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Preserving and Re-presenting Social Work History with New Media: Digitizing the Golden Bridge Exhibition

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Abstract

Research enquiry into the history of social work and social welfare is a vital and ongoing scholarly activity, underpinning our understanding of the past, and illuminating present day practice and policy. ‘Memory institutions’ like libraries and museums have a key role to play in preserving, and providing researchers with access to, original cultural heritage materials. Through their exhibition work curators of specialist collections also have a role in interpreting and narrating the stories of social welfare, giving voice to the recipients of social work services: the poor, the underprivileged, the dispossessed, the immigrant, and the ‘other’. In the 21st century digital technology is transforming the work of cultural heritage institutions. This article explores a project involving the ‘virtualization’ of a social work museum exhibition on the migration of “Home Children” from Scotland to Canada in the late 19th and early 20th centuries; and the digital preservation of historical assets held in the archive of one of the social care organizations involved in the migration of the children. The purpose of the project was threefold: to provide public access to the historical assets for research and education; to preserve the historical assets before they were damaged any further by prolonged and sub-optimal storage conditions; and to repurpose the exhibition material to retell the story of Victorian child migration with new digital media.

Key words: digitization; preservation; virtualization; history; social work; museums; multimedia.

The Continuing Value of Social Work History

Social work and social welfare organizations in the developed nations have a rich, if relatively recent, history with origins in the 18th and 19th centuries. The massive societal changes and dislocations associated with the industrial revolution formed the backdrop to the evolution of social work as a profession and an institution (Webb, 2007; Cree, 2002; Forsythe & Jordan, 2002). In the United Kingdom these changes included rapid industrialization, the movement of populations from rural to urban locations, and the consequent geographical concentration of social problems in urban areas.

Growing social problems associated with poverty, poor housing, overcrowding, prostitution, ill-health, alcohol and drug misuse, and unsupervised and orphaned children could not be ignored. The responses of statutory, philanthropic, and religious agencies engendered new roles for agents of care and control and led eventually to the emergence of social work organizations and social workers.

The history of social work and social welfare is inscribed in books, documents, images, artifacts, leaflets, newsletters and ephemera. From Victorian poor law records to the reports, photographs, and publications of philanthropic organizations these materials capture significant moments in the history of social welfare and form an essential part of the cultural heritage of contemporary social services and of society as a whole. Cultural heritage materials are important sources of evidence for social historians, social policy researchers, and other scholarly activity illuminating the development of social welfare. Some of the source materials that document this history can be found in public libraries and specialist research library collections. However, there are many documents and artifacts that remain out of public view, buried deep within the archives of modern day not-for-profit organizations, often maintained in sub-optimal conditions.

Should we be concerned? What evidence is there of the continuing value of historical research for contemporary social work practice and policy? One indication lies in the output of scholarly work that draws on historical analyses of social work. Social Care Online (<http://www.socialcareonline.org.uk>) is one of the most extensive databases of social care information and includes records of all leading English language social work and social care journals in print. The database includes 642 records of books and articles published in the ten years between 1997 and 2006 and classified with the key phrase "social work history". Of those 642 publications, 516 were articles, and 126 were books. This number represents a mean of 64.2 social work history articles each year; or just over one publication each week over the last ten years. Researchers conducting enquiries into social work history do so for a broad range of purposes including explorations of the changing perceptions of learning disability (e.g. McDonagh, 2006; Mitchell & Smith, 2003; Chung & Nolan, 1998); studies of the historical role of women in social work (e.g. Crewe, 2006; Knight, 2006); analyses of the changing constructions of childhood (e.g. Hendrick, 2003; Newman, 2000); shifting approaches to work with offenders (e.g. Forsythe, 2004; McNeill, 2005); and historical perspectives on mental health (e.g. Rolph, Atkinson & Walmsley 2003; Michael, 2003; Bransford & Bakken, 2002). Although European and North American studies are predominant in the English language journals, there are also examples of historical analyses of social work practice and policy in other

nations including Polynesia (Yu, 2006); Thailand (Phongvivat, 2002); Taiwan (Chou, 2006); Australia (Mendes, 2005) and China (Xia & Guo, 2002).

This body of work is a significant resource for contemporary social work practice and policy. Scholars writing about social work history do so not only to interrogate the past, but also to contextualize the present, to throw light on the socially constructed nature of contemporary reality, and to trace and uncover changing discourses about the subjects of social work: the poor, the underprivileged, the dispossessed, the immigrant, and the 'other' (Webb, 2007; Park, 2006; Parton, 1998; Cree, 1996). The study of social work history is, as Park (2006, p. 170) has stated, "...the articulation of the forces that have constituted and continue to shape the society and the profession in which we live and work...".

Much of the published work on social work history draws on secondary sources of evidence which are, for the most part, readily available within libraries and journals in print. But research with primary sources - the original documents, artifacts, and records of social welfare organizations - is still required. Yet these original cultural heritage materials are often held by organizations that may not have resources to preserve them, and - even where storage and preservation is adequate - access to key documents, images and other artifacts is often restricted. This issue is even more important when there may be an international dimension to social work history (such as is the case of child migration) or where comparative research is required (Webb, 2007).

Heatherbank Museum of Social Work

The role of 'memory institutions' - libraries, archives and museums - in preserving cultural heritage materials is well established. Major national museums and libraries are key custodians of cultural heritage. Most institutions adopt selective policies of collections management focusing their limited resources on key areas of national interest. In this context smaller, specialist libraries and collections can play a vital role in safeguarding the cultural heritage of minority domains like social work and social welfare.

Heatherbank Museum of Social Work (<http://www.gcal.ac.uk/heatherbank/>) is one of the most unique collections of social welfare and social work related material in the world. Founded in 1975 by Colin and Rosemary Harvey, and originally located within their family home, the museum was founded to increase public awareness of the social welfare needs of society. It aims to help educate and challenge society to understand the caring professions and those needing care; act as a resource for the study of the history of social work and welfare; increase awareness of social

welfare needs by presenting interesting, challenging exhibitions; and rescue, collect and preserve artifacts and documents from discontinued social work institutions. This unique collection of heritage material maps and tracks the evolution of social welfare in the United Kingdom and includes documents, texts, images and artifacts that describe and explain the experiences of the poor and the dispossessed, and of society's different responses to their situation over time.

Describing the motivation of the founders of the museum Alastair Ramage, the museum's former curator, stated "They shared a concern that present day social workers should be aware of the varied heritage and roots of social work. They set about to preserve that past so that we may make better decisions today." (McKay, 2000).

Following the death of Colin Harvey in 1985 the work was continued by his wife Rosemary until - when she too died - the museum was relocated in the Research Collections at Glasgow Caledonian University. Whilst it had a public gallery, Heatherbank fulfilled the educational part of its mission by producing publications, factsheets and exhibitions aimed at students and members of the public. Its exhibition work included displays on the themes of:

- Containment (exploring why human beings seek to contain people whom they fear or cannot understand in institutions);
- Rebuilding lives (the re-establishment of long stay patients from Lennox Castle hospital for people with learning difficulties in the community);
- Not Guilty (an investigation into various aspects of the historical and contemporary treatment of young offenders, with special reference to alternatives to custody);
- The Golden Bridge (an exhibition highlighting the migration of children from Scotland to Canada, 1870-1930).

In 2004 an internal review of space and resourcing led Glasgow Caledonian University to close the public gallery of Heatherbank museum, effectively removing all of the museum's assets from public view (although access for researchers is maintained by appointment via the University's Research Collections). Closure of the public gallery led to discussions about the potential of digitizing part of the collection and the involvement of a team of learning technologists - from the Scottish Institute for Excellence in Social Work Education - in a project to create a virtual version of one Heatherbank exhibition: the Golden Bridge.

The British child migration movement

The Golden Bridge exhibition told the story of the migration of children from Scotland to Canada between 1869 and 1939. The title of

the exhibition refers to the work of Annie Parlane Macpherson (1825-1904) a late Victorian evangelist who worked with the urban poor in the East End of London and devoted a considerable part of her life to the migration of orphaned and abandoned children from the United Kingdom to Canada. A leaflet produced by Macpherson in 1869 exhorted the public to help the child migration campaign by giving her "...the power to make a Golden Bridge across the Atlantic":

"We who labour here are tired of relieving misery from hand to mouth, and also heartsick of seeing hundreds of families pining for want of work, when over on the shores of Ontario the cry is heard 'Come over and we will help you'. We are waiting to seek out the worthy not yet on the parish list, but who soon must be; we will see to their being properly started on the Canadian shores if you will give us the power to make a: Golden Bridge across the Atlantic." (Birt, 1913, p.106-107).

Between 1869 and 1939 a number of religious and philanthropic individuals - revivalist evangelicals for the most part - became involved with Macpherson in what later became known as the British child migration movement. The late Victorian supporters of the movement included Maria Rye (1829-1903); Dr Thomas Barnardo (1845-1905); and, in Scotland, William Quarrier (1829-1903). Over fifty different organizations were involved in child migration and over 100,000 children were migrated from the United Kingdom to Canada, 10,000 of whom were migrated from Scotland. Although they were described - in the parlance of the Victorian era - as 'orphans, waifs and strays', in fact, around two-thirds had at least one surviving parent and most were from families experiencing extreme poverty (Kohli, 2003; Parr, 1994). Following a short stay in a distribution home the children - most of whom were under fourteen years-of-age and some as young as five - were placed with families to work as farm labourers or domestic servants. The younger children were adopted, the older children committed as indentured labourers. The history of the child migrants - or Home Children as they became known - is a compelling human story blending elements of hope, despair, fortitude and triumph (e.g. see Kohli, 2003; Harrison, 1979; Parr, 1994; Bagnell, 2001).

The child migration story, especially the part of it occurring during the late Victorian period, taps some deep historical roots in the evolution of social welfare, and touches on themes and issues that resonate strongly with social welfare policy and practice today. For researchers and learners alike, a study of the period offers a rich context for reflection and learning. Historical analyses of the migration story touch on a broad range of issues including: societal attitudes towards the poor and concerns with avoiding welfare dependence; moral panic about homeless and vagrant children;

perspectives on the role of the state in the supporting lone parent families; the role of religious organizations in social care provision; public fears of disorder and the 'working and dangerous classes'; and attitudes to child labour and migrant workers. Indeed, Webb (2007, p. 44) has argued that "In certain key respects the narrow time frame, roughly between 1860 and 1890, crystallizes significant transitions from early modern to modern welfare in the discursive-cultural frame".

The purpose of this article, however, is not to contribute to the body of work on social work history per se, but to describe the role of digital technology in preserving social work heritage material; the value of multimedia to capture and narrate a particular story from social work history; and the potential of the world-wide web to enable global access to cultural heritage materials for researchers, learners, and citizens.

The Golden Bridge Exhibition¹

The Golden Bridge exhibition was displayed in the gallery of Heatherbank museum from the 21st of May until the 29th of June 2001 and explained the story of the child migrants especially the 7,000 or so children from Scotland migrated by William Quarrier. Quarrier was the founder of the Orphan Homes of Scotland and one of the keenest supporters of the movement. The core of the original exhibition consisted of eight large display boards with text and images, each of which explored a different aspect of the migration story (see the appendix for a witness account on the impact of the original exhibition). Other exhibits included a replica Victorian girl migrant's trunk with typical contents (e.g. a petticoat, a Bible, a copy of Pilgrim's Progress, some writing materials, etc.). An exhibit called the 'Testimony Tree' displayed 42 cardboard maple leaves each inscribed with a fragment of a statement from a former Home Child derived from the work of historical researchers (Harrison, 1979). For the duration of the exhibition a film called 'Living Histories: the Quarriers' played on a loop. This film - created by a Canadian filmmaker - combines early film footage and stills of the Orphan Homes of Scotland with four very compelling interviews with former Home Children (now in their 80s and 90s) migrated from Scotland to Canada in the 1920s.

The exhibition included materials relating to child migration on loan from the archive of Quarriers: the contemporary Scottish social care agency directly descended from the organization founded by William Quarrier, and based within the site of the original Orphan

¹ The virtual Golden Bridge exhibition can be found at:
<http://www.iriss.ac.uk/goldenbridge>

Homes of Scotland in Bridge of Weir, Scotland. The Quarriers' materials included a selection of Narratives of Facts dating from 1872. The Narratives of Facts are annual reports in the form of booklets describing the work of the organization in the previous year, including stories and images of children migrated to Canada. In addition, a photograph album from the 1890s depicted children and staff at different stages of the migration journey; and a series of glass slides photographed in the 1920s portrayed aspects of life in the Orphan Homes.

Digital preservation of archive material

The digitization project involved a collaboration between the Scottish Institute for Excellence in Social Work Education (SIESWE) (<http://www.iriss.ac.uk>); Glasgow Caledonian University Research Collections (the host of the Heatherbank Museum of Social Work (<http://www.gcal.ac.uk/heatherbank>)) and Quarriers organization (<http://www.quarriers.org.uk>). The objectives of the project were to:

- preserve the Quarriers historical assets before they were damaged further by inadequate storage conditions;
- repurpose the Heatherbank exhibition material to retell the story of Victorian child migration with new digital media;
- provide public access to the historical assets and the new multimedia exhibition for researchers, educators, and the public.

In common with the historical artifacts of many other Victorian social care organizations, the Quarriers' materials were maintained in sub-optimal storage conditions and showed signs of damage and decay. The project team agreed with Quarriers that these materials should be digitized for display as part of the virtualized Golden Bridge exhibition but that high-resolution copies would also be made for preservation purposes.

Digitization as a preservation tool is well recognized in the literature. Creating digital surrogates of fragile or rare materials means the need to handle the original artifacts is greatly reduced and source materials can be preserved for longer (Hughes, 2004). Although digitization contributes significantly to the preservation process, it brings new preservation problems for both the original materials and their digital surrogates (Webb, 1996; Muir, 2004). Webb (1996) highlights the risk that digitization may deflect attention away from the original objects leading to neglect of their proper storage and maintenance. Far from offering a one-off simple solution to the problem of physical degradation, digital copies themselves require extra effort to maintain as the technologies required to view them are

vulnerable to decay at a rate significantly faster than the physical originals. Indeed, digital materials are likely to endure both technological obsolescence and physical deterioration (Hedstrom and Montgomery, 1998). These risks can be managed by establishing a long-term migration strategy for the digital materials but this is an aspect of preservation that is often overlooked (Davis-Perkins & Butterworth, 2004).

The Narratives of Facts

There are 38 display copies of the Narratives of Facts for the years from 1872 to 1910. The objective here was not to enhance or 'clean-up' the original Narratives of Facts, but to capture the original content

and replicate their current state as faithfully as possible. All pages of the Narratives of Facts were scanned regardless of their condition, maintaining the original layout, the aim being to generate authentic 'page images' - a picture of the document (figure 1).

High resolution copies were captured for preservation purposes, and lower resolution display copies for incorporation into the virtual exhibition. Opening a thumbnail downloads a PDF version of the document where all text, original images, and line drawings can be viewed, read, browsed or printed in excellent detail.

Access is provided to the

audience without damaging the originals, especially important in the case of two of the annual reports where there appears to be only one copy in existence.

The Historic Photograph Collection

Two copies were also made of each historic photograph: large high resolution files for archive and preservation purposes, and lower resolution copies for display. The virtual Golden Bridge exhibition



Figure 1: A Narrative of Facts

includes a Photo Gallery that opens to reveal thumbnails of 58 images sorted into six categories. When selected, individual images appear in a window where they can be panned and zoomed, offering a unique viewing experience similar to examining a high-resolution image with a magnifying glass. The viewer is able to appreciate detail that might have been missed using a more conventional static image display (figure 2).



Figure 2: Historic Photograph

For example: a group photograph of child migrants outside one of the Orphan Home cottages reveals a shadowy face staring at the assembled group through the cottage window; an image of a smiling boy surrounded by the shoes he is polishing reveals that one of the shoes in a pair is built-up and belongs to a child with disability.

Repurposing exhibition material in the manner described not only offers web-based access, but also provides online audiences with new ways of interacting with cultural heritage objects that would be difficult to achieve in a physical museum. Digital surrogates of documents and images can be panned, zoomed and printed for offline reading (Hughes, 2004; Brown, 2006; Thomas & Mintz, 1998).

The scope of this project could not include a long-term preservation strategy for either the original materials or the digital copies. It concentrated, in the first instance, on creating preservation quality copies of the original material before they degraded entirely. However, the project team researched and drafted recommendations to Quarriers (as custodians of the original materials) for the preservation of both the digital and non-digital material based on current best

practice. Recommendations included that the high-resolution, digital copies be deposited in a trusted repository which would actively maintain the content and migrate formats when required; and that the original historical artifacts be stored in a national archive that could provide the necessary physical storage conditions to reduce further degradation.

Repurposing the Exhibition

Research into the views of visitors to Web museums suggests they are looking for more than a database of individual items of content, and seek exhibits that provide rich narratives and deeper contextual information (Nickerson, 2002; Hermann, 1999). Donovan (1997) proposes that museums need to do more than offer online public access to digital surrogates of their collection and must add value by wrapping objects in “layers of interpretation”; that they need to “move away from list making to storytelling”.

Yet the convergence of education and entertainment that emerges when museum materials are digitized and repurposed with multimedia has been described disparagingly as a form of ‘edutainment’ (Addis, 2005). Reaction to this practice, and its contribution to the educational mission of museums, has been mixed. Dilevko and Gottlieb (2004, p. 206) argue that “...the act of acquiring a body of knowledge about any topic is, bluntly put, hard and difficult; it cannot be reduced to snippets of information gained in edutainment-based exhibits”. Belcher (1991, p. 64) agrees that “Museums are about scholarship and the interpretation of real objects – not about entertainment.”

However, underlying this perspective is a very restricted view of the nature of the contemporary museum audience and of the power of carefully constructed multimedia exhibits to inform and to educate. In the educational domain the use of educational multimedia to promote higher order thinking is taken very seriously indeed (Boyle, 2002; Laurillard, 2002; Laurillard, Stratfold, Luckin, Plowman, & Taylor, 2000).

Nonetheless, like most debates of this sort, the argument about whether the virtual museum is best conceived of as a carefully catalogued database, or a rich interpretive documentary, may mask a more obvious reality: different audiences have different needs. As Johnson (2003) suggests “Sometimes storytellers open up new doors, and other times they get in the way. Ultimately the most successful Web sites are those that balance both approaches, empowering individuals to control the degree of mediation in their own customized experience.”

Repurposing the Golden Bridge exhibition provided the opportunity not only to preserve and provide access to valuable cultural heritage materials for scholarly research (the Narratives of

Facts and the historic photographs); but also to re-present the child migration story with rich multimedia, blending original and new content, for a broader audience. New video and audio narratives provided by the former curator help to interpret and contextualize the exhibition material (introducing a virtual curator into the exhibition space and at the same time capturing this individual's wealth of knowledge about the subject). The multimedia section opens with a video introduction and users can choose to listen or move directly to one of three sub-sections: a) the Trunk; b) the Journey; or c) the Testimony Tree.

The Trunk

A user-controlled slideshow of images of the replica children's trunk and its contents, has been blended with text and audio describing the images and connecting them with the migration story (figure 3).



Figure 3: The Trunk

The user can scroll through thumbnails of the objects, clicking on them to access accompanying interpretive texts and audio narratives. Most objects have several images showing different angles or close-ups of detail: for example the fine detailed stitching on a handkerchief; the laced edging of a petticoat; or the inscription on the spine of a copy of *Pilgrim's Progress*.

The Testimony Tree

A multimedia version of the original 'Testimony Tree' is introduced with a short video talk from the former curator. Users are invited to view a representation of a maple leaf and select one of 42 maple leaves to uncover a fragment of testimony narrated with audio in the voice of a child (figure 4).



Figure 4: The Testimony Tree

The Journey

Six stages in the migration journey are represented on a “zoomable” world map: the Orphan Homes of Scotland; preparing for departure; the crossing; arrival at the port of Halifax and onwards; the reception home of and onwards; and the placements (figure 5). Users can select any of these points to open a window containing a short video clip of witness testimony from the ‘Living Histories’ video; or listen to an audio narrative from the former curator giving historical background information.



Figure 5: The Journey

Access and audience

If digitization can extend access to mainstream cultural heritage materials, it can also unlock specialist collections that might otherwise be hidden from view. The artifacts, texts, and images archived in Heatherbank museum are unlikely to be considered part of mainstream social and cultural history. Like other more specialist cultural heritage materials they will always attract a small audience and draw a limited footfall to a physical site in any single location. To a museum or library manager the visitor volume for a museum of social work may not, understandably, justify the physical gallery space necessary to display its contents to the public. For these reasons the Heatherbank museum has been removed from open public access.

However, digitization and web-based access enables specialist and niche-based content to attract new audiences worldwide, taking advantage of 'long tail' effects in the market for cultural heritage materials (Anderson, 2006). Chris Anderson's concept of the 'long tail' was developed in the context of the new economics of the Internet, and the new markets the Web has provided. In the creative and cultural industries 'long tail' effects are signaled in a move away from a focus on a relatively small number of mainstream, mass-market products and toward many more, diverse, niche-driven models in the tail of a demand curve. Of course, commercial interests are not normally at the fore in the market for cultural heritage material. But in order to justify investment in digitization projects, managers need to be assured there is an audience, or audiences, for the product.

'Long tail' effects can ensure specialist collections attract a sustainable audience and that cultural heritage institutions benefit from the continued exposure of an online exhibition (Liew, 2006). Even where there may be no direct commercial interest, offering

access to materials that might otherwise remain archived, can unlock value, bring reputational advantage, and raise awareness of the institution and its digital and non-digital content (Belcher, 1991; Khoon et al., 2003; Lopatin, 2006; Reid, 2000).

Conclusion

All 'memory institutions' have to make strategic decisions about how best to use limited physical display space. Highly specialized collections like the Heatherbank Museum of Social Work will always be at risk of being pushed aside by other priorities considered to be more pressing. What the virtual Golden Bridge exhibition demonstrates is that the valuable cultural heritage resources these collections contain, and the knowledge and expertise of their curators, can and should still be offered to the community without the need to occupy physical exhibition space.

Indeed digitization and virtualization can provide rich new experiences and reach larger and more diverse audiences than a physical exhibition could ever achieve, including non-traditional audiences such as school students, lifelong and distance learners, and other people interested in genealogy, local, and family history (Brown, 2006; Hughes, 2004).

Finally, the real value of preserving and retelling these human stories is to use the lessons of history to interrogate the present. The child migration story has many lessons that resonate strongly with social issues of today: issues of children's rights; economic migrants; refugee families; and the human consequences of social and economic change. These are stories that deserve to be preserved and re-presented. Digitization and web-based multimedia provide the practical tools to unlock cultural heritage content, and the 'long tail' effect should assure those who make investment decisions that even the most niche-market collections can attract a global audience.

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Appendix

An article on the Golden Bridge Exhibition written by Melanie King for the newsletter of the Quarriers Canadian Family (<http://www.quarrierscanadianfamily.com/>) Summer 2001. Reprinted here with permission.

The Golden Bridge Exhibit

This poignant exhibit on child migration opened at the Heatherbank Museum of Social Work, located on the Campus of the Glasgow Caledonian University, on May 2nd 2001 and will run until June 29, 2001. Originally, it was only to run for the month of May, but it was extended.

On May 15th and 16th, my husband Don and I visited the Museum. Our first visit, doesn't really count because we didn't get to see much of the exhibit. The Scottish Media saw to that. But we did get to see enough to determine that we would be back to view it properly when we could take our time.

When we returned to the Museum the following day and were able to leisurely stroll through the exhibit, the emotional impact of it all was able to sink in. The entire time the exhibit is open the "Living Histories" Video plays.

I don't know about anyone else, but as soon as hear the video start to play, the music gets me all choked up.

Quarriers, Scotland; Quarriers Canadian Family; Home Children Canada; myself personally; and others donated material to this very worthwhile exhibit. In addition to this donated material, Alastair Ramage, Curator, and his volunteers have also amassed quite a collection of their own.

This material is displayed most effectively. Each display makes you want to go to the next one to find out more. The most popular display of the exhibit is the 'testimony tree', where quotes from child migrants are written on maple leaves.

Near the testimony tree is a girl's trunk containing all the things that she would have brought to Canada with her.

There are a number of fact files on hand for visitors to read as well. One of these is my father's story. Others are on Fairknowe Home, Teresa Fisher's story, Perry Snow's father's story, and many others.

Before leaving the exhibit on May 16th, we heard some very good news. The Canadian High Commission in London is putting on an exhibition in Edinburgh in October and wants to use the Golden Bridge exhibit as part of it. This exhibit will run for a fortnight, but as of yet, the dates are unknown. This information will be passed on once it is available.

From the time I found out that my father's story would be included in the exhibit, I knew I had to go. When I was there, I felt like he was right alongside me.

The story of child migration will continue to conjure up many emotions as we reflect on the lives of our forebears.