes, there was a free health service. No one ever had it so good said the posters. Perlman had published and Hollis was on the way.

(1976:16)

Furthermore, these conceptions of the personal pathology of problem families were also supported by reports from the statutory welfare services whose staff were increasingly coming into contact with the poorest sections.

(Continued from page 136)

In 1959, the Labour Party after suffering its third consecutive electoral defeat commissioned Douglas Jay to investigate the reasons for its failure. He reported that the Labour Party's image of cloth capped socialism was out of tune with social conditions in which the working class was rapidly disappearing:

"The better off wage earners are tending to regard the Labour Party as associated with a class to which they themselves don't belong. Few of them, least of all the women, feel themselves to be members of a 'working class'. We are in danger of fighting under a label of a class which no longer exists."

(Reported in the Times October 17 1959:6; see also Wainwright 1977)
of the working class. By the late 1940s the National Assistance Board was
complaining about the excessive time and money which a few problem
families were demanding and about the unacceptability of the assistance
which the Board could offer. Its Annual Report for 1949 asserted that:

There are... among the recipients of assistance a few 'problem' families of the kind which occupy the bulk of the time of the
workers, official and voluntary, in the field of social maladjust-
ment. The Board's officers have neither the time to provide the
almost continuous supervision needed in these cases, nor the special
skill which has to be employed in effecting the education or re-
education of the parties if they are to live acceptable lives...
The Board do not think that the provision of a general service of
moral rehabilitation is within their powers or duties... their
officers are, however, glad to co-operate with agencies capable of
dealing with these problems by bringing to their notice the families
receiving assistance who are in need of moral rehabilitation and by
giving serious consideration to any advice about the assistance to
be paid and the manner of paying it.
(Annual Report of the National Assistance Board, 1949:18; my emphasis). (1)

Social workers responded warmly to this report, and Rotter commented that,

Happily, the Assistance Board lays the opportunity for creative
work once again in the lap of professional casework.
(1951:520)

Reports similar to that of the NAB were forthcoming from every section of
the 'Welfare State'. Health visitors found that they could not spend the
time which problem families were deemed to require,
or the problem may be beyond her ability to identify fully or deal
with. ...Different techniques of approach, analysis, and guidance
may be needed to resolve it;... In such situations the social case
worker has special advantages - skill and tactical position,
(Bristol BWA 1959:13)

The Department of Education and Science reported in 1964, that;

the children from such homes lost ground all through the infants
and junior schools. By the time they reached secondary school they
had sunk firmly to the bottom 20 per cent whatever their latent
potential. This was primarily a social rather than an educational
problem, and teachers were not equipped to meet it.
(1964:1)

1. I am indebted to T. Novak for drawing my attention to this report. The
relationship between social work agencies and the NAB suggested in this
report is identical to that recommended by the Goschen Circular of 1869
in which the President of the Poor Law Board advised the Poor Law
Guardians to refer their deserving destitute to charitable agencies such
as the CDS.
And the Central Housing Advisory Committee published a whole report on 'Unsatisfactory Tenants' (1950 1955) which documented the problems caused by these families:

Their houses are often ill-kept and dirty, their gardens uncultivated, their children uncontrolled and troublesome... Irregularity of income, which is the most frequent excuse for failure to pay rent, may arise from genuine ill health on the wage-earner's part, but is more frequently due to an inability or unwillingness to stay long in one job...... Most families do not look beyond the problem of the moment, or envisage the future consequences of their present behaviour. They usually owe money to a number of people as well as the landlord, and they often leave the rent in order to pay a debt which they regard as more pressing. These debts are often due to their inability to plan the spending of a very small budget, and they often fritter away that income they have. (Cited Byrne 1973:5) (1)

All these reports contributed to and strengthened the notion that such families could not be assisted through material forms of social relief, and that the urgent need was for 'more socialisation'. Hill's discussion of the 'professional ideology of social pathologists' exactly fits the post-war development of British social work. He wrote that:

The easy way to meet the question of why norms are violated is in terms of biological impulses which break through 'societal restrictions'. A past-pot eclectic psychology provides a rationale for this facile analysis. Thus, more comprehensive problematation is blocked by a biological theory of social deviation. And the 'explanation' of deviations can be put in terms of a requirement for more 'socialisation'. 'Socialisation' is either undefined, used as a moral epithet, or implies norms which are themselves without definition ..............

There are few attempts to explain deviations from norms in terms of the norms themselves, and no rigorous seeing of the implications of the fact that social transformations would involve shifts in them. (1943:169; my emphasis)

1. Byrne (1973) has documented how many local councils have operated a selective housing policy in which these families have been pressed into the worst housing stock. Byrne noted that such a policy is surprising in some respects as it deliberately leads to the maintenance and creation of slum ghettos and sub cultures, but rightly argues that it is essentially a policy of repression and control. This problem families are punished by being allocated the worst housing and form an identifiable negative reference group for the respectable tenants (p.12). Coates and Silkurn (1970) discovered a similar policy in the St. Annes area of Nottingham.
Time and again, students of the problem family stressed that the new material improvements brought about by welfare policies had no impact on such families:

problem families do not respond automatically to improved social conditions; their peculiar characteristic is the inability to make the best of their circumstances and to profit by the facilities and services which are before them. (Stephens 1945:2)

/there is/ an inherent defect in the family preventing its members from utilising the various opportunities which do exist. (n. Hartin 1944:105; see also Tim's 1954:236; PEP 1943:192)

We have seen that some of the problems that our clients bring arise, not primarily from a lack of environmental opportunity, though such difficulties certainly occur, but largely because our client's own personalities make it impossible for them to use the environment constructively to satisfy their own needs. (S. Joseph 1951:597)

It was not just that problem families failed to make use of the new opportunities before them that made them so problematic, but it was also their differential use of the welfare services. Thus as Roger Wilson noted, problem families tended to shy away from those services which might enhance their qualities of citizenship, but they "may know only too well how to use National Insurance Board allowances, reinforced by one of those pernicious medical certificates 'Fit for light work only'" (1950:473). Consequently, many of the statutory welfare bodies and local authorities began to develop social work services as an adjunct to their other responsibilities and specifically directed them at problem families. (1)

One of the most important was the Child Care Service established under the 1948 Children's Act. Jennings said of the Child Care Service that:

"There is surely no department of a local authority which is doing

1. Social work service is not the only strategy developed. Domestic service for girls in secondary modern schools was an important aspect of a preventive strategy in enhancing the quality of future living. Jennifer writes that:

"When the lower school she was about to leave she was certain that until the age at which she would leave school, she would have no plans for her life. She did not know when she would be the place she was going to and in the context of girls' education until the age of thirteen. She did not think that it was absolutely clear to her what she would be doing with her life... It is clear that there are many girls who have not yet made up their minds, but still consider that it is an ultimate question." (1957:73)"
work which is as important for the future of the country as the one which aims to save children and to prevent them from becoming a burden to the State and a misery to themselves.

(1955:59)

Social casework gradually became recognised as one of the most suitable strategies for dealing with problem families. As Philp noted:

To prevent the problem family we need above all good, general social services, administered with sympathy and understanding for those who need them. There is, however, ample evidence that in many of these families the parent's inner problems made it difficult for them to profit from general measures of social welfare; it seemed as if, for them, failure could be accepted more readily than comfort or success. For families of this kind our general social services need to be supplemented by casework services which can have a more thorough understanding of the family situations and can help parents and children to use their own resources and those of the social services to make new adjustments in family relationships which will provide an opportunity for further personal development and greater satisfaction within the family and well-being within the wider community. ... Unless we can somehow help the parent in a very personal way, the social problems they present will recur again and again. They will go on creating difficult situations, occasions for condemnation and punishment, because circumstances which have stress for them and are intolerable to the community nevertheless satisfy some need within them.

(1963:286-8)

However, there was a tendency for each separate State agency to employ its own social workers to deal with the problem families within its own particular ambit. This gave rise to the administrative fragmentation of social work which was not to be rectified until the 1970 Local Authority Social Services Act, and a considerable amount of criticism from both inside and outside the social work professional about the waste and inefficiency that such fragmentation occasioned. Donnison provided one of the more graphic illustrations of such inefficiency in his survey of the social services in Manchester and Salford:

One family for example, had been visited regularly by the public health department for over thirteen years, the NSPCC had been calling on them intermittently for fourteen years and school welfare officers made frequent visits for five years. The Public Assistance Committee had given them occasional help over a period of twelve years, the Housing Department had to pay particularly close attention to them ever since rehousing them six years earlier, the Family Service Unit had been calling frequently for more than six years, and the Mental Health Department and the Lancashire Mental Welfare Council had supervised and helped the family for periods which together amounted to about four years. A probation officer had been supervising one member of the family for a year, the Sanitary Inspectors and children's Department had been in touch with them fairly often, the Invalid
Children's Aid Society, the City League of Help, the Prisoner's Aid Society, and other voluntary organisations had also given them help from time to time. These organisations had between them put in over sixty years in visiting, supervising, and helping this family of seven... members of the family had been accommodated at various times in two residential social schools, two asylums, a Ministry of Labour training centre, a convalescent home, a prison, and several hospitals and children's homes. Families like this received several hundred calls over a few years from social services of many kinds.

(Downsion 1954:72-3) (1)

Not surprisingly, such duplication of effort was criticised. In their evidence to the Ingelby Committee, which was considering juvenile delinquency policy, the Fisher Group and the Council for Children's Welfare concluded,

that present social service arrangements, as they affect the family are characterised by delay, duplication, lack of continuity, purely haphazard situations as to needs and remedies, and finally by a tragic and tremendous waste of human happiness and public money.

(1958:8; c.f. Cooper 1969:97-8; Harvey 1960:3)

The Report of the Ingelby Committee (1960) also gave clear support to proposals for a unified family service as one of the best strategies for combating juvenile delinquency:

It may be that the long term solution will be a reorganisation of the various services concerned with the family and their combination into a unified family service...

(1960:19)

But the Report did not elaborate a specific policy of reunification as that issue was considered "well outside our terms of reference" (ibid). (2)

1. Although there was to be much dissatisfaction expressed over the large numbers of social workers involved with problem families, the passage from Downion's study does exemplify the degree of policing which these families receive from the various state institutions. It remains one of the salient characteristics of being a 'client' that there is this extensive supervision, and it is worth recalling Loch's statement about social work;

"Treatment would take the place of mere relief. The class 'applicant' would become a supervised class, treated in connection with the home."

(1910:445; my emphasis)

2. It was on the basis of the recommendations of the Ingelby Committee and the White Papers (1965,1968) which argued for a unified family service that the Seebohm Committee was established (c.f. Kahan 1966:166)
Thus, returning to the questions of Freudian theory in social work, and the centrality accorded to human growth and development courses in social work education, we can begin to see how social work's utilisation of Freudian theory, and especially its emphasis on the unconscious, irrational 'cause' of behaviour and the significance of the family in shaping personalities, was in accord with the dominant ideologies of the post war period, which Bolman has concisely summarised:

Unfortunately a minority of certain families are the grit in the machine, being unable to use it themselves and causing trouble for other people. The deprivation of this minority is due mainly to their inadequate child rearing practices which fail to instil in their children the skill and the will to perform like the rest of the population. If these family habits and practices can be improved, however, the minority will be enabled to achieve better education and jobs and so move out of poverty. The other sections of society wish to abolish poverty and will willingly provide the necessary resources and be prepared to incorporate the poor into their ranks. (1975:406) (1)

Unlike the social workers of the earlier COS period who articulated the same philosophy with regard to the deserving poor, post-war social workers were not faced with powerful materialist objections. In the 1950s and 60s there were no acute trade depressions and economic disjunctions comparable to those of the latter part of the nineteenth century which so self-evidently contributed to poverty and destitution. and as we have already noted, reports from other sections of the State's welfare apparatus were fully supportive of the social workers' claims that social problems, and in fact social relations as a whole, were now dominated by psychological considerations. In 1964, the Annual Report of the National Assistance Board stressed that "mental health" was now the key to the "fulfilment of certain basic human needs, such as freedom from material want" and that;

There is abundant evidence to show that long term unemployment and

1. Crichton, in an article on social work training provides just one example of how social workers are conceive of their clients as 'grit in the machine': "The field of social work has been limited to more manageable proportions because social legislation provides opportunities for all to help themselves - in family life, education, in health, in employment, in housing and in financial distress. Social work need only concern itself now with the 'hard cases' who are unable to use these opportunities." (1959:111)
frequent changes of job often cause, or are caused by, emotional problems.
(1964:105)

On the basis that the structural barriers to self-sufficiency and self-reliance had been removed either through welfare provisions or policies of (nearly) full employment, the moral dimension so central to the CUS’s programme could once again be asserted with considerable force. Even as late as 1974 when the British economy was in a state of crisis with attendant high rates of unemployment and inflation, Sir Keith Joseph asserted that unemployment:

is a social matter more than one of economic demand; retraining, casework, where problems of attitude or psychology are involved. There is also a moral dimension, the duty as well as the right to work, the dignity of labour which ennobles all useful work on which we all depend for our well-being.
(1974:329-30)

Within social work, society was predominantly conceived in psychological and medical concepts; it became a psychological entity:

the most urgent problems which confront sociologists, social administrators and workers today are such symptoms of a sick society, as the increasing number of marriage breakdowns, the spread of juvenile delinquency, and the dissatisfaction and sense of frustration of the worker in spite of improved pay and conditions— that is, problems of psychological maladjustment rather than material need.
(Hall 1952:8; cited Wootton 1959:269)

The crux of the social casework idea is that all problems are psychosocial, deriving from the inner world of the mind and also from the social environment in which the personality finds itself. And at the centre of the casework process is the conscious and controlled use of relationships between the client and the social worker.
(Whale 1954:83)

The psychologistic stance of social work is well illustrated by the human growth and behaviour course and the subsequent methods which such a course prescribes. In this course the student social workers are given an account, largely, although not exclusively based on Freudian
theory, (1), of the development of the individual throughout the life cycle, "having the family at its core" (Kahn and Woodcock 1967:10). The main thrust of the course is to elucidate the main stages of development, with special emphasis on childhood and adolescence when, it is argued, the main foundations of the adult character are laid, and the individual is most prone to influence (Irvine 1967:20). As Michael noted in relation to the course at Edinburgh University, the focus throughout is on the family and;

Stress would be laid on the development of the individual within his family, community and culture. The aim would be to assist the helping process by identifying where growth had failed, been arrested, damaged or threatened within a person or his family, temporarily or permanently.

(1976:218)

Underpinning this course is the idea that the problems which social workers face in their practice are rooted primarily in the particular personality structure of their clients, which in turn have been blocked

1. In the Council for Training in Social Work's discussion paper on Human Growth and Behaviour (1967), Irvine produced a sample syllabus which while it gave most weighting to psychoanalysis (p.16), also suggested that students should be introduced to Piagetian development theory (p.19).

A substantial psychoanalytic base within social work education and practice was given high status in the fifties. Many of the professional and training bodies began to re-organise their courses to ensure that students were given some psychoanalytic training. To meet this need, advanced courses were established such as the one at Tavistock clinic, for as Hunnybun, who was involved in the running of that course noted: "We were aware that they were often hampered in their work because their training did not include systematic teaching about the effects of early experiences in shaping the pattern of human development, and the influence of those factors in the way people meet the ups and downs of life. We believed that this should form part of every caseworker's equipment and that a year's course of training based on dynamic psychology with opportunities for supervised practice, might meet a real need."

(1955:24)

In 1951, Bowlby was pressing for more social workers to be trained in psychiatric theory, again explicitly stating that this was the key to social problem strategies:

"There is a woeful scarcity of social workers skilled in the ability to diagnose the presence of psychiatric factors and to deal with them effectively. From what has been said hitherto, it is evident that unless a social worker has a good understanding of unconscious motivation she will be powerless to deal with many an unmarried mother, many a home which is in danger of breaking up, and many a case of conflict between parent and child."

(1951:157; my emphasis)

(Continued on page 146)
at a certain stage of development, thus preventing the individual from achieving "maturity". (1) Again, these conceptions are best illustrated by reference to problem families. Both in the United States and Britain social workers have defined problem families as being characterised by immaturity:

Primitive in ego development, they are quickly overwhelmed by outside pressures and anxieties of the moment, and seek the worker out in their pain and panic... Over and over again one senses, beneath a hostile veneer, an oral character; a client who never stops demanding... The dependency is pervasive and the client sucks from neighbours, shopkeepers, bartenders, and news vendors as well as family members and social workers.

(Soyer 1961:36; cited Richan and Mendelsohn 1973:15)

If we forget for a moment that we are talking of adults / parents of problem families/ could this not equally well be a picture of three or four children keeping house? To put it in more formal terms, this group of symptoms shows an internal consistency, as manifestations of extreme immaturity.... A great number resemble greedy demanding children, always clamouring for material help, always complaining of unfair treatment or deprivation; this attitude shades into paranoid imagining or provoking of slights and rebuffs.

(Irvine 1954:27)

The high status accorded to psychiatric social workers (psw) throughout the period (McDougall 1953:759, referred to the psw as the elite of social work) was based on their psychiatric training, and they became a model for the profession as a whole:

"all social workers need the psycho-social knowledge and casework skills of the PSW... these skills have enabled P5Ws to function more effectively in other settings."

(Younghusband 1956:253)

In the debate on generic education, the Association of Psychiatric Social Workers (APSW) argued that their training courses should be considered as the generic model because of their psychological content. Thus Timms argued in his study on P5Ws that:

"The idea of generic training is by no means clear, but essentially it seems concerned with imparting knowledge and attitudes that are common to all branches of social work. This is accomplished by a considerable emphasis on the psychological and to lesser degree the sociological influences on human behaviour and development.... It appears that much of this description could apply to the Mental Health Course and other trainings in psychiatric social work."

(1964:38)

1. As Philp argued:

"The central idea in the concept of emotional immaturity is that as a result of unsatisfactory childhood experiences there has been a failure in the development of emotional maturity." (1953:270-1).
It is worth reminding ourselves here that the social workers of the COS era characterised their clients in a very similar manner, as being dependency-prone, immature and, like contemporary social workers they maintained that the roots of such personalities had to be found in the socialisation patterns of the family. However, the major difference between the two, was that the COS theorists maintained that the Residuum or what are now termed problem families, were too immature to be assisted by social work whereas, Freudian theory suggested that all levels of immaturity could be assisted and that the flow of personality development could be unlocked. As Stevenson has noted:

Belief in a client's capacity to change as a result of a caseworker's intervention involves acceptance of certain hypotheses about human behaviour, based to an extent on psychoanalytic theory. (1961:47)

It certainly offered far greater prospects for the 'treatment' of problem families than the earlier explanations of biological determinism. As Wilson indicated:

The problem is thus lifted out of the therapeutically sterile field of biological determinism and placed in the field of psychiatric understanding of personality with much wider opportunities for treatment. (1959:115)

Psychoanalysis, moreover validated the casework relationship of social work as the appropriate therapeutic method for working with such clients:

The importance of the client-worker relationship in social casework is almost impossible to exaggerate. . . . it is the soul of casework, while the process of study, diagnosis and treatment may be considered the body. As the life-giving principle it vivifies every part of casework. (Biestek 1954:57)

Experience has made indisputable the fact that the relationship afforded the client is a decisive component in his use of help. In social work, therefore, to a greater degree perhaps than in some other profession, the relationship is regarded as an integral part of the helping process. (Toule 1952:166)

The degree of change likely to occur in a client's attitude is to a large extent dependent upon the sort of relationship existing between him and the caseworker. . . . It is increasingly recognised by caseworkers that this relationship is the dynamic element in their work. (McDougall and Cormack 1954:50)
but here again, the CAS and also asserted that the personal relationship established between the charity worker and the claimant was the only way to restore citizenship:

On the activity of the helper depends the seal or woe of the applicant; on it too, primarily depends the social and moral value which is the characteristic of an ordered care for the poor. He must be the friend and the counsellor of the poor and in granting of relief assist them by word and deed... The clarity of individuals forms a more comprehensive and more constant fund than any large collection made by appeals and circulars; and directed in the manner which has been suggested, it is much more useful.

(Majority Report, The Royal Commission on the Poor Laws 1909:63, 67)

...And similarly CAS leaders such as Loch, like contemporary social workers, observed that the relationship stood a far greater chance of succeeding and educating the client if established in certain 'critical periods' of the life cycle:

The critical periods of life are childhood and adolescence and periods of sickness especially in earlier life. At these periods the method of treatment requires that cases of distress... should be dealt with individually and thoroughly. Only in this way is a nexus made between remedy and disease. Only in this way can that course of action be adopted which will take character into account and not weaken it.

(Loch 1910:444)

The influence of Freudian theory on social work methods and principles was not therefore that of a 'scientific revolution' which gave rise to new paradigms or methods, but of a less cataclysmic character, yet nevertheless important. Probably its greatest impact was in regard to children (Carmichael 1976:15).

Children had long been seen as one of the most important sections of the population (Gorst 1996). Sir Percy Alden had maintained in his Sir Dalley Stewart lecture in 1936 that:

The child is the foundation of the state and the first line of defence. We cannot lay too much stress upon the importance of the child if the State is to endure.

(Cited W. Cohen 1949:76)

And more recently, Fringle has argued that children;

are the seed corn of the future. Their development determines the fabric of tomorrow's society. Whether it will be more cohesive and more tolerant of racial and cultural differences; whether the
incidence of mental stress, violence or crime will increase or diminish; all these depend to a very considerable degree on the priority which we are willing to accord to meeting adequately the needs of growing children.

(1976-7:26)

The importance attached to children by social workers and the ruling classes as a whole, has, and continues to be, concerned with the reproduction of future labour power. (1) As we have already noted, the family continues to be regarded as the most satisfactory and efficient institution for undertaking this task, both materially and morally. (2) However the problem facing the State is what to do with the children of families who are regarded as inefficient in this task. A problem which is

1. Professor Badler presented evidence to the 1905-1909 Royal Commission on the Poor Laws which documented the high percentage of people aged under 30 who were applying for relief. In Camberwell they constituted 26.6% of the total number applying, in Hoxsey 35.6%, Liverpool 35.5%, Warrington 66.4, Sheffield 32.5%, and Mersey 46.1%. At the end of citing these figures Loch curtly noted that: "The cause of this was ascribed to 'uneducative labour during adolescence' which was believed to be on the increase." (Loch 1910:446-7)

2. Helen Bosanquet's book, The Strength of the People (1902), still provides us with some of the most clear statements about the importance of the family, (from a ruling class perspective):

"It is to the family, therefore, with all its possibilities of failure, that we must continue to entrust the care of the rising generation. Its work may be supplemented in school; but no matter how wise and patient the teachers, nor how sufficient the apparatus and curriculum, it can never be superseded... It can never give that refuge from one's own defects, that sense of interests and affections, that deep, underlying sympathy rooted in a common nature with its common difficulties and aspirations, which form the very atmosphere of home life at its best." (189)

The family being then, the best available institution for securing the efficiency of the next generation... (192)

For the sake of the young then, the aim of the community should be to heighten the efficiency of the family as the instrument or institution for developing the right qualities in the next generation, to increase rather than diminish its responsibilities." (196)

These passages from Bosanquet indicate a certain timelessness with regard to specific elements of bourgeois ideology - capitalism, irrespective of the stage of development requires certain fixed conditions, such as the reproduction and maintenance of an exploitable working class. Different qualities may be emphasized at particular historical moments, for example more education, greater fitness etc, but there are nevertheless a cluster of crucial fixed requirements. It is also important to note that Bosanquet recommended a relationship between social reform strategies and the family which continues to inform contemporary policy initiatives. Thus the teaching profession and the education system have accepted a role as a supplementing socialisation institution (c.f. Florence Report of 1960), and the vast array of contemporary research continues to support Bosanquet's claim that the family is still the 'best available institution for securing the efficiency of the next generation'.
compounded by the fact that such inefficiency is seen as having long-term consequences in personal malfunctioning, the perpetuation of the cycle of deprivation, as well as short-term effects in producing unemployables and delinquents.

In the late forties and early fifties neo-Freudians such as Bowlby and Winnicott presented evidence to support what many social reformers thought, that the traditional response to inadequate child rearing among some families, of breaking up the family and placing the children in institutions, was inadequate and very damaging to the children so institutionalised. Bowlby's principal argument was that the child's relationship with his mother was of paramount importance for the individual's subsequent personality development. Institutionalisation of the child inevitably broke that relationship and, Bowlby argued, could never replace that relationship with the result that;

the child's development may be effected physically, intellectually, emotionally and socially. All children under about seven years of age seem to be in danger of injury... evidence from a number of reputable workers leaves no room for doubt that the development of the institution infant is below the normal from a very early age. (Bowlby 1953:22) (1)

Thus at a time when there was considerable concern over the supply and reproduction of children to meet future labour requirements, it was being argued that the State's policies of institutionalisation were making the future more bleak, for not only was institutionalisation leading to the production of 'disturbed' individuals but it was also incurring long

1. In the 'Editorial Notes' of the COR we find that the COS also regarded the family as an institution whose functions are difficult to recreate. Thus, it was noted that adoption and fostering while better than institutional care were no real substitutes for natural parental care;

"We do not deny that in some cases of boarded out children that the tie of adoption has become as strong, or almost as strong, as the tie of kinship; or that scattered homes with these artificial parents may not be a good method of dealing with children may not produce excellent results. Only it should not be urged in their favour that they give the child anything but a faint shadow of real and natural family life". (1900, July :4-5)
term social costs, (1) Bowlby (1944) had argued from a study of 44 delinquents, that 40% of them had suffered an early and prolonged separation from their mothers (p.109), and it became a generalised assumption that many institutions were producing similar results.

There were two main policy outcomes from the work of Bowlby (and others working in this field). One concerned the administration of institutions and the other concerned the development of preventive strategies to prevent family breakdown. The Curtis Committee and the resultant 1948 Children's Act attempted to apply the insights of Bowlby's work to the administration of the children's homes in order to prevent the damage which was deemed to follow from the child's separation from his family.

One of the main recommendations of the Curtis Committee was that the homes should become more personalised in their approach and that the staff should be trained in child care, and it was one of the Committee's criticisms of the old Poor Law institutions, which were the primary institutions for the care of children removed from their families, that they failed to provide individualised care:

The worst feature was often the complete failure to provide any kind of individual interest or notice. In most cases the children had been brought into the workhouse as an emergency arrangement and were therefore in a neglected or unhappy or bewildered state. Often in the institution they were left to the casual kindness of aged inmates or to the indifferent attention of busy staff to whom they were nothing but an additional burden. Babies remained in their cots day and day out, gazing at the ceiling, and toddlers played on the floor, often unchanged and unkempt, with any bits and pieces they could find. The older children were turned out to play in asphalt yards surrounded by high walls, and were unprovided with schooling or occupation. And they often remained in such conditions for months. (Curtis Committee, 1946:45)

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1. The working party established by the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (NACRO), chaired by Peter Jay and funded by the DHSS and the Home Office has recently argued for a policy of 'decarceration' for the majority of juvenile offenders:

"the general evidence, so far as it goes, /is/ of macro-failure of the present system of institutional care of our 12,000 young offenders, specifically the evidence of high recidivism and of fostering a permanent criminal sub-culture, to say nothing of the scarring of the personalities of children who have spent long periods in institutions........

If society judges a good home to be the best preparation for life for children in general, then it is also likely to be the best preparation for those children who get into trouble." (Cited in Social Work Today, 14.6.1977:4)
The Committee recommended that children's homes should be established as 'substitute homes' which would provide the children with affection and love, give them a stable background until they were old enough to leave and make the best use of their abilities and aptitudes (1946:139). Above all, they emphasised the quality of the staff as being the crucial determinant of a successful child care policy. The Report recommended, and the Act established, the Child Care Service and the Children's Officer, who were to act as State appointed 'parental figures' (ibid:146):

The Children's Officer should in our view be highly qualified academically, if possible a graduate who has a social science diploma. She should not be under thirty at the time of appointment and should have had some experience of work with children, ... Her essential qualifications, however, would be on the personal side. She should be genial and friendly in manner and able to set both children and adults at ease. She should have very high standards of physical and moral welfare, but should be flexible enough in temperament to avoid a sterile institutional correctness. (1946:148)

The main duties of the Children's Officer and Departments, organised at local authority level and responsible to the Home Office, were to prevent family breakdown and the reception of children into care:

Every effort should be made to keep the child in its home, or with its mother if it is illegitimate, provided that the home is or can be made reasonably satisfactory. (ibid:148)

The Home Office Circular which laid down guidelines following the passing of the Children's Act in 1948 stated that:

To keep the family together must be the first aim, and the separation of a child from its parents can only be justified when there is no possibility of securing adequate care for a child in his own home. (Home Office Circular 160/1948; 8.7.1948)

The establishment of the child care service in 1948 marked a major stage in the State's involvement in the development of social work. Although the State had made substantial use of voluntary social work agencies from the nineteenth century - the COS and the NSPCC being notable examples - the child care service signified a new departure and indeed a new dawn...
for social work. (l) That the State was compelled to develop social work services of its own rather than continue to rely on voluntary social services was primarily pragmatic; voluntary services were not capable of meeting the problem, nor could the State easily establish a uniform and controlled policy via the use of voluntary organisations (Britton 1954: 168-9).

There is no doubt that the new children's services established in 1948 marked an improvement and were more humanitarian than those which preceded them. Nevertheless, we would be mistaken if we attributed the change in policy and the development of social work solely to humanitarian impulses — Volin was surely correct when he argued that humanitarian concerns have not "been a force that moved men in power" (1967:2).

Likewise we cannot account for earlier social policies such as the Poor Law treatment of children simply as the result of hardened and cruel Poor Law Officials. Rather social policy ideologies, like all other aspects of State policy reflect the requirements and context of a more general social development. Unfortunately, many social policy text books (Forder 1970; Bruce 1968; Pinker 1971; Hall 1951) tend to ignore the material and historical contexts in which policies emerge and present instead an account of social policy development which is predominantly idealist and progressive; a working-out of an ethical idea in an evolutionary manner.

1. Voluntary social work organisations still play an important role in social welfare provision, and David Owen when Minister of Health and Social Security reiterated their importance (1975:17). Most of the major voluntary societies receive substantial grants from the State (these include the Council for Voluntary Service, Family Welfare Association, Dr. Barnado's, NSPCC). Voluntary agencies are of obvious importance to the State in that they can reduce its costs of social welfare provision, especially in those areas of low priority, such as old people's welfare, the blind, mentally and physically handicapped. In all these areas, voluntary organisations predominate. A Ministry of Health Circular on the 'Welfare of Old People' (1950) stated:

"The essence of the matter is that all local authorities should do everything in their power to encourage voluntary efforts to meet the needs of old people, especially those living in their own homes, and that there should be close and continuous collaboration between all statutory and voluntary agencies working for their welfare" (Cited Muriel Brown 1972).

Beveridge in his study of Voluntary Action (1948) argued that voluntary social work was necessary as a pioneer, to point the way for State action if necessary (p.302; cf. Jordan 1975), and as a supplement to the State (304) a prime example of course being the COS.
probably best typified by Marshall's (1948) analysis which discussed the development of social policy as the progressive achievement of citizenship (1).

Thus, returning to the issue of the humanisation of the child care services, it is important to realise that this development reflected a concern to prevent wastage of population which I discussed in chapter two, just as the earlier harshness reflected the superficial role of the residuum in the labour market. Consequently, the need for productive labour from the lowest sections of the working class whose children formed the bulk of the institutionalised populations (Curtis Committee 1946:8; Holman 1976:25) focused attention on devising new methods and apparatuses for achieving this goal.

The move from institutional control to social work preventive services involved a more active State involvement and intervention in working class families. As some of the passages cited from the Curtis Report indicated, institutional care of children prior to 1948 was relatively passive, being no more than a 'holding operation'. A preventive policy, concerned to break down the cycle of deprivation and to ensure the 'adequate

1. Gettleman has presented a useful critique of the 'Whig Interpretation of Social Welfare History' (1974). He defined the Whig Interpretation as follows:
"/it assumes/ the present age to be some pinnacle of enlightenment, the past would appear to be a series of steps to the final achievement (which would lead to yet greater marvels in the future). ... it is possible to delineate a naive, linear version of this belief that, Pangloss-like, admits of no setbacks and diversions, and assumes progress will result almost automatically from the advance of Consciousness." (p.149)

He goes on to explain, how according to this interpretation, social reform becomes a kind of 'supra-historical ideal' (152) which is nearly always 'good', and he relates how in social work, where the Whig Interpretation is strenuously held, students are given courses on 'The Glorious Tradition of Social Work' and the 'Great Heroines and Heroes of Our Benevolent Past'; what he terms "inspirational pap, which bears little relationship to their practical experience in the field" (p.153), or, "ahistorical mystification" (155).

Taking the specific case of the take-up of Freudian theory in social work, the Whig Interpretation would explain it in terms of it being an advance in knowledge, another step forward towards enlightenment. There would be little or no attempt to relate its take-up to a specific historical context, nor would it raise such troublesome issues about 'in whose interest' such policies are generated.
socialisation' of children had to involve active intervention in the children's lives and their families. (1) In some of the policies suggested by the Curtis Committee it is possible to see how apparent humanitarian motives such as suggesting that all children in Homes should be allowed lockers and personal possessions and pocket money, were in fact prompted by a belief that such possessions were an essential requirement in the child's development of a respect for private property:

It is very important to encourage in the children the respect for other people's property which comes from the sense of having property of their own. Some locker or other receptacle of their own for keeping such possessions as a child buys with his pocket money or receives presents is essential. (Curtis Report:167)

The lack of respect for 'other people's' property was commonly advanced as being one of the defining characteristics of the 'problem family' (Irvine 1954:26) and naturally figured centrally in the discussions on juvenile delinquency. The Women's Group on Public Welfare had maintained that:

Respect for other people's property is not innate, but is actually contrary to human instinct; it has to be inculcated. Those in whom it is lacking are often not so much perverted as socially untrained. (1953;47) (2)

1. Wilson has correctly argued that State intervention in the working class family was not a post 1945 phenomena; its history was substantially longer. Rather;

"The period since the Second World War is marked off from what went before by an intensification of state interest in family life and the child." (1977:35; my emphasis)

2. Private property is an undoubted corner-stone of capitalism. Within social work theory it has also figured centrally. According to Bernard Bosanquet (1890:366ff) private property was like thrift, tangible evidence of morality. Any ownership of property signified the realisation of the 'will' (H & B. Bosanquet 1897:113) and was considered to be the basis of a moral existence. These notions were recently reiterated in virtually the same language as that used by the Bosanquet's and the COS, by McCormick, an influential American social work writer;

"The role of private ownership does not have to be argued for here. Such ownership is fundamental to a democratic social order; it belongs to man's natural rights and is, in a sense a guarantee of economic independence. The individual who owns property, is, theoretically at least, in a position to discharge his obligations to himself and to others. Moreover he can, if he wishes, do this freely and independently and in line with his own best interests both material and psychological. (1965/1970:27)
Freudian theory as advanced by writers like Bowlby, and interpreted by social workers, was rich in guiding intervention into problem families. With its emphasis on the importance of childhood, and adolescence and the role of the unconscious, as the key determinants of the adult personality it did give rise to a qualitatively different form of State intervention in the lives of working class families. In pursuance of the dictates of psychoanalysis social workers began to penetrate the 'personal' core of family life:

Both family casework and child guidance have now clearly accepted that the quality of the overall relationship between parents - that is, including rather than leaving out the more intimate side - is a main factor not only in the development of social behaviour in children but also in the integration or break up of the family as a unit. (A.T.M. Wilson 1949:259, my emphasis)

Once more the anti-materialist perspective predominates:

It is realised that a child needs not only food, warmth and shelter, but that he has psychological and spiritual needs which also require satisfaction if he is to grow into a happy, healthy, and useful citizen. (Eyden 1950:435)

The quality of the parental relationships in a family, both between the parents and the parents and their children have become subject to explanation and investigation by social workers on the grounds that these are the fundamental factors determining an individual's 'maturity' and 'stability' (c.f. Wilson 1977:93). As Titmuss indicated:

The health and the stability of the community is now seen to rest on the health and the stability of its families; the social health of the individual personality is now judged to depend in great measure upon the quality of the parent child relationships. These are accepted generalities today; fifty years ago they were not. (1954: cited Fletcher 1969:99)

Hill, in his study of the development of the sociology of marriage and the family between 1945 and 1956, has noted how research reflected this changing appreciation of the family:

The first studies of contemporary families were repugnant to the prevailing moral sentiment as a violation of the sanctity of the home. Bereavement studies, courtship studies, and studies of families in crisis were vulnerable to censorship and negative
sanctions. Literally within the past decade these areas have become safe for protracted studies in the United States. Today work on these topics is sufficiently respectable to receive financial support from conservative foundations and government agencies.
(Hill 1958:5)

The thrust of the social work programme, irrespective of its administrative setting was to improve the quality of family relationships. Children were to be removed only as a last resort (Packman 1975:22), and social workers were expected to take on an explicit parental role both in relation to the parents of a family and the children. If the parents were thought to be inadequate because they were locked at an early stage in the development cycle, the social worker was advised to use certain Freudian techniques as 'transference and counter transference' (D. Winnicott 1965:227; Irvine 1963 and see Jordan 1970:2-3 for critical comment) to establish a parental status *via a via* their clients and so begin the task of re-education. Sathymurthy observed in her survey of a local authority social services department that:

the language social workers use about their clients, often jokingly, seems often still to be based on an image of them as good or naughty children. Clients may be told off for instance, or cajoled, and clients may collude in this themselves. Thus a client may say, 'I've been a naughty girl - I'm in arrears again'. It seemed, too, that when social workers referred to a 'difficult case' they did not mean that the client presented problems that were difficult to solve, but that he was demanding and time consuming as in a 'difficult child'. (1974:9) (1)

1. The question of collusion is important, and is related to the traditional concern of social workers about client dependency which we shall be discussing shortly. At this juncture I merely want to cite Handler and Hollingworth who have correctly indicated that collusion and dependency is largely a product of the social work intervention and are, what Rainwater (1967:742) would categorise, an appropriate 'survival strategy':

"what we are emphasising is that dependency and manipulation also arise out of the discretionary distribution of benefits. And when clients receive these benefits they do not object; they like their benefactors, and they like to please their benefactors. This attitude may be deplored, but we do not think that dependency of this nature is a peculiar characteristic of welfare clients.... In sum we would argue that dependency is more a product of the structure of social relationships than legal requirements; it exists when there is discretionary authority over benefits that others need." (1971:129)
Irvine was quite explicit in recommending the parental role to social workers as the best means for re-educating the client:

the worker has most chance of success if he plays the part of a warm, permissive and supportive parent, thus supplying the basic experiences of the early stage of socialisation, which for some reason the client seems to have missed. With great patience and tact, the client can sometimes be led through a phase corresponding to that in which the child likes to 'do it with mother' to one in which he begins to taste the satisfaction of 'doing it myself'.

(1954:27)

However, not all the parents of 'problem' or 'inadequate' families are considered to be amenable to such 'help' from social workers, for as Sheridan noted in her article on 'Neglectful Mothers' in the Lancet:

it seems that a proportion of neglectful parents must be classed as incurable, owing to gross deficiencies in one or other of them, the mother being more important because her care is more necessary to the child.

(1959:772)

Even if they were considered totally 'incurable', it was a contention of many social workers that only a limited amount of 'progress' could be expected from parents, whose age and stage in the cycle of personality development prohibited the possibility of fundamental change. Consequently the focus of social work intervention in families has remained firmly on the children in the attempt to 'short-circuit the process of inadequate parents bringing up their children inadequately to become inadequate parents in their turn' (Schaffer and Schaffer 1968:85). The major prescription for action continues to be 'catch them while they are young', for it is here that good habit formation can be inculcated and the 'damage' of inadequate parenting compensated to some extent:

The enrichment of socially and economically insecure lives needs to start earlier than the age of five. The family is the child's earliest and most powerful cultural and emotional environment where values are taught; the over-burdened and under-privileged family needs more enrichment and more services for the pre-school child.

(1965:100)

It was on these grounds that the Women's Group on Public Welfare strongly recommended the extension of nursery schools for the children of problem
families. For:

The nursery school can teach good eating habits; good sleeping habits; bodily cleanliness and care of teeth and hair; give sanitary training, regular exercise and stimulating play; accustom the child to hygienic and well-kept clothing and endow it with self-respect and intolerance of dirt and vermin. It accustoms the child to discipline, both imposed and self-imposed. (1943:105)

While the Group accepted that such provisions would be expensive, they justified it on the savings which would result if these children could be helped to become good citizens rather than high cost parasites on the State like their parents:

the money spent on giving the child these early years of happy, healthy life may be far less than what is now spent on combating the ill-health, dirtiness, delinquency and misuse of property which may result from a bad start in life, while the lives actually saved and the efficiency conferred are beyond price. We cannot afford not to have the nursery school; it seems to be the only agency capable of cutting the slum mind off at the root and building the whole child while there is time. Education in all its stages must be designed to enable the individual to develop initiative, self-respect and a sense of citizenship. (ibid:105-6; my emphasis)

In virtually all of these studies there is the clear message that if only the children of these families could be socialised from an early age according to middle class standards then the problem would be substantially eased:

Good habit formation should be emphasised in early training and has a twofold aspect; it makes life orderly, regular and safe for the child, bringing economy of effort for him since he has freedom within known limits, and it serves as a foundation for the growth of acceptable social attitudes. Consideration for others, the giving up of immediate in favour of long term satisfactions, and respect for property, which are lacking in such a large proportion of delinquents, can only be built upon good early training. (Liverpool Council of Social Service 1948:25)

Given the evidence that the 'worst' mother is often better than the 'best' children's home, social workers have stated a reluctance to break up families and remove the children (1) preferring instead to work on the

1. As Holman has noted, since 1948 there has been a dramatic increase in the number of children admitted into care (that is removed from their parents) despite an avowed preventative policy (1976:17). Figures are given in the Statistical Appendices.
children while they remain in their natural home (c. f. Rankin 1970:19-18). Wright, who was then Assistant Medical Officer of Health for the City of Sheffield, argued that social workers could not expect to influence the children solely by working on the parents, and thus that the primary emphasis must be on ensuring that the children are immunised as far as possible from the corrupting influence of their parents:

Many of these unfortunate parents have had an atrocious upbringing so that their personalities are malformed. While their attitudes to their children may be modified as they themselves mature, experience has shown that it will not be enough to try to influence the children by attempts to transform the parents. The plan of action to help the family must be an intensive one because children have only one impressionable childhood. The aim should be first to give assistance to the parents in managing their affairs to enable the family structure to be preserved and, secondly, to take positive steps to minimise the emotional damage they are able to inflict on their children. This amounts to improving the home environment to the full limit of the parents' capacity, and the provision of facilities to enable the children to spend considerable time away from their homes.

(1966:7; my emphasis)

Since the end of the Second World War an extensive child welfare service has been developed by the State. As early as 1951 Titmuss could write that:

In every area of a child's life - its physical health and habits, its emotional development, its educational progress, its clothes, its toys and its play - in all its stages of growth and activity, the modern child receives far more care and attention than the child of fifty years ago.

(1951:412)

Social work, alongside health and maternity services, education and an extended juvenile judiciary system is merely one aspect of the State's apparatus which covers the entire spectrum of a child's life from the womb to the labour market. (1) Alongside the development of the services there has also emerged a considerable monitoring and regulatory apparatus which attempts to record and consequently supervise, all those children who are deemed to be at 'risk' in their families. (2)

1. Renvoize (1974) gives some indication of the extent of these State services in her study on 'baby battering'.

2. A Ministry of Health Circular in 1963 (13/63) instructed all health departments to register children as being at 'risk' if they were born in 'unsatisfactory families' or in a 'bad' environment etc. Local authority social services departments currently maintain an 'at risk' register of such children and their families.
Both Schorr (1975) and Holman (1976) among others, have indicated that the State's child and family services are most concerned with working class families. Holman (1976:24) has cited the work of Packman (1969) and Kellner Pringle (1974) who have both pointed out that while 'child abuse' is not the prerogative of any one social class, that the local authorities rarely intervene in the "affluent or upper class home" (ibid). Moreover, Holman has argued that should the children of the middle and upper classes come to the attention of the State they are often accorded different and better treatment than the children of the working class:

my impression is that the higher the class of the child the more chance he has of being sent to a school for the maladjusted or to a boarding school, neither of which need involve reception into care and the loss of parental rights. The lower the class, the greater the prospect of committal to a community home or community school and the greater the risk of losing parental rights.

Even in Schorr's (1975) more cautious book on child care in the United States, we find contributors who substantiate Holman's position:

The handling of neglected children, adoption, child custody, parental rights, and delinquency reflect the family's economic status. (Jenkins 1975:16)

The implicit view seems to be that children from different segments of society are of different intrinsic worth. Indian children are worth less than children of middle class white families, and children dependent on public support are worth less than children from families who pay their own way. In brief, social inequality appears to be part of the brick and mortar of our children's institutions.

Similar class factors have been noted in relation to other State apparatuses which deal with children and young people, such as the education system (Simon 1965; J. Ford 1969), the police (Pilavin and Briar 1964; Young 1971) and the juvenile 'justice' system (Platt 1969), which have all been shown to discriminate against the working class. As

1. Holman has recently (1975-1977) been involved in a campaign against the new Children Act 1975 which was the culmination of a number issues most notably the death of Maria Colwell. One of the central points of the new legislation is the restriction of the rights of natural parents and the introduction of custodianship orders. Holman has maintained that the Act will once again be directed primarily at the working class (c.f. Holman 1975a, 1975b, 1976).
Clarke has noted in his discussion of juvenile delinquency programmes, the terms of the discussion may have changed,

but the focus of attention remains the same as that of the nineteenth century reformers—how to ensure the proper socialisation of working class children, i.e., according to the pattern derived from the ideal (bourgeois) family structure.

(J. Clarke 1975:19)

To achieve this 'proper socialisation' the State has delegated social workers to intervene in the families of their clients, to take over certain parental functions, and if need be to break the family up by removing the children and curtailing the rights of the natural parents.

However, the increased intervention of the State in working class families has not been universally welcomed by all sections of the dominant class.

In a recent attack, Grimond (1976) has accused the Welfare State of sapping initiative and creating dependence which was quickly expanded upon by the Duke of Edinburgh (1976) as being a major cause of Britain's economic crisis. Smith similarly argued in 1951 that:

So far the Welfare State has helped to spread irresponsibility. Thousands of men who have deserted their wives and families walk the streets knowing that their dependents will be provided for out of public funds and not left to starve as formerly, or put into the workhouse. Workers can strike with the same knowledge. The many ready made schemes for helping children in and out of school undoubtedly weaken the sense of parental responsibility in many cases and rob parents of the readiness to make efforts and sacrifices themselves. The mother who goes out to work, not necessarily because she must but because she finds little to do whilst her children are provided for elsewhere in the day-time, gets used to cigarettes and outings and semi-luxuries these extra earnings give and is then usually ready to ask for her children to be taken off her hands more and more.

(N.A. Smith 1951:390)

Doctor Garbett, then Archbishop of York, also contended, just as the COS did half a century earlier, that;

Parental responsibility had been weakened by the way in which the State now took over the education, nutrition and health of the children. What was once the duty of the parents was now the responsibility of the State. ...
And a more dire warning came from the then Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Griffin:

Do not allow the State to relieve you of these responsibilities because if you do, it will finally relieve you of your children. If you allow the State to monopolise the feeding, clothing, and education of your children, it will do so in accordance with its own ideas. It will decide the future career of your child and finally direct him to the work or industry which it considers best for your child and the community. You will have no say. (Times, 6.12.1948) (1)

This latter criticism of the State is representative of a genre of criticism from the conservative middle classes who continue to reject social democratic or bourgeois socialism. In particular they have been bitter about the way the State has curtailed their freedom of choice in such matters as schooling for their children (Times 13.6.1977:2; see also M. Simoy 1976).

Nevertheless, State intervention, such as in the form of social work, while it has taken over certain familial functions, has done so in order to strengthen the family unit rather than weaken it, as Marshall indicated:

I think all social workers would agree that our aim today is not to take over services from the family, but to help it to render service to its own members with increasing efficiency. (1949:342)

In his introductory speech on the Second Reading of the Local Authority Social Services Bill, Crossman stated explicitly that the new unified social work service was intended to strengthen the family:

The primary objective of the personal social services we can best describe as strengthening the capacity of the family to care for its members and to supply as it were, the family's place where necessary; .. when the government took office in 1964 they immediately took up the problem of establishing a family service, particularly in the context of strengthening the family as the best means of meeting the problems of children and young people in trouble. (Hansard 1970, vol 1796, paras 1407-8)

1. Although Cardinal Griffin's comments were directed at a middle class audience his comments resonated with the actual experiences of the working class. In the nineteenth century for example, sections of the working class organised Friendly Societies, schools, and established a Co-operative Movement precisely to restrict such State control over their lives (c.f. Thane 1976).
And in an article entitled, 'Social Values and Social Work in the United Kingdom', the (anonymous) writer also argued that:

much of our effort in the social services is an attempt to strengthen and support the rights and responsibilities of families. Where families do not accept their rights and responsibilities the State attempts to offer alternate care based on the values attached to family life. The present expansion of personal social services represents the provision by the State of systems of support to replace the kinds of family support which have been destroyed or made insufficient by the effects of industrialisation and its consequences.

(1968:1)  

The extent to which social workers do strengthen the family rather than inadvertently create dependency by their intervention, remains a matter of some concern. When middle class commentators or other branches of the State such as the police, challenge social work, it is often on the grounds that they are 'too soft' with their clients and allow them to remain dependents on the State. A discussion of these issues leads us on to examine in the next section, the other major core subject area within social work education, social work methods and principles. For, it is on the basis of such methods and principles that social workers supposedly ensure that their interventions do enhance and develop the citizenly virtues of independence and self-reliance in their clients.

In conclusion to this section, despite the various and necessary excursions in the presentation, the analysis of the human growth and behaviour course

1. It has been a common argument throughout the post-war period that industrial and social change has exerted a 'strain' on the 'family'. Apart from the increasing number of women/mothers engaged in employment outside the home, other factors which have been adduced as causing strain on the family include slum clearance and the break up of traditional kinship systems (Bristol BMA 1959); higher standards of child care (Titmuss 1951:11); teenage consumerism and consumerism in general (Bishop of Chelmsford, Times 23.10, 1956:6) and one could now also add, unemployment and inflation. There can be little doubt that capitalism does exert a considerable strain on the working class family, which as Zaretsky (1967:61) has noted serves not only as an institution of regulation but also as a defence for the working class; it provided "the only space that proletarians 'owned' "(ibid) and in which they could achieve a degree of 'humaness'. Apart however, from a few sensitive articles such as Titmuss' (1957), strategies to combat 'family strain' have, not surprisingly, ignored the structural, political issues involved, and have instead concentrated on developing 'psychological' services (c.f., Larogue and Daley 1956:45) and called for a moral regeneration (see McGregor's discussion of this issue (1960)).
has been concerned to show the reasons for its centrality in the social work education programme, its political consequences, and the manner in which psychological theories, primarily Freudian, have contributed to social work's particular strategy. To restate a point that has already been made, I do regard it as most important that any adequate analysis of the theories and content of social work education must direct itself to the social and political context in which those theories are taken up. Social work may well have the constant objective of trying to regulate and incorporate specific sections of the working class, but it is never that 'fixed' or static. Over time its middle-range theories do fluctuate in status, whereby some decline in popularity while others ascend, and these fluctuations are not merely haphazard or the products of 'scientific revolutions' but reflect important changes in the material contexts.

**Instrumental Principles and Social Work Methods.**

While the Human Growth and Behaviour Course can be said to constitute the major, professional theoretical component, it is flanked by courses in social work methods and principles, and the placements, to form the core of social work education. While course curricula are only of limited value in indicating the aims and objectives of social work practice and education, the following representative syllabi of social work methods and principles courses do show the extent to which the human growth courses are inextricably related and involved. The Manchester Polytechnic syllabus for example, is predominantly psychologistic and family orientated:

The casework relationship. The principles which underlie casework and problems within the relationship e.g. hostility, dependence, authority and power.

The contribution of different theoretical approaches to the case-worker's understanding and assessment of problems and methods of casework treatment, e.g. the psycho-social approach, crisis intervention, task centered casework, the contribution of learning theory and behaviour modification.
Communication within marriage and within the family. Interviewing individuals, marital partners and families. Marital casework and social work with families. Agency function. The professional social worker and the administrative setting within which he/she is employed. The uses of reports and records. (Manchester Polytechnic 1976:26)

Similarly, the syllabus for the social work methods course from Swansea University demonstrates the same concerns, and like all methods syllabi directs attention to the actual techniques and practice of social work:

The following subjects will be covered:

- The nature of social work
- Social diagnosis
- Interviewing and relationship in social work
- Recording in social work
- Ethics and values in social work
- Stages in social work practice
- Psychological aspects used in social work (transference and counter transference, defence mechanisms)
- Self awareness in social work practice
- Theories of social work
- The relationship of casework, groupwork and community work
- Marital casework
- Family casework
- Groupwork
- Research in social work practice
- The use of literature in social work
- Crisis theory
- Additional topics requested by students

(Swansea 1975/1976)

While none of the core courses in social work education could be considered as purely 'theoretical' given the eclectic nature of their construction, the social work methods and principles course and the placement are closely related and regarded as the place where practice and theory are combined, whereas the human growth and behaviour component is perceived as the important theoretical input. Thus, the methods and placement aspects constitute the areas in the education programme where the 'theoretical' insights from human growth and behaviour courses are woven into a practice programme:

The foregoing background subjects should be focused on and made specific in the course on the principles and practice of social casework. This course is an intellectual discipline in which the students are taught the processes of study, diagnosis and treatment, together with the need to look for evidence in every statement they make. ... The purpose is to give them an understanding and grasp (in both theory and practice) of this method of social treatment in which knowledge from all the background subjects will need to be applied both in the study of individual cases and in formulating general principles. (Younghusband 1956:248)

Furthermore, within the methods course and the placement (which is discussed in chapter 7), the teaching of the instrumental principles of
social work is of crucial importance and can be said to be the integrating 'kernel' of the enterprise.

By instrumental values I refer to the concepts of self-help, individualisation and self-reliance which figure so centrally within social work. It is this cluster of values which immediately guide the activities of social workers in their everyday practice and determines their goals. Not surprisingly therefore, these principles occupy an important position within the social work education programme, and form the core of the social work methods and principles courses.

In the light of the foregoing analysis, we should not be surprised that social work accords the greatest importance to the concepts of self-help and client self-determination. Aptekar (1955) maintained that client self-determination is:

so important in modern casework philosophy that if one were to pick any single conception without which modern casework simply could not exist, it would undoubtedly be the idea that the client must determine what his own life will be like and that the worker cannot, and should not try to do that for him.

(cited Pollard 1962:9)

And Towle has similarly stated that:

Social work to a peculiar degree is charged and charges itself with the responsibility of helping people to help themselves.

(1952:65) (1)

From the time of the COS it has been a hallmark of (bourgeois) social work, as against ('feudal') philanthropy, that the objective of the activity should be to enhance the clients' independence; to make them into self-regulating citizens. Conversely, the dependence of certain categories of the working class has remained as one of their defining problematic characteristics which has occasioned State intervention. In

1. In a recent letter to the Times (13.5.1977) Patrick Jenkin the Conservative Party's Shadow Minister of Social Services welcomed the importance that the social work profession accorded to the voluntary organisations and 'self help' sector:

"The aim of the best social work has always been to help people help themselves."
post-1945, 'Welfare State' Britain, the question of dependency has been highlighted because the extended provision of welfare benefits has made dependency a far more expensive phenomenon than hitherto. We have already noted how contemporary 'problem families' have often been defined as problematic because of the demands they make on a large range of social services for considerable periods of time. In fact, the extension of welfare provisions, irrespective of their scope or expense, has led to a countervailing emphasis on the virtues of citizenship as a primary strategy of controlling their take up. Pinker (1971:chp 4) among others, has documented how stigma has been used by welfare agencies to control the take-up of benefits, particularly in relation to the non-universal services most utilised and required by the working class poor (ibid:142).

The use of stigma and more general appeals for independence and self reliance reveals the problematic character of welfare benefits for the State. As the Council of the COS maintained in their opposition to State intervention in social relief policies, the very presence of sources for life outside the wage labour nexus can have a demoralising potential, especially on those sectors of the working class whose loyalty to capitalism was never very firm. (1) Consequently, in the post '45 period the principles of self-reliance and general social obligation have become

1. Throughout this contemporary period there have been constant rumblings among the ruling classes about the demoralising consequences of welfare provision (c.f. Duke of Edinburgh 1976; Grimond 1976). Steen, a Conservative M.P. for Liverpool typified these arguments in an article in the Times entitled "Let the Welfare State Help Those Who Help Themselves": Yet as state provision has intervened into more areas of our daily lives, it has robbed people of any logical reason as to why they should fend for themselves. Independence and initiative have been sapped, weakening the character. Many have now lost any sense of obligation either to themselves or to others. As a result of shifting the load of responsibility from family to state shoulders people have become more inclined to opt out. By diverting a sense of obligation towards one's neighbours, the state has undermined the foundations of our society. (Steen, The Times, 12.1.1977)

It should be noted that many critics of this genre unquestioningly assume that State welfare provisions are both easy to obtain and rapaciously collected by the 'people'. Taking the latter point alone, the Guardian (22.9.1976) reported that over 900,000 families who were eligible were not claiming supplementary benefit, and the Sunday Times (21.11.1976) estimated that over £600 millions covering five principal benefits were not being claimed (c.f. Field 1976:22).
highly charged, particularly among the welfare professions. Thus, for example, the Editorial of the British Medical Association's News Review expressed great concern over the decline in self-reliance and the growth in doctor dependency; far too many patients were making demands on doctors which did not require their attention. In advocating an extension of health education to the general public, the Editorial made it clear that the prime problem populations were the working classes:

But the fact has to be faced that so far health education has failed to reach social classes V and VI who make the most demands. Could it be then that what is wanted is a wider dissemination of the now despised middle class virtues? .... increasingly, the salvation of the NHS will depend on instilling the will, and the confidence into those who could cope but don't, so that they do not make unnecessary demands.

(1976:165)

Similarly, Lady Townsend in her discussion of the operation of the Welfare State, asserted that there was a great need, given the increase in provisions, to re-assert the importance of the duties of citizenship:

There must also be a revival of the realisation that the individual must have as great a regard for his obligations as for his rights. Particularly, must the coming generation have instilled into them what have come to be looked upon as the old-fashioned habits of thrift and self-reliance and be made aware of their responsibilities to their families, if social welfare is to be fully effective.

(1954:98)

Margeret Simey has also argued that:

What is required is the renewal of conviction as to the fundamental purpose of the Welfare State, that services are provided as a means to an end, and that end is the fulfilment by the individual of his obligation to society of which he is a member.

(1976:185)

Certainly, from recent statements by the Conservative Party leadership, it would seem that the Tories are taking very seriously this whole area of social discipline and are beginning to push it once more to the forefront of their policies. In a recent letter to the Times Mrs. Thatcher stressed her party's philosophy on self-help as the prime motor of social welfare:

millions on millions have worked out their salvation in every sense of the term from such beginnings/the slums/, just as others have wasted their opportunities. I look forward to the day when there will be no slums. But I believe that we shall achieve far more by helping people to help themselves than by trying to relieve
them of their own responsibilities and thereby of their own dignity and self-respect. (Times Letters, 18.7.1977) (1)

Thus, as Smith has argued, the development and extension of welfare services demands greater social discipline if demoralisation is to be avoided:

When the welfare state is added to industrialism, the need for social discipline and a stronger and more developed sense of individual responsibility is even greater since indiscipline and irresponsibility create public expenditure in all directions. (N.A. Smith 1951:380)

It is in this context of the need for greater social discipline, especially among the dependency-prone working classes - a dependency incidentally, that is more often than not created by capitalism rather than because of any inherent personal incapacity as generally assumed by the social work profession (c.f. Titmuss 1956:43f) - that the social work profession has been developed at such a rate by the State.

Despite the more obscure language used by contemporary social work in articulating its aims and objectives, there can be no doubt that its overall commitment towards enhancing self-reliance and independence and of encouraging self-help among its client populations is just as great as it was in the Charity Organisation Society. The report of the Children's Officer of the City of Birmingham provided an excellent example of this continuity in social work methods and philosophy. On the question of removing children from their families the Children's Officer warned of the serious nature of the decision particularly with regard to the morale.

1. In a most interesting Editorial in the Times (29.11.1975) entitled 'The Cycle of Discipline' it was argued that Britain's world position of supremacy in the Victorian Era was based on strict discipline in personal, national and social life. That discipline, the Editorial argued, had now largely disappeared, with the consequence that Britain was struggling and unstable, prone to strikes and a massive increase in crime. There then followed the classically formulated appeal for the discipline of citizenship: "Of course if you have a people who have been trained in an earlier discipline in self-reliance, self-control and a basically loyal attitude towards the laws and state under which they live, then they can be ruled on a very light rein, and they will still respond. But if that society fails to condition the same standards of self-discipline and respect for the law, then the civilised society itself is mortally threatened."
of the parents:

/taking children into care is/ serious because a too easy removal of children from the family home can weaken the sense of parental responsibility when parents should be making every effort to look after their own children; and serious also because of the high cost of maintaining children in homes and nurseries.

We find further direct links with the COS's philosophy in the Children's Officer's account of how his department encouraged the clients to seek assistance from their own families, friends and neighbours:

No applicant for help is turned away without a serious attempt being made to help him to solve the problems for himself.... Parents are asked, in the first instance, to seek help of neighbours, relatives and friends...

And the report then produces an example of the effectiveness of this strategy:

In one case some months ago, the parents of a homeless family visited the office day after day. With the help of certain of the Children's Visitors, various relatives were persuaded to take the children temporarily, though, because of their own overcrowding, they could not help for more than a few days. After several days, the parents called again, this time to thank the department for making them hold out, because the efforts they had made in the meantime had secured them accommodation for the whole family again.

Moreover, as it was with the COS, self-help is not only an over-riding objective of current social welfare policy (2) but it can also be a determinant of how a particular client is assisted. Rees has noted for

1. Later in the Report we find:
   "In some cases, there is a definite attempt to evade responsibility and, for this reason, it is important that the most careful casework investigation is carried out before a final decision is reached to help parents of these families by admitting their children into care". (ibid:19).

2. In an article on the EEC's pilot programme 'to combat poverty', which in Britain involves social workers in areas of London, Liverpool and Lothian (Scotland) helping families with homemaking, budgeting, keep fit, and child-rearing, Bowder noted that:
   "Their overall aim is to wean families away from professional social work agencies and create client and community self-help." (1977:10)
for example, how a client's past performance in self-reliance can effect the social worker's assessment and so determine the type and extent of help offered:

Conveying that they/the clients/ were usually able to help themselves, that they were not in the habit of seeking help was interpreted (by social workers) as favourable credentials. For example, of a woman's application for temporary holiday accommodation for her aged and ailing father-in-law the social worker said she could see that the family had cared for the old man and that 'Mrs Rose was not the sort of person who was trying to get rid of him'. The social worker judged this application to be 'for the good of the whole family' and in subsequent meetings with a senior colleague and with residential staff she argued this client's eligibility on this basis. An added bonus was that this applicant gave the impression of having thought out her request and had shown that although life had not always been easy, her expectations of help were confined to this issue and she was unlikely to make other demands. (Rees 1976:203; emphasis given.)

Conversely, those clients who have not demonstrated this 'virtue' are unlikely to get preferential treatment from the social services, and Brooke (1970:39) has noted how in the Borough of Tower Hamlets the social services department refused to provide part III accommodation for those who had been deemed to be responsible for their own homelessness.

The development and expansion of social work as a strategy for enhancing social (self) discipline reflects the greater reliance of the State on less explicitly draconian disciplining mechanisms. Paul Corrigan has recently pointed out that:

Throughout the western world, states are characterised by one of the two major symbols of control in capitalist society; the tank or the community worker. (1975:57) (1)

1. In their discussion of social control strategies Cowger and Atherton have correctly indicated that both 'soft' and 'hard' approaches can be used inter-changeably:

"Societies have attempted to exercise social control in a variety of ways as a response to deviance, social unrest and disorder. Some societies have relied heavily on the perpetual threat or use of police power. Some have relied on elaborate systems of social welfare. Most have relied on both. It would appear that our society is not firmly convinced that the development of social welfare services is a satisfactory means of social control in some problem areas. Therefore when dealing with these areas it fluctuates between police power and the provision of social services... This seems most obvious in problem areas such as drug abuse, alcoholism, mental illness and juvenile delinquency." (1974:463)
In terms of capital's need for long-term stability the tank or indeed any overtly repressive form of social control has its obvious drawbacks. Even in the short-term, repressive action on the part of the State tends to have long term consequences, for it is unlikely that people will ever forget their confrontation with the State whether it be in the form of a policeman's truncheon or the barrel of a gun. It is in these occasional displays of force (cf. Grunwick Dispute) that the State has as much to lose as it has to gain, for while it has the physical power at hand to assure a victory, the far more important battle of people's consciousness and their relation to the State can be impaired. It is for this type of reason that there has been a greater deployment of resources in the development of 'soft' as against 'hard' social control strategies, and as Nairn noted:

an ever greater part of the modern economy and of social life generally is given over to the production of consciousness. (1970:69)

In addressing ourselves to social's work formulations and articulation of its guiding set of principles and values we can begin to elaborate in further detail some of the characteristics of a 'soft' social control strategy. The notion of social work as a 'soft' strategy seems entirely appropriate. Unlike the 'hard' strategies of prisons or police work, social work is not guided by a clearly formulated set of 'laws' or procedures. Rather, it is a defining feature of social work as expressed by the profession itself, that every case is dealt with in an individualised manner:

Individualisation remains a central concern of social work practice. (Kendall 1972a:7)

The individualistic perspective of social work is evidenced not only by the predominance of casework methods but also in the cluster of values espoused by the profession regarding the integrity of the individual:

All social work is based upon respect for the value of the individual. . .
The special function of social work, and its inalienable element is to project and promote the interests of the individual client or clients and to ensure that social technological changes serve and do not enslave the individual as a person in his own right.
(BASW 1973:17)

Basic to the profession of social work is the recognition of the value and dignity of every human being irrespective of origin, status, sex, age, belief or contribution to society. The profession accepts responsibility to encourage and facilitate the self-realisation of the individual person with due regard for the interest of others.
(BASW 1975)

... assuring to every human being the opportunity to attain his maximum potential, represents the consolidation of all values—from personal worth to self-determination; from freedom to social experiences and social responsibility.
(McCormick 1969:27)

Is there an ultimate value, a value that isn't a means to a further value but an end in itself? Probably the only one that can't be pushed on any further, the one at the end of the line, is the dignity and worth of the individual human person. All other values seem to be means to this end, and social work commonly acclaims this as its primary value.
(Younghusband 1970:12)

Nearly all the statements made by social workers about their commitment to the integrity of the individual and its derivatives such as the right to self-determination and self-realisation are couched in this abstract manner, and presented as the very corner-stones of democracy:

The assumptions of social work theory and practice are principles of very wide application. The belief in the worth of every individual and in his potentialities, the realisation that the relationship between people is a determining factor in how far they are helped or hindered in making their potential contribution, the vital importance of keeping the client in focus as the centre of the picture—all of these have inescapable implications for the way in which we go about social work... But it goes further than this. These are the principles and techniques of modern democracy.
(Cavenagh 1954:9)

Perlman in her discussion of these values has noted that not only are they not exclusive to social work but that:

They are espoused by every politician from far-left to far-right; they are popular slogans inscribed in our national documents and upon our national monuments. They are so high level as to be safe and impregnable. They are also so general and abstract that they may be subject to radically different interpretations.
(1976:381)

Thus, the important issue becomes, as Perlman recognised, how these values are operationalised; their transcendence to the level of instrumental values.
However, before embarking on that important discussion, a number of points need to be made with regard to the high level of generality normally associated with the expression of social work values, and typified by the British Association of Social Work's documents, 'The Inalienable Element in Social Work' (1973) and 'A Code of Ethics for Social Work' (1975).

Most simply, highly abstract presentations of social work's avowed values which are supposed to guide practice, are an important aspect of the social work profession's public face. Social work is both a recent profession and one that has had to struggle for legitimacy and recognition, not the least from other established professions, its own class and the State. On account of its recent history and its struggle for acceptance, social work leaders have had 'models of professions' before them (e.g., teaching and medicine) and have subsequently used these models to enhance their own status. As early as 1915, Flexner was posing the question of whether social work was a profession, and it is question that has continued to plague the occupation.

Many of the writings on the status of social work by social workers have drawn on studies of professionalism by such writers as Flexner, Carr Saunders (1928), Goode (1957, 1960) and Etzioni (1969). From such studies they have borrowed an 'inventory model' of a profession which includes such items as a code of professional ethics, a body of knowledge, a hierarchical structure and strict entry requirements (Heraud 1970:238) which they have then sought to replicate in social work (cf. Collis 1967). Of course, while I would not argue that social work has developed all of these items in a simple mechanistic fashion to meet the accepted requirements of a profession, there can be little doubt that it has drawn heavily on the example of other professions as well as on academic studies of professionalism in order to extend its claims. Thus, to give one simple example, Donnison (1956:65) remarked that social workers use the term
'client' rather than 'customer' or 'applicant', as that is the accepted language of the professions. But as far as social work is concerned the term client is often totally inappropriate, as most 'clients' are not self-referred (Davey 1977:8), have very little understanding about the nature of social services (1), and could have been compelled to see a social worker (2).

Thus, not only is an articulated set of 'professional' ethics considered a necessary part of a profession's equipment, but it is also the most 'public' statement of its objectives and philosophy, and is directed at a number of audiences, including related professions, the government, 'interested and enlightened' members of the public, and social workers themselves. (3) This espousal of highly general values which at face value are safe from criticism constitutes a particularly important (and much neglected) example of how certain ideologies are generated and concretised. Social democracy, notions of the State as a neutral benefactor of all the people are not simply given, neither are they the product of any one part of the State apparatus, such as the government. Rather they are formulated and espoused at every level of State activity and it is at both the specific and collective level that the ideology gains currency and strength. This diversity is important for it relates once more to the role of the middle-classes and the upper working classes who occupy many of the positions within the State apparatus. There has been a tendency among many Marxists to ignore this section of the population; only the working class (conceived often in a very sterile manner)

1. Rees (1975:2; 1974:276) discovered that most clients had very little knowledge of social work services and many confused it with social security.

2. Studies by Rees (1975) and Nursten (1972) have indicated that most clients are referred to social workers by third parties, usually by other State agencies. For example, housing authorities and the public utility boards often refer families to the social service departments as part of their debt recovery programmes. The referral table in the Method Appendix, does give some further details on referral patterns.

3. To my knowledge there is no attempt to direct this information to the clients of social work.
it seems need to be incorporated and socialised in the ways of capital. But, while social workers do not raise the same sort of problems as the working class, they still have to be brought into some relation with the State; they do not automatically assume the status of 'state servants'. Social democracy for example, has had a significant appeal to the professional classes in post war Britain. Cynically, we could maintain that this appeal has not been unrelated to the employment opportunities which the expansion of welfare services has provided for these classes (cf. Gouldner's (1968) critique of Becker). Nevertheless, despite Halmos' (1965) overstatement about the altruistic motives of social workers (more realistically assessed by Pearson 1973), many social workers are concerned to 'help' their clients and do react strongly when accused of being 'soft policemen' and agents of social control (cf. Cohen 1975). Without entering into the intricacies involved in the concept of 'help', it would seem probable that most contemporary social workers would reject many of the statements of the COS based as they were on explicit moral precepts and patronage. Similarly, if the social work profession was now to publish a code of ethics couched in similar language to that used by the COS one would expect a considerable amount of disaffection among vast numbers of social workers. In other words, general statements about social work's commitment to the integrity of the individual are not unimportant in winning over the allegiance of the 'liberal' middle classes including social workers themselves. In reality, such values may have little impact on the day to day practice, but they remain as indicators for the future, the goal to be achieved. And of course, the public face, the abstract values, are so general and imprecise, that they do not come to be a millstone of professional integrity to which practice need constantly be referred.

This abstract and essentially humanitarian set of values also points to another dimension of the 'soft' social control strategies. Unlike the hard strategies which are predominantly punishment oriented and as such are based on firm procedures and guidelines, social work is treatment
oriented and seeks to 'restore' individuals to some notion of 'healthy'

social functioning:

The goal is toward the improvement of the social functioning of the
individual or a whole family group by strengthening those parts of
the ego that are intact or have potential for development.

(Fantl 1964:199)

The treatment approach cannot be easily regulated externally, either by
close supervision of the practitioner or by the imposition of a set of
rules and procedures. The primary burden rests with the social worker,
who in theory has a considerable amount of freedom to determine the so-
called 'treatment' plan. It is this degree of freedom open to the social
worker that in part necessitates the profession's concern to ensure that
each social worker is socialised into the mores and values of the
profession for the main thrust of control within the occupation must
always be the self-control of the practitioners.

Similarly, the treatment approach by definition, involves the social
workers intervening in the lives of their clients. Non-interference in
the 'personal' and 'private' lives of individuals and families has long
been a touchstone of the bourgeoisie's concept of freedom. Despite its
immense limitations and constraints, many people do feel that they are
free in their families and private lives (c.f. Fromm 1941:266). In fact
Zaretsky has argued that during the development of capitalism the locus
of family functioning has shifted away from direct involvement in
production to a position,

as the primary institution in which the search for personal
happiness, love and fulfilment takes place.

(1976:65) (1)

1. In extending his argument, Zaretsky maintained that the on-going process
of proletarianisation created the conditions in which workers began to
divide their existence into 'work' and 'life'. In other words the
alienation of industrial capital intensified the worker's search for
personal fulfilment (mainly in the family) as an end in themselves (ibid:
66). This argument, does not however deny the many constraints implicit
in family life so well argued by Mitchell (1971) and Firestone (1970)
among others.
Despite this formal commitment to the family and its freedom, history provides innumerable examples of the ways in which this respect has been denied to the families of the working class. Working class families have, and are still broken up if they fail to achieve the standards prescribed by the State, and there have been very many other less obvious ways in which families have been split, including slum clearance (c.f. Dennis 1958:200), the collapse of local economies, and the resultant labour migration. Nevertheless, the avowed ideology of family and personal freedom does require that active interventions in these areas should be legitimated and at the same time reinforce the particular concepts of freedom involved. This is exactly what social work's reified set of values about the integrity of the individual and the right to self-determination achieve. The very espousal of 'respect for the value of the individual' becomes the basis of intervention and control. It is under such banners of freedom and the realisation of individual potential that the directly coercive edges of the 'soft' strategies of social control are both masked and applied, as well as ensuring the on-going support of the liberal middle class professionals (c.f. Kahn 1970:424).

Instrumentalisation of the Values.

While there are a number of reasons why social work's core value system should remain at a high level of abstraction and generality, it also has to be translated to an operational level if it is to have any status as a core value system with prescriptions for action. It is at the operational level that we can begin to construct a more concrete picture of social work as a 'soft' control/treatment strategy and delimit more precisely the particular meanings attached to the integrity of the individual, self-realisation and self-determination.

Firstly, it is important to note that this cluster of social work values does have immense instrumental importance within the social worker-client
relationship. In that relationship the social worker combines both the 'theoretical' body of knowledge and the value system. Somewhat crudely characterised, given the value laden character of social work's knowledge base, it is a combination in which the knowledge base has a crucial role in the 'diagnostic' stage and in generally describing the client's 'problem', whereas the values set the goals of the intervention.

Probably the most important of all the instrumental values is that of client self-determination. Within social work we can identify two major levels of instrumentality as far as this particular concept is concerned. One is the goal of the intervention; to bring about a change in the client or family, to make them self-regulating and independent citizens, (1) and the other is a specific technique which is utilised by the social workers to bring about such a change. At both levels, the operationalisation of client self-determination highlights the political character of social work as social workers are compelled to make explicit their goals and methods which in turn involves the articulation of specific notions of man and society. Thus, in her account of the objectives of social work Hamilton makes it clear that self-determination is delimited and determined by the 'society':

The social worker educates the person to a more realistic sense of his responsibility to his community, tries to encourage in him not only efforts on his own behalf and in his role in the family, but also as a citizen. Critics of social work say either that social workers are too 'moralistic' or not 'moralistic' enough. Ideally, one is not 'moralistic' at all, but one must have a strong sense of social, moral and spiritual values for oneself; personally and professionally. One does not seek to impose these, but to help the client strengthen himself as a human being through his own moral associations with religious and civic groups. (1949:14-15)

Apart from the trenchant individualism of social work with its explicit implications about the primacy of the individual in determining his social condition, nothing betrays the essential conservatism of social work more

1. As the United Nations survey on social work education maintained, social work has as its aim to help people become "self-sufficient members of the community" (1950:14).
than its conception and utilisation of existing social relations and formations as constituting normality. (1) Davis (1958:59) has remarked that once the existing social formation is taken as the yard-stick of normality and health, it is impossible to criticise "the basic institutions of society, because it is in terms of these that conduct is ultimately judged to be satisfactory (i.e. adjusted) or unsatisfactory". Nevertheless, as Davis himself has also argued, this does not preclude criticism of particular social practices or norms (ibid). Thus social work has been able traditionally to maintain that one of its tasks is to press for social reform and criticise those parts of 'society' which are antithetical to the interests of the 'people' (c.f. BASW 1971), while at the same time continuing to hold that the existing society constitutes normality and health. Merrell (1969) has fully captured social work's stance on social reform:

If it is part of the social worker's function to help people adjust to the expectations of the society in which they live, it is equally part of their function to criticise these expectations, describing some as unrealistic or irrational, and others as unethical. Society has no business to expect social workers to further a one-sided process of adaption, all the change being demanded of clients and none at all in social expectations. Society must expect to be told by social workers that their role is to mediate an active reciprocity of relationships involving social as well as individual change; it is not that of engineering a passive conformity to unchanging social norms. (Cited Butrym 1986:113) (2)

Yet at the same time, social work demonstrates an absolutely unquestioned and unquestioning assumption that conformity to the prevailing moral

1. For a thorough exegesis of the conservatism underlying the 'social pathologists' (workers) use of 'the society' see Mills (1943). Among the most recent and influential attacks on the concept that contemporary capitalist societies can be taken to equal health and normality has been the work of R.D. Laing in psychiatry.

2. The reformist stance of social work - it seeks not only to reconcile the individual to society but society to the individual - also helps in masking its social control character. Unfortunately for social work, as I shall be discussing later, its structural location in local government severely prohibits social workers from making any structural criticism, especially of any other branch of the local State apparatus.
Economy is the essence of maturity and human self-realisation:

By and large one tries to stir up, their concern for themselves as individuals, their desire to live their lives a bit more adequately, and their imagination as regards others; to help them see that continually banging one's head against the wall of authority is a childish reaction and that it is more adult to internalise discipline. (Tilley 1955:30)

Social casework is concerned with social relationships, therefore with the reality of social situations, and clients seem often to be defective in a sense of responsibility and in ability to deal with reality. (Howarth 1951:31)

The aim of casework is to help the client to take on responsibility for himself and to carry his ability to solve this problem into other situations in life... to help the client to act responsibly and rationally, instead of impulsively... (Heywood 1964:50; emphasis given)

Social work then, is our society's invention of an instrument, publicly and privately forged and supported, by which its avowed goals for human welfare may be actualised. What social work has invented are the ways and means, the strategies, the modes of action by which these values may be realised. Social work's specialness then, is at the level of proximate instrumental values.... We survive as a profession when we represent and carry into action our culture's values and beliefs and commitments. We thrive as a profession when we can forge and demonstrate the ways by which those desired and desirable goals may be approached, reached for, and occasionally even grasped and actualised. (Perlman 1976:382, 390; emphasis given)

As Butrym (1976:41) indicated, "the promotion of a 'good life' by social work has to do not with some abstract or distant ideal, but with the tangible life situation of a human being or a human group". It is this immediacy of concern that provides much of the rationale and legitimacy of social work's position. It would be impossible to deny that for the vast majority of social work's client population life is difficult, arduous and unpleasant, and it is not naive of social workers to maintain that if their clients could come to pay their rents on time, care for their children in a manner acceptable to the State, refrain from delinquency and so on, then their lives would be happier if only for the fact that they would not be constantly confronting authority. Yet despite social work's sincere commitment to the welfare of clients, its uncritical acceptance of the given social reality combined with a Whiggen view of social progress inevitably leads it into conservatism and most crucially into supporting a
social system that will continue to produce the damaged and unhappy people
that it confronts everyday in its practice.

It should be no surprise therefore, to find that social work's values of
self-determination and self-realisation are closely defined, for as
Garforth noted:

Do we really want to develop all a child's potentialities—pugnacity,
sexual aberrations, unhealthy imaginings and so on? Of course not. Some we deliberately choose to develop, others we suppress or sublimate.

(1962:21)

And Frankel has more pointedly highlighted the determinate character of
this 'principle':

"...there are few social workers... who would think of themselves as
having succeeded in this laudable exercise if the client who was the
object of their ministrations, having been brought to a condition of
self-determination, self-determinedly went out and became a successful
embezzler. The fulfilment of individual potentialities does not
really include the fulfilment of many and all kinds of potentiality. The
concept of 'self-determination' for all its apparent moral
neutrality, is a morally loaded term.

(1966:152)

To avoid confusion about the determinate character of client self-determination
Hollis (1964:153) has suggested that "self-responsibility might even be
a better term"; for self determination she argues could be interpreted to
mean "the right of the individual to pursue his own ends single-mindedly
and with ruthless disregard for the rights and well-being of others".

However, social workers generally avoid the possibilities of such an
interpretation by the inclusion of the phrase 'so far as these are socially
acceptable' at the end of any statement on the rights of an individual:

The basic assumption upon which social work values rest is that every
child is born to a right to be regarded as having intrinsic, unique
(and therefore, immeasurable) worth throughout its life, and therefore
that his whole environment should be as such as to allow and assist
the full development of all his capacities (so far as these are
socially acceptable).

(Anon, 1968:1)

A number of writers (Pearson 1975:21; Gottschalk 1974:130) have drawn
attention to the way in which social work ideology makes a "false split
between this 'thing' called society and these splinters called 'individuals'."
(Pearson ibid). In his discussion of social work's values Gottschalk
wrote that:

On the whole these statements are highly person centred; the individual is the focus and society serves as the backdrop. Whereas the emphases differ, we repeatedly sense that, implicit within these statements is a view of the individual versus society. This is assumed to be the fundamental contest of life and the aim lies in discovering an acceptable but difficult balance. (op cit:130)

This split between the 'individual' and 'society' which is explicit in so many social work texts, is never more than partial and is derived from the particular character of the social work task with clients; it is also fully consistent with its overall philosophy of citizenship. Thus, as we noted, in the writings of the Bosanquets' and Loch there was no tension between society and the 'mature', 'self-determining' citizen, for citizenship implied by definition that the individual was in accord with the social ethos. The client however, is a client, or an 'outsider' precisely because his character and behaviour is not in accord with the social ethos; in other words the client is a person who is not socialised. Consequently it is not a sufficient critique of social work to claim that it makes it a 'false split' between individuals and society. The division between the individual and society expressed in social work ideology applies only to clients. A more thorough critique of social work must start by challenging social work's assumption that society is consensual and homogenous and exists to further the well-being of all individuals:

Society is considered as an organised social system, the operations of which are oriented toward meeting the needs of society's members. Changes in the system are understandable in terms of changes in the functions or purposes of its various parts. Societal integration is a goal that is never completely reached and society might be conceived as a dynamic but imperfect system of inter-locking parts which contain some non-functional and some malfunctioning elements/the clients/. Such a view of society is particularly useful to social work /for a number of/ reasons:
1. The often stated ultimate purpose of social work implies a view of society in terms of which its organs are intended to serve the needs of society's members........
2. By implying a reciprocal relationship, this point of view is compatible with the value position in the Nature of Social Work, that the relationship between society and the individual is reciprocal, with society through its social institutions providing the conditions which enhance the social functioning of individuals and individuals being capable of and interested in changing social institutions through changes in the social norms. (Boehm 1959:69; my emphasis)
We believe in the wholeness of individuals and the interdependence of society, national and international, cultural, economic and spiritual. We believe in interest groups rather than in classes and in the mutuality of all interests in the steady enlarging and enriching of the objectives of welfare.

(Hamilton 1950:7)

Returning once more after this slight diversion to client self-determination, it is interesting to note that in recent years there has been a considerable debate among social work theorists about the applicability of this principle (1). To some degree this debate has been purely academic and has not greatly influenced its currency within the profession (c.f. BASW 1977:23). Along with CCETSW's recent study of 'Values in Social Work' (1976) the internal debate about client self-determination appears to be concerned primarily with tightening up some of the concepts used by social workers in order to enhance their status, particularly among social scientists (2).

Nevertheless, as Whittington has argued, there is a wide gulf between the theoretical definition of client self-determination and its application in practice:

"we continue to profess belief, sincere as it may be, in the practicality of a principle which, remaining unmodified is irreconcilable with so many fundamentals of casework therapy and the realities of most casework practice."

(1975:91)

1. The main articles and contributions in this debate have recently been brought together in a book edited by McDermott (1975).

2. Social workers look to social scientists as an important and related resource, but as Righton has noted:

"Many social scientists... scorn the woolliness and imprecision which they detect in the thinking of social workers, and deplore their stubborn faith in methods which do not yield readily to testing.(A statistician of my acquaintance dismisses social work students as 'soggy, second-class citizens'.)"

1969:25

It is against this prevailing image of soft and woolly thinking that there have been recent attempts to tighten up some of the concepts used in social work. CCETSW's study, 'Values in Social Work' was produced by a working party composed almost entirely of academics and given the immensely wide ranging nature of their discussions was intended to be no more than an attempt to bring 'intellectual rigour' to social work literature (1976:84).
That there should be such a gulf between the theory and practice of self-determination in social work would appear to be self-evident. After all the raison d'etre of social work is to change and modify the behaviour of clients. Moreover, as Cannon (1970:253-4) noted, there is a predominant strand within social work's perception of its clients that asserts the irrationality and immaturity of clients and which precludes any possibility of rational self-determination. For example, in an introductory text, the National Institute for Social Work Training maintained that:

The individual's rights of self-determination stems from the democratic principle of freedom of choice, with its attendant right of non-conformity. It is a sign of maturity to want to make one's own decisions, and choose one's way of life, but these rights must be set in the context of the individual's obligations as a member of society. The individual has the right to make his own decisions, but sometimes he is too young, too unrealistic or too sick to be able to do so; and sometimes he is too anti-social to be allowed to do so. The social worker must sometimes take some measure of control, guide the client, and set limits to his behaviour. In most socially irresponsible people there is some degree of immaturity which tends to make them dependent on the social worker. (1964:21; cited Cannon 1970:254; my emphasis)

For a large number of clients the fact of being a client involves an inevitable diminution of rights. For some, such as juvenile delinquents and families who have had their children removed into care this loss of rights has been formally sanctioned by the courts. For the majority, their loss of rights stems from the manner in which they are treated by social workers, which prohibit any real possibility of client self-determination as this probation officer's account of his work exemplifies:

by persuasive argument, encouragement, straight talking, exhortation and suggestion, attempt to change the direction of the probationer's behaviour towards an honest and industrious life.

(Newton 1956:126) (1)

1. According to Greenwood it is one of the characteristics of a 'professional relationship' that the professional is powerful and the client submissive: "In a professional relationship, however, the professional dictates what is good or evil for the client, who has no choice but to accept the professional judgement". (1957:48)
The discrepancies and the obvious gulf between the abstract principle of client self-determination and its application in practice cannot be merely brushed aside as yet another example of social work's conceptual slackness. The high survival of this principle in the face of such contradictions (which have been acknowledged by social workers themselves) does point to its important position as part of social work's legitimating ideology (1). An ideology which is directed at both clients and social workers. Younghusband for example, argued that:

the client's right to self-determination, /is/ a principle which has been one of the traditional safeguards for social workers against being used as agents for conformity. (1970:12)

This statement was undoubtedly a product of a context in which social work was coming under increasing fire from radical sociologists and social workers as an agency of social control, and signifies a profound naivety among many sincere social workers who could not accept that their concern to help their clients to what they considered a 'better' and 'normal' life could ever be classified as social control (2). Nevertheless, despite the inaccuracy of Younghusband's assertion in terms of the reality of social work practice, the concept does continue to have some currency albeit in a modified form, as a statement of social work's intent with respect to clients, which in turn, points to another important difference between 'hard' and 'soft' control strategies.

1. Leonard (1965) has argued that client self-determination, "has been a powerful and valuable myth, playing an important part in the ideological superstructure of social work..." (cited Cannon op cit:254)

2. In contrast, we do not always find a similar reluctance among the managers of social workers to accept their social control functions. In a discussion of the differences between the home-help service and social work, Bessell who is the Director of Warwickshire social services (1977) noted that: "Its /home helps/ methods of helping are very diverse and owe nothing to the social work model, being derived in the main, from a concept of service whereas most social work, with very few exceptions has been developed for the purpose of social control." (1976:25).
Thus, it is at the specific level of gaining the client's trust and co-operation that client self-determination has its greatest impact, and takes on the character not of an abstract principle but of an actual technique. The 'hard' strategies do not demand as an integral part of their functioning any substantial co-operation from their 'clients'. In fact, they can be classified as 'hard' on account of their coercion. 'Soft' strategies however, do necessitate a considerable degree of client co-operation if they are to have any hope of realising their incorporative objectives. Unlike the prison service for example, which has no need to project itself as a friend of the prisoners, social workers must be seen as having a commitment to the welfare and happiness of their clients. Consequently, statements about social work's belief in client self-determination and the integrity of the individual are a vital part of this process of winning over their clients.

Thus, as Bernstein has argued, client self-determination occupies a central role in social work theory and methods because it constitutes the key to the social worker's attempt permanently to modify the behaviour of the client:

"The great bulk of social work practice has internal change as its goal. Here we find that imposing, telling or giving orders do not work well. Only as the client is thoroughly involved and comes to accept on deepening levels the process of change can our methods be effective in relation to our goals...."

1. The need for social workers to portray themselves as 'friends' of the clients has led to many criticisms, most notably from the 'hard' social control agencies such as the police, as being too 'soft' with deviants. Most social work texts do include some discussion of the ambivalence with which social work is treated and urge practitioners to accept such attitudes as inevitable: "Inherent in society's ambivalence towards particular groups of its members is the expectation that social work will act as both its conscience and protector. What I want to emphasize (because even social workers do not always appear to realise it) is that both these expectations are equally genuine. Society both wants and seeks ways of expressing its concern and its responsibility for those less fortunate than the rest (sic); it also desires and seeks some means of protecting itself against what it perceives as constituting a threat to its values and its stability." (Butrym 1976:111)
The delinquent can be forcibly placed in a training school, but he cannot be forced to change his notions of the kind of life he wants to lead. For this the inner boy must be involved, must decide to re-examine and to change. This is a very important reason for emphasizing so much the significance of the relationship with the worker. Through it our boy learns to trust and to have confidence in the worker so that he can share some of his precious inward self with a view toward changing it. Only the boy can make this decision. Without his consent we can probably modify his outward behaviour; with it there is the opportunity for changes in inward values, an essential and basic purpose of social work.

(S. Bernstein 1960:8)

Here, then, we have the essence of the 'soft' social control strategy, around which the social work values of client self-determination, integrity of the individual, confidentiality and non-judgemental attitudes slip into place. Irrespective of how the client has arrived at the door of the social worker, self-referred or otherwise, the primary objective becomes to gain the trust and co-operation of the client. Tilley maintained that for the majority of clients their experience of 'social institutions' was not "to their taste", and that most of them would have been rejected on account of their anti-social behaviour. Thus he writes:

The caseworker has to reverse, this, giving them full attention as people and showing a warm concern for their value as such, combined with an unemotional acceptance of what they have done. It is only in this kind of atmosphere that the client is likely to lower the defences with which he normally protects himself against the criticisms of society.

(1955:280)

Consequently, it is for the sake of winning over the clients and bringing them back into a harmonious relationship with State institutions - it is hoped that the clients through their 'satisfying relationship' with a social worker will be able to generalise this experience to include other State agencies - that so much emphasis is placed on instrumental principles such as client self-determination and the qualities of acceptance among social workers. Nevertheless, this does not mean that social workers approve or condone the anti-social behaviour of clients, for as Hollis remarked:

There are many times when we think our client is in the wrong, that
his behaviour is unwise, to put it even more strongly sometimes that his behaviour is truly wicked.

(1964:152)

Rather, an initial stance of acceptance is recommended as being necessary in order to gain the co-operation of the clients and ensure that they come to trust the social worker:

It is important that the clients should feel free to say what they like to the social worker.

(Tilley, op cit:30) (1)

For example, Armitage in a discussion of a student's work with a homeless family noted that:

The situation called for acceptance of this inadequate couple, as they were, before there was any hope of helping them, through a casework relationship, to begin to grow-up and manage their own affairs more independently.

(1968:1141)

Despite the many injunctions in the texts for social workers to be 'warm', 'empathic' and 'accepting' towards their clients, the client/social worker relationship cannot be characterised as being wholly permissive or non-directive (c.f. Plowman 1969:15-16). Rather it is a relationship which can be best described as being 'permissive authoritarianism'. In the initial stages the social worker is advised to adopt a predominantly permissive stance in order to gain the clients' trust, but once that confidence is gained the worker can begin to be more directive, which as Tilley noted:

is usually only appropriate when one knows the client well and when the relationship with him is not too brittle to stand it.

(op cit:30)

1. We find in the COS's writings a similar instruction to charity workers to be tactful and 'sympathetic' towards the clients. The following passage is an extract from the article 'How to take down a Case' which was published in the COR (April 1895) - other extracts are reproduced in the Methods Appendix:

"Discourtesy, harshness and dryness are never more deprecated than in dealing with the poor. Brusque words frighten the timid and those who are out of health, they discompose the nervous, put out the dull and slow. Harshness is equally out of place, for the worker should not be a judge passing sentence, but a friend seeking to remove distress. Dryness and an official tone are faults less easy to avoid, and regular workers are sometimes liable to both. On the other hand, a friendly manner which is merely professional must be to some extent insincere." (p.144)
An excessively 'heavy' directive role has been shunned by social work in its attempt to bring about a fundamental change in the clients — "to help them function a little better, with more personal satisfaction and adequacy in their roles as marriage partners, as workers or neighbours or citizens" (Younghusband 1970:5). The task that social work has set itself has been to persuade clients to take for themselves the appropriate values and forms of behaviour which have been deemed essential to healthy citizenly life. And, as Bannatyne argued at the beginning of this century such internal change cannot be brought about by force:

We cannot compel it, we cannot even persuade it against its will; it would be a less great and precious thing if we could. We can only allow it to grow and take care that the food which nourishes this growth is such as will enable it to assimilate all good and resist all hurtful influences.

(1902:341-2)

All of these points were brought together and well expressed in the United Nations Report on social work training:

If they [the clients] have some motivation to change, this is enhanced if they are respected, understood and believed in. They do not change through being exhorted to behave differently or told what they "ought" to do, unless they have a strong emotional bond with those who make these demands.

(1958:198; my emphasis)

To realise the social work task therefore, social workers are taught to present themselves as a model which can then be copied by the clients. The model most favoured being that of an idealised "good" parent.

All of these techniques reflect the greater acceptance of the therapists active involvement and use of his own person as a model; not a perfect or even always a 'good' model, but at least a clear expression of views and attitudes that those needing help can see for themselves and accept or reject accordingly.


The apparent non-directiveness of the social worker is further reinforced by the implicit assumption within social work's conception of the individual that the client has problems which occasion a disequilibrium which in turn motivates the client to seek a solution. (This concept of homeostasis has recently come to the fore-front of social work theory with the upsurge of 'system theory'.) In her discussion of the human
personality, Hollis outlined the manner in which the personality seeks equilibrium:

Systems theorists characterise the human personality as an organismic system, an 'open' type system that is in constant interplay with its surroundings, absorbing stimuli from the environment and rearranging its own internal mechanisms to maintain its own equilibrium while adjusting to changes without... The familiar id, super-ego and ego of Freudian personality theory can be viewed as such structural components of the personality. (Hollis 1968:192) (1)

It is widely assumed that most clients, by definition, are in a state of disequilibrium, which in turn means that consciously or unconsciously they are searching or striving for equilibrium. Thus, although social workers may have to intervene to redefine the source of disequilibrium (Fantl 1964:189), the general stance of non-directiveness has been reinforced by the notion that the clients themselves are predisposed to achieving a new equilibrium which can be arrived at by their contact with 'reality' in the form of the social worker.

Underpinning such views of the human personality there seems to be a pervasive belief, which is crucial to the very possibility of social work, that no individual is ever intrinsically 'bad' (c.f. Garrett 1970:16-17). It is this 'faith' in people accompanied by the belief that everyone is redeemable, that contributes to the 'humanitarian' image, of modern social work. Yet this 'humanitarianism' of social work can and does tend to support a peculiar conservatism by denying the reality of the clients' deviations.

As we have already noted, the prevailing ideology of social work has asserted that the most important characteristic of 'humaness' and self-actualisation is the individual's capacity to live harmoniously within the existing framework of social institutions and accepted codes of

1. In her article the 'Psychology of Social Progress' (1897) Helen Bosanquet also argued that the inter-play between disequilibrium and equilibrium was the prime motor of personality development.
conduct. The Idealist writings of Bosanquet and Loch probably constitute the most concise statements of this perspective within the social work tradition as they explicitly elucidated a theory of the State and social institutions as the distillates of an ideal humanity; the essence of mankind and the concrete expression of man's (true and only) purpose (c.f. B. Bosanquet 1898:122-4; Corrigan 1977:chp 5). While contemporary social workers have not concerned themselves with articulating such philosophical 'first principles', they do remain ubiquitous throughout social work ideology and form the foundations of its middle range conceptions of normality and man in society.

The most widespread form of denying 'meaning' to clients' deviance is through their actions being classified as 'irrational' and 'immature'. Such conceptions of deviance are powerful and do resonate with the everyday experience of those, like social workers, who are in direct contact with deviants. Many clients do exhibit patterns of behaviour that are often self-defeating, and as some radical criminologists have argued (Young 1974), to posit the behaviour of some clients as rational can be misleading. Certainly many of the early issues of Case Con (the magazine for revolutionary social workers), in their attack on the established social work view, suffered from this tendency to argue for the rationality and the ability of clients to 'make out' when it would have been more accurate to have conceptualised the bulk of clients as having been brutalised and damaged by their experiences of living with capitalism.

It should be of no surprise that social work theory takes little or no account of the collective and structural character of the clients' situation and the manner in which their existence is brutalised. Even on the left there has been very little attention given to the way capitalism and the experience of it can and does affect people other than in vague reference to alienation. The few exceptions have been those detailed accounts of how workers experience wage labour, exemplified by Beynon's
Working for Ford (1973):

I never thought I'd survive. I used to come home from work and fall straight asleep. My legs and arms used to be burning. And I knew hard work. I'd been on buildings but this place was a bastard then. I didn't have any relations with my wife for months. Now that's not right, is it? No work should be that hard.

(ibid:75)

It is the refusal to acknowledge the structural determinants of behaviour and personality that tell on the 'residual' sections of the working class from whence the bulk of social work's clients are drawn, that permits social work's optimism with regard to the perfectability of clients. Once the structural features are ignored or given a secondary status, a sustained focus on the individual and their families becomes possible, and the problems presented by the client are reduced to manageable proportions. Such reductionism is evident in many social work texts and is exemplified by terms such as environment being used to refer to the family, and especially the parents - "the actual makers of the environment" (Heywood 1959:178, my emphasis).

Consequently, while I share with social work the belief that no individual is intrinsically 'bad', I would contest the foundations upon which it has established such a commitment, and, most importantly, would disagree profoundly with its assumption that individual self-actualisation can ever be considered as living in conformity with capitalism or, that it can ever be accomplished in such a society.

Concluding Remarks.

We have, therefore, in the case of social work a particularly clear example, of a State sponsored incorporationist strategy. At every level of its theory and practice there is a direct functional concern to bring the client 'back into' society. For those clients who can not be brought back in, or more especially for those who continue to transgress accepted modes of conduct, 'hard' social control measures are brought to bear. The
'career' of a persistent juvenile offender exemplifies how the strategies can be switched; a first offender (if the offence is not considered too serious, or not one that might be the subject of a current 'moral crusade' such as soccer hooliganism) will normally be fined or given a conditional discharge. A subsequent offence normally results in a 'supervision order' being made, the conditions of which stipulate regular meetings between the offender and a social worker. Should there be many more offences committed then there is ever more likelihood of a hardening in the social reaction with the offender being either removed from home, or sent to a Detention Centre or an Attendance Centre. Such career patterns could be traced for many of the client categories.

It should be noted that while I have characterised social work as a 'soft' strategy, it is not without its hard edges. The switch therefore from soft to hard need not mean that another agency becomes involved. Thus, taking the example of homelessness, a social work agency may adopt an initially soft stance in which it guarantees the payment of rent and possibly other bills so as to avoid a threat of eviction in an attempt to change the behaviour of the family. However, if there is no change as a result of this type of intervention (1), it is most probable that the

1. There is very little information on the actual practice of social work. Social workers are very reluctant to discuss those 'cases' where punitive action has been taken, primarily because they regard such action as signifying a failure on their part, and also many of them do find it unpleasant. Similarly, we have little, if any information on some of the inevitable unintended consequences of social work intervention. In informal discussions with social workers in Manchester, Nottingham, London and County Durham, it has become clear that clients have adopted certain strategies to ensure the fullest possible aid from social services departments. For example it seems that many clients who have families with young children are aware of the great priority that local authorities have given to the prevention of child battering (c.f. Culham 1976:1168) in the wake of the Maria Colwell and Stephen Meurs tragedies. Thus in a private communication with a social worker in Nottingham, she reported that many clients are obtaining assistance with payment of bills by phoning the social services and saying that they are afraid that they may batter their children unless some assistance is forthcoming.
social work agency would withdraw its assistance and allow the family to be evicted, even though this may result in the agency incurring substantial costs through having to remove the children into care.

While the 'soft' and incorporationist approach of social work has certain advantages over the hard strategies - it is often cheaper than institutional care; it promises far more in terms of effective prevention and breaking into the cycle of deprivation, although there has been no major assessment of social work's effectiveness in this country (c.f., Rodgers and Dixon 1960:155); and, as Beaumont (1976:75) noted, its very existence has advantages for the State in providing "an acceptable face of social control, /and/ a liberal veneer which deflects any concern felt by the general public for the welfare of the deprived members of society" - it does nevertheless contain certain problems, actual and potential. The possibility of re-educating and re-socialising clients requires a considerable investment of time and labour by social workers. Despite the introduction of various methods, including community and group work, which allow social workers to deal with greater numbers at any one time, it is becoming ever more apparent that many social workers do not have enough time to establish the requisite relationship with their clients which would supposedly allow for their effective intervention (c.f. Haines 1967:18). But, more important than some of these 'technical' problems, the 'soft' incorporationist approach demands a great deal from the social worker. The social worker has to be; if the intervention is to have any chance of success, a manifestation of the State, for it is through the social worker that the State is re-presented to the client, as something which is beneficial and not remote, and crucially, something which is worthy of support. Consequently, the social worker "must stand for the values of the society in which he works" (Heywood 1964:42) and must be able to convey them to his clients.

Some of the problems confronting the State with regard to the qualities of those who are the "guardians of the social trust" (Butrym 1976:119), have
become apparent in the recent 'great debate on education'. In the course of that debate teachers, who occupy a structural position similar to that of social workers and share many of their characteristics as 'makers of citizens', have come in for a great deal of criticism and have been held responsible for many of the so-called problems of the education system (c.f. Layard 1977:11), and the waywardness and indiscipline of young people. In an article entitled 'Establishment Thinking as a Threat to Capitalism' (THES 13.5, 1977:17), the Dean of Peterhouse, Cambridge, argued that teachers were demoralising their pupils by encouraging them to be critical in their appreciation of the society in which they lived:

They /the teachers/ will claim - and doubtless actually believe- that they are preserving a free society by helping others to cultivate the practices of free criticism. Alas, the children are in reality presented not with an open choice, but with endless criticism of the social and political structure; and by suggesting that all our inherited values are open to question the teachers are destroying the moral authority of the existing social order. (ibid: my emphasis)

This very brief aside on teachers is meant solely to illustrate the problems confronting the State in ensuring that the people entrusted to socialise and educate the 'people' have the qualities which allow such a goal to be realised. It is of no surprise that Gould's recent pamphlet (1977) on the dangers to 'society' of marxist and radical penetration in higher education should pinpoint social work and teacher education as the two areas of greatest concern. Both of these occupations figure amongst the most important socialisation agencies of the modern State apparatus, and both of them are concerned with inculcating the virtues of citizenship in a particularly personal and individualised manner. Although they are exposed to control within their professional and occupational settings, the primary locus of regulation remains the self-control and discipline of the individual social worker or teacher. Thus the success or failure of their activity ultimately depends on the degree of their commitment to the prevailing social system and their ability to convey it to their 'charges'. It is for these reasons that professional education has been accorded with so much importance by the professions and the State, and which I now go on to explore further in the third section of this study.
SECTION THREE

SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION AND THE MAKING OF 'SUPER-CITIZENS'

Introduction

CHAPTER 5

Social Work Education: The Divine Ideal.

CHAPTER 6

Super-Citizens: The Selection of Students and the Qualities Expected of Social Workers.

CHAPTER 7

The Placement.
Section 3

Social Work Education and the Making of 'Super-Citizens'.

Introduction

The last four chapters of this thesis examine in more detail what I maintain is the central focus of social work education, namely the making of social workers into 'super-citizens'. That is, ensuring social workers are capable and trustworthy for the task of making clients into citizens.

It is my contention that by recognising this central concern of social work education - this "obsession with the socialisation of students" as one social work teacher recently noted (Brandon 1977:4) - that we can begin to make sense of the form, content and historical development of social work education in this country. For example, take the length of time of social work courses. In both the one and two year courses students actually spend very little time in the academic institutions studying a vast array of subjects (see the Placement Appendix). Not surprisingly, many academics and students have poured scorn on the low level and cursory manner with which the courses deal with much of the subject matter. However, such criticisms of social work courses often misses the point. Social work education has never had as its brief to produce academics or theoreticians, but to turn out social workers: individuals who can personally represent the State to their clients.

What I want to convey in this section of the study is the complexity of this socialisation process, and how social work education has set about its task. It is not a mere matter of pouring a certain set of ideas into the empty vessels of social work students. Super-citizenship is far more than this. The values and relations of this society - the "very stuff" of social work - have to be thoroughly internalised and activated in social workers if they are to achieve their incorporative objectives with clients.
The bulk of clients may form a powerless residuum, unorganised and with few links with the organised labour movement (c.f. Coates and Silburn 1970), but social work does not take place in a vacuum where anything goes. Social workers have to be able to sustain their particular world view in the face of a reality which can and does challenge it. Ruling ideas are only ruling ideas to the extent that they rule. To rule means establishing their validity and universality in the face of alternatives; to crush and invalidate even the most hesitant suggestions of alternatives. Ruling also necessitates rulers of many varieties in virtually every sphere of social life. A ruler is clearly at risk when he doubts the validity of the rule he is sustaining or succumbs to explanations which similarly challenge it. He is also at risk if his rule comes to be widely challenged. All of these features demand a certain strength and capacity which in social work falls largely to social work education to develop.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the COS along with the Women's University Settlement (c.f. Sewell 1925:31-32) began to consider and develop an educational programme of lectures and seminars to supplement the existing training, apprenticeship system. In 1895 a Joint Lectures Committee was formed (1), which seven years later was restructured to become the School of Sociology. Running through all the COS reports and articles which surrounded these developments was an expressed dissatisfaction with the previously dominant apprenticeship method, although it was widely stated that this method was a useful and necessary part of the training of social workers (H. Bosanquet 1900/1952:52). Under the apprenticeship scheme new social workers were taught the techniques of the work, such as understanding office routine, the filing and case paper system, how to record cases and so forth; in other words, the bureaucratic processes attendant on the COS's investigative and casework approach. However, the COS leadership maintained, as have subsequent contemporary social work leaders, that social work was not an occupation requiring mere technical expertise alone. If this were the case the apprenticeship mode of training would suffice. Rather, the heart of social work has always been considered to be an ethical ideal of how people should live, bound up with a view of the ultimate purpose of society (2). It is this ethical ideal which informs the practice of social work, and defines the goals to which the techniques are directed. Thus, writing in 1900, Gow, argued:

1. Much of the factual detail about this Committee and the timetable of events leading up to the establishment of the School of Sociology in 1903 are to be found in M. Smith, 1952.

2. "It is almost a truism to say that we must know what we want the community or an institution or a person to be before we have any chance of making it that thing, or indeed doing anything effective with it." (Urwick 1904:185)
strongly that the primary objective of social work training was to develop in the neophyte workers a commitment to the principles which underpinned the social work task (namely the enhancement of citizenship among the working class):

The ultimate aim of all charitable work, as it is of existence, is the perfecting of humanity, the making of all people individually into good citizens - happy, independent, self-respecting men and women, all equal in the obligation upon them to discharge personal responsibility, not some helpless or even obedient children looking to others to assume their responsibilities for them. What we aim at in training for charitable work of greater or less difficulty is how best to enable the worker to stimulate admiration for the best things - love of righteousness - and how best to discern hope and develop power of attaining to it. In order to do this for other people, clearly he must possess these qualities of admiration and hope in himself, and the question is, therefore, by what means may he himself best become largely possessed by them?

Bannatyne, who became a tutor in the School of Sociology succinctly noted the primacy of the ethical ideal when she claimed that the first step towards 'good' social work,

lies in our asking ourselves the question what is it that we want to do for the poor when we decide to take part in charitable work at all.

And the failing of the apprenticeship approach to training, continued Bannatyne, was precisely its inability to instil in new workers the all important ethical ideal which inspired all good social work:

It was believed in the old days that our ordinary education was finished when we reached the mature age of 17 or 18, so training in charitable work is often spoken of as if it lay solely in the possession of certain definite information, easily acquired in a few months, and thereafter to be utilised in cleverly piecing together those who need this or that particular kind of help . . . But good as it undoubtedly is to know about the Poor Law and School Board and Church and charitable works, and good as it is to become acquainted with the real conditions of the homes of the poor through our own observations, and essential as all this is as part of our training, do not let us forget that it is only a part and that not even the most important. It is a larger ideal, and one more aglow with life,

1. Similarly Bernard Bosanquet wrote that the 'good' social worker was one who knew,

what the life of a first class workman is, and therefore, what they want the poor to become.

(1901:305)
that inspires so much enthusiasm in some of us to be trained and
train, or in other words, to discover, awaken, and develop in
ourselves and our fellows, new social powers of helpfulness and
goodness. Through these new powers we hope to build up such a
noble independence among the poor, until one day the art of
charity will lose itself in the larger art of a perfected
citizenship.
( ibid:333-4)

Holman, following on from this similarly maintained that:

Training which is confined to an office is of real value and
should in no case be omitted, but alone it may leave the learner
rather limited by routine than raised to the fuller freedom given
by an understanding of root principles.
(1914:83) (1)

The COS's influential committee on training which was appointed in June
1897 reported that the prevailing training system was most deficient
with regard to the executive members of the Society. Executive members
had a critical role in the Society for they were the people who supervised
the day to day work of the District Committees and the charity workers;
they were the 'experienced' workers with whom new recruits were placed.
So far as the Training Committee was concerned these were the crucial
individuals:

There can be no doubt that every trained charity organiser becomes
in turn a centre of charity organisation effective in proportion
to his grasp of principle and strength of conviction.
(1898:129-130; my emphasis)

Just as Bannatyne and Gow argued, the Committee asserted the centrality
of conviction and faith in the Society's principles as being the crucial
factor in the very possibility of good social work and far outweighing
in importance, technical competence. Indeed, the Committee had been

1. In her important paper to the COS council on training, Helen Bosanquet
similarly argued that;
"It apprenticeship was not altogether a bad method; but it was rough
and ready, and perhaps rather dangerous in several ways. It is very
difficult for the worker trained on these lines to get hold of any
general outlook upon the problems he is handling. Sensible ideas he
may get in a kind of way by dint of seeing cases classified and treated
on fairly consistent lines; but he will tend to work by dead rule instead
of by living principles if he has never had leisure to escape from
details." (1900:52)
formed, and were making recommendations to extend training schemes because there was a general impression...that there still prevails amongst some of the executive members of District Committees a want of grasp of the principles for which the Society exists, and a want of enthusiasm for their fulfilment..... 'General business', involving the discussion of principles aroused only a languid interest at District Committees, and the discussion was as a rule confined to one or two members of the Committee. This want of interest in principles was not confined to the new recruits alone, but extended itself even to those who had been working for the Society for a considerable period. (ibid:130)

By no means could we argue that the COS established a School of Sociology only because of its concern over the inadequacy of the apprenticeship mode to inculcate principles. Nevertheless, principles of social work do occupy a central role in both the first and the now current courses. Moreover, the very concept of social work education as against social work training has been articulated by social workers as referring to the importance of principles and values which distinguishes the activity from anything merely technical:

Training suggests primarily the acquirement of a technique; it implies, in Professor Dewey's description, formation of habits with relatively little regard to the meaning of what is done. Vines and trees are trained; animals are trained; soldiers and apprentices are trained. (Tufts 1923:91)

At the outset we should probably agree that the word 'training' is an unfortunate one with which to describe preparation for a service for human welfare. We speak of training animals - i.e., making them behave in a stereotyped way which is convenient to their owners... The word education has a very different meaning, and this is the word that I prefer to use in describing preparation for social work. (Clement Brown 1945:181) (1)

Apprenticeship cannot be called training for social work, for it gives the worker no well-rounded view of the whole field but prepares him merely for specific tasks within a single organisation. (Steiner 1921:6)

1. It is interesting to note that the current Council which co-ordinates social work education in this country is called the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work. Training in terms of learning the techniques of the job is still an important component of the overall educational programme.
There are two dimensions to the centrality of principles in social work, both of which in varying degrees have implications for practice. One is directly instrumental, the other we could categorise as 'hegemonic' which Williams noted has:

as one of its key features, a particular way of seeing the world, and human nature and relationships. It is different in this sense from the notion of 'world view', in that the ways of seeing the world and ourselves and others are not just intellectual but political facts, expressed over a range from institutions to relationships and consciousness.

(R. Williams 1976:118)

Social work education as a whole, rather than any specific subject within it, can be said to have as one of its major tasks a concern to develop within students a particular hegemonic view of the world. In the discussion on the construction of social work's knowledge base I have already indicated one of the ways in which this task is approached and attempted, and in subsequent chapters on the selection procedures and placement components of courses I shall be extending this analysis. Many writers on both the left and right have identified social work education as the major locus of professional socialisation, and have accorded it with considerable power in the production of 'good' social workers: 'good' in the sense that they have internalised the values and ethics of social work. The cartoon on page 204 taken from Social Work Today typifies this view of social work education. Some of the radical critics of social work have been specific in identifying certain aspects of social work courses as contributing to the conservative and quiescent stance of social workers in the face of extensive poverty and squalor:

A more fundamental reason for their inability to understand the significance of the social circumstances in which they are working lies in the systems of training which most social workers have undergone... Heavily influenced by ideas borrowed from psychoanalysis, social work theory emphasised the essential individuality of each client's problems; thus by their training social workers were encouraged to interpret all public ills as personal problems, and saw their role as helping to adjust each client to the 'realities' of his environment.

(Coates and Silburn 1970:16-17)
Sinfield also maintained that the academic content of courses had a crucial bearing on teaching social workers "not to recognise poverty; in fact many were trained to discount or re-interpret it as a symptom of personal inadequacies" (1974:72).

While I would support the general thesis that social work education is one of the key elements in the socialisation of social work students and a major determinant of their subsequent approach to clients and social problems, there is a danger of isolating any one component of it as being of predominant significance. To take out any one part of the education programme such as the academic content can lead to an over-simplified and partial explanation of the socialisation mechanisms involved. Throughout the chapters in this section of the study I shall be exploring the various aspects of social work's education programme to demonstrate how that programme functions as a totality in its attempt to secure the production of 'good' social workers. Furthermore, we must always take note of the context in which that programme functions. Socialisation processes are rarely static, rather they fluctuate with shifting emphases according to the particular context. This has certainly been evident in social work education which may not have always been rapid in its adjustments, but has nevertheless demonstrated a degree of manoeuvrability. Moreover, the effectiveness or otherwise of socialisation processes ultimately depends on the degree to which what is being taught resonates with the consciousness of the students. That consciousness is more often than not formed within the parameters of the dominant ideology. Thus if psychoanalysis does have the influence which writers such as Coates and Silburn have maintained, then it is largely due to its 'fit' with the prevailing view I discussed in Chapter 4, that advances in welfare provisions have largely eroded the structural causes of poverty leaving only personal and familial factors as explanations for its continuance.

Social work education's interest in inculcating a certain world view and perspective among the students and future practitioners has to be related
to the problematic character of the field of social work practice for the ruling classes and the State. Thus, it has been acknowledged from at least the time of the COS that the everyday practice of social work, situated as it is in the very heart of working class destitution and squalor, could have certain undesirable consequences for the consciousness of social workers; individuals who have rarely had any first hand experience of or contact with such conditions and people. A social work ideology which stresses the individualised causes of poverty, which asserts character and personality as the primary determinants of an individual's social condition, is neither self-evident nor easily maintained in either the East End of London at the end of the nineteenth century or in the inner city areas of today. For the evidence that exists in these areas to support an individualised viewpoint, could just as easily support a radically different view which asserted the collective and class specific character of poverty and squalor. The Family Service Association of America for example, gave the following breakdown of its client population:

Blacks are represented in nearly twice their proportion to the general population. Agency clients are substantially below the general population with respect to family income levels. In the total group the number of unemployed and of persons below the poverty level are high.

In other words, we could argue that the major client group of this social work agency are class specific and have problems related to their class position in American society. But the FSAA typifying the social work perspective made no reference to this collective identity of their clients and concluded that:

In the main, clients come with multiple and relatively severe problems that tend to be concentrated in the area of internal family relation-ship and personality problems. (1974:1-2)

But it is not just the material context per se which poses problems for social work. The clients themselves, despite their general isolation from one another and their often stigmatised position vis à vis the working class as a whole, are not merely passive figures, and consciously or not,
much of their behaviour and their situation can be an implicit threat or challenge to social work's world view.

Unfortunately, apart from one or two studies (c.f. Mayer and Timms 1970), there has been very little empirical research on the clients of social work, either in terms of their reactions to social workers or of their class background. Nevertheless, scattered throughout the writings of social workers and in some of the general poverty surveys and articles there are numerous indicators that suggest that clients do not always accept the interpretations or types of assistance offered by social workers. In one of the most recent accounts of poverty in York published by the Guardian (10.10.1977) the journalist cited the reaction of one family to the visit of a social worker:

When the social worker came round about the electricity, their electricity had been cut off last winter due to arrears, she said we should start selling things like the TV. I kicked her out for that; everything in this house was paid for when my husband was working. He earned it. We've got an alsatian dog which costs about £3 a week to feed. Why should we get rid of it? It's our only pleasure in life.

(ibid:4)

One of the most significant reflections of this clash in perspective between clients and social workers is the concept of the 'presenting problem'. Within social work theory the concept of the 'presenting problem' is taken to signify the difficulty the clients have in expressing their problems and in particular, to the difficulty they have in identifying the real cause of their problems as being rooted within their own personalities and family relationships (Fantl 1964:189). According to social work theorists most clients complain of deficiencies in material goods and resources as being the cause of their problems, however it is social work's contention that these are not "the real problems" (Association of Social Workers 1959:22) but rather the manifestation of a 'deeper' personal inadequacy (c.f. National Institute for Social Work Training 1964:32):

the presenting problems are still largely financial ones (usually rent arrears or debts), even though behind most of them lies not just a lack of money, or even financial mismanagement, but deeper disturbances in family relationships.

(Rodgers 1960:89)
In their survey of social work departments, Smith and Harris (1972) cited a number of social workers who actively embraced this perspective. For example, one social worker remarked that:

People say it's a problem of poverty - I don't really agree with this... It's not a question of poverty but mismanagement or emotional difficulties which make them spend the money the wrong way - you can manage on it/welfare benefits/ but it's not the kind of thing an inadequate person can do. (1)

While the predominance of third party referral of clients (c.f. Methods Appendix) does suggest that many potential clients do regard social work with some suspicion, we have very little tangible evidence of actual conflicts between clients and social workers. We do know however, that the COS was unpopular with the working class who objected to the Society's investigative procedures and its assumption that applicants were undeserving until proved otherwise. In recent years there has been a mobilisation among some of the more articulate welfare clients and the formation of groups such as Claimants' Union and the Mental Patients Union which have sought to defend themselves from the actions of social workers among other things. The National Federation of Claimants' Union's handbook for

1. Bradshaw (1974) has given a number of examples of how this anti-materialist perspective of social work effects the distribution of material resources to clients. Bradshaw was involved in the operation of the Family Fund which is sponsored by the Rowntree Memorial Trust. This Trust was given a government grant of £3m to assist severely congenitally handicapped children under the age of 16. The Family Fund was not involved in casework service provision but rather in supplying aids to families with handicapped children, such as lifts in the home, furniture, cars etc. In terms of welfare provision it was significantly different in its generosity. However, the fund relied on reports from social workers to make assessment of need. On the basis of these reports assistance was offered or refused. Commenting on them Bradshaw wrote that:

"many of the reports that are received evidence an appalling ignorance of other services, lack of imagination, punitive judgements and in some cases blind prejudice - sometimes racial." (p.101).

He then goes on to cite some examples of social workers' reports:

"These parents are feckless, raucous and foolish. The family is at subsistence level, but the furnishings requested for the fourth bedroom are unnecessary."

"A coloured immigrant - they want help in having the upstairs tenants evicted. I think it would be wrong indeed to take any steps which would deprive an English family of a house they have enjoyed for many years so that an immigrant family may take over." (all cited p.102)

Bradshaw concluded:

"Although the Family Fund explicitly instructs that no means test is carried out, some families complain that social workers administer one off their own bat." (ibid)
example, maintained that:

The Social Service Departments, that is the Welfare, has power to pay your gas or electric bill or your rent arrears if otherwise your children would have to go into care, but the Welfare are worse than the Social Security - they ask you all sorts of questions about your private life and when they refuse to pay you, there is no right of appeal.
(Cited Carmichael 1974:62)

Similarly the Mental Patient's Union has been active in producing pamphlets for their members which lay down certain strategies which can be used to combat social work interference (c.f. A. Roberts 1976), and there have been more cryptic pamphlets such as one by Radford (undated) entitled 'Training for Clients in Anti-Social Work; (Or: Don't Give Them Baths They'll Only Put Piles In Them)'. Furthermore, from the mid 1960s there has been mounting radical criticism from within social work which has included the formation of groups such as Case Con in 1970 and the publication of critical articles, magazines and books (c.f. Bailey and Brake 1975; Pearson 1975; H. Jones 1975). Many of these critics have taken on the task of presenting what they consider to be some of their clients' objections to social work. Beaumont, who is a militant activist in the Probation Service, argued that:

Most probation clients are reluctant conscripts to the treatment process, unmotivated towards introspection, unused to verbalising their feelings and unconvinced that the fault lies with them. Even for the minority of clients drawn to the casework method, the probation officer is usually structurally constrained from offering the time the method is generally acknowledged to require.
(1976:73; see also Mayer and Timms 1970 who discuss these points in detail).

That social workers operate in an area that is rife with conflict, in a context of poverty that can and does yield a radically different set of explanations than those maintained by social work, has important implications for the tasks of social work education. For social workers to sustain their commitment to their ideology and avowed objectives they must be firmly convinced that their methods and principles are valid and immutable.

The COS leaders were well aware that charity workers had to have a cast iron belief in the righteousness of self-reliance and the centrality of character
if they were to sustain what they regarded as good social work practice.

It was a common argument of the COS, and particularly of Bernard Bosanquet, that the fault of many of those engaged in indiscriminate almsgiving was not a deliberate intent to subvert labour discipline and weaken familial responsibility, but rather that they were governed and influenced by their 'immediate senses'. That is, it was an unreflective emotional response to working class poverty and squalor that led to their indiscriminate handing out of doles; thus he maintained:

we should struggle against becoming victims of the senses, and should force ourselves to attend, not only to the momentary fact of perceptions, but to the history and conditions which determine the permanent effect of our action, and should remember that, so far from being hard-hearted in giving such attention, we are thus following in the track of true emotion, while in being carried away by the first impression of unreasoned pity we are indulging ourselves, and showing an utter and frigid hard-heartedness to human welfare. (B. Bosanquet 1893:226)

It is here then that the COS's idealist theory of citizenship (and its converse, destitution) has immense significance, not merely as a legitimating ideology but as an educative force for social workers. Many of the articles in the Charity Organisation Review and virtually every lecture given to social workers by the Bosanquets' and Loch emphasised the importance of an Idealist philosophy as a basic and integral part of the social worker's equipment:

The principle of our work, as I understand it, is the faith in character, - the faith, if we like, in the ideal. Only it must be

1. The COS were similarly critical of the statistical surveys of poverty carried out by Booth and Rowntree. According to Loch, these surveys were materialistic in that they perceived poverty as being concerned with a relative 'command of means' rather than a function of social habit (1910: 386). Bernard Bosanquet also contended that although they seemed to have got "away from cheap fancy and indolent sentimentalism" (1893:227) they were in fact one "of the commonest forms of superficial imagination and exercise a mysterious influence over half-educated minds":

The temptation to calculate rather than to analyse- to fly at once to mechanical process rather than to pause for one which is labourious and demands original research, is active in many of the sciences, and within the limits of working hypothesis it may have results of a certain very limited value. But dealing with facts as facts, it is simply fatal. (ibid)
faith in that ideal which is the essence and controlling force of the real; not in fancies and sentiments which are simply a failure to cope with reality.  
(B. Bosanquet 1892:249)

All real workers know that Idealism is not confronting the world of facts with whims, fancies, 'ideas', which we have picked up, and trying to mould it to these; but (a) having faith that the world of facts has an idea, principle, order, organisation working in it, and (b) having the passion and the wisdom to make ourselves the instruments through which this idea or principle or organisation asserts itself in the light of day. The ideal for all of us means the real reality, and our Idealism leads us to the very core of the world of fact.  ..... Charity organisation work has always seemed to me an almost ideal training in the higher logic - the Logic of Idealism.  

How familiar we are with the complete transformation which first impressions undergo when the fragmentary fact has been completed by careful scrutiny, and instead of an item in statistics we have before us the history of a life! We began from the pale child at school, we end with the whole story of a household and a generation.  An yet, as we know too well, for the untrained in this matter it is that shadowy first impression which permanently stands for the hard and solid fact.  
(B. Bosanquet 1898:122-3; Emphasis given in Original)

Similarly, Gow in his article on social work training maintained that the worker's grasp of COS principles was vital for:

it must be from them he draws his inspiration, believing that their establishment is part of the Divine plan, otherwise his work is without vitality, and cannot from its nature contribute to vitality in others.  
(1900:110)

All the forms of training established by the COS, from the organised courses at the School of Sociology, to locally established Study Circles (1), and the more ad hoc, occasional lectures, were intended to ensure that every one had grasped the "divine ideal of charity" (Slocum 1892/3:12).

But, it is also important to note the timing. All of these developments in establishing training schemes or setting up committees to investigate and co-ordinate the programmes primarily occurred between the late 1890s and

1. Study Circles closely correspond to the contemporary in-service training schemes run by many local authority social services departments. According to the Society's Annual Report 1908-9, Study Circles had been established at Hammarworth, West Ham, Whitechapel, Stepney and Mile End (p.44). At a conference in February 1910, Urwick proposed the following motion which was subsequently passed:

"That it is very desirable that methods of education and training suitable for workers in connection with charity organisation should be actively promoted by COSs, and that attention be directed to the usefulness of Study Circles with that object." (Minutes of Council 2.2.1910).
1910 – the very time when the COS was most heavily under fire, not merely from the working class but from other sections of the reform bourgeoisie who were urging large scale State intervention, and getting it. The challenge to the COS from those 'bourgeois socialists' who were pressing for what they, and the COS considered to be 'large-scale social reconstruction' to alleviate the condition of the working class, was particularly acute in its bearing on the COS's individualised casework approach. Such a method, which still predominates within social work, is always potentially disheartening given that the range of people covered is minute compared to the extent of poverty, and that the work itself is also enormously time consuming (1). It can become more disheartening still when put against the claims being made by members of their own class for the benefits of State welfare reforms on the same client population. Writing in 1916, Bernard Bosanquet noted some of these consequences:

I suspect that young workers, otherwise desirous to help us and throw in their lot with us, are apt to be put off by a certain slur which may be cast on our work, and I should like to say a word about it, because I am prepared to fight this point to the death. I suspect that our work and methods are often compared unfavourably with ideas which favour more complete social reconstruction. Our work may be held 'second best', a palliative, not the real thing, not 'drastic' – an attractive word .... the idea of doing what is second best is disagreeable, and we find that people are naturally attracted by what seems to promise more brilliant and universal results—social reconstruction of one kind or another. To work for this seems like working for a new heaven and a new earth, whilst we seem content with the old ones. (1916:150-1)

To strengthen and sustain the social workers' commitment in the face of such challenges from their own class and from the context in which they work has, and continues to be, one of the major functions of social work

1. Shairp in his book Hints for Visitors recognised these problems, and wrote:

"We need not be appalled by the difficulty of serving. Above all we must not be appalled by the great mass of poverty and trouble which we believe to exist, and which is so often set before us in the columns of the newspapers with vivid details and heart-rending appeals to assist thousands of starving. There is much poverty and trouble, but there are not thousands of starving. We need not exaggerate. It is quite enough for us to believe that we can, each of us, find one or two whom we may befriend. (1910:13; my emphasis)"
Lastly, we must train ourselves in a greater faith — the faith which never doubts that beneath the unequal, fettered, unloving and unlovely social conditions, as beneath the perplexed, half-sorrowful, half-hopeful religious questionings of today, there lies hidden a new heaven and a new Earth which, foreshadowed already in men's ideals, will one day be realised in their midst. Only through such a faith can our self control become strong enough to stand by and see suffering and misery and evil go on untouched by us, because no remedy we can as yet devise would relieve the individual sufferer except — we believe — at the cost of his own, or other's greater injury in the future. Only such a faith can make our self-control strong enough to resist the temptation of sacrificing moral and spiritual strength in others to their physical comfort and ease — to refuse to believe that when for ourselves, we know our industry and independence, our self-respect and family responsibilities to be of greater value than any material possession, the reverse can be true for the poor.

(1902:342-3; emphasis in the original)

This task of social work education, and in particular the importance of courses in social work principles, was also stressed by Marshall, who similarly recognised the problematic character of social work and the need for social workers to be 'immunised' from the potential contradictions implicit in the activity:

The primary aim here, is, I think, to satisfy the personal needs of the social workers themselves, to prevent internal mental conflicts, and to answer questions which they are bound to ask and must be enabled to answer to their own satisfaction if they are to give themselves whole-heartedly to their work inspired by a sense of purpose. In this connection I should like to refer once more to Maciver's book/ Contribution of Sociology to Social Work/. He points out the limitations of social work; the services offered are often only palliatives, leaving the root causes unaffected. It may even be that they perpetuate the causes by making the effects more tolerable. Yet the social worker is moved by an emotional desire to help in the creation of a better world. How can this urge be reconciled with limitations of the daily task? And he answers: "The social worker must in short be socially educated, must acquire as a student of economics and sociology a background of intellectual convictions. So fortified, he or she can advocate further goals while still doing the day's work. . . . The social worker who has no back-ground of social philosophy is at the mercy of a thousand discouragements."

(1946:16-17; my emphasis)

And Wilson, who was the head of the social studies department at Hull University, presented the same message in an article entitled 'The Aims and Methods of a Department of Social Studies' :

Nobody gets such a bellyful of life fired at point-blank range as the social worker, and because it is only by education that some
pattern can be injected into the responses to the experience and so become new integrated and creative experience, it is important that, of all people, the social worker should be well-educated. The primary aim of a department of social studies then is to give potential social workers an education, not a technique for handling other people's troubles but an ability to handle themselves as life hurls itself at them in the shape of other people's troubles as well as their own perplexities. (R. Wilson 1949:354; emphasis given)

There is a further implicit dimension in this concern to 'fortify' social workers which has immediate relevance in the contemporary period. Demoralisation of social workers is but one possible outcome for those who come to see the activity as problematic, ineffective and even unhelpful for their clients; the other is the more active response of radicalism and militancy. Over the years the profession has developed a number of regulatory procedures, both 'on the job' and in the courses (I shall be discussing some of these in the next two chapters), to ensure that avowed radicals find it difficult to get into social work or remain in it. Nevertheless, the inculcation of a particular world view remains as one of the vital mechanisms for preventing radicalism from developing among social workers. This concern to prevent any radical 'contamination' of social workers was made clear by Karpf, who asserted the need for a scientific base to social work's theory as part of the process of making the social worker a wholly safe and effective person to engage in the tasks which fall to his lot. (1931:vii)

This desire to make social workers 'safe' raises the important question about the relationship of social workers to the State. It would appear that social workers can be accurately categorised as being one segment of the 'servant class', which according to Marx:

stand in the middle between workers on one side and the capitalists and landed proprietors on the other side, who are for the most part supported directly be revenue, who rest as a burden on the labouring foundation, and who increase the social security and the power of the upper ten thousand. (1919:368, cited Nicolaus 1967:45 my emphasis)

As servants, or more specifically 'state servants', social workers have a structural relationship with the State. However, this structural position
alone is not sufficient either to explain or ensure their loyalty to capitalist society, even though their favoured position in the social pyramid does mean that they have far more to lose than their 'chains' if that society is challenged and overturned. Wardman (1977:31) is typical of many left-wing writers on social work in his classification of social workers as 'organic intellectuals' of capitalism. He uses this Gramscian concept in a descriptive fashion rather than analytically to specify the conservatism of social work and its relationship to the State. In doing so he manages to avoid confronting the critical issues of how such organic intellectuals are formed and sustain their role, for once defined as organic intellectuals it follows by definition that social workers must be agents of social control who have no problem in acting as servants of the ruling classes and against the working class. However, what I hope this examination of social work education is making clear, is that the making of a servant class is not quite so straightforward or unproblematic. Whether a member of the middle classes becomes an 'organic intellectual' or state servant is not simply determined by their class position, rather their minds as well as their labour have to be won over. Although the relationship of social workers to capitalism and the State is not as precarious as that of the working class - which in order to be maintained demands constant support and surveillance- it still has to be forged and strengthened if it is to lead to 'good' state servants who will be efficient and effective in their incorporative work with clients.

The concern to 'fortify' social workers and prevent demoralisation, is one of the keys that help us both to understand the origins of social work education and its content. The apprenticeship mode of training while sufficient to inculcate the techniques of everyday practice could never hope to provide the 'social education' which 'fortification' required. While I would argue that all the subjects taught on a social work course contribute directly to this socialisation of social workers and the transmission of the 'divine Ideal', some of them more than others, have this 'philosophical' focus at their centre. Thus in the early social work
courses at the School of Sociology and in the seven university courses that were being run by 1914 we can divide the 'academic' content into two parts. One of which covers material self-evidently relevant to the practice of social work, such as courses on local and central government, sanitation, systems of poor relief, housing, organisation of charity and so forth (see Curricula Appendix for details), while the other part included more abstract subjects (relative to social work), like ethics, social philosophy, political philosophy and history. In fact, Loch divided the work of the School of Sociology into three departments (although, his third division is not relevant to our present discussion):

There is first the department of Social Administration, under which falls the history and theory of social and industrial movements, with special reference to reforms, and to the improvement of the condition of the people; the elements of economic theory and industrial history; the outlines of political science; and also such special subjects as the administration of charity and the Poor Law. There is secondly the department of Sociology in the more strictly scientific sense, which includes the analysis of social structures, the history and theory of social growth and change, and the theory of the social forces and their interactions. And there is finally the quite specialised department of practical instruction in Poor Law administration, which is under the direction of a separate Committee of the School.

(1907:47) (1)

The COS accorded "sociology" immense importance in the education of social workers, as the name of their School suggests. In keeping with the pragmatic orientations of social work theory, Loch asserted that Sociology was the new discipline required in the changed context of an extended franchise where "all people are now to be members of a common society and citizens" (1910/1923:53):

It follows that for the civilisation (...) of the classes which, under other systems, would be dependent, we, far more than our

1. The examination papers in Social Administration and Theory were set by Bernard Bosanquet and Professor Gonner (who was a close friend of Loch's and who established the social work course at Liverpool University in 1905, see Simey 1955:6), Rev Phelps a Council member set the papers in Social Economics.
predecessors, have to make special efforts, devise new means that will facilitate the ascent to the independent life, exercise a new ingenuity, and impose new forms of discipline. All this implies a new study of Sociology - on the lines which in London are, I think adopted by the School of Sociology more fully and more consistently than by any other teaching body. (ibid:54) 

The COS's take up and development of Sociology was thus informed by the changing and changed social context; it had a material base just as economic science or psychology, and was not arrived at abstractedly:

Just as economic science came into existence as a science at the time of the Industrial Revolution, just as the later science of psychology was no sooner established that it was seen to be essential to the forward movement of education, so now the latest science of all - sociology - finds its place waiting for it as the director of the new social interests, and as the interpreter of the complex social life which now for the first time has become an almost universal object of thought. There is no mere coincidence here; cause and effect are subtly interwoven. Manufactures and industrial life existed, and thought and observation were directed to their underlying conditions, long before the great development of the one and the systematisation of the other occurred a century or so ago. But then it was seen that the two were causally connected, each being in a sense necessary to the other. The analogy holds today in the relation of sociology to our work. The social worker needs, and society demands of him, something better than the empirical methods of the past; and to meet his need this new science points the way to knowledge and understanding. (Urwick 1903:261)

The task for sociology, as defined by the COS, was plainly ideological, in that it was to spell out a specific analysis of society which could inform and support the practice of social work as advocated by the Society. It was not concerned solely with an explanation of society as it appeared, which many left-wing critics have claimed as being the hallmark of conservative sociology (Harvey 1972:83), but also with establishing

1. In his praise of the School of Sociology, Loch appears to be making an oblique criticism of that 'other' school of social science, namely the Webbian London School of Economics. The rivalry and conflict between the two schools will be discussed in a later chapter.

2. As Loch noted, the emergence of sociology was inextricably related to the need to develop methods to deal with the 'social problems' of the time: "many of the most vigorous endeavours to settle sociological questions have arisen out of the necessity of dealing advisedly with pressing social difficulties." (1911:376)
prescriptions for action, particularly focusing on the strategies which were deemed to be required to enhance social solidarity - the tradition of Durkheim? Thus, the COS rejected Utilitarianism on the grounds that it was unable to explain or pin-point an adequate basis of social order or unity (1). According to Loch, this was an inherent problem of any 'sociology' which focused primarily on material ends rather than on social habit:

"the philosophy of the useful/ applied ethics, ... obscured the nature and importance of social habit, and over-looked the finer elements of thought that stimulate social action and give unity of feeling to society, and train its responsiveness to appeals made to its completer nature. Thus, in ethics, it tended to give predominance to material ends, social and individual, as though men could live on bread alone; and the idealism of Justice as a chief element in social advance was well nigh forgotten. (1911:367)

Loch then went on to note that social economics was attempting to rectify this, and cited the work of Sismondi:

"Economic science does not supply the key to the social problem; it has been preoccupied with things rather than men; it has sought only how to increase wealth; it has become merely chrematistic. It must add a piece to its raiment and become social. It is the art of social economy to make men happy, materially and morally. (ibid:368)

While Loch agreed with this general sentiment, he disagreed with Sismondi's attempts to make economics social, and in particular with Sismondi's recommendations of State intervention in unemployment relief and progressive taxation to finance such policies. According to Loch, social economics was merely:

the first position in the modern development of social science. At this stage it is not separate from economics and independent of it. It is economics rather crudely socialised. It is socialist rather than social scientific; it is socialism not social science. It represents no study of social habit; no co-ordinated principles in science... Slowly since then social science has set itself free from economics, and is now assuming a new position, and, incidentally at the same time social science takes the place of socialism. (ibid:369)

1. See Parson's essay on Durkheim (1960:118ff) where he discusses Durkheim's critique of utilitarianism."
The notion that social science takes the place of socialism gives some indication of the role of sociology within the social work education programme and its function with regard to the socialisation of social workers. For if socialism was the theory and conception of society to guide socialists, sociology was the theory of society for the anti-socialists of the COS.

According to Urwick, one of the first tasks of sociology (1) was to examine and explain "the laws of growth, the conditions of development and decay, the forces which chiefly modify the living form, and the relation between the structure and function... What physiology does for the human body, sociology attempts to do for the social organism; and this, which at present we may call the natural history of society, is the first department of our science" (1903:262). As the language and concepts used suggested, this part of the sociology agenda was intended to present society as an associative organism, a living whole with living parts, a fundamental conception of sociology.

(Loch 1911:375)

The consequences of this approach for the consciousness of social workers should now be clear; it is supportive of the concept of citizenship, and it posits a consensual view of society with the consequent denial of immutable class differences and antagonism. Such a conception of society remains fundamental to the possibility of social work for it is a precursor to any focus on character and personality as the determinants of social condition, whereas a conflict model of society (Marxist or pluralist) would necessitate a far greater attention to the structural features of inequality and poverty (c.f. Miller 1973).

This aspect of the tasks of sociological teaching has become highlighted

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1. It should be noted here that sociology was used by the COS as a collective term to refer to a number of social sciences, including social philosophy, ethics, psychology, social economics etc., (Urwick 1903:262-3).
in recent years with the emergence of a substantial stream of radical and critical sociology. As one graduate student of sociology who was taking a generic course in social work noted, a background in conflict sociology can create certain problems for the intending social worker:

It is well known that 'conflict' models of society are currently popular at many of the universities and colleges in this country. These see subordinated groups repressed by an elite which is close knit and well entrenched. It is often argued that social workers are active in sustaining a community which is unjust, inefficient and generally degenerate. They endeavour to help people function more adequately in society but this only makes them falsely conscious of their position as an exploited class of underprivileged people. What is needed according to this view is drastic change which will make equality of opportunity a reality and will distribute the resources of society on a more equitable basis..... It can be seen that students holding such a model are placed in an extremely precarious position if they wish to become social workers. (anon/Student 1968:11-12; my emphasis)

According to Wilson, who is a lecturer in sociology and teaches social work students at the University of Stirling, sociological knowledge,

both in its origins and in its current expressions, is essentially a critical discipline. As a consequence of this critical thread which runs through the sociological literature, the sociologist can never be the friend of any man, can rarely support and justify existing practices in society and can offer little by way of succour and reassurance to the social worker. (D. Wilson 1974:9)

Thus, he continued, the consequence of teaching sociology to social work students is that it can easily lead to "confusion and despondency":

Such an accusation cannot be dismissed lightly. The dangers of undermining the professional commitments of novices in the field parallel those of putting a viper in the cradle of an infant... (ibid:9)

Munday, who is a lecturer in social work at Kent University, was more specific about which branches of sociology posed the greatest threat to social work:

current theories in the sociology of deviance pose the greatest threat of all to social work students, with their clear message that society creates deviants for its own ends and that social workers as part of the system of social control, are used to create and amplify deviance rather than improve the lot of the deviant. The ideas of writers like Matza, Becker, Cicourel are intellectually fascinating and persuasive but quite ominous for the social workers. (1972:4)
These criticisms of radical sociology which have since been re-stated by Gould (1977) do clearly illuminate the importance which is attached to ensuring that social work students are not demoralised, and conversely, highlights the importance which has always been attached to ensuring that social workers do have a firm commitment to the existent social system and have the ideological and theoretical equipment to sustain that loyalty.

It is this concern to enhance and strengthen the prospective social worker as a 'super-citizen' that provides one of the central keys for understanding the character and functions of social work education in all its dimensions. Social work leaders have been quite correct in maintaining that preparation for social work cannot be considered as being merely technical. While it does contain a technical strand in terms of teaching some of the techniques of practice it nevertheless exhibits a major educative focus. It is a focus that underpins the entire teaching programme and the 'body of knowledge', and consists of a concerted attempt to provide the means for sustaining a specific view of clients, social problems and the social structure which is congruent with the requirements of capitalism.

In pursuit of this objective social work teachers and theorists have scanned a vast array of social science material to support and add weight to their arguments. As we have already seen, psychological theories have had a central place in social work's theoretical armoury, and despite the recent disquiet about some branches of sociology, this subject has also been used extensively by social work teachers. The writings of Loch and Urwick both indicated how sociology was used and deemed important in presenting society as consensual and organic, and the ways in which it could be used to counter socialist explanations. Similarly CCETSW has recently acknowledged the common origins and concerns of social work, social administration and sociology:

In the earliest forms of professional training, the study of society,
the study of social administration and the meaning of mobilising the resources of the individual and the family and providing individualised assistance were closely linked. Although they have long since divided into separate disciplines, social work sociology and social administration share common origins and common concerns.

(1975:11, my emphasis)

Social work’s use of sociology is selective as is its use of all the social sciences. Thus while it attempts to prevent student social workers from being 'contaminated' by radical and critical sociology, it has no hesitation in teaching those branches of sociology which are concerned with the family and patterns of socialisation. In an analysis of examination papers given to social work students, Heraud discovered that virtually all the sociology questions were on family issues, and included child rearing and socialisation and the relationship between the nuclear and extended family type. It appears, he wrote,

that sociology, to those who set the papers, is mainly concerned with questions about the family and that this is the main reason for having sociology in the course.

(1967:14) (1)

He also added that there was a "lack of concern with the whole field of social control" (ibid:15), and "that the overall perspective was eclectic and functionalist" (ibid:16).

This observation was also made by Leonard, who in a review of the sociological texts most used on social work courses in the mid sixties, remarked that they had;

a definite reformist implication and are practical and descriptive in nature rather than analytical. Foremost among these have been the publications of the Institute of Community Studies, most notably Michael Young and Peter Wilmott's Family and Kinship in East London (1957) and Peter Townsend's The Family Life of Old People (1958).

1. In a discussion of a case confronting a student social workers on placement, Armataje typified the social work approach to the value of sociology:

"Here was a family casework situation which was going to draw on much theoretical knowledge which the student had learnt in sociology - knowledge about social class; patterns of culture, roles within the family, not to mention a great deal of theoretical knowledge from the study of human growth and behaviour, which was going to be relevant to understanding more about what kept this marriage together at all."(1968:1141)
Delinquency studies have had equally reformist implications such as John May's *Growing up in the City* (1954) and Harriet Wilson's *Delinquency and Child Neglect* (1962). Other studies have laid more emphasis upon the development of theoretical concepts and have also been of importance to social work, including B.M. Spinley's *The Deprived and the Privilaged* (1953), Elizabeth Bott's *Family and Social Network* (1957) and Madeline Kerr's *The People of Ship Street* (1966:22-3, my emphasis).

In conclusion to this chapter it is important to note that, although social work education has and continues to maintain as its core objective this concern to produce 'super-citizens', the specific subjects and concepts which are used to realise this goal do change and shift. Such changes are largely due to the character of its relationship with the social sciences which provide the material for its middle-range knowledge base.

During the last ten years there has been a notable radical upsurge in many of the social sciences and their teaching in the higher education system. This radicalism has touched directly on many of the theories utilised by social work including psychology (Leing 1971), sociology, and social administration (c.f. George and Wilding 1972; Kincaid 1973; Coates and Silburn 1970). Social work itself was often one of the subjects of criticism within many of these studies. Furthermore, given that a large number of social work students are postgraduates who have taken a degree in the social sciences, many of the students were entering social work courses with some awareness of and possibly some commitment to the criticisms that were being made. As Munday noted:

> Only the most blinkered of social workers can now be unaware of the increasing input of critical complaint against social work, both from within and outside the profession. (1972:3, c.f. Carmichael 1976:16)

And Kendall, a social work teacher and writer of international repute, remarked that:

> schools of social work throughout the world are passing through a period of intense pre-occupation with the purpose of social work in society... social work education is in trouble in its essence and on its boundaries. (1972:6)

For a profession which is concerned with representing the values and
and beliefs of capitalist society to "outsiders" such as their clients, this radicalism and criticism has posed a profound threat. Moreover, as I have already indicated, its greatest threat is taken to be its demoralising consequences for social work students. The conflicts which have arisen between students and staff, and between social work teachers and radical academics, have not been of a type that can be simply dismissed or resolved in a classroom. The upsurge in radicalism was no mere fortuitous development but reflected a growing awareness of the failure of the welfare state to fulfil some of its promises with regard to poverty, and a declining confidence in the ability of social democracy to bring about a more egalitarian society. Such concerns as these posed problems for social work which could not be ignored.

Neither the profession nor the State have remained static in the face of such radicalism. The recent development of the Certificate in Social Service (CSS) is just one of the responses as I note in a later chapter. The most notable response within the content of social work education has been the development of 'systems theory' which attempts to broaden the middle-range knowledge base and accommodate some of the criticisms that have been made of social work's predominantly individualistic perspective. Thus as Kendall noted, there has been a change of emphasis in social work theory in an attempt to take account of social as well as individual factors:

*Psychoanalytic theory formerly predominated in many parts of the world as the preferred route to an understanding of men. The new core must make room for many theories derived from the social as well as the psychological sciences. An approach which emphasises the inter-relationships among individual needs, social system requirements and conditions, is gaining wide acceptance as an intellectual tool for weaving many theories into a coherent whole.*

(1972:6)

This shift has also been recognised by CCETSW:

*Having become less exclusively dependent on psychoanalytic theory, social work educators are exploring the contributions made by other disciplines to social work education. As a result social work has recently developed a wider range of theories and activities, e.g., work based on existential theories, group dynamics, theories of games and labelling. .... A theoretical approach currently favoured is based on social systems theory and provides a model for social work intervention which enables social workers to perceive the*
Systems theory has a distinct advantage over the previously dominant psychological base of social work theory in that it allows for the inclusion of a wider social perspective without undermining social work's domain assumptions about the nature of society and its clients' problems. As Janchill observed:

"General systems theory may effectively meet the profession's current need for conceptual tools that activate an understanding of the relational determinants of behaviour in the person-in-situation configuration. Systems theory is not in itself a body of knowledge; it is a way of thinking and of analysing that accommodates knowledge from many sciences. It offers a framework in which social interaction can be objectively understood without jeopardy to the work of individualisation." (1968:77-8, my emphasis)

The 'systems theory' utilised by social work, which has its recent roots in the work of Parsons (1951), is, as Leonard noted "tied to the defence and maintenance of existing systems" (1975a:78). Its take-up by social work by no means signifies a change of orientation, but rather must be identified as one reaction to the growing criticisms of social work as narrowly individualist and psychologistic.

In its own particular domain social work operates at the very heart of social relations; relations which are a site of continual conflict. It is simply impossible for social work, if it is to survive as an effective regulatory agency, to ignore those conflicts especially when they directly impinge on its activities and concerns. Thus, it is a major characteristic of social work education that it can be flexible and adaptable, certainly in the articulation of its 'middle-range' knowledge base which carries the 'divine ideal' of social work, for this is what is required if social work students are to become super-citizens capable of being entrusted to bring about 'acceptable' change in their clients.
CHAPTER SIX

'Super - Citizens': The Selection of Students and the Qualities Expected of Social Workers.

There is probably no better way to discover the characteristics and qualities expected of a 'professional' social worker than to examine the processes which are used to select students for a social work course. Social work in common with many professions (c.f. Elliott 1972:chp 3) scrutinises all applicants, and for those intent upon a career in social work the first and by no means least important hurdle is the selection procedure. This constitutes a major 'gateway' to the 'profession'; a gateway, moreover, which is watched over by those designated as guardians of the occupation.

As I have suggested in the previous chapters, the special task facing social workers in their attempt to win over their clients and guide them towards independent citizenship necessitates certain qualities. It has been the contention of those who have been at the head of the social work enterprise since the time of the Charity Organisation Society, that while formal social work education can do a great deal to enhance the qualities and efficiency of social workers it can never hope to develop those 'personal' qualities which are deemed to be crucial for the realisation of the social work task. Thus we find in social work literature the notion that the 'good' social worker is 'born' and not 'made':

Of no profession is it more true that the 'true worker is born not made', if only intending workers will remember that being born, they need discipline and knowledge.
(Matheson 1916:169)

...not the most ardent advocate of training believes that it can be substituted for the attributes of mind and character that have always been rightly held to be the chief essentials for successful work. Training may discipline and even develop a keen and imaginative sympathy, a love of our fellow men and even an innate desire for service, but without these gifts it is indeed nothing.
(Matheson 1912:69)
in a profession like social work, which is also a way of life, there are certain qualities of temperament, personality and maturity which are as important as intelligence. (Younghusband 1947:24; my emphasis)

Unfortunately, the professional aspirations of social work suffer as a result of a similarly wide-spread belief that the primary qualification for social work is a particular type of personality:

Through the years, community attitudes towards social workers have been strongly influenced by traditional concepts of social work as a vocation pro deo, that is, a charitable activity carried on by volunteers from the leisured class and bringing its own reward in spiritual satisfaction. The popular belief still persists that common sense, a sympathetic heart and a sense of vocation are the necessary qualifications for social work practice, and so also does the tendency to assume that the social worker will dedicate himself to his work without regard to professional status and appropriate economic returns. (U.N. 1950:42)

The idea that social casework consists in making arrangements and being a friend is still very much alive. (Younghusband 1956:242)

However, while social work's insistence on the importance of personal qualities does echo with this predominantly 'profane' view of the professional social worker's qualifications, the profession has consistently maintained that what is required is a particular mix of character and intellect to be moulded by education. Thus, the 1967 Report of the Council for Training in Social Work argued that:

Experience over the years has taught us that many people, but not all, have the human resources of concern, tact, perception and common sense so necessary for good social work. These resources can and must be developed and refined so that they can be used effectively in the service of those in need. One of the main purposes of training is to help this process along and set the student on the way in which he can continue this essential part of his professional development. Whilst right attitudes are essential, these alone are not enough to help people whose problems are often complex and whose circumstances are subject to pressures, both internal and external, which require knowledge and understanding. (1967:2)

Similarly, Sewell wrote in 1900 that:

we do not believe that our teaching is much good except to those who already are filled with the spirit of love and service. What we urge is that the truest love, the most devoted service, can only be fully satisfied when it is guided and directed by the mind; what we hope for is that we may help those whose desire is to serve, to realise their ideals, to translate their emotions into actions worthy of themselves and their office. (1900:379-80)
What is being stressed is that while personal qualities are crucial, and constitute a necessary foundation for any 'good' social work, they must also be disciplined and refined. Without the discipline of education it seems that all kinds of terrible consequences would follow, including unreflective sentimentality and the possibility of clients being able to manipulate naive social workers. Leaving aside the many fears of the social work profession, it is clear that they consider that effective practice can only follow from good preparatory education:

If the social worker has warmth and a sincere desire to help, he can in his training learn to control his impulses wisely, but if he lacks concern for others he can never be trained for effective service.
(Hamilton 1949; cited Rodgers and Dixon 1960:232)

It is not the sole condition of effectual work to have the kindly or even the controlled religious mind. That must be supplemented by some equipment in the special knowledge, in the art of the visitor:
(Loch 1923/1906:32)

The great stress on the character of the social worker is of course derived from the importance attributed to the social worker's "use of self" as the primary therapeutic mechanism:

The skills of social work lie in the use of self and of social relationships to help the identification and resolution of personal and social problems. . . .
The social worker is required to use his person as the main medium of intervention in whatever setting or from whatever organisational base he is operating.
(CCETSW 1975:17,35)

I am satisfied that, without strong personal influence, no radical cure of those fallen low can be effected... if we are to place our people in permanently self-supporting positions it will depend on the various courses of action suitable to various people and circumstances, the ground of which can be perceived only by sweet sympathy, and power of human love.
(O. Hill, cited Garrett 1949:220)

With only slight variations the personal qualities demanded of social workers have remained unchanged since the origins of the COS in 1869. Probably the most significant of these slight variations has been the decline in the view that only women really had the right personal attributes to be social workers. During the COS period it was widely held that middle-class women in particular, were innately suited to social work and other social
According to Lee, social work was essentially a "housekeeping problem" which made it the natural domain of women. For:

A woman has a feeling for dirt which men can only pretend to have. 

...She has, a directness of method, a scorn for obstacles and excuses, an absence of any sense of humour as applying to the situation, that is very difficult to stand up against.

(1902:88-9)

Woods, an American philanthropist of this period, had no doubt that for a woman, social work was no more than an extension of her genetic endowments:

The field of effort opened by social work offers peculiar opportunities to women, some of whom have attained the highest distinction in it. To a large extent it is a perfectly natural extension of the interests and duties of the woman in her own home and neighbourhood society. It may be said that this type of activity affords women the same opportunity for pre-eminence as does the writing of fiction and the stage, because in the same way it opens up to them an enlarged perspective of their hereditary and accustomed concerns. In undertaking to re-establish healthful home conditions and neighbourhood relations in communities where these fundamental social units become disintegrated, the enlightened woman is simply making new and larger adaptions to the specialised capacities which she has by nature and training.

(1906:35; my emphasis)

The prevailing sexual division of labour and the accompanying dominant notions of women as being foremost mothers and wives continues to ensure the maternal image of the 'caring' occupations such as social work, nursing and primary school teaching (Sathyamurthy 1974:2). Given this widely held

1. Throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century some of the most notable social reformers and philanthropists were women drawn from the professional and bourgeois classes. Among them were Octavia Hill, Helen Bosanquet, Beatrice Webb, Louisa Twining and Eleanor Rathbone. Similarly there were a number of charitable organisations established by such women and directed towards working class women. Harrison's (1973) study of the Girl's Friendly Society and Spenceley's (1973) work on the Lace Associations provide but two interesting case studies of the philanthropic activities of such women. This group of women, despite their differences of opinion on the manner in which reforms should be enacted, were convinced that they had an important and valuable contribution to make in the social welfare field. As Twining argued:

I am convinced that women should have a greater share in it. No Boards of Guardians, and no officials, can be expected to manage girl's schools as they ought to be, neither can male inspectors alone inspect them. Results would be far different if the influence of women of feeling and education were largely introduced... and constant lady visitors, who could cultivate the affections of the children and help to counteract the fatal effects of life in an institution and in a mass for girls.

(Twining 1880:33; cited E. Wilson 1977:53)
essentialist view of women as mothers, it is hardly surprising that social
work with its involvement in the family and its avowed 'parental' stance
with the clients should be seen as anything other than a woman's occupation
par excellence:

It may be and has been argued that social work is in its very
nature appropriately a field for women just as law, medicine and
theology, and engineering are fields for men. There is no doubt
that over considerable areas of social work and for certain types
of position that this is true. Women are undoubtedly better fitted
to visit homes, to unravel tangled domestic duties, care for little
children, counsel the growing girl, minister to many special types
of need.
(Tufts 1923:72)

This view of women in social work is by no means confined to the late
nineteenth or early twentieth century. Forder for example, has also argued
that:

Young men take much less readily to social casework than young women,
and I suspect that most of the best social caseworkers will always
be women, because of the qualities of sensitivity and sympathy that
are required.
(1966:207)

From this conception of women, other related qualities were pinpointed as
being ideal for the practice of social work. One of the most prominent has
been the so called 'feminine intellect' and its supposed capacities of
intuition, empathy, and its grasp of the personal and concrete:

It is a commonly received opinion that woman tends more to intuition
and a man to logic; and certainly the male mind seems better able to
deal with abstractions and generalisations and the female mind with
the personal and the detailed and the concrete. And while this
difference may be in part attributable to the artificial confinement
of women to the domestic sphere, there is probably something more
organic in it than that. At any rate it gives to a woman some of her
best qualities - a quick and immediate perception, appreciation of
character, tact, and a kind of artistic sense in the ordering of her
own life.
(Carpenter 1894:20-21)

This view has been given considerable support from post-Freudians such as
Winnicott (1965). He has argued that there are fundamental differences
between the female and the male intellect, whereby the former has an
'inward' orientation - the concrete and personal as discussed by Carpenter
- while the male personality is 'outwardly' oriented - a concern with the
overall structure and pattern of events. Arguments such as these have important implications for legitimating and sustaining women's subordinate position both in social work and in many other occupations. For example, just as women are seen to be inherently suited to the practice of social work, of sorting out families, assessing character and so forth (1), their particular character disqualifies them from holding senior administrative posts. As Tufts noted:

Social work aids or educates individuals, and for this women may be better fitted; but it also endeavours to change institutions, and for this task both men and women are necessary. Any measure which proposes a change in government or in management and carrying on of business and industry or farming is likely to be looked upon with suspicion if it is labelled in advance as a woman's proposition. (1923:73)

Thus Walton (1975:236) has noted how in the development of social work services since 1945, the number of women holding senior management positions has steadily declined as the departments grew ever larger despite the fact that approximately half of the social services personnel were women. In April 1971 following the Seebohm re-organisation, 160 new directors had been appointed, of whom only 14 were women. A similar situation characterised the COS where most of the administrative positions were occupied by men (see table 1, p. 232), and it is worthwhile citing Octavia Hill's reactions to the possibility of her election on to a COS committee:

I have hardly a hope that they will place me on the committee. I shall try boldly, but I think no ladies will be admitted. (cited Timms 1960:41)

According to Stevenson (1967:28), a leading figure of contemporary social work (and a woman), the ideal social worker should be "bisexual".

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1. Loch epitomised this when he wrote that: "To be competent to visit the poor, the visitor should be able to show them how to economise, how to prepare food simply and well, where to invest savings. She ought to be an authority in domestic business. She ought to know what are the requirements of sanitation. She ought to have that combination of authority which wins respect and friendship and can stimulate to duty without giving offence." (1906:xxiv)
### Numbers

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1. This table has been compiled from the figures given in the Society's Annual Reports for the years listed.

2. The Organising Secretary ranks higher than the District Secretary.
Holding to the notions that women are more expressive, that is, "tender, passive and inward-directed" and that men tend to have 'instrumental' personalities - "intellectual, active, outward directed, organising elements of personality in which abstract thought and technique are important components" - the task facing social work teachers in attempting to turn out 'good' social workers is to encourage in their students the convergence of the two:

A successful social worker must find an equilibrium between the 'expressive' and 'instrumental' components of his or her personality. For most men, the problem is one of acknowledging and developing femininity, which is obviously threatening, although their choice of career indicates that they wish to find those parts of themselves. For women, it is perhaps more complicated; any profession demands of a woman certain masculine qualities. In choosing social work, the woman unconsciously demonstrates a desire to develop the expressive feminine side of her nature but finds herself in a career which in fact demands a highly developed instrumental side.

(ibid:28)

Paradoxically, while social work has exalted certain 'feminine' qualities as being necessary to good social work practice, it has, for reasons of professional status, attempted to underplay the view that social work is essentially a female occupation. For as Chaftez noted:

To the extent that they '/traditionally female occupations'/ embody "feminine" characteristics or are heavily staffed by women, they receive less public prestige than other professions requiring equal skill or education.

(1972:17)

One of the most consistent strategies used to counter-act this image has been the active recruitment of men (c.f. CT3/ 1967:2; Younghusband Report 1959:211). The argument, which has been widely taken up, is that it is only through attracting more men into social work that the status of the occupation will rise:

it is believed in many quarters that the post-war influx of male students into schools of social work may well have a salutary effect upon salary scales.... So long as social work remained exclusively a woman's profession, innumerable obstacles of a social and cultural character stood in the way of any substantial improvement in the economic status of the social worker.

(U.N. 1950:43-4)

According to Timms, this policy had met with some success, at least among
psychiatric social workers:

In the history of the professional association, the influx of a larger group of men has had some effects in connection with salary questions and also with policies in regard to community care, the development of psychiatric social work in local health authorities. Male psychiatric social workers have in fact an influence on the profession out of proportion to their numbers. For example, of those holding senior psychiatric social work posts 30% are men though only 12% of the profession are male. (1964:53)

It would appear that the most important dimension of this attempt to raise the status of the occupation has not been simply in getting more men into social work, but by ensuring that men occupy a majority of the prestigious management posts (1) as the preponderance of male directors of social services departments demonstrates.

Compared with contemporary social work, the COS did not appear to accord such importance to selection procedures. That is not to say however that they were less concerned about the personal qualities of their charity workers, or that there was a total absence of selection processes. There was for example a sub-committee of the Society, the Medical Advisory Sub-Committee and Almoners Selection Committee, which in 1907 became the Hospital Almoners Committee and decided that:

it should have for its object to select almoners for hospitals, to arrange for their training and generally to promote the appointment of competent almoners.
(Sub-Committee Minute Book 1907-1908:78)

There were a number of reasons why the COS was not so overly concerned with selection issues. Apart from the internal occupational controls of supervision which would ensure that those deemed unsuitable would not be allowed to continue to work with clients, the most significant reason was probably the class background of the charity workers. The COS certainly did

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1. For example, in the Probation Service, Foren and Brown found that: "It is clear that the woman officer is less likely to be promoted than the male and those that achieve senior ranks are, on average, better qualified, both educationally and professionally than the men." (1970:18; cited Rosenberg 1972:37)

Gross has similarly noted that: 
"The entry of men into 'women's occupations' may raise salaries, status and working conditions in the occupation as a whole, but women may be replaced by men in the most desirable positions." (1968)
not break any new ground in removing charitable activity from the preserve of the leisured, middle and upper classes. That charitable activity should remain the preserve of such sections of the population was undoubtedly occasioned by the political nature of such activity, and above all its voluntary character. In other words, a charity worker had to have considerable leisure time and resources, both of which were absent or at least scarce for the majority of the working classes. (1) It would therefore seem justifiable to assume that the majority of the COS's charity workers being predominantly women from the middle and upper classes (2), were already predisposed to the philosophy and methods of the Society on account of their class background and, that they volunteered to work for it. Furthermore, the tasks which were expected of them in intervening in the families of the deserving destitute and attempting to 'elevate' them to independent citizenship, were those to which they were accustomed and experienced through the management of their own domestic servants (Harrison 1973). Thus Simey wrote:

Betterment was work with which they were traditionally associated,

1. There are occasional references in the COS records that they would like to have some representatives of the working classes in their organisation. Thus one delegate at the Annual Conference in 1901 suggested that:

"we should do more in suiting the times of our Committee meetings to make it possible for the working classes, whether Trade Unions or Working Men's Societies, to join with us, and until we do that we shall not have the confidence and respect in the minds of the working man without which it cannot be said our society will be what it ought to be."

(Reported in the COR April 1901:216-7)

2. In her account of the development of charitable activity in Liverpool between 1890 and 1909, Simey has remarked how there was a convergence of the requirements of organised and 'scientific' charity and the interests of a growing body of middle class women (1951:125). She alluded to, but does not develop very strongly, how organised charity provided an outlet for the then burgeoning emancipation movement among this class of women:

"The voluntary nature of charitable work automatically overcame the opposition of those who disapproved of women earning a living, and eased the guilty conscience of women themselves in regard to their revolt."

( Ibid:126)
and for which they had served a long apprenticeship in Ragged and Sunday Schools; their own upbringing had been devoted to the inculcation in themselves of precisely those qualities which were now seen to be lacking in the poor. (1951:126)

It was little wonder then that the COS adopted the apprenticeship mode of training in the first instance, for it appears that all that these women required was some understanding of the actual techniques involved, such as writing case notes. Similarly, it reinforces my argument that the COS's development of formal social work education had more to do with the political requirements of the time and enhancing its credibility and status, rather than with a narrow concern about the quality of their workers.

Consideration of social workers' class backgrounds, and their predisposition to social work is no less important for gauging the significance of the socialisation impact of contemporary social work education. For as Elliott in his general discussion of professions has rightly noted:

> There is a danger of over-estimating the amount of change which will be involved in the process of professional socialisation. Already... we have seen that professional recruits tend to be drawn from a limited range of backgrounds. Their status of origin tends to be very similar to the status to which they aspire. (1972:76)

There is very little firm empirical data on the class backgrounds of social workers. In one survey of social workers in Bradford, Nursten discovered that 83% of social workers were from families in social classes III and II (1972:15), and demonstrated typical middle class characteristics of extensive schooling (ibid:16) and religious commitment - "46% stated that they attended church regularly; 26% irregularly" (ibid:17). Also, scattered throughout a good deal of social work literature there are many impressionistic comments such as those by Macadam, which acknowledge that most students are middle class and have had little contact with "the wage-earning classes" (1925:91).

While the middle class background of the majority of social workers would
suggest a predisposition to the values and goals of social work (1), there
is a danger of adopting an over-deterministic conception of class (c.f.
Wrong 1961). Class backgrounds and patterns of socialisation and the
availability of certain attendant opportunities and resources, can and do
have an effect on an individual’s consciousness, as so much empirical
sociology has demonstrated (c.f. Spinley 1953). Nevertheless, these class
features alone, do not simply 'fix' the entire personality into a prescribed
pattern. Thus within any one class we would expect to find a considerable
range of differences as well as bands of similarity.

This issue of the neophyte social worker’s predisposition to social work
takes us to the heart of the selection procedures of contemporary social
work. Furthermore, it provides a more adequate explanation of the reported
conformity of social workers; their avowed apolitical stance (Beaumont
1976:76); their indifference to radical social reform and quiescence over
the inadequacy of social security measures and pensions (Kincaid 1973:242);
and their general commitment to individualistic/pathology explanations of
social problems (Coates and Silburn 1970:16-17; Sinfield 1974; Cannan 1972).
All of these writers cited, have tended to argue that such conforming and
general characteristics have stemmed from the content and form of social
work education. That, however, is only a partial answer. In their
neglect of the selection procedure they have failed to recognise how the
social work profession assures a high degree of conformity and uniformity
among social workers through selecting those whom it assesses have those
qualities which will lend to the internalisation of social work’s values
and theory.

1. According to Mays, the qualities of the 'middle classes' are those which
inspire the 'best' social work:
"There is a strong tradition in the middle classes for what may be termed
public service - an old imperial noblesse oblige approach to life which
does not necessarily equate personal or social value with money or possessions.
Many of the men who went out to the colonies and dependencies as officials -
not as commercial exploiters who were also there! - did so as a form of
service... The same tradition inspires the best in British social work today
and is the heart and soul of our prolific voluntary organisations."
(1967:204)
The most graphic and extreme example of this view was presented in the cartoon (see page 239) which formed the centre-spread of Case Con's pamphlet on social work education. In an attempt to capture the socialisation functions of social work education the cartoon fundamentally misconceived its character. Social work education simply does not, and cannot transform the 'hippy' types on the conveyor belt into the stereotyped social workers that are fed out of 'Splurge Polytechnic'. The cartoon fails and misleading because it ignores selection procedures. Continuing to hold the production analogy of the cartoon, it is my intention in this chapter to show that the social work education machine selects most carefully its raw material for production into 'super-citizens'. Moreover, it is my contention that without the appropriate raw material the production line is placed in considerable jeopardy.

The central significance given to the selection of appropriate students is evident in the following passages:

The course really begins, ... not with the lectures and academic session, but with the selection of students of appropriate background and academic standards. (Heywood 1964:9)

One of the most crucial responsibilities of schools of social work is the adequate selection of qualified candidates for professional education. To achieve the major objectives of social work, it is necessary to select people who are best suited to perform professional roles. (Patel 1972:126)

The first hurdle in the training for social work is the selection of the right trainees. (Gardiner and Judd 1959:190)

If the level of the work of visitors is to be not merely sustained but raised, as is very desirable, those in whose hands lies the appointment and supervision of visitors must adopt a higher standard of selection themselves. (Loch 1906/1923:30)

The qualities which are looked for in students applying for places on a social work course are grouped round two poles. The first and least problematic is academic attainment. The required levels of academic attainment vary according to the type of course, and they are often laid down in the general regulations of the host educational institutions; they are not
controlled exclusively by the profession. The second, and more important set of attributes are the personal qualities of the students which are seen as being of at least equal significance as the educational qualifications. All the government reports on the social work services have stressed 'personal suitability' as a major criterion of selection:

The most careful selection of candidates for personal suitability must be a necessary preliminary to admission to the course. (Curtis Committee 1946: para 5, Appendix 1)

we think that in the selection of candidates for the course personal suitability for the work should be given equal consideration with educational attainment. (Mackintosh Report 1951:38)

candidates should not be accepted for child guidance training unless they are judged to have the right personal qualities for work with children. (Underwood Report 1955:120)

Similarly, the colleges and universities which offer the courses have accepted the need to assess 'personal suitability'. Thus, the L.S.E. Handbook for 1976/77 stated that:

Students are admitted to the course only on the recommendation of a selection committee which takes into account personal suitability for social work as well as educational qualifications and experience. (p.24)

The selection process provides one of the major areas of professional control over social work education, for the adjudication of 'personal suitability' rests primarily with qualified social workers from both the educational institution and the field. All the training councils, past and present, which validate the courses as meeting professional requirements, have insisted on the presence of qualified social workers both from the 'field' and the teaching staff on the selection committees. The extent of

1. In her discussion of the relationship between academic and personal qualities Penley maintained that:

Academic proficiency was not needed, but the right kind of personality emphatically was. The prospective student ought to have at least the beginnings of a thought-out philosophy, her personality should not be aggressive and good manners were most desirable. (1946:267)
their control is exemplified in the procedures of the old Central Training Council in Child Care (CTC) which was set up under the Home Office in 1947 following the Curtis Committee's Report:

All the applicants for the courses (with minor exceptions...) are seen by interviewing panels of the Council and particulars of those accepted are sent to the universities who themselves either interview again or offer the candidate a place after considering her application and the Council's recommendation. The universities are, of course, entirely free to admit anyone else whom they choose, but as no student can qualify for the CTC's certificate who has not been interviewed by the Council, in fact practically none but CTC students take the course. (Younghusband 1951:111-2; my emphasis)

Thus, although the social work profession can and does exert control over the courses in a number of indirect ways as I discussed in an earlier chapter, the selection procedure provides, with the placement, a direct avenue of professional control. (1) It is through these two areas that the social work profession can directly regulate entrance to the occupation (Cypher 1972:31) and as Heraud has argued:

the selection process probably represents the key structural variable in social work education. It is vital because it acts as a filter by which those who are seen 'fit' to be professionally certified are separated from those who, in various ways, are not. The process selects out those who are already minimally fit for practice in what appears to be a rigorous manner and therefore makes the task of socialisation during training easier, .......

the emphasis on selection by social work teachers suggests that social work is as much, if not more, a 'self-selecting' profession than most other professions. (1972:349,350) (2)

That there should be practicing (predominantly local authority) social workers on the selection committees as well as social work tutors who themselves are expected to be professionally qualified social workers, relates to the 'semi-professional' status (Toren 1969) of the occupation.

1. Further details of selection processes are given in the Appendices; Selection and Assessment Section.

2. At a meeting of the Joint University Council for Social Administration (JUC) in 1951, Wooton complained that the professional associations had a "very great deal of power over entrance to their professions. The time had arrived for a high level inquiry into recruitment." (Minutes, 5.1.1951).
Throughout the recent development and expansion of social work central and local government have been the major determinants of its growth. Thus the administration, the scope and scale of the services and the funding of social work have all been at the discretion of the government. Consequently the development and history of social work in this period has not solely been along a 'professional' dimension; it has also been about the emergence of a powerful State agency.

The character of this development has had considerable consequences for the nature of contemporary social work. Unlike the COS, which was independent of the formal State apparatus and so could determine its own objectives and methods which at times led it to oppose State policies, contemporary social work is embedded in State institutions, and the vast majority of social workers are employees of the local authorities. Consequently, the social work profession is never the sole determinant of its activities. Thus Nokes has noted that:

The situation of the welfare professions seems to be marked by forms of government and control that are quite unlike those of the 'virtuoso' professions. These are occupations that in certain crucial respects, of which even the setting of professional objectives is one, are subject to a degree of control on the part of people not actually belonging to them. Limited goals may appear to be set, but it is often not the practitioners who sets them.

(1967:111) (1)

However, contemporary social work like the Charity Organisation Society does hold to the ideals of professional autonomy and its right as 'experts' to define its own objectives and methods. This stance of social work has led to tensions between the profession and its employing authorities, over the determination of policies. In fact the irony for social workers has been that while they have made undoubted progress in the last thirty years in their

1. Frankel has similarly argued that the State agencies in which social work services are located have extensive power in determining the goals, problems and boundaries of social workers' activities (1969:31; c.f. Davey 1977:8)
quest for professional recognition and status (1) they have simultaneously become subject to greater control from the formal State apparatus. Thus the Seebohm re-organisation which marked the fruition of many of social work's long standing demands for professional identity and demarcation as well as the establishment of a family based generic service, also heralded a massive bureaucratisation of social work with an attendant 'proletarianisation' of social workers. As Oppenheimer has noted, the effect on the professional was less autonomy and greater control:

Under these conditions such persons are no longer able to work at their own pace, determine the use of their talents or products, or in fact much of anything about the work place, whose owners or controllers are often far removed from them both physically and in terms of social standing.

(1975:35)

Leonard has similarly recognised the consequences of these developments:

The kinds of organisations in which social workers are employed are getting bigger, especially local authority departments. As organisations increase in size, they require a central administrative structure which ensures that the activities of the members of the organisation are all directed towards the official objectives. The bureaucratic structure of a social work organisation aims at securing predictable behaviour from social workers in conformity to policy.

(1968:303)

Increasing numbers of social workers are beginning to express disquiet about the consequences of such bureaucratic organisation and the manner in which the central and local government are defining the duties of social workers:

There is an increasing national tendency to write the social worker into various statutes as a general antidote to social ills without corresponding material resources or, more importantly, considering either the nature of the social work contribution or the origin of the problem.

(Brandon 1976:26)

1. The major landmark in the professionalisation of social work was undoubtedly the Seebohm Report and the subsequent Local Authority Social Services Act 1970, which were widely acclaimed by the social work profession. Donnison praised the Report as "a great State paper" (1968:3) and Kahan maintained that "social work will at last establish its independence as a parallel and not a subsidiary professional service with health and education" (1970:59).
Similarly, Goldberg has argued that;

Another dilemma facing social workers, especially the large majority employed by local authority social service departments is the almost inevitable conflict between professional independence and autonomy at field level and the hierarchical structure of bureaucracies with its long chains of command.... (1974:268, c.f. Green 1966:71)

It should be noted that a major source of this growing criticism and disillusionment of social workers is precisely their increasingly limited area of professional autonomy. Thus Jordan (1976:5) complains of social work being "crushed" by the Seebohm reorganisation and the extra duties that have been placed on social workers by the central government. Stevenson (1976:151) has similarly bemoaned the thwarting of social work's traditional educative and socialisation functions by legislation such as the Children and Young Persons Acts (1963, 1969) which have taken social workers into the field of financial relief. And Faines (1967:18) has indicated how the high case loads of social workers have led to disillusionment as "they are aware that lack of time makes it impossible to do the job in the way in which they have been trained and which they believe to be most effective".

Such tensions as these, whilst they have become more apparent in recent years, have, always been present within social work since 1945, and they are an inevitable consequence of the manner in which social work has been reconstructed by the State. Most accounts of social work in this period have tacitly treated it as a case study of an occupation striving for, and in many ways achieving, professional status. But such accounts are both partial and potentially misleading. The emphasis on professionalism is misleading to the extent to which it ignores the central role of the State in the development and expansion of social services. Throughout this period it has been at government level that decisions have been made concerning the role and development of social work services. Thus it has been the State and not the social work profession which has played the crucial role in expanding, organising and funding social work in response to an overall assessment of 'social problems'. Consequently in the three
decades since the end of the Second World War we find that there has been a general and gradual development of a galaxy of welfare occupations including social workers, health visitors, psychologists, education welfare officers, home helps and so forth. All of these services reflect the dominance and until recently, the confidence of a general social democratic ideology with its notions of individual and family pathology (c.f. Bottoms 1971:322-9), as explanations of social problems (c.f. Longford 1964). The manner of social work's development in this period is representative of most other segments within the welfare apparatus. It had small beginnings with social workers being deployed in a variety of existing State agencies. However, over time the entire personal social welfare sector has been reconstituted. A new division of labour between the agencies has been formulated, to enhance its overall effectiveness. This has entailed the curtailment of certain responsibilities for some agencies and their transfer to others; the merging of services such as in social work and the growth of new welfare bureaucracies. Relations between, and the duties of, the respective agencies have become more closely defined and demarcated. In fact, it is now possible to talk of a "Welfare Apparatus" rather than a conglomerate of overlapping and often competing services: each part of the apparatus having specific duties and designated areas of competence.

In these developments the social work profession was not merely a passive body which could be moulded in any fashion. Successive governments have employed increasing numbers of social workers, but they never created social work. As I argued in Chapter 2, the concerns, objectives and ideology of social work chimed in with the needs of the post-war State, especially with regard to the general concern over the demoralisation of the working class family of which the plight of 'problem families' and burgeoning delinquency rates were taken as major indices. Thus, on the whole there has been a conjunction of interests and ideology between the social work profession and the central apparatus of the State. If there had not been such a conjunction it goes by definition that social work
would not have been developed as a State agency.

The tensions (but not contradictions) therefore reside within social work and are the product of the disjunctions between the professional self image of social work and its role as a State agency. Thus for example, social workers would like to spend more time with their clients in order to realise their objectives of restoring them to self-reliance and social conformity, but this has become increasingly difficult given their statutory functions which entail them in having to take on clients whether they want to or not. It is rarely the case that the tensions arise from social workers being given statutory duties which are incompatible with their professional ethics, but rather that they don't have the material resources and time to achieve their goals. One of the dimensions in the current 'crisis' of social work is such an 'identity crisis'. As King has noted, a profession experiences an identity crisis, when its objective situation begins to place demands upon its members which run counter to the collective self-image it tries to impress upon them.

(1968:36)

A senior social worker in Coventry has given a clear example of this when she noted how students are trained to realise certain objectives with clients, such as self-reliance, which are impossible to implement:

One of my colleagues asked me the other day "do you think we are training students to take a gloomy enough view?" He was challenging the student's casework approach to a homeless family. By what right dare a student imagine that a homeless family with problems might be helped to stand on its own feet again, when shortage of resources of staff and money within the department make it almost impossible to give individual clients and families the actual time which is needed to achieve this end. This difficulty cannot be ignored, because it is real.

(Armitage 1968:1141)

These tensions can erupt into conflicts between the social worker and the employing local authority. The objective of the training courses is to fire the student with idealism about the possibilities of social work which are probably shared by the local authorities, but which it can't implement due to lack of resources.

It is for these reasons, and the general character of social work as a
State agency, that the selection committees contain both professionally qualified tutors and local authority social workers. While I would not want to over-estimate the differences between these two categories of professional social workers, their joint presence on the selection committees does indicate the range of qualities expected of a practicing social worker. Both groups are obviously concerned with assessing the nature of the candidate's commitment to the ethics of social work. But we can expect that the practicing social workers are also concerned to see whether the candidate has the capacity to combine professional idealism with the realities of working for the State and would be willing to accept "organisational priorities, policies and structures" (Wright 1976:24) which may thwart some of the purely 'professional' objectives. In fact given the character of social work, it is now a predominant requirement of the candidate to be able to demonstrate qualities that illustrate that their primary loyalty will be to the employing authority:

For social workers, it is the agency which makes practice possible and which is the source of censure or sanction. Social workers therefore, have to maintain a dual identification and loyalty, both to the agency and to the professional body, with the primary tie being to the agency. (Rapoport 1960:71; my emphasis. C.f. Douglas 1967:90)

Thus it has become increasingly the case that one of the established criterion of selection is that the candidates should have already had some 'preprofessional' experience of social work. (1) This preprofessional experience, as it is called, allows for a thorough assessment of potential candidates on both bureaucratic and professional dimensions. It is a test, wrote Heraud;

not only of a commitment to the world of social work but to the bureaucracy which is represented by the local authority. Thus;

1. The Social Work Education Committee of the JUC noted that;

"Only 15% of all applicants can be placed. Younger students with little experience often cannot hope to compete with older, more experienced applicants." (Minutes 5.3.1971)
adjustment to bureaucratic norms and values may be as important in achieving entry to social work in this initial stage as suitability for the profession as judged by professional selectors. (1972:180)

The grip of the local authorities over entry into the profession is further strengthened by their control over funding. In February 1977 CCETSW estimated that 77% of all students on social work courses were being seconded by local authorities (Social Work Today 8,2,1977:3). (1)

Normally in order to be seconded, the student must have worked for at least two years for the local authority and have proved to be acceptable. Thus given the importance of secondment in the funding of social work education, the courses are generally receiving a pre-selected group of candidates; candidates who have satisfied the local authorities as to their credentials as prospective social workers and employees of the local state apparatus (Heraud 1972:349).

The considerable emphasis on selection also stems from the particular structure of the occupation and the expected role of the professionally qualified social worker within it. From the time of the COS the vast majority of practicing social workers have not had any formal relevant social work training. Currently, over 60% of social workers are unqualified. Consequently, throughout the development of social work the qualified social workers have occupied a vanguard position within the occupation. These social workers are expected to regulate and guide the unqualified social workers and supervise their work to ensure that it is commensurate with the social work ideology, and as managers in the social services bureaucracies maintain and implement the local authority's policies.

1. In a breakdown of how students were funded on the social work course at Southampton University 1975/76 it was found that; 17 were on DHSS grants; 29 were seconded either by local authorities or the Probation Service (Home Office), and 1 was privately funded.
The relationship of the qualified social workers to the unqualified is similar to that between social work education and its students. Thus the tasks allotted to social work education in inculcating in students the mores and values of social work and in re-affirming their faith in its potentiality as a valuable therapeutic strategy, are those which have always been expected of qualified social workers:

it is worthy of note that it is always to the really experienced worker that the enthusiastic but untrained volunteer turns for a lesson in that hopefulness which no difficulty can daunt, no failure subdue, no defeat make waver. 'Through hope, ourselves and our work are saved'.

(Bannatyne 1902:343).

Given these pedagogic and managerial functions of 'professional' social workers it becomes ever more important that those candidates selected on to social work courses should have a "strong identification with the ideals and objectives of his profession as well as with the group he serves. He must have an unwavering conviction as to the worth of the ends of his work."

(Towle 1954:vii). Thus courses in social work education are much more than just 'gateways' to the occupation, they are the 'staff colleges' in which the future leaders and managers of social work are being trained and prepared.

The status and functions of the professional social worker are reflected in the hierarchical patterns of training. The status of 'professional' has been reserved only for those who have undertaken an accredited course, usually at postgraduate level.(1) Just as the School of Sociology and the six or seven other university social study courses were at the top of the training pyramid at the beginning of the twentieth century (Matheson 1916; Macadam 1910),

1. Despite the recent heated debates within BASW about eligibility for membership being extended to include unqualified social workers, it is still the case that only those holding recognised social work qualifications can join.
so it is now with the postgraduate social work courses. Thus as Hall noted:

> it is still generally accepted that the higher administrative and more responsible social work posts should be filled, as far as possible, by university graduates with professional training. (1965:117)

The summit of this hierarchy was flattened slightly following the implementation of the Younghusband Report's (1959) recommendations which established certificate courses (the Certificate in Social Work) for non-graduate students in non-university colleges. What the Younghusband Report did however, was to differentiate further between qualified social workers:

> Younghusband in reporting suggested the need for a three tier system; roughly, the university trained caseworkers who would be the officer class, the NCOs trained in colleges, and the welfare assistants who were the others. (Carmichael 1976:16) (1)

Under this three tier system the university trained social workers are not only supposed to supervise the other two categories, but they are also expected to deal with the most 'difficult' clients. Thus the report reserved work with problem families (c.f. paragraphs 675-6) for the 'officer' class and recommended that the other ranks should be trained to recognise those clients who required such 'skilled' assistance (paragraph 870).

The Younghusband Report marked the beginning of an attempt to differentiate the tasks of social workers according to their training. Certainly all the subsequent attempts to clarify the tasks of social workers have left unchallenged the supremacy of the graduate professionals. The Certificate in Social Service (CSS) which was launched in 1974 is no more than a qualification for undertaking relatively mundane tasks within the social

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1. According to the Report the top tier would have, "a university degree, diploma or certificate in social science, followed by the best professional training available; in other words the highest social work qualification which the country provides at any given time." (1959:246).
services departments which demand a technical knowledge of the various statutes which govern the allocation of aids such as bath mats for the elderly and handicapped. The Birch Report listed the following as being appropriate tasks for CSS holders:

a) mobilising practical services and other statutory services;
b) visiting old people;
c) escort duties;
d) transport of goods and aids;
e) helping with clubs and activities.

This recent concern with task differentiation is much more than just a narrow professional concern to preserve the status of the qualified social workers. Rather it is an attempt to ensure that the professional social workers are economically and efficiently used for the tasks for which they have been trained, namely social control. Thus Davey (1977:8) has noted how qualified social workers are most likely to undertake work with 'social deviants' who demand skills of socialisation and incorporation, whereas social work assistants deal with those clients who require specific services such as a telephone or meals on wheels. It is with these factors in mind therefore, that both local authorities and the profession invest such importance in the selection procedures.

Personal Suitability.

As I showed at the beginning of this chapter there is a strongly held consensus that prospective social workers should be personally suited for social work. However, like much social work theory and literature, the personal qualities of maturity and well-balanced personality which are said to be required are rarely defined when used. They share with other central social work concepts such as 'health', 'deviance', 'rationality', 'self-

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determination', 'awareness', among many others, a status of being unproblematic and unrelativistic; that is, they are regarded as self-evident. Thus Jones discovered in his survey of student selection that the tutors regarded the candidates' capacity for insight as a major selection criterion. But:

No tutor attempted to define what was meant by 'insight', nor did they indicate what kind of evidence was needed to substantiate a claim that a particular candidate had this ability. (N. Jones 1970:19)

If we were to restrict our attention solely to the literature on selection and the innumerable guidelines which have been issued to selection committees (some of which are reproduced in the Selection Appendix), we would be faced with the same problem, for usually, they yield very little information on what is meant when they state that the students selected should have "healthy personalities" (Houwink 1967:111) or, that they should demonstrate "emotional stability and emotional maturity in relation to life experiences and age" (National Workshop on Selection 1962:18).

However, while there may be a lack of explicitness over what is meant by these personal qualities in the selection literature, this is not the case for social work as a whole.

Despite the considerable influx of scientific jargon into the social work vocabulary, the very task and character of social work has always meant that in the final analysis it has to clarify what it is about a client's behaviour which makes it problematic and in need of social work intervention. Thus, as I have discussed throughout this study, concepts such as maturity and normality begin to shed their unrelativistic disguise when they are applied to the clients. For example, problem families are deemed to be extremely immature, because according to Irvine, they have;

'no sense of the value of money', 'no sense of time', and often 'no sense of property', in fact, a failure to grasp three of the most important elements in our culture. (1956:26)

On the basis of the way in which social work has defined its clients it is
not at all difficult to sketch out those qualities which are expected of the social worker. For the social worker has to be everything the client should be, if not more. As I indicated in the title of this chapter, the social worker has to be a 'super-citizen' or, as Judd and Gardiner maintained:

The best social worker is the one whose own good citizenship is at the same time rational and infectious. (1959:195)

And as Gow wrote at the beginning of the twentieth century:

The best (social) workers must be the best human beings, those whose conduct of their own lives is most nearly what we wish the conduct of all lives to be...
(1900:110)

Even within general social work texts which discuss a wide range of issues, we find the same message that the intending social worker must be a model citizen who is fully committed to the prevailing social values and can demonstrate in every pore of his personality and behaviour that they have been internalised and integrated:

What are we looking for in selection? .... because social workers have to stand for social values and require high ethical standards if they are to work at professional level, we require some assurance that certain standards of behaviour and ideals have been laid down and securely founded in early life, and have been again thought out and incorporated by the candidate himself in adolescence. No imposition of professional ethics can ever be a substitute for the candidate's own integrity. Secondly, we look for intelligence and flexibility of mind as a guarantee that the students will be able to respond to the challenging knowledge that will be put before them... Thirdly, we need to find qualities of imaginative sympathy and a social conscience which are a true(r) guarantee of leadership in the social work field...
(Heywood 1964:9) (1)

1. It should not be forgotten that the 'feminine' qualities of empathy and acceptance are considered vital. The prospective social worker, must, if he/she is to have any chance in changing the client, demonstrate qualities of tolerance and the ability "to get on with all sorts of people" (Younghusband 1947:3). As I have already discussed, the crux of the successful relationship is considered to be the 'trust' which is established between social worker and client in order to allay the mistrust of the client. Consequently, as the Curtis Committee noted:

She/the social worker/should be genial and friendly in manner and able to set both children and adults at their ease. She should have very high standards of physical and moral welfare, but should be flexible enough in temperament to avoid a sterile institutional correctness.
(1946:146)

See also Rutherford (1977:9-10) who has discussed these aspects of the social workers personality and the importance which is attributed to them.
Some of these assurances are sought for in the selection interviews themselves; in the way the candidate reacts to the questions and the stress of the situation. In the late 1940's and early 50s it was common practice for candidates to be interviewed by psychiatrists (Younghusband 1951:227) who would undoubtedly pry deep in their assessment of the candidates' personality and weed out those with gross "neurotic tendencies" (T. Simey 1949:12). Then of course, there are the references from their previous employers which play a vital role in establishing the candidate's suitability.

Apart from these sources there has been a general acknowledgement that the age of the candidate provides a rough guideline as to their maturity - "immaturity and lack of insight may be occasioned by youth" (Younghusband 1951:136). While no hard or fast rule has been laid down it is considered that candidates should be at least 20 years old (CCETSW May 1976:20). In part, the age limitation has been informed by those developmental psychologies (such as Freud's) which assert that adolescence and young adulthood are the last stages of emotional turmoil in which adult identities are being formed.

The notion that these are unstable periods in the development of the 'mature' personality has probably been reinforced by the evidence of 'youthful rebellion' and the generation gap which have gained great currency as strategies which deny the underlying reality and meaning of such radicalism. Even by their early twenties, social work students may not have 'settled down' and Heywood noted that:

invariably, as part of their maturing process they have strong feelings round such things as aggression, authority, dependence and independence, and sexuality. But these things are, of course, the raw material of all our joys and sorrows and the actual stuff of most social problems which the social worker has to handle. (1964:6, my emphasis)

Previous work experience has also been perceived as an 'aid' to maturity, at least those aspects of maturity related to good labour discipline. In her 1947 Carnegie Report on Social Work, Younghusband wrote:

First, the experience of an ordinary wage-earning occupation is a useful discipline on which to build the more routine part of the practical training. It is very clear from practical work reports that much time is saved if students know the elements of office routine and accepted procedures for co-operation between different
agencies and individuals. Such elementary things as punctuality, accurate filing, reception of office visitors, the answering of business telephone inquiries have proved to be beyond the ken of many school leavers. Secondly, all social workers are involved in exacting and responsible relations with their fellow men in which they will in some sense take the lead. To embark on this life career straight from school without the discipline of being a cog in the machine, or knowing the feeling of doing a perfectly ordinary job which may have no personal satisfaction in it, is good neither for them nor their future work. Lastly the demands of social work relationships lie far too heavily on the shoulders of those who have not reached some degree of personal maturity in their own personal relationships. (1947:29, my emphasis).

Once again we can see that social work does not want students who are going to be either 'mavericks' or have ambitions of being 'virtuoso' professionals.

The bureaucratic capacities of accepting authority and discipline, 'of being a cog in a machine' are just as important for the 'good' social worker as their commitment to 'serve' the poor. It is also evident in what Younghusband says, that prospective social workers should be able to accept that the vast majority of people are engaged in work that has no personal satisfaction in it. And as Kendall recently noted, it is not the agenda of social work to try and change such conditions:

Revolutionary and class war approaches to social change are not usually found in the job descriptions of the social agencies and institutions which have social workers. At the International Congress, Dr. De Jongh stated that "training for that kind of change could neither develop in the schools of social work, nor anywhere else: not even the most tolerant democratic society will accept such training so long as that society still believes in its own fundamental values." (1972:6) (1)

In fact, it is one of the dimensions of the current 'crisis' in social work that both local authorities and the profession are deeply worried about the influx of radicals into social work and on to social work courses. Munday maintained,

that we are now witnessing an increasing proportion of younger

1. "By and large, I think most caseworkers must be reasonably in accord with the social system they are helping to operate in dealing with its misfits... surely we approve the system as a whole, though probably advocating its improvement in this detail or in that; if this were not so we should probably not be caseworkers." (Corner 1959:21).
people entering social work training highly motivated by extreme left-wing political ideas and values which cause them at the outset to be very critical of what they believe constitutes traditional social work. Their views then tend to be reinforced heavily by much of the theoretical teaching (particularly of sociology) on their courses; and by their experiences of 'reality' in many training agencies.

(1972:3)

The reasons put forward by social workers for this upsurge in radicalism have been varied. Those most widely stated include the increasing youth of many social work students and the impact of critical sociology and psychology. I shan't rehearse these arguments again as they were discussed in chapter 4. However the profession's response to radicalism does highlight in some clarity the qualities which are sought for in prospective professional social workers, as well as the importance of selection procedures as a filtering mechanism.

One of the major complaints of the profession about radical students in social work is that they have gone too far in their commitment and espousal of some traditional social work values. "Vigorous concern with social problems and effective methods of dealing with them are precisely what we want", wrote Kendall. But she continued:

The dream waxes as we listen to idealistic young social workers proclaim their solidarity with the masses of people everywhere who have been shut out from a decent existence. The nightmare descends as we hear them reject the painfully acquired core of knowledge of man and society which could help them demonstrate a competence compounded of more than love, commitment and their own limited experience.

(1972:7)

Similarly, the students who seem to be worrying Munday with their ideals of a socialist utopia "when the poor will literally no longer be with us" (op cit:3) could be said to be doing no more than re-iterating the old aims of the COS, "to permanently improve the condition of the poor". The differences of course are the strategies which are to be used to realise such a goal and the radically different visions of society which inform such approaches. The whole paraphenalia of traditional social work has been dismissed by many radicals and the target becomes not the 'sick' client but the 'sick' society:

the most vocal and dynamic of the new recruits to social work are
anti-professionalism with its built in paternalism and inequalities. They do not see themselves as skilled experts dispensing therapy to social misfits, but as community workers where the client is no longer the sick person but the sick society. (Rankin 1970:21) (1)

That radicals have got onto social work courses at all does provide us with the salutary reminder that despite all that is said about the selection procedures, we cannot suppose that they are necessarily successful in achieving their objectives. To the profession however, emergent radicalism has come as a jolt, which has occasioned a number of responses. One of the most important has been the development of the Certificate of Social Service as a major form of social work training. The defining characteristic of the CSS is that it is wholly adapted to the immediate needs of the local authorities. The content and form of the training "is planned jointly by colleges and employers who together determine which groups of staff should be included and the general pattern of study" (Residential Social Work 1976:268, my emphasis). The potentially contaminating academic subjects such as sociology have no place in the curriculum:

Although courses leading to the CSS will include the broadly-based common unit, teaching will generally be more narrowly focused and more pragmatic than in those leading to the CSSW, with their generic base. The former will not include equivalent study in the behavioural sciences and other academic subjects, given the time available and the limited opportunities to engage the services of academic staff from allied disciplines. (CCETSW March 1975:18)

Similarly, the students on CSS courses are insulated in a number of ways from that other major source of radical contamination, the general student body. Because the CSS is no more than a 'day release' form of training - the students remain as employees of the local authority and only go into the colleges for their classes - the students have neither the time nor the opportunity for engaging in the student 'culture' of their respective colleges.

1. For a good discussion of some of the problems facing radical social workers - can there ever be such a person? - see Michael Clarke 1976:501-6, and S. Cohen 1975.
With regard to combating radicalism on the CQSW courses there has been a re-assertion of the importance of selection, at least as a first step:

Probably the most important thing is the appropriate selection of appropriate people, rather than what to do with, or do to students once they are on a course. (Sibby1976:3)

In the same vein, Munday has strongly recommended that all candidates for social work courses should have had some prior experience of social work, with the hope that the radicals will be dissuaded from going any further:

I became increasingly convinced that it is necessary for younger students to have had some experience of working in a social work agency before entering training, so that they may directly experience some of the opportunities and limitations of social work practice. This may be particularly important for the Marxist student. It is really quite difficult to understand how a consistent Marxist can stay in social work if he finds in practice that "social workers are props to mask and perpetuate the underlying injustices and inequalities of an acquisitive society". Most social workers accept willingly or otherwise, that in a capitalist society statutory social work has a definite social control function that cannot be dodged. How can a Marxist willingly participate in such an activity? (1972:5)

But the highlighting of selection procedures in recent years is more than just a response to the increasing (and still small) number of radicals that have entered the profession. It also reflects a change in the character of social work as a major occupational possibility for a broader range of people than hitherto. In the COS days, and even in the 1950s, social work was inevitably restricted to a relatively select class of people who had private or alternative sources of income which allowed them to do the job either in a voluntary capacity or for the low wages which were paid until recently. Entry to social work courses was even further restricted. Before the Second World War nearly all the students had to be self-supporting and pay their own fees (1). As late as 1955, Younghusband was complaining

1. In an interview with Dame Eileen Younghusband I was informed that during the inter-war years at the LSE there was no glamour as there is today to get on to a social work course, and that a major selection criterion was the student's ability to afford the fees and be self-supporting.
that the lack and particular administration of State grants was severely hampering recruitment into social work:

Local authority grants are sometimes scanty in amount and erratically awarded, while the ear-marked grants for particular forms of social work do not give students at the basic training stage the chance to look round and test out the form of social work for which they have the most aptitude. Furthermore, older people wanting to enter professional social work after some other career can only do so by their own financial efforts or else by choosing one of those branches, of which probation and child care are the chief, which will give them necessary help to train. Such people are a grave loss to social work, which essentially demands maturity and responsible judgement, even at the training stage. (1955:208-9)

However, with the expansion of social work throughout the post-war period the picture has dramatically changed. Social work is no longer poorly paid. Although the grant problem has not yet been finally resolved, many students do receive financial assistance from the State to do a course. In fact, it can be said that social work has become an attractive career prospect for many university graduates of the social sciences - of which there are now many - and indeed for the educated middle classes as a whole.

Thus, unlike the old days of social work when those who came forward to volunteer or to go on courses could be expected on account of the 'sacrifices' involved, to be largely committed to the ethics and objectives of social work, the recent applicants for social work posts and courses cannot unquestionably be assumed to be so vocationally oriented. For some of these social work may be just another job, particularly in recent years when social work has been one of the few growth areas in either the public or private sectors of the economy. Although it is now becoming more difficult to get a social work post unless qualified, there are still many pages of advertisements in the "trade" papers of vacancies in social services departments (c.f. New Society, Social Work Today and Community Care). For many social science and humanities graduates who are still being turned out by the polytechnics and universities following the rapid expansion of these subjects in the mid and late sixties, social work remains as one of the few areas where there is a chance of work in which their degrees may be an advantage (career wise) and be regarded as relevant.
All of these factors combine to mean that social work can no longer expect that self-selection procedures are operative; that only those who are committed to the ideals of social work are coming forward. The emergence of radicals, unheard of a decade earlier - or at least so insignificant that they did not warrant discussion in professional circles - is but one reflection of these changes. In sum therefore, selection procedures have become ever more important in recent years to assure that the new members of the profession can, as the 1958 United National Report stated, "be trusted to use their professional knowledge and skill not only efficiently but also for the benefit of its clientele and for the social good" (1958:194).

Concluding Remarks.

An understanding of selection is therefore critical for assessing the significance of the socialising and professionalising impact of social work education. A failure to take account of it can lead to an over-emphasis on the socialising nature of the content of social work education. It is my contention that the content of social work courses attempts to strengthen and enhance an already given predisposition to the social work world view rather than the initiator of its formation.

The selection procedures of social work courses are then a crucial filter which try to ensure that only a certain sort of candidate is admitted to the higher echelons of the occupation. It is however only one, albeit important, section of the gateway through which the aspiring professional has to pass. As we have noted, the interview is not the first stage of this entrance, for it explicitly presupposes 'satisfactory' earlier stages of socialisation, both in the family and in previous employments. Nor is it the last. The course as a whole constitutes the gateway, and students are being assessed throughout its duration in the qualities discussed above.

The initial selection interview shares a status with the formal examination
assessments as being one of the designated places where the gate is explicitly opened and closed. As such, it provides a focus, for the gatekeepers are tangible at this point and have left the commentator with a not insubstantial set of regulations and mass of literature to peruse.
Social work is an 'art'. Social work education is neither purely academic nor technical, but 'artistic'. Such statements as these have been made about the character of social work since the time of the COS. In fact the entire edifice of social work education and social work theory demonstrates a functional concern with practice. It is hardly surprising then that practical work should occupy a central position within social work education and should share the same high status as those 'core' courses of social work methods and human growth and behaviour. From the very first formal social work courses students have spent approximately half of their total time in supervised practical work (Matheson 1912:72), and it has been the policy of all the training councils since 1945 that all recognised professional courses should ensure that their students spend at least half their time in practical work under the supervision of an experienced social worker. (1)

The high status of the placement is reflected in the fact that students must 'pass' this part of this course in order to gain their qualification. Even if the student scored grade 'A's on all the 'academic' courses, no qualification would be given if the placement was failed. As CCETSW noted: there is no alternative to the kind of learning experience provided by practice placements which are supervised and where work done by

1. In the placement Appendix a breakdown is given of the time students spend in the college setting and on placement. At Queen's University Belfast, students spend 1,053 hours on placement as against 517 hours in academic study during a two year postgraduate course.

In 1917 The Joint University Council for Social Studies (JUC) was formed "with the object of co-ordinating and developing the work of Social Study Departments in connexion with the Universities of Great Britain and Ireland" (JUC 1918:5). The JUC soon asserted the importance of practical work and at a meeting in 1919: "It was pointed out that Social Study would in no case be recognised by the Board unless accompanied by practical social work among young people, clubs etc., and some actual experience of teaching." (Minutes 25.10.1919; p.16 Of Minute Book).
students is assessed and given equal weight with academic work. The Council does not allow compensation between work done in practice placements and academic work, and the place of the assessed practice placement is therefore of primary importance. (August 1976a:12)

The importance of placement success and the report of the student supervisor in determining the final assessment of the student has led to some conflict between the 'profession' and the universities. McDougall (1971:20) has noted that the universities accord more importance to academic strengths than practice weakness and that consequently "social work teachers often have to battle to get reports on practice included in the final assessment of student performance". The social work teachers will always win however because the Training Council will not ratify any qualification which does not include a successful assessment of the student's placement (c.f. CTSW 1967a:8).

It should be self-evident why the placement is regarded with such importance. After all it is the object of social work education to turn out 'good' and 'efficient' practitioners and the placement is clearly an acid test of how far that goal is being achieved. As Heywood noted, it is only in the practice situation that the student's ability as a social worker can be assessed:

In class, by teaching and examining, we can only be sure that the student has the means at his disposal to become a practitioner. It is possible to discuss cases well in class, answer examinations perfectly adequately and yet not be a very good caseworker. If we want to know the student's ability as a practitioner, we must know about his performance in the agency. (1964:74)

But the task of the placement and the supervisor is much more than assessment (1); the placement is also supposed to be the place where 'theory' and 'practice' are integrated:

Assessable practice placements are expected to provide substantive

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1. The assessment of students by their supervisors is a crucial aspect of the overall selection/filtering procedure, and the two examples of supervisor's reports (guidelines) given in the placement Appendix, illustrate further the clusters of qualities which are looked for in future professional social workers.
and experiental teaching of a special kind. They must provide the kind of learning experience which allows a student to integrate and to internalise his total learning experience, in a way which enables him to share and use what he learns, and also begin to develop his own style of working. In a very real sense such placements lay the foundation for the future development of the practitioner with a capacity to respond flexibly and competently to the variety of ways in which needs are expressed. (CCETSW August 1976a:12)

Fieldwork carries a large share of the burden for helping the student to integrate his knowledge from the total curricula, because knowledge only comes to life as it is put to use. (Selby 1968:156; similarly see Scott 1951:445 and Hammond 1965:37)

Thus according to Urwick (1914:80), the School of Sociology was pledged "to the fundamental principle, always insisted upon by the Charity Organisation Society, of combining in the closest possible way, practical work under experienced guidance with theoretical study under the direction of teachers who are also experienced workers".

The supervisors of placements, despite not being full members of the academic institutions, occupy a central teaching position within social work education. The social work department at Sussex University insisted that;

"The supervisor carries the main weight of the student's professional learning. Students pass or fail the fieldwork part of the course on the basis of the supervisor's reports, so in a very real sense the supervisor plays a major part in the education of the students. (1974:1)

Their task is to try and relate the 'theory' which the student is taught in the college setting to practice; to make it relevant. (1) The already pragmatic character of much social work knowledge is thus to be reforged and reinforced at the level of the placement.

The real essence of the placement however, is to make certain that the students become 'true' professionals. As I indicated in the last chapter,

1. "The ideal relationship between theory and practice, to be achieved mainly through practical work, has been seen as a 'real co-ordination', a 'correlation', an 'integration' an 'interrelation'. Practical work is said to illuminate theory." (Timms 1959:170)

"Much of the consolidation and integration of knowledge and the development of skills takes place in the fieldwork setting and with the help of super -vision." (Child Guidance Special Interest Group 1973:12)
a professional social worker is now expected to be not merely a person who
is 'good with clients', but one who is good with clients and a good
representative of the employing State agency. In terms of a division of
labour in social work education it is possible to consider the functions
of the college based teachers as inculcating in the students an ideal view
of social work whereas the fieldwork teachers are expected to transform and
translate such a view into a realistic conception of the job. This division
was captured by Urwick when he said that the overall task of social work
courses was to give the students "a double knowledge, at once practical and
theoretical, real and ideal" (1914:80).

It is one of the major differences between the social work of the COS and
that of the contemporary period, that the distance between the real and the
ideal has widened, which in turn has affected the relationship between the
placement and the academic components of the courses. At the beginning of
this century the relationship between the formal courses and the practice
of social work was exceptionally close with both being largely under the
control of the COS. It was the job of the School of Sociology to make
the ideals of social work as expressed in the works of Loch, the
Bosanquets and Hill, real for a rising generation of social work leaders.
As an independent organisation the COS was not subject to any major
constraints over how it conducted their social work. The practice and
theory of social work were harmonious and the main concern of the Society
was to try and extend their conception of social work over the entire field
of social reform. In this context the task of the placement and the
fieldwork supervisors was unproblematic, and their principal concern was
to introduce the students to the actual mechanics of office routine
(Meyerstein 1914:86-7; Bannatyne 1902:338). And they shared with the
social work tutors the job of preventing students from slipping into "mere
theorising" (Urwick 1914:80) which was considered to be a "danger". (1)

Since 1945 however, social work has lost the independence and relative autonomy of the COS and during the past thirty years it has become ever more apparent that the 'professional' social worker is one who can function within the State apparatus. Some of the consequences of this development both for individual social workers and the style of supervision have been succinctly noted by Scott:

Supervisors, both the more and less professionally oriented, held that the truly professional social worker should be able to exercise enough self-discipline to function effectively in an agency setting. Disciplined conformity to authority was regarded as a sign of maturity. As one supervisor explained to a recalcitrant worker, "Maturity is involved in working with existing authority and accepting it!" Another phrase often used to justify working within agency policy was that to do so was to "accept the reality factors in the situation." (R. Scott 1969:117)

It is now widely asserted by social work educators that it is in the placement where the student is expected to confirm his professional stature. And it is on the shoulders of the fieldwork supervisors that this burden is laid, for the supervisor is expected to be an exemplary social worker who

1. The problem with 'mere theorising' seems to be that it could lead the student away from the 'real' world and toward the development of "big schemes" which were always seen as socialistic by the COS. Urwick referred to the practical component of social work education as the laboratory in which "wilful experiment is the last thing to be allowed". And he continued: "The student must study the concrete material to be found in existing social institutions. It is doubtful whether this can be done in simple observation; at any rate it will be better done, and without danger, if he is set to work in some of the simplest and most natural ways under the guidance of an experienced administrator or social worker." (1904:187-8)

It was a crucial quality of the COS's conservatism (which is largely shared by contemporary social work) that theory should only be developed to understand and enhance existing social arrangements and institutions - to uncover their essential and guiding ideal. Once theory passes on to consider new schemes which challenge these arrangements then it becomes both dangerous and propagandist.

In the contemporary period Deacon and Bartley (1975:79) have noted how the "intellectual and/or critical students" are stereotyped as being cold and unconcerned. I would support these writers' argument that such stereotyping and disavowal of theory, especially about society, is a product of social work's primary commitment to psychological reductionism whereby social problems are reduced to issues about personalities and 'feelings'.

can be a model professional for the student to copy:

Probably more than any other person involved in teaching the student, the supervisor provides a professional model which influences the student's sense of professional identity. For most students, their learning in the field is of greatest importance... the student: supervisor carries the responsibility for providing a model of the profession. (Pettes 1967:55)

In a social work placement students have the main opportunity for professional identification. They themselves have controlled caseloads for educational purposes but they have models in the social workers alongside whom they are working under the normal pressures of the department. (CTSW 1971:21 also see C. Morris 1972:10)

Through the supervisory relationship the concept of the professional self is crystallised. This comes about through partial identification with the supervisor, who fosters it by demonstration and conduct. (Rapoport 1954:7)

Given this duty of the supervisor it has been stressed that they should have proven ability to act as such a model, especially when according to McDougall;

It is on the student/supervisor experience and also on the experience of being supervised or helped during the first year of one's first job that the future of the profession depends. (1970:20; see Michael 1976:240)

The following are the qualities which Snelling expected of the good supervisor:

a good practitioner, secure in practice. He would need a knowledge of psychological theories, and might require to take extra courses in order to have the same basis of knowledge as modern students. He should be a mature person and able to give the leadership required... He should have a real liking for people, and the capacity for a warm, supportive, steady relationship that remained controlled and professional. He needed to have an understanding of himself and a capacity for self-evaluation, if he was to help the learner acquire these in turn. He should be identified with his agency's purpose and should feel comfortable within it, for a critical supervisor would produce an uneasy learner... (1952; cited Michael 1976:88; my emphasis)

CCETSW has become so concerned about the declining quality of supervisors (largely attributed to the Seebohm reorganisation whereby many experienced social workers were promoted to management positions and had no time for supervision) that they have recently agreed to the principle that as part of the criteria of recognition of a CQSW that all newly appointed supervisors should have had a minimum of two years post qualifying experience (August 1976a:13).
The role of the supervisor with the student is remarkably similar to that of the social worker with the client. As Hammond recognised:

Yet what is a supervisory session but a one-to-one relationship in which communication is carried on primarily through the interview. Do we not share experience and anxieties in this situation. Have we not got an aim in common with casework where we are also attempting to achieve a goal of learning? For clients it is learning about their situation or coming to terms with it; with students it is learning in terms of wider knowledge and skill. (1965:42-3)

Although there are important differences between the student/supervisor and client/social worker relationships, they both share the same 'personalised' socialisation approach. For the student the supervisor is a representative of the profession, a super-citizen, whereas for the client the social worker is a model citizen. In both relationships, the students and the clients are encouraged and persuaded to copy their respective models and take for themselves the behaviour and attitudes which are being presented. Moreover, failure to comply with their models can lead to disastrous consequences for both of them. In the case of students, Rees and Edwards observed that they become practitioners by aspiring to the way they aspire may find themselves denied the opportunity to qualify. (1973:17)

Similarly Heraud has remarked that criticism by students of social work or the course can be precarious for it "may cast doubt on the suitability of the student for practice" (1973:90).

Such is the power of the supervisor over the student because of the importance of the fieldwork report in the final assessment that the student is often structurally constrained from making any move or criticism which might displease the supervisor. Michael found that the students at Edinburgh University were often dissatisfied with their supervisors and complained of being 'caseworked':

It wasn't really education, just learning what was expected and pleasing them. You couldn't win anyway because everything was interpreted, and not necessarily in the way you meant when you said it. (Edinburgh Students, cited Michael 1976:47)
Some of the students Michael interviewed were especially critical of the pernicious manner in which the relationship was handled by their tutors and supervisors:

"Tutors and supervisors keep saying 'do share with us', but it wasn't sharing they wanted, it was telling. They never shared anything and wanted to remain distant - you never met them in a pub and if you did you certainly wouldn't join them for a drink..." They talked of how this worked out - one said that he had once shared something important and it appeared as negative in his report. (ibid:48)

Not only is it a most precarious activity for student social workers to engage in criticisms of social work and the way they are being taught, but they are most likely to be responded to in the same way a client is when he refuses to accept the 'diagnosis' of his social worker. Any challenge to established authority is deemed to be a symptom of personal weakness and pathology (c.f. Sawdy 1973:732):

When workers offer disagreement or make efforts at self-direction, this is judged as resistance, hostility, a problem with authority, lack of maturity, overly aggressive behaviour, or whatever fits the supervisor's style. (Munson 1976:96) (1)

Blau and Scott have succinctly drawn attention to the way this mode of supervision is abused in handling criticisms and used to control subordinates:

the psychiatric approach to supervision in social work is subject to abuse. What is conceived to be a very democratic method of supervision - not blaming subordinates but helping them understand their problems - turns easily into a manipulative controlling device... Workers found that they could not be right in any disagreement since their arguments were not accepted at face value but dismissed as being rationalised to mark unconscious resistance. Subordinates are defenceless against this criticism because the very act of questioning 'proves it right'...(1966:188-91)

1. In a letter to Social Work Today four graduates of Sussex University social work course similarly drew attention to the way their criticisms were 'cooled out' by their tutors: "The ideology of the Sussex course emphasised the importance of the students' autonomy and responsibility to develop their own approach to social work and appeared to offer a democratic structure in which this could happen. Over time we found that this model of democracy was severely restricted by a rigid power structure which allowed only as much student self-determination as was approved by the tutors. As soon as we attempted to go beyond the limits of this structure our actions were interpreted in terms of our individual pathology. Far from helping us to develop, this merely made us feel impotent and intensely frustrated." (SWT vol 8, 15.2.1977)
The principal source of conflict between the students and the supervisors would seem to be over acceptance of agency policy. Most of the students' criticisms of the agencies are not informed from a radical perspective, although as I noted earlier there are an increasing number of radical students in social work, but these are still a minority. Rather the criticisms and tensions stem from the very character of social work education and the growing distance between the theory and practice. The social work profession as a whole has been very ambiguous with regard to the post-war development of social work by the State. In many ways it has been reluctant to accept its status as an "arm of the State" and instead has clung on to visions of professional autonomy. Certainly, what Beaumont has said of the Probation Service applies to all branches of social work:

The Probation and After Care Service is an arm of the State - it is given a job to do and, by and large, it does it. Probation Officers do not like being reminded of this... but when we try to ignore this simple fact we often appear vague and precious, creating a mystifying wonderland where 'professional' values and judgements flourish without political constraints. The Probation Service cannot be viewed in isolation from the society which it serves and it is surely not a body which could conceivably posses or operate a discrete philosophy of its own.

(1976:73)

Social work courses by not having to deal with many of the political constraints which daily confront the practicing agencies, have been allowed to remain as the main centre where the ideals of professional purity can still be sustained and perpetuated. This divorce from the reality of practice has led however, to growing numbers of social work practitioners and managers complaining that large slices of the education programme have no relevance and that the courses are generally failing to prepare students for the reality of practice in a local authority department. For example, Bessell, the Director of Warwickshire Social Services, maintained that:

It is a common place that the standard two year training for a CQSW does not adequately prepare a newly qualified member of staff of a social services department for responsibilities as a social worker.

(1976:26)
Another practicing social worker has argued that:

It is not too much of a caricature to say that social workers and heads of field work departments want people to come off their courses as qualified technicians ready to do the job with their feet on the ground, and that training courses produce theoreticians with their heads in the clouds. Unfortunately, very often the clouds are always more than six feet above the ground so that the head and feet are never joined.

(Bibby 1976:2)

But what can be more conclusive of the widening gap between social work education and practice than the admission of CCETSW and leading social work teachers that there "is a strong possibility that social work education bears little relationship to social work practice" (CCETSW 1976:70).

Stevenson, a leading social work teacher throughout this period and now professor of social work at Keele University wrote that:

The social work educator knows the situation and he knows that social work theory embodied in the literature bears little relation to this aspect of his task (of guiding students in the distribution of material relief which is occupying ever more time of local authority social workers (1))

His students also know, since nearly all of them will have had experience of social work before training, as well as field work during the course. Thus the teacher must strike an uneasy compromise: on the one hand, he must acknowledge the problem and offer some tactics for daily work, as for example in the field of welfare rights.

On the other hand, it is, in my view, urgent to point out the grave dangers of recent developments.

(1976:151)

The statutory involvement of social work in poor relief is one of the more graphic examples of the increasingly limited independence of social work.

Even though the COS never separated itself entirely from giving relief it has always been a maxim of social work that financial aid should only be given in the last resort and that the social worker should generally keep the "purse at home". However in recent years, and especially since the 1963 Children and Young Persons Act, social work has been developed into the last layer of the relief giving apparatus particularly for families with children. Ironically, the relationship between the COS and the Poor Law whereby the Poor Law was to deal with the undeserving destitute and

charity with the deserving has now been reversed. This new relationship between the agencies has recently been clarified by the Supplementary Benefits Commission:

There are a number of cases in which fuel debts and rent arrears are the result of mismanagement, and there are signs that the number, though still small, may be tending to increase. In such cases the Commission consider that since the taxpayers' responsibility to the claimants has already been discharged, they should not meet the claimants' debts, and should certainly not meet them repeatedly except in the very last resort, where no other sort of help is available and severe hardship would result. In a high proportion of such cases there are children in the family, and the local office would normally consult the social services department of the local authority who may be able as part of social work help for the family to advise the claimant about budgeting, and may exceptionally be able to use their powers under the Children and Young Persons Act 1963 to pay off their debt.

For many social workers these developments have been distasteful, for they have cast them into a role of relief givers which they have traditionally rejected. Despite the emergence of welfare rights options on many social work courses, the mainstream of social work education and theory takes very little account of these relief giving tasks and assumes that such duties are undertaken elsewhere. The main problem seems to be - and this point is in urgent need of further clarification - that social work's incursion into relief work has decisively affected its image and stance vis-à-vis the client populations. That is, relief functions are encouraging dependency among the clients and subverting social work's prime objective of making the clients independent and self-reliant.

It is as a result of these emerging tensions in the social work field that the importance attached to the placement has been growing, and it has now become one of the central tasks of supervisors to try and bridge the gap between the reality of social work practice and the idealism of social work theory. As I discussed earlier, one of the functions of social work education is to enhance the faith of the students in the therapeutic potential of social work. This idealism is regarded as crucial in order to sustain the motivation of the social workers in the face of disappointment.
and the morass of human tragedy which the practicing social worker meets in everyday practice. However, what has become glaringly apparent during the post-war period is that the bureaucracy of local authority departments and the policies of central and local government can be, and are, major inhibitors to the translation of theory into practice. Furthermore, the students' awareness of this blocking role of the agencies can be highlighted during their academic work in such options as organisation theory which draw attention to the rigidity and conservatism of bureaucracies. In a discussion paper on fieldwork training, the Council for Training in Social Work showed considerable awareness of the tensions involved and the strategies that supervisors had to adopt to combat them:

students on most courses nowadays are familiar with new concepts about conflict and consensus, and some see conflict rather than co-operation as the only solution to certain social problems. This viewpoint may well be having a considerable and unexpected impact in some agencies. Teaching on organisations theory may also impose further strain on some fieldwork teachers, agencies and students. Close links and full exchange of information between tutors and fieldwork teachers are essential if possible clashes between agencies and students are to be anticipated. This is different from conflicts which are inherent in social situations, in departments, in the authority of the fieldwork teachers and attitudes towards social action. All the foregoing pose fresh problems about students' obligations to adhere to agency policies, especially in the early days in the placement when they may not always see what is constructive in a given agency. It is vitally important that students' educational experience should engage their enthusiasm for social reform and social action, and help them to understand better the range of social problems and the complexities of reform. They should be given the opportunities to express, examine and analyse their criticisms of the actions of social workers and social agencies. They also need help in seeing their tendency to stereotype, in analysing their own professional roles and in coming to terms with acting as representatives of the agency, 'warts and all' in which they are working.

Here then, we have a classic formulation of the tensions inherent in social work education and the nature of the supervisors' role. The supervisor is advised to commence by allowing the student to express his criticisms of the agency and the work of social workers - a cathartic release. However in the course of this catharsis, the supervisor should begin to modify those criticisms and teach the student "how to work within existing organisations and to raise queries without being disruptive" (ibid:16).
Armitage has called this process one of making the students' idealism "reality based"; a task which is not easy for the supervisor:

There is a real dilemma in how to retain a sense of vocation and idealism and at the same time get across to students that their aim must be to achieve the highest appropriate standards not the highest possible standards. Regard must be had to the defined purpose of the organisation.

(1968:1141) (1)

In other words the supervisors are not expected to undermine the idealism engendered in the college situation but rather to temper it in accordance with the agencies' policy. According to the literature on supervision it seems that this is best achieved by showing the student that despite all the 'warts' of the bureaucratic apparatus the agency exists for the 'good' of the clients:

The student has to learn how to become a part of an agency staff, and the supervisor helps him in this by example, and by holding the student to account within the area of the student's defined responsibilities. The supervisor has a responsibility to help students learn such good work habits as promptness in recording, keeping appointments, organising time productively, following necessary procedures ... This kind of learning is also easier if the student can be helped to see that administrative procedures can implement responsible service to clients. Often students initially see administrative procedures as limiting rather than implementing, or as red tape, The supervisor has to help the student resolve his ambivalence about administration and its relationship to clients' needs.

(Selby 1962/1968:164)

Selby reminds us once more that one of the tasks of the supervisors is to ensure that the students develop good work habits.

Heywood has also emphasised how the student must learn in the course of the placement to identify with the agency on the basis that the agency is the expression of 'society's' concern:

it is in the practical work that the student comes to grips with the

1. Similarly Hammond noted that:

One of the hardest things for students is to accept that there are limitations and discrepancies. This is alright theoretically at the University or College but when it comes down in practice in terms of a particular client, some students feel frustrated, alarmed or depressed, since it immediately arouses their uncertainty about their potentialities as professional workers.

(1965:42-3)
need to identify with the agency and the social work profession, to see that the agency is an expression of society's will and not a field for private evangelicism or propaganda. Loyalty to the agency's policy must be paramount, but with this there goes the responsibility of the worker to see that the agency's policy is responsive to the needs of clients, a duty to lead and guide policy wherever possible.

(1964:87) (1)

This stress on the student's identification with the agency has to be understood on a number of dimensions. Most self-evidently it is of great concern to the future employers, and CCEFTSW noted in its 2nd Annual Report that the employers emphasised this aspect of the educational programme more than any other:

Emphasis on practical training in social work courses naturally comes from employers who expect social workers to be able to carry out a wide range of duties. For this they need to have acquired a great deal of detailed local knowledge, to understand the rules and regulations of the organisations for which they work, and to be efficient in carrying out practical tasks. From this point of view there may be a tendency to undervalue the academic disciplines that the students are being taught or even to suspect that the education they receive makes them difficult employees more concerned to change the 'system' than to get on with the job. Clearly social work education must balance these pressures.

(Feb 1975:38-39) (2)

CTSW's earlier survey (1971) in which it asked Chief Officers what qualities they looked for in the newly qualified worker similarly substantiated this concern of the employers:

those they rated most highly were concern, reliability, ability to use community resources and ability for good relations with colleagues in the department.

(1971:21, and see also Selection Appendix)

The very qualities which the placements are expected to strengthen and enhance in students.

1. BASW has argued that one of its functions is to assist social workers in their duties to ensure that the agencies are flexible to the need of clients and provide the necessary resources, and to lend its support to those social workers who might get involved in conflict with their employing authorities over such issues. (1971:6).

But of course, as Price (1968:2286) indicated, the command structure of social services departments is such that it is exceptionally difficult to transmit information upwards, and that "agency policy is. . . usually determined at points in the hierarchy which are quite remote from actual need."

2. "Fieldwork is generally considered by both schools and agencies alike to offer the most valid index of a student's professional competence, and hence field work grades are weighted more heavily than other grades by employing agencies." (L. Scott 1951:441)
Similarly, the placement provides further opportunity for 'professional' control over the final assessment and selection of professional social workers; professional being understood in the new sense of a combination of occupational and 'state representative' dimensions. This was made most clear by the Association of Social Workers in 1954:

A profession may or may not be responsible for instructing its entrants in the basic theory which it requires of them; many of them leave this to the universities, polytechnics or private study. What all are concerned with however, is the practical experience and practical competence - whether acquired by apprenticeship or experience under a senior practitioner - which is the essential condition for admittance to its own and the public's satisfaction, that its members are competent to practice, or perhaps competent in practicing their speciality.

(1954:22)

What the emphasis on fieldwork by both the employing authorities and the 'professional' does indicate is that the social work teachers in the academic institutions are regarded as being 'not quite' professional. Implicit in the following statement from CCETSW about how students sometimes attempt to 'escape' from their duties by reverting to criticism, and how they are sometimes aided by their college tutors, is the notion that a 'professional' is one who can manage the compromises required when working in a social work agency:

It is relatively easy to examine the various approaches to observation assessment and decision making, it is less easy to make the actual decision and carry out the plan of action and meet the consequences. It is also easy for students to evade this essential aspect of their future work by escaping into social comment and well informed criticisms of society, and of the social service structure, of the value bases of social work and of the 'subjectivity' of social work intervention. Such an escape is sometimes aided by college teachers who are usually protected from situations where professional judgments have to be made and consequences faced - akin to facing or evading the failing students which so many find difficult.

(May 1976:13; my emphasis)

Notwithstanding the importance of these two inter-related dimensions, the extensive focus on ensuring agency identification by the student during the course of the placement does highlight yet another aspect of the character of contemporary social work.

Most clearly it furthers our understanding of the status of the professional
social worker as one who is foremost a representative of the local authority. It is largely around the issues of operating agency policy and objectives that social workers are regulated in their everyday work. Within those parameters the social worker undertakes his work and is expected to use his occupational skills. But it is the local authority and not the profession per se which defines the boundaries of work and thus regulates the work undertaken.

Crucially however, it is the agency which invests the social worker with authority. It is my contention that the necessary power which the social worker requires over the clients in order to intervene in their lives stems from being representative of the local authority. As some social work writers themselves have acknowledged, there is very little public understanding and awareness of the 'expertise' of social workers. Unlike other professions such as medicine and law, social workers cannot rely on public recognition of their qualifications for their authority and power. But whether social workers regret it or not, it is precisely as 'the person from the council' that they are invested with influence by their clients. It is in that capacity, and not as holders of university degrees and QSWs, that social workers exercise power over their clients and which distinguishes them from the ordinary person or friend who may want to help another. If social workers were generally seen as people who could offer a genuine service required by their clients surely we would expect that most clients would be self-referred; that is they would go along to the office on their own initiative. But as we have seen, most clients are referred by third parties and arrive at the door of the social services department via other state agencies. Unfortunately, the reality of social work today is that its influence stems primarily from the powers invested in them by central and local government; the power to remove children from families, to commit people to psychiatric hospitals, to ration scarce resources which many of their clients require. On all these counts therefore, it becomes absolutely necessary that the perspective professional social worker can demonstrate a firm commitment and loyalty to the employing agency and it is during the
placement that this identification is forged and tested. It is hardly surprising therefore, that the placement should be invested with so much importance.

**Concluding Remarks.**

Once more, via another avenue, this time the placement, we are able to gain considerable insight into how social workers are 'made'. Together, the form and content of social work education combines to make what appears to be a well formulated and consistent socialisation apparatus in which the various segments have allotted and complementary tasks. However, despite all the safeguards and regulatory mechanisms which are built into this apparatus there are increasing signs that all is not well. It is becoming more apparent that forms of resistance are being engendered among professional social workers and social work students who are unhappy about the way social work has, and is being developed. These forms of resistance are being manifested in a number of diverse ways. For example, the reports emerging from the DHSS funded project on social work education have indicated that there is considerable 'professional' discontent among social work teachers. Stevenson, who is the director of this project, has recorded the following complaints which typify this kind of concern:

- The local authority is a most inhospitable setting for social work. (Lecturer)
- /Students/ are going back to a hostile environment. (Tutor)
- What local authorities employ us to do does not always have much bearing on professional social work. An infinite freedom to dabble in other people's lives: carte blanche in this respect, but just try spending £5. (Field work supervisor)
- The local authority scene in this area is gloomy beyond belief and we can't in all conscience fit people for that. Negativism is the only possible attitude. The students are going back to this, being trodden on from a great height. (Tutors) (Stevenson 1976a:3,14,16)

Then there are the more 'political' responses which have included the emergence of Case Con in the late sixties, the development of rank and file...
trade unionism among practicing social workers, and the formation of student social work groups (c.f. Milne 1977:18). Probably most surprising has been the development of radical social work courses, the most notable being at Warwick University. While there are specific features which have contributed to the possibility of such a course at Warwick — probably the most significant reason being the high status of the professor, Peter Leonard, within the social work field (1) — the fact that such a course can develop does demonstrate that social work is not so 'closed' and well regulated that it can preclude alternative visions from developing.

Most of these forms of resistance are recent, and are the result of the massive reorganisations which took place within the local government sector in the early seventies. At present, it is difficult to predict what repercussions will follow. However, we already have some signs of the government's reactions in the development of the CSS, which suggests that social work is going to have its wings clipped even shorter, with the local authorities intervening in social work education in a more direct, controlling manner (2). If this occurs, the general trajectory of social work's development since 1945 will be maintained with social work increasingly becoming an ever more subordinate agency of the State.

1. Prior to Leonard's 'conversion' to Marxism (see Leonard 1975, 1975a, 1976, 1976a) he was a leading member of the National Institute of Social Work (which is considered the elite training school for experienced and qualified social workers) and a member of the Seebohm Committee.

2. Thornhill has noted for example, that the new reorganised local authorities are large enough to be given the responsibility for training their own staffs, including social workers (1976:751). If this occurred, universities and colleges could be by-passed and thus remove social work students from what are widely regarded as major sources of radicalism and ideas of professional autonomy.

Introduction.

Social work since the time of the Charity Organisation Society has faced innumerable problems in establishing itself as a legitimate and expert activity. Unlike most other recognised professions it is not clearly apparent to the laity what grounds social work has for proclaiming itself as a profession with particular skills and methods (Kendall 1958:30). While surgery or engineering are self-evidently skilled, the issues with which social workers deal are not distinctly removed from everyday experience and life. Indeed, many aspects of social work practice would seem to support the view that a 'good' social worker is no more than a 'good' parent. Moreover, the consistently large proportion of unqualified social workers employed by local authorities and voluntary social work organisations does not suggest that it is an activity which demands lengthy or arduous training and the learning of intricate skills.

Even now, after considerable expansion and growth in the provision of social work services and courses there is still active opposition to social work's assertions that it is a skilled and professional activity based on a discrete body of knowledge. Probably the best known of these critics, Wootton, has steadfastly accused social work of having illusions of grandeur in its pursuance of professional status and recognition:

Whereas the medical profession has unquestionably accumulated a large store of highly specialised knowledge, it is extremely dubious whether, for all its protestations about 'professional skills' (always for some reason referred to in the plural), the same can be said of social work, at least not in the sense that is commonly implied. (1959a:251)

The expansion of social work training has recently occasioned Wootton to
wonder:

whether it will soon be improper for anyone who does not hold a professional qualification in social work to say 'good evening' to an old lady.
(1975:vii)

Wootton's criticisms of social work's claims for professional recognition are often highly amusing and certainly very incisive in shattering the various disguises and images which have been constructed to portray the activity as being based and informed by an esoteric body of knowledge. Moreover it is a line of attack that social work has great difficulty in countering for it has always asserted the importance of 'personal qualities' and experience as being at least as necessary as 'intellectual' skills for the possibility of effective social work.

Nevertheless, while such critiques are valuable and informative, their full impact and significance can only be realised if we first of all understand why social work should want to project itself as a skilled and professional activity. It is my contention that most of the explanations for social work's struggle for status have been too narrowly focused, and have often ignored vital questions about the sources of such struggles.

Many of the accounts of social work's professional standing in contemporary society have rightly indicated that much of its grandiosity and use of jargon are related to its desire to enhance its status. In the early fifties for example, when the demand for social workers far exceeded the supply there was an awareness that the image of social work as being a female dominated occupation requiring little skill was not conducive to attracting 'good' applicants and recruits. In her Chairman's address to the National Association of Probation Officers in 1956, Corner contended that the;

difficulties in recruitment of probation officers may well arise in part from inadequate presentation amongst some groups of the population, of probation as a vocation and skilled profession.
(1956:23)

The low salaries of social workers in the immediate post-war period, were
also seen as a disincentive for recruits and a reflection of the low status of social work (c.f. Mackintosh Report 1951:5). Thus, as a number of writers have indicated, claims of expertise are sometimes no more than 'a trade union' tactic of the middle classes to get higher financial rewards:

In most professions, as we all know, talk of 'professional values' has often been only thinly disguised trade union talk - ways of advancing the economic condition of the profession, but not necessarily of fulfilling its public vocation. (Frankel 1969:34-5)

While these issues are important facets of social work's drive for status and influence, they are by no means the most important. If we return to an examination of the origins of social work education at the beginning of this century it becomes apparent that social work consciously adopted the trappings of a profession, which included a particular form of language, the establishment of formal courses, proclamations of expertise and so forth, in order to establish a certain form of control and to regulate charitable activity. This concern to regulate and 'close' a field of activity constitutes the major source of social work's drive for professionalism and is the touchstone for understanding the timing of the development of formal courses, their location within the education structure, and much of the character of subsequent professional images projected by social work writers.

Weber captured this direct relationship between the formation of educational courses and 'closure' when he wrote that:

when we hear from all sides the demand for the introduction of regular curricula and special examinations, the reasons behind it is, of course, not a suddenly awakened 'thirst for education' but the desire for restricting the supply for these positions and their monopolisation by owners of educational certificates. (1948:241)

In his discussion of closure procedures Parkin (1974:3-5) has rightly drawn attention to their role within a situation of intra-class conflict. That is, they are used by a section of a class to secure particular resources and opportunities for itself and prohibit intrusion or counter-demands from others (c.f. Meyer 1967:395). Of course, such techniques of
closure need not be confined to intra-class conflict but can and do include inter-class conflict as well. Probably the struggles which have centred around the 'closed shop' in certain trades and industries constitute some of the best examples of this dual, inter and intra class character of closure.

This class dimension of closure is crucial. Most accounts of occupations striving for and achieving professional status have discussed how such groups try to gain power, status and influence. However, the struggles which are identified in this process of professionalisation are predominantly situated outside of a class framework. The absence of a class framework has a number of important consequences for the subsequent explanations given for such developments. First of all accounts of the origins of an occupation's drive for professional status tend to be narrowly functionalist and concommitently evolutionist. Thus according to Goode, "an industrialising society is a professionalising society" (1960: 902). Kidneigh has similarly contended that:

Within the context of increasing specialisation in our culture and civilisation, social work is one of the many specialised services essential to an effective functioning of our complex society.
(1962:6)

From this genre of explanations the origins of professionalism are unproblematically linked to developments in society (1). But what makes these accounts particularly mischievous is the way in which they explicitly and implicitly understand increasing specialisation as an indice of 'progress' towards a 'rational' society. A great deal of this 'sociology

1. Meyer provided an example of this when he wrote that:

"The tendency toward professionalisation is almost inevitable in a growing industrial society where specialisation within an elaborate division of labour must be increased with the shift from agricultural and other primary industries to the factory, trade, services and technical enterprises."
(1967:309)
of professions and bureaucracies' look to the work of Weber for their theoretical source and inspiration. While it is not within the scope of this study to offer an appreciation of Weber's work, it would seem that many sociologists of bureaucracies have chosen to interpret Weber's insights on bureaucratic organisations and rationality in a manner which strips away his attention to class forces and power. As Corrigan has recently demonstrated (1977:104-5), Weber did not separate his analysis of rationality and bureaucracy from an account of the development of the capitalist state. Thus rationality and bureaucracies become one of the forms and methods of capitalist power and authority:

Bureaucracy... is fully developed in political and ecclesiastical communities only in the modern state, and, in the private economy, only in the most advanced institutions of capitalism. (Weber 1914:196, cited Corrigan 1977:105; c.f. Weber 1948:228-230)

In much contemporary sociology this class dimension has been ignored (c.f. Gouldner 1970:364). Instead bureaucracies and professions are considered outside of any class framework and as neutral, politically disinterested organisations. Moreover, there is now a clear sense that when professionalisation is discussed it is taken as evidence of a diminished class relation and a shift to a qualitatively different dimension of authority that is based on science and knowledge. Marshall exemplified this position when he wrote that:

The social services have lost, or are rapidly losing, their class character. They are inspired by the spirit of professionalism, in the sense that they do not design their work to meet an articulate and effective demand only, but plan it in the light of expert knowledge of the social arts and sciences and of fundamental principles of social welfare formulated on the basis of accumulated human experience. (1939:334)

It is my contention in this chapter that the professionalisation of social work has to be understood precisely as a class relation. Marshall shares with many other commentators a fundamental error when he claims that the 'scientisation' of the social services denotes a shedding of their class character. Rather the twentieth century expansion in the number and influence of the professions and their general appeal to science and
'bodies of knowledge' for their legitimation and authority, signifies a marked and major shift in the expression of class forces but not their disappearance.

The Foundations of Social Work Education.

The issues surrounding the emergence of formal social work courses by the COS in London at the beginning of this century (1903) and their subsequent development, provide us with excellent case material to examine the class character of expertise and professionalism.

As I noted in the first chapter, the COS was formed in 1869 for the purpose of controlling and regulating the charitable activities of the upper classes, principally in London. From its inception the COS was assured of considerable influence as its membership included many leading, national social reformers. Among its first members were Lord Litchfield, General Cavenagh, Henry Solly, Lord Shaftesbury and Sir U. Kay-Shuttleworth. Some indication of the prestigious and powerful character of the early participants in the Society's activities was given in Bailward's account of the work of the sub-committees established by the Council:

The first was the vagrancy committee of 1871, consisting of eighty-one members, of whom eleven were peers, forty members of Parliament, the rest experts from all parts. ... In 1873 a special dwellings committee was appointed, with a membership of about sixty, comprising the best-known experts upon that subject, such as medical officers of health, managers of industrial dwellings, representative working men, and many others. Lord Napier and Ettrick was the chairman; and the Marquis of Westminster, Lord Shaftesbury, Sir U. Kay-Shuttleworth and Miss Octavia Hill were prominent members. (Bailward 1907:59)

Such an influential and powerful membership meant that the Society was assured of close links with the governments of the day and was capable of determining policy. For example, the report of the special dwellings
The inclusion of such 'experts' and powerful figures in the COS was crucial to its programme. For the task the Society set itself was to stop what it considered to be the harmful and demoralising activities of the indiscriminate almsgivers and transform the character of charity to that of the social work I have already discussed. The COS were by no means the first organisation to complain of the evil consequences of such material charity on the morals of the working class, and there were large sections in the 1834 Poor Law Report bemoaning such activities (c.f. Novak 1978 Chp 3). But the COS was one of the first active organisations which set about to establish its influence over the entire field of charitable relief to the working class and define what was permissible and what was not.

Integral to this campaign was the ability of the COS to portray itself as the fountainhead of all that was good and right in charitable work. It clearly couldn't physically prohibit aristocratic ladies from establishing their soup kitchens or distributing their sixpences among the working class of East London. Instead it had to persuade by example supported by a substantial educational and propaganda campaign. This 'educational' programme was extensive and impressive, and included the production of a massive social work literature with the works of the Bosanquets, Loch and Hill at the forefront; the publication of a regular journal; innumerable letters to the Times and other leading journals of the period, such as the Contemporary Review and the Nineteenth Century.

Similarly, the organisational structure of the Society which provided the model of the way charitable work should be conducted, was equally impressive. By 1870 twelve district offices had been established in the Poor Law districts of London, by 1871 there were thirty, which grew to
There was a similar expansion in the provinces. In 1879 there were eighteen provincial societies in correspondence with the London office and 135 by 1913 (Walton 1975:29).

This organisational structure distinguished the COS from any previous or contemporary charitable society. Moreover it was a material base that confronted both the working class and the middle and upper classes. For the middle and upper classes who engaged in charitable activity, the district offices were presented as the places from which to engage in efficient and correct charitable work. The 'educational/propaganda' campaign combined with the organisational base to form the principal 'closure' strategies used by the COS to transform the previously dominant forms of dole giving philanthropy. The message of the Society to its own class was that charitable activity could no longer be seen as an uninformed duty which could be dabbled in without regard for the consequences, especially in the long term, on the working class as a whole. Instead, the Society contended, if social stability and harmony were to be realised, the field of philanthropy had to be closed except to those who had a grasp of the overall theory of society and of the desired character which should be expected of the working class and who understood how that could be achieved. In other words it was an imperative duty of philanthropists to be skilled and expert. Unskilled social workers were deemed to be a liability, and albeit unintentionally were undermining the social structure (1). Thus according to Urwick:

> the impulse to do good, may if untrained, lead straight to evil doing; that the good heart, unschooled by the good head will probably fall into dangerous paths - in a word that training is an essential for social service as for other kinds of service. (1904:180)

1. This point was made strongly by Bernard Bosanquet when he wrote that:

> "Right ideas genuinely assimilated are necessary to material welfare; and wrong ideas or the defect of them, are the most fruitful influences in the production of physical and material wretchedness." (1895:111)
And according to Loch, social work had to be recognised as a skilled activity which demanded preparation and training:

Doctors have to be educated methodically, registered and certificated. Charity is the work of the social physician. It is to the interests of the community that it should not be entrusted to novices or to dilettanti, or to quacks.

(1906:xxix)

As the nineteenth century drew to its close the demand for expertise in social reform was enjoined by the Fabian Society and especially the Webbs. Both Societies despite their mutual antagonism shared in the concern to 'modernise' the prosecution of social reform policies. In the two groups, there was the belief that the ruling class was backward in its appreciation of the need for concerted, planned and consistent reform policies and that it was characterised by amateurism. Helen Bosanquet bemoaned that:

Perhaps the greatest obstacle to getting a sound public opinion on matters of social policy lies in the general ignoring that scientific principles are as much involved in them as chemistry and architecture, or any of the other arts of life.

(1902:138)

Similarly the Webbs complained that:

Our governing classes ..... do not seem yet to have realised that social reconstructions require as much specialised training and sustained study as the building of bridges and railways, the interpretation of the law, or the technical improvements in machinery and mechanical progress.

(S and B Webb 1911:331) (1)

Both Societies, but particularly the Fabians were at the forefront in insisting on expertise and efficiency at every level of the State apparatus (Searle 1971; Semmel 1960). It was their contention that amateurism and the exercise of patronage in appointing key figures were partly to blame for Britain's declining position in the world. The Boer

1. Even as late as 1947 one social work writer was bemoaning that:

"It must be admitted that the notion of applying scientific method to problems directly concerning human beings has not so far taken root in our particular culture."

(A. Wilson 1947:64)
War was regarded as typifying the incompetence of major State sectors. The stories of Generals leading their men against other sections of their armies; troops getting besieged in towns such as Mafeking where they should never have been in the first place; the extended command system which led to shortages and interruptions in supplies, and just the inordinate length of time it took for the greatest military power in the world to defeat a group of farmers, all supported the contention that there was a crucial lack of professionalism and expertise within the state structure (see Price 1972). In the middle of the war, Webb issued a Fabian Pamphlet demanding a policy of national efficiency. He maintained that the people of England:

> are not thinking of Liberalism or Conservatism or Socialism. What is in their minds is a burning feeling of shame at the failure of England — shame for the lack of capacity of its governors, shame for the inability of parliament to get through even its routine business, shame for the absence of grip and resourcefulness of our Statesmen, shame for the pompous inefficiency of every branch of our public administration, shame for the slackness of our merchants and traders that transfer our commercial superiority to the United States, shame for the supineness which looks on unmoved at the continual degradation of our race by drunkenness and gambling, slum life, and all the horrors of the sweated trades, as rampant today in all our great centres of population as they were when they were officially revealed fifteen years ago. This sense of shame has yet to be transmuted into political action. The country is ripe for a domestic programme, which shall breath new life into the administrative dry bones of our public offices. The party and the statesmen whom these people will support, the leaders for whom they are hungering, are those who shall convince them that above all other considerations they stand for a policy of National Efficiency. (1901:7)

Demands for efficiency and expertise have now become common-place. Throughout the period following the Second World War for example, the social work profession was campaigning for an extension of the provisions for social work education precisely on these grounds. It was argued that unqualified social workers could do a certain amount of good work but that they were generally less efficient and capable than their qualified colleagues:

> The case for systematic training in those professions where learning on the job is also possible is surely this: any profession must recruit a considerable number of mediocre people, and these will put up a better performance if they are trained than if they are
not trained. That is to say, an appropriate professional training and the right subsequent working conditions can produce far better results from a person of quite average ability than otherwise would be the case.

(Younghusband 1947:60)

While it is still true in this field that a person of 40 with suitable personality and experience of life will be more useful than a newly trained youngster, yet the trained recruit may hope to reach the same point of usefulness much sooner and to be an altogether richer and more expert worker at 40.

(Cavenagh 1954:7; see also Gross 1976:10) (1)

One strand in BASW's recent campaign to persuade local authorities to appoint Directors of Social Services who have a qualification in social work has been that they will be more efficient as a consequence:

The efficiency of the services they provide is not a matter of chance or rightmindedness, or just resources, but it rests upon competence in a creative activity which calls for a constellation of knowledge, values and skills. The competence is likely to be acquired following a course of training.

(Andrews 1977:12) (2)

And of course, this claim for the efficiency which supposedly results from training has been one of the principal strategies by which social work has attempted to restrict entry to the occupation. The following statement by Barnes and Tajfel could have easily been written by any one of the leading members of the COS half a century earlier:

Social work is today a highly skilled occupation, and one of great social importance. It should not be left to people who are not equal to their task, culturally and educationally.

(1958, my emphasis)

Efficiency, national efficiency, expertise and professionalism are concepts which are generally perceived as being unproblematic and often as denoting

1. And in 1900 Rogers was quite emphatic about the efficiency which came from training and the waste which resulted from the lack of it:

"In looking back many of us realise the great waste of time, and indeed of money, that want of knowledge caused... and experience at least, shows that more work is got through by a few trained agents than by a whole army of experimental philanthropists."

(1900:385, 386)

2. Andrews is the current General Secretary of BASW.
something 'good'. This sense of goodness has been conveyed in Katz's comment that:

There is no doubt that professionals have a great deal to contribute - expertise, methodology, social outlook, passion for correction of injustice and the spread of the good things of life. (1965:74)

And McKinlay has argued that it is almost an act of sacrilege to make any criticism of the professions:

It is almost as if the professions should be left without scrutiny and criticism, to work out their good purposes for society. (1973:61)

This almost sacred status of the professional and expert has been actively promoted by professionals and experts themselves. For instance in his appeal for National Efficiency Webb explicitly placed efficiency and expertise above politics. Similarly within social work, the professionally qualified social worker is presented as an individual who has transcended the political domain and derives his expertise from an understanding of the true nature of society. This is precisely the force which informs the notion of the National Interest in times of strikes. In their own particular domains, experts are represented as being guardians of a slice of the National Interest. It is from such a position that they can act against sections of their own class if they feel that the National Interest is being undermined, and against the working class who seem to have an inherent difficulty in grasping the nature of the National Interest.

Both the COS and the Fabians held to this conception of expertise and the place of the expert in the body politic. In a Symposium of the Aristolean Society on the "Place of Experts in Democracy", Bernard Bosanquet argued that there were two categories of expert which were essential to the well-being of the "modern democracy". (1) The first was the

1. Needless to say Bosanquet's notion of a modern democracy was a society consisting of true citizens (1908/9:64)
statesman/expert whose chief characteristic was a very wide knowledge, "but more especially possessed of the most precious of all secrets, the open secret of what it is that makes life worth living." (1908/9:61).

The second category was the "specialist expert"; the person who is an expert in a particular aspect of life, such as a science or an art, and whose expertise can not be generalised beyond the field of that specialism. The relationship between the two categories was that of ruler and advisor (ibid:68). Thus according to Bosanquet, the expert statesman uses his specialist experts for advice on particular issues and rules according to his appreciation of what is the essence of life.

In a later article on experts, the prominent Fabian, Laski, further developed Bosanquet's point that the specialist expert should never be allowed to make the final decision. Both argued that the specialist expert inevitably developed too narrow a view of the world:

For special knowledge and the highly trained mind produce their own limitations which in the realm of statesmanship, are of decisive importance. Expertise might be argued, sacrifices the insight of common sense to intensity of experience. It breeds an inability to accept new views from the very depth of its preoccupation with its own conclusions. (Laski 1931:4, and see Bosanquet op cit:66)

It was one of the duties of the elected statesman expert to ensure that the specialist expert did not try to exert power beyond his realm of expertise. The crucial issue however, is that this widely accepted model of the expert was, and remains based on the assumption that the 'ordinary' citizen - who is a "microcosm of society... a statesman in miniature" (Bosanquet op cit:67) - is generally incapable and incompetent to judge on the issues which concern both categories of expert. The ordinary citizen does not have the time to become a specialist expert, nor according to Bosanquet, the capacity to judge the requirements of the society as a whole. Parodying the position he himself upheld, Laski wrote that:

The day of the plain man has passed. No criticism of democracy is more fashionable in our time than that which lays emphasis
upon his incompetence. This is, we are told, a big and complex world, about which we have to find our way at our peril. The plain man is too ignorant or too uninterested to be able to judge the adequacy of the answers suggested to our problems. As in medicine we go to a doctor, or in bridge-building to an engineer, so in matters of social policy we should go to the expert in social questions. He alone, we are told with increasing emphasis, can find his way about the labyrinths of modern life. He alone knows how to find the facts and determine what they mean. The plain man is simply obsolete in a world he has never been trained to understand. Either we must trust the making of fundamental decisions to experts, or there will be a breakdown in the machinery of government.

(Laski op cit:3)

The emergence and establishment of professions and layers of experts in the field of social policy in the twentieth century which has included social work, health visiting, psychiatry, planners and general administrative officers has had the major consequence of removing vast areas of life from the political domain. As Galper has noted, the intrusion of experts in this area has the effect of redefining social problem issues as technical, "rather than as structural and political":

The positive implications of limiting the focus of the professional's concern and of accentuating the technological capacities at the professional's command also limit the ways in which the problems are interpreted and their solutions formulated. Solutions to problems that are seen in their more delimited aspects and interpreted in technological terms will tend to be isolated from solutions pursued in the arena of structural social change and mass political movements in the society at large.

(1975:92)

And Keith-Lucas has also argued that:

As social work becomes increasingly professionalised, the theories of social needs and goals developed by the profession become more and more esoteric, and consequently less easily understood and less susceptible to the control of public opinion.

(1953:1077)

But the issues are not only removed from 'public' debate through the manner in which they are defined and conceptualised by the 'experts'. Rather that process has often accompanied structural changes which have actually closed the field to any form of outside intrusion. Both these forms of closure have been used simultaneously against sections of the bourgeoisie (as in the case of social work) and against the working class.
Probably the most notable examples with regard to the working class have been in education and the Poor Law where closure strategies were used to remove or severely curtail the activities of working class representatives on the Schools Boards and the Boards of Guardians. (1)

Closure strategies, including both ideological and structural dimensions, are not once and for all procedures. Instead they are fluid mechanisms which shift in relation to the changes in class forces. In the case of social work this fluidity was well illustrated in the formation of the School of Sociology in 1902.

By the beginning of the twentieth century the powerful influence of the COS was declining as a result of its intransigent position on the questions of State involvement in relief provision, other than the Poor Law. At this time, the major enemy of the COS was no longer the band of indiscriminate almsgivers - there was considerable praise for the COS even from the Fabians in curtailing these activities (Townshend 1911) - but other clusters of reformers who shared with the COS a holistic approach to social reform but with a different set of strategies and policies.

The most notable of the Society's opponents was the Fabian Society itself.

There were many similarities between the two Societies and their antagonism towards one another should not be taken as signifying complete disagreement on all issues. Even Beatrice Webb's own notes betray a certain degree of respect for the efforts of the COS:

> Here, I bring on the stage my friend the enemy - the Charity Organisation Society.... in those years of my apprenticeship (1885-1887) the COS appeared to me as an honest though short-circuited attempt to apply scientific method of observation and

1. For a discussion of some of these issues see Paul Corrigan (1974). Corrigan makes the important point that a major strand of working class incorporation has been their structural incorporation. That is where working class institutions (such as their own schools) have actually been smashed by the State and been replaced by schools under State control (ibid:14).
experiment, reasoning and verification, to the task of delivering the poor from their miseries by the personal service and pecuniary assistance tendered by their wealthy and leisured fellow citizens.
(1926:195, cited Yeo 1973:vii) (1)

Both Societies regarded themselves as experts on social reform issues; not in the narrow specialist expert but rather in the statesman expert mould. The distinction is an important one for understanding their respective policies and actions. For both groups were striving to get their own particular vision of social reform implemented by the government. In the COS the central Council which consisted of Loch, the Bosanquets and Hill was the home of the statesman experts which approximately corresponded to the role of the Webbs within the Fabian Society. (2) As Beatrice Webb noted in 1911:

"Hitherto Sidney and I have kept ourselves almost exclusively for the work of expert guidance of the expert."
(Our Partnership :472, cited Clarke 1974:167)

As the notion of a vision suggests, the two Societies did not restrict their attention to single issues of social welfare. Instead they developed macro programmes of social reconstruction which touched on virtually every

1. In his thesis on the Charity Organisation Society Woodard (1961), poses the Fabians as the implacable opponents of the COS. In his development of that relationship he fails to draw out any of their shared positions, for example on expertise, or their critiques of indiscriminate almsgiving. Rather Woodard is intent upon presenting the COS as a paragon of mid-Victorian moralism and contrasting it with the Fabians who are presented as the paragons of progress and the builders of the Welfare State's foundations: "The Webbs have made history. They as much as anyone, led the great middle class away from the orthodox 19th century ways of thinking - ways which dominated the policies and actions of the COS." (1961:21)
My main concern over this mistaken understanding is that it greatly over-emphasises the importance of the Webbs, under-estimates the significance of the COS, and in turn leads to a miscomprehension about the nature and origins of the so named 'Welfare State'.

2. In terms of the Fabian Society's espousal of expertise the Webbs were certainly the most important and influential. Other prominent members of the Society such as Shaw were more guarded about the Webbian vision, and some of their allies among the New Liberals such as Hobson and Hobhouse came to accuse the Fabian Society of being anti-democratic in their pursuit of the rule of experts.
"This was, as Hobhouse saw it, a distortion of socialism, and he maintained that 'as the "expert" comes to the front, and "efficiency" becomes the watchword of administration, all that was human in Socialism vanishes out of it'." (Clarke 1974:167)
aspect of social policy from education to public health and, vast areas of the economy and labour questions. The breadth of the Charity Organisation Society's concerns is illuminated to some degree in the curricula of the early social work courses, some examples of which are contained in the Curricula Appendix.

The similarities between the two groups were in part illustrated by Wolfe:

Webb's socialist theory invites comparison with that of his sometime Fabian colleague, the idealist philosopher, Bernard Bosanquet, who also combined a sweeping assertion of the moral authority of the State - the 'higher self' of every citizen - with a continuous defence of individual liberty and the economics of free trade.


While Wolfe was wrong in claiming that Bosanquet was once a member of the Fabian Society - he did on one occasion give a paper to the Society (Bosanquet 1890) - he does capture the sense in which both the Societies regarded the State as the supreme authority in society.

The crucial difference however, as I discussed in the first chapter, was over the way the moral authority of the State was to be asserted and subsequent social stability and prosperity achieved. The Fabians in this respect were collectivists and every considered State intervention was seen as essentially good and a step forward (c.f. Corrigan 1977:427).

The COS were individualists, and as we have seen, believed that State intervention would be disastrous as it could never ensure the moral improvement of the working class.

By the beginning of this century it was becoming apparent to the COS that its ethical individualism was losing ground to the 'socialism' of the Fabians. As one Council member noted in 1907:

Public men of all parties and professions have, especially of late years treated it with marked coolness. And yet it has been, and is, constantly consulted by various public departments, and still remains in many respects the 'eye of the Legislature'. Its assistance has been found to be essential in every public enquiry with regard to questions affecting the poor... In fact,
the general position with regard to the Society is that it is widely abused and still more widely used.
(Bailward 1907:74) (1)

And in 1903 Urwick maintained that the "charitable and social workers of today have not the authority which they ought to have" (p.254). It was in this context of declining authority that the COS began to develop its formal social work courses and established the School of Sociology in London under the directorship of Urwick. The banner of expertise under which the COS had launched its first campaigns against the 'sentimentalist' philanthropists was to be unfurled again, and reinforced.

The COS's sub-committee on training which reported in 1898 was in no doubt that the formation of social work courses at university level could do much to halt the flagging power of the Society:

They believe that if the educational functions of the Society were more fully recognised by the public it would lead to a much wider appreciation of its work and expansion of its influence. They would like to see in the Society the nucleus of a future university for the study of social science, in which all those who undertake philanthropic work should desire to graduate.
(First Report 1898:137)

The same point was made by Bailward:

For many years past it has been becoming more and more clear that the work of the Society will never make any progress proportionate to the labour bestowed upon it unless it can create a definite public opinion upon the subjects with which it deals. For that reason increasing attention has been paid of late years to what may be called its educational work. For the last thirty-five years the district committees have been the centres for the study of practical sociology...But it has been gradually perceived that more than this is necessary, and that a definite attempt must be made to attract students to an organised system of study. It is to this end that some four years ago, the lecture system of the Society was re-organised under a new name as the 'School of Sociology', with a director of studies and a regular curriculum.
(op cit:70-71)

While the School of Sociology was not the only strategy developed to refurbish the influence of the COS it was probably the most

1. It is of course important to recognise, as did Bailward, that while the 'public' authority of the COS came under increasing challenge from the advocates of more collectivist policies, in practice it continued to exercise considerable power and influence within the departments of State.
important. Before embarking on a general discussion of how formal courses per se have assisted social work's claims for expertise and power it is interesting to consider the short history of the London School of Sociology.

The Fabian Society, sharing the same ambitions as the COS to implant its vision of social policy on the government, established in 1895 a "School of Economics" in London. The School of Economics was intended by the Fabians to be a major vehicle for the production of 'experts' (c.f. Watkins 1972:175) and to fulfil the Fabian purpose as stated in 1886 by Beatrice Webb:

Nothing in England is done without the consent of a small intellectual yet practical class in London not 2,000 in number. We alone could get at that class.
(cited Corrigan 1977:426)

Of course it would be naive to assume that the School of Economics was merely intended to out-maneuvre the COS. The Fabian ambition was much greater, as Beatrice Webb herself indicated. However there is no doubt that the COS's School of Sociology was established to compete with the School of Economics in pursuit of its policy "of dealing with Fabianism and strengthening the Society, as has been done in the past" (COR April 1901:217).

In the course of the COS Social Education Committee's considerations of the development of a formal training programme there was some discussion of an

1. In 1900 the Council of the COS was confirmed as the "centre of the propagandist work of the Society" (COR Nov 1900:315). At the meeting of the Council in June 1900 the District Committee were urged to establish good relations with the local press as a means of extending their influence (COR July 1900:53-4). And in 1912 a Mr. Buchanan was appointed as a 'propaganda officer'. In Loch's letter to the Administrative Committee on Finance and Propagandism (Dec 12 1912) the following duties were laid down for this post:

"1) To conduct an active propaganda. a) To spread a knowledge of the principles and practice of the Society. b) To raise money for general purposes.
2) In furtherance of these objectives to contribute articles to newspapers, magazines etc: to take note of anything which appears in the press affecting the interests of the Society, and when considered advisable to prepare and arrange for the insertion of replies." (Minutes 3.2.1913)
attempt to forge links with the University of London. However to have done so would have meant working in the School of Economics which had already become attached to the University. Not surprisingly the committee rejected such a move:

the tone and character of the institution is marked, and alike in its inception and in the public estimation of its work and position it had been conspicuously associated with one school of thought.
(1903, cited H.Smith 1953:40)

For this reason the COS decided to establish its own School of 'university standard'. The School was intended as the COS's vehicle to infuse the administration of social policies with their brand of expertise. And from its inception the School catered not only for COS workers but also for Poor Law officials and officials from other reform organisations (Loch 1907:47). For as Loch wrote:

In my advocacy of a new method of social study and education I might equally well have taken my illustrations from the duties of a town councillor or a factory inspector. The end of all laws is the enforcement of a higher standard of duty, which may by degrees become habitual and adopted unconsciously. And if the laws are to serve this purpose, those who enact and those who administer them should have some personal experience of the social life and actual difficulties of the people as well as some education in social theory.
(1901/1923:97)

With implicit reference to the School of Economics, Loch insisted that the "new study of Sociology" which was required to facilitate "the ascent to the independent life... and impose new forms of discipline" was, adopted by the School of Sociology more fully and consistently than by any other teaching body.
(1910/1923:54)

However, the major problem for the School of Sociology was weak and precarious funding. In fact the principal account of the School's merger with the School of Economics in July 1912 has claimed this as the reason (M. Smith 1953). The published accounts by the COS would appear to support this view. Helen Bosanquet explained that:

Like all pioneer work it was attended with difficulties, especially in the way of raising funds; and by 1912 it was thought well to place it on a firmer basis by incorporating it with the London School of Economics, which was in possession of large grants from the Government.
(1914:405)
But examination of the 'private' documents suggests that it was not quite as straightforward, which is as we would suspect for the School of Economics was an old enemy of the COS. In a document presented to the Council by Bernard Bosanquet and Urwick, the director of the School, recommending the merger, it was made clear that the merger was initiated by the School of Economics rather than prompted by a financial crisis (although funds were low). According to this document word had been received from the LSE that it had decided to establish a department for social training in which the work done would very closely resemble the work which our School has been doing for the past nine years; and we were invited to consider suggestions for a scheme of co-operation.

(Filed Council Minutes 22.7.1912)

In other words the LSE was preparing for a take-over and as Bernard Bosanquet wrote to his brother in August of that year, the COS was in no position to fight it:

That confounded School of Economics has mopped up our little School of Sociology in London. We - that is really the COS - invented and started the thing, have made it popular and efficient (of course it doesn't hoist the COS flag) for nine or ten years, but we have no money, and the School of Economics is rich, comes along and says 'we are going to compete or will you co-operate?'. They could undersell us to any extent and if they started without us we couldn't come in later and their staff would be made up. So we have made the best terms we could, and are putting the shutters up with a heavy heart.

(Cited Woodard 1961a:16)

The COS did not fight the take-over but entered into immediate negotiation to ensure the best conditions. Bosanquet and Urwick who were responsible for them were able to report to the Council that, the School of Economics has shown the greatest willingness to fall in with the proposals made by us with a view to ensuring the continuance of the work on the same lines as heretofore, and with the same end in view.

And that the following conditions had been agreed to:

1) As a guarantee of the continuance of the method and spirit of the teaching, the School of Economics will take over our present staff, will entrust the chief management of the work to our present director, Mr. Urwick, and will adopt our existing syllabus as the basis for next session's teaching.

2) The School of Economics will also adhere to the method of training which we have found to be essential, namely a combination of practical work, individual tuition, and lectures and classes; and the practical work will continue on the same lines as in the past.
3) The new department formed (which will be called the Department of Social Science and Administration) will be under the immediate supervision of a Committee upon which members of the existing Committee of the School of Sociology will be represented in equal numbers with members of the School of Economics.

4) Mr. Urwick is now, and will continue to be, a member of the Board of Governors of the School of Economics. (Council Minutes 22.7.1912)

The School of Economics seemed quite willing to allow the new department to replicate and continue the work of the School of Sociology, as shown in the formal proposal (moved by Martin White and seconded by Sidney Webb) that it should continue "the work so admirably carried on since 1903 under Mr. C.S. Loch of the Charity Organisation Society" (cited Titmuss 1962:3).

The plight of the School of Sociology provides one example of the type of struggles that early social work was involved in during its foundations. The merger itself was symbolic of the diminished and diminishing influence of the COS and the rising ascendancy of Fabiansque ideology in the social policy arena. Moreover, that the School of Economics did not attempt to transform the programme of the old School of Sociology or replace its staff gives some clue to the character of the Fabian critique of the COS. It would seem that the Fabians acknowledged the need for social workers (and training) on COS lines and that they had a legitimate role to play in the social welfare matrix. This was also made clear in the Minority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws (1905-1909) which was largely the work of the Webbs (1). The major dispute between the two organisations was over their respective statuses as 'statesmen experts', and whether the vision of the COS with its stress on individualism and moral transformation of the working class, or the Fabian's vision of collectivism and State action (which also embodied a moralisation concern)

1. The Majority Report being the work primarily of the COS and especially Loch and the Bosanquets (c.f. Cormack 1968)
would predominate as the model for social reconstruction. The demise of the independent School of the COS is but one indice of the Society's defeat. Social work from that time, while it has had visions of grandeur, has become a 'specialist expert' and just another element, albeit important, of the welfare apparatus.

It is this change of status, as reflected in this 'merger', which is one of the distinguishing characteristics between contemporary social work and that of the COS. For the Society, social work was always intended to be something more than just one part of the welfare apparatus. It was supposed to be the model and theory of all social reform which had as its objective to bring the working class firmly into the capitalist framework. Once the expert statesmen stance of the Society and its self-appointed position as the possessor of that "open secret of what it is that makes life worth living" had been defeated - and not merely by the Fabians but by a whole cluster of social and political features which I have already discussed in earlier chapters - the ground was set for the gradual incorporation of social work into the formal State apparatus as a specialist activity.

Nevertheless, even in this more restricted role social work has had to struggle to establish a discrete identity, and it was by no means an unimportant aspect of the COS's fight against the intrusion of 'Lady Bountifuls' in charitable activity that it sought to establish social work as a specialist expert activity. Throughout the development of social work the endeavour to promote the expertise of social work has been directed towards both the middle and upper classes and the working class. With regard to the former the objective has been one of 'closure' not simply to raise the prestige and status of social work but to ensure that the difficult task of moralisation and re-socialisation of its client populations is not undermined by ill-considered interventions. Since 1945 this objective has remained, but the closure operations have been more often
directed at neighbouring and competing 'professional' groups within the State apparatus rather than 'amateur' philanthropists (c.f. Elliott 1972:113).

During the past thirty years social work has gradually and successfully carved out an area within social policy which constitutes its legitimate domain. A process which has necessitated the removal of certain areas of responsibility from other professional/occupational groups as well as the creation of new specific social work duties. These developments have been part of a larger restructuring of the entire State welfare apparatus which has involved a new division of labour between the various agencies. This restructuring has largely involved administrative changes and a rationalisation of the welfare apparatus rather than the development of wholly new policy initiatives. The Seebohm Report and the subsequent Local Authority Social Services Act (1970) epitomise this process. Both were principally concerned with rationalising the existing services rather than with changing their direction, and with demarcating the new areas of responsibility. As Marshall noted, there was nothing new in the Seebohm Report with regard to the objectives of social work:

> It is not so much a question of introducing new ideas as underlying old ones. It has long been accepted that agencies should not wait passively for cases to come to them, but should be on the look-out for them; they should (discreetly) advertise their wares and strongly urge those who need them to ask for them.

(1970:20)

In fact throughout most of this period from 1948 there had been pressure for a rationalisation of the personal social services and their unification in one department (c.f. Donnison 1954, Younghusband Report 1959, Ingelby Committee Report 1960, Herbert Commission 1960 and Hall 1976:chp 1).

However, these administrative changes were not free from conflict. Groups such as the Medical Officers of Health who had substantial control over large sections of social work services were not happy to see such a large slice of their domain removed from their jurisdiction (c.f. Lapping 1969:209). It was a major issue before the Seebohm Committee whether the Medical Officers of Health were to retain control in the new departments,
and as Leonard noted:

This proposal was obviously crucial to the future of the services and the profession of social work itself... It was here that controversy raged most fiercely. The committee made its commitment to the developing profession of social work by rejecting the proposal on a number of grounds.

(1973:105)

This commitment was widely acclaimed by the social work profession:

There is a welcome recognition that the social services are unlikely at this stage to develop as an ancillary service to medicine and that social work is a profession in its own right. (Speed 1968:23; c.f. Kahan 1970:59)

The gradual expansion in the responsibilities of social workers especially in the field of juvenile delinquency (c.f. Clarke 1975, 1977) also led to resentment among the teaching profession and the police. The Editorial of the British Journal of Criminology was critical of the 1965 White Paper, 'The Child, the Family and the Young Offender' because it failed to acknowledge the importance of education as a primary means of delinquency prevention. And it continued to complain of the tendency to elevate the status of the social workers at the cost of teachers:

The nation would be healthier and happier if teachers were rated amongst its most valued and respected citizens. We subscribe to anything which will hasten that day. (Editorial April 1966:103)

The teachers' complaints about the expanding role of social workers have not been altogether substantial or acrimonious. Plowden for example welcomed social workers as useful in the teacher's task of trying to break into the cycle of deprivation by working with the parents while they could focus on the children, but she did regret that nursery provision was being handed over largely to the social services rather than the education departments (1968:33-4).

The police and the judiciary on the other hand have expressed considerable anger over the growing influence of social workers in the delinquency field. According to Ford, an influential juvenile court magistrate in London, the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act fundamentally shifted the power of magistrates and the police to social workers:

Under the new Act the court has little power beyond licensing the
social worker to proceed with some form of treatment.
The real power, and it is quite awesome, is now with the social
services department and the individual social worker. They can
devise methods of treatment and intervene in the lives of children,
young persons and their families in ways which have never been
possible to a court.
(1975:87)

And Hilton, a police inspector, has amplified this point noting how the
decisions reached by the court rely heavily upon the opinions of social
workers to the extent that "social workers have become the pivot upon
which juvenile court decisions turn" (1972:196). As I discussed in the
second chapter this policy came about as the result of the concern about
the rocketing delinquency rates and the belief that delinquency was a
reflection of a deprived family background rather than an innate 'evil'
tendency (c.f. Walker 1964:21). Consequently, the watchword for
delinquency control and prevention became treatment rather than punishment.
Or, in the words of the Fisher Group and the Council for Children's
Welfare report on juvenile justice the concern was now "education for
social defence and for the training of the future citizens" (1958:19).
A phrase which in some ways captures the very essence of social work as it
has been developed in this country.

While the magistrates have complained that their authority has been
stripped away by these developments, the police have argued that these
events have decisively undermined the legal system and played directly
into the hands of the delinquents. Male, who was then Chairman of the
Police Federation, maintained that not all delinquents were deprived:

We need to stress, until people in high places get the message,
that there are deprived children and there are depraved children.
They are not always one and the same. No one knows better than
a police officer the depths of cunning of some young offenders.
(Reported in the Guardian May 20th 1976)

And the Deputy Chief Constable of West Yorkshire claimed that social
workers "were a hindrance, who made it a work of art getting some young
offenders to court":

We are fed up with the influence of the so-called specialists -
.... We are fed up with the softly-softly, namby pamby pussy
footing approach to the vicious elements who have never had it
so good.
(Cited Daily Telegraph 19.4.76)
In these contemporary conflicts just as in those of the earlier COS period, social work has wielded its expertise and skill as a weapon for creating a realm of activity and for marking its boundaries. The removal of duties from one profession to social workers, the general extension in their power during the past thirty years, have been justified and fought for on the basis of social work's skills in these particular areas. This is precisely how Younghusband explained the growth in social work's influence:

Power is something which in the past social workers have notoriously lacked, but now society is conferring increasing power upon them; the power that results from being entrusted with the care or control of people at points of acute conflict or stress; the power which comes from being accepted as competent to give expert advise; the power of knowledge; the power inherent in senior positions in large administrative hierarchies.

(1970:8)

However, social work's power and expert status are not derived solely from the content of their knowledge base. Just as important have been the ways in which that knowledge base has been presented and the places where it has been generated and communicated to newly qualified members. In all of these issues social work education has had a crucial role to play.

The very fact that there are formal social work courses which have been acclaimed as the places where social workers of the highest calibre are trained, supports the notion that social work is essentially a skilled occupation. But from the very first, social work leaders did not merely want formal courses, but formal courses that were situated in the university sector. The reasons are quite straightforward. In Britain, universities have until recently been accorded with immense prestige as the producers and homes of experts. For a profession to have its recruits trained in the universities has been a hall-mark of its professional status, and it has been in order to get such a stamp of approval that social work has struggled to get some of its courses established in this
sector of the educational system. (1) As Kendall noted in 1950, social work education based in universities has the inter-related advantages of gaining status and advancing 'closure':

The benefits that university standards of teaching, scholarship and research would confer upon our profession are I think many. There is a universal tendency to place high valuation on university education (whether in social work or in other fields) and a low valuation on mere vocational training as a qualification for responsible employment. And university education for social work would, I contend, hasten the day when posts of high responsibility in the social welfare field would be reserved for men and women with professional social work training. (1950:11,13)

By far the most important factor in the definition and growth of social work has been the creation of schools of training. As educational institutions they have been the means of rendering the field respectable in the same way that the universities have, over the centuries, the study of theology, philosophy, economics, the humanities, science and mathematics. (Klein 1968:220)

And Friedson was surely right when he argued that "paraprofessional occupations" such as social work, usually seek professional status by creating many of the same institutions as those which possess professional status. They develop a formal standard curriculum of training, hopefully at a university. They create or find abstract theory to teach recruits. They write codes of ethics. (1970:76)

I have already indicated how the COS leaders were intent upon situating their courses in the universities, (c.f. Loch 1901/1923:97) but in London were thwarted by the School of Economics association with the University of London. Urwick even contended that the merger in 1912 was a realisation of their ambition:

In the minds of the founders there was also present the hope that the School they were opening would in time become the nucleus of a university, or a department of a university, expressly devoted to the study of social science, in which all those who

1. The extent to which a university based education has become accepted as a criterion of professionalism has been exemplified by Stein: "the principal index and influence towards professional development has been the gradual incorporation of social work education into universities." (1968:58)
desire to undertake philanthropic work might graduate. This hope has also been realised; for in 1912 the School was embodied in the University of London, and became the Department of Social Science and Administration at the London School of Economics.

(1914:80)

In the provinces however the COS was more successful in its campaign to persuade professors to establish courses on COS lines. The course which was started in 1904 at Liverpool University by Professor Gonner was due largely to the influence of Loch, and according to Simey;

the new school was indebted to him for both its titles and its objectives.

(1955:6) (1)

Following the Second World War, there was again the assertion that the new courses should be established in the university sector whenever possible.

In her Carnegie Reports Youngusband rejected the idea that social work training should be modelled on teacher training which would entail the establishment of training colleges outside of the university sector:

The great demerit of such a scheme is that it would result in the loss of a large part of the hard won fight to get social work training more and more deeply embedded in the universities; it would also lower the standards and status of the courses and greatly increase the risk of them becoming based on technical know-how.

(1951:172-3)

Ironically though, for similar reasons of prestige and status, many university social studies departments have been reluctant to sponsor social work courses. In the hierarchy of academic status vocational training has ranked near the bottom. And social work, because of its fragile professional status anyway, has often been thought an inappropriate subject for university teaching (c.f. Kallen et al 1968:238).

At a conference on social work education called by the COS in 1902 where it was hoped that links could be developed between the universities and

1. Social work courses were later established at Birmingham University (1908) and Glasgow University (1912), (c.f. Salomon 1937).
the Society, two of the delegates, Professor Chapman of Manchester and Professor Foxwell of University College London expressed firm opposition to any university based social work education. According to Foxwell the activities and policies of the Society were too controversial and:

It was imperative that the teaching of Universities should be free from any suspicion of bias in controversial matters. Their function was to train students in the observation of facts and the construction of theory from such observations... It would be improper for the University to attempt to direct students in their practical work...

(Cited Lebuscher 1946:22)

Yet according to Macadam, who was one of the first university teachers of social work at Liverpool University, a major reason for getting social work into the universities was to ensure that it could be removed from accusations of bias and assisted in presenting a neutral image:

University control provides a guarantee against the very real danger of political or other forms of propaganda. The fact that social politics border so nearly on party politics is a strong reason why candidates for training should be relied upon to preserve an impartial attitude as it is possible to attain. The university teacher may be too narrow or academic but there is something in the atmosphere and traditions of a university which guards against the exploitations of teaching for political or sectarian ends.

(1945:36)

Although social work courses have now attained a place within universities they have tended to have the status of a poor relation:

They are believed to be laxer in their entrance standards than other schools. Often they work for something less than a degree: a diploma, a certificate, even in one instance a testamur. Their students are treated as inferior, as sub-standard specimens addicted to neuroses and good works. Members of more accepted schools treat them with varying degrees of aloofness, and wonder more or less explicitly why they ever came to be in a university at all.

(Silcock 1950:168) (1)

1. In this context it is interesting to note Macadam's account of the relation-ship between the University and the school of social work at Liverpool:

"It must be admitted that the connection of the School with the University in those early years (1904-1917) was rather that of a poor and uninteresting relation than an honoured member of the University family group... its students were not registered students of the University, it raised its own funds... and the lectures given by members of the staff were entirely voluntary... The University however provided the accommodation and appointed representatives on the committee, and with Professor Gonner as chairman, the School became from the first closely identified with the University in the eyes of the public." (1925:33-4; my emphasis)

The accommodation provided by the University was "the use of a room in the Old Building, which had been a lunatic asylum till the cutting of the Edge Hill tunnel rendered it unsuitable for that purpose" (Simey 1955:6), which does signify to some degree what the University thought of the venture.
In her 1963 JUC study of social studies departments, Jones discovered that there was a general antipathy among many sociology teachers to having social work courses within their departments. As the following statements from lecturers signify, the feeling was that social work was deemed unsuitable for such institutions:

- I would like to see all social work training transferred to the technical colleges, where it rightly belongs. The universities would then get on with their proper tasks of education and research. (Lecturer).
- More suitable for non-university institutions. (Lecturer).
- This department actively campaigns against social work. (Lecturer)
- We are actively discouraging students from thinking of this department as a school for social work training, since this an idea we want to get away from. (Lecturer).

(K. Jones 1963:22-3 and for a more recent account see Webb 1973)

Much of this antagonism between social work and sociology has been occasioned by the professional aspirations of the two subjects. Sociology, particularly during the past thirty years has been concerned to rid itself of the image as being merely about training social workers and to establish itself as an independent academic discipline. In 1959 for example, Professors Grebenik (Leeds) and Kelsall (Sheffield) attacked the JUC for failing to make it clear that sociology and social administration were not solely intended for potential social workers (JUC minutes 3.1.1959). The divisions between the two areas have led to a mutual antagonism, with social work accusing social scientists of being closeted in ivory towers and social scientists accusing social workers of being atheoretical and woolly headed (c.f. Mays 1965:65-6; Kahn 1954:199). It is partly against this background that some of the recent acrimonious debates between social workers and social science teachers have developed, and that social work teaching has begun to move away from the general social science departments into their own specific departments.

The move of social work into the universities has been only one of the ways it has tried to secure status. The other principal strategy which it has adopted to achieve influence has been through the language it has used to present its ideas; the process of scientisation. Of all the closure strategies utilised by social work the conscious use of jargon and
scientific concepts has been most self-evidently directed against the
working class, and middle class intruders.

Social work with a number of other occupations such as teaching, policing,
law and the church, is directly concerned with the regulation of social
relations. In this respect I would concur with Althusser's description
of them as 'ideological state apparatuses'. Social work, as I have noted
throughout this study is in the business of trying to bring recalcitrant
workers and their families into conformity with the prevailing social
relations, an objective well expressed by the following two social work
writers:

I suppose I am trying to bring them into closer conformity with
society: to enable them to function better. This means
encouraging them to accept society's rules.
(A child care officer cited Rodgers and Stevenson 1973:194)

The social delinquent whose behavioural aberration is directed by
standards not in congruence with those of the whole community
must be helped to know and internalise the community standards.
The social (work) agency has been historically one of the principal
vehicles for this kind of re-education.
(R. Taylor 1958:20)

However the legitimacy of the social relations of capitalism is one of
the major sites of class conflict. Thompson's (1968) monumental work on
the British working class is full of examples of how the working class
have resisted the values and relations of capital. And the precariousness
and fragility of those values among the working class is reflected in the
enormous effort which the State exerts in innumerable forms and
institutions to implement them. Social work, with regard to specific
sections of the working class is directly embroiled in such a struggle of
representing the dominant social values and relations, and attempting to
ensure their internalisation by clients.

Central to this task of social work has been the manner in which those
values and ideas have been articulated to their clients. The punitive
approach was as I indicated, rejected on the grounds that it would
antagonise rather than encourage their acceptance, although punitive
strategies are implemented if the 'soft' approach fails to bring about a shift in attitude. Equally important has been the language which social workers have used to justify their intrusions in the lives of others. Initially, the COS openly brandished moral concepts. The destitute were either deserving or undeserving; their problems were said to be caused by alcohol or thriftlessness. Despite the sophisticated social theory by which the COS defended the righteousness of these moral precepts they proved to be highly unpopular with the working class. They were too easily identified with the middle and upper classes, and antagonised sections of the working class who rejected the assumption that poverty and destitution were entirely of their own making (c.f. Treble 1976:20-21).

During the course of the nineteenth century there was a growing appreciation that an undisguised moralistic approach was not beneficial to the great attempts that were being made to transform the working class into an industrial wage labour force. In 1879 Herbert Spencer stated that;

Now that the moral injunctions are losing the authority given by their supposed sacred origin, the secularisation of morals is becoming imperative.
(Cited Corrigan 1977:99; my emphasis)

The secularisation of morals does not mean the abandonment of moral injunctions but rather their re-working and a new form of presentation, most commonly as 'scientific'. In the development of social work and social work education we have a classic case of such a secularisation process. During the 1880s for example, the Council recommended dropping the terms 'deserving and undeserving' and their replacement by the more neutral categories of 'helpable and unhelpable'. A change incidentally which Woodard misunderstood when he claimed that it meant that the "COS was making a great concession when it recognised that the test for charitable relief should no longer be a moral one" (1961:130-1).

The principal sites of secularisation within social work are social work education and theory. In his discussion of the objectives of the School
of Sociology, Urrick argued one of its principal aims was to advance the authority of the social workers. Central to this programme was the teaching of the 'old' morality but in a new language:

The trained workers of today must be more than mere administrators; they must be apostles of true doctrines and they must preach in the language of their generation. They may grasp and hold firmly enough the very essence of the principles outlined above, and yet seem too negative and too old fashioned to make converts. The terms in which our truths are expressed often belong to a past age; have we not all been at times uneasily conscious that the mere appeal to fundamental principles of self-help, independence, thrift and the like, has lost much of its force, and that these principles must be recast, brought into new connections with current ideas and ways of thinking, clothed in a new language?

For it is unquestionably true that the new generation is receptive enough, but as always, demands a new preparation for its food.

(1904:182; my emphasis)

Many of the developments in social work since the time of the COS can be interpreted as clothing the fundamental principles of thrift, self-help and so forth in a new language. The language generally embraced has been that of the social sciences and medicine, and in a speech to the Association of Social Workers in 1959, Corner clearly illuminated the way in which social work has traditionally perceived the scientisation of its concepts as signifying a fundamental shift in approach:

slowly but surely, a change of emphasis has taken place. We speak no longer of the immoral but the immature; the lazy good for nothing of those days is the inadequate of today; the harlot and the fallen woman have been transformed into call-girls; the pervert has become a deviant; the drunkard an alcoholic whom we try to help by psychiatric treatment, by drugs or by the support of his fellows, but we would never dream of the moral lever of the pledge being used. In casework in fact, we are not judgemental but analytical ... We do not regard our client's problems as moral ones but as emotional ones, ... I suggest in fact that moral values are no longer at the core of things in the practice of casework.

(Association of Social Workers 1959:14) (1)

1. As an example, Corner gave the social work approach to theft: 
"/the social worker/ is not interested in stealing as immoral, but as a symptom in this particular society, at this particular time, of an undeveloped personality". (ibid:15)
Younghusband however, recognised that the change in terminology was about disguise rather than signifying any shift in approach (1), but that it might enhance the effectiveness of social workers:

"...social science and research/ make it respectable to talk about 'factors in social pathology' instead of the undeserving poor; 'community stimulation' instead of getting lonely people along to the Settlement social; 'providing positive incentives to socially acceptable behaviour' instead of helping with the Brownie Pack; 'psychopathic personalities' instead of hopeless scroungers; 'rehabilitating the socially maladjusted' instead of trying to reform anyone or anything. The essential rose remains unchanged by this change in names but, if anyone is helped thereby to see more clearly, to think more deeply, to diagnose more truly and to treat more effectively, then this change and all others that succeed it are all to the good." (1951:161-2) (2)

Just as social workers looked to the universities for prestige so they have looked to science. The actual claims that it has for being accepted as a scientific activity are extremely dubious, certainly more so than probably any other branch of the social sciences, whose own claims for scientific status are extremely questionable. Nevertheless, from the 1930 onwards, social work has attempted to wear the mantle of science. The Charity Organisation Society was especially forthright in claiming that its activity was scientific and in adopting medical terminology to explain its activities. Poverty, destitution, delinquency and the innumerable other issues with which social workers deal were for a long time grouped

1. Deed commenting on the changes that had taken place in social work drew attention to the change in language but she also stressed that the basic principles of the work were little changed: "...the change in the language used is partly because we have a more scientific approach, since science usually uses long words and abstract terms, and partly because what we say about casework has been mainly borrowed from America.... but the basic principles lying behind good casework have changed very little, and we still owe a great debt of gratitude to the early pioneers of casework who laid down those principles." (1953:305)

2. Most of Wootton's criticisms of social work have been about what Dillon (1969) called the 'professional name game', or as she herself complained their "use of language incomprehensible to the layman" which "obscure their activities" (1975:vii). Wootton is undoubtedly correct when she argues that social workers continue the tradition of the nineteenth century philanthropists by adopting a "god-like, Daddy-knows-best attitude" with their clients that can not "be conjured away by being dressed up in medical terms". (1960:300)
together under the title 'social pathology'. Concepts such as diagnosis, treatment, health and sickness abound in the social work literature. Barnett, who shared with the COS a concern to raise the status of social work, littered his writings with such terms. For example, in discussing approaches to the control of destitution, he wrote that

this social ulcer needs first an exhaustive diagnosis by the most experienced social physicians, and then infinite patience and great firmness as we build up again the constitution of the unfit.

(1915:179-80)

And in a similar fashion, Gilman, a prominent figure in the early development of social work education in the United States, argued:

There is the same need for knowledge and experience in relieving complex disabilities of poverty that there is in relieving mere ailments of the body, and the same process of evolution that has brought into our hospital service the trained physician and the trained nurse, increasingly calls for the trained charity worker.

(1905:396)

The use of such jargon and the general proclamation of social work as a skilled and scientific activity has two important consequences. Firstly it does have a great influence on demarcating social work and signalling to the non social work fraternity that social work requires skill and a certain approach. In other words it is part of the closure apparatus. Secondly, and related to closure, is secularisation. Changes in the name of concepts are significant even if the underlying meanings are untouched. Science in this society has been accorded with considerable status and the scientific jargon is adopted by occupational groups because they want to share in it (1). Again, it is not simply a narrow professionalism which informs this action. Rather the neutrality, rationality and objectivity which are generally associated with those activities termed science have been regarded as vital to the success of social work in its work with clients.

1. As Meyer noted:

"Since prestige is identified with science, a tendency to give at least apparent support to a scientific foundation is widespread."

(1967:393-4)
However, it should be noted that social work's claim to science has not been vacuous. While I don't want to engage in the complex arguments as to what constitutes science, social work leaders have used the term to convey that their activity is informed by a set of principles and a social theory. The COS's abundant use of the term science was for the purpose of distinguishing their activities from that of the indiscriminate almsgivers. As I have already indicated, the COS maintained that this form of philanthropy was dominated by the immediate senses of the philanthropists rather than an appreciation of the social formation as a whole (c.f. B. Bosanquet 1893:226). It has been a central message of all subsequent workers that if their activity is to have a regenerative effect on their working class clients then that it must be formulated and practiced with due regard to the social structure as a whole:

> good will is not in itself a sufficient guide to intelligent helpfulness, and that he who would help his neighbour must first himself acquire the tools of his craft, to wit, a knowledge of the modern state, ith all its resources, public and private, as well as knowledge of his country and the origin of the present conditions. (Matheson 1916:167, my emphasis)

Certainly 'help' nowadays cannot be effectively given merely by goodwill. Apart from the fact that effective remedies for social distress may call for political measures, help for people's individual and personal difficulties calls for expert skills... Thus the giving of help becomes dependent on acquiring certain kinds of expert knowledge and skill. (Emmet 1967:12)

Social work does have a body of knowledge as we saw in chapter 4. Social workers since the time of the COS have not intervened in the lives of their clients in an ad hoc manner or on the basis of their own particular view of the problems. Rather their work is based on a well formulated and congruent theory of prevailing social relations which attempts to bring their clients back into the capitalist fold without upsetting or disrupting the morality of the working class as a whole, or the existing social institutions. This is the 'science' of social work and the basis
of its claim for expert status. (1)

It has therefore been one of the central tasks of social work education to impart this body of knowledge to prospective social workers and to present it to them as a 'science'. For it has been recognised that if social workers are to be effective in their work they too must be fully committed to the view that their work is based on firm principles which are 'right', rational and universal. And that their intervention in the lives of their clients is justified on such grounds and is not moralistic meddling. Not surprisingly then, social work writers have argued that it is this 'science' and expertise that justifies the responsibility we are taking in entering that man's life, just as the doctor's and health visitor's professional training justifies them in knocking with such assurance at the doors of their patients.

(Waldron 1988:11)

And allows the social worker

to enter intimately into the personal and social problems of others without any taint of meddling.

(E. Smith 1957:2)

A group of students highlighted these points:

We decided that we undertook the course to become trained social workers, and discussed what we meant by this. We noted the importance of professional status as indicating a body of knowledge and degree of skill, as opposed to mere do-goodery, and as a defence of one's position.

(Cited Anon 1968: Appendix B; my emphasis)

It has been one of the elements of social work's pressure for more training facilities and for a higher proportion of trained practicing social workers, that social work education gives the practitioner a self

1. The United Nations Report (1958) on social work training noted that while it may be difficult to maintain that social work "is a science in its own right" its knowledge base was worthy of professional status because of its comprehensive grasp of 'man in society':

"This knowledge maybe comparatively elementary in any one of the social or behavioural sciences but the total synthesis results in an understanding of man and his social functioning, which is certainly not elementary."

(1958:47, emphasis given)
assurance about his role that the untrained finds difficult to sustain.

This in turn it is argued leads to a more efficient worker (1). At the
beginning of the century, Rogers noted the following differences between
the trained and untrained social workers:

The untrained worker feels she is often in a false position when trying to help. She is conscious of impertinence, and can only go on if she steels herself with condescension, which gradually becomes part of her character. She doesn't get at the root of the matter, because her work is not thorough enough. Her work has no method, and it wears out her nerves. She is in a perpetual state of fuss... By constant pottering she loses energy and concentration, and so becomes dowdy in mind and body... Whereas the trained worker is natural in manner, because she meets her fellow creatures in a straightforward manner. She is not taken in by whining so mutual respect is not killed. She comes with a definite object in view and is not regarded as interfering. She learns the real extent of distress, and understands what it means, so she turns her sentiment into practical sympathy. She is not hard because she learns to govern her feelings. (1900:387-8)

In recent years social workers have argued that training imparts that confidence which allows the social worker to deal on equal grounds with neighbouring professionals, such as doctors and teachers, whereas the untrained social worker is more likely to bow down to their authority (2).

1. The notion that training leads to enhanced efficiency is constantly reiterated by the social work profession. For example, Hall has written that:

"It is widely accepted that efficiency in the administration of the social services and efficacy in the practice of social work are dependent on the quality of the staff available more than any other factor." (1965:117)

In recent years whenever there has been an identifiable lapse or mistake made by social workers the most common response has been that it was due to the large numbers of untrained social workers in the occupation. This was exemplified by BASW's response to the recent child battering deaths and Brandon's (1975) disclosure of massive breaches of confidentiality by social workers. Oakley, who was then the chairman of BASW's Working Party on Confidentiality responded to these disclosures by stating that: "David Brandon must, however, face the fact that only some 37% of field social workers in English social services departments are trained, and only a proportion are BASW members." (Community Care 7.5,1975)

2. "Only the qualified social worker seems confident of a role as a social worker, without reference to other fields, whether they be psychiatry nursing or the law. Rightly or wrongly, he has some certainty about his discipline as a force for human betterment." (Lee 1973:457)
Moreover social work education gives the practitioner authority: authority does not wait upon goodwill; the right to command attention is not won by devoted work alone. Something more is needed. There must be the confidence which comes with knowledge, and the power to inspire confidence which, in most cases only a recognised and sufficient training can give... Look where you will, you will find that in every kind of practice, so long as the practitioner works by rule of thumb, by merely empirical methods, he may indeed perform a useful function, but he will not win the respect due to one who knows his work. To do this, his methods must be made scientific, his practice must be founded upon a true knowledge of principles and laws; and he - the practitioner - must himself acquire that knowledge and be trained in those methods. (Urwick 1903:254; c.f. Rodgers and Dixon 1960:224-5)

All of these factors relate very closely to the reasons why social work education has been developed at all, for it must be remembered that social work is an occupation the skills and techniques of which could easily be learnt 'on the job'. This was exemplified by the COS itself which for over thirty years adopted the 'apprenticeship' mode of training and moved towards formal training schemes only when its influence was becoming diminished at the beginning of this century. Similarly, when we examine social work as a whole today, the apprenticeship mode still constitutes the principal form of training for the vast majority of social workers with formal courses being reserved only for a select cadre of workers. But as Urwick and others have noted, vocational training carries little prestige, and practice skills little or no authority:

The professional social worker cannot expect that skill in the techniques of social service will itself entitle him to utter such a voice any more than expertness in the law is sufficient to win public confidence on the larger issues of justice. For social problems like problems of justice, involve ultimate ends and values, and no expertness as to means is a guarantee of just and truer perspective for these. (Tufts 1923:166)

What though are the consequences for the clients of social work of these developments? The general consensus among the critics of social work is that the mantle of expertise has extended the authority of social workers and has allowed for a more effective penetration of the working class (c.f. Pearson 1975; Scott 1970; Mencher 1976; Voysey 1972). The early moralism of the COS and previous philanthropic activities often directly
supported by the 'protestant ethic' as now generally regarded as being associated entirely with the Victorian middle and upper classes. As such it is argued, it became an increasingly weak basis from which to present capital's social relations as unrelativistic, universal for all classes, rational and valid, for the working class came to see through them and reject their 'sacred' foundations. Expertise and scientisation however avoided these pitfalls and has allowed for the presentation of the same material in a manner which successfully disguises their class basis (c.f. Gorz 1970:169). In other words the growth of professionalism and expertise in vast areas of social activity have been interpreted as some of the key processes by which the "ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas" (Marx and Engels 1846:39) and have allowed them to be "expressed in ideal form... (in) the form of universality" (ibid). (1)

The case of social work certainly supports many of these arguments. As Lubove has noted:

Professionalism and psychiatry did produce one major change. Intervention in the lives of clients had been justified in the nineteenth century on grounds of an assumed personal superiority; in the twentieth century it was justified by expert techniques, allegedly acquired through formal education. (1966:610)

These grounds of expertise undoubtedly strengthen the social worker's hand in his work with the clients. Explicit moral compulsion is not as powerful as clinical expertise in disciplining and transforming clients (c.f. Marris and Rein 1967). Moreover the behaviour in question is not

1. Marcuse (1968) has powerfully argued that such 'scientific and technological rationality' has become a major form of political domination. In his earlier book, One Dimensional Man, Marcuse noted that: "Today, domination perpetuates and extends itself not only through technology but as technology, and the latter provides the great legitimation of the expanding political power, which absorbs all spheres of culture. In this universe, technology also provides the great rationalization of the unfreedom of man and demonstrates the 'technical' impossibility of being autonomous, of determining one's own life... Technological rationality thus protects rather than cancels the legitimacy of domination..." (1964; cited Habermas 1971:84-5)
open to discussion or negotiation; it is either sick or healthy depending on the expert's diagnosis who in turn alone has the right to determine the 'treatment' required. Thus, the client is excluded from determining what should be done and is actively persuaded to accept the social worker's definition of the problem and its solution (c.f. Mencher 1967:6).

However, the influence that expertise has had over the working class must be appreciated with care, particularly in the case of social work. As I argued in the last chapter it is very unlikely that the clients of social work respond solely on the basis of a social worker's expertise or training. With clients it is not so much the 'expertise' which gives a social worker power but his status as a representative of the State.(1) And some social work writers such as Dillon (1969) have argued that social workers who have tried to implement and use scientific jargon in their work with clients have been particularly unsuccessful as their clients fail to understand what is being said. It is surprising that the work of Bernstein on language codes has had such little impact on social work for the issues he addressed are directly pertinent to the effectiveness of the relationship between the middle class social worker and the working class client. Renvoize noted that one of the principal complaints that she heard from police officers about social workers was that they "were too middle class":

They don't understand working class language. They're communicating at different levels, and they don't realise it. They're very careful how they speak to these parents / who have battered their

1. Through the writings of some social work practitioners we are now getting glimpses of what this means for the actual practice of social work with clients. Handler in 1968 noted that social workers were using the power invested in them by the State to coerce change in their client's behaviour rather than using specific social work skills as laid down in the textbooks. Paul Harrison noted the same techniques being used when he visited a social services agency in Coventry:

"Townend / the team leader/ struck a bargain with him: he would give him a good reference for the army, if the boy would make an effort to get into school. The bargain worked. Social workers, with their statutory powers to commit children into care, and their pull over things like rehousing and keeping the electricity connected, often use threats or promises to modify their client's behaviour."

(1976:492)
children, they don't want to cause any offence, and the result is they don't get anywhere. I say, "Look here, Maisie, you've been stubbing your bloody fag-end out on this kid, haven't you?" and the odds are that Maisie will admit it. I don't say it in an accusing way, just as a statement of fact, and they'll mostly take it that way. ... But if the whole thing is hushed up and treated with kid gloves, and that's what keeps happening now, then these mothers are more disturbed, not less. It's not what they expected, and they don't know what to make of it. There's a cultural difference there, and your average social worker just doesn't realise how deep it goes.


Thus, while the secularisation of morals and their translation into scientific concepts may have consequences for the working class as a whole, in terms of presenting the State as a neutral and rational institution, as well as closing off from them whole areas of discourse and decision making, their influence on the clients of social work who are generally drawn from the 'lowest' sectors of the working class, is likely to be marginal. Indeed it would be very difficult to maintain that social work's struggle for status and its adoption of prestigious image promoting paraphernalia was primarily prompted by its concern to impress its clients or win over their trust. The claim of social work that it has sought to advance its expertise because of the demands of its clients (U.N. 1958:59; Greenwood 1957:43; Davies 1968:3; Association of Social Workers 1954:27) is extremely dubious. I know of no instance where clients have demanded more training of social workers or indeed of any working class agitation for more social work. In fact it is a significant characteristic of social work that its growth and expansion has almost exclusively been the product of concern from 'above' rather

1. The film "Juvenile Liaison" highlighted many of these issues. This film of how a branch of the Lancashire police force attempted to halt the flow of juveniles coming before the courts by intervening as early as possible at the hint of trouble showed how many families came to call on the Liaison team to discipline their children. It is my feeling that there is shared notion of trouble making and punishment between the police and large sections of the working class and that the soft approach of social work is incomprehensible. A television documentary on the probation service in Bradford shown in 1975 showed how the soft social work approach of one officer was laughed at by her probationers - it was a 'scive' and let-off - whereas the 'hard' traditionalist officer was feared and his probationers did what he said.
It is also significant that the vast majority of social work's clients are heavily stigmatised by most classes in society; they have very little power, they are generally isolated from each other, they have hardly any links with the organised labour movement; in sum, they are not a force which are likely to exert much influence and are certainly not central to understanding why social work has been so concerned to assert its expertise.

My feeling is that social work's fight for status has been informed by two major considerations. One being the closure concern and the other concerned with enhancing its-self image. As I have indicated throughout this study a great deal rests on the shoulders of the individual social worker in the realisation of the social work task. The form and content of social work education, the theories, the placements and the selection processes, all focus on prospective social workers and on strengthening their resolve to do the job. Proclamations of expertise and scientific status are an inextricable component of that socialisation process and in strengthening that resolve. It is certainly most unlikely that the liberal middle classes with their university educations would be drawn into social work if the occupation had a blatant image as a bastion of bourgeois morality, and if social workers were presented as moral colonisers of the working class. Processes of secularisation and professionalisation therefore, don't just confront the working classes but all the classes, albeit in a differential manner.

1. As Wardman has rightly noted:

"It is a historical fact that the labour movement fought for the NHS and for decent education (and the fight continues) but I would welcome chapter and verse on when any section of the working class ever demanded a Probation Service or Child Care Officers or NSPCC inspectors. .... social work agencies were not set up in response to working class agitation..." (1977:30; emphasis given)
Conclusion.

The conclusion of this chapter serves as a conclusion for this thesis. While I don’t intend to summarise the arguments of this study I do think that it is appropriate to conclude with some general comments about the place of social work within society which draw together some of the innumerable issues raised in the preceding pages.

It is a salient characteristic of social work that compared with most other 'professions' it is fluid and flexible. The history of social work from the mid-nineteenth century is full of countless examples of this fluidity and change. Its path to its present 'professional' state has been by no means steady and in the inter-war period for example, social work was relatively stagnant and peripheral within the welfare field. As Youngusband wrote:

\[\text{All through the period /inter-war/ there were immense advances in social betterment, the foundations of the welfare state were being slowly but surely laid; and a great deal was discovered about how to eliminate poverty. But social workers played almost no part in this and in social work there was nothing akin to the earlier advances or the earlier enthusiasms.} (1965:18)\]

Examples of social work’s flexible character can be found in its knowledge base and the range of activities engaged in, as well as the methods used. A lecturer recently noted that:

\[\text{Knowledge in social work grow like a rolling snowball with everything being added and little being displaced.} \] (Evans 1976a:18)

While another social teacher complained that social work was being developed in such a way that teaching was now "bewildering". The wide and ever widening range of duties expected of social workers was, he continued, making it very difficult to know what skills and knowledge he should be communicating to his students (Brandon 1976:26).

Similarly, the methods of social work have expanded from simply that of casework, although casework remains the most widespread social work.
method. (1) Most social work students are now given some teaching in group and community work alongside casework methods. In the nineteen sixties great play was made about the emergence of community work as signifying a fundamental shift in the objectives of social work (c.f. Mayo 1975). Encouraged by some of the activities of community workers in organising tenants associations and confronting the local authorities, there was a feeling that community work marked a shift away from social work's traditional individualist view of social problems and the beginning of a more political and structural appreciation of poverty and associated problems. Far from it, as many commentators now realise. Community work like group work was firmly planted in the social work frame of reference. The problems of inner-city areas, slums, some council estates (the 'communities' of community work, c.f. Leach 1969) were perceived in the same fashion as those of individual clients. That is, there was something internally pathological which could be 'solved' by re-education and the development of self-reliance;

Problem definitions of the nineteen sixties located the sources of these lacks of resources in the attitudes and incapacities of those affected by them. Consequently the aims of this form of community work were seen as educative and attitude changing with a strong emphasis on developing self-help activities. (Irissocoe 1976:48)

And another community worker has remarked upon the growing sense of disillusionment among community workers who felt that they had got away from the traditional social work model but only to find that they were doing the same things that they despised in casework:

Community work has been forced by economic factors to acknowledge that it can be as trapped by constraints as any caseworker. Community workers have found themselves driven back almost

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1. The preponderance of casework as the principal social work method was demonstrated in the survey of courses undertaken by Parsloe and colleagues (1976). Of the sixty-two courses investigated, 59 replied that their students would be equipped to be caseworkers, 32 of these also said that some of their students would be capable of doing community work and 29 also mentioned groupwork (p.488).
exclusively to self-help projects, and some are asking themselves if they are in danger of becoming instruments of social control as surely as they have accused others of being. Experience has also caused some community workers to feel that they have been naive about the change potential of participatory democracy.

(Fishwick 1977:3) (1)

Within the mainstream of established social work however, there were no illusions that community work or group work were any different from casework:

The objectives of all social work methods... are similar. All are concerned with removal of blocks to growth, release of potentialities, full use of inner resources, development of capacity to manage one's own (the individual, group or community) life, ability to function as an integrated unit... Essentially what is sought by all social workers is this same general end.


Nevertheless, while there have been changes in social work over the last hundred years these should not lead us to ignore the deeply rooted continuities which have run throughout its development. From the time of the Charity Organisation Society there has been a central and integrating core to social work. A core which has determined the character of social work’s practice, the manner of its theory construction, and the nature of its education programme. This core is essentially a distillation of some of the central values of capitalism. It contains a vision of the behaviour expected of a productive and independent working class, the processes of the reproduction and the maintenance of such a class and its relation to society; a core which I have summarised in the

1. The Community Development Projects' report (1977) on the state and poverty experiments, Gilding the Ghetto, makes it quite clear that the government's initiation of community projects was based on the psychologistic model of poverty causation. The community approach was favoured as being a more effective strategy for breaking into the cycle of deprivation in areas of high social need and problems than the high manpower (and thus expensive) casework approach. However, as the government was to discover, the enhancement of self-help can be double-edged. Once the CDPs began to initiate self-help activities in a manner which led to confrontation with the local and central government machines the pressure mounted to disband them. At the time of writing (Autumn 1977) the last of the projects are now being dismantled.
The concept of citizenship. While that core has remained relatively unchanged and is shared by many of the other institutions concerned with enhancing social stability and harmony, the tactics and strategies informed by such a core have shifted and adapted according to historically specific moments in social development. Thus, as we have seen in the case of social work its consistent ideal to strengthen citizenship among specific sections of the working class has not been sufficient to guarantee it a secure place within the State apparatus, at least not until recently. And even then, its 'arrival' as a formal State agency has necessitated changes in its strategies and policies which have not been altogether welcomed by the social work profession.

The problem confronting social work has not been over the legitimacy of its core value system but rather over its role and place within the State welfare apparatus, and in particular, over who are to constitute its appropriate clients. Thus the development and character of social work has, in no small degree been determined by the debates and struggles concerning the definition and identification of social problem groups and the strategies deemed most suitable to cope with them. These struggles and debates have been historically specific as I noted in the first two chapters. In the earlier period of the COS the struggle was over the validity of social work as an effective strategy for dealing with the deserving poor, when there was a general and widespread concern that without some form of intervention this section of the working class would be physically and morally lost to capitalism. And in the recent period the growth of social work has been primarily related to a concern about the costs incurred by residual sections of the working class with problem families and juvenile delinquents being the foremost examples.

Although social work has now been accepted as being one of the best means to resocialise these residual sections and to lessen their cost to the State, this has not meant the end of change within social work. The
pragmatic eclecticism of social work's 'technology', the tendency for its knowledge base "to grow like a rolling snowball", and the expansion of its methods and domain all reflect a degree of fluidity which is inherent in social work's contemporary status and place within the welfare matrix. As some influential figures in social work are beginning to recognise, social work has been, and is being, developed as a "dustbin" agency of the State (Goldberg and Frum 1976:6). Although it would be more accurate to see contemporary social work as a 'servicing' agency of the State. That is its clients are those individuals and families which have either slipped through the major socialising institutions - schools, families and so forth - without internalising the requisite skills and values; and because of their 'inadequate' socialisation, they have posed problems for the established and front-line welfare agencies such as social security, housing, education and health, which can't deal with them. Goldberg and Frun's characterisation of social work as a 'dustbin' is accurate to the extent that all these agencies regard such deviants as waste products and a nuisance.

Indeed it is now possible to argue that the resocialisation of clients - making them into citizens - is no longer the prime objective of social work. As I noted earlier there has been no major research in this country on the effectiveness of social work. Thus, whether it has any success in its resocialisation tasks remain unclear, and there are many theoretical and practical grounds for being sceptical about its impact on client's personalities and behaviour. That there has been no major evaluation of social work's effectiveness does indicate that success in resocialisation may not constitute a primary criterion of its utility, at least as far as the formal local and central State apparatus are concerned. What does seem important however (and which can be measured), is the success that social workers have in regulating and controlling the demands of the clients on State resources. Thus, a social worker may fail to convert a family to citizenship but he may succeed in reducing their dependency such
as ensuring their debts are paid and their children are not removed into care.

The growth of social work in the past thirty years must be seen therefore as an inextricable part of the development and increasing efficiency of the welfare apparatus. As this welfare net has expanded to cover most areas of life - from the womb to the grave - there has been the need to have a servicing agency which can re-educate and control those individuals who slip through the mesh or more importantly, get stuck in it. It was this tendency of problem families to become dependent on welfare services of all kinds, which made them very costly to the State, which prompted the growth in the employment of social workers, as I noted in chapter 2. Similarly social services now function as a general 'catch-all' for the welfare system and they have been delegated to cope with new problems as they emerge which has entailed an ever expanding realm of activity for social workers (c.f. Brandon 1976).

Finally, I would like to finish with some general comments about how I see this thesis. As I argued in the introduction I regard this work as being primarily explanatory; an offer of an overall analysis of the development of one aspect of the State, social work. The account, because of its grand sweep inevitably has some gaps, although I am confident that any missing material does not contradict the analysis I have presented. Moreover these gaps signify the status of this work as a beginning rather than a final and polished product, and I hope that it will serve and assist future work in the area. Hopefully in time it can become part of an even wider appreciation and analysis of the welfare system that has been developed in Britain during the last century. Certainly some of the emerging work by Marxists in the social policy field demonstrates the inter-relatedness of the many issues which I have discussed in relation
However, I have never regarded this thesis as a mere intellectual or academic exercise. It is very much a product of the political events of the last seven years as they have been reflected in social work. During these years the mirage of social work as a neutral and basically humanitarian concern has become increasingly questioned by social workers and interested commentators. (Needless to say it is doubtful whether the clients shared this mirage). The mounting criticism is in no small part a consequence of social work's arrival as a State agency and profession of considerable power and scope. As more and more statutory duties have been piled onto social workers, and as their domain has expanded so social workers have come to feel more frustrated. The 'space' in which social workers could positively help and befriend their clients, genuinely attempt to relieve some of their problems has diminished as the work loads have risen and bureaucratisation expanded. The 'servicing' and controlling aspects of the jobs have become accentuated and the current deep depression has heightened all of these features. The client population of social work, the casualties of capitalism, is expanding as the depression and accompanying long-term unemployment take their toll of marriages and families; of people. The extent to which the depression is harming and destroying people is hardly known outside of their ranks, and much of the blame for this must go to the Labour Government and the Trades Union Congress for their shameful silence. Nevertheless, among many sections of the population, in the middle class as well as the

1. I am thinking here of Clarke's work on juvenile delinquency (1975, 1977), Novak's work on social security, Corrigan's on education, and social work (with Peter Leonard), Johnson's (1976) study of nineteenth century education, P. Corrigan's work on the British State (1977) and Gettleman's work on American social welfare (1963, 1970, 1974) which resonates with my analysis and demonstrates the international dimension of these developments.
working class, activists and militants are stirring. Questions are being asked and policies are being formulated. This study is for these activists, primarily in social work, although not exclusively, and for their clients. It is my hope that an understanding of social work's history, its place within the State, the nature of its theories and education will assist our struggle to transform the system and clarify the possibilities for future action.
APPENDICES

Curricula Appendix 333-353

Methods Appendix 354-364

Placement Appendix 365-369

Selection and Assessment Appendix 370-376

Statistical Appendix 377-386
CURRICULA APPENDIX

I. Syllabi of social work courses 1900-1914.

II. Current Curricula.
University of Birmingham 1914

Course of study for the Social Study Diploma.

Instruction in Theory

1. Lectures on industrial history, local government, sanitation, and hygiene, elementary economics, industrial legislation, social philosophy.

2. Visits of observation. (A) Administration: (a) Poor Law institutions of all kinds; (B) Education: rate-aided schools of all kinds; (C) Justice: Children's Court, remand home, reformatory and industrial schools. (D) Sanitation and hygiene, housing improvements, hospitals and schools. (E) Industrial conditions, factories, home industries, labour exchange.

Practical Training.

Under the supervision of Practical Work Sub-Committee.

A. Office work, correspondence etc. (use of case papers, indexing, Mutual Registration etc.), attendance at Case Committees.

B. Visiting; (i) for purposes of investigation with COS etc., (ii) occasional visiting for Case Committees, Provident Dispensaries etc., or continuous, e.g., Provident or rent collecting; after-care district visiting.

C. School and Club work: Definite work as a regular helper at a school, club, class, guild of play etc..

General Remarks.

This course is planned for one year, but students are allowed to spread it over two. This may be desirable either through lack of previous experience or for other reasons. Candidates under the age of 20 must obtain the permission of the Committee before entering upon training. A diploma is awarded.

Fees.

Inclusive fees (if the course is taken in one year) including those for membership and examinations, are £9 8s for men, £9 2s. 6d. for women; otherwise candidates pay the fee for each course of lectures as they are incurred. Three bursaries of £10 each are given to encourage suitable students of limited means.

University of Leeds 1914

Course of study for a Diploma.

Instruction in Theory

Lectures on economics, social economics, economics of distribution, public health, ethics of citizenship, administration of public and voluntary relief, also Tutorial classes in both theory and practical work.
Practical Training.

One hundred days during the year.

Leeds, COS - Poor Law, Labour Exchange, etc. Visits to factories and institutions.

Bradford, visits to Guild of Help and institutions.

General Remarks.

A diploma is awarded. Candidates must be graduates of some University or must satisfy the Director that they have had a good education. The course is one year.

Fees

Seven guineas.

Liverpool University 1914

Instruction in Theory

Lectures on social economics, social ethics, social psychology, local administration, treatment of poverty, industrial conditions, etc. Classes with tutorial instruction, on education, juvenile offenders, public health, Poor Law, organisation of charity; visits of observation to Poor Law institutions, labour exchange, hospitals, factories etc.

Practical Training.

A. Charity organisation and relief.

B. Work in connection with some of the following: juvenile employment committee, Invalid Children's Aid Association, Women's Industrial Council, Poor Man's Lawyer, boys and girls clubs, etc.

General Remarks.

A General Diploma is given, and, after a further year's study, a Higher Diploma by the submission of a thesis based on investigation of some social problem. This diploma course is not necessarily confined to those who have the General Diploma. There are special courses for Poor Law officials.

Length of Course.

For the General Diploma, one year for graduates of an University or for those who have had previous training either in theory or in practice; otherwise two years.

Fees

For the General Diploma:
1st year five guineas, 2nd year three guineas, inclusive of lectures.

For the Higher Diploma: three guineas. Lectures if desired must be paid for separately.
Instruction in Theory

An extensive course of lectures.

1. Introductory: Types of State assistance, recent social reform, survey of working class life and conditions in London, the English Poor Law etc.
2. Economics, including statistics, lectures from both theoretical and practical standpoints.
3. Politics and Public Administration: (a) historical, (b) present conditions.
4. Economic history.
5. Industrial law.

Practical Training.

A large proportion of the training must be practical. First hand experience required in connection with some of the following: Care Committees, Skilled Employment Association, Labour Exchanges, COS, rent collecting, Provident visiting, club management, special inquiries into industrial conditions, Settlement work etc.

The student is always under the guidance of experienced social workers.

General Remarks.

The tutorial system has been adopted.
Each student has a tutor who supervises the practical work and ensures that this work is of educational value, and also gives regular guidance in reading and the study of theory.
The course is planned for one year.

Fees

£12 12s 0d

University of Manchester 1914

Instruction in Theory

Lectures on economics, social history, ethics, political science, social work, social legislation.

Practical Work

Minimum required: a) six hours a week for six months with COS, Guild of Help, or other Society. b) Continuous work in some branch of social work. c) To submit a thesis.

General Remarks.

The course is planned for two years except for graduates who do it in one year.

Fees

For practical training five guineas. Lectures paid for separately.

Source: All of the above are taken from COR 1914, vol 36, pp 89-94.
Outline of a more complete course of study.

To extend over 6 to 9 months. Always subject to modification in individual cases.

a) Actual Life and Conditions Today.

1) Normal and Healthy Life. (Self support and independence).
   Earning and spending power of the working classes.
   Normal self support in sickness and old age.
   The home and the family.

   Books
   The Standard of Life  H. Bosanquet
   The Family  H. Bosanquet
   Progress of the Working Classes  Ludlow and Lloyd Jones
   Board of Trade Reports on Wages and Prices

2) Abnormal or Unhealthy Life. (Inability to live without support of others).

   Physical Causes of Failure:
   a) sickness
   b) old age
   Moral and industrial causes and accidents.
   Incapacity through drink or neglect.
   Unemployment and irregular work.
   Underpayment and sweating.
   Widowhood.
   Vagrancy.
   Crime.

   Books
   Rowntree's York and H. Bosanquet's criticism.
   Report of the Committee on Physical Deterioration.
   Edinburgh COS Report.
   The Temperance Problem  Rowntree and Sherwell.
   Board of Trade Reports on Unemployment 1893, 1902.

3) Explanations of Present Conditions in the Light of the Past.

   a) Social and Industrial History.
   b) Social and Industrial Theory.

   Society and the Individual.
   The Individual and the material environment.

   Books
   The Industrial Revolution  Toynbee
   Social England  Traill
   Economics of Industry  A. Marshall
   Man v The State  Spencer
   Plea for Liberty  T. Mackay
   Principles of State Interference  Ritchie
   Quintessence of Socialism  Schäffle
   The Strength of the People  H. Bosanquet
School of Sociology continued...

4) Methods of Social Progress and Devices to Alleviate Distress, Considered in Reference to Social History and Social Theory.

a) Normal Social Progress

Education - general and special.
Self help and mutual help.
Interdependence of earners and spenders.
Individual stimulus and guidance.

b) Alleviation of Distress

Legal or public relief of the poor.
Charitable relief; institutional and private.
Organised charity; aims and methods.
Various disputed questions.

Books

Methods of Social Advance C.S. Loch
Charities and Charity Loch
Public Relief of the Poor T. Hackay
COS Occasional Papers
The English Poor Laws Lonsdale
Institutions for Thrift E. Brabrook
Friendly Visiting M. Richmond
Education H. Spencer
1834 Poor Law Report (the first 88 pages).


Additional Information.

Unfortunately most of the records of the School of Sociology have been lost. However, Loch (1907:46-8) did record some of the major lectures given in the School between 1904 and 1906.

"The inaugural address for the 1904-5 session was given by James Bonar, the author of 'Malthus and his Work', and of 'Philosophy and Political Economy in some of their Historical Relations.' In the Michaelmas term Mr. E.J. Urwick gave lectures on 'London and Londoners' and on 'Theories and Methods of Social Improvement' from a sociological point of view; Mr. C.S. Loch, Tooke Professor of Economic Science at King's College, gave a series of lectures on 'Poor Relief in relation to Recent History and Present Conditions in France and England'; Miss E.A. Pearson, of Lady Margaret Hall Settlement, lectured on 'Some Economic Questions', and Miss Margaret Sewell, late Warden of the Women's University Settlement, Southwark, on 'Social Legislation'. Similar lectures followed in subsequent terms.

The session of 1905-6 was opened by M. Edmond Demolins, the author of 'Comment la route crée le type social,' 'Les Français d'aujourd'hui,' etc., with an inaugural address on 'The Latest Results of the Social Sciences'. This was followed by a course of lectures on 'Good Citizenship' by the
School of Sociology continued /... 

Bishop of Stepney and others. Other courses of lectures and classes have been as follows:-

'The Improvement of the Conditions of the Poor,' by Mr. A.H. Paterson; 'Friendly Societies and other Methods of Thrift' by Sir Edward Brabrook C.B.; 'Social and Industrial Difficulties of the Present Day', 'an Introductory Course with special reference to the Divisions of Sociological Study and the Literature of the Subject,' 'Some Aspects of Social Dynamics,' 'Individualism and Socialism, Economic and Political', and a Discussion Class following the lines of Mr. E.A. Ross's 'Foundations of Sociology' by Mr. Urwick; 'The Principles underlying Social Work', by Mrs Frank Ogilvy; an Introductory Course for those mainly interested in Practical Work, by Miss Plater....

Examinations were held at the end of each session, papers being set in Social Theory and Administration and in Social Economics. The papers in Social Theory and Administration were set by Professor Bosanquet, of the University of St. Andrews, in 1905, and by Professor Gonner, of the University of Liverpool, in 1906; and those in Social Economics by the Rev. L.R. Phelps, of Oriel College, Oxford, in both years.

The practical work of the students has again been arranged successfully, with the help of various societies and individuals. As in former years, nearly all the students have begun their practical training by spending a few months at one or other offices of the Charity Organisation Society; and we are indebted to the committees of these, and still more to the secretaries, for the invaluable help they have given. It is pleasant to report that a considerable number of past students of the School are now working in connection with the Society, both in London and the provinces.
CURRENT CURRICULA

The following are extracts from course programmes of a number of postgraduate social work courses currently offered. I have only provided the name of the institution where the extracts are from 'public' documents such as course handbooks. Some social work departments kindly provided considerable curricula detail which was intended only for internal use. I promised confidentiality in respect to the use of that material so the name of the institution is not given.

I. HUMAN GROWTH AND BEHAVIOUR

'A' University

Aims of the Course

This course aims to acquaint students with features of normal development throughout the life span, including crises and transitions which occur in any person's life. Attention will also be paid to failures in development, disturbances in functioning, and special stresses and crises which appear in the lives of some but not all persons. As well as focussing on individual development, the course will also consider the functioning of natural systems such as the family. A major task for the students will be to familiarise themselves with concepts and theories drawn from a variety of theoretical perspectives and schools of thought, and test their usefulness for understanding persons at various life stages and in various social and interpersonal situations.

University of Kent

Issues in developmental psychology deemed particularly relevant to social work practice are covered in this course. In particular, the focus is on emotional development and on social influences on development. Issues covered include: pre-natal and neo-natal development, the nature/nuture dispute, attachment theory, psychoanalytic theory, sex differences in development, language development and deprivation, adolescence, marriage, work and old age.

'B' University

The aim of this course is to help students to gain knowledge about human beings function as individuals and in their relationships with one another, to develop a beginning sensitivity as to what constitutes normal and abnormal development relative to age, sex and circumstance and to explore modern theories of personality that have particular relevance to the social intervention approach. The course will study the physiological and psychological development of people from birth to death and will pay particular attention to the implications for social work practice of particular situations that have a potential for stress or disharmony such as, adolescence, dying and bereavement.....

A second aim of the Human Development course is to give students an understanding of themselves as vital elements in any relationship.
This series of lectures and seminars covers:

1. Discussion of the concept of development - birth to old age.

2. The emotional, social and intellectual aspects of changes in behaviour with age from infancy onwards. Freudian psychosexual stages; Erikson; empirical studies; including Piaget, Newson, Ainsworth.

3. Genetic/constitutional determinants of personality - twin studies; endocrine system; Kretzacker, Sheldon.

4. Environmental influences on personality - deprivation and enrichment; Spitz, Goldfarb, Bowlby, crucial stages; cultural factors.

5. Theoretical approaches to personality. The influence of psychoanalytically oriented theories is emphasised: other theoretical approaches of current interest will also be examined.

Outline of Syllabus:

Session I: Introduction: Comments concerning the syllabus, reading list, and the aims of this series of lectures. Discussion of some of the models used for the study of human growth and development.

II: Infancy:
   i. with particular reference to the concept of bond formation and its implications for personality growth and development.

III: the concept of 'maternal deprivation', research views, and implications of long and short term separation in infancy and later years.

IV: Early Childhood
   The development and importance of language, play and social interaction.

V: Middle Childhood:
   With particular reference to developments during the school years and in peer relationships.

VI: Adolescence:
   With particular reference to views and research concerning alienation, inner turmoil, and family relationships.

VII: Infancy, Childhood and Adolescence:
   Psychosexual development and its implications for personality development.

VIII: Young Adulthood:
   i. views concerning the 'tasks of' and developments during these years.

IX: ii. views concerning parenthood and families.
X: iii. views concerning marital interaction, relationships and some methods of marital counselling.

XI: Middle Adulthood:
Views concerning tasks, 'beliefs and characteristics' during these years.

XII: Later Adulthood:
1. with particular reference to the implications of retirement.

XIII: 11. with particular reference to the achievements, possible handicaps and losses during these years.

II. SOCIAL WORK METHODS AND PRINCIPLES

'E' University

Its aims will be:-

1. To gain some perspective on the purposes and values of social work by considering its historical development and role in society.....

2. Using the students' own experience and written case material to consider the complexity of situations presenting themselves to the social worker, to develop skills in assessing the range of needs, the types of intervention possible and the strategic points of intervention.

3. To provide some understanding of the purposes of the three methods of intervention - casework, community work and groupwork.

Social Casework

The course builds on the social work methods teaching given in term 1 and will make frequent reference to its basic principles, particularly to Systems concepts, and also to knowledge derived from other sections of the curriculum e.g. Human Growth and Development.

Its objectives are (1) to introduce students to a range of ways of working through relationship with individuals and families whose social functioning is impaired by stress. (2) to encourage a critical approach to theory and its application in fieldwork practice. Students will be expected to reflect on their own work and to bring cases for shared discussion: it is hoped this will stimulate conceptual thinking and the development of appropriate self-awareness. ....

Lecture Programme

1. Introduction: some basic principles in casework

Acceptance; continuous assessment; awareness of irrational responses, enlisting clients' involvement in problem solving; issues affecting confidentiality; pace of work, achieving controlled involvement.
2. Worker/Client Interaction

The lecture will focus on transference and counter transference and transmission of feelings and will also refer to Social Science role concepts.

3. Non-directive Counselling

An introduction to Carl Roger's methods and some of their possible applications.

4. Working with Crisis Situations.

A look at the opportunities and constraints for working with clients facing acute stress.

5. Intake, Assessment and Short-Term Intervention

This lecture will focus on the task-centred casework model and will be given by two social workers engaged on a research project which uses and evaluates this model.

6. Terminating and Transferring Cases

A consideration of factors shaping decisions about closing cases; criteria for evaluating work.

7. Working with Clients Suffering from Grief

The effects of irretrievable loss; normal and pathological grief; stages in the grief process; impact of grieving clients on the worker.

8. Working with Inarticulate and Demoralised Clients

Lecture by the Director of the Family Service Units.

9. Social Functioning

An introduction to the self-help method developed by Eugene Heimler and which aims to help people make positive use of their experiences and latent capacities.

10. Using Authority in Social Casework

A symposium with contributors from several social work agencies - Probation, Area Team, Hospital, General Practice, Voluntary Society - in which issues relating to the nature and exercise of authority will be explored.

Term 3

Lectures and seminars will focus on marital casework and family group methods.

Seminars

The following topics are among those likely to be discussed. (I have not included those listed above which all appear among the seminar topics).

1. The application of role theory in practice with special reference
to family dysfunction.
2. Giving material help as part of planned intervention.
3. The use of records, reports and case conferences.
4. Recognising and resisting collusion.
5. The rationale of long-term casework.
6. Coping with anger and depression in clients and in oneself.

On this course group and community work were offered as options consisting of ten weekly sessions.

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'F' University

Theory and Practice of Social Work

The aim of this course is to offer a unified approach to the teaching of the theory and practice of social work and to provide a common professional base. This common core will be set in a framework of social work as a profession which will also include the history, philosophic base and purpose of social work as well as a brief review of the structures for service delivery. During the first year students will be expected to have started to develop the following skills:

1. Interactional: to have some professional skill in working with individuals and families faced with emotional and social problems and to be able to mobilise inner resources and resources external to the immediate individual and family concerned.
2. Working with groups: the ability to set-up and operate with a range of groups that centre upon emotional and social problems of individual group members.
3. Organisational skills: to begin to understand how service-giving organisations work and to show some understanding of the means to bring about client-centred change in agency functioning. To begin to function as an integral member of the agency working as a collaborative change agent.
4. Self-management: to begin to take responsibility for organising one's own resources and managing one's own work load.
5. Critical and evaluative skills: to develop a systematic way of looking at any problem or situation, collecting and analysing data relevant to it, exploring and evaluating progress and outcome.

'G' Polytechnic

Social Work Theory

Aims: The group will be involved in developing greater understanding of the 'helping process' through increased objectivity and self-awareness. The knowledge and insights obtained from various disciplines will be used where appropriate, in considering the making of a psycho-social diagnosis, formulating a treatment plan and facilitating growth in an on-going relationship.
The first term will be primarily an introduction to social casework. Although social work is a total, unified process, each week different aspects will be examined.

The methods used to facilitate learning in the second and third terms will be primarily through class presentation of papers by students and lecturers.

A basic knowledge of the psychodynamics of the individual and his interaction and reaction to his environment is essential to the understanding of social work. Selected reading material will be given for each seminar and the expectation is that students will establish a pattern of regular reading.

'H' Polytechnic

SOCIAL WORK

Aims

The aims and objectives of this subject are closely linked with the Aims and Philosophy of the whole course.

The main focus will be on developing knowledge from the other main subjects and relating it to social work practice with individuals, families and groups. There will also be an introduction to community work.

It is intended that students will study and discuss the principles underlying social work practice, and develop skills in assessing and dealing with a wide variety of social problems employing a range of methods. This study will be complemented by fieldwork practice.

SYLLABUS

An introduction to social work and the basic values associated with its practice.

Social Work with Individuals and Families

The casework relationship. The principles which underly casework and problems within the relationship e.g. hostility, dependence, authority, power.

The contribution of different theoretical approaches to the caseworker's understanding and assessment of problems, and methods of casework treatment, e.g. the psycho-social approach, crisis intervention, task-centred casework, the contribution of learning theory and behaviour modification.

Communication within marriage and within the family; interviewing individuals, marital partners and families. Marital casework and social work with families.

Agency function. The professional social worker and the administrative setting within which he/she is employed.

The uses and purposes of records and reports.

Group Work

Interpersonal processes in primary groups.
Models and Stages of Group Development.

Developmental stages of group
- Time of encounter
- Testing limits
- Establishing group norms
- Getting down to the task in hand
- Termination. Dealing with feelings of loss.

Strategies for group work
- Objectives, selection, composition, skilled leadership
- Diagnostic processes in group work
- Diagnostic statements
- "Contact"
- Intervention or treatment.

Skilled Leadership
- Interviewing skills
- Awareness and use of non verbal communication
- Awareness and use of group interaction and role allocation
- Awareness of tension level in groups and ability to cope with this.

Agency function.

Evaluation processes. Use and purpose of records.

COMMUNITY WORK

Values underlying community work.

Community work concepts and strategies with reference to
  a) community organisation
  b) community development
  c) community action

Community work settings. Influence of local and central government
and of voluntary organisations.

Evaluation processes and use of records.

There will be an attempt to incorporate into the syllabus any new
developments in social work method which are relevant.
Examples of Current Social Work Syllabi

Manchester Polytechnic (2 year course)

First Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Total Number of Hours Taught for the Year.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethics</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Development</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Policy and Admin.</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>26</td>
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<tr>
<td>Settings</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study Methods</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deviance</td>
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Second Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Work</th>
<th>19</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General/ Forensic Medicine and Psychiatry</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminology and Penology</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Options (3 subjects from the following:)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Child Care</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Social Work with Adolescents</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Adult Offender</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mental Illness and Handicap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Illness and Handicap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Age</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual Communication.</td>
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</table>
University of Kent (2 year course)

First Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term 1</th>
<th>Term 2</th>
<th>Term 3</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Problems</td>
<td>Legal Studies</td>
<td>Legal Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social Policy and Administration</td>
<td>Social Policy and Administration</td>
<td>Social Policy and Administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>Deviance</td>
<td>Deviance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Psychology</td>
<td>Developmental Psychology</td>
<td>Abnormal Psychology</td>
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<tr>
<td>Introduction to Social Work</td>
<td>Social Work with individuals and families</td>
<td>Social Work with individuals and families</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social Work with groups</td>
<td></td>
<td>Community Work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Work in residential settings</td>
<td></td>
<td>Projects work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Day Workshops</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second Year

| Social Work with children                                             | Social Work with the Mentally Ill                                     | Social Work with the Mentally Ill                                     |
| Offenders                                                             | Offenders                                                             | Physically Ill and Handicapped                                        |
| Community Work                                                       | Community Work                                                        | Social Work with Families                                             |
| Casework                                                              | Casework                                                              | Research                                                              |
| Group Work                                                            | Social Work with Families                                             | Day Workshops                                                          |
| Research                                                              | Research                                                              |                                                                        |
| Sociology                                                             | Sociology                                                             |                                                                        |
|                                                                        | Philosophical Issues                                                 |                                                                        |

University 'X' (1 year course)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Core Courses</th>
<th>Teaching Hours</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Methods of Social Work</td>
<td>50</td>
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<tr>
<td>(with linked History of Ideas in Social Work)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Politics of Social Work)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law and Welfare Rights</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social Services Administration</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Human Growth and Development</td>
<td>20</td>
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</table>
Optional Courses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Teaching Hours</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Specialised methods - Casework</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td>Group Work</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community Work</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psychiatry</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aspects of Health and Disease</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deviance</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Geriatric Social Work</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Personal Tutorials</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Statutory Work of S.S.D.s</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law and Practice of Probation</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

University of Bath (1 year course)

The following courses run throughout the course:

a) Social Work Theory and Practice
b) Psychology

c) Social Policy
d) Health Care Studies
e) Law for Social Workers
f) Deviance and Control

University 'Y' (2 year course)

First Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Teaching Hours</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theory and Practice of Social Work I</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Development and Behaviour I</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology and Social Work</td>
<td>44 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Policy</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems of Physical and Mental Health</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-Disciplinary Approach to Social Issues</td>
<td>27 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutorials</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seminars</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
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</table>
## Second Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Teaching Hours</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theory and Practice of Social Work II</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Development and Behaviour II</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theory of Organisations</td>
<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td>Investigation and Analysis in Social Work Practice</td>
<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tutorials</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seminars</td>
<td>11</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The Stated Aims of Current Social Work Courses

Edinburgh University (2 year course)

The course aims to equip students with systematic knowledge and basic professional skills to practice social work in any agency. By the end of the Course students should be able to make professional decisions based on the study and differential assessment of social situations enabling them to choose forms of intervention appropriate for the promotion of individual, family, group or community well-being.

These objectives to be achieved through:

a) Classroom teaching that focuses on knowledge drawn from the expanding theory of social work, as well as from the contributory disciplines of sociology, social administration, psychology, law and deviance, economics and politics and in ways of thinking and attitudes including the evaluation of such knowledge. The emphasis in the fieldwork agency will be mainly on the orderly application of knowledge studied in the classroom, testing theory in the light of practice and developing new ways of doing.

b) By offering opportunities for the development of a conceptual framework of study, assessment, intervention and evaluation based on the 'common core of concepts, skills, tasks and activities which are essential to the practice of social work'. A central theme of such a framework is the performance of life tasks and the interaction between people and their network of resource systems.

c) By developing the student's understanding of the processes of social policy formation and implementation, of social work organisation and provision - including the evaluation of agencies in terms of service delivery and accountability.

d) Giving the students an understanding of the basis of common human needs and ways of satisfying these needs, relating them to developmental stages, to socio-cultural and economic influences on behaviour and the ways in which the past and current life experiences can interact in the lives of human beings. To highlight the significance of structural and organisational processes in society and of interpersonal and interactional relationships in individual, family and group situations and in the helping process.

e) Stressing the changing nature of social work organisation and practice, in the context of developing knowledge and changing values, and to develop within this the flexibility and critical facilities necessary to enable the student to operate within rapidly changing structures.

f) Providing a means by which a degree of integration and balance occurs between intellectual discipline and sensitivity to people in need.

g) Offering opportunities for the critical examination of the value basis of social work and for the definition of goals consistent with such values.

h) Involving the students, tutors, and fieldwork teachers in the planning and evaluation of the Course.
Croydon College of Design and Technology (1 year course)

Objectives of the One Year Course in Applied Social Studies.

1. To gain a professional social worker's identity, accepting social work values and ethics.

2. To develop an understanding of the inter-relation between the social worker's function, his part in the agency, and the agency's function.

3. Through greater knowledge, skill, self-awareness to aim at creating enabling relationships and learning how to sustain them.

4. To extend knowledge of:
   a) human growth and development and of the potential for further growth, of both conscious and unconscious factors in human behaviour.
   b) Human function and dysfunction and their ramification in physical, mental, emotional and environmental terms.
   c) Human interaction - both academically and experientially in groups and individual relationships.

5. To increase understanding of cohesive and disruptive factors in social living.

6. To obtain a better understanding of the social services that are available and how the provision of these is governed by the way society looks at particular social needs.

7. To develop
   a) an ability to intervene professionally,
   b) by systematic observation within an orderly framework to make an assessment.
   c) To formulate a plan designed to meet the needs of the situation
   d) To work by making agreed contracts between worker and clients.

8. Through greater knowledge and self-awareness to achieve greater personal and professional growth, to increase objectivity and be able to intervene effectively where it is appropriate to do so.

9. To emerge with an objective and critical approach to the future of the profession in the light of a changing social climate, being always conscious of the need for personal and professional growth.

University of Aberdeen (2 year course)

The object of the course is to prepare postgraduate students for entry into professional social work in any setting in the United Kingdom. Professional social work is taken to include work with individuals and families, community work and residential work. Students are given the opportunity to gain some understanding of each of these areas of work, together with the possibility of developing their own individual areas of interest.
Aberdeen continued

The course aims to enable students to develop their commitment to their work on the basis of sustaining an appropriate professional service and contributing to the development of a body of social work knowledge.

Since social work and social policy are closely inter-related, the course aims to give students an understanding of the ways in which social policy is developed and in which it can be changed.

University of Surrey (1 year course)

The aims and objectives of the Course are:-

1. To equip the students with the necessary knowledge of legal and welfare rights. To this end there are courses on the Law and the Courts, Legal and Welfare Rights and placements in Law Centres and Housing Aid Centres.

2. To relate students' previous training in the social services to developing their understanding of the underlying causes of social problems. This includes particular attention to the structural explanations of social problems and under-privilege, and the political circumstances in which welfare is administered, and an understanding of social policy and the need for policy changes.

3. Where emotional help for the client is concerned, the staff of the Course aim to give students a critical appreciation of alternative and traditional forms of help. This includes traditional casework and co-counselling. There is opportunity for acquiring training in co-counselling.

4. The Course aims to offer students the chance of studying all the methods of social work (casework, group and community work), but of specialising in one method more than another, both in terms of placements and academic options.

5. To equip students with an understanding of research and methods of evaluation so that they are in position to undertake both small scale studies (perhaps on their own caseloads) and also more extensive projects. At the very least students should be able to understand the validity and significance of research reports. Research placements can be arranged.
METHODS APPENDIX

Contents:
1. "An A B C for Almoners"
2. "How to Take Down a Case"

Part II Methods of Contemporary Social Workers.
3. "Initial Investigation"
4. "Housing Referral"
5. Referral Patterns.
METHODS APPENDIX

The following are a few examples of the guidelines issued to the social workers of the COS.

An ABC for Almoners.

The following little paper was drawn up for use by Charity Organisation and District Visitors in an East End District. It was intended to help the visitor to form a definite and particular conception of the facts, conditions, and possibilities of a case, in the place of the vague impression which is often all that lies behind the common assertion, "Oh, yes, I know all about those people." That something in the nature of an Almoner's A B C is required for beginners, and would be useful even to the most experienced visitor, few will dispute, but perhaps some readers of the REVIEW may be able to suggest improvements in the example quoted here:-

In every case of distress, but more especially where earnings are alleged to be insufficient, the almoner should ask himself-

1. Is there really distress? Low earnings, rent unpaid, pawn tickets, a bare home, bad clothing, afford tests; but these taken singly may easily be misleading. The surroundings, e.g., of costermongers are often of the most miserable description when they are decidedly prospering. The almoner must be careful to judge each class by its own standard of living.

2. Is the distress temporary, or recurrent, or chronic? Is the state of things disclosed normal or abnormal?

3. If temporary, could it have been foreseen? E.g., when it is due to stoppage of work at holiday time, or to stock-taking, or to the slack interval between one season and another. Could the earnings (where these fluctuate) have been equalised by saving?

4. If recurrent, how has it been met on previous occasions, when no application has been made for help? Is there any reason for supposing that the family is worse off now than at former similar crises? Is the income on the whole increasing or decreasing? Are there more wage-earners, or fewer, than a year or two ago? And are they increasing in power to earn, or decreasing? Are their trades improving, or stationary, or decaying?

5. If chronic, what are the causes? E.g., want of health, want of tools or skill, failure of trade, want of character? Can the causes be effectively dealt with? Has any effort been made by the people themselves to deal with them? Or have previous efforts been made by charity to do so?

Rough tests of chronic distress are casual earnings, rent constantly in arrear, much moving about, incessant pawnng, squalor and untidiness, and frequent applications for help.

The almoner's first care must be to point out to the people how they may help themselves. E.g., he will ask himself and them -

1. Can anything be done to increase the family income? Can
the number of wage-earners be added to? Can those doing badly paid work be taught better-paid work? Can they be put in the way of getting better tools or appliances?

2. Can anything be done to make the existing income go farther than it does now? E.g.,
   a) Is too much money paid away in rent? Could as good accommodation be obtained in the district elsewhere for less? Or could the family do with less accommodation?
   b) Is money wasted? E.g., on medicine, or in habitual pawnning, or in purchasing from the tallyman, or in buying things not wanted? Do husband and children keep back an undue share of their earnings?
   c) Is too much money spent in travelling backwards and forwards to place of employment? If so, could the family move nearer to their work without increasing their rent?

These are but a few of the questions which the almoner must put if he wishes to be thorough. In every case he must think about the problem with which he is dealing; and he must try to make those who are applying for help think also. He must endeavour to show them how, by their own efforts, they may protect themselves against similar troubles in the future. If he fails to do this, no amount of money or help given by him will produce lasting good. He must continually impress on all applicants, and bear in mind himself, that unless they will exert themselves to think and act on their own account, no improvement in their circumstances can be looked for.

(This article was published in the Charity Organisation Review, October 1897: 223-4)

The following are extracts from an article published in the Charity Organisation Review April 1895: 142-154, entitled:

HOW TO TAKE DOWN A CASE

"This paper is meant to be used in connection with COS Form 22, and is intended mainly for new workers. Beginners have a tendency to accept off-hand what is said to them without stopping to verify it. Yet experience shows that the case-taker and the applicant may mean very different things by the same form of words. Still in trying to avoid the Scylla of ambiguity, it is possible to fall into the Charybdis of over-minuteness; and it is well to recognise that both are serious mistakes. If this paper seems to dwell more on the first than the second, it is because beginners are more apt to under-estimate what is necessary than to over-estimate it. ....

When people tell their troubles to a stranger whom they see for the first time, it is far from easy for them to make a full disclosure of their affairs. Many causes combine to make
them reticent, and due allowance must be made for each. Perhaps a man has come down in the world, or has been cast off by relatives more fortunate than himself. If so, pride may induce him to suppress facts which may be of great use when a scheme for helping him has to be devised. Or a woman may be naturally shy and reserved, so that she will not tell her story fully, save to one of her own sex, and not then, unless she receives much encouragement. The fear of giving trouble often prevents an applicant of this type from naming the persons most likely and willing to render assistance. Others again may be so ignorant or mentally deficient that they cannot give a coherent account of themselves, and merely echo what is said to them. Such persons, if plied with leading questions, will probably, make a statement quite at variance with the facts. Once more, a feeling of shame may deter some from disclosing their own or other's misdoings, and thus an important factor in the causation of distress may remain unknown.

Rightly to understand the poor we must have some knowledge of how they live, how they think, and how they act; the nature of their dwellings, the rents they pay, the shops they deal at, the goods they buy, are all worth considering. One room for a family usually means overcrowding or a lack of decency. Half the earnings seems an undue proportion for rent, until it is discovered that there may be lodgers. The purchasing power of money depends much on the district and the shops. The other conditions of life must also be borne in mind.

Again, it must be remembered that the poor differ from the more educated in their standards of morals, their code of honour, and their public opinion. To some the legal tie in marriage seems of little importance. Rent is often held of less obligation than other debts. Early marriages and large families are common, and no stigma attaches to those responsible for them.

Once more habits and customs count for a good deal. Funerals are gala processions and much money is spent on mourning. To receive outdoor relief is seldom thought a disgrace; but to be buried by the parish is a misfortune, and the 'house is still intensely disliked. The pawnshop plays a large part in many histories. It is the poor man's bank from which he obtains advances on the security of his goods. The mental horizon is often very limited. Some emigrate from rumours of fortunes to be made in foreign lands. Others return because wages are said to have been raised by a strike at home. Reasoning powers are often undeveloped, and the ability to generalise is very small.

It is easy therefore for those who know little of the poor to take down a statement wrongly. Indeed, if workers mean to do real service they must do more than take down statements at the office. Occasionally at least they must visit those who apply at their own houses, and by making themselves acquainted with the conditions under which they live, qualify themselves for farther usefulness.

when 'job ended' is alleged as the reason for leaving it should be so stated; but it will not seldom be found that this convenient phrase is used by unsatisfactory workmen to cover
reasons of a less creditable kind. Occasionally men say that they have discharged themselves, in which case they should always be asked for a reason, and this should be duly entered. The answer often made 'to better myself' carries with it a pathetic irony when given in a COS office. Where illness is put forward as the cause of losing work it is well to make sure that it is the real cause. ... Sometimes the discharge has preceded illness, and sometimes it is due to incompetence more than to ill-health. .......

The word 'debt' conveys little meaning to ignorant minds; it is too abstract. But if the worker will ask specific questions such as 'Do you owe money to the baker? or for the coals? Are you paying for a sewing machine? Have you had an advance from the loan office?' those who have previously denied indebtedness will readily admit it. .......

Applicants rarely admit that those with whom they are connected are either willing or able to help them. By careful questioning a rough estimate may be formed on both points, but this will have to be verified by subsequent enquiry. Sooner than allow this an applicant will sometimes withdraw his application.

This / Poor Law Relief/ being a matter of much importance (to distinguish occasional from chronic distress, and both from destitution), the questions put should be direct and unmistakable. The word 'parish' being ambiguous, had better as a rule be avoided. If the Guardians or the relieving officers are mentioned instead, no misunderstanding will be possible........

In different classes of cases different kinds of references are desirable. As a general rule the most useful are former landlords, employers, and club secretaries, and the least satisfactory are present landlords, neighbours and lodgers. Some applicants lead such isolated lives that they find it very difficult to give references; and this, though they are quite ready to allow inquiry. Inability to suggest names is, however, not a good sign. .........

The difference between good and bad casework is nowhere so apparent as in the form of the statement. A bad statement gives in three lines the actual help which is asked for at the moment. A good one gives a précis of the family history, the troubles of its members and the causes that have produced them, and a short summary of the ways in which they think that they may be severally assisted. It expands the bare facts of the case, and it emphasises just that part of it that calls for emphasis. E.g., when the help needed is a permanent weekly allowance, a good statement gives carefully the efforts made by the applicant in the direction of thrift, a summary of his working life, and the names, addresses, and circumstances of children, employers and others on whom there would seem to be reasonable claims. "
The following are reproductions of two (of the many) forms currently used by social workers employed by a northern local authority in England. While the lay-out of the forms perfectly captures the bureaucratisation that has taken place in social work, the various categories also typify the continuities since the time of the COS.

The first form reproduced is the one social workers complete for each new client taken on by the local authority.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'X' County Council</th>
<th>Social Services Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INITIAL INVESTIGATION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ref. No.  
Case No.  

**Personal/Family Details**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>D.O.B.</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>School/Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

G.P. Address Tel No.  

**Other Members of Household**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>D.O.B.</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>School/Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other members of family/relatives (not residing at above)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Frequency of Contact</th>
<th>Are they aware of difficulties.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other Agencies Involved or Previously Involved** (Including period and extent of involvement.)
CIRCUMSTANCES REPORT

Present Situation (basis for concern, factors precipitating difficulties.)

Family Efficiency (home conditions, economic practices, quality of relationships, emotional atmosphere.)

Financial Details

Income: Earnings, social security, pensions, special supplement e.g. F.I.S., F.A. Att. Allow.

Expenditure: Rent / mortgage, rates, H.P.

Arrears (Specify)

Family / Personal History (Significant happenings affecting ability to function.)

Individual Behaviour and Adjustment (i.e. describe the individual family members, give brief sketch of appearance, personality and behaviour, drawing on school reports, psychological summaries, police and probation records etc., as well as your own observations of capacities and limitations. Response of client to social worker.)

Further Relevant Information (e.g. medical, psychiatric details, out patients appointments, day units attended, admissions to hospitals, child guidance.)

Observations and Assessment. (Social workers impression of problem and individual's/family's capacity to cope. Express need or otherwise for continued involvement. Comments on further action.)

Recommendations.

Supervision by Department

Referral to another agency

Admission to Care/ R.A.

No further action

Signed Social worker

Nature of Decision (i.e. Senior Officer's comments.)

Any Further Action (District Controller's comments.)
Form Number 2

'X' County Council Social Services Department

HOUSING REFERRAL - INITIAL REPORT

Referred by : 
Reason for referral: 
Name of tenant: 
Other members of family living at home: 

Details of previous referrals:

Details of Accommodation

Address:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House</th>
<th>Owner occupied</th>
<th>Rented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bungalow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single room</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caravan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rooms</th>
<th>Heating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Living Room</td>
<td>Coal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>Gas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathroom</td>
<td>Electricity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of bedrooms</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cleanliness</th>
<th>Adequacy of Accommodation for Occupants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V.Poor</td>
<td>Grossly over-crowded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Over-crowded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>Average</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structural Condition</th>
<th>Furnishings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V.Poor</td>
<td>V.Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Average</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Details of Weekly Income.

Each source should be listed including names and weekly earnings of wage earners.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Wage Earner:</th>
<th>Employers: £ P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DHSS
Family Allowances
Other income (tabulate)
TOTAL

Details of Weekly Expenditure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rent</th>
<th>£ P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rates</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hire Purchase (list)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel (heating, cooking)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clubs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurances</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Outstanding Debts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rent</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortgage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Services disconnected because of debt.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Electricity</th>
<th>Gas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FAMILY FUNCTIONING

Finance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Husband</th>
<th>Wife</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poor Health</td>
<td>Poor Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workshy</td>
<td>Poor Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor Provider</td>
<td>Priority Personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate</td>
<td>Pleasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaves Management to wife</td>
<td>Generally Inadequate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Does her best</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Care of Children

Husband
- Interested
- Involved
- Punitive
- Supportive
- Inconsistent

Wife
- Interested
- Involved
- Over Protective
- Punitive
- Supportive
- Overwhelmed
- Inconsistent

Husband and Wife
- United Front

Ex-Membership of Armed Services

Husband
- Details

Wife
- Details

Family Support

Local Relatives
- Details

Local Friends
- Details

Isolated

Other Agencies Involved
- Details

Client's Response to Social Worker's Involvement
- Details

Social Worker's assessment of situation
- Details

Treatment Plan:
- Details

I agree to the diagnosis and treatment plan proposed.

Signed ____________________________
Social Worker

Date ____________________________

Counter Signed ____________________________
Senior Social Worker
## Referral Patterns

**Origins of New Cases Reaching a Children's Department During a Six Month Period, 1969 (1)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Number of Cases</th>
<th>Per cent of total</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Number of Cases</th>
<th>Per cent of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-Referrals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Third Party Referrals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Police</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Relatives</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Health Dept.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Education Dept.</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasurer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Borough</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Children's Depts.</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Public</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTALS** 218 43 290 57

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for Self- Referral</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Applications for Care (49 children)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behaviour of Individual Child</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult Family Situation</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accomodation Problems</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial and Material Problems</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal Problems</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Totals** 218 100


Jeffery's noted in her study of social services in Buckinghamshire that:

"Three quarters of the clients had been put in touch with the social welfare worker by staff from another social service. The referring agencies were usually health workers, particularly G.P.'s."

(1965:48)
PLACEMENT APPENDIX

1. Student time on placement during a course.
2. Fieldwork Assessments.
1. Amount of Students' Time on Placement During a Course.

The following information has been taken from either course handbooks or from documents submitted to CCETSW for ratification purposes. All six courses are of postgraduate level and the period covered is between 1975 and 1977.

Croydon College (2 year course)
1st Year: Students begin with a 2 week block placement followed by 2 days a week on placement throughout the year.
2nd Year: Students spend 3 days each week on placement throughout the year.

Edinburgh University (2 year course)
1st Year: Students spend 90 days in the university and 100 days on placement.
2nd Year: 78 days are spent in the university and 69 on placement.

London School of Economics (1 year course)
Students spend three days a week on placement throughout the course including block placements during the vacations.

Queen's University, Belfast. (1 year course)
Placements occupy 1503 hours as against 517 hours of academic work.

Sheffield University (1 year course)
75 days are spent in the university and 110 days on placement.

Southampton University (1 year course)
98 days are spent in the university and 117 days on placement.
2. Fieldwork Assessment.

The following is a reproduction of the assessment guidelines issued to supervisors by one educational institution.

Evaluation of Fieldwork Report

Name of Student: Date of Report:
Name of Supervisor / agency:

PLEASE APPEND A NOTE (ON A SEPARATE SHEET) OF THE STUDENT'S LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES.

ABILITY TO HELP OTHERS

1. Ability to make working relationships with a variety of people (especially in the initial interview); to be perceptive and discriminate in response to others.
2. Ability to structure interviews/intervention while retaining appropriate flexibility.
3. Ability to make assessments and working hypotheses.
4. Ability to use relationships purposefully in response to the differing needs and capacities of others; to tolerate feelings of failure and of limited achievement.
5. Assimilation of theories and evidence of their integration and use in practice.

ABILITY TO WORK WITHIN THE AGENCY

1. Organisation of work and effective use of time; grasp of procedures.
2. Sense of responsibility, initiative; appreciation of priorities.
3. Understanding of the functions of the agency and limitations of this and other agencies; knowledge and appropriate use of community resources.
4. Ability to co-operate with colleagues.

SUPERVISION

1. Recording (including reports and letters).
2. Use of supervision and consultation; the use made of the student role; development of self-awareness and critical self-examination.

GENERAL REMARKS (TO BE CONTINUED ON SEPARATE SHEET IF NECESSARY)
The following are extracts from one course’s submission documents to CCETSW.

I Ability to Help Clients

1. The ability not only to establish and sustain a relationship which will include the acceptance of the client's dependency when appropriate, but to see how this may be used for the benefit of the clients and their family.

2. An understanding not only of the ways in which past experience will affect the attitudes and behaviour of both himself and the clients but also how the interaction between them can be used to benefit (or harm) clients; this includes both understanding and tolerating the ambivalent attitudes which are often presented.

3. Ability to see value in the expression of hostility and to see how this can be used constructively (even if he can't always do so.)

4. Ability to foresee situations in which confidentiality will present problems and to take action to protect the clients (e.g. discourage some confidences or make clear in advance that information will be shared with others.) This ability is in fact needed from early in the course.

5. Understanding the clients' right to their own opinions and views....

6. Recognition of the appropriateness or otherwise of a permissive approach and ability to use authority with confidence when desirable; realisation that his position as a social worker gives him power whether he wants this or not, and that this involves responsibilities.

7. To be able to control his anxiety sufficiently.....

8. Ability to reach an assessment of a situation based on careful observation, knowledge derived from the course; to make a constructive plan for helping, including the timing and priorities.....He may be able to make an accurate assessment but cannot then translate this into a plan of action which is carried through. He may emotionally identify with a client or situation to the point of not thinking clearly about it. It is the balance that is vital. .....
II. Organisation and Administration of Work.

1. Ability to organise work well and decide priorities in terms of total workload, ability not to panic unduly under pressure, though some anxiety and uncertainty is to be expected.

2. Having grasped the purpose of the agency and having the ability to work within it, to show sufficient flexibility to envisage 'bending the rules' or to take a risk after discussion with the supervisor.

3. Ability to work alongside colleagues, both social workers and others and to consider them, not merely to be liked by them, including the ability to take criticism.

4. Ability to produce clear departmental records with some understanding of the degree of detail that is appropriate and the material that is relevant and some ability to produce verbal and written reports and letters which are appropriate to the recipient. By this stage a student should be able to express his views and put forward suggestions with some confidence, especially to workers from other disciplines and agencies.

III. Development as a Social Worker.

1. Identify with social work and acceptance that the responsibilities of being a professional person include the capacity to question traditional policies and practices.

2. Ability to see the relevance of the theoretical knowledge drawn from a number of disciplines and to use this knowledge, particularly in the areas of human behaviour, personal and family interaction and social factors in the community.

3. Ability to reflect his understanding of the interaction between himself and the clients in his process recording. His capacity to demonstrate such understanding, and to assess situations by criteria that he has made his own.

4. Ability to use supervision periods constructively, finding a nice balance between excessive dependence and an uncritical approach, and an in-built resistance to the help that is available.

5. Extent to which he recognises the need for continued learning and for experience which will consolidate what has been taught, but at the same time is able to see himself as a trained worker (and not as a perpetual student - already looking ahead to the next 'course').

Final Assessment

A pass in fieldwork is necessary for satisfactory completion of the course. The recommendation for distinction, pass or failure in fieldwork is the responsibility of the fieldwork teacher.
SELECTION AND ASSESSMENT APPENDIX

1. Selection Procedures.

2. Qualities Expected of a Professional Social Worker.
Selection Procedures 1951

The following selection procedures were noted by Youghusband in her 1951 Carnegie Report on social work.

**Child Care Courses**

- **Birmingham University**: Interview by panel containing representatives from the Home Office, the Central Training Council in Child Care (CTC) and the university.

- **University College Cardiff**: The preliminary selection of candidates undertaken by the Home Office. The university then selects from the recommended candidates.

- **Leeds University**: Selection carried out by the CTC.

- **Liverpool University**: Students funded by the CTC are selected by the CTC in conjunction with the university.

- **London University, Institutes of Child Health and Education**: By interview. (Younghusband gave no further information).

- **London School of Economics**: By interview.

- **Nottingham University**: Initial nomination by the Home Office followed by an interview at the university.

**Psychiatric Social Work Courses**

- **Edinburgh University**: By a selection committee following an interview by a psychiatrist and a psychiatric social worker who is involved in the training programme.

- **London School of Economics**: Students have two interviews, one at the university and another with a practicing social worker. The student must also submit a letter outlining his/her reasons for wanting to do mental health work.

- **Manchester University**: Two interviews. One with a tutor on the course and the other by a panel consisting of the Dean of the faculty of medicine, the professors of psychiatry and psychology and a consultant psychiatrist.

(Source: Younghusband 1951:211-227)
Selection Procedures

Notes for Interviewers

The following is a reproduction of the notes given to interviewers of candidates for a place on a social work course at a London Polytechnic in 1971.

1. COURSE

The course is a one-year, full-time course of integrated study and field work in social work leading to the award of the Certificate in Social Work of the Council for Training in Social Work. It is designed for older, experienced staff in the health and welfare services of local authorities and statutory and voluntary organisations providing similar personal social services e.g. hospitals, deaf welfare societies. It is one of four courses in a national emergency programme ending in 1973.

2. AIMS

The main aim of the course is to provide an opportunity for older officers without a professional qualification in social work to train and qualify in less than two years. They are often in key positions in their services and so are able to influence the climate of work for younger people returning from training and for newly qualified people who have had no experience in a local authority.

SELECTION PROCEDURE

4. SELECTION PROCEDURE

Selection will be by a small selection panel. Its decision will be based upon the interviewers' assessment of the candidate; the candidate will not be interviewed by it. The panel sees its role as endorsing the interviewers' joint recommendations and reaching decisions where there is a difference of opinion about acceptance or grading. It will meet in May, when interviewing is over.

5. ASSESSMENT OF APPLICATION

There are 138 candidates applying for 25 places; of these 112 are applying for the first time. The other 26 applied last year but failed to get a place or, in some cases, an interview, because of the high number applying for very few places. This year it is proposed to interview about 60 candidates. Each application has been assessed by two members of staff independently in order to draw up a short list of candidates for interview.
6. PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

Each candidate will have two individual interviews on the same day with members of staff, fieldwork teachers or a professional adviser from the Council and will last about three quarters of an hour. Interviewers will work in pairs; it will help the Selection Panel in reaching a decision to have the benefit of two opinions arrived at independently, so interviewers are asked not to compare notes about the candidate until they have written up their impressions, assessed and graded the candidate and recorded their recommendation for or against acceptance. It will also help if they can then discuss their findings and, if possible, reach a joint decision about acceptance before the panel meeting.

ASSESSMENT OF CANDIDATE

7. PURPOSE OF INTERVIEW

The purpose of the interview is to clear up negative points and queries raised by the written material and to determine the candidate's suitability for social work and ability to profit from the course. Because the interview itself is a stressful situation for the candidate, it is an opportunity to observe him as he responds to stress and challenge, tries to solve the problems presented to him, meets the requirements of the admissions procedure, makes use of it and relates to the interviewer. Although the candidate for a social work course is expected to participate more fully and revealingly than in some other admissions procedures, he has the opportunity to clear up misconceptions and fantasies about the course and to explore with the interviewer the demands of education for social work and his ability and wish to undertake it. Some candidates decide during the interview that the course is not what they are looking for and need information from the interviewer about alternatives. The social work interviewer is asked to take responsibility for discussing alternative courses with him.

The interview should allow the interviewer to evaluate the candidate's attitude to social work and to learning, intellectual ability, interests, capacity to plan realistically, response to stress, challenge and authority and his flexibility. Some of the evidence needed to form an opinion is to be found in the written material consisting of the application and three references.

Application Form

Apart from personal details and information about education, employment, interests and experience of voluntary work, the applicant is asked for a personal statement about his reasons for coming into social work and for wishing to take the course and for a description of his agency and his role in it. The personal statement should throw some light on the candidate's motivation - what he wants from training, how much he wants it, his goals in a broad sense, his specific immediate objectives and the amount and kind of pressure he has towards these goals - his ability to express himself and his use of English. The description of the agency should show his ability to categorise, to organise his writing and, possibly, to use concepts such as function and role
appropriately. These two pieces of writing are intended to help assess personal and professional characteristics and academic potential.

References
The references should throw some light on the candidate's attitudes, job performance and response to stress.

9. INTERVIEWER'S REPORT

It is suggested that the social work interviewer might take special responsibility for investigating and assessing the candidate's ability to cope with the social work content of the course, to complete the course and to become a professional social worker by concentrating on the candidate's:

- interest in and capacity for social work
- his current family situation and his family's attitude to his application
- his response to acute and prolonged stress in personal and professional life and his ability to solve problems under stress
- his experience of supervision and attitude to authority
- his plan for taking the course.

The academic interviewer is asked to assess the candidate as a mature student, forgetting that he is a social worker, but investigating his ability to become a student, meet the college's requirements and complete the course; he would concentrate on the candidate's:

- expectations of the course's usefulness
- his attitude to past and future academic experience
- his general intelligence and ability to express himself
- his ability to plan realistically
- his view of himself as a student

10. Rating of Accepted Candidates

Interviewers are asked to rate accepted candidates A, B or C according to definitions given on the report forms.

CRITERIA FOR SELECTION OF STUDENTS

There are no agreed criteria or methods for selecting social work students. There is, however, general agreement between social work tutors that certain personal qualities and academic ability are necessary for students to profit from the courses which combine class-room work with supervised practice.

Personal Characteristics

"... the professional helping relationship demands a sustained response
to the needs of others, ability to give and to withhold, to assume responsibility and to delegate it and to use authority without personal need to be authoritative. Social workers are more likely to help the people who use their services by social work methods if they:

- are interested in and concerned about people;
- have the imagination to perceive the needs of others without becoming overly involved in their problems;
- have sensibility allied to the capacity to think objectively when they are involved emotionally;
- are able to make and sustain constructive relationships even when met with apathy and hostility;
- are able to adapt to changing conditions and to be flexible in their approach to new ideas;
- have the confidence to accept that other's standards, values and behaviour will differ.

Students develop these attitudes and are made conscious of them during training and through professional practice. At selection even of experienced officers it may only be possible to assess the capacity to form them. Points to bear in mind are:

- the quality of a candidate's relationships with his family and the extent to which he considered their needs in his planning;
- his interest in his job and reasons for working in the personal social services;
- his success in problem solving in various stressful situations during his life;
- his response to authority in his personal and professional life;
- his practical good sense;
- his attitude to the selection procedure;
- the nature of his response to the interviewer, his attitude to his authority and to the stress of the interview;
- his ability to deal with anxiety aroused by learning about common human needs and common neuroses which also apply to the learner.

Academic Ability

Candidates need enough academic ability to learn on the course. They will have to assimilate about two thirds of the content of courses lasting two years or 17 months in ten months and pass written examinations. Since no academic qualifications are required, this may be difficult to assess. Information is needed about their intelligence, objectivity, capacity to reason, to organise material and to write. Points to note are how the candidate thinks, whether he produces evidence to support what he thinks, whether he can adapt his argument to include new information supplied by others, how he responds to intellectual challenge and to criticism of his ideas, and whether he is passive or active when faced with a problem to be solved.

Mature students

... the characteristics of most importance for the older learner may be hopefulness realistically based on success in other problem-solving situations and the ability to tolerate dependency on a fieldwork teacher without undue discomfort or hostility obstructing learning.
Qualities Expected of Social Workers

The following guidelines were sent to referees of applicants for posts in the mid Glamorgan Social Services Department in 1976. The points on which information was requested are indicative of the qualities which are widely expected of professional social workers.

Referees are requested to supply information on the following areas:

1. Knowledge of the applicant.
2. Details of work or studies undertaken by the applicant. Capacity to carry out this work.
3. To what degree did the work entail responsibility for working on his/her own and for direction of other people and capacity to discharge this responsibility?
4. Capacity to cope with emotionally stressful situations.
5. What is her/his attitude towards authority?
6. Is he/she able to make sound and effective contacts with adults and children?
7. Can he/she work well with colleagues?
8. Any other information which may be relevant?
STATISTICAL APPENDIX

1. Unemployment Figures 1870-1912.
2. Local Authority Social Services Expenditure 1966-1976.
5. Children in Care.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Engineers, shipbuilders, and metal-workers per cent.</th>
<th>Builders per cent</th>
<th>Woodworkers and Furnishers per cent</th>
<th>Printers and bookbinders per cent</th>
<th>All Unions per cent</th>
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</tr>
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</table>

Source: Beveridge 1930:39 and 432; and Cd.5068/1910, Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, Appendix XII (B) p.597; cited Harris 1972:375
### Table 2

**Expenditure in Local Authority Social Services 1966-76**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>£ Millions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
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<td>1974</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1025</td>
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### Table 3

**Number of Social Workers (including trainees and welfare assistants) Employed by Local Authorities in England and Wales, 1967-1975.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>6,063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>6,412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>6,123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>7,077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>10,928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>11,874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>13,513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>17,042</td>
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<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>16,523</td>
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Table 4

Boys under 14 years found guilty of indictable offences. (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>26,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>24,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>23,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>22,000</td>
</tr>
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</table>

1. The age of criminal responsibility was raised from 8 to 10 years on February 1st 1964.

(Sources: Home Office, Criminal Statistics for England and Wales 1966 (cmd 3332) and 1976 (cmd6969).)
Table 5

Number of Lads aged between 14 and 17 years found guilty of indictable offences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>30,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>60,000</td>
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</table>

Table 6

Number of males found guilty of indictable offences, aged 17-21 years.

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<thead>
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<th>Number</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1964</td>
<td>30,000</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>80,000</td>
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</table>

(Source as for tables 4 and 5)
Table 7

Girls aged under 14 years found guilty of indictable offences.

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<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1964</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1,000</td>
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</table>

(Source as for table four and n.b. note 1.)
Number of Girls aged between 14 and 17 years found guilty of indictable offences.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>6,000</td>
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<td>1966</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3,000</td>
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</table>

(Source as for table four.)
Table 9

Females aged between 17 and 21 years found guilty of indictable offences.

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<td>3,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>4,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>9,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>10,500</td>
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</table>

(Source as for table four.)
Children in Care

Some figures and costs:

In 1939 there were 39,000 children in the 'care' of Poor Law institutions. Under the Children's Act 1948 and subsequent legislation these numbers rose to 55,000 in 1949, to 64,500 in 1952 and 99,000 by March 1976 (c.f. Holman 1976:17).

In England and Wales the average number of children in care per 1,000 of the population under 18 years in 1976 was 7.7. Interestingly, the highest concentration is in the East End London Borough of Tower Hamlets where the figure is 31.2 per 1,000.

The average weekly cost (1976) to all local authorities of keeping a child in a community home is £57.39; in an assessment centre £86.82; in a residential nursery £79.39; and in a community home £80.93. The average weekly cost of placing a child in foster care is £10.08. (Source: Community Care 24th November 1976, p.3)


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