A tribute to those pioneers in the care of the deaf

"Chosen vessels of Thy grace and lights of the world in their several generations."

About the Social Work History Network

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

To join the SWHN emailing list please contact:

stephen.martineau@kcl.ac.uk

kcl.ac.uk/hscwru/swhn   @SocWKHistory

Contents

Editorial

Sarah Vicary, Editor,
Bulletin of the Social Work History Network

This Bulletin has been a while in the production for which we apologise. To that end, we make a plea, if anyone has the capacity and ability to help with the process of editing and publication do please let us know. As you will see the content remains of high interest and this issue, belated as it is, does not disappoint. We are therefore keen to retain its future production.

To begin we have good news. Two of our Steering Group members, the chair Dr David Jones and Professor June Thoburn have been rightly recognised for their long-standing contribution to social work. Reproduced here is a photograph taken during the 2023 BASW AGM and conference in which it was awarded. We also include reference to a book series published by Routledge of NISW reprints which will I am sure be a valuable resource. Reprints include Claimant or Client by Olive Stevenson, Community Work by Briscoe and Thomas, Mental Health Social Work Observed by Fisher Newton and Sainsbury and many others. A real treasure chest which I urge you to explore. In our updates, social work lecturers Denise Turner and colleague, Kate Walsh report on the outcome of their plea for help made in an earlier edition of this Bulletin for help with their research project exploring changes in working practices for social workers as a result of the global pandemic. Further information is provided including of a Journal article and their website.

Next we move to papers arising from two 2022 seminars and included in this Bulletin. Geoff Fimister and Karen Lyons each provide a helpful reminder of both events and although this is delayed in its publication the content remains relevant. Geoff discusses the relationship between poverty welfare rights and social work, whilst Karen's piece reflects on the place of theory (or as she comments, theories) in social work over nearly half a century, comparing those she was taught in the 1970s to those students learn more recently.

In 2023 our seminar series continued; we share the work of those contributors to one which focussed on The uncertain place of community in social work, an insight from multiple perspectives into this aspect of social work and a debate that has current resonance. A more in-depth exploration of his thoughts with the same title is provided by Mike Burt later in the Bulletin. One recent development by the Network is that this was the first seminar to be followed by a publication in Professional Social Work entitled Something's lost that's worth revisiting by Brian Parrot, short thought pieces on the issues that our sessions have provoked. Future ones have followed. We also gave members the opportunity to explore two different approaches to 'peer' into the history of social work and social care. The first is an example of qualitative research by one of our new Steering groups members, Jessamy Carlson, of qualitative research using archival sources. The second equally qualitative involved presentations by two social workers, Malcolm Jordan and Julia Ross who have published autobiographies, each worth a read.

Regarding the 2024 seminars, first our topic the contested values of social work in time and place explored the origins of social care and social work, a fascinating look at the values that underpin social work with an excellent panel discussion. Another of our thought pieces by was of a follow up was also published in Professional Social Work, written by Karen Lyons. Entitled *How the spread of Christianity informed state responses to poverty*. Another seminar explored social work and older people. Tick box or relationship based. How will history judge our work with older people written by me. Slides for each seminar are uploaded to our website. The former also has a recording of the event.

Further thought pieces are to follow from this year's events in June on social work and neglect, 1948 to today, and September's session of the seminar jointly organised with the Social History Group in America which used the theme of our book review by Research Fellow Nathalie Huegler of Social work's history of complicity and resistance edited by Vasilios Ioakimidis and Aaron Wyllie, as its starting point. This seminar was the second to be organised in conjunction with the American Group, the first of which focussed on the use

of archives – both recordings are available on our website, the slides from the archive session also includes helpful pointers to undertaking research using these resources. Marking the death of Frank Field, several Network members have taken the opportunity to write their own reflections about the man and his influence. We trust these provide a fitting tribute.

The Bulletin continues with an article from a doctoral student at the University of Manchester orientating our understanding of social work with deaf people. Rosemary's account co-authored by Professor Alys Young provides a fascinating insight into this aspect of social work and its history. Next, Dr Liesbeth Rosen Jacobson from Leiden University, The Netherlands offers a piece on female social work pioneers in that country focussing on one key figure, Marie Kamphuis. We are delighted to note the development of a similar History Network in the Netherlands.

Other news about the development of the Network include the increasing presence in social media led by Joe Hanley a new Steering Group member – do look out for his posts commemorating significant events in social work history and if you would like us to mark one in particular let us know. All the events of the Network are listed on the website and most include the slides from the presentations and recordings if possible. This is fast becoming a useful repository. Last, our Steering Group continues to thrive, but we are always looking for new and additional members so do come and join us if you have something to contribute. Can I also remind you of the opportunity to be involved in the production of this Bulletin and to write a brief thought piece as part of our seminar series; your input would be most welcome as we continue our aim of building this Network and of collating relevant resources.

Dr Sarah Vicary is Professor of Social Work and Mental Health, The Open University

News

Lifetime Achievement Awards for two SWHN members

The Network is pleased to inform you of awards which were presented to two long-serving SWHN Steering Group members at the British Association of Social Workers Annual General Meeting 2023.

Our Chair, Dr David N Jones, and Professor June Thoburn were both awarded the BASW Lifetime Achievement Award "in recognition of outstanding commitment to social work".

June and David have both been involved in the professional association for over 50 years, since they qualified, and have made significant contributions not only to BASW but also to the development of social policy and to actively promoting the voice of social work and social workers.

Both have been involved with the Social Work History Network from the outset and have shared their insider knowledge and reflections in our webinars.

The Network sends our congratulations to David and June and thanks them for their continued commitment to the Network and to documenting the history of social work.

NISW book series

Routledge has made available a book series from NISW as reprints.

The National Institute for Social Work Training was set up in 1961 following proposals put forward in the 1959 Eileen Younghusband report for an independent staff college for social work. It ran for 42 years until 2003. The Institute's book series, the National Institute Social Services Library, published around 50 titles on all aspects of social work practice and training, providing a comprehensive resource for those in the field. This 42-volume collection originally published between 1964 and 1985 forms the majority of that series Here is the link:
www.routledge.com/National-Institute-Social-Services-Library/book-series/NISSL

Picture taken at the event, left to right: June Thoburn, Julia Ross (Chair of BASW), David N Jones

Memories from the 'forgotten frontline': an update

**Dr Denise Turner, University of Chichester (pictured)
and Dr Katie Walsh, University of Sussex**

In March 2022 we wrote an 'In Brief' article for the Social Work History Network Bulletin which discussed our forthcoming research study, 'Memories from the 'forgotten frontline: Capturing loss, change and transition in social work during Covid 19.'

The project was a response, in part, to the 'Clap for the Carers' and other initiatives which took place during the Covid-19 pandemic but largely disregarded the experiences of Social Workers. The project aimed to capture these experiences both of professional but also of daily life, inviting social workers to contribute photographs and a brief written narrative to a digital archive under four themes:

- Home and Away
- Belonging and Connection
- Loss and Change
- Health and Wellbeing

After we, as a research team, had created the digital archive and invited interest we were concerned initially that no one would respond, but we finally had over forty submissions under each category. These submissions surprised us as we had expected more photographs capturing loss and bereavement, as well as more practice focussed submissions. However, the photographs and narratives submitted demonstrated shifting identities of social work practitioners during this time both personally and professionally. Many of our contributors found themselves working from home with new possibilities for exercise and creativity but equally concerned about the impact of the pandemic on the people they worked with, as well as family members. As an example of this, one contributor sent in a photograph of her seven-year-old daughter's 'Boggle' game given to her during home schooling in which she had identified the words 'Die' and 'Covid:'

The extent of the impact the pandemic was having on my then 7 year old became clearer upon realising she has found 'die' and 'covid' amongst the letters in a game of Boggle whilst home schooling.

*Cafe - visitor engagement during the exhibition in library/cafe space
Source: University of Chichester.*

12.02: Home and Away (Boggle photo)
Source: University of Chichester.

Other contributors spoke of the sudden shift to online platforms which has continued to alter our working practices since the pandemic:

Overnight everything went online. Prior to the first lockdown, I had never heard of Teams but Zoom, Teams and Skype became the new kids on the block! I had to learn fast and I did but I was always confused! Every individual seemed to have their own preference for means of communication and I did my best to respond but constantly felt a bit concerned that I was never a smooth operator! The unthinkable happened and Form F fostering assessments took place entirely online in order that assessments could continue to take place. At points it wasn't easy—sensing a personal issue that needed to be explored but not feeling as sure as if I was in the room—but at the same time, it was all possible. I live in West Sussex and assessed two new carers in Cornwall!

Alongside the digital archive we also created a physical exhibition, with selected photographs from the archive, which were displayed in the Learning Resource Centre at the University of Chichester, as well as travelling to Glasgow for the Joint Social Work Education Conference in 2023, and to Bognor Regis for the University of Chichester Annual Research Conference 2023. This physical exhibition was open to the public in the Learning Resource Centre at Chichester and helped with achieving the study's aim of making the experiences of social workers more widely understood. We are currently in discussion with the British Association of Social Workers over housing the canvases in perpetuity:

For us as a research team it has been a privilege to be trusted with intimate moments from Social Worker's lives at what was a difficult, turbulent, and often painful time. We hope that the exhibition and the digital archive will help to achieve our initial aim of enabling the experiences of social workers to be captured, so that public understanding of the profession and the people behind the profession is enhanced and facilitated moving forwards.

If you would like to know more about the project, please contact Dr Denise Turner, d.turner@chi.ac.uk

There is also an article is available in the British Journal of Social Work :
Turner, D. and Walsh, K. The British Journal of Social Work, Volume 54, Issue 3, April 2024, Pages 1275–1296, https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcad221

The full project archive is available here:
https://www.memoriesfromtheforgottenfrontline.org.uk

From welfare rights to poverty awareness

Geoff Fimister, Head of Policy, Inclusion Barnet and a Co-Chair of the Disability Benefits Consortium

The following is based on Geoff Fimister's talk given at the Social Work History Network meeting on 26 October 2022

There is a very important but complex relationship between poverty, welfare rights and social work – and not everybody sees that relationship the same way.

Historically, some social work managers and practitioners have preferred to play down the relationship between poverty and the social problems with which social workers deal. But this is a difficult position to sustain. That relationship is now widely accepted.

What, though, does this mean for the role of social workers? Should they be trained and equipped to provide welfare rights advice and advocacy, or is that the role of others? This article will discuss that question, consider whether it has changed over time and ask where policy should be going in this area. Let me say up front – over the years, I have changed my mind on this issue. I used to argue that social workers can and arguably should give detailed welfare rights advice to their clients, but that this should be a corporate decision (not a matter of individual enthusiasm) and must be backed up with adequate training, information systems and time. To be strictly accurate, I did concede that a more limited role for social workers was legitimate, provided that sufficient diagnostic skills and adequate referral procedures (see below) were in place. But I undoubtedly used to lean towards encouragement of a hands-on welfare rights role for social workers.

However, as time has passed...

- the changing nature and much greater complexity of the benefit system
- combined with the declining resources of local authorities relative to need

...have led me to the conclusion that this is not practicable.

Social workers need to be trained and supported to have a broad understanding of the system and a diagnostic level of skill (to the extent that they know when there is a problem) and should have good local procedures for referral to advice services. Of course, this throws into sharp relief the issue of advice services policy, strategy, and resources – there is no point in having good referral procedures if there isn't anywhere to refer to (and ideally somewhere that is adequately resourced). I shall come back to these points.

But first, let me go back in time a few decades.

A key element in my personal experience of these issues has been Newcastle upon Tyne City Council's Welfare Rights Service. I should like to say a few words as to how this pioneering service came to pass.

Sometime in the late 1960s, members of Newcastle Labour Party and the Tyneside Branch of the Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG) (principal among them, future Labour Council Leader Jeremy Beecham and distinguished anti-poverty academic John Veit-Wilson respectively) began to talk about the potential for local authority welfare rights work, including a dedicated welfare rights service.

> **Social workers need to be trained and supported to have a broad understanding of the system and a diagnostic level of skill (to the extent that they know when there is a problem) and should have good local procedures for referral to advice services**

Labour was in opposition in Newcastle at the time. By the time they had the opportunity to put these ideas into practice, when Labour won control of the Council in 1974, Tony Lynes's welfare rights-style post in Oxfordshire had been and gone; and Manchester (in 1972) had led the way towards the establishment of a number of local authority welfare rights services through the 1970s and beyond. Newcastle was one of the earliest, established in October 1974.

I was Newcastle's first Welfare Rights Officer (WRO), with a wide-ranging brief to instigate new welfare rights activity in the local authority, including:

- reviewing the potential for anti-poverty practices within existing services
- developing new welfare rights services
- linking this strategy with existing voluntary sector provision

- extending it nationally, working through the local authority associations

- running benefit take-up campaigns

- training relevant staff

- developing information systems that these staff could draw upon.

So how did I get there?

You might say I was born into it. My parents were very active in the Labour Party in Liverpool, and I date my involvement in the campaigning world to the 1959 General Election, when I was aged 10. I helped to fold up and deliver leaflets (and tried to read and understand them). I also acted as lookout man for my Dad when he was flyposting – very exciting for a 10-year-old! By the time I was 17, I was Chair of the Merseyside Labour Party Young Socialists (technically a liaison committee with the Liverpool Trades Council, as the Labour Party did not permit regional assemblies of potentially radical youth).

Issues in which I found myself involved in those days included employment, unemployment, housing, education, race and poverty. The inadequacy of social security benefits and the negative stereotyping of claimants were live problems, which I encountered:

- politically – through my work in the Labour Party

- academically – in 1967, I commenced a London University external degree in Sociology and Economics at Liverpool College of Commerce/ Polytechnic (now John Moores University) where the work of Peter Townsend and others in 'rediscovering' poverty was prominent

- and personally – in those days, students could claim Supplementary Benefit when holiday jobs could not be found, which gave me several first-hand, if brief, experiences of the often oppressive nature of the benefit system, sparking a lifelong commitment to welfare rights.

Holiday jobs delivering soft drinks for Corona and working in the Fruit Market and for Tate & Lyle and John West also gave me an insight into the lives of low-paid workers. When I finished my degree, I decided I wanted to move on to research the policy-making process and how it was or was not influenced by social science research. I had been particularly interested in the clash between the Labour Government and CPAG in the run-up to the 1970 General Election. CPAG had challenged Labour's record on poverty, deploying social science research in the process. An interesting row ensued. I found a home for my research at Loughborough University and my thesis on 'The Influence of Social Science on Government Policy (with particular

reference to Britain)' explored many of the themes that I was to encounter in real life in the future. This project also brought me into direct contact with CPAG, which I joined in 1971.

In 1973, I moved on to Glasgow University, as a Research Officer in the Management of Education Research Unit (MERU) which enabled me to pursue my interest in the policy-making process in the education system. Glasgow was very like Liverpool, but with mountains at the ends of the streets. I might well have stayed, but regrettably MERU ran out of money. It was while seeking alternative employment that I came across an advertisement for a WRO in Newcastle upon Tyne. I had never heard of such a post before, but it seemed like an opportunity to combine academic interests with social action. I thought it would constitute an interlude before returning to academia, but I ended up staying for 25 years.

Which returns us to those early days in Newcastle, where I found myself located in the Social Services Department (SSD). To a great extent, this was coincidence. Jeremy Beecham was Chair of the Social Services Committee, and the new welfare rights initiative was his baby. He subsequently became Leader of the Council, but the welfare rights work was in many ways corporate from the outset. Work on housing and education benefits and rate rebates necessarily involved the Housing, Education and City Treasurer's Departments and – as one might perhaps expect – initial reactions from officers there were of suspicion and even resentment of these interlopers from another Department, imposed by politicians. But these perceptions were to change, as the success of benefit

> **Issues in which I found myself involved in those days included employment, unemployment, housing, education, race and poverty. The inadequacy of social security benefits and the negative stereotyping of claimants were live problems**

take-up campaigns reflected well on those services and younger officers, with more corporate outlooks, were coming along anyway.

Similarly, what began as a Labour initiative, with ready Liberal acceptance but Conservative grumpiness, had all-party support within a few years, as the income gains for voters in all wards became apparent. Still, the SSD was the Welfare Rights Service's home and this brought me into close contact with the world of social work and the debates around the place within it of anti-poverty perspectives in general and welfare right activity in particular. It soon became clear that there were different views within the SSD as to the potential contribution of

the Welfare Rights Service. It was variously seen as:

- A resource to support social workers in engaging with welfare rights work.

- A resource to remove from social workers any need to engage with welfare rights work.

- An alien transplant – not relevant to the proper role of the SSD.

- A valuable innovation – but to be kept small. There was a professional hierarchy within the SSD, with social work at the top and social work assistants, care workers and others lower down. Strange new animals such as WROs and community workers cut across this and – appreciated though their efforts often were – you could have too much of a good thing.

From both my reading and my observations, I could see that these various attitudes were fed by certain historical streams:

- The 19th Century charitable origins of much social work, which could lead to a well-meaning but potentially paternalistic outlook.

- The legacy of psychoanalysis, which – no doubt helpful in some cases – risked characterising structural disadvantage as individual failing.

- The influence of the welfare rights movement, imported from the USA, which chimed with anti-poverty perspectives and radical social work.

Some social workers were very keen. One area office even mounted a mystery shopping exercise, whereby social workers phoned up our advice line, pretending to be members of the public and presenting us with carefully designed tricky questions. Happily, I understand we got them all right! Newcastle City Council was
always keen to engage with issues nationally (and sometimes internationally) as well as locally. Therefore, almost from the outset, I found myself working with the (then) Association of Directors of Social Services and the Association of Metropolitan Authorities (now part of the Local Government Association (LGA)). I also undertook occasional projects in Brussels and was involved in international homelessness networks. I was a founder member of what is now the National Association of Welfare Rights Advisers and (with the SSD's blessing) a member of CPAG's National Executive Committee.

This national (and international) work was again controversial within the SSD. Newcastle's high-profile Social Services Director, Brian Roycroft, was involved in much of it himself and many social workers recognised the need to tackle structural problems at the policy level. Others saw it as extending far beyond the proper role of the SSD. Perceptions could

be surprisingly innocent of political reality: although admittedly an extreme case, I did once encounter a senior manager in the SSD who thought social security legislation could be influenced by talking to the local jobcentre. Of course, we did talk frequently to the local jobcentres, but about operational matters, not because we thought they had a legislative role.

From the late 1970s, I also found myself writing a lot in this area. Often in collaboration with David Bull (of Bristol University and CPAG) I edited and contributed to a regular welfare rights column in *Social Work Today* and later wrote a similar column in *Social Services Insight*. (Both journals are now defunct – not, I hope, as a result of my columns). There was also a book – *Welfare rights work in social services* – published by Macmillan in association with the British Association of Social Workers and CPAG (Fimister, 1986). It was followed a decade later by *Social security and community care in the 1990s*, which updated some of the same themes (Fimister, 1995).

A frequent theme of all this writing and discussion was: can we expect social workers to provide welfare rights advice and advocacy?

As noted above, this should be a policy decision, not an individual preference – but it must be recognised that:

- Yes has significant resource implications: education, training (including ongoing refresher training), information systems and the necessary allocation of TIME!

- No should mean referral, not washing your hands. And it still requires a diagnostic level of knowledge and skill. It also requires a conscious tie-in with advice services policy and strategy.

Also as noted above, I used to lean towards 'yes' (although acknowledging that a properly resourced 'no' was legitimate) but now think this is not generally practicable.

Where is this debate now?

I left local government in 1999, following regime change in Newcastle which (although a strong Welfare Rights Service remains) meant that the City Council pulled away from anti-poverty policy work and national campaigning. I have since worked as a freelance writer, researcher and consultant, specialising in social security and related policy areas; and occasionally on the staff of one or other of the campaigning charities, including CPAG and Citizens' Advice. I am therefore no longer fully immersed in this debate but remain to an extent involved, through my continuing connections with the local authority welfare rights world. A key change over the years since the arguments of the 1970s and 1980s is that personal social services have separated out into adult social services and those relating to children and

families. My impression is that adult social services are now very much tied up with the finance of social care – welfare rights advice and charging are now closely linked. But there are nevertheless important independent living issues, where income maximisation is crucial to the claimant and not just to the local authority's accounts.

The area of children and families seems pretty much as it always was – to a great extent embroiled in the question of the impact of poverty on families and what to do about it.

For the purposes of my talk to the Social Work History Network, I e-mailed the members of the LGA Social Security Advisers' Group and asked them for their current views on the issue of social workers' welfare rights role. There are around 20 members of this group, most of whom work in local authority welfare rights settings connected in one way or another with social services. 13 replied (a good response, given the very short notice I gave them). There was remarkable – indeed total – unanimity (unprompted by me) that it was generally no longer realistic to expect social workers to provide detailed welfare rights advice. There was also unanimity that a good diagnostic level of knowledge was needed, although opinion varied as to precisely what this should entail. The need for sound referral procedures – not just vague signposting – was also insisted upon. Why do such experienced welfare rights advisers now lean towards the 'no' channel? The reasons they gave were similar to mine, as set out earlier in this article. The benefit system is much more complex than it was. Growing complexity was worrying anyway, but Universal Credit (UC) is maybe the last straw – a lot of support needed to navigate an online system with trigger-happy sanctions; and the old mantra of 'if in doubt, claim' no longer works, as an ill-advised or untimely UC claim can be financially disastrous.

Add to this the growing demands on limited social work resources and the conclusion seems inescapable. But this doesn't get social workers off the hook. Apart from the aforementioned need for diagnostic skills and sound referral practices, they need to be allies of welfare rights workers in the battle over advice and advocacy policies and strategies.

In November 2020, a number of organisations and networks came together to call for a:

"*fully funded new duty on councils, for the provision of comprehensive welfare rights and money advice, for all existing and prospective claimants*". (Association of Mental Health Providers & others, 2020).

The list of signatories is encouraging:

- Kathy Roberts, CEO, Association of Mental Health Providers
- James Bullion, President, Association of Directors of Adult Social Services
- Jeanelle de Gruchy, President, Association of Directors of Public Health
- Maris Stratulis, National Director for England, British Association of Social Workers
- Sarah Hughes, CEO, Centre for Mental Health
- Alison Garnham, CEO, Child Poverty Action Group
- Geoff Fimister, Co-Chair, Disability Benefits Consortium
- Rick Henderson, CEO, Homeless Link
- Alan Markey, Chair, National Association of Welfare Rights Advisers
- Jabeer Butt, CEO, Race Equality Foundation
- Mark Winstanley, CEO, Rethink Mental Illness.

Work continues to promote this agenda. This is surely the way forward – poverty-aware social services in alliance with others to progress anti-poverty policies, not least in the area of welfare rights advice and advocacy.

Geoff Fimister is a Head of Policy, Inclusion Barnet and a Co-Chair of the Disability Benefits Consortium, specialising in social security and related policy areas. He has extensive experience in the welfare rights and anti-poverty field, in both local government and a number of non-governmental organisations.

References

Association of Mental Health Providers and others (2020) *Social security benefits and health and wellbeing: the case for change*, AMHP & others.

Fimister, G. (1986) *Welfare rights work in social service*s, Macmillan in association with the British Association of Social Workers and Child Poverty Action Group.

Fimister, G. (1995) *Social security and community care in the 1990s*, Business Education Publishers.

Knowledge for Practice: Theory in Social Work Education

Karen Lyons, Emeritus Professor International Social Work, London Metropolitan University

This paper is based on a presentation to the Social Work History Network seminar, Knowledge for Practice: Changing ideas and influences on Children and Family social work', on 26th Oct 2022

Introduction

This paper reflects on the place of theory – or rather theories – in social work education over nearly half a century. It draws on my experience as a social work student in the mid1970s following employment as an unqualified social worker in schools; and then as a social work educator and researcher from 1978 to 2017. It also reflects my own research and theorising about social work education as a discipline through my doctoral studies in the 1990s (Lyons, 1999).

A significant aspect of the social work education curriculum has been a sense of 'constant change', mainly driven by external forces, including the regulatory and professional bodies and universities but locally sometimes by social work staff, practitioners and students themselves. The changes in the importance attached to specific theories and methods discussed below might suggest a 'fads and fancies' approach to the social work curriculum but this is too flippant a description of course design which frequently reflected an 'eclectic mix' of ideas and topical policy and practice issues, as well as local and societal concerns.

One of the 'findings' in my doctoral research was the variation in the 'place' of social work education in higher education, whether viewed as a form of professional education and located alongside health and/or other 'vocational' courses, or essentially as a branch of the social sciences, albeit with a strong 'applied' element. Different social sciences, notably sociology and psychology, have long played a part in the curriculum – whether as discrete subjects or increasingly as elements within interdisciplinary units or modules, for instance, focusing on different user groups. Law has also assumed increasing importance in the curriculum but is not discussed in this paper. Similarly, values and ethics have often been taught as separate modules but arguably theories, like research, are not value free and reference to values specifically is implicit rather than explicit in this paper.

One of the notable features of the curriculum over time has been the tension between providing generic or specialist education with the *Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work* (CCETSW), favouring genericism – though specialist teams were always an element within Social Service Departments and became a feature of a scattering of post qualifying courses developing since the last decade or so of the 20th century. A feature of the 21st century has been the pressure to provide social work education geared to the needs of social workers engaged in child and family social work (with a particular emphasis on child protection work) and training specific to services in departments subject to increasing managerialism, as well as bureaucratic and technocratic influence on professional practice.

However, the main focus of this paper is on the course content which relates firstly to the 'social work theory and methods' syllabus and secondly to other aspects of the curriculum, such as antiracist training, given prominence at particular times.

The social work knowledge base (bases): sw theory and methods

The Central Council of Social Work Education and Training was newly established in 1970 and there seemed to be a degree of discretion – and thus variation - as to curriculum content in its early days, partly related to the differences in types of course and levels of qualification although all should provide a curriculum and placements geared to the professional award of *Diploma in Social Work (Dip SW)*. For example, the main advice I remember receiving when colleagues and I were designing a new Diploma in Social Work course in 1980 was 'just don't call it eclectic!' – but the resulting Social Work Theory Unit was indeed a litany of different theories, with a more coherent structure provided by multidisciplinary units focusing on social work in relation to poverty, mental health and 'deviance'(criminal justice).

However, one common characteristic through the 1970s was the reliance on American literature both about theories and about a particular aspect of practice related to child abuse. The American influence was not new; for

example, in-service training in the early 1970s drew heavily on Charlotte Towle's *Common Human Needs* (1945) and, although some of the newer texts moved away from a psychodynamic approach, casework with individuals and families continued to be a dominant feature of the social work curriculum with limited attention to groups and communities. This partly accounts for the setting up of separate community work courses from the 1970s (although there were other significant 'political and organisational' factors) and social work with communities saw only a brief resurgence with the rise of 'patch' around 1980 (Barclay Report, 1982)

> **A feature of the 21st century has been the pressure to provide social work education geared to the needs of social workers engaged in child and family social work (with a particular emphasis on child protection work) and training specific to services in departments subject to increasing managerialism, as well as bureaucratic and technocratic influence on professional practice**

But returning to the main theme of theory – or 'theories' (Payne, 2021), rather than attempt a chronological account of when particular theories were in vogue, it might be more interesting to 'compare and contrast' the theories I was taught as a student in the mid'70s with the theories considered relevant by the early 21st century. The latter are identified in a section on '*Applying Knowledge to Practice*' in the *Blackwell Companion to Social Work* (Davies, 3rd edition, 2008). (The extent to which these are all 'theories' or more appropriately described as methods or approaches could test – and divide - readers). Howe (2008, p 87) offers a useful introduction to this section on the perennial issue of 'Relating Theory to Practice', with DipSW programmes relying on placement agencies and 'supervisors', (increasingly termed practice teachers) to help students test theories and methods as well as skills.

One theory very much in vogue when I qualified was Systems Theory (Pincus and Minahan, 1973) – an approach which seemed eminently sensible to me - but it does not merit attention as a theory useful for social workers by the turn of the century, only being referred to in the Blackwell Companion in a chapter on Family Therapy (White, 2008, p.175). In contrast, we also had a session (or more?) on 'Behavioural social work'. This was not favoured at the time by my student peers and is still a source of 'division' in social work practice and research. However, its transformation into *Cognitive*

Behavioural Therapy (CBT; Ronan, 2008) since the 1990s has led to its widespread adoption as a form of short-term intervention, albeit by people referred to by Ronan as 'therapists'. This approach seems to be more associated with interventions by psychologists and counsellors rather than people trained and working as social workers.

Another 'theory' we were introduced to was 'Task Centred work' with its idea of negotiated contracts between worker and client (now service user) about 'goals for change' and tasks to achieve them. This approach raises important questions – not least in the field of statutory social work with children and families – about the voluntary or compulsory nature of the relationship between worker and service user. But its inclusion in the *Blackwell Companion* (Marsh, 2008, p.121) suggests it still provides a recognised basis for practice in various fields of social work.

Finally, a standout theory from my own social work education - and carried over into teaching in the 1980s - was Crisis Intervention. Interestingly, this is not even mentioned in the Index to the Blackwell Companion, despite inclusion of a chapter about *Mental Health Social Work* (Manktelow, 2008, p.260), in the section on '*The Practice Context*'). Three chapters in the '*Knowledge Section*' suggest some continuity between theories included in courses in the 1970s and 80s and those of the 21st century although it would be interesting to explore how widely they are taught more recently. These include *Counselling* (Seden, 2008) and *Groupwork* (Brown, 2008, p.184) but it is likely that the number of students relative to staff on 21st century courses prevents the workshop approaches and experiential learning previously common in relation to these theory based skills, and there are questions as to whether it is possible to practise either method in mainstream social work agencies. Similarly, teaching about welfare rights was important in many DipSW courses in the 1980s (usually in the context of law teaching) and a chapter on *Welfare Rights Practice* (Bateman, 2008, p.148) suggests its continuing relevance. However, it decreased in importance with the establishment of specialist welfare rights agencies and advisers and specialist courses, for example in Advocacy.

'New theories' and other aspects of the Curriculum

Turning to a theory for practice that I was not taught about, Radical Social Work (Bailey and Break, 1975) was a significant approach in some courses by the late 1970s, but it was a contentious area. It highlighted the tension between sociological or structural approaches to social work theory and practice and those methods rooted in psychological theories which have

predominated. In addition, it posed challenges to social workers adopting a more critical approach to agency structures and local and national government policies. Radical social work did not gain further ground in either courses or practice beyond the 1980s and it does not merit a chapter in the Blackwell companion where there are only scattered and sparse references to it (but see later).

More notable in social work education in the 1980s and 90s was the introduction of new units aimed at addressing discriminatory practice in relation to race, gender, disability, and sexuality (with, I suggest, only limited attention to agism and virtually none to class). Initially these 'isms' were identified as specific concerns for particular groups so, for example, antiracist training was a required component in the curriculum and a strong feature of teaching on some courses in the 1980s while gender and sexuality featured in the social work education curriculum later. But the association of social workers with challenges to widely held public attitudes and national and local policies, as well as other events, resulted in increased governmental concerns through the 1990s resulting in changes in the regulatory framework in the early 21st century and a 'rowing back' on the emphasis given to anti-oppressive theories and practices on courses. Chapters on *Anti-discriminatory Practice* (Thompson, 2008, p102) and *Feminist Theory* (Dominelli 2008, p110) address these particular theories, and chapters in other sections discuss *Sexuality and Sexual Relationships* (Canavan and Prior, 2008, p 333) and *Black Perspectives* (Prevatt Goldstein, 2008, p415).

But organisational and legal frameworks for social work have changed considerably since the 1990s in that there are fewer opportunities for social workers to use relationship based approaches, and social workers have needed to use 'new' knowledge and skills, although a chapter on *Assessment, Intervention and Review* (Parker, 2008 p94) addresses timeless elements in the process of social work with individuals and families – and also groups and communities - despite different contexts and changing policies. Other chapters reflect more specifically the new concerns, contexts, and language of social work from the 1990s, namely chapters on *Care Management* (Horder, 2008 p129); *Risk Assessment and Management* (Kemshall, 2008, 139); and *Anger Management* (Leadbetter, 2008 p168).

Finally, one area of the social work curriculum has been of particular interest to me since the 1980s - though in truth it has been marginal in social work education more generally. This is the international dimension. This was only evident to me in the 1970s through 'the American influence' and some personal contacts. However, with the coming onstream from 1986 of funding from the then European Commission (ERASMUS grants for student and staff mobility, etc) a few programmes took

the opportunity to become involved in European networks which enabled exchanges in the form of student placements and small group joint seminars.

There was a brief 'flowering' of this adjunct to British social work education around 1990 when CCETSW ran some workshops; and a small proportion of students valued the opportunities afforded to them for learning about comparative social work and cultural differences over a decade or more. Such activities laid the basis for research and publications (e.g., Lorenz, 1994; Lyons and Lawrence, 2006) and also for more specialist courses at Masters level which broadened from European to international perspectives. But activities at the professional education level were constrained, particularly by placement requirements, and international social work is not mentioned in the *Blackwell Companion*.

> **More notable in social work education in the 1980s and 90s was the introduction of new units aimed at addressing discriminatory practice in relation to race, gender, disability, and sexuality**

Finally, placements have been, and continue to be, an essential part of professional education across the world and the UK has gone further than most countries (with some notable exceptions such as the USA) in requiring practice teachers to hold specific qualifications aimed at helping students put theory into practice. Extension of qualifying courses from two to three years and comparisons with social work education programmes 'abroad' might have allowed for additional attention to social work's theoretical bases, although I have no evidence that this has been the case. (*see End Note).

Also, comparisons with the minimally degree level qualifications of social workers in most European countries, as well as the USA, may have had a bearing on the Government decision (finally in the early 21st century) to move social work from undergraduate diplomas to degree level qualifications (that is, the approx. 50% of courses which were not already postgraduate degrees or options within undergraduate degrees). However, it is more likely that this move was driven by concerns about standards of newly qualified social workers domestically, not least in relation to children and family work where there was an increasing focus on child protection work. In addition, any potential spread or revival of interest in comparative approaches and intercultural learning through exchanges and joint courses and research rapidly declined with the withdrawal of UK from the European Union (2016-2020) and the consequent loss of funding for European network activities.

Current and future challenges

The teaching of social work theory has always been a challenging task and as the foregoing shows, ideas about what constitute relevant – and acceptable – theories have varied over time and in relation to shifting external contexts and requirements of social work itself. Arguably social work education is situated at the intersection of two sectors – the universities and social service agencies - which have both experienced fundamental questioning of their purpose, structures and resourcing. Government driven changes to 'improve' both sectors have featured in social work education as new and shorter forms of professional training have been brought on stream, more closely tied to the service agencies and specific user groups.

It is timely therefore to review some changes in social work education which were already evident before 2010, which included an emphasis on interprofessional working and inclusion of service users in all aspects of social work education

Increased poverty was already evident early in the 21st century, giving rise to the establishment of food banks, but this has deepened and become more widespread. Related social ills, such as increases in homelessness, domestic violence, and pupils outside the school system, have placed greater demands on social workers. The Covid pandemic (2019-21) had significant and varied 'costs' and wrought fundamental changes in society. Most recently, the conflict in Ukraine (2022 ongoing) has been one factor in increased migration, including to the UK, but Ukrainians form only a very small proportion of migrants in Britain, relative to those already displaced by other conflicts (e.g. Afghanistan, Syria) and environmental and political conditions which prevent people from staying safely and making a living in their place of birth.

It is timely therefore to review some changes in social work education which were already evident before 2010, which included an emphasis on interprofessional working and inclusion of service users in all aspects of social work education. Both of these concerns can be harnessed to a reconsideration of structural issues, as reflected in poverty. *Knowledge of Critical Social Work Theory* (Gray and Webb, 2012) can help prepare social workers to work with both the power brokers/controllers of resources and the individuals and groups within communities, as well as the established third sector organisations and workers in related agencies and settings.

Although social work remains a 'local activity', an interest in geo-politics can assist in understanding global divisions and their varied impact at local levels. Specialist agencies (for example, Children and Families Across Borders) offer services and training for cross-national social work, but an introduction to international and comparative social work in the social work curriculum can help equip social workers to function in multi-cultural communities and with particular minorities, including refugees and asylum seekers (themselves a diverse 'group').

Finally, British social work educators have increasingly engaged in research and produced a wide variety of literature relevant to the particular concerns of the society within which the profession works*. And the growth of the internet and the world wide web have enabled access to people and information both locally and across the world. One challenge is to help students to locate and utilise resources relevant to their own needs and strengths and to utilise such skills in partnership with service users. Learning about theory and methods is a part of the educational process of establishing a professional identity in the context of a global human rights profession.

*End Note: In 1986 the government introduced a Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) held approximately every five years. This was renamed Research Excellence Framework (REF) in 2014 and is one measure by which to determine the allocation of funding to Universities and to specific disciplines within them. Sub-panel members for Unit of Assessment Social Work and Social Policy (UOA20) have written an article summarising social work's performance in the 2021 REF, concluding that 'social work research has achieved considerable consolidation and growth in its activity and knowledge base' (since 2014) (Stanley et al., 2023, p.1).

The authors note that, 'there was wide variation in the extent to which outputs engaged with theory or concepts. A minority were written expressly to use a particular theoretical or conceptual lens to scrutinise social work issues,' but the greater emphasis given to 'practice or policy application [rather] than theorisation' related to 'significant differences in funding levels or requirements.' Government or agency commissioned research was 'more often targeted towards practice or policy application than theorisation.' (Stanley et al., p11/12). In addition, there was 'a preponderance of social work research on children and families' relative to 'social work with adults and older people' although some outputs 'crosscut service user groups' (Stanley et al., p11).

This finding emphasises the split which has taken place between children and family work relative to adults and older people and the increased specialisation in both the organisation of social workers and their education.

However, some of the outputs also indicated a growth in research activity in relation to poverty, inequalities and migrants, as well as digital transformation, all reflective of, or more likely, pointers to changes in social work education, including its theoretical bases.

Stanley, N. Sharland, E. Geoghegan, L. Barn, R. Milne, A. Phillips, J. and Swales, K. (2023) '*Social Work Research in the UK: a View through the Lens of REF2021*', BJSW, 00, 1-20, https//doi.org/10.1093/bjsw//bcad116

References

Bailey, R. and Brake, M. Eds (1975) *Radical Social Work,* Edward Arnold, London

Barclay Report (1982) *Social Workers: their Roles and Tasks,* Bedford Square Press, London

Bateman, N. (2008) *'Welfare Rights Practice'* in Davies, M. Ed. Op. cit.

Brown, A. (2008) *'Groupwork'* in Davies, M. Ed. Op.cit.

Canavan, S. and Prior, S. (2008) *'Sexuality and Sexual Relationships'* in Davies, M. Ed.

(2008) *Blackwell Companion to Social Work*, Third Edition, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing

Davies, M. ed. (2008) *Blackwell Companion to Social Work*, Third Edition, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing

Dominelli, L. (2008) *'Feminist Theory'* in Davies, M. Ed. (2008) *Blackwell Companion to Social Work*, Third Edition, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing

Gray, M. and Webb, S. eds (2009) *Social Work Theories and Methods*, Sage Publications, London

Horder, W. (2008) *'Care Management'* in Davies, M. Ed. (2008) *Blackwell Companion to Social Work*, Third Edition, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing

Howe, D. (2008) *'Relating Theory to Practice'* in Davies, M. Ed. (2008) *Blackwell Companion to Social Work*, Third Edition, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing

Kemshall, H. (2008) *'Risk Assessment and Management'* in Davies, M. Ed. (2008) *Blackwell Companion to Social Work*, Third Edition, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing

Leadbetter, D. (2008) *'Anger Management'* in Davies, M. Ed. (2008) *Blackwell Companion to Social Work*, Third Edition, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing

Lorenz, W. (1994) *Social Work in a Changing Europe*, Routledge, Abingdon

Lyons, K. (1999) *Social Work in Higher Education: demise or development?* Aldershot, Ashgate

Lyons, K. and Lawrence, S. eds (2006) *Social Work in Europe: Educating for Change*, Birmingham, Venture Press

Marsh, P. (2008) *'Task-centred Work'* in Davies, M. Ed. (2008) *Blackwell Companion to Social Work*, Third Edition, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing

Manktelow, R. (2008) *'Mental Health Social Work'*, in Davies, M. Ed. (2008) Blackwell Companion to Social Work, Third Edition, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing

Parker, J. (2008) *'Assessment, Intervention and Review'* in Davies, M. Ed. (2008) Blackwell Companion to Social Work, Third Edition, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing

Payne, M. (2021) *Modern Social Work Theory*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 5th Edition

Pincus, A. and Minahan, A. (1973) *Social Work Practice: Model and Method*, Peacock Publ., New York

Prevatt Goldstein, B. (2008) *'Black Perspectives'*, in Davies, M. Ed. (2008) *Blackwell Companion to Social Work*, Third Edition, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing

Ronen, T. (2008) *'Cognitive– Behavioural Therapy'*, in Davies, M. Ed. (2008) *Blackwell Companion to Social Work*, Third Edition, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing

Seden, J. (2008) *'Counselling'*, in Davies, M. Ed. (2008) *Blackwell Companion to Social Work*, Third Edition, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing

Thompson, N. (2008) *'Anti-discriminatory Practice'*, in Davies, M. Ed. (2008) *Blackwell Companion to Social Work*, Third Edition, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing

Towle, C. (1948) *Common Human Needs*, National Association of Social Workers, Washington, D.C.

White, J. (2008) *'Family Therapy'* in Davies, M. Ed. (2008) *Blackwell Companion to Social Work*, Third Edition, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing

The uncertain place of 'community' in social work

Brian Parrott, Former Director of Social Services - adults and children, ADASS Trustee and current SWHN steering group member
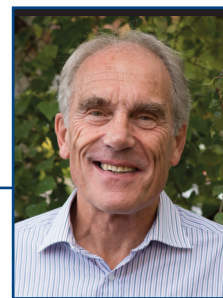
In March 2023 the Social Work History Network decided to focus a meeting, open to all, on the language and meaning of 'community' in social work.
Over six decades students, practitioners, managers, academics and indeed politicians in the UK have variously used the labels 'community organisation', 'community development', 'community work', 'patch work', 'community social work', 'youth & community work, 'community cohesion', 'building community capacity' and others to describe sometimes separately defined, sometimes overlapping concepts. The common essence has been something about the interrelationship of an individual or family's circumstances with the place in which they live, its features, its well-being and the societal forces which impact on them.

Something which came to be called 'community social work' was described, promoted and criticised in the first half of the 1980s, but has lived on 'below the surface' as other events in children's services, adult social care, political favour or public funding have dictated the nature and focus of social work to the present day.

For many of us this has meant that something was 'lost' which, at very least, merited re-visiting, particularly now in the contexts of greater focus on user-led services, collaborative working and 'co-production'.

On behalf of the Social Work History Network, I agreed to try and set up a meeting which would explore some of these elements in just two hours but would hopefully roll on to other discussion and publication. And as ever with the Social Work History Network, the meeting would combine the triple focus of (i) social work, (ii) history, and (iii) 'learning from'.

Such an event would also be an opportunity to celebrate the influences and impacts of two people who are no longer with us:

Bob Holman gave up his academic life as a University of Bath professor to create a community action project in one of the poorest parts of the city. In 1987 he and his wife moved to Glasgow and to Easterhouse where Bob wrote extensively about the poverty experiences of so many, and with whom they lived closely. Bob died in 2016 but up to then few could have missed his writings

Gerry Smale was, to quote one source, 'a powerful free-thinking intellect with a practical hands-on desire to make change'. Up to his death in 2000 Gerry was an inspiration to many as Director of the Practice and Development Exchange at the National Institute for Social Work (NISW), including to two of the contributors below and myself.

It was through past professional networks that we assembled four excellent speakers who have each made their own professional contribution to the subject and agreed to speak. All have subsequently produced summaries of what they said.

Mike Burt is today Visiting Professor at the University of Chester, author of *'A History of the Roles and Responsibilities of Social Workers. From the Poor Laws to the Present Day'* (2020) and a member of the SWHN Steering Group. Mike provides a summary version of his longer overview of all that has been written about 'community' in social work in academic, descriptive and research publications. A full version of what he said at the event, and more, is also published elsewhere in this Bulletin.

Annette Holman is Bob Holman's widow. She was formerly a social work lecturer at Bristol University and part of that same Easterhouse community with her husband. At this event she talked exclusively about what Bob thought, said and wrote over the decades. It was a privilege to have such direct access.

Barbara Hearn was a member of the Community Social Work Working Party which Gerry Smale initiated and sustained, later joining him at NISW's Practice Development Exchange. Its purpose was to spread and develop further the emerging knowledge of 'community social work'. Both Peter Beresford and myself were members. Among various roles later Barbara was Deputy Chief Executive at the National Children's Bureau.

Peter Beresford is an Emeritus Professor at Brunel University, focusing on public, patient and user participation in policy, practice and research across social work, social care, social work education, disability, mental health, welfare and more. He is always a challenging, campaigning, and valued critic of much public service provision with a clear position on important issues.

I have tried to describe here an overall context to what each of these people said and have written up in their different styles. So many aspects of their thinking and the debate which followed on at the meeting fitted my own involvement with 'community' over the decades – undertaking the first 'community work' placement permitted on an early 1970s postgraduate social work course and discovering there the action research of Aryeh Leissner; the work of our two area social work teams in Nottinghamshire and then Robin Currie and myself writing jointly *'A Unitary Approach to Social Work – Application in Practice'* (1981; new edition 1986); my own involvement in the 1980s with NISW Practice and Development Exchange; and so much since.

As the event concluded I wrestled on with the question as to what the focus on 'community' in social work had achieved over the decades or failed to achieve. I've always regretted that social work has so often suffered from alternative forms of practice and organisation being seen as incompatible, or at worst directly opposed. Too often overemphasis on specific models has been at the expense of more crucially important debate about the underlying attitudes and objectives of social work. Quite simply for me, they are:

- Attitudes of respect, equality & serious importance to the voice of people wanting or needing services and for the communities in which they are living.

- Objectives of change at the personal, community & political level.

Was it this tendency to polarising views which damaged 'community social work' during the 1980s, such that it never really became established in the mainstream of local authority social work practice?
What changed from the 1980s to cause 'community' to feature less in the language and practice of social work? What happened to 'patch' and 'community social work'? I have four thoughts:

1. Fear about uses and abuses of the language & meaning of 'community social work' for unwanted political agendas. Because of the then political time there were such divided views about the Barclay Report in 1982, 'Social Workers: Their Role and Tasks'. Indeed, I wrote in 1983 about 'patch being kidnapped' by the then Secretary of State, Patrick Jenkin.

2. Specialisation required by legislative change, guidance & regulations – for example from the Children's Act 1989 and NHS & Community Care Act 1990, & after the media publicity of child abuse cases and critical reports.

3. New ways emerged for achieving engagement with & meaningful participation of people who use services & with carers – as individuals, networks, or advocating organisations. For example, direct payments, 'nothing about us without us' and now #socialcarefuture.

4. The changing nature of geographic 'communities' – industrial/economic changes in 'traditional' white working-class areas; intergenerational demographic changes affecting families & how closely or far apart they are now living; migration, race, separation & alienation. If ever there were questions about the meaning of 'community' (and there were many in the 1980s), there are many more today.

A two-hour session proved grossly inadequate to explore these issues - their history, their wider societal meaning - then and now, and their implications for social work practice and education today. We could have spent a day or whole seminar series exploring them. Alas we have here only summaries of the four written contributions from Mike Burt, Annette Holman, Barbara Hearn and Peter Beresford, as well as a longer piece later in this Bulletin from Mike Burt.

Importantly also, my thanks here and those of the Social Work History Network go to these four people for volunteering their time, commitment, wisdom - and memories.

Social work and communities
Mike Burt, Visiting Professor, University of Chester

Mike Burt provided a historical introduction to the association of social work with communities. He pointed out that although social casework was identified in the 1950s as the method of social work which could unify the established occupations of almoner, psychiatric social worker, and probation officer with the emerging occupations of child care officer, mental welfare officer, family caseworker, and welfare officer it was also argued that social workers should develop skills in group work and community work. During the 1960s government policy supported the development of community care and the Seebohm Report of 1968 stated that social work with families should be carried out in the context of knowledge about a family's circumstances in their local community. Differences of view about the relationship between social work and youth and community work were reflected in uncertainty about the future direction of the respective occupations. The wider responsibilities of social services departments which followed their establishment in 1971 led some departments to appoint community workers or to introduce mixed teams of staffing to local areas, variously referred to as patch or community social work teams. Examples were the Normanton team in Wakefield, two area teams in Nottinghamshire, and health and welfare team in

Dinnington, Rotherham. Studies of the projects suggested that team members held a variety of cases and consulted with each other on a regular basis about individual cases and the opportunities for enhancing local support networks, resulting in high staff morale. They collaborated at the local level with workers in voluntary groups and other occupations and were individually directly involved in a number of group projects including club work and street warden schemes. The focus of the work was preventive but with some cases being held on a long term basis. Nevertheless, reservations expressed by some commentators suggested that a degree of specialisation was required by social workers to develop expertise, that the staffing implications of local community social work teams had not been sufficiently addressed

In conclusion Mike Burt suggested that the wider implementation of policy in relation to community care, financial support to the voluntary sector, and recommendation of the 1982 Barclay Report that individual social workers should expand their involvement in local communities, resulted in increased part of social services departments' association with their communities. Nevertheless, most team structures continued to be based on individual client groups and caseloads which focused on the care of individual service users. However, in providing a different principal focus to that of youth and community work itself, Mike Burt suggested that developments in community social work had enhanced social workers' awareness of the wider network of relationships involved in a person's care. The question which remained was what kind and level of direct involvement in a community was necessary for a social worker to understand the issues involved and influence specific relationships.

NB See also much longer paper on this same subject from Mike Burt later in this Bulletin.

A personal perspective on community social work theory and practice
Annette Holman

'Bob Holman (8 November 1936 – 15 June 2016) academic, author, and community worker was educated at University College London and the London School of Academics. After a short career as a Child Care Officer in Hertfordshire, he lectured in Social Work at Stevenage College and the University of Birmingham where he transferred to teaching Social Policy and Administration. He moved to the University of Glasgow and finally to Bath where he became Professor. He left the university and moved with his family to the Southdown council estate in Bath in 1976. Moving back to Glasgow in 1986, he was a co-founder of Family Action in Rogerfield and Easterhouse Project

in 1989, and a member of Easterhouse Baptist Church. He and his wife were awarded the title of Outstanding Contribution to Social Work by *Community Care* in November 2015. Having been pronounced five years free from Hodgkin's lymphoma in June 2015, three weeks later he was diagnosed with Motor Neurone Disease. He died in June 2016, aged 79.'

That captures the formal transitions in Bob Holman's life. However amongst his many achievements it is undoubtedly also the case that few authors have provided such integrated accounts of community work theory and day- to -day practice as Bob Holman. Drawing on both lived experience and 'academic knowledge' he wrote a wide range of multi-dimensional accounts of his and his wife Annette's roles in the communities in Bath and Glasgow where they lived from 1976. In her seminar session, Annette Holman provided -from her unique perspective as Bob's partner and wife – an account of the sources and experiences which shaped the value base which underpinned and impacted on Bob Holman's work throughout his life, from local authority child care officer, social work teacher, social policy teacher, to local neighbourhood community worker.

A personal perspective on Bob Holman's approach to community social work

Before describing some of the community initiatives in Bath and Glasgow in which in which Bob was actively involved I want to highlight – inevitably briefly – the three important inter-linked aspects of Bob's life and work which underpinned his work, in other words the relationship- for Bob- between 'theory' and 'practice ':

- What informed the development of his ideological and moral value base?

- His overall approach to working in the community.

- The impact of key research studies and political initiatives

- Theory into practice

- Lessons from Southdown and Easterhouse

What informed the development of his ideological and moral value base?

Bob acknowledged that the postgraduate social administration course which he undertook at the London School of Economics between 1960 and 1961 was a 'key to life, drawing him into left-wing politics.' He particularly valued Peter Townsend's teaching which explored, in great detail, the structural and policy causes of poverty. A crucial influence was the writing of Tawney. (e.g. Equality (1931; ISBN 0-04-323014-8)) Tawney's arguments include the imperative to 'observe

our mutual obligations to one another through wanting your neighbour to have the same advantages'; 'looking for the common good'; the fact that there are 'resources, opportunities, responsibilities needing collective and cooperative action' ; and the 'importance of privileging altruism over individualism.' Equality and fraternity or mutuality were foundational in Bob's thinking.

The following year, on the generic social work course at LSE, he chose the Child Care option, which was less obviously 'sociologically informed'. The compulsory pre-course live -in placement saw Bob sent to a "Home for Problem Mothers" run by Devon Welfare Department. He later recalled arriving on a Saturday, and only two days later, the Matron and Superintendent walked out. When he rang County Hall he was told: "Hang on for a few days, we'll get some other people out there." After what were inevitably a chaotic few days, with Bob on his own and no help forthcoming from the department, the residents, (labelled by the system and deemed 'problem mothers') got themselves organised and ran the place until help came. Bob regarded the experience as a powerful first lesson in the tyranny of labels and the strength of user power. It shaped his perception of individuals: 'not a problem mother but a mother who has some problems. '

Bob's evolving approach to work in the community

Unsurprisingly Bob's approach to social work in the community was to be powerfully motivated (this was the 1960s, with childcare law determined by the 1963 Children and Young Person Act) by a commitment to prevent reception into care. Bob initially believed that local authorities who had the legal authority to do so also possessed the workforce capacity to carry out effective preventive work. He shared the conventional view that voluntary societies had a role, but a marginal one. At this time, the main method by which social workers intervened in families was casework, plus some practical relief of poverty. There was an increasing national policy consensus, shared by Bob, that preventive services should be dominated by trained social work professionals.

His approach was inevitably influenced and modified both by working in the community and by increasingly reflecting his experience in writing about it. It evolved to a belief that the voluntary sector was an important partner with local authorities, and he became increasingly committed to services that would serve neighbourhood need overall rather than solely focusing on those requiring casework. He believed residents should be given responsibilities and powers, while recognising that some families would need- and should be entitled to receive- specialised help.

The impact of key research studies and new political initiatives

In 1966 Bob became a Lecturer in Social Work at Birmingham University. In 1967, he participated in a United Nations Seminar on 'socially deprived families' in Western Europe. Each participant country chose its own focus. The UK looked at income, housing, and child socialisation. The inequalities and injustices to which this drew attention were further underscored by the research of Harriet Wilson and Geoffrey Herbert. Their study of 60 large families in Birmingham who were known to the local authority and the Family Service Unit describes the effect of deprivation on aspirations, including its impact on parental behaviour of families living in poor housing in areas where there were no amenities and often where neighbourhoods were being demolished.

Bob changed roles from being a lecturer in Social Work, becoming a lecturer in Social Policy and Administration, a change which reinforced his conviction that whilst 'traditional social work had some effect', prevention, in particular, must be a key component. The need for more general community provision was essential. Positive relationships were a vital element in both.

Change was afoot in UK social policy following the Seebohm Report in 1968, which introduced the concepts of a Priority Area approach and of Community Development as a government responsibility. Despite its paying lip service to local involvement, Bob thought it effectively excluded local initiatives; lacked adequate finance; and enshrined a mindset of using power on behalf of, rather than practising power with local people.'

These views were reinforced by his visit to USA where he saw the implementation of its American Poverty Programme. By comparison he viewed UK Poverty Programmes as too limited. At the same time, he noted the commitment of at least one Family Service Unit to facilitating community motivation and capacity, and the development of a range of client organisations including Mothers in Action, and Claimants Unions. He became involved with the Handsworth Adventure Playground which had been started by local people who later set up a Day Nursery. It was at Handsworth that a challenge was posed to Bob by a local Rastafarian, who described him as a 'White Missionary' making money from the poor. "It's the poor who should make policy." That was a charge which went deep.

In 1975, following a short interlude in Glasgow, we moved to Bath, where Bob was appointed as Professor of Social Policy. This move coincided with the passing of the 1975 Children Act. Bob voiced (including to the British Association of Social Workers) his major

criticisms of the 1975 Act which he saw as making it much easier for social workers to take children into care whilst failing to promote prevention. He analysed these concerns in a key influential pamphlet, "Inequality in Child Care", published by CPAG in 1976. CPAG also voiced its serious opposition, and, with its support, the Family Rights Group was formed in 1976, with Bob on its Board. This was also a period, following the death of Maria Colwell case 1973, where the consequent 'child protection 'policy and practice implications for childcare social work loomed large. There was little, if any role for addressing the structural issues with which Bob had been increasingly concerned since his time in Birmingham. He was becoming more and more dissatisfied with his role as a professor and questioned what he should be doing with his life. He also knew he had the ability to establish rapport with people living in deprived circumstances. In other words, he wanted the opportunity to 'put his life where his mouth was'...

In particular, he began to ask himself the following question:

"What might be the impact of a local neighbourhood community worker, well placed to know of local childcare needs and resources, who could identify who/where persons and organisations have capacity to help with other people's children? And could a worker with the ability to integrate the skills of both approaches use them in a neighbourhood?"

Theory into practice: community initiatives in Bath and Glasgow

a) The Southdown Project

Drawing on his knowledge and experience Bob set about designing a project proposal which, in 1976, obtained grants from two trusts and management support from the Church of England Children's Society. It was funded initially for 3 years with a salary at Senior Social Worker level, money available for hiring halls and a part - time secretary. It was to be independent of the local authority Avon Social Services Department in Bath, but they were happy to have 'active cooperation' in what was seen as a modest attempt at an unusual form of social intervention in childcare. It was agreed an account would be published to record skills used; record /assess problems dealt with; and report whether the worker relieved the local authority of statutory obligations. An overall assessment would be made of results in meeting its aims:

- reduction in reception into care.
- mothers being in work.
- evidence of children being 'kept out of trouble.'
- provide some youth amenities on an estate which had hardly any.
- provide overall pointers for the social services department on what such a role could achieve.

Premises and Staff

The project was based in our house a few hundred yards from the Southdown estate in Bath, an interwar years development of semi -detached houses with gardens on the southern edge of the city. Our older, detached house stood on a corner with a lane at the back. It had been built by a nursery gardener and later occupied by a GP as his home and surgery and was an ideal site. It had a lean-to greenhouse along the back wall which became a meeting place for local teenagers. The project staff consisted initially of Bob and Dave Wiles, a volunteer who, after two years, was paid as a Youth and Community worker. In 1979, Jane Thomas was appointed to strengthen work with girls and mothers.

Methods

Bob delivered a letter to all residents about his purpose followed by a visit a few days later. He talked with people he met in the only local shop. This produced new and vital data:

"First time we've been asked what we wanted."

The concerns raised by residents included: irregular school attendance, difficult teenage behaviour, adults' and childrens' criminal behaviour, financial difficulties, and the biggest complaint, the level of noise on the streets, motorbike activity and vandalism.
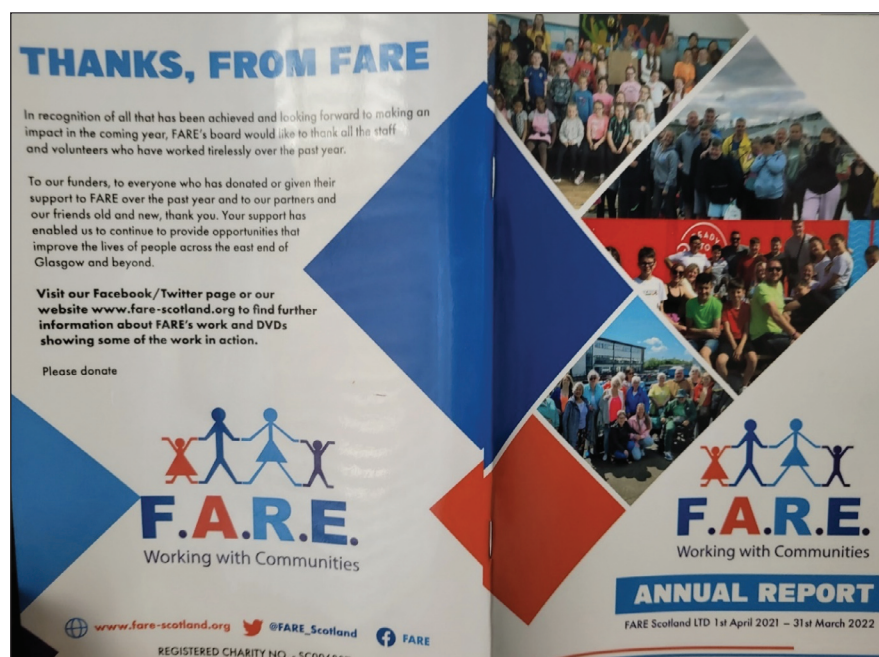
Hanging out at night, talking to youngsters. Bob became a key adult figure for them. He was helped in gaining acceptance by his skill in non-threatening repartee with both youngsters and adults, and by the bond he formed with Dave Wiles. Seen locally as a 'hard man', Dave was in his late teens and had recently had a Christian conversion experience. A committee was formed with Dave elected as Chair. It identified youth work as the key initial focus. Within the community there were different priorities and some complaints of favouritism. None became serious issues. Residents suggested the need for youth groups, football teams, mother's groups, holidays and playschemes. Gradually, the community began to support events and participate as helpers. Mothers organised outings, fathers participated in sports activities. As trust grew, residents let workers know about concerns they had for individuals.

By 1979, a survey of progress, including the views of youngsters, local adults, and professionals, identified positive perceptions of 'keeping youngsters out of trouble', 'making the street happy' and a community-wide recognition of benefits to adults as well as children. There was also evidence of some reduction in delinquent acts, court appearances and numbers of children and young people received into care.

Bob recognised the importance of the support from the management of The Church of England Children's Society as a key factor in sustaining the project.

b) Easterhouse: a new chapter

Ten years after starting the Southdown project, Bob and I moved to Easterhouse, an unfairly notorious deprived estate on the edge of Glasgow, my home city. Our home was a flat in a refurbished block, about 3 minutes' walk away from a derelict shop that had been taken over by a local tenants' group. Group members ran a café which also featured a table tennis table where Bob's table tennis skills were to prove valuable, gaining him acceptance by local youngsters. 100 yards further on was a small Salvation Army Hall where the captain ran clubs for youngsters and in addition, a local minister ran clubs in a project in an old Nissen hut. Bob got involved and started helping at these clubs, a task which certainly helped him get to know local people.

"Yes, you're from England but it's better than coming from Edinburgh."

The combination of local knowledge and support plus Bob's community work skills and hands-on- experience meant that when, in 1989, he organised an initial meeting for members of the community, 25 people came and their input and collaboration helped establish FARE (Family Action in Rogerfield and Easterhouse).

Run locally, it organised clubs in the local Primary School at lunchtime and sometimes in the evening at the Salvation Army. It expanded activity into football teams, sports teams, swimming. It supported people with debts through court hearings and parents involved in Children's Panel Hearings. The Tenants Association gave FARE a small room to use as a base.

In 1996 the project moved into one flat, then subsequently 6 flats, in the same close. The increased space made it possible to run a café and youth clubs on every night of the week. There was also expansion in terms of staffing, first, by an additional youth worker, and then by a leader whose focus would be on networking to identify need and resources. Later a worker was appointed to liaise with the Violence Reduction Unit in Strathclyde Police and run Streetwyze, an initiative aimed at secondary school pupils, to counter the influence of gangs. There were yearly roll-outs of a 'mini-Olympics' involving over,1,000 top primary class pupils, which took place, very successfully without any 'behavioural challenges' or territorial fights. The project provided clubs, holidays, and outings. In 2010 Bannatyne House was opened which increased space, and the range of activities. The project is always looking to recruit local people and currently has between 70-80 staff plus 25 volunteers of whom over 90% live locally in the areas they serve.

The successful extension of this work all over Easterhouse, Glasgow and beyond stretched FARE which has pulled back from further geographic expansion and restricted current developments to Glasgow, mainly in the Eastend. The measure of the value of the early work undertaken by Bob and the members of the community who joined him is however clearly reflected in the legacy of FARE in the many cross-Glasgow city and wider initiatives now in place. Its current aims are to:

- improve health and wellbeing.

- reduce poverty.

- encourage, support, enable and empower people to connect and act.

- provide a caring trusting environment.

- be a thriving, sustainable, robust organisation.

FARE measures not GDP but GDW- Gross Domestic Wellbeing delivered by three Operational Teams: Community Development, Attainment and Skills and Employability, plus admin and finance support teams.

It also recognises the need to be entrepreneurial so that its finances are not totally grant determined. The east end Stepford Sports complex, taken over when Glasgow proposed its closure, and the Day Nursery in the FARE building are sources of income. Both social enterprises enable the employability team to provide focussed employability courses.

Examples of services and activities are:

- workers who tailor activities to the needs of individual schools and are paid for from school budgets;

- after school clubs;

- Streetwyze, which restarted and now focusses on the activities of drug dealers who have been establishing County Lines;

- the Community Allotment used by 8 schools and 2 nurseries;

- holidays, outings and a Holiday Hunger programme;

- adult clubs including a walking group;

- SVQ courses, apprenticeships, employability courses, and staff training up to degree level.

So what are the lessons from Bath and Glasgow for community social work?

Time and again there are reports and statements from government about the need to involve communities in decision making about their lives. The Barclay Report in 1982 was no exception but it provided no blueprint. The government never accepted the case for community social work. But there were developments, including patch work and family centres. Local services were popular with residents and staff. Media focus on child abuse, the influence of the New Right, focus on 'the measurable', budget cuts and centralisation promoted decline but not death.

From the Southdown Project, Bob identified the following factors as primary for long lasting effectiveness; leaders lived locally, they provided role models; local support was won; and being there long term. Also of importance were a strategy that had a mixed, rather than a specialist approach, positive cooperation with other agencies and availability of jobs for young people. These features were replicated and developed further at FARE.

What is needed in CSW and in a CSW worker?

In 1983 his book *Resourceful Friends* brought a lot of Bob's thinking together. He identified a broad range of skills that workers in community social work can call upon:

- getting Started: establishing rapport, gaining acceptance, identifying need, being patient about time needed to establish relationships with professionals in area/neighbourhood.

- involving local people: setting priorities, delivering services.

- obtaining resources: securing finance, space for activities, equipment.

- planning and running programmes and activities

- groupwork

- counselling and advising (not therapy): listening, comforting, guiding.

- practical: operating and mending equipment.

- management supporting teamwork and individuals, recognising training needs.

- individual worker skills: identifying and using the talents of an individual to promote wellbeing.

- advisory and negotiating skills including advocacy.

- cooperative skills: with other agencies, public, voluntary, private, employers. Agree approaches to work with individuals. Securing resources for individuals.

- neighbourhood action: promoting community issues with relevant bodies.

- reciprocal relationships: being open to receive as well as being a giver.

Workers need to have the capacity to change roles, often rapidly. Their knowledge is wide rather than deep and local knowledge is crucial.

In addition, Bob thought personality important:

a worker, especially a leader, needs to be genuine, have empathy, warmth, an ability to tolerate chaos, to keep control, convey enjoyment of life, be capable of making his or her own decisions about individuals and policies, endure setbacks, hostility, failure, accusations, being let down, and have a capacity to stay, to commit.

The last on the list, 'commitment' was always his 'sine qua non.'

References

Child Poverty Action Group (1976) *Inequality in Child Care.* Child Poverty Action Group. ISBN 0903963345

Crime and the Responsible Community (The 1979 London Lectures in Contemporary Christianity), with Charles Colson; Norman Anderson; David McGee; and Michael Jenkins Wm.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co.

Kids at the Door: A Preventative Project on a Council Estate, with Wiles, Dave, and Lewis, Sandie, Blackwell Publishers, 1981,

Putting Families First: Prevention and Child Care, Palgrave Macmillan 1988

A New Deal for Social Welfare: A Powerful Analysis of the Contract Culture and Practical Proposals for a Way Forward, Lion Books, 1993

NISW (1996) *The Corporate Parent: Manchester Children's Department*, 1948-71, National Institute For Social Work, 1996

Towards Equality: A Christian Manifesto (Gospel and Cultures) SPCK Publishing, 1997

Children and Crime, Lion Books, 1997

Fare Dealing: Neighbourhood Involvement in a Housing Scheme, Community Development Foundation,

Reshaping Child Care Practice, National Institute For Social Work, 1999

Kids at the Door Revisited, Russell House Publishing Ltd., 2000

Champions for Children: The Lives of Modern Child Care Pioneers, Policy Press 2001, 9781861343420

Barbara Hearn, former Co-ordinator, NISW Practice & Development Exchange and former Deputy Chief Executive National Childrens' Bureau

At the National Institute for Social Work between 1983 and into the 90's we saw a certain place of community in social work. Fifty years on the MacAlister review has again 'found' community centred practice within local government might be worth a try.

In his 1968 report, banker Lord Seebohm said 'A new local authority department providing a community based and family-oriented service available to all …. [would] reach far beyond the discovery and rescue of social casualties ….and enable the greatest number of individuals to act reciprocally giving and receiving service for the wellbeing of the whole community'.

The vision was clear: the victim model of social work entrenched in individual casework was failing to understand the value of and engage the resources and capacity of families and communities. The delivery of the Seebohm vision failed…a consistent outcome of social work reviews over decades.

The new Seebohm Department would create a bigger, more flexible single budget capable of improving options for families and children. The scope for prevention would be much improved. An example of effective community based practice was in South London, on a small estate of about 950 households, set in the larger district of a local authority social services department.

Where:

- 3:10 children in care came from the estate while only 1:10 lived there.
- 44% of the District's child protection cases came from the estate
- 25% of families there with children were lone parents.

The team based on the estate consisted of a community worker, social workers, welfare benefits advice /admin, a social work assistant for the elderly, all working within a wider estate based network of housing team, health visitor, headteacher and later community centre manager, youth workers and local beat bobbies.

With a Seebohm mandate, what did the team do differently? They mapped out the resources available, found ways to develop new resources, and negotiated solutions to social problems faced by individuals & families across disciplines & organisations in the network. The team built relationships and worked with the local residents, was clear about the legal powers and worked through partnerships.

An example of the approach was the one used in addressing the high number of referrals from struggling lone parents of young children.

First was information gathering:

- a survey by our community worker listed the resources of the area and local views.
- social workers analysed the patterns of need among those who came to the duty office.
- the welfare benefits support worker offered information drawn from demands for payouts, which often came on Friday afternoons.

We found there were:

- fears about children crossing the road to the school
- not enough for the parents to do with their under 5's.
- feelings of social isolation

So, the team

- put its muscle behind a local campaign for a zebra crossing.
- the HV, a social worker and the nursery head worked with parents and set up a toy library.

The core families involved in taking action included an unemployed, stressed Dad, a parent of a child in care, another with a child on the Child Protection register, an isolated Mum and a family just keen to help. Together the toy library team turned into a support group; the Dad started carving toys and this turned into a carpentry workshop; there were outings and a children's Christmas party, and a catering co-operative emerged.

In time the team reduced the proportion of child protection cases from 44% to 12%. Entries into care dropped well below that of the district office. Locals

often came to the office for help at an earlier stage. Local people worked in the team, in the youth centre and the community centre.

Social work was about working through problems, typically with those who were defined by their families and social networks as the problems. Being patch based or working in a neighbourhood made the social work role easier.

Social workers were seen at community centre events, walking across the patch, using the community shop. It all helped. Even when a child was removed from an alcoholic mother one evening the local football team helpfully turned their floodlights onto the action so players and neighbours could watch the cause of the screaming and shouting. Next day no-one gave the social workers grief. Life went on. Residents would call down from a balcony 'Hey are you the welfare, can I have a word?' Social workers obliged. They did not say 'come to the duty office' or 'you must make a referral'. These exchanges were recorded as 'contacts'. In 1982 the Barclay Committee published 'Social Workers their Roles and Tasks' which referred to this team in the appendix on neighbourhood working. Professor Roger Hadley, the author of the minority report, had visited it.

The Barclay Report talked of partnerships between social workers and those who lived in the area. Finally, the way of working in and with communities had a brand… Community Social Work (CSW). Parliamentarians were told by Norman Fowler that the task was to 'harness the efforts of the community in both statutory and voluntary sense.' Just what Seebohm had wanted 14 years earlier but was rarely delivered by local authority managers.

The Barclay and Seebohm Reports emanated from the National Institute for Social Work. Each time 'community' had been a certain feature of a new vision of social work. In an effort to find the answer to 'what is Community social work in the context of local authority social work', Gerry Smale put together a Committee of practitioners & academics with different real life experience of CSW in 1983. They concluded that CSW took place in small units and developed organically, often acting atypically to the local authority departments CSW teams sat in. How then could it become the backbone or foundation of good social work?

By 1986 the Practice and Development Exchange was created at NISW to unravel the workings of these community social work teams in sufficient detail to enable transferability. Practice exchange networks across England and Scotland provided the food for many publications. In one Gerry Smale set out a summary of the 9 key features of community centred practice deduced from the tribes of enthusiastic practitioners PADE had drawn together:

- services were accessible by location and in style.
- no label of client was required to get a service.
- all people were potential supports.
- professionals were there to link up resources not necessarily provide them.
- service Users were involved in decision making.
- teamwork extended across agencies.
- the focus was on understanding and changing relationships.
- identifying connections
- working in partnership and power sharing with relevant agencies

CSW took place at team level. It was not the task of an individual social worker. It was a multi-disciplinary endeavour.

To put community into social work means seeing people as assets not problems and as people in social support systems which have fractured or needed bolstering. It means creating a model of social work which holds the legal duties alongside the capacity to play a part in social change. Community focussed social work was not solely about service delivery nor about the pathologising of individuals based on stereotypes.

To assist those who wanted to keep the community in view Gerry Smale and Daphne Statham wrote Social Work and Social Problems, but as with all academic texts, unless there are advocates in key positions beyond social work practitioners and academics change can be resisted and misdirected. Decades passed and community social work, with its focus on prevention and early intervention, failed to become the foundation of good social work.

Why did it fail?

- the Government of the time wanted management by objectives, work within market frameworks, social workers as gatekeepers and rationers of resources.
- there was a lack of legal back up to prevention, early intervention, to community development, all of which were dropped.
- public and political fears of service failures and media attacks dominated.

Gerry Smale saw understanding the nature of change as the way to make CSW happen. Gerry went on to write about change through innovation, drawing on the expanded exchanges with practitioners and academics from east to west in the USA. Facing unaffordable individually focussed casework in many US states, academics there were searching for a different way. Gerry made clear it was community based practice.

In the UK time passed with limited attention to social

work's real potential beyond the 'hard end' of children in care and children who were suffering significant harm. The focus was on putting more ambulances at the bottom of the cliff rather than building a fence at the top.

In line with this narrowed view in 2013 Josh MacAlister, teacher and founder of Frontline, strengthened children and family social work training by bringing it closer to the therapy and counselling model once envisaged within casework. But he brought it no nearer to understanding of or engagement with the wider community.

A year later MacAlister led an expert seminar on social work which said 'many families knock at the door of social work, or at least have another agency knocking at the door on their behalf. For every 100 referrals possibly as few as 15 can expect the intensive help that leads to change in family relationships that leads, in turn, to better child outcomes.' While providing a change intervention with the 15 families social workers would deal with the remainder of families in need by 'referring the family on to another agency, or hooking them up with a local voluntary organisation, making sure they get the best advice on benefits or debt management, the kind of activity that these days is often called 'early help'. This was suggesting that social work for the 85 was still expected to be little more than 'service surfing'.

Eight years on, in his Independent Review of Social Care MacAlister criticised his own view, when he said 'While relationships are rich and organic, children's social care can be rigid and linear. Rather than drawing on and supporting family and community, the system too often tries to replace organic bonds and relationships with professionals and services.'

MacAlister's view resonates with that of Barclay and Seebohm on the value of 'community' in social work. He proposes social workers as part of multi-disciplinary Family Help teams based in neighbourhoods.

Pilots are not the answer. As Gerry Smale said 'pilots buy time and enable you to evaluate before the innovation could prove effective or to wait for results until the innovation is obsolete. The main advantage is that it enables the bulk of the organisation to work out why the innovation cannot be adopted by them' Without the understanding of this and the other fallacies Gerry deduced from his work we may simply be at the start of another cycle of resistance rather than an era of effective new community centred delivery.

From Patch and Community Social Work to User Led Organisations and New Social Movements
Peter Beresford, Emeritus Professor, Brunel University

The Social Work History Network has been wise in focusing on the concept of community in social work. It helps us to understand many of the contradictions and problems that have faced social work and indeed broader policy and politics since at least the 1980s. From 1980-86 I was fortunate alongside Suzy Croft, my long-time collaborator, in being able to undertake an in-depth study of developments in patch and community social work in the most prominent authority advancing it East Sussex. We did this primarily by speaking with local people, service users, carers, and frontline workers. Part of this time I was employed as Frederick Soddy Research Fellow at the University of Sussex, partly living on benefits, through all of it using mental health services.

In one local patch we learned from a representative survey of 100 people, written up in the book 'Whose Welfare?' what they thought about patch based social work (Beresford and Croft, 1986). We explored the idea of community in this in depth with them. We found that for most people geographic community was a tiny area, not so much a street, maybe part of one, not an area but an enclave. Key issues quickly became apparent:

- community is as much about which groups are excluded and marginalised as which are included.

- geographic community can be the site of many conflicts and inequalities of power and control.

- many people did not feel part of a community at all, more often working class long stayers, than middle class newcomers interestingly.

- geographic community constantly changes.

- and what we have learned much more since is that geographic community is just one expression of community; there are communities of interest, identity and of course now virtual and e communities.

Given that patch offered smaller areas for local offices than community social work, but these were still much larger than the local understandings we encountered, we may wonder what this meant for the idea of decentralisation and its potential.

There were many good people on the ground in East Sussex and other pioneering areas seeking to do good work in this field. But there was also an underlying problem which social work has never escaped; the policy and political aims of its management and

bureaucracy and those of its workers and the frequent gulf between them. This was a time of much talk of involvement, empowerment, local control and more say for people. That's what we were interested in.

And in this time of emerging Thatcherism, public service cuts and emphasis on the market, you could see that community and social work are not neutral; they are shaped by the politics that dominate them. And while community and user groups wanted that to mean shifting power, what we could see happening was instead a shifting of responsibility. That meant getting people to look after themselves and that predominantly meant pushing the role of unpaid family carers and normalising the care role of women. If anything, control in a Department like East Sussex shifted upwards to an even smaller group of managers. From such a political position patch offered policymakers an opportunity to reinforce cuts and shift responsibility onto people on supposedly virtuous grounds.

One of the difficulties was that we all used the same language, thinking we meant the same thing, but we could mean very different things. The efforts to emancipate of some were undermined by the efforts to colonise people's lives and networks by more powerful others. And that is what seeking to structure and use people's so called informal networks amounted to.

Not all patch and community social work pioneers were like East Sussex. Hammersmith and Fulham, for example, did brilliant pioneering anti-discriminatory outreach work during the AIDS crisis (see Beresford and Harding, 1993). But the divided official report from Roger Hadley and Robert Pinker, the Barclay Report, politically undermined the bigger cause and soon many of the aspirations of community and patch social work were overtaken by the neoliberal goals of adult social care reform in the 1990s, followed ultimately by undermining attacks on the 1989 Children Act and the positive developments that followed it.

Community social work is an early example of the complex ambiguity of policy and practice in this field, where something could be presented as progressive, anti-bureaucratic, offering people a say, and reducing wastefulness, that was intended as part of a much bigger anti-state, anti- support services, anti-equality and pro 'looking after yourself' and 'standing on your own two feet' agenda that has since dominated public policy internationally and made state social work and social care at least as much, if not more, a means of rationing and control as of liberation and support. At the same time there were people struggling for the positive, seeking to shift control, not just cutting services and increasing the burden of responsibility.

But in my opinion there is still more to say about the role of patch and community social work and the

ambiguity of the politics which both gave them an opportunity and then took it away.

This was also the time of the emergence of the welfare service user movements; of disabled people, mental health service users/survivors, people with learning difficulties, looked after children and young people and people living with HIV/AIDS.

The neoliberal ideology that has triumphed over the last years has generally tended to support the idea of consumer power, as people having the right to a say as public service customers. We only have to look around us now at the profits privatised utilities are currently making and the problems they are causing millions to question what this really adds up to. But that participatory rhetoric over all this period has had its counter, admittedly its less powerful counter of the New Social Movements, based on identity and experience, on peace and sustainability, which are based on self-organisation, speaking for yourself and the rights and needs of people facing inequality and marginalisation, demanding a greater individual and political say. Thus, the community that has become an important liberatory force has been the community of interest, identity and experience embodied in these movements. And I remind myself that most of the people we spoke to in East Sussex wanted to have more say their lives and support systems.

And of course, among those groups are the welfare user movements I have mentioned in which I am involved, who were often able to build on the positive aspects of community and patch based social work to build new relationships, new understandings and new policies in relation to their rights and needs. Such user led organisations for a time at least were able to use the consumerist rhetoric coming from right wing central government to smuggle in their own emancipatory politics and policies, culminating in the acceptance of ideas like independent living and of direct payments.

And I see this history as consistent with and a part of the foundation of the work I have been doing, which is still about involvement and increasing people's say, always supported by the National Institute for Social Work, even to helping give birth to the national disabled people's and service user organisation Shaping Our Lives, in which I am still involved, supporting people to speak and act for themselves.

This is the most important inheritance for me of the patch and community social work movement. But it was also about more equal relationships and understandings between social work and service users and carer. And I think NISW, and its leads and guiding hands have much to be thanked for in that context and I'd like to mention particularly Gerry Smale, Dave Crosbie, Daphne Statham, Tessa Harding and Graham Tuson.

But I think we also need to commit ourselves to two additional lessons which I think they offered:

- Is the importance of generalised struggles for experience and identity based movements and an understanding of intersectionality – all the overlaps there actually are between them?

- And second the importance of building stronger equality based alliances between them; less emphasising of our different histories and cultures and more of our common oppression and discrimination and the power we can exert together. On our own minorities. Together the majority.

These are difficult days for social work, in a time of democratic deficit with the failing power of the neoliberal right still without effective challenge. State social work is constantly being reinvented as part of a neoliberal agenda, despite the commitment of those working hard within it to make it the emancipatory force it likes to see itself as. Perhaps a key issue here for us today is to be clear that this conflict is so often at work on social work – in the 1980s as well as the 2020s and we need to be both alert to it and ensuring that our ideas are

consistent with its support and liberatory potential, rather than its controlling and individualising aspects best left in the past.

References

Beresford, P. and Croft, S. (1986), *Whose Welfare: Private care or public services?*, Brighton, Lewis Cohen Urban Studies Centre at University of Brighton.

Beresford, P. and Harding, T. (editors), (1993), *A Challenge To Change: Practical experiences of building user led services*, London, National Institute for Social Work.

The modern history of social work with Deaf people

Rosemary Oram, (left) PhD Student, Division of Nursing, Midwifery and Social Work and SORD (Social Research with Deaf people), University of Manchester

Alys Young, (right) Professor of Social Work Social Work, NIHR Senior Investigator, Division of Nursing Midwifery and Social Work and SORD (Social Research with Deaf people), University of Manchester

The latter decades of the 20th Century saw both the development of social work as a profession and the rise of the disability movement which challenged the dependency-forming approaches of social work with disabled people. However, for social work with deaf people who used British Sign Language (BSL), these movements happened on different terms. The development of specialist social workers was an evolution from the tradition of "missioners" for deaf people and ultimately led to the dislocation of social work from the new profession of sign language interpreting. Although they were treated for decades as handicapped and disabled, the latter part of the 20th century also saw the gradual acknowledgement of Deaf people as a cultural linguistic minority although it was not until 2022 that BSL was formally recognised in law as the fourth official language of the UK. Through these cross currents, the specialism of social work with deaf people was created, grew and ultimately declined leaving deaf people today who are in need of social work services in a somewhat precarious position. In this article we chart the historical milestones of modern social work with deaf people from the 19th century onwards and reflect on how these have influenced social work with deaf signers today. The paper draws on research from a range of primary sources including national conference papers, review/inspection papers, research studies and educational materials. Some were supplied by former specialist social workers with deaf people and members of the deaf community from personal or historic archives. They were originally brought together for a BASW (British Association of Social Workers) 50 year anniversary event at the University of Manchester that was cancelled as the first national Covid-19 lockdown happened in March 2020. Written by two academic researchers who are both qualified registered social workers possessing longstanding experience of working with deaf people of all ages, it is hoped this article will be of interest to those professionals who are working with deaf people for the first time and want to understand how services have been provided over the years, and to those who themselves have experience within the profession, or have changed careers, and are curious to read a paper of the evolution of their profession. We focus on four main threads which influenced the profession of social work with deaf people in the UK from the 19th century to the present day: the effect of broader social reforms; the implementation of legislation; the evolution of roles in social work; and the social/cultural/political shifts within the deaf community. We end by considering what the future holds for social work with deaf people, locally and nationally. Although our focus is on the 19th century onwards, it is important to acknowledge that signed languages and 1 Many Deaf people, written with a capitalised D, regard themselves as members of a cultural minority who use British Sign Language (BSL). BSL is a visual language and has its own vocabulary, grammar and syntax – the fourth official language in the UK. Deaf people, typically born Deaf or who become Deaf at an early age, are aware of their rich culture and traditions which have been passed down over the generations. In this context, the lower case 'd' is used to refer to the wide diversity of people in general unless there is something specifically related to the 'D' community. Deaf communities have always existed. The first written records appear in Ancient Greece with detailed written histories from the 16th centuries onwards.

19th century to post-war

Since the 19th century, welfare services for deaf people were often run by church missionaries (known as missioners), some of whom might have had Deaf parents and therefore grown up with sign language as their home language. The sign for 'missioner' (and also 'welfare') stems from the scarflike vestment clothing worn by people in this role and is still used by some people today when talking about social workers (although others replace it with a fingerspelled S-W).

During this period - a time of significant poverty, widespread inequality and lack of inclusion - many 'missions' for deaf people were established throughout the UK, largely founded on the wish to bring the word of God to those who could not 'hear' it. The role of a missioner often involved significant and large-scale local welfare work with deaf people, made-up of various tasks to ensure this community was included in wider society e.g. interpreting, leading church services, organising social events, helping them find work and accompanying them to job interviews. This newspaper cutting (Tyldesley, 2012), from the Leigh Chronicle in 1889, offers a real-life example of a missioner interpreting at a Deaf couple's wedding:
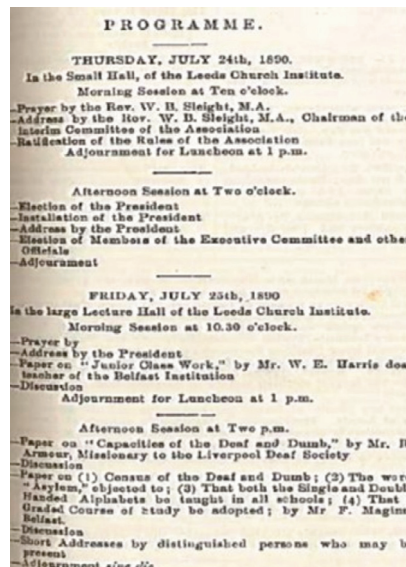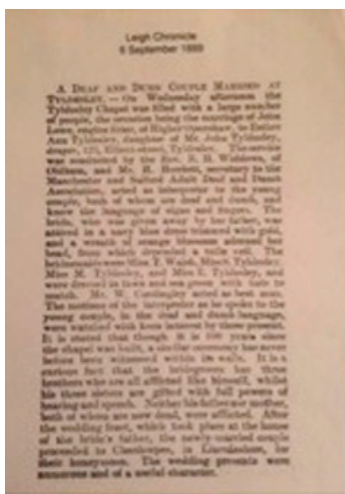
over many aspects of their life. Oral histories collected from older Deaf people have recounted how the missioner found them a spouse, ensured they had employment and housing but often at the expense of personal decision making and conditional on their involvement in the church. The Organisation and Standardisation of Deaf Welfare Work The "Deaf Welfare Examination Board" (DWEB) was established in 1929, the result of a merger between the Joint Examination Board of the "Central Advisory Council for Spiritual Care of the Deaf and Dumb" and the "National Council of Missioners and Welfare Officers to the Deaf". At a meeting at the Royal School for the

Across the UK, in cities and areas of high population, the missions were the roots of the later 'deaf clubs' where deaf people would congregate, some of which still survive today. Some deaf clubs were founded on sectarian lines i.e. separate places established to serve local Protestant and Catholic deaf communities, which accounts for the multiple deaf clubs in cities, notably Glasgow and Manchester. The Manchester Deaf and Dumb Institute was the first purpose built social centre for deaf people in the world (Jackson, 2001). It survives today as a pub and club 'the Deaf Institute' with many of its young patrons totally unaware of its origins:

The demand for missioners was high with a shortfall in numbers, as illustrated by the plea from the BDDA, British Deaf & Dumb Association, (now known as BDA, British Deaf Association) during one of their conferences in 1890:

Although intended as benign support at a time of great poverty and social exclusion, the 'helper' approach has since been severely criticised as dependency-forming welfare. The missioners could be seen as controlling most aspects of deaf people's lives, in part because of their ability to act in an interpreting role between wider society and the Deaf community through sign language, resulting in individuals having insufficient autonomy
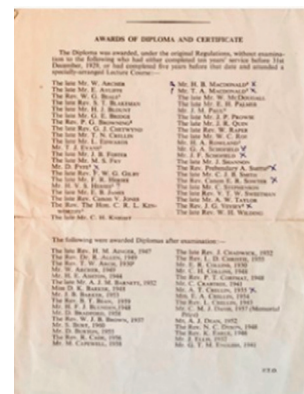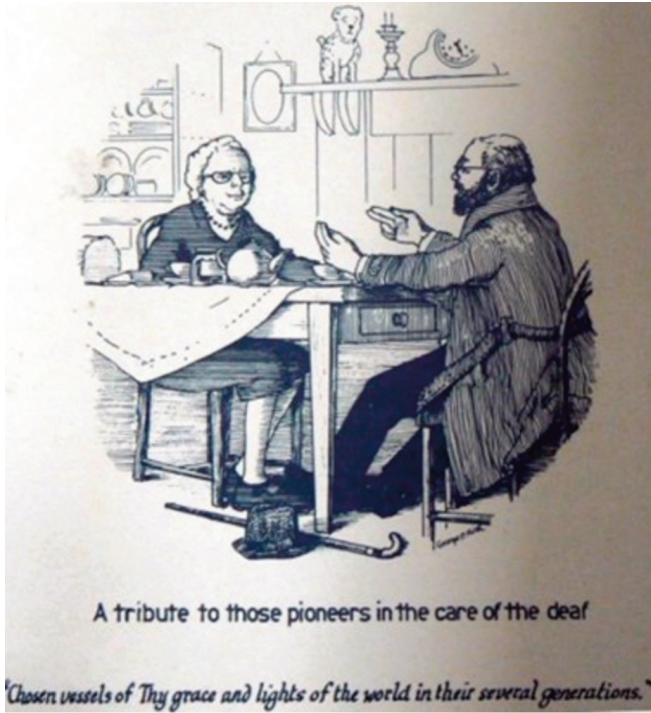
Deaf in Derby in April 1929, Diplomas were given to 'those entitled to receive them' i.e. people who were experienced welfare workers within the deaf community, including some who were themselves Deaf e.g. Harry and Alec Macdonald who were brothers, shown on the back row of the next photograph (4th and 5th from the right), and Harry's DWEB certificate and Alec's DWEB medal.

In July of the same year, the first week-long Lecture Course for Welfare Workers for the Deaf was held at The University of Manchester, arranged by Sir Alexander and Irene Ewing who were later pioneers of the oral methods of deaf education which were fiercely opposed by many members of the Deaf community. Leslie Edwards was Registrar of the Examination Board who was a well-known Deaf missioner and became the Honorary Secretary/Treasurer of the BDDA. The first examination for Deaf Welfare Workers was held at King's College London in March 1930 and six men took

part in the four-day event; of this group, two were deaf and a further two were CODAs (Children of Deaf Adults). Amongst the missioners awarded a Diploma in the later years, two of them were deaf, believed to be Algie Barnett from Northampton and Benny Morgan from Wolverhampton.

A tribute to those pioneers in the care of the deaf

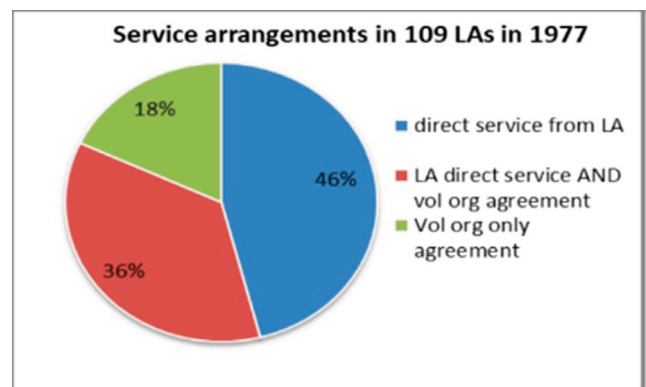"*Chosen vessels of Thy grace and lights of the world in their several generations.*"

With regards to legislation, the National Institute for the Deaf (later the RNID: Royal National Institute for Deaf People) held a conference in 1933, voting through a resolution to demand the passing of the 'Deaf Persons Act' which would make it a legal requirement for local authorities to meet the needs of deaf people; the Act was never passed. Eventually, the National Assistance Act 1948 was established, requiring the appointment of local authority welfare workers. Most local authorities delegated this role and power to the pre-existing missioners and welfare workers already working within the Deaf community. Subsequently, the Younghusband report (1959) into Social Workers in the Local Authority Health and Welfare Services recommended that Local Authorities take a "more direct interest" in the provision of services to deaf people. At that time the report found that only 8% of local authorities provided direct services, indicating that the vast majority of services for deaf people was still dependent on voluntary organisations or missions. In 1961, a RNID report concluded: "the minimum professional social work staff for an agency responsible for the full range of services should be in the ratio of not less than 1:100 registered deaf people". Subsequent to these reports the 'Deaf Welfare College' was set up to deliver training to welfare officers working within the community, culminating in the award of a Deaf Welfare Certificate. By the following year, (1962), 69 people had passed. Consequently, 'Welfare Officers' for Deaf people became common in most counties (and cities) in the 1960s and the responsibilities were laid out more rigorously, e.g. as one DWEB recalls in the book Chosen Vessels: "…each local authority insisted that we visited each registered Deaf person every 3 months and write a report for the Council". It is of note that the

religious link still remained, shown by the naming of the professional body as "The National Council of Missioners and Welfare Officers for the Deaf" and the requirement for them to take church services as part of their role. This illustration (Firth, 1990) portrays a typical role of a missioner. Many missioners became qualified social workers, continuing to work with the Deaf community and simultaneously fulfilling a role as unqualified sign language interpreters

The establishing of social work with deaf people as a specialist practice

The first social work departments were established in 1970 (following the Younghusband review and the Seebohm Report) and "The "National Council of Missioners and Welfare Officers for the Deaf" evolved into the "National Council for Social Workers with Deaf People" (NCSWD). This was the focus organisation for specialist social workers and regional meetings were held into the late 1980s. By 1977 specialist social workers within local authorities were firmly established, indicated by the Advisory Committee on Services for Hearing Impaired People (ACSHIP) report results showing 46% of the service arrangements were provided directly from local authorities; however ACSHIP still expressed concern that there were not enough specialist workers with deaf people.

Service arrangements in 109 LAs in 1977

- 46% direct service from LA
- 36% LA direct service AND vol org agreement
- 18% Vol org only agreement

They recommended that every Social Services Department (or voluntary agency to whom duties were delegated) employed a minimum of one qualified social worker who also had a specialist additional qualification in social work with deaf people. By 1981 it was clear that although specialist social workers with deaf people were widespread within Local Authorities, their involvement in statutory work was very limited. Evidence from the NCSWD to the Barclay Report on the roles and tasks of social workers included the following: "as yet, very few social workers with the deaf are involved with the assessment of deaf children and support for their families", which raises a question about the capacity for carrying out such assessments and providing relevant support for those families. The provision of social work services and the provision of

interpreting services were still synonymous, meaning that deaf people had to become clients of social work services in order to gain access to communication for many aspects of everyday life. For those areas without a separate source of interpreting services, it often fell to the specialist social workers to provide both welfare work and interpreting.

Sign Language interpreting and social work divide

In 1980, CACDP (the Council for the Advancement of Communication with Deaf People) was established through a grant provided by the Department of Health and Social Services at the request of the British Deaf Association. CACDP set the curriculum and examinations in BSL proficiency at different levels of qualification and kept the register of qualified BSL interpreters. This evolution also meant that for the time Deaf people could become qualified teachers of their own language and many took up this profession. Two years later, the holders of the DWEB qualification became founder members of the Register of Sign Language Interpreters. There were 121 members initially, 112 of whom held the DWEB certificate together with nine CACDP qualified interpreters. The former group were expected to achieve CACDP qualifications within five years of registering to maintain their membership, however, by 1987, the number of interpreters in the UK had dropped to just 62 (NRCPD, 2023) indicating that many former DWEBs did not make this transition. The road to a well-qualified, large number of interpreters was only just beginning and the shortages persisted well into the 21st century. The 1980s were a decade of activism and development in statutory social work involving deaf people as well. In 1983, Tom Benyon MP and the BDA succeeded in inserting a provision into the new Mental Health Act 1983 (Jones, 1991, p.48), stating that people must be assessed 'in a suitable manner', i.e. there must be provision of the right communication support to meet an individual's needs. This stipulation arose due to the large number of Deaf people who had been illegally and/or unjustifiably detained under the 1959 Mental Health Act because they had not been assessed in BSL. This provision still exists today (including guidelines on how to book interpreters) and applies to ALL people assessed under the Mental Health Act, however, still within the mental health field, there are very few professionals who use BSL and have a good knowledge of deaf issues. NIHR School for Social Care Research are currently commissioning a study into interpreter-mediated Mental Health Act assessments. 50 years on from this ground-breaking insertion in the legislation it is the first study of its kind (2023). In 1988, the SSI (Social Services Inspectorate) report "Say It Again" finally recommended the separation of social work services from interpreting services for deaf people:

"consideration should be given to the tasks for which interpreters (not social workers) should be employed and available to work in conjunction with social services staff, including emergency duty teams. The location and funding of an interpreting service within the organisation of the local authority is a matter the local authority needs to consider." (p:30: para:3.2.12) Therefore, Deaf people were finally in the position of being able to access either of these services separately and independently of each other. Consequently, some social workers decided to become qualified interpreters instead. This was nearly one hundred years after the founding of the first purpose built social centre for deaf people in the world in Manchester in 1890 (referred to earlier).

Concerns about the numbers and quality of specialist social workers with deaf people

In 1988, the RNID carried out a review of the numbers of paid welfare workers with deaf people (including Social Workers) across England, known as the "Is There Anybody Listening?" survey. They concluded that "the retention and turnover rates for the specialism do not offer grounds for optimism." (Peckford and Hawcroft, 1988). In addition, Jones (1989) found in their survey of all specialist social workers who were registered with NCSWD, that only 73 of them had the Certificate of Qualification in Social Work or its equivalent which was the professional standard for qualified social workers. In 1990, NCSWD reformed to become ADSUP (Association of Deaf Service Users and Providers) which later included community care services, as a consequence of the Community Care Act 1990. The association's journal, which had run lively comment and opinion pieces for specialist workers from the late 1970s onwards, became 'Deaf Worlds'. In the same year, the Open University launched its course D251: Issues in Deafness (followed by the supplementary course D601: The Practice of Social Work with Deaf People) and many social workers contributed to the written course material.
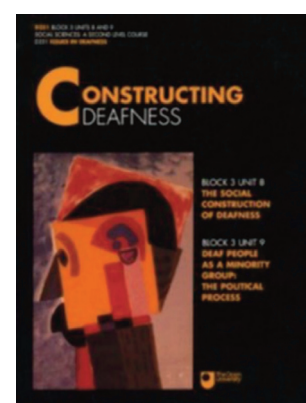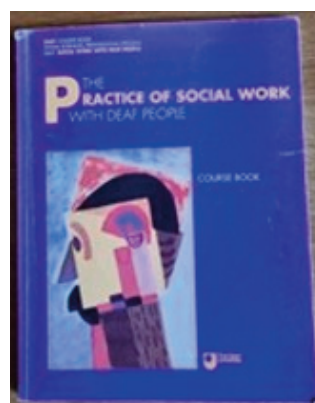
This was considered a time of great optimism and pride in the development of skilled specialism amongst social workers, and the number of deaf professionals increased. Specialist post-qualifying courses in social work with deaf people were established at various universities providing additional certification of specialist professional practice. In parallel, the NHS Community Care Act 1990 was implemented, inspiring a great deal of new and innovative social work that aimed to empower deaf people to have more control over their lives, including offering them choices about when and how support was delivered (e.g. independent living). 1996 saw the publication of the Joseph Rowntree/BDA report 'Visible Voices' (Hawcroft et al), the first real attempt to study deaf service user empowerment. This period was seen as a positive shift, so that those individuals working in specialist (social worker) roles within the deaf community felt valued and grew in confidence.

The Start of the Decline Through the 1990s, into the 2000s

It is not unusual for specialist qualified social workers with deaf people to be located within local authorities, many of which have specialist deaf teams or sensory teams. However, the Department of Health Social Services Inspectorate report in in 1997, entitled 'A Service on the Edge' raised significant concerns about the level of BSL skills of specialist social workers. It found only 18% of specialist social workers demonstrated a level of fluency regarded as the minimum required to do their job. In addition, there were inadequate interpreting arrangements to enable deaf people to access other services beyond the specialist team remit, and also deaf young people under the age of 21 years were receiving a minimal service. They identified that no effective
 consultation took place with deaf and hard of hearing people meaning they had little involvement in service planning. However, at the same time, a new wave of activism was evolving, led by the founding of the FDP (Federation of Deaf People) which, amongst other things, arranged marches for the recognition of BSL as a formal language and raised concerns about the continuing social exclusion of deaf people and perpetuation of dependency models of welfare. In 1999 the Department of Health published an improvement plan "Stepping away from the Edge," followed by two practical service guides to meet minimum standards - Best Practice Standards in Social Work with Deaf and Hard of Hearing People (1999) and Deaf Children: Positive Practice Standards in Social Services (2002). Yet in 2002, when the Edge of Change research project was launched to actively promote these standards and observe change in action, it found that the numbers of specialist social work staff in local authority teams in England was highly variable and their future fragile

(Young et al., 2004a). It stated that 60% of team managers of specialist social work/sensory teams surveyed had no qualifications in BSL and only 29% of qualified social workers in those teams had CACDP Stage 3 (roughly equivalent to A level). The ability of specialist social workers to communicate with service users was thus highly compromised. Radical change in social services' organisation brings radical changes in the arrangements of services for deaf children and adults The first decade of the 21st Century saw great changes and challenges for social work with both deaf children and deaf adults. In 2003, after a long campaign by the Deaf community and their allies which included what is believed to be the biggest march in deaf history, BSL was officially recognised by the Government as an indigenous language of the UK although UK-wide legislation did not follow until 2022. The Disability Rights Commission investigated whether disabilities were being used illegally as a reason to bar some people from professions (including social work) and senior social workers who were Deaf gave testimony. New professional standards for social workers from its new regulator the HCPC (Health Care Professions Council) included the ability to 'speak English fluently', meaning that social workers who were Deaf and BSL users were denied access to mandatory registration. This stipulation was eventually successfully challenged by deaf social workers and deaf organisations. Furthermore, the 2010 Equality Act was passed giving new rights to promote the equality of disabled people and its stipulations became integrated into key social work guidance such as Working Together, 2015. Universal Newborn Hearing Screening was pioneered in parts of England and then rolled out across the UK as standard, meaning that diagnosis was happening much earlier in an infant's life. However, identification of deafness in the first few weeks of life did not bring closer cooperation between education, health and social work services to support the new opportunities now available for deaf child development and family support. In 2004 (Young et al, 2004b), a study of 20 social service departments and 27 teacher of the deaf (ToD) services revealed 41% of education services described themselves as having no link with social services and only 7% as being "very satisfied" with their links; similarly, only 20% of social services claimed they were "always" notified of newly-identified deaf children whereas 70% said they were "rarely" or "never" informed. Social work was missing in the new advancement of services. In the first decades of the 21st century, the NHS was also offering increased provision of cochlear implant surgeries for both children and adults, and the ongoing advancement in digital technology meant a vast improvement in the hearing aids available on the NHS to all deaf people – without any cost to them. These changes could be viewed in two ways; for some deaf people, advanced hearing technologies allowed them to live differently (due to

increased access to sound) but at the same time, some parts of the Deaf community felt they were being perceived as a burden on society and under threat of eradication. But what happened to specialist social work with deaf people? The Children Act, 2004 created integrated (Education and Social Work) services under children's services directors in England. Consequently, Adult Services and Children's Services became the new configuration in local authorities, transforming the way their services were planned, commissioned and delivered to clients. This separation left local authorities with a problem over what to do with specialist deaf/sensory social work teams. Traditionally they had always been 'cradle to grave' services, so many questioned where this provision fitted into the reorganisation and indeed, whether it was necessary at all. A mixture of this reorganisation and cost-cutting led to designated services for deaf people (either based within social services or contracted to voluntary organisations) declining and consequently the number of specialised social workers also decreased significantly. Some local authorities decided that the specialist social work role should no longer be mandatory despite the evidence of need. Specialist teams were disbanded, with workers distributed to children with disabilities teams and deaf adults' needs regarded as being possible to meet within pre-existing structures. In many cases it was simply assumed that a usual social worker plus an interpreter would do the job just as well. Cultural competency in working with Deaf people, specialist practice knowledge, and the linguistic skills of social workers in BSL went into sharp decline. In 2010 a study of 52 LAs showed that only 40% regarded a deaf child as a 'child in need' in line with the 1989 Children Act and even if they did this would not necessarily lead to even an initial assessment. 46% had no qualified social workers who worked with deaf children and their families and only a third had any specialist team arrangements for deaf children. The national report (Young et al, 2010) concluded: "There is clear evidence, on a widespread basis, of poor integrated children's services arrangements in respect of deaf children and their families which results in a lack of specific attention to deaf children and families' social care rights and needs; poor recognition of need and provision of assessment; severely limited ability to work preventatively within a broad understanding of safeguarding; ambiguous pathways to service provision; responsiveness only in situations of acute need, (the escalation of which may have been preventable); and lack of focus on the psycho-social developmental, linguistic and cultural challenges and differences of the full diversity of deaf children… there is strong evidence to suggest that the statutory duty on Local Authorities to cooperate within Children's Services to promote the wellbeing of children is being significantly compromised…" Have things improved? Specialist sensory and social workers with deaf people continue to meet collectively through two forums in the UK, supporting each other, maintaining the provision where they work and advocating for the specialist requirements of social work with deaf children and adults; for example the production of the recent supplementary guidance for safeguarding partners in England with respect to deaf children (Wilson et al, 2022). There is no longer a national council or equivalent and no specialist register across the UK for social workers with deaf people (Oram et al, 2023). There are no longer any post-qualification courses being delivered for professionals to develop their own knowledge. Yet high-quality practice from dedicated social workers with specialist knowledge and experience continues to flourish despite all of the organisational, professional and financial barriers they face. Deaf children and adults have not gone away. Their needs and strengths might have changed but there remains a thriving community of BSL users and around one in a thousand children are born deaf. There are significant numbers of deafblind people with complex requirements whose needs must also be met. The increasing aging population in the UK means a higher number of people are experiencing an increased level of hearing loss as they age, further adding to the pressure on services for those with a hearing loss. The comorbidity of deafness/sensory needs with dementia and physical disabilities is recognised as a major issue for quality of life and care services. In addition, the mental health needs of deaf young people remain more prevalent than in the general population (Young et al, 2023). Deaf and disabled children are still far more likely to experience abuse than hearing/able bodied children (Wilson et al, 2018). However, needs are still not being met. In 2014 NDCS carried out a study of social work services for deaf children in England and found that 56% of local authorities' social care provision for deaf children is provided by Children with Disability teams whereas 45% of local authority social care teams could not identify the numbers of deaf children receiving social care services. 49% said their eligibility criteria did not include any specific reference to deaf children or sensory impairment. Only 16% of local authorities or social care teams had a dedicated worker for deaf children and 84% of these workers combine these duties with other responsibilities (e.g. support to vision impaired children). Across the whole of England, just two social workers were identified who work solely with deaf children and young people. In 2016 an NSPCC and partners conference on safeguarding deaf children brought together over 90 senior managers from statutory and non-statutory organisations to consider arrangements for safeguarding deaf children. Participants identified a lack of basic

demographic information about deaf child numbers in their area; a lack of clarity of safeguarding multiagency pathways with respect to deaf children and d/Deaf parents; a lack of knowledge about developmental vulnerabilities of deaf children and a lack of local information, policy and procedures coherent with deaf children and their families' needs. (Wilson et al, 2018) Concerns continue to be raised that the needs and rights of deaf people under The Care Act 2014 are not being appropriately assessed, resulting in failure to meet eligibility criteria for support. This is because a lack of specialist knowledge and cultural awareness means that key needs, vulnerabilities and their consequences are not being routinely recognised (Hardy, 2018; Young et al, 2015). The plight of older Deaf BSL users experiencing extreme isolation in hearing care facilities was first recorded in 2011 (Hunt et al, 2011; Young 2014) and a recent report on care homes in Scotland and Deaf people suggest the issue remains (Hepner et al, 2022).

The Future?

We have looked at the past and the present aspects of service provision but what does the future hold for social work with deaf people and why does it matter? This question remains a source of real concern for all deaf children and adults who may require social work and social care services and for all of us who have participated as service providers within a great tradition of specialist practice and radical innovations in service provision. As we start to write the 'history', there are many lessons from the past to take into an uncertain future when considering how we move forward and make provision for them in the future to ensure their needs are provided for and considered in a fair and equitable way compared to the rest of the population also accessing those services.

Acknowledgements

References

Association of Directors of Social Services (1981) *Submission to the Barclay Committee on Roles and Tasks of Social Workers, Appendix 3 on Social Work with the Hearing Impaired.*

Association of Directors of Social Services, British Deaf Association, Local Government Authority and Royal National Institute for Deaf People (1999) *Best Practice Standards: Social Work and Deaf and Hard of Hearing People.* London: RNID Association of Directors of Social Services,

British Deaf Association, Local Government Authority, National Children's Bureau, National Deaf Children's Society and Royal National Institute for Deaf People (2002) *Deaf Children: Positive Practice Standards in Social Services.* British Deaf and Dumb Association Inaugural Conference Programme (1890) The Deaf and Dumb Times 2(2): 19

Department of Health Social Services Inspectorate (1997) *A Service on the Edge. Inspection of services for deaf and hard of hearing people.* London: Department of Health.

Department of Health Social Services Inspectorate (1999) *Stepping away from the Edge.* Plan. London: Department of Health.

Department of Health and Social Security (1977) Advisory Committee on Services for Hearing Impaired People: *Report of a Sub-Committee appointed to Consider the Role of Social Services in the Care of the Deaf of all Ages.* London:

Department of Health and Social Security Firth GC *(1990) Chosen Vessels: A tribute to those pioneers in the care of deaf.* Exeter: PAPYRUS Printers.

Hardy R (2018) *Social Work with d/Deaf people: key issues in adult safeguarding. In: Community Care.* Available at: www.communitycare.co.uk/2018/09/19/social-work-d-deaf-people-key-issuesadults-safeguarding/ (accessed 12 September 2023)

Hawcroft L, Peckford B and Thompson A (1996) *Visible Voices: Developing Deaf Service User Involvement in Local Services.* Carlisle: Joseph Rowntree Foundation and British Deaf Association.

Hepner A, Oram R, Denmark C, et al. (2022) *Deaf people with dementia and care homes in Scotland.* Report, British Deaf Association, UK, March.

Hunt R, Oram, R and Young, A (2011) *Deaf older people's preferences for residential care.* Report, Welsh Assembly Government, UK.

Jackson PW (2001) *A Pictorial History of Deaf Britain. Winsford:* Deafprint, Jones K (1989) *The Peculiar needs of Deaf People: A study of selected members of the Lincolnshire Deaf Social Group.* PhD Thesis: University of Nottingham, UK.

Jones R (1991) *Mental Health Act Manual* (3rd edition). London: Sweet & Maxwell.

National Deaf Children's Society (2014) *Social Care Support for deaf children in England.* Report, National Deaf Children's Society, UK.

National Registers of Communication Professionals working with Deaf and Deafblind People (2023) History of registration. Available at: www.nrcpd.org.uk/history (accessed 11 October 2023).

NIHR School for Social Care Research (2023) *Interpreters for Mental Health Act Assessments.* Available at: www.sites.manchester.ac.uk/informhaa/ (accessed 14 November 2023)

Oram R, Young A and Cartney P (2023) *Now you see them, now you don't: Professional recognition of specialist professionals working with Deaf British Sign Language parents in child safeguarding.* Qualitative

Social Work. Epub ahead of print 13 June 2023. DOI: 10.1177/14733250231185962.

Peckford R and Hawcroft L (1988) *Social Workers with Deaf People. A Brief Analysis of Recruitment, Retention and Turnover.* Pamphlet, London: RNID.

Royal National Institute for Deaf People (1961) *Staffing in Welfare Agencies for Deaf and Hard of Hearing Persons*. Pamphlet, London:

RNID. Royal National Institute for Deaf People (1988) Is There Anyone Listening? Survey of Staff Employed in England to Provide Social Services for Deaf People. Report, RNID, UK.

Seebohm F (1968) *Report of the Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services*. London: HMSO.

Social Services Inspectorate (1988) *Say It Again: Report of an Inspection of Contemporary Social Work Practice with People who are Deaf or Hard of Hearing*. London: DHSS

Tyldesley PJ (2012) Leigh Chronicle 6 September 1889. In: *Tyldesley Family History.* Available at www.tyldesley.co.uk/2012/09/ (accessed 11 October 2023).

Wilson S, Attrill M, Critchley T, et al (2018) *Safeguarding Deaf Children: A Multi-agency Focus on Actions for Change.* Practice: Social Work in Action 30(3): 163-186.

Wilson S, Mullen C, Young, A. et al (2022) *Guidance for Safeguarding Partners (England): Deaf Children, Young People and their Families.* Available at: www.ndcs.org.uk/media/7918/guidance-forsafeguarding-partners-england.pdf (accessed 8 September 2023).

 Young A, Hunt R, McLaughlin H. et al (2004a) *The Edge of Change: A Development and Research Project about the Implementation of Best Practice Standards in Social Work with Deaf and Hard of Hearing People.* London: RNID.

Young AM, Tattersall H, MacCracken W. et al (2004b) *The Impact of Universal Newborn Hearing Screening – Education Perceiving the Role of Social Services*. Qualitative Social Work 3(4): 367-387.

Young AM, Hunt R, Smith C. et al (2010) *The impact of integrated Children's Services on the scope, delivery and quality of social care services for deaf children and families. Phase II Report*. London: NDCS. Young A (2014) Older Deaf People and Social Care: A Review. Report, Royal Association of the Deaf and [sonus], UK, March.

Young A, Bond J and King, E (2015) *Practice Guidance: Working with Adults who are d/Deaf*. In: Community Care. Available at: www.communitycare.co.uk/2018/09/19/social-work-d-deaf-peoplekey-issues-adult-safeguarding/ (Accessed 9 September 2023).

Young AM, Espinoza F, Dodds, C, et al (2023) *Introducing the READY study: DHH young people's well-being and self-determination*. Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education 28(3): 267-279.

Younghusband EI (1959) *Report of the Working Party on Social Workers in the Local Authority Health and Welfare Services*. London:

Remembering Frank Field: some reflections
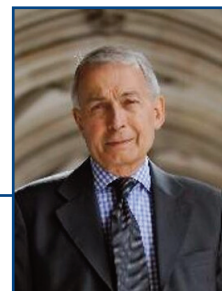
Contributions from Jo Tunnard, Jane Tunstill, Julia Ross and Geoff Fimister

Lord Frank Field died on 24 April 2024. He had served as Member of Parliament for Birkenhead for 40 years (1979 to 2019) and was the founding Director of the Child Poverty Action Group (1969-1979). He had a lifelong commitment to addressing child and family poverty, his views as to necessary strategy sometimes generating conflict with his own party. He championed many causes - most recently Baroness Meacher's assisted dying bill - and had a significant impact on social policy. As a tribute to his contribution to social policy and issues of significance to social workers, we plan to run a series of short recollections of Frank Field in the Bulletin of the Network in order to mark his impact on social work.

Jo Tunnard, Emeritus Professor of Social Work, Royal Holloway, London University, formerly Assistant Director, CPAG

In 1974, after two years in Nicaragua, Central America, under the government's overseas programme for young graduates, my attention was grabbed by an advertised post of welfare rights adviser at CPAG and I was lucky enough to be appointed. It marked the start of my lifelong work in the children and family voluntary sector.

Frank was my boss for five years, before becoming an MP in 1979. CPAG was a tiny outfit in those days: Frank and his deputy Ruth Lister beavered away in the attic on policy and research matters whilst a handful of us down the rickety stairs ran the Citizens Rights Office. We advised claimants, advocated for them at benefit tribunals, trained social workers and others, and looked out for emerging gaps in poverty law, policy and practice.

I remember Frank's huge support for the first injustice that I picked up from our casework: that of women left with children in the matrimonial home and threatened with eviction because of the crippling impact of second mortgages that their husbands had taken out secretly via unscrupulous money lenders. In CPAG style, I wrote a pamphlet about the problems and possible solutions. Frank wrote his usual pithy campaigning press release,

then organised a meeting for the two of us with the Building Society Association chief officer and wrote to each building society manager urging them to change their ways. He castigated the odd unsympathetic respondent, with thanks for their letter and regret that it stood out from the rest "like a sore thumb". He supported a collaboration between CPAG and SHAC, the homeless agency, to produce a survival rights guide for mothers faced with eviction, based on the lessons from casework.

> **I remember Frank's huge support for the first injustice that I picked up from our casework: that of women left with children in the matrimonial home and threatened with eviction because of the crippling impact of second mortgages that their husbands had taken out secretly via unscrupulous money lenders**

That's what CPAG was about – see the need, test a response, make a fuss, find a solution, press for action. Frank's clear vision for ending inequality was a particular inspiration to new staff like me, giving us confidence in ourselves and our ideas for change. It was an exciting, fun place to be, with the opportunity to learn from clever colleagues who were supportive, caring and hardworking, driven by common concern for the plight of disadvantaged fellow citizens. As Frank had concluded in his report during the year I joined his team – after reviewing the major research studies since the war about birth, education, income, work, health, housing, wealth and death:

"If civilised life is to continue, the rich must strike a new social contract with the poor to the extent of breaking the cycle of inequality. The report presents the information for a reasonable – yet urgent – debate. The alternative is to break the cycle of inequality on the streets."

Frank Field (1974) *Unequal Britain: A Report on the Cycle of Inequality* Arrow Books, London

Jane Tunstill, Emeritus Professor of Social Work at Royal Holloway, London University

Child and family poverty continues to constitute the 'wallpaper of practice' for social work (Morris 2018) but few individuals have done more to facilitate stripping out its persistence than Frank Field in all of his public roles from 1965 . As director of Child Poverty Action Group between 1969 and 1979, he had a formative impact, helping to create an accessible organisation which impacted on progressive social work practice by providing an expert information service (CPAG handbooks were a vital resource in every area team office) and establishing an influential, persuasive, evidence- informed style of social policy lobbying. Data recorded by CPAG on the role of family poverty as a driver of inequality in respect of social work interventions led to the launch of the Family Rights Group in 1974. Indeed it might be argued that the evolution of a 'progressive social work ethos' in the UK benefitted in no small part from the largely contemporaneous establishment of CPAG and the British Association of Social Workers; timing which generated a 'a critical friendship ' (Tunstill 2016). As SWHN members may recall, in 2015 Frank participated, alongside Baroness Molly Meacher, in a Social Work History Network seminar

organised to mark the 50th anniversary of CPAG. He reminded members that BASW and CPAG share a common value base committed to addressing child and family poverty at both personal and political levels. Hopefully this is a commitment which will endure for all social workers. It is one for which the evidence and inspiration owe much to CPAG and to Frank Field.

Morris , K .et al (2018) *Social work, poverty and child welfare interventions*. Child & Family Social Work 23.

Tunstill, J (2016) *CPAG and social work: reflections on a critical friendship*. SWHN Bulletin Vol 3, Issue 1

Julia Ross, Chair BASW UK

Frank will be much missed for the tremendous impact he had on the lives of so many. When I first met him, as soon as he realised I was a social worker, he launched into a hundred and one questions about the impact of social policy on the lives of those I was working with in Barking and Dagenham, where I was

then Director of Social Services. He cared deeply about people's life circumstances and how to make a real difference. I was taken aback by the sheer force of his detailed knowledge and concern for those living in poverty. We talked about some of the unintended consequences of government policy. The second time I met him, again over supper, he picked up exactly where we had left our

discussion, recalling the detail of the circumstances I had described and asking for an update. Frank was a man who cared deeply about people and about making a difference in their lives.

Geoff Fimister, Head of Policy, Inclusion Barnet and a Co-Chair of the Disability Benefits Consortium

In the early 1970s, I was conducting research at Loughborough University, exploring the influence of social science on Government policy. The inspiration for the project and one of my case studies was the clash between the Child Poverty Action Group and the 1960s Wilson Government over the latter's record on child poverty.

One day in 1971, I turned up at CPAG's charmingly poky offices to interview Director Frank Field on the subject. By the end of the afternoon, I had decided to join CPAG and have been involved with the Group, one way or another, ever since.

During the 1970s, Frank proved a determined and often inspirational figure for CPAG, not least when he skilfully deployed leaked Cabinet minutes to see off attempts within the Government to ditch the introduction of Child Benefit.

In Parliament, Frank refused to be seen as a creature of the poverty lobby, ploughing his own furrow. And as a free thinker, his relationship with the Labour Party – both in Birkenhead and Westminster – was always fragile. His tenure as a Labour Minister was short-lived and he ended up as a crossbencher in the Lords – via the Commons Work and Pensions Committee (where our paths crossed again, as he was interested in the work I was doing with RNIB around the obstacles faced by disabled people within the labour market).

For me, his legacy lives on within that Committee, of which he was a forceful Chair and which is still capable of giving Ministers a hard time.

Greatly condensed from an obituary I've just written for the Institute of Revenues, Rating and Valuation's *Insight* journal.

Meanwhile on both sides of the Channel

Dr Liesbeth Rosen Jacobson, Leiden University, The Netherlands

I came across your network when I was orienting on a new comparative research project on female social work pioneers and their efforts to professionalise social work in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom in the 1950s and the 1960s. They tried to do so with help from their transnational connections (this research takes place within the framework of a multidisciplinary project on diversity policies past and present). The active people in your network immediately provided me with many useful literature suggestions and inspiring thoughts, for which I am very grateful. It is also interesting get to know your network for another reason: a similar network for the history of social work has recently been set up in the Netherlands: .
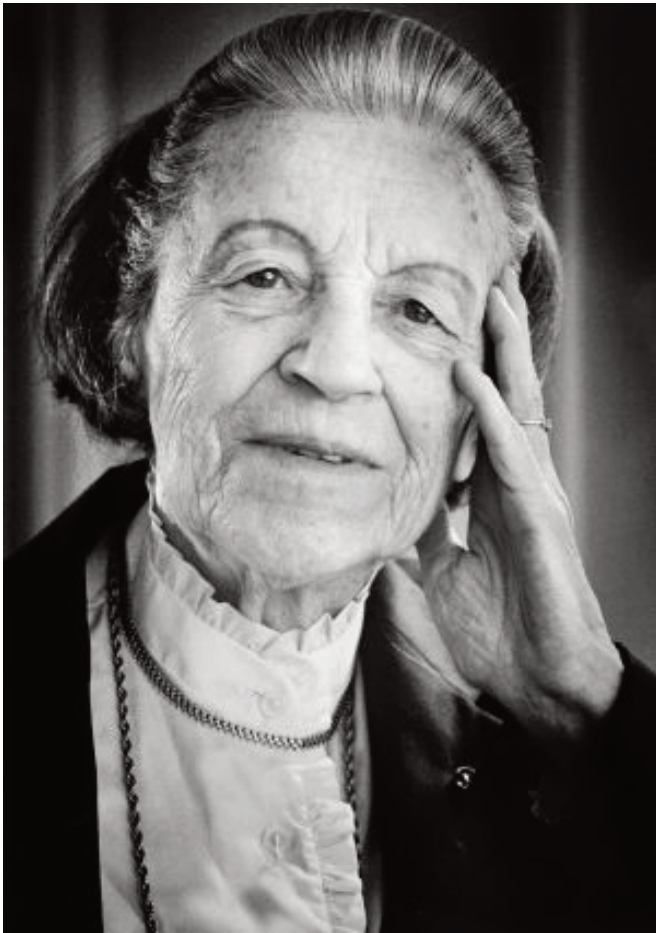
How did I become interested in research into women who were social work pioneers? I am a migration historian, and my earlier research has been on the migration of people of mixed ancestry in the period of decolonisation in Asia. I looked at the arrival of postcolonial migrants (usually called 'repatriates', those who came home to the fatherland) from Indonesia (the former colony Dutch East Indies) in the Netherlands. I have found that the arrival of this first 'different looking' group had a huge impact on the professionalisation of social work (See Rosen Jacobson 2024: https://brill.com/view/journals/jmh/10/2/article-p175_001.xml.) I also noticed that key women in the Dutch social work domain regularly attended international conferences and UN-seminars, especially on the development of social work education. One of these key figures, Marie Kamphuis (1907-2004) was the director of her own school of social work in the Dutch city Groningen (Waaldijk, Van der Stel and Van der Laan 1999, 116). She was a passionate promoter of the professionalisation of social work and advocated the creation of social work education at the university level. The latter did not happen in the Netherlands. Social work was a field of study at universities of applied sciences, and thus with more emphasis on vocational training. In the past there was for a while an academic study 'andragogy', which focussed on the education of adults, and which had similar goals to those of social work (Achterhuis 1989, 15; Batenburg Resoort 2013, 141, 280, 310).

In her memoires Marie Kamphuis elaborately refers to the work and accomplishments of Eileen Younghusband (Kamphuis 1986), who was – as you probably know - an influential social work pioneer and chairwoman of the International Association of Schools of Social Work from 1961 until 1968. (assessed 10-06-2024). The Association was a mutual aid organization whose effectiveness depended upon the services of its members working in over 280 schools of social work in 40 countries (Younghusband 1964, 128). Marie Kamphuis also took inspiration from a report Eileen Younghusband had written in 1958; the third survey of the United Nations on Training for Social Work (Training for Social Work 1958). Marie Kamphuis extensively refers to this survey in one of her own publications on the 'own identity of social work', which was published in 1959 (Kamphuis 1959, 3). When she discusses the question whether
social work is already a 'profession' or still an 'occupation', she directly cites from the UN-report, that says that social work is not yet a profession since it does not meet the required criteria such as a coherent, relevant, transferable body of knowledge (Kamphuis 1959, 15-19).

Based on the literature and research in primary sources on Eileen Younghusband, I found that the lives of these two social work pioneers showed some fascinating resemblances:

1) In terms of the way they ended up in social work;

2) Their fascination with professionalization of social work through social work training;

3) Their involvement with governmental committees on a national level (such as the famous *Younghusband Report* of 1959) as well as international level, as shown by the their membership of several UN committees; 4) Their interference with solutions for so-called 'problem families'; and

5) Above all their membership of what sociologist Ann Oakley has called the '*girls network*' (Oakley 2014: 151). This was the international network of female social work pioneers, social reformers, women involved in social science, activists and thinkers in the immediate postwar period who shared 'a social democratic vision of a welfare state' and both personal and transnational connections (accessed 11-06-2024). This was rooted in the international women's movement that stretched across primarily Europe, the US and even imperial spaces in Asia and Africa since the beginning of the twentieth century (Wieler 1988: 69; Oakley 2018: 7, 13). Back then, becoming a social worker would also

by Elmer Spaargaren, 1985 (Marie Kamphuis Archief, Utrecht

goals of my research is therefore to include Marie Kamphuis, as one of those key non-speaking women, in the analysis of the international network, and to see how the transnational exchange of ideas impacted the local situation of social work education and professionalisation in the local context, in this case the Netherlands. This kind of research is more often centred around the transatlantic dialogue between the US and the UK, with a couple of studies including Germany, but not yet including other European social work pioneers let alone Dutch female social work pioneers. (Chambon, Johnstone and Köngeter 2015; Hegar 2008; Sklar, Schüler and Strasser 1998).

To properly assess the meaning of this international network, a short introduction is in place here. I devote more space to Marie Kamphuis as I assume that the readers of this bulletin are more familiar with the life of Eileen Younghusband.

Marie Kamphuis was born in 1907 in a protestant family in Zwolle in the northern half of the Netherlands. After high school she spent a couple of years at home, because she did not really know what she wanted to do in life (Batenburg-Resoort 2013: 17). Eileen Younghusband went through the same phase of 'searching' years. She was about the same age as Marie Kamphuis. When her father, Sir Francis Younghusband, resigned from imperial service in India, the family returned to the United Kingdom. From that moment onwards, for Eileen began what she described as 'two or three frustrating years, with practically nothing to do, and without quite the initiative to find anything' (https://warwick.ac.uk/services/library/mrc/archives_online/digital/younghusband/ey/ (accessed 10-06-2024).

Both women found their way into social work after a couple of years. For a while, Marie Kamphuis was engaged in charity work together with her mother, bringing food and clothes to poor people. After a broken-off engagement, she started the training to become social worker at the Central Institute for Christian social work (CICSA) in Amsterdam in 1932. After her graduation she did community work in the rural Dutch province of Drenthe, before she returned as a teacher at the CICSA (Batenburg-Resoort 2013, 17). For Eileen Younghusband the order was reversed: via a friend she found a place in 1924 as a voluntary worker of the Care Committee in the London settlements Stepney and Bermondsey, which were slums at the time. After that she was accepted in 1926 as a student for the two-year London University External Certificate in Social Studies at the LSE. Even though this certificate had a humble place in the school's hierarchy of courses- it was not a degree course - it was perceived as 'practical' and therefore mainly for women - it was the beginning of a professional career for Eileen Younghusband. She was awarded her degree with distinction after finishing the first year, which led to an

mean a step on the emancipatory ladder for the women involved, since 'social work' was increasingly paid work which required training, instead of voluntary and charity work. In the immediate post-World War II years, prominent women in social work revived the international contacts. They did so largely without Jewish women, who had been quite active and visible in the pre-war European social work domain (Van der Veen 2024: 172-173), but most of whom had sadly been killed during the war. Some of them who had managed to flee had ended up in the UK and especially the US, including Alice Salomon from Germany. They frequently went back to Europe after the war, to help to build up the devastated welfare services again, and this also helped to revive the transnational connections and prewar network. (Louis 2015: 211) The women who became active in social work took up important positions in politics and academia and advocated for the professionalisation of social work. Two of these women were Marie Kamphuis in the Netherlands and Eileen Younghusband in the UK.

Ann Oakley limited herself in her 2018 book to the English-speaking members of this international network, because the 'biographies and archive materials relating to key non-English-speaking women have simply not (yet) been translated'. She adds, '*the geographical spread of the book is, regrettably, skewed by the English language*' (Oakley 2018, 15). One of the

invitation to stay on for a third year to take the university diploma. Later, she was offered a halftime lectureship, and still later a fulltime one (Jones 1984, 28, 30).

After the end of the Second World War, Marie Kamphuis started her own school of social work in Groningen of which she would remain director until her retirement. She developed into the passionate promoter of the professionalization of social work, introducing the new social work method 'social casework' in the 1950s (Waaldijk 1999, 115-116). In 1947, she received a fund to go on a study trip to the New York School of Social work to follow Social Case Work courses. There she would get acquainted with specialists on social case work and develop a large number of international connections (Waaldijk 1999, 117). She published many articles in various journals, gave multiple presentations and wrote several books on social work in general and the new method in particular. Her book 'What is social casework? (Kamphuis 1950)' became a textbook for social work students in the 1950s and 1960s and went through a total of eleven editions (Batenburg-Resoort 2013, 18).

Meanwhile in 1947, Eileen Younghusband attended the first post-war international conference on social work in Scheveningen in the Netherlands and was asked to join the executive board. Her influence was felt throughout her European and international activities, and particularly through her leading role in the IASSW (Lyons 2003). In 1952, both women were present at a conference organised by the United Nations in Keuruv, Finland, entitled The Teaching and Supervision of Social Casework with special reference to the Development of in-service training programmes (Batenburg-Resoort 2013: 192). In her memoirs, Marie Kamphuis sketched her impressions of her first meeting with
Eileen Younghusband, who was leading one of the sessions as: '*a genteel, old-fashioned schoolteacher, knowledgeable and eager to learn, and somewhat authoritarian.*' Later these impressions fully changed, when the two women prepared with two others a seminar in Paris, and '*the work was done smoothly and completely democratically.*' (Kamphuis 2007: 161-162)

In sum, the paths of Eileen Younghusband and Marie Kamphuis often crossed on the international stage. How their place in the international 'girls' network' and their mutual ties can be best understood is still something to be figured out. The above text is only a snapshot from the surface of this fascinating field, so there is certainly more to come. I am also contemplating other ideas: I can include more women who were social work pioneers, for example Alice Salomon from an earlier generation and Gisela Konopka from a later generation. Both were from Germany and they fled to the US in the 1930s because of their Jewishness. I can also include

Charlotte Towle from the US and in this way shift the focus more to the international network itself. Another research direction could be a focus on the large number of Jewish social work pioneers before the Second World War.

And of course, Ruth Glass will also be the focus in one of my next scientific articles, but as she did not seem to be part of these circles (which is interesting in itself), I left her out of this current piece, as I think she deserves her own research.

References

Achterhuis, H., De markt van welzijn en geluk. *Een kritiek van de andragogie* (Baarn:Ambo 1980 11e druk 1989)

Batenburg-Resoort, E. van, *Grande dame van het social casework*: Marie Kamphuis, 1907-2004 (Amsterdam 2013).

Chambon, A., M. Johnstone & S. Kongeter, *'The circulation of knowledge and practices across national borders in the early twentieth century: a focus on social reform organisations'*, European Journal of Social Work 18:4 (2015) 495-510.

- Hegar, R. L., *'Transatlantic Transfers in Social Work: Contributions of Three Pioneers',* British Journal of Social Work 38 (2008) 716-733

Jones, K., Eileen Younghusband a biography. *Occasional papers on social administration* 76 (London: Bedford square press 1984).

Kamphuis, M., Kijken in *de spiegel van het verleden. Veertig jaar avonturen in en om welzijnsland* (Deventer 1986).

Kamphuis, M., Kijken in *de spiegel van het verleden: maatschappelijk werk in historisch perspectief: de oorspronkelijke memoires van Marie Kamphuis, met actuele kanttekeningen verzorgd door Nel Jagt en Berteke Waaldijk* (Houten 2007).

Kamphuis, M., *De 'eigen identiteit' van het maatschappelijk werk* (Groningen 1959).

Louis, B., *A second chance in Exile? German-speaking women Refugees in American Social Work After 1933* (unpublished Phd-thesis University of Minnesota 2015).

Lyons, K., 'Dame Eileen Younghusband (United Kingdom), President 1961-1968), *Social Work and Society 1:1* (2003) 159-170.

Oakley, A., *Father and daughter: Patriarchy, Gender and Social science* (Bristol 2014).

Oakley, A., *Women, peace and welfare. A suppressed history of social reform, 1880-1920* (Bristol University Press 2018).

Rosen Jacobson, L., *'Forever and isolated caste? 'Mainstreaming' of Repatriate Care in General Dutch Bodies of Social Work, 1960-1967'*, Journal of Migration History 10 (2024) 175-201.

Sklar, K.K., A. Schüler and S. Strasser, Social Justice *Feminists in the United States and Germany: A dialogue in documents, 1885-1933* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 1998).

n.n. *Training for social work. Third international survey United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs* (New York 1958).

- van der Veen, S., *Novel opportunities, perpetual barriers. Patterns of social mobility and integration among the Jewish Dutch Elite, 1870-1940.* (unpublished dissertation Utrecht University 2024)

Waaldijk, B., J. Van der Stel, G. Van der Laan (eds.), *Honderd jaar sociale arbeid. Portretten en praktijken uit de geschiedenis van het maatschappelijk werk* (Assen: Van Gorcum 1999).

Waaldijk, B., '*Marie Kamphuis en de wijde wereld van het maatschappelijk werk*', in: B. Waaldijk, J. Van der Stel, G. Van der Laan (eds.), *Honderd jaar sociale arbeid. Portretten en praktijken uit de geschiedenis van het maatschappelijk werk* (Assen: Van Gorcum 1999).

Wieler, J., '*A life dedicated to humanity; Alice Salomon under Nazi rule (1933-7) and in exile (1937-48)*', International social work (London 1988) 69-74.

Younghusband, E., *Social work and social change* (London 1964)

The Uncertain Place of Community in Social Work

Mike Burt, Visiting Professor, Faculty of Health, Medicine and Society, University of Chester

To discuss the uncertain place of community in social work is to associate two terms which themselves have been the subject of different and ambiguous use over time. This paper will address the history of this connection, briefly covering the period from the latter part of the nineteenth century when the term social work started to be used, looking at the 1950s and 1960s more closely, followed by a more detailed evaluation of the introduction of patch and community social work in the 1970s and 1980s. Use of the term social work has changed throughout time, making it difficult to bring together various elements and expressing them in a way which identifies the core purpose of social work at particular periods in time. Its necessary association with other work within communities has compounded the current difficulty which social work in the United Kingdom (UK) has experienced of succinctly defining its own overall purpose.

Introducing social work and Councils of Social Service

Towards the end of the nineteenth century charitable and philanthropic work in the UK included activity which was locally based in communities, including district visiting by churches, the university and college Settlements, local charitable societies, and the many projects of the Salvation Army including its house to house work in areas of particularly poor housing. It involved work by voluntary and paid workers in relation to individuals and families, public health, education, housing, industrial welfare, and recreational activity; for which the term social work was sometimes used as a generic term. Indeed, the scope of activity has given rise to subsequent varying claims for the focus of social work. However, although the term was usually associated with a progressive approach to social problems there was limited conceptualisation of social work as such at the time and use of the term was not as widespread in the contemporary literature as is sometimes indicated (Burt, 2022). Indeed, Elizabeth Macadam (Macadam, 1914, p. 283) suggested that *'social work is so vague and elastic an expression that its use is only justified by its great convenience'*. The terms charity and philanthropy continued to be used, with the terms social service, personal service, friendly visiting, and social welfare also introduced. For example, Jonathan Dickens (2018) discusses Clement Attlee's use of the term social service. Although the increasing numbers of voluntary workers and paid officers of societies and local authorities in the UK were usually referred to by their own title there was an increasing reference to them collectively as social workers. Meanwhile, the introduction of training for social workers in the 1890s appears to have been prompted by the need to establish the practical principles on which their work should be based rather than the development of an early conceptualisation of social work itself. In the United States (US) Wade Luquet and Stephen Tomczak (2022) similarly highlight the limited use of the term social work until the second decade of the twentieth century. Moreover, although conceptualisation of social work took place during the inter-war period in publications in the US, a focus on the expansion in the UK of occupations rather than publications is perhaps reflected in the titles of significant texts by Attlee (1920) and Macadam (1925) which referred to social workers rather than social work.

> the introduction of training for social workers in the 1890s appears to have been prompted by the need to establish the practical principles on which their work should be based rather than the development of an early conceptualisation of social work itself

In that broad and developing context one of the key characteristics of the role of social workers which they had in common was to know about the availability of local resources, prompting for example, publication of The Social Workers' Guide (1911) and Liverpool Social Workers' Handbook (1913). To support and co-ordinate the work of local voluntary societies the Poor Law Commission report of 1909 recommended the formation of Councils of Social Service in towns and cities, following which the first was formed in Liverpool in 1909. In 1919 as part of reconstruction following World War One the National Council of Social Service (NCSS) was formed, which was to play a significant role in the subsequent development of voluntary societies in local communities throughout the country. During the inter-war period developments in social reform were influenced by a greater interest in social problems

experienced by individuals and families being addressed within their communities rather than relying on institutional care. This was reflected in: the importance of helping people in the context of their individual situation; the prevention of social problems through an understanding of their causes; an expansion of after-care from institutions; and a wider use of alternatives to institutional provision. More specifically, Mathew Thompson (1998) argues that a policy of community care was explicitly carried out by the Central Association for Mental Welfare in its work with people with learning disabilities through local branches.

Differentiating social work

The wide range of work which was increasingly referred to as social work was reflected in the membership of the British Federation of Social Workers (BFSW), formed in 1935 and representing mental health workers, children's care committee organisers, moral welfare workers, psychiatric social workers, metropolitan relieving officers, and public health workers including health visitors. From the outset the membership had difficulty in establishing what they had in common although they were able to agree on 'the preservation of the unity of the family'(BFSW, 1937, pp. 10-11). Nevertheless, by 1948 membership of the BFSW had increased to include representative bodies of housing managers, settlement workers, neighbourhood workers and occupational therapists. However, the BFSW proved unwieldy and in 1951 it disbanded and was replaced by the Association of Social Workers (ASW) on the basis of individual and representative body membership. In their withdrawal the health, community and housing groups of workers, together with youth club leaders, school welfare officers and industrial welfare workers (none of which had joined the BFSW) took the opportunity of the formation of the welfare state to focus on developing the separate identity of their own occupations and influence of their individual representative bodies.

> It is noticeable that in differentiating social work from health in particular, casework as a method of working was suggested as the main unifying characteristic rather than the identification of a distinctive purpose for social work

Meanwhile, individual and representative body membership of the ASW became dominated by: psychiatric social workers, moral welfare officers, probation officers, mental welfare officers, and children's care committee organisers (all earlier members of the BFSW); hospital and local authority almoners; the newly established child care officers in local authorities and voluntary societies; and family caseworkers in local councils of voluntary service and the Family Welfare Association, the new name for the Charity Organisation Society from 1946. In the context of widespread national concern about the stability of the family following the Second World War many of those members during the 1950s were interested in the possibility of individual and family casework becoming the basis of a single profession of social work. In 1963 all of those occupations were the main drivers in forming the Standing Conference of Social Work Organisations which met throughout the 1960s and led to the British Association of Social Workers (BASW) being formed in 1970 (Burt, 2020).

It is noticeable that in differentiating social work from health in particular, casework as a method of working was suggested as the main unifying characteristic rather than the identification of a distinctive purpose for social work. Indeed, there continued to be differences in how the term social work was used, with one approach in the 1950s suggesting that some occupations could be referred to as part time social work, for example health visiting and education welfare (Rodgers and Dixon, 1960). The influential Younghusband Report (1959, p. 3)) suggested that social work was *'[t]he process of helping people with the aid of appropriate social services, to resolve or mitigate a wide range of personal and social problems…'* This statement required social workers to have a knowledge of local provision but did not suggest the particular kinds of problem which required the involvement of a social worker rather than any other type of worker who might also address *'personal and social problems.'*

Nevertheless, within social work there was also interest in the US's identification of casework, group work and community work as methods of social work. In parallel to Cherry Morris' (1950) edited book about casework, Peter Kuenstler (1954) edited Social Group Work in Great Britain in 1954 which made general reference to social group work being part of social work: with chapters by a wide range of authors with backgrounds in settlements, local councils of social service, and club work. Kuenstler (1961) went on to edit a subsequent text Community Organisation in Great Britain, in which he referred to community organisation as a part of social work. He pointed out that the 1950s had seen community development with a focus on the provision of increasing levels of facilities, from housing and roads to places for people to meet. Kuenstler suggested that the extent of rehousing and schemes of urban development made it necessary for people to feel that they belonged to and were personally part of their local community. Because of the extent of re-housing in particular he went on to suggest that what was now

required was a process of community organisation: a process of enabling the formation of formal and informal groups, together with their co-ordination through formal planning and the development of relationships, to meet people's social needs. Meanwhile, Eileen Younghusband (1959) although being influential during the 1950s in supporting the development of casework, and recommending in her 1959 Report its extension to social workers in the health and welfare services as the main method of social work practice, also stated that *'we hope that future social work students will also learn something about group relations and community organisation as well as about casework…and the encouragement of voluntary effort in many forms'* (pp. 254-5). She further suggested that a new National Council for Social Work Training should pioneer *'training in group work and community organisation…for workers with the handicapped, for home help organisers, for some staff of residential institutions…'* (p. 273) and also for more senior officers who should become responsible for mobilising resources to enable people to remain in the community.

Social policy for community care and communities in the 1960s

Into the 1960s the Mental Health Act 1959 required mental welfare officers to expand their role by providing support to individuals and their families. Preventive work was also made a responsibility of child care officers under the Children and Young Persons Act 1963, including preventing children from being received into care. The policy required workers to have a more detailed knowledge of a family's circumstances and the government circular introducing the latter Act noted that all local authority departments should be involved in preventive work with children (Home Office, 1963).

During the 1950s the term community care became more widely used and in 1963 the government published Health and Welfare: The Development of Community Care (1963). The policy outlined the responsibilities of social workers towards families and required local authorities to submit a 10 year plan, to include an increase in staffing. In relation to aftercare, probation officers' role with prison and borstal after care expanded together with the renaming of the service to the Probation and After-Care Service in 1967. In sharp contrast, in relation to developments in provision for older people, governments were still relying on the voluntary sector mainly through the National Old People's Welfare Council and local councils of social service to support local branches in providing services for older people. At the time, welfare officers in local authorities were mainly involved in admissions to residential care (Townsend, 1963). Nevertheless, following the appointment by the Nottingham Council of Social Service of a full time worker to support the

development of local voluntary Care Groups for older people, a report noted that the city's four welfare officers frequently attended meetings held by local group organisers (Cheeseman, Lansley and Wilson, 1972). A survey by the National Old People's Welfare Council in 1964 revealed the wide variety of organisation of visiting schemes throughout the country. It concluded that there was a place for widespread visiting but that in the future there was a need for more experienced voluntary visitors to liaise closely with the increasing number of trained workers, including health visitors and welfare officers, when involved with more difficult cases. The report also urged local authorities to play a role in promoting and co-ordinating the work of local groups where that was lacking (Bayes, 1964).

At the same time as these changes were taking place in social work other services also expanded their involvement in community based provision, highlighting the increasingly wide scope of work during the 1960s which was said to have a community dimension. For example, the expansion of community psychiatric nurses following their introduction in 1954, the increase of police juvenile liaison schemes, and introduction of community policing. In education the Plowden Report recommended the establishment of comprehensive schools which could also function as community schools.

> At the same time as these changes were taking place in social work other services also expanded their involvement in community based provision, highlighting the increasingly wide scope of work during the 1960s which was said to have a community dimension

A more restricted usage of the term social work took place during the 1960s, reflected for example in the NCSS's change of title of its tri-annual conference from the British National Conference on Social Work to the British National Conference on Social Service, *'to better express the wide range of interest and responsibility of the sixty-five member and twenty-two observer-organisations'* (NCSS, 1962, p. 37)). At the national level the NCSS continued to provide support to local councils of social welfare and to the development of community work. A report of a seminar the Council held in 1961 noted that the United Nations had held many seminars on community development. It suggested that the term community organisation had been drawn from the US, where group work, community organisation and casework were options in generic social work courses. The report emphasised that

leadership was required to liaise between different agencies (NCSS, 1962). Whereas it was thought in the early years of the welfare state that the work of voluntary societies would reduce, new societies continued to be formed in response to local and national need. For example, a survey of voluntary bodies in Halifax (Morris, 1962) found that there had been a significant increase in their numbers during the previous twenty years and that almost half were concerned with social service, with half of those associated with a national body. Other bodies were involved in leisure pursuits.

During the 1960s the relevance of casework as a principal method of working by social workers was increasingly brought into question as the significance of social and environmental problems in people's lives were highlighted

As a consequence of the many developments within local authorities in providing services to families a committee was established by the government in December 1965 to review local authorities' organisation and responsibilities for personal social services with a view to securing an effective family service. In relation to its expectations of a change in orientation of a social worker's role the Committee's report, the Seebohm Report (Home Department et al, 1968), recommended that 'a family or individual in need of social care should, as far as possible, be served by a single social worker' and emphasised their role in accessing local resources. Nevertheless, it noted that although most workers should as soon as possible 'undertake a wider range of social work functions' (para. 516), existing specialisations would continue during a transitional period. Meanwhile, in relation to community development and referring to 'professional workers', the Seebohm Committee's report also noted that 'social work with individuals alone is bound to be of limited effect in an area where the community environment itself is a major impediment to healthy individual development' (para. 477) and that in the future community development should become an essential part of the work of a social service department. Recognising that its recommendations were only very general the Report stated that the role of senior staff in headquarters and at area office level would be crucial in liaison with other bodies, and to achieve that wider aim the involvement of field staff would require training and resources. Moreover, the report acknowledged that this approach would take some time to bring to fruition.

However, the emphasis in the report's chapter on 'The Community' is on the responsibility of the social service department as a whole. The importance of supporting the self-direction of community groups and direct involvement of volunteers in the work of the department were emphasised, requiring a significant commitment of senior staff in providing a community oriented focus. Nevertheless, in view of anticipated lack of resources and appreciation of the complexity of the proposals the report desisted from recommending 'how this responsibility should be met in organisational terms' (para. 501). Indeed, quoting the evidence of the Council for Training for Social Work it suggested that social workers would find themselves in a situation of conflict and that if a local authority became involved in community work it 'will need to recognise the fact that some of its staff may be involved in situations which lead to criticism of their services or with pressure groups about new needs' (para. 494). Different interpretations of the Seebohm Committee's proposals for the role of social workers in relation to individuals and families subsequently coalesced around different meanings of 'generic social work'. Similarly, it is not surprising that implementation of its recommendation of a 'community orientated service' brought about varying levels of involvement by SSDs in communities and the organisation of staff within area teams.

During the 1960s and 1970s and through into the 1980s the National Institute for Social Work (NISW), established following the Younghusband Report, was active in promoting the practice of community work and the contribution which social work could make to it. Training in community work at the Institute was started by David Jones, who had previously worked in Family Service Units, with the Southwark Community Project providing placement opportunities for students. He became the first chairman of the Association of Community Workers and in 1971 Principal of the NISW. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s the Institute published a number of reports and books about the involvement of social workers in communities and was approached by the government in 1979 to carry out a review of the roles and tasks of social workers.

During the 1960s the relevance of casework as a principal method of working by social workers was increasingly brought into question as the significance of social and environmental problems in people's lives were highlighted. The debate was constrained by the widely differing interpretations and expectations of casework, from intensive individual psychodynamic therapy by a relatively small numbers of social workers to providing direct practical help to families. A significant increase in the number of child care officers, welfare officers and mental welfare officers during the 1960s, most of whom were appointed without training in social work, together with the expectation of

organisational change, were further challenges to the emergence of social work as an aspiring profession during the 1960s.

Is community work part of social work?

A more active debate started to take place in the late 1960s about the nature of the association between social work and community work. Drawing on his research for the National Children's Bureau into family advice centres, Aryeh Leissner (1971) asserts that community work should be regarded as a social work specialism. Others, for example Bob Holman (1972) doubted whether the new social service departments could be sufficiently critical within their own local authority about the level and quality of its provision. He advocated what had become known as the community action approach which involved an emphasis on local groups exercising direct influence and power rather than through the involvement of a supportive community worker. An early BASW working party report in 1972 notes that clients' behaviour could not be explained simply in terms of individual psychology and that advocacy was required on clients' behalf to other agencies. Moreover, it argues that social workers should associate themselves with the work of local groups, and that BASW itself should hold influential bodies, including employers, to account. In a publication of readings in community work Philip Evens (1974) suggests that there was an increasing overlap between the work which social workers and community workers were involved in. However, an included short reply by Alan Twelvetrees, community worker with the Braunstone Neighbourhood Project in Leicester, argues that there remained a significant difference between the two occupations but pointing out that one could be *'...a social worker with a community orientation. For example, working in a specific neighbourhood and promoting a few general welfare schemes...'*(italics original) (p. 50).

Peter Baldock (1974) similarly asserts that community work should be seen as a separate occupation from social work, closely related in a number of ways and complementary, although also taking many different forms. He suggests that as a new area of work, community work was at the stage of development that social work had been between the 1920s and 1960s, becoming established in a number of different settings with potential in the future for expanding in: Local Education Authorities; systems of planning and managing the urban environment; and in SSDs themselves. Commenting on the tensions between community work and social work Baldock suggests that the growing assertion that community work was a more radical approach to social problems than the more individually orientated casework practice of social work was a false dichotomy. Moreover, he outlines different

An early BASW working party report in 1972 notes that clients' behaviour could not be explained simply in terms of individual psychology and that advocacy was required on clients' behalf to other agencies. Moreover, it argues that social workers should associate themselves with the work of local groups, and that BASW itself should hold influential bodies, including employers, to account

stages of potential involvement of social workers in a community, arguing for example that a social worker's role in accessing resources could contribute to the local liaison between those resources.

Some SSDs did appoint community workers in the 1970s. The few studies available suggest that they held differing job titles, carried out a wide variety of work which was performed in an individual way, and that relationships with area team social workers varied considerably. A Scottish study by Gallagher and Robertson (1978) found 113 community workers in post, alongside 1,372 field social workers. In her study of social work teams during 1976 -77 Olive Stevenson (1978) identified eight community workers in 36 area teams. She further comments on the wide range of knowledge, in the absence of other workers, which social workers *were sometimes expected to have, suggesting that 'the profession runs the risk of losing credibility because of a reluctance to decide what is not social work'* (italics original) (p. 199).

Representing social workers and community workers

The issue of professionalisation became particularly relevant to the development of representative bodies of social workers and community workers. Gerald Popplestone (1971) raises a number of issues arising from the formation in 1968 of the Association of Community Workers (ACW), arguing that the diverse range of occupations, training and experience involved, and dificulties arising from challenging local and central government about the limited development of community work, would make it difficult to achieve an influential professional body. By July 1970 the majority of the ACW's membership of about 150 were in administrative jobs in local government, charitable and welfare work, or councils of voluntary service, with only a small number of grass-roots workers. D. J. Cox and Nicholas Derricourt (1975) suggest that an early intention of the formation of the ACW was to become a relatively exclusive group of trained and experienced workers, but with an associated membership category,

in the hope that it could form a specialist grouping within the proposed British Association of Social Workers (BASW) which itself was working towards professional status. By the end of 1969 it was clear that membership would not be acceptable to the planned BASW and initial expectations of the professionalisation of community workers was increasingly challenged. Cox and Derricourt found that by 1973 the membership of the ACW was more representative of grass-roots workers and highlight the decision at the 1973 annual general meeting to have a more open association with a view to campaigning and promoting expertise for the development of community work rather than a limited membership based on education and experience. It was felt that an exclusive membership working towards professional recognition was inconsistent with the inclusive approach which was necessary in their work with community groups and individuals, many of them volunteers. A similar debate took place within BASW throughout the 1970s.

The introduction of neighbourhood, patch and community social work schemes in the 1970s

Some of the early social services department patch and community work schemes involved work with client groups for which there had been limited local authority provision, including older people and people with disabilities, where there had been a previous reliance on the work of local voluntary societies. A government Circular in 1971 which eventually implemented the power under the Health Services and Public Health Act 1968 to promote the welfare of older people, together with the Chronically Sick and Disabled Person's Act 1970, required local authorities to identify local need. For example, Manchester County Borough (1972) carried out a survey of the needs of older people, finding that it would be necessary to make sixteen different types of provision. Elsewhere, an early example of a coherent scheme was established by Wakefield SSD (Cooper et al, 1975) involving a high priority being given to domiciliary care for older people and people with physical disabilities. Neighbourhood workers, home helps or wardens were relied on to be the best informed about local resources in an area of about 9,000 population which was thought to be an appropriate size.

The new SSDs began to expand their work with older people, people with physical disabilities, and to some extent families with children with learning disabilities, the latter following the research of Michael Baley (1973, p. 343) who referred to the need for 'interweaving of the informal help and caring process… and…the contribution of the social services', in relation to families with a learning disabled child. That range of work had previously and mostly been carried out by unqualified welfare officers with large caseloads, and

> **During the 1970s experimental projects were also introduced with more social workers placed in a range of individual community bases, for example schools, health centres, multi-disciplinary teams, and probation officers in prisons. The policy highlighted issues involving joint working with other occupations and the range of settings within which social work could be practised and influence the provision of its host**

voluntary societies in the 1950s and 1960s. From a theoretical perspective the publication in the US of Allen Pincus and Anne Minahan's Social Work Practice: Model and Method in 1973 which drew on general systems theory, was influential in highlighting the inter-related nature of communities. This was followed in the UK in 1977 by Harry Specht and Anne Vickery's text Integrating Social Work Methods which was based on a model of how and where assessment and intervention were required in a whole situation in which people and workers were situated and provided for an integration of the three methods of social work practice - casework, groupwork, and community work.

As well as benefiting from local authority community based provision arguments were forwarded by the special interest group of BASW in 1979 and Cherry Rowlings (1981) that older people should benefit from the casework service of qualified social workers on an equal basis to other client groups. Meanwhile, although broadly supportive of the community approach, the need for social work expertise in working with older people was emphasised in research carried out by David Crosbie (1980) which highlighted the significance for older people, who were mainly visited by social work assistants, of the possibility of a move away from their home and that the future care of an older person was often the cause of conflict within families. During the 1980s the BASW special interest group for work with older people produced a number of reports advocating that social work with older people should be carried out by qualified social workers.

During the 1970s experimental projects were also introduced with more social workers placed in a range of individual community bases, for example schools, health centres, multi-disciplinary teams, and probation officers in prisons. The policy highlighted issues involving joint working with other occupations and the range of settings within which social work could be practised and influence the provision of its host. Meanwhile, medical social workers' employment was transferred to local authorities in 1974 and increased

49

numbers of social workers were placed in hospitals during the 1980s: including in mental hospitals where their role included the assessment of people's needs in relation to planning their care in the community.

Introducing patch and community social work

At a NISW Conference in 1980 an early proponent of patch work, Roger Hadley (1983) contrasted the centralised area social work team with specialist workers who focused on usually crisis work with individuals and their immediate family, with newly experimental patch teams in areas of population of 10,000 or frequently less. He suggested that patch teams involved collaboration between statutory services and voluntary action and emphasised the importance of prevention and meeting social needs as understood by local people. Hadley reported that the patch teams which had been established varied in the way they were organised and in the range of staff who were involved including social workers but also valued the *'contribution of ancillary workers, domiciliary workers, community workers and volunteers'* (pp. 4-6).

> **He went on to emphasise the importance of practical help rather than psychological help, referring to the positive ability of non-qualified workers, the high level of involvement with older people, but also pointing to the difficulties of continuity when career aspirations of patch team leaders resulted in them leaving**

The community social work project started by Robin Currie and Brian Parrott in Nottinghamshire in 1976 (Currie and Parrott, 1986)) was influenced by the unitary model of Specht and Vickery. They suggest that a community social work approach shared many of the objectives of patch work and could also be organised across a wider area. A larger number of qualified social workers and social work assistants formed their teams, with support being given to particular projects being established or extended on different patches within the area. Sharing of information and understanding about the local communities was critical to the teams' method of working and in their relationships with workers in other occupations. Identification of gaps in provision led to the starting of a youth club for excluded young people and a street warden scheme for isolated older people which itself led to the introduction of a range of supported activity in which increasing numbers of volunteers played an important part. Importantly,

contacts and relationships with workers in other agencies were found to be particularly valuable, including at times of crisis. Currie and Parrott provided examples of liaison with schools, the DHSS and police, and involvement of social workers with specific responsibility for group projects. Significantly, it was found that in becoming more closely involved with the community their work was more positively viewed by other agencies and the local population, making it more appropriate to share information with local media. Currie and Parrott suggest that the teams were able to balance the needs and difficulties arising from individual cases with a role which directly involved workers in the community and argued that in sharing their work, teams experienced positive morale.

The NISW 1983 publication of papers from its 1980 Conference includes a number of follow-up papers which evaluated issues arising from patch systems. Mike Cooper (1983) from the Normanton patch experiment in Wakefield suggested that the work related to the needs of the community as expressed by its citizens and that *'[e]mergency situations are virtually nonexistent'* (p. 11). He went on to emphasise the importance of practical help rather than psychological help, referring to the positive ability of non-qualified workers, the high level of involvement with older people, but also pointing to the difficulties of continuity when career aspirations of patch team leaders resulted in them leaving. Research into the Normanton project highlighted the flexibility of workers in their visits to clients, success in mobilising and co-ordinating resources, and involving individual volunteers. It found that there were both high levels of collective discussion about individual clients and some group support work, and that morale was high in the Normanton team compared with many social services teams.

At the Conference in a broader paper Peter Baldock (1983), a community worker in a SSD, recognised that most enthusiasts for patch social work did not propose a takeover of community work by social work, however he argues that proponents had not explained the real practical implications of a widespread expansion of the patch approach. They included increased demands on staffing, the mobility of many families, confidentiality, unreasonable expectations of a community without additional resources, citing fostering as an example, and that organisations supporting and representing people were not necessarily situated locally. Baldock also expressed concern about the political implications of Conservative government support, for example by Patrick Jenkin, Secretary of State for the Environment, and that there was a tendency for patch enthusiasts to denigrate casework with individuals and families. He also questions whether the appointment of a social worker as team leader for a patch team represented an attempt to expand the hegemony of social work in SSDs.

A research study of the Dinnington Project (Bayley, Seyd and Tennant, 1989) located in the mining village of Dinnington in South Yorkshire, which started in 1980, reported that appreciable progress had been made by social workers, nursing staff and a housing assistant in jointly working more closely with the support networks of their clients and patients. Moreover, social workers were able to use the approach with their long term cases in a particularly sophisticated way. However, it was also pointed out that 'it was evident that there was not a vast reservoir of informal care in Dinnington waiting to be tapped' (p. 171) and that some specialist social workers in the area office continued to hold some cases in the village. Although the project was successful at the local level it was reported that the project management team and senior management in social services and health were not able to provide the co-ordinated and integrated management which would be required to replicate the project. Moreover, *'involvement of local people in the planning and running of the project proved to be the most difficult and least successful part of it'* (p. 168), suggesting that it was partly because participation was not built into the project at the initial stage because of senior management resistance.

Responses to early developments in patch and community social work

In response to the wide range of changes which had taken place following the establishment of social services departments in 1971 the Conservative government asked the NISW in the summer of 1980 to carry out an enquiry *'into the role and task of social workers…in local authority social services departments and related voluntary agencies in England and Wales'* (NISW, 1982, p. vii). The Institute's report was published in 1982 and became known as the Barclay Report, after the chairman of the committee Peter Barclay. Although it has been criticised for not providing social work with a direction of travel its introduction stated that its main purpose was to clarify the issues involved. In its final chapter the report did call for more of an emphasis on community social work. Nevertheless, this was in the context of its observation in the same chapter that *'the individual or family with problems will of course remain the primary concern of social services agencies'* (p. 205). A broad concern is expressed in the report's introduction that *'too much is generally expected of social workers'* (p. i) and that provision in other services including *'environment, education, employment, leisure, housing…is of critical importance to the success of social work'* (p. xiv). More specifically, the report argued that in relation to a community approach to wider provision *'other services such as housing, health and education are equally if not more important'* (p. 199).

An early response also came from Olive Stevenson (1981) who argued that of overriding importance to social work was that its generic basis should be recognised and that social workers should increase expertise in the knowledge and skill required for their work, and that this could only be achieved by some level of specialisation. Whilst acknowledging that the team approach in patch work was conducive to the development of social work practice, it did not provide *'adequate expertise for all situations'* (italics original) (p. 72), pointing to the requirement for intensive work with some clients and suggesting that the implications of a social worker's role in social control had not been adequately discussed. Stevenson suggests that *'these activities have somehow to be reconciled with the inescapable elements of social control contained in professional activity. There has been insufficient discussion as yet of these crucial elements'* (p. 68).

> **Stevenson highlights that knowledge of the local community was necessary for all social work teams and proposes that a specialist in 'community needs and resources' should be appointed to inform the work of the specialist social workers**

Moreover, whilst acknowledging the importance of knowing an area well and being known in it she questions the amount of a worker's time it would take to develop wider knowledge, relative to other responsibilities. Nevertheless, she was emphatic in acknowledging the importance of social workers' liaison with other occupations. In an outline framework for the organisation of an area team Stevenson highlights that knowledge of the local community was necessary for all social work teams and proposes that a specialist in *'community needs and resources'* should be appointed to inform the work of the specialist social workers.

In a paper to a BASW Study Day Parrott (1983) evaluates developments in patch and community social work. He deals with the political issues which had arisen by emphasising that the development of local and natural helping networks should not be regarded as an opportunity to reduce state provision. Parrott went on to argue that community social work was being practised in a range of areas with different characteristics and that decentralisation and delegation changed the role of senior officers and improved the morale of front line workers.

Addressing the introduction and process of patch based work by East Sussex SSD in 1981 and elsewhere, Peter Beresford and Suzy Croft's research (1986) argues that although developments in patch and community social

work had oriented social work towards provision for and engagement with local communities, an additional initial step was necessary for successful implementation of patch and community social work. They considered that from the outset it was necessary, through open dialogue, to enable communities to identify their own needs on a collective basis rather than by introducing a formal consultation process initiated and led by social workers with a predetermined approach based on a formal needs assessment programme. Providing an opportunity for people to discuss their own and shared circumstances required skilled support which should then inform local policy provision. Openness was required for participation to be fully effective. In relation to staffing of teams Beresford and Croft argue that there are inherent problems with both specialist and generalist modes of working and that a collaborative form of working within a team can be achieved based on different abilities and preferences, whilst noting that this approach made particular demands on team leadership.

> **The national introduction of a specific programme of community assessment for children and young people at the start of the 1980s rather than their placement in an observation and assessment centre also formed part of the policy of community care.**

More widely, the advancement of community social work and community care did influence broader developments in local authorities and voluntary organisations during the 1980s. Moves for patients from institutions to homes in the community made it necessary for SSDs to co-ordinate their work with health authorities, bringing about the widespread formation of joint community learning disability teams and community mental health teams in which social workers needed to establish their role. However, working with health specialists in particular made it almost inevitable that social work, as a less well established profession, would want its own membership of those teams to develop on the basis of a specialist client oriented expertise. The national introduction of a specific programme of community assessment for children and young people at the start of the 1980s rather than their placement in an observation and assessment centre also formed part of the policy of community care. Under the Mental Health Act 1983 social workers were given a significantly enhanced role in identifying alternatives to admission to hospital on an individual basis. At the local level as well as qualified social workers being appointed to a wide range of day care and group support settings, social workers

employed by social services departments were appointed to various committees of local voluntary organisations. To facilitate the development of local co-ordination many social services departments continued to appoint community development officers. In the voluntary sector national charities were active in reducing their involvement in residential care and introducing day care support services in particularly disadvantaged communities.

Specific projects from the end of the 1970s onwards were also influential in the expansion of community orientated work by SSDs, including the Kent community care scheme, principles of normalisation with people with a learning disability, involvement of young people in intermediate treatment activities, and carers' support schemes following the implementation of the Disability Discrimination Act 1986 which required local authorities to consider the needs of carers.

A number of reasons made it difficult for SSDs to introduce community social work on a wider basis. During the 1980s SSDs were still at a relatively early stage in their development, needing to establish themselves within local authorities and in relation to health authorities in particular, and in that process differentiating the focus of their own work in respect of social problems. Immediate responses to the new policy priority areas of work in relation to child abuse and community care were made in the context of social work's historical concern with individuals and families, and a traditional management culture. Meanwhile, other occupations were themselves increasing specialist roles and there were calls within social work itself for qualified social workers to work with groups of clients with whom there had hitherto been limited interest, including with older people. In those circumstances and in an unfavourable political climate it would have been exceptionally difficult across all departments to adjust to prioritising preventive work and a decentralised style of management which the introduction of patch and community social work would have required. Although lack of resources subsequently made it difficult to fully implement the provisions of the NHS and Community Care Act 1990 and Children Act 1989 the principles underpinning both Acts did reflect the further orientation of social work with individuals and families towards the wider community context, including for example working with parents and carers, and inter-professional collaboration.

Conclusion

The wide range of activity which the terms social work and community work has historically been used to express has resulted in each being open to a variety of emphases, and of different philosophical and theoretical interpretations of their scope. In relation to social work in the UK, throughout its history commentators have

expressed difficulty in articulating its main purpose; an international perspective complicates this issue further. As Dickens (2012) has summarised, definitions in the UK vary between those expressing wider *'core values and principles'* and others based on *'particular roles and tasks.'*

Unless social work is thought to be a universal service, it would benefit our understanding of the purpose of social work to be more specific about the circumstances of the people for whom its knowledge, skills, values and provision are most relevant. Whereas community work has focused mainly on collective and group activity, the focus of social work has been on situations where particular difficulties have arisen in the relationships between people involved in the family care, self-care and social care of individual children, young people and adults. In a historical context there is a persistence over time of an emphasis on enquiry/ investigation/ assessment of their care needs, increasingly recognising the multi-faceted nature of care and meeting those needs by a wide range of appropriate methods of involvement and relationships. The social worker's own role in those relationships, including the balance between direct involvement, the need for administrative activity, and liaison work with other workers, will vary in each case. With a focus on relationships in meeting care needs, education and training for social work at qualifying and post qualifying levels might have drawn more explicitly on the knowledge base of family therapy.

Social work is concerned with place and relationships in a person's care. A community dimension to a social worker's role provides them with an opportunity to be part of and draw on local sources of information and to include relevant workers and volunteers in the enhancement of relationships in a person's network of care. The question which remains is what kind and level of direct involvement in a community is necessary for a social worker to understand and influence those relationships.

Mike Burt, Visiting Professor, Social Work and Interprofessional Education: Faculty of Health, Medicine and Society, University of Chester

References

Attlee, C. (1920) *The Social Worker*, London: G. Bell & Sons.

Baldock, P. (1974) *Community Work and Social Work, London*: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Baldock, P. (1983) *'Patch Systems: A Radical Change for the Better?'*, in I. Sinclair & David N. Thomas, *Perspectives on Patch, London*: National Institute for Social Work.

British Association of Social Workers (1972) *Social Action and Social Work: Report of the Working Party on Social Action* (1972), Birmingham: BASW.

Bayes, W. M. (1964) *Visiting Services for the Elderly, London*: National Old People's Welfare Council.

Baley, M. (1973) Mental Handicap and Community Care, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Bayley, M., Seyd, R. and Tennant, A. (1989) *Local Health and Welfare: Is Partnership Possible?*, Aldershot: Gower.

Beresford, P. and Croft, S. (1986) *Whose Welfare: Private Care or Public Services?*, Brighton: Lewis Cohen Urban Studies at Brighton Polytechnic.

British Federation of Social Workers (1937) *'Second and Third Annual Reports 1937'*, Modern Records Centre, MSS.378 BASW ASW/B 1/1/9.

Burt, M. (2020) *A History of the Roles and Responsibilities of Social Workers: From the Poor Laws to the Present Day*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Burt, M. (2022) *'Introducing Social Workers: Their Roles and Training'*, British Journal of Social Work, (52) 4, pp. 2166-2182.

Cheeseman, D., Lansley, J. and Wilson J. (1972) *Neighbourhood Care and Old People: A Community Development Project*, London: Bedford Square Press.

Cooper M. et al (February 1975) *Neighbourhood Work in a Social Services Department: An Experiment Linking Community Work and Casework*, Wakefield: City of Wakefield M.D.C.

Cooper, M. (1983) *'Patch in Practice*: Normanton', in I. Sinclair & David N. Thomas, *Perspectives on Patch* (1983), London: National Institute for Social Work.

Cox D. J. and Derricourt N. J. (1975) 'The de-professionalisation of community work', in D. Jones and M. Mayo, Community Work: Two, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Crosbie, D. (1983) *'A Role for Anyone? A Description of Social Work with the Elderly in Two Area Offices'*, British Journal of Social Work, (13)1, pp. 123-148.

Currie, R. and Parrott, B. (1986) (2nd ed.), *A Unitary Approach to Social Work: Application in Practice*, Birmingham: BASW.

D'Aeth, F. (October 1983) *Liverpool Social Workers' Handbook*, Liverpool: Liverpool Council of Voluntary Aid.

Department of Health and Social Security (1978) *Social Services Teams: The Practitioner's View*, London: HMSO.

Dickens, J. (2018) *'Clement Attlee and the Social Service Ideal: Modern Messages for Social Work in England*, British Journal of Social Work, (48)1, pp. 5-20.

Dickens, J. (2012) *'The Definition of Social Work in the United Kingdom, 2000-2010'*, International Journal of Social Welfare, (21)1, pp. 34-43.

Evens, P. (1974) *Community Work: Theory and Practice,* Oxford: Alistair Shornach.

Gallagher, J. and Robertson I. (1980) *'Community Workers in Scottish Social Work Departments'*, Community Development Journal, (15) 2, pp. 117-123.

Hadley, R, (1983), 'The Philosophy of Patch Work and its Implementation', in Perspectives on Patch, London: National Institute for Social Work.

Haldane Rev J. B. (1911) The Social Workers' Guide, London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons Ltd.

Kuenstler, P. (ed.) (1954) Social Group Work in Great Britain London, London: Faber and Faber Ltd.

Kuenstler, P. (ed.) (1961) Community Organisation in Great Britain, London: Faber and Faber Ltd.

Holman, R. (1972) Power for the Powerless: The Role of Community Action, London: Community and Race Relations Unit of the British Council of Europe.

Home Office, Circular 204/1963, 'Section 1 of the Children and Young Persons Act 1963', Extension of Powers of Local Authorities to Promote Welfare of Children, 17th December 1963, The National Archives, BN 29/309.

Home Department et al, (1968) Report of the Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services, London: HMSO.

Leissner, A. et al (1971) Advice, Guidance and Assistance: A Study of Seven Family Advice Centres, London: Longman Group.

Local Government Operational Research Unit (January 1972), Manchester's Old People.

Luquet, W. and Tomczak, S. (2022) 'The Origin and Evolution of the Term "Social Work"', Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, (49)2, pp. 64-92.

Macadam, E. (1914), 'The universities and the training of social workers', The Hibbert Journal (12), pp. 283-94, The Internet Archive, accessed 9.07.24.

Macadam, E. (1925) The Equipment of the Social Worker, London: George Allen and Unwin.

Ministry of Health (1959) Report of the Working Party on Social Workers in the Local Authority Health and Welfare Services, London: HMSO.

Ministry of Health (1963) Health and Welfare: The Development of Community Care, London: HMSO.

National Institute for Social Work (1982) Social Workers: Their Roles and Tasks, London: Bedford Square Press.

Morris, C. (1950) (2nd ed. 1954) Social Case-work in Great Britain, New York: Whiteside, Inc. & William Morrow & Co.

Morris, M. (1962) Social Enterprise: A Study of the Activities of Voluntary Societies and Voluntary Workers in an Industrial Town, London: The National Council of Social Service.

National Council of Social Service (1962) Communities and Social Change: Implications for Social Welfare, London: National Council of Social Service.

National Council of Social Service (1962) Community Organisation: An Introduction, London: National Council of Social Service.

Parrott, B. (January 1984) 'Community Social Work – From Slogan to Reality', in BASW, Social Work in the Community, Birmingham: BASW.

Pincus, A. and Minahan, A. (1973) Social Work Practice: Model and Method, Itasca, IL: Peacock.

Popplestone, G. (1971) 'The ideology of professional community workers', British Journal of Social Work, 1, 1, pp. 85-104.

Rodgers, B. N. and Dixon, J. (1960) Portrait of Social Work: A Study of Social Services in a Northern Town, London: Oxford University Press.

Rowlings, C. (1981) Social Work with Elderly People, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Specht, H. and Vickery, A. (eds) (1977), Integrating Social Work Methods, London: Routledge.

Stevenson, O. (1981) Specialisation in Social Service Teams, London: George Allen & Unwin.

Thomson, M. (1998) 'Community Care and the Control of Mental Defectives in Inter-War Britain', in P. Horden and Smith R. The Locus of Care: Families, Communities, Institutions and the Provision of the Welfare State Since Antiquity, London: Routledge.

Townsend, P. (1962) The Last Refuge, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Book Review

Social Work's Histories of Complicity and Resistance: A Tale of Two Professions
Edited by Vasilios Ioakimidis and Aaron Wyllie

Dr Nathalie Huegler is a Research Fellow at the University of Sussex

'*Social Work's Histories of Complicity and Resistance: A Tale of Two Professions*' is an edited collection by Vasilios Ioakimidis and Aaron Wyllie. Its aim is described as *'uncovering the complex political history of social work'* (p.3), involving processes of collective professional soul-searching and thus acts of emotional labour and of social and reconciliatory justice. At the core of this book is a call for the social work profession to collectively remember, speak out about, challenge and seek to redress systemically and institutionally endorsed acts that have undermined and denied the human rights of people, particularly minoritized groups, across a range of regimes and contexts, both historically and continuing (often in new guises) into the contemporary. Alongside the many examples of oppression, however, there are also stories and examples of resistance – more often through actions of social work as a 'popular' activity carried out 'from below' rather than as part of institutionalized and bureaucratized social welfare regimes.

Across 17 chapters, the book features examples from a diverse range of countries: from Canada and the US, Australia, South Africa, Cyprus, the UK, Ireland and Palestine through to perspectives on Nazi Germany, the dictatorships in Franco's Spain, in Portugal's Estado Novo, as well as in the Southern Cone countries of Chile, Argentina and Uruguay.

A brief overview of the book and its chapter-by-chapter structure is provided by the editors via a short preface section. This is followed by part I of the book, consisting of a substantial first chapter by Ioakimidis and Wyllie, in which they emphasise their faith in social work as a profession 'worth fighting for', while also firmly challenging the notion that we can assume social work to be inherently benevolent. Instead, they argue that social work is Janus-faced and characterized by 'two souls'. Indeed, the book reveals a complex and often contradictory picture of social work and social workers in relation to oppressive regimes or practices: among the many examples of social workers uncritically accepting, standing by or even willingly participating in state brutality and repression against those very vulnerable cohorts of people they ought to serve, there are also alternative moments and movements, of emancipatory and radically anti-oppressive practice, often connected to wider social justice movements. Ioakimidis and Wyllie identify three key typologies of institutional oppression, which are intersecting and overlapping:

- a preoccupation of bureaucratized and interventionist social work with shaping the *'ideal-type family'*;

- racist and colonial practices, casting particularly Black and indigenous communities and cultures as inferior, deviant or even criminal; and

- social work's complicity in the institutionalisation, incarceration and securitisation as part of implementing the policies and ideologies of repressive welfare regimes, which often have contrasted with claims of neutral benevolence. These three typologies surface at different points in chapters of the book.

For example, the consequences of falling outside of ideal-type family norms involve the marginalisation and potential criminalisation of working-class or minoritized communities; and across social work's histories in the various contexts drawn upon in the book there are examples of practices that have removed people from their communities. While contexts and experiences of oppression (as well as instances of resistance) are particular to different country histories, the systematic removal of children from unmarried mothers in Ireland (see McGregor, chapter 13 and, from a perspective of lived experience, McGettrick, chapter 17), the forced adoption of children of political opponents to Franco's Spain (MartÌnez Herrero, chapter 7) and the Child migrant schemes that removed working class children from the UK to Australia and Canada (Noble, chapter 3; Duarte and Selmi, chapter 2) all root back to the idea of socially engineering family constellations based on repressive ideologies.

Part II (chapters 2-5) focuses on the history and continued impact of such racist and colonial legacies in Canada, Australia and the US, with chapter 5 (Harms-Smith and Turton) highlighting complicity in and resistance to South Africa's Apartheid system. Of particular note is Dettlaff and Copeland's chapter 4,
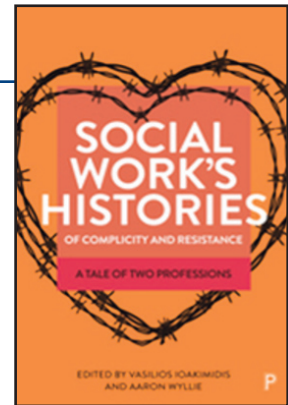
which puts forward one of the most radical critiques of not just past, but also present oppressive practices, along with a vision for fundamental systemic change. This critique centres on the argument that the 'child welfare system' in the US is largely a misnomer, obscuring a family policing system built on racist origins and carceral logics, which continues to harm rather than safeguard Black, Indigenous and Latinx children and their families. Their assessment of social work's complicity in systems that perpetuate harm concludes that reforming such systems in hope for gradual improvement is not enough. Instead, Dettlaff and Copeland argue that cycles of harm can only be overcome through the abolition of the family policing and other carceral systems and by creating in their place, through divestment and reinvestment, community-led and community-driven systems of support that start from providing adequate living resources and enable community members to provide mutual support and intervene to prevent harm where needed. Thus, they argue, *'abolition is not about simply ending the family policing system, it is about creating the conditions in society where the need for a family policing system is obsolete'* (p.68). However, in their view professional leaders and associations have thus far been uncritical of and largely complicit in the ongoing oppression and harm the current system perpetuates and therefore they see scope and movement for change outside rather than within these associations. Perhaps more explicitly than anywhere else in the book, the notion of social work as a *'profession worth fighting for'* seems most in doubt here.

Part III focuses on *'social work's contested ideologies'*, a section title which can seem somewhat confusing at first, considering that the first chapter in this section highlights the horrors of murderous annihilation of the Holocaust, based on racist and eugenicist ideologies of Nazi Germany, when social welfare workers alongside medical professionals were both actively involved and, along with the vast majority of the general population, complicit in the systematic genocide of Jewish, Roma or disabled people and anyone else considered *'Non-Aryan'*. This period is, however, uncontestedly and explicitly acknowledged as the darkest point of social work's history of complicity in oppression. Kuhlmann soberingly concludes that despite a small number of individual – and possibly some further undiscovered – acts of 'rescue resistance', at societal levels and within the social work profession, Nazi ideology produced, by and large, a nation of perpetrators which lacked significant moments of uprising. The subsequent chapters in part III, respectively, consider that sufficient understanding, ownership of and redress for professional complicity in oppression during Franco's Spain are still lacking to this date (chapter 7); reflect on the unhealed wounds of dictatorial oppressive regimes in the Southern Cone countries (Chile, Argentina and Uruguay; MuÒoz-Arce and Campana-Alabarce, chapter 8); and explore how trade union mobilisation and political action supported resistance against dictatorship in pre-1974 Portugal (Silva and Martins, chapter 9). The final chapter in this section (Lavalette, chapter 10) provides an account of popular social work in Palestine, describing its radical roots as practice 'from below'. Reading this seemingly optimistic description feels particularly difficult at a time when conflict in this region has erupted to unprecedentedly destructive levels once again, killing tens of thousands of people and harming many more; a cruel reminder of how histories of violence and oppression repeat, reverberate and continually escalate into the present.

Part IV of the book turns towards social work's complicity with institutionalisation and detention. Chapter 11 (Moth) focuses on institutionalisation and oppression within the English mental health system, delineating developments from Victorian asylums through to contemporary neoliberal systems that involve the biomedicalization of risk management and austerity as a form of structural violence. Alongside complicity, there have also been radical approaches and alliances of survivors alongside professionals, which may have the potential to lead to wider transformative change within welfare systems in the future. Chapter 12 (Trimikliniotis and Tsianos) focuses on more contemporary perspectives, analysing the hostile reception regimes for refugees in Cyprus, specifically considering the impact of the pandemic as backdrop for the emergence of new forms of solidarity. McGregor's (chapter 13) reflections on the oppressive institutionalisation of some mothers and children in Ireland over the 20th century also ends by linking historical to contemporary perspectives, pointing to ongoing regimes of dehumanising institutionalisation in form of the 'direct provision' system for asylum seekers as a context for emancipatory social work action.

Part V concludes the book with survivor perspectives and contemporary reflections. Pease (chapter 14) reflects on facing social work legacies and what it means to come to terms with complicity in injustice. As this chapter, unlike most others in the book, is not linked to any particular country context, this contribution reads in some ways as concluding reflections. Considering the structure of the remainder of this section I wondered if this had been the original intention, revised perhaps to give survivor voices, rightfully, the 'last word' in the book. These perspectives are presented in two chapters featuring Shennan's chapter 15, recounting the stories and views of parents whose children were taken away through UK family court proceedings and adopted; and through McGettrick's first-hand account of being an adopted person growing up under Ireland's closed and secret adoption system (chapter 17). However, in between

these two powerful accounts of survivor perspectives, chapter 16 (Bald and Amadiegwu) reflects on decolonisation and critical social work pedagogies with a UK / English focus, a topic of key importance in its own right. I did wonder, therefore, whether a re-ordered structure of this section might have provided a slightly more logical flow.

However, perhaps not doing such editorial *'tidy-up work'* is also, in some ways, in keeping with the spirit of the book: as Ioakimidis and Wyllie set out in the first chapter, this is not really meant to an easy book to read: the painful and complex legacies of social work's histories are not intended to be sanitised, and therefore perhaps they ought not to be set out in neat little bite-size boxes for our convenience either. Rather, as they and others throughout the book highlight repeatedly, it is an emotionally laborious process that has to be faced on an ongoing basis and which should leave us with an activating sense of discomfort – not least because complicity in injustice is, as chapters of this book show, by far not just limited to historical contexts.

Overall, this is an important, timely and very rich edited collection, which offers key lessons and reflections to practitioners, policy makers, academics and anyone else concerned not just with social work's histories, but also with its potential futures. Given the contexts of current social movements and challenges across the world, from the struggles to decolonise curricula and practices, ongoing and re-ignited conflicts and wars, through to the rapid exposure and expansion of old and new societal fractures (including through climate change or accelerated digital developments), questioning what futures the social work profession will have and should have seems inevitable. Positions across the book are diverse about whether this future should be based on learning serious lessons from social work's history and acting upon these to re-shape professional practice in more ethical and emancipatory ways, or whether, indeed, the only path to transformation lies in the abolition of state-based social work and the emergence of new systems of mutuality and solidarity. Such debates will likely be shaped differently across (country) contexts. However, regardless of how future forms of social and mutual aid and support are going to be shaped, perhaps one of the most important lessons to take from social work's histories might be this: any practices aimed at emancipation and liberation - even if community-led and community-directed – are likely to have to grapple with the risk that they might be co-opted to serve the power of the few rather than the collective interests of the many. Thus, just as history is complex and often messy, the two souls or faces of social work may not be as neatly dividable into 'complicit state social work' and 'resisting or emancipatory popular social work' as a superficial reading of parts of the book could suggest; instead, our inherent human capacity to act both in ways that oppress the needs of others in favour of our own (however inadvertently) and in ways that help shape social justice and contribute to human (and planetary) flourishing is something we must confront and grapple with on a daily basis.