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From farm training to therapy : a case study in the history of social work from a macro-micro social policy perspective

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From farm training to therapy:

a case study in the

history of social work

from a macro-micro social policy perspective

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses the development of social work during the twentieth century by examining the life history of one residential establishment, Turners Court, founded in 1911. The objective is to explain how ideals and policies are translated into action, by conducting an historical analysis of an organisation that attained some prominence in its field.

The thesis sets out evidence to demonstrate that once created, institutions attain an identity and set of values and beliefs of their own, verified through their contribution and response to policy developments. The research draws on insights from current thinking about the macro-micro relationship, relating these to social policy by deploying and evaluating Layder's (1993) multi-perspectival approach that urges greater attention to power, history and general social theory.

Turners Court has distinctive features that commend it as a case study. It began as a 'colony' providing men with agricultural training. Its foundations reflected a mix of motives, ranging from the evangelistic to the eugenic. By the 1960s it claimed to be a pioneering institution, yet by the 1980s a substantial contraction in the residential care sector had been set in motion, for reasons analysed in the thesis. In 1991, Turners Court, a 'therapeutic' training establishment for boys aged 14-16, closed.

Based on a systematic analysis of archive material, a model of congruence is devised, indicating areas that need to fit for organisations to be created and to survive. Discongruity in these areas is offered to explain their demise.

The history of Turners Court, as a microcosm of the history of residential social work, indicates a need to review social policy theory in a way that recognises the importance of the interplay of macro and micro factors. In particular, more attention needs to be paid to the role of values and belief systems.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 7: REFLECTING ON THEORY: CONNECTING THE MACRO AND MICRO 185

CHAPTER 8: TURNERS COURT, THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL WORK AND MODELS OF CHANGE 219

LIST of TABLES and FIGURES

LIST of MODELS and DIAGRAMS

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

OVERVIEW

This thesis presents an analysis of developments in social work in the twentieth century by focusing on one selected case study, Turners Court. It comprises an historical analysis of what came to be a residential child care institution using macro and micro theories in social policy.

Turners Court started in 1911 as a 'colony' dedicated to training non-epileptic young men for farm work, initially so that they could be encouraged to emigrate to the white 'dominions' such as Canada and Australia. This statement in itself tells us a great deal about social welfare at the time: the establishment of separate self-contained and largely self-supporting communities (or colonies as they were called at the time) for identified groups who 'needed' to be housed and trained separately from the rest of society; the insistence on potential workers not having disabilities, and therefore being seen as less of a safety liability to potential employers; the acceptability of exporting men to countries where they would have no family support but which were seen to 'need' their labour (a fuller account of all of this is to be found in Chapter 4).

It closed in 1991, by which time it had become a social work oriented residential establishment for adolescent boys with serious behavioural difficulties, committed to providing specialised care and education with the intention of returning boys to their own communities as soon as possible. It started as an organisation financially supported by individual philanthropists, and ended as part of the formal care system, receiving young men looked after by local authorities. It began as a visible witness to Christian beliefs, but by the time it closed was primarily a secular organisation with just a few traces of religious influences.

The life-span of this residential institution thus covers the period from 1911 to 1991 and offers a vivid example of social work history. The changes that occurred during this period have been dramatic. The very nature of social work, its purposes, its modes of operation, its organisation, and above all the extent to which the state was involved in its development, are all key themes, reflecting competing social policy priorities. Turners Court attests to all of this. It bears witness to these changes but this is not a narrative account of its history. Rather the intention is to reflect on what the life of Turners Court conveys about social work itself and about the process of policy making

related to it. For it is contended that the creation and progress of a residential establishment is more than just an outcome of shifts in public policy. Once created, institutions are thought to attain an ethos and 'life' of their own, with power to mould and promote certain beliefs and rituals (Goffman 1968). The closure of Turners Court provided an opportunity to obtain an insight into the life of an institution which claimed a unique culture and ethos. This insight was offered at a number of different levels: through historical archives concerning the founding of Turners Court; through official records of changes to residential care; through personal case records; through individual accounts of everyday life in Turners Court; through the institution's own evaluations and reviews of its role.

Thus an exploration of the macro and micro, central to this thesis, became feasible. For a number of reasons, explored in more depth in Chapter 3 the terms 'macro' and 'micro' are preferred to both 'structure' and 'agency', and to 'society' and 'individual'. Suffice it to say here that the terms macro and micro indicate analytical perspectives rather than different entities. The reality of social work practice necessitates an ability to understand how the macro and micro interact. Social work practice which focuses exclusively on the micro risks ignoring key social factors and influences on behaviour. Conversely, focusing exclusively on the macro risks assuming that all need is determined by social and economic factors; hence accounting for responses to individual need and explaining variations in social work practice both become highly problematic.

Exploring the world of a residential establishment offers unique potential for highlighting these processes. For not only is it viable to explore interactions within the establishment but it is also, with the benefit of hindsight and history, possible to analyse how macro factors impinged on the development of the institution itself. In the case of Turners Court macro forces shaped its history and this history is therefore valuable as a resource for researching the interplay of such forces.

During preliminary meetings with staff at Turners Court, it was suggested that Turners Court, promoted as a residential institution for young men in need of social and educational training, had contributed both to developments in policy and to 'new' ideas about social work practice. One specific claim was that it hastened the abolition of the Approved School system in the late 1960s by providing an alternative model. This bold assertion challenges some preconceptions about social policy, principally that the initiative comes from central government, being based on cogently argued government reports, or as reactions to events such as the death of a child or a world war. All of

these and more were put forward as explanations for the origins of welfare state social work, as exemplified in the creation of local authority children's departments by the Children Act 1948 (Holman 1996). Others have noted a tendency to assume a top-down approach to social policy, based on views set out, for example, by 'social conscience writers' who view the policy making process as 'unproblematic' (Baker 1979: 183). One of the purposes of this thesis is to examine whether institutions and actors at the 'grass roots' can indeed contribute to policy formulation, a claim that can at least partially be tested by examining records and talking to key individuals involved.

It was inevitable that, as an institution, Turners Court had to respond to change: sometimes accommodating it, occasionally resisting it, perhaps mediating or reinterpreting demands made by external institutions. In doing so, it demonstrates some of the processes that occur when the macro intersects with the micro. One particularly significant example of this in the 1970s was the increased regulation of the training offered at Turners Court arising from the raising of the school leaving age. At Turners Court this resulted in substantial increases in expenditure, and in turn obliged the managers to introduce formal education into training and social care. Consequently, staff were compelled to review their everyday practices. Some of the changes emanating from increased central government regulation were resisted at different levels, for example in relation to staff pay, conditions and staff-resident ratios; yet some were also welcomed, with advantage taken of the opportunities offered for enhancing the quality of care overall (for further discussion see Chapter 5).

This relationship between the macro and micro, and the complexity of the relationship, has recently re-emerged as of interest to researchers. The competence or adequacy of social theories in relating the two is one fruitful means of evaluating the theories themselves and for informing research methods. All social theories have to say something about the macro-micro relationship, even if it is only to deny the validity of a macro-micro analysis by viewing these as 'merely artificial constructs' (Layder 1994: 114). At a theoretical level, it is therefore important to reflect on how social theories explore the macro-micro relationship, since one aim of the thesis is to extend understanding of how an institution at the 'micro' relates to wider social forces: both reacting and attempting to influence policy shifts at the macro. At the same time it is possible to regard the organisation itself as presenting a macro social system in relation to the individuals who lived within its walls, which raises the question as to whether the organisation itself came to take on a set of beliefs and values that were unique, and whether this had any real impact. The fundamental question underlying all

of this is how do social work organisations mediate the lives of individuals and the wider society.

Arising from this, an analysis of the interplay of macro-micro forces offers explanations of what has to happen in order for a residential social work establishment to sustain itself and survive (or not, as the case may be). A model is proposed that sets out the preconditions for the creation of such an institution, identifying elements that need to be in congruence. This allows for identification of factors that can lead to its demise. Specifically it is suggested that certain key elements came together to provide sufficient impetus for Turners Court to be founded. These same elements are needed to ensure survival and adaptation. When one or more are absent, the organisation ceases to be viable notwithstanding the efforts of individuals to defend it. Yet it is not just a question of the elements being present, it is also important that they converge and intersect so as to provide an overall coherence. It is this overall coherence, the result of congruence of identified factors, which facilitates adaptation and survival.

All of these explanations offer insights into current thinking about the macro-micro relationship. Different social science disciplines contribute to this key debate in different ways, but a major concern here is to ask whether social policy, as it is currently conceived or presented as an academic discipline, can provide a sufficiently complete answer to those who argue for recognition of the power of micro-dynamic forces. In several respects, social policy ostensibly acknowledges this, but crucially it may have underplayed or even ignored the role of belief systems. Belief systems, referring to aggregates of values and principles which enable people to make sense of themselves, their actions, and the world in general are accorded greater significance in disciplines such as social psychology (Kelly 1955; Dallos 1991); social work theory (Payne 1997) and, within sociology, in phenomenology and symbolic interactionism (Garfinkel 1984; Blumer 1969; Becker 1963). The contention here is that belief systems do play a significant role in interpreting policies, in putting them into practice, and occasionally in formulating them. Belief systems may even impel people to resist certain policy changes or to challenge current policy. Beliefs and values may or may not be malleable to wider macro forces, but ultimately by understating and consistently underestimating the power of belief systems, social policy cannot account for some of the unintended consequences of policy changes.

RATIONALE FOR THIS RESEARCH

The impetus for this thesis arose from a fascination with the way in which social policy and social work practice do not quite marry. This dissonance became apparent for a number of reasons.

Firstly, the lived reality of many people's lives sometimes seems very distant from the theoretical insights apparently meant to inform social work practice. To a very limited extent, this is a problem for psychology, but it is much more of an issue for some of the theories derived from sociology or social policy, which can sometimes appear to concentrate on the macro to the exclusion of the micro. An analysis of child abuse by Parton (1985) would be an example. This presented a persuasive explanation of negative images of social work but failed to connect micro issues, such as the internal organisation of social services departments, to this valuable wider perspective.

Secondly, social work students required to study social policy often complain of the difficulty in understanding the direct relevance of social policy to their everyday practice. Policy was considered to be something beyond the scope of individual action, a 'given' they were powerless to influence, echoing a feeling that policy was structurally determined to such an extent that the micro was irrelevant. This translated into Diploma in Social Work students' widely held view that, whilst politics was relevant to people's culture and everyday lives, its bearing on social work was questionable, with 56.8% being neutral or against the notion that social workers should have definite political beliefs (Appendix 1). This contrasts to experience in the USA where social workers had a higher than average participation in politics (Hamilton and Fauri 2001). Such a difference was attributed to professional culture although it should be noted that this research confined its definition of participation to voting in Presidential elections.

Thirdly, since much social work practice is influenced or even directed by the law, an understanding of how law is formulated and implemented would seem to be important. Yet many texts on social work law completely overlook this or contain a very limited discussion (for example: Clements 1996; Cooper and Vernon 1996). Indeed frustration with the limited approach of such texts impelled this author to write a book which at least applied the law to everyday practice from the practitioner's point of view (Johns and Sedgwick 1999), whilst others have used social models as a critique of law (Cooper 2000). For broader explanations of the law, one has to go to other extremes, drawing on the kind of sociology that throughout the 1970s emphasised structural accounts (for example: Hay 1977; Althusser 1971). While strong on analysis and explanation, this approach appeared to discount individuals altogether, implying that

social work was a complete irrelevance; yet a more even-handed approach would surely suggest that there had to be some opportunity for integrating structural accounts with individual actions and perceptions.

Connecting structural analyses with individual action is also a challenge to the discipline of social policy itself. Whilst social work was strong on values and beliefs, social policy for a long time appeared to ignore, or underplay, belief systems. Belief systems here includes religious beliefs - these were tremendously influential in the early development of professional social work, as the account of Turners Court will demonstrate. In contemporary social work, humanistic beliefs are often taken for granted, for example, concerning individuals' rights to self-fulfilment or self-actualisation. Additionally, there is an assumption that all social workers subscribe to a set of values loosely gathered together under the umbrella of anti-discriminatory or anti-oppressive practice (Dalrymple and Burke 1995; Thompson 1997).

Values and belief systems here are distinguished from political views per se, although naturally there may be connections (for discussion of definitions of these terms see Chapter 2). Values are of considerable importance in social work being "inherent in both the methods used and the objectives of work sought by professionals" (Hugman 1998: 5). Commitment to 'anti-oppressive practice' and the development of associated professionalism is fundamental to social work (Thompson 1997, Dalrymple and Burke 1995). Such professional values can be contested and challenged both directly through political views which declare themselves to oppose such values, for example, the 'New Right', and indirectly through processes such as the commodification of welfare (Hugman 1998). The relationship between personal and professional values in social work is currently a subject for debate, given the potential discordance between the two and the implications of value 'requirements' laid on those training for social work (Sullivan 1998, 1999; Preston-Shoot et al. 2001).

Belief systems are intrinsically connected to values, yet are essentially personal. They operate at an individual, family, or small group level and have been recognised as having some influence on residential care institutions and boarding schools (Lambert 1968, 1975; Millham et al. 1975; Sinclair and Gibbs 1998 especially in relation to heads of homes). Whilst it is possible to talk of personal values and professional values, it is unlikely to be possible to talk of a professional belief system as such due to the heterogeneity of professional groups. The term belief system here is drawn from family systems theory which in turn is connected to personal construct theory (Dallos 1991). Essentially, belief systems consist of two key elements: "enduring sets of

understandings and premises about what is taken to be true" together with "an emotional component or a set of assertions with an emotional basis about what 'should' be true." (Dallos 1991: 3) This definition includes religious beliefs but clearly is much wider, with connections into cultural values and norms.

Ideology can be regarded as moving beyond personal beliefs and values to the realm where a range of values and beliefs are connected together so as to form a much broader coalition or coalescence. Such interconnected ideas become very important when adopted and promoted by those who hold power, albeit that they may not do this consciously. Indeed some see ideology as a means of maintaining exploitation (for overview see page 69 et seq. below).

Only recently have social policy texts paid attention to the kind of discrimination and values issues that appear to matter to social workers, thanks largely to a number of feminist critiques of social policy (for example: Williams 1989). This suggests that the lack of attention paid to values and belief systems may have been a significant weakness in social policy.

Leading on from this, it would appear that social policy may have something to learn from the growing trend to pay greater attention to people's interpretation of their own experiences as recipients of welfare services (Erskine in Alcock 1998) and of social work in particular (Rojek 1989; Clarke 1993 Chapter 5). Linking into a stronger belief in people's interpretations of their own worlds, this approach recalls symbolic interactionism in sociology and personal construct theory in psychology.

There does not appear to be any parallel development in the discipline of social policy, save for one or two now dated examples of selected case studies of policy in practice (for example, Donnison and Chapman 1965; Hall et al. 1975). In other words, there is a need for micro-level analysis of politics and policy, which would complement the conventional structural accounts of policy.

This then is the starting point for the broader, more theoretical aspects of the thesis.

SPECIFIC AIMS

The aims of the thesis therefore are:

1. to explain why one specific social work institution was established, provide an account of its subsequent development in the history of social work, and analyse the reasons for its progress and eventual demise;

2. to explore the processes whereby such an organisation attempts to adapt to change and, on the basis of this examination, put forward a model that relates the macro to the micro in the context of changes in social policy;

3. to assess the effectiveness of social policy in accounting for the development of one form of social work, and to consider what revisions to theory may be necessary as a consequence of the investigation.

An integral part of this investigation will be a consideration of the role of belief systems in relation to structural constraints, specifically exploring the points of opportunity and conflict arising with shifts in social policy, with illustrations as to how the organisation responded to these. This is important given the contention that social policy needs to pay more attention to values and beliefs that influence organisations.

For amplification, it is worth recording some preliminary reasons for adopting a case study approach (a more detailed discussion is to be found in Chapter 2). One objective is to highlight ways in which a particular institution is the product of a combination of factors that led to its establishment for specific purposes, which in turn reflect a particular set of values. Access to a substantial archive and the potential for an overview of the complete history of an institution offers considerable potential for the kind of detailed analysis that this investigation would require. At the same time the operation of macro forces needs to be acknowledged and explored, thereby illustrating the typicality of the case study (Gomm, Hammersley, and Foster 2000; Yin 1994; Stake 1994; Chapter 8 below at page 220 et seq.); for Turners Court can justifiably be considered a focus for a debate about the rise and fall of one specific kind of social work, namely residential care for young people.

It can also be seen as an illustration of how an organisation embraces, resists, and otherwise accommodates change. An organisation has no choice other than to respond to macro changes. Yet the process is not unilinear: practice within the organisation can be held up as an ideal which is then promoted and adopted elsewhere. In this way, an organisation can be indirectly, even unwittingly, powerful in promoting change: the micro can influence the macro. Yet a particularly powerful combination of outside forces can make an establishment no longer viable and this can happen despite its apparent 'success' within its own terms of reference. This is because one or more of the essential elements necessary for viability has ceased to be congruent.

Congruence here is taken to mean more than just loosely fitting together or being reasonably compatible. Rather it suggests dovetailing of the various elements that comprise an organisation to an extent which makes the organisation a unified whole.

The analogy here is similar to that used by systems theorists (von Bertalanffy 1971; Haley 1978; Minuchin 1991) who emphasise that, like central heating systems or organisms, organisations take on an identity or existence that is over and above the constituent parts that comprise the system. To put it more succinctly, adopting systemic language, the "whole is more than the sum of the parts". Given that this 'system' operates within other systems, it will be interesting to analyse what has to occur in order for systems to operate and at what point they become misaligned or unsynchronised. It is in this sense that the study is concerned with what occurs when welfare organisations close down. It is emphatically not a retrospective inquest into individual actions and involvement in the closure.

HISTORICAL PERIODS CHOSEN

In order to achieve this, three specific periods in Turners Court's history are chosen for closer analysis, the first period being the decade just before the First World War when Turners Court was established. Given that one of the ambitions is to explain why the organisation was set up, this period selected itself. Nevertheless, there are other important reasons for choosing it. Initial review of the archive material suggested that a very strong set of beliefs and ideals came together that reflected some of the dominant ideas of the time, many of which were shared by other social work enterprises. Yet some were not: for example, Turners Court did not appear to have the same sectarian allegiances that dominated other welfare organisations. In youth work this sectarianism was particularly marked, as attested to by the existence of the Boys' Brigade (Methodist), the Church Lads' Brigade (Anglican), the Catholic Boys' Brigade, the Boys' Life Brigade (non-militaristic non-conformist), the Jewish Lads' Brigade and so on (Springhall 1977: 40-44). There were also some fascinating links with the colony movement and some hints of connections with the eugenics movement. Turners Court was originally established by the Christian Service Union which, in turn, was founded by people impressed with social experiments in Germany - communities or colonies designed to care for, and control, groups of people with disabilities. Several similar colonies were established in Britain, perhaps the best-known being Chalfont St. Giles, established for people with epilepsy in 1893 (Barclay 1992), being founded under the influence of people who advocated 'market gardening' and "a rural home or colony for single epileptics or married men who agreed to be parted from their wives" (quoted in Barclay: 9-10).

The discussion of the first period therefore focuses on explanations for the establishment of a particular institution at a particular time. It sets out how Turners

Court's objectives were initially formulated, and identifies key factors that meant that the founding committee could secure some buildings for their avowed purposes and open its doors. In the interplay of macro and micro forces, one distinctive theme is the link between the primary religious motivation of the original founders and certain beliefs about human nature held at that time. This is worth highlighting since traces of these beliefs remained right until the end of Turners Court's life as a residential establishment.

The next period selected is the 1960s when Turners Court claimed to become a pioneer in the field of residential care for young people. It has been suggested that Turners Court had an impact on policy at the national level at a time when the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 was being drafted, processed through Parliament and implemented. Prior to this, Turners Court had moved through a period of dramatic change from a very controlling, almost custodial ethos, to an approach that was more ostensibly therapeutic. This dramatic transformation is of itself worthy of analysis, and given that there is then a connection with policy changes at national level, this period has a great deal to commend it. Obvious questions that spring to mind include 'to what extent was the work of Turners Court truly pioneering?' and 'does the suggestion that its ethos was adopted as a model for the re-direction of statutory services stand up to scrutiny?'

Related to this is the role Turners Court is considered to have played in the demise of the Approved School system. Access to public documents confirms that a major shift in policy occurred around 1967 as a result of a public outcry about punitive regimes that prevailed at that time. Abolition of Approved Schools came about as the result of key events and through the influence of key actors, culminating in the passing of the Children and Young Persons Act 1969. Can it be that the approach adopted by Turners Court was used to persuade policy makers of the feasibility of an alternative to the Approved School system of the 1950s and early 1960s? If so, this raises significant issues about how policy is formulated and argues powerfully for taking micro aspects of policy into account.

The final period is the late 1980s, immediately prior to Turners Court's withdrawal from residential care. Given that one concern is to put forward an explanatory framework that might aid understanding of the closure, this choice was obvious. Of special significance here in terms of charting major policy shifts were events leading up to the Children Act 1989 and the separation of arrangements for dealing with young offenders from those for dealing with children in need of care. An unintended consequence of this

shift, alongside changes in local authority financial arrangements, was the demise of Turners Court and a great number of other residential establishments, especially those which claimed to adopt a therapeutic approach to social work. This went alongside a general shift away from residential provision as exemplified by the reduced parental use of boarding schools (Gooch 1996).

Here it is clearly worth asking what combination of events and processes led to the institution closing. What elements necessary for establishing and sustaining the organisation disappeared? What role did national policy play in this? At the micro, what organisational requirements ceased to be? Apart from its academic interest, this is still a matter of direct concern for those working for the Turners Court Trust: should the institution have closed earlier or might it have continued? What aspects of Turners Court care were out of step with social work practice and social policy generally? What exactly was the lack of congruence? Was there something inevitable about the closure of the institution? Is all residential care dated as a concept or were the circumstances and events unique to Turners Court?

A number of other factors influenced the final choice of periods. It is difficult to see how one could engage in an analysis without a clear account of the reasons for Turners Court being built in the first place. The sheer volume of archive material potentially available meant that it was necessary to be selective regarding the middle periods, although the limitations of the boys' records virtually ruled out the 1920s and 1930s. The period when the welfare state was first established would have been potentially very interesting but the policy processes in the creation of statutory child care services are well chronicled elsewhere (for example, Parker 1988; Packman 1975; Holman 1996). However, readers interested in this will find a brief summary of developments during and immediately after the Second World War towards the end of Chapter 4.

The period of dramatic change that occurred in the 1960s, with the demise of the Approved School system and a fundamental change in ethos at Turners Court proved, on balance, to be more tantalising, given that substantial and far-reaching reforms at national level reflected vigorous debate about whether young offenders should be treated or punished (Morris et al. 1980, 1983; Hyland 1993; Muncie 1999; Haines and Drakeford 1998). The final period obviously had much to commend it in terms of offering opportunities to relate Turners Court's closure to the demise of one sector of residential care, namely the former Approved Schools which had become Community Homes with Education under the 1969 Act. Whilst Turners Court never fully allied itself to the criminal justice system, it met a similar fate, which begs the question as to

whether it might have fared better as a residential boarding school specialising in meeting the needs of the 'educationally and behaviourally disturbed' (a term that defies precise definition – see Laslett 1977 and 1983). This parallel provision, whilst not the primary focus in this thesis, is of interest since there is some common ground and often arbitrary factors determined whether boys were sent to a community home or special boarding school (Grimshaw with Berridge 1994; Hyland 1993; Cole and Visser 1998). All of this contributes to a debate about the role of residential care, and the position of social work in its historical context more generally. In addition, there was a desire to offer something worthwhile to the Trustees in terms of analysis of the reasons for the closure of Turners Court, which need also to be related to changes at a much broader level: economic, social and global, as well as political.

VERIFYING OBJECTIVES

Linking these together, it is possible to identify two overall objectives. Firstly, it may be possible to draw some conclusions from the examination of social policy changes and social work practice for the significance of micro analyses. One identified aim is to work towards a theoretical framework that enables macro and micro change to be explained, specifically in the context of a voluntary organisation working in the field of social welfare. Such a framework may help in the construction of a model that assists in explaining macro and micro interconnections. This in turn means that it should ultimately be possible to identify what needs to be consistent and congruent in order for an organisation to adapt and survive. It should be feasible to explain how micro elements relate to the macro, illustrating this by examples from Turners Court of processes such as mediation, accommodation and resistance.

Secondly, it may be possible to say something about social policy as an academic discipline. There would appear to be a case for arguing that social policy needs to pay greater attention to history, to values and to micro interactions. Social policy also needs to consider the process, rather than form, of implementation of policy changes. Acknowledging the need to incorporate a theoretical and methodological framework for setting up a macro-micro analysis, the thesis adopts the structure set out below.

Chapter 2 explains why Turners Court is an appropriate subject for a study of changes in social work practice as a reflection of social policy shifts and provides a brief summary of its background. The range of primary evidence obtainable relating to Turners Court is summarised, together with an overview of the organisation. This leads on to a discussion of the methodological approach used and how this relates to the choice of Turners Court as a case study.

Chapter 3 develops the argument that a case study approach affords a worthwhile opportunity to adopt a combination of methods, which here enables the study to integrate macro and micro insights. A rationale for deploying macro and micro as the key central concepts throughout the research is presented. On this basis there are specific merits in adopting the research strategy set out by Layder (1993) which is fully explained in this chapter.

Chapter 4 begins this analysis of Turners Court through a detailed investigation of the late Edwardian period in social policy, the period when Turners Court was founded. The research attempts to identify those specific elements that led to the creation of Turners Court at that particular time, and these are related to the documentary evidence of the early days of the establishment. A significant emphasis is placed on the beliefs of the founders, since these relate to other key aspects of ideology and beliefs that existed at the end of the nineteenth century. There is a strong connection between Turners Court and other aspects of social welfare promoted at the time, but also with developments in education and more especially employment. At the same time, there are some interesting special features of Turners Court which do not accord with other aspects of social welfare: for example, the fact that it was a non-sectarian establishment at a time when sectarianism was rife.

Chapter 5 moves on to the 1960s when Turners Court came to be seen by some as a model of progressive social welfare for young people (men) who had, or were likely to acquire, criminal records. This model, it has been suggested, was adopted and adapted into the system of community homes implemented as a result of the Children and Young Persons Act 1969. Reasons for the introduction of that Act are analysed, since these connect policy to the development of individual institutions. Turners Court's role in this is assessed, since a key theme in this chapter is the impact on Turners Court of the 'crisis' in the Approved School system. Did the demise of the Approved School contribute to the apparent rise in the fortunes of Turners Court? In what ways was Turners Court used as a 'model of good practice'?

Chapter 6 brings the discussion up-to-date by exploring the effects on Turners Court of social policy developments in the 1980s. Changes in social work practice, together with significant shifts in social policy, had an immediate impact on Turners Court. During this period, it is possible to identify disconnections between Turners Court's declared values and wider policy trends. By investigating the congruity of prevailing macro and micro forces, it is possible to set out some clear reasons as to why Turners Court was no longer viable as a residential care establishment.

Chapter 7 reflects on what has been learned about the macro-micro debate and, in particular, the implications for social theory. A number of weaknesses are identified in wholly structuralist accounts such as functionalism, Marxism and feminism, and also in social policy more generally since social policy adopts, in the main, a macro approach to social work. This is then followed by a consideration of the limitations of theories that focus exclusively on the micro, such as symbolic interactionism and phenomenology. The chapter concludes with an evaluation of theories that claim to be able to connect the macro and micro, paying particular attention to those who move beyond simply acknowledging that they ought to be linked in some way. The work of Goffman and Giddens is key, for both acknowledge that power relations and dynamic forces need to be related to general social theory. The thesis takes forward some of these ideas in order to construct a framework for the analysis of the development of social work, a framework that relates watersheds in the history of Turners Court to social policy developments and the history of social work in Britain.

The typicality of Turners Court's experience is examined in the first part of the final chapter, using a model that seeks to explain change by integrating the macro and micro, identifying those aspects or elements that need to be present and consistent in order for an organisation to survive. Turners Court's roots as a voluntary organisation, forged from an amalgam of different welfare interests created for specific purposes, has parallels with other spheres of social work. In the 1960s Turners Court was acclaimed by some as a beacon of enlightened residential social work, adopted and nurtured by those who were keen to see its methods and values adopted more widely. Its closure reflects the general demise of a brand of residential care. The lack of congruence of macro and micro elements at Turners Court was repeated elsewhere, although not always. The survival of a small number of similar organisations can be potentially explained by specific features which Turners Court did not share. The second part of Chapter 8 returns to the theoretical discussion of earlier chapters and asks what the study has demonstrated about social policy and the history of social work. It is argued that focusing on one case has provided a deeper understanding of ways in which social policy was translated (or not) into actual day-to-day social work practice. The development of Turners Court mirrors the development of social work, and residential social work in particular. Revisiting the past offers fascinating glimpses into day-to-day practices that reflect different ideologies, perceptions, and values. All of these are precious, not in the sense that they are quaint, but insomuch as by demonstrating these, researchers and practitioners are encouraged to reflect on current practices and values.

TURNERS COURT AS A CASE STUDY

A RESIDENTIAL INSTITUTION AS THE FOCUS OF STUDY

It is important to begin by explaining why Turners Court was selected as an appropriate case study, and give a flavour of what it was like as an institution. In addition to providing a short overview of the background to Turners Court, the discussion here sets its role within the wider social, economic and political context. It is essential to understand this context, it is argued, in order to understand the life history of an institution and its role within social work generally. It is also important to understand what actually went on within Turners Court on a day-to-day basis, for this may help to explain what sustained it as an institution. This points to research methods that focus on the internal workings of the organisation. At the same time, the desire to learn more about the history of social work argues for a broader analysis. This chapter therefore considers what research methods might be best suited to pursuing these objectives. A case study approach exploring the life of a specific institution offers unique potential for marrying a number of methodologies consistent with attempts to relate the macro to the micro and vice versa (Eckstein 2000; Sjoberg 1991; Denscombe 1998; Sarantakos 1998).

Social care institutions and organisations do not simply appear from nowhere. They are created at a particular time for a particular purpose in a particular context, which can change. An organisation originally created to provide employment training for young men, as Turners Court was, can over time become a mixture of community home and boarding school committed to social work principles. Organisations do not exist in a vacuum: the mode of their creation, the institution's subsequent progress through changing times, and their departure from the social welfare scene are all informative. They tell us a great deal about the value set on social care, about changes in thinking about social care reflected in the priority accorded to the care of people who are perceived as being 'in need', and about accepted modes of providing that care. It also tells us about wider social forces that set those priorities and patterns of care provision.

At one level, the life story of an institution recounts the hopes, beliefs and experiences of the individuals who established it, ran it, worked in it, lived in it, profited from it, or failed to benefit from it. At another level, the institution reflects public policy towards the groups of people for whom the institution makes provision, indicating what kind of

social care is valued and encouraged at a particular time in history. Both levels are intrinsically related: the form of social work practice reflects public attitudes towards a particular group as well as individual practitioners' values, for example.

At the very broadest level, it is contended, the institution appears to need to have a role which is consistent with the wider social, economic and political system. The phrase "appears to need to have" refers to the congruence of personal vision, the shared beliefs and values of a group of people, and local opportunities coming together with the social, political and economic forces that generate public endorsement for its aims. This congruence forms a major theme of the thesis, being used in a later chapter as the basis for the construction of a model of explanation of change. The foundation of Turners Court came towards the end of a period of significant social change when action was deemed to be necessary to 'rescue' certain groups from their inability to care for themselves (Parker 1988, 1991; Muncie 1999). The protection of children had begun to be a social issue of significance with the foundation of the NSPCC in 1884 (Ferguson 1996; Hendrick 1997: 45-47) and concern about the "sheer amount of bodily infirmity in the common schools" (quoted in Cooter 1992: 47) dominated debates about children's physical health in the 1880s and 1890s. Yet at the same time this was the heyday of voluntarism (Digby 1989: 86-90) which initiated 'creeping collectivism', that is, a very gradual development of the belief in the "communal protection of individuals from social ills" (Midwinter 1994: 68). Such a development had not yet extended to demands for public (as opposed to charitable) finance, since direct state intervention was not envisaged. Instead, the context was ripe for development of a 'voluntary' organisation concerned for the welfare of a group of young men who could not yet gain employment in the open market. At the wider political level, there was concern about the medical fitness of men needed for the army and emigration was seen as an appropriate goal for those who could work (Springhall 1977: 14; Midwinter 1994: 78). As an alternative, with the demise of emigration, a shortage of labour after the First World War meant that farm work in Britain became an acceptable substitute. There was also a moral panic about delinquency and hooliganism (Cohen 1971, 1987; Taylor 1998: 63, 157-8) together with the development of "auxiliary institutions for those who were deemed to inhabit the borderland between criminality and illness" (Taylor 1998: 145), presumably those who were perceived to be a mixture of 'mad' and 'bad'.

All of these factors coming together provide compelling reasons for the establishment of Turners Court and it is this congruence, where specific macro forces combine and meld with specific micro factors, which helps to understand the genesis of an organisation. The political, social and economic environment into which an organisation

is born does not remain static. The context changes constantly, demarcated in social policy by the landmarks of new legislation that reflect major innovations or shifts in welfare ideology. Micro social work practices change as do some of the core beliefs, ideas and values on which these are based. An illustration of this would be the growing prominence of 'evidence-based practice' in health and social care (Gomm and Davies 2000). This contrasts sharply with the diffuse social work practice of the 1960s where specific goals or objectives were rarely stated, and where the therapeutic relationship between worker and 'client' sometimes appeared to be an end in itself. Turners Court provides graphic illustrations of these processes, and is essentially a peg on which to hang an explanation and analysis of changes in social work over an 80 year time span. It offers potential for relating social work practice to wider structural changes, affording a breadth and depth of analysis that is not possible without an historical perspective.

Yet this is not the whole story - for Turners Court was also unique. It made a particular and special contribution to residential care in Britain. So too did several other organisations in their different ways, and it is important to recognise this. The qualities and characteristics that make particular organisations distinctive are of interest since they tell us something about the values and beliefs that make people invest time and energy into creating and sustaining them. One feature of Turners Court is the extraordinary loyalty that it commanded from staff and residents and the meaning that became attached to its name (Chapter 5 below; Interviews 3, 5 and 7). By the time it closed, Turners Court had experienced comparatively few changes of senior staff, as can be seen by the complete list of Principals:

Table 1: Turners Court Superintendents, Wardens and Principals

1911	Mr. W. H. Hunt	Superintendent
1934	Col. Ronald Grant	Warden
1943	Capt. Tune	Temporary Warden
1943	Mr. Hinton	Warden
1951	Mr. G. N. Manley	Warden
1954	Col. Ronald Menday	Warden
1967	John Howells	Warden then Principal (after 1970)
1989	Mike Cornfield	Principal

Stability and staff loyalty at a senior level may partly explain the acquisition of an identity or 'culture'. This appears to have some similarities with the identity of individuals: a history, a set of values, a distinctive way of responding to change, a way

of looking at, and interpreting, the outside world. The importance of the culture or regime of individual residential care establishments has been noted elsewhere (Berridge 1985; Parker in Sinclair 1991; Berridge and Brodie 1998) and, in one study, measured by reference to commission of offences and absconding (Sinclair and Gibbs 1998: Chapter 13). Exploring this aspect may prove fruitful in exposing the links between belief systems and organisational behaviour, an issue of relevance in social work where practitioners are required to demonstrate adherence to core values in their everyday work.

All of this requires to be demonstrated and much of what follows is dedicated to this purpose. However, before undertaking this it is important to note different levels of meaning and interpretations attached to some terms that will recur in the thesis.

Belief systems are used in social science as the means by which people make sense of their world, and therefore can be very broad, covering cultural practices, alternative life-styles, competing ideologies, for example, concerning citizenship and equality (Parker 1998: Chapter 1). Belief systems can also be used in a narrower sense to refer specifically to religious beliefs, which were of very great importance in the history of Turners Court. Begun as an avowedly Christian organisation, it transformed over time to a more secular, humanistic enterprise, yet retained to the end some vestiges of its origins. In this sense, it is no different from similar contemporary organisations concerned with child welfare, for example, NCH (the National Children's Home), the Children's Society, and Barnardo's.

Less attention has been paid in sociology and social policy to the definition of values, probably because terms such as ideology that demonstrate an amalgam of values are preferred. In the literature on social policy aspects of social work, for example, relatively little attention is paid to values but a great deal to the 'ideology' of caring, especially family and community care (Dalley 1988; Cowen 1999). Askonas (1997) claims to present a selection of readings under the banner of "welfare and values" but nowhere defines values, preferring instead to refer to moral and spiritual aspects of the welfare state, bemoaning the lack of shared ideology and moral framework. In social work, value references and discussions are endemic, yet analysis of values is rare and "totally uncritical" (Timms 1986: 3).

The term 'institution' needs to be handled with care since it has a double meaning and differences in terminology need to be kept in mind at all times. At the micro, the emphasis is on a particular organisation as an institution, and in Turners Court's case, this literally means bricks and mortar on a large farm in the Oxfordshire countryside.

This might be described as the 'everyday sense' of the term being "places such as rooms, suites of rooms, buildings, or plants in which activity of a particular kind regularly goes on" (Goffman 1968: 15). At the macro, the term 'institutions' refers to entities rather than actual identified buildings: education, the church, and the family, for example. Here the institution is essentially an identifiable element or feature of the social 'structure' that is more powerful than individuals and may, particularly in functionalist sociology, be regarded as being divorced from them. Hence the family as an 'institution' could be regarded as serving specific functions in society, pre-determining and controlling actual relationships within families as lived realities (see, for example, Fletcher 1966). To commentators such as Giddens this is dangerous for it implies a "dualism of subject and social object" (Giddens 1984: 16), which can be avoided by a more sophisticated theoretical view of the relationship between structure and individuals. In his view the "most important aspects of structure are rules and resources recursively involved in institutions" and institutions are "the more enduring features of social life" (Giddens 1984: 24).

TURNERS COURT'S HISTORY

In 1911, the Wallingford Farm Training Colony was bought for the sum of £5,925 and in 1913 was officially opened by the Lord Mayor of London. Its location was apparently ideal for the purposes for which eight men originally put up a total of £6,400. It was

> *... two miles from a public house; the soil is particularly suitable, the air is bracing and calculated to invigorate men with poor constitutions; an expert has advised that the water supply will be ample. The situation of the Farm makes it specially suitable to serve London, Birmingham, Bristol, Cardiff, Portsmouth, Southampton and the Southern and South Midland districts of England.*

Archive 25

Its foundation was strongly influenced by the 'colony' movement (for brief overview see page 55 below), and also by a powerful amalgam of Christian men and women from different denominations (for further discussion on this see Chapter 4). Turners Court appears to have been founded as an alternative to Lingfield (an epileptic colony, now a hospital for people with severe learning disabilities), but without the 'taint' of epilepsy with which Lingfield had become associated (Archives 07, 09, 15). Early records from Turners Court suggest that original plans to provide men for emigration quickly foundered with the advent of the First World War, but were then resurrected and implemented right until the early 1960s (Archive Registers). The links between Lingfield and the Christian Social Service Union suggested to the founders that it could be

staffed by 'brothers' (Archive 16). It may be that even in 1911 staff recruitment and retention were anticipated to be problematic since it was suggested at the outset that retention bonuses for satisfactory service should be paid after one, two and three years. Five shillings a week was to be the starting pay (Turners Court 1913).

The twenty-fifth birthday of the 'colony' was celebrated in 1937. The guest of honour, a local Member of Parliament, spoke of government plans to increase the provision of milk to schoolchildren. This would have been good news for Turners Court since by then milk production was one of its major sources of income. By this time the annual visit by a well-known public figure or dignitary (the Duke of Gloucester was the speaker in the following year) had become customary. In the silver jubilee year, the MP was accompanied by the Chief Constable of Buckinghamshire and reporters from the News Chronicle and The People newspapers. Apparently, the ensuing newspaper articles had the unintended consequence of Turners Court receiving a mass of letters from parents asking the colony to take in their difficult sons (Menday 1998: 46-47).

Just after the fiftieth anniversary in 1963, Turners Court finally "arrived" (Menday 1998: 102). For in that year it received a visit from Dr. Stott, a social worker lecturer from Glasgow University, described as the "greatest authority on child care in the country" (ibid.). Similarly, tutors in charge of the child care course at Ruskin College Oxford and a parallel course at Bristol University were both impressed enough to ask Turners Court to accept students on placement. The national acceptance of Turners Court as a child care pioneering body was apparently confirmed by a visit by Dr. Kellmer Pringle, director of the National Bureau for Co-operation in Child Care.

In 1974, a three-day exercise was held at Turners Court to review its purpose and its approach. The introduction to this exercise contains a précis of its history, which indicates the kind of approach Turners Court had come to adopt. At that time, it had an intake of 120 boys and had come to concentrate on 'difficult' boys whose stay in Turners Court was financed by local authority fees. Boys were "usually admitted between aged 15 and 16½ years, and remained for a period of approximately five terms" (Turners Court 1974). There were five houses as living accommodation together with the school workshops club and offices. It offered farm training, which had always been the traditional role of Turners Court, but this was now supplemented by bricklaying, carpentry, painting, decorating, catering, engineering, vehicle maintenance, and horticulture. A formal education programme was introduced in 1968. Social 'casework' is "carried out in the houses by residential social workers, who are supported by social case workers." A consultant psychiatrist attended Turners Court two days a week. If a local authority wanted a boy to go to Turners Court, the boy

would be interviewed and shown round the establishment. The boy would then be asked to think about whether he wanted to come, and if he decided to do so would be asked to write a letter accepting the offer of a place. (Turners Court 1974: 1-2)

By 1988, Turners Court was in deep financial trouble. The overdraft was in the region of £193,000 with only 32 boys on roll, which meant a monthly loss of approx. £25,000 since the budget assumed a roll of 48 (Turners Court 1988). Desperate measures were instituted, not for the first time, including direct appeals by the managers to the Home Secretary and the local MP, Michael Heseltine. This was complemented by concurrent direct appeals for more referrals through visits by the Principal to a number of local authorities (Menday 1998: 217-8). The proposal first mooted in 1986 for Turners Court to become co-educational was deferred (Menday 1998: 206) and was never actually implemented. Management Committee Minutes consist of a catalogue of financial and staffing problems, interspersed by references to increasingly serious offences committed by boys, now referred to as students, within both the establishment as well as outside. The continual reduction in numbers, together with increasing debt, compelled the Trustees' decision in January 1991 to close the establishment.

Ironically, the closure of Turners Court coincided with the culmination of an ideological push towards voluntary and private sector provision in social welfare (Batsleer 1992). This raises the subsidiary issue of whether it was the specific form of voluntary provision that Turners Court exemplified that fell from favour, or whether the closure can be linked to the specific forms of social work practice that were out of synchrony with wider sets of expectations and requirements.

THE ATTRACTION OF TURNERS COURT AS A SUBJECT FOR STUDY

There are a number of reasons for selecting Turners Court as being of special interest.

Firstly, given that there is a finite life-span history this means that there is a contained history within specific parameters. This history spans a period of dramatic changes at all levels, yet somehow this institution managed to withstand and accommodate that change for 80 years. In itself, this means that Turners Court is worth studying for what it demonstrates about the process of change and response to it. Here the fact that it has always been a voluntary organisation may have assisted since there is a widely held view suggesting that such an organisation is inherently more flexible than those that are set up by statute (Batsleer 1992). This flexibility is born of the need to respond to the market. Voluntary organisations do not have the protection of local authority status or of being a statute based body. This means that response to change is not mediated through a protective body with guaranteed sources of finance; there is an

immediacy and rawness in the organisation's responsiveness. Nor was this particular organisation able to draw on large reserves of funds created by legacies or wealthy endowments, unlike some other charitable organisations or independent schools. However, like them it did occasionally display innovation, another characteristic attributed to voluntary organisations. For example, Turners Court appears to have used written agreements with the boys it admitted before this was standard social work practice. The analysis of modes of response helps with the broader analysis since change occurs at different levels and the concern here is the interplay of macro and micro forces and the consequent changes for a specific organisation.

A second reason for focusing on Turners Court concerns the organisation of social work. During the period in question, social work grew from its early beginnings as a distinct charitable enterprise, with a small measure of public accountability, to its current position of being an activity regulated by legislation, ministerial guidance, codes of practice, and a regulatory framework. The 'brothers' who originally provided the care at the Wallingford colony have made way for the professional social workers and care managers of today. The Poor Law Board of Guardians who financed some of the men sent to Turners Court in the 1920s and 1930s have been replaced by local authority social services departments. The strong crusading spirit which inspired a small group of men to make huge loans to the 'colony' to get it going, has now given way to an emphasis on public funding for social work, even if the actual work is carried out by independent sector organisations.

A third area of attention concerns the nature of social work, and the values and beliefs that underpin it. Turners Court was started intentionally as a Christian organisation, an example of Christian witness and care, through which specifically Christian values were inculcated and taught. In common with social work more generally, this belief system came to be supplanted by secular humanism (Younghusband 1964; Bowpitt 1998), and the history of Turners Court mirrors that. Significantly, though, there are some differences here, with Turners Court remaining resolutely a voluntary organisation with nominal allegiance to a Christian ethos. The annual harvest supper continued almost to the end, and in 1987 staff held a lively debate concerning moral guidance and whether Christian principles should direct this (Menday 1998: 211). In terms of social work practice, much of the value system is reflected in the day-to-day practice, some of which can be gleaned from the boys' records, as can the influential theoretical perspectives. Here the shift is from a training institution aimed at emigration or farm work, through to a psycho-dynamic oriented 'casework' response to 'difficult' behaviour, and finally to individual therapeutic programmes which claimed to meet educational

and social needs. These developments can be chronicled and analysed, and the extent to which the declared values match actual social work practice verified.

The fourth merit of using Turners Court as the subject for study is that it claims a special role within the whole history of residential care. Specifically some say that it directly contributed to the shift away in the 1960s from the 'punishment' model of responding to young offenders towards a 'treatment' model. Whether this claim can be substantiated is debatable, but even if there is only some validity in it, this does raise significant questions concerning the way policy is formulated and put into practice. This may necessitate some measure of re-thinking or reformulation of the macro-micro dynamic.

The fifth and final attraction of Turners Court was the availability of an extensive archive which might shed light on all of these aspects. In addition, the archive would help to illustrate the unique features to which Turners Court laid claim. While all institutions and establishments have their own identities, Turners Court appears to have a number of curious features that might explain its longevity, or alternatively might explain why it ceased to exist when it did. One obvious feature in retrospect is the organisation's resistance to becoming co-educational. It always provided care for boys and young men. Another is its refusal to be compromised by being drawn into direct accountability to the state, i.e. central government. It appears to have resolutely safeguarded its independence (as in, for example, its refusal to join the Approved School system) and in this sense one is reminded of the parallels between independent residential care establishments for young people and independent schools (Gooch 1996). Here there appear to be some commonalities worth noting, such as the steady decline in boarding as an option and a move towards alternatives to full-time boarding.

THE MERITS OF THE CASE STUDY APPROACH

This final point hints at a major issue that now needs to be addressed, namely the specific advantages to be obtained from adopting a case study approach. After all, if there are unique features to Turners Court, does this not invalidate the search for an overall explanation of its life, and does this not inhibit the potential for drawing generalisations? The short answer suggested here is that while this may point to the need to be very careful about claims of typicality, it is possible to seek common strands (Yin 1994; Stake 1994) and therefore potentially to identify factors that influenced the change.

One illustration of what may be learned from a detailed examination of everyday events concerns distinguishing process from outcome. Exploring the processes whereby an

institution responds to change may provide clues in the quest for explanations of change. Confining the discussion to outcomes as a consequence of macro influences is limiting, for explaining the differential impact of social policy shifts on different organisations then becomes problematic. One ultimate ambition for the thesis is to set forward a model that can explain change, or at least the constituent elements of change that have to remain congruent, and Turners Court is helpful in this respect because of its specific distinctive features. Its role as a voluntary organisation avoids the complications associated with statutory social work bodies where existence is assured but finances are more complex, being tied into local government funding more generally. The existence of a primary shared set of beliefs (at foundation) simplifies the task for it is then possible to measure the extent to which these beliefs and values changed. The absence of a profit motive means that workers and managers at Turners Court justified their social work practice by reference to an agreed set of purposes and principles, which from time to time were made explicit. Yet, they were not exempt from the operation of market forces, so continual justification, in terms of purposes and appropriateness of practice, is very much in evidence in the Turners Court records.

The contention will be that this model can be applied to social care organisations more generally. Of course, there may be individual differences of form and outcome, but the processes and elements of congruence will be common. It is through an examination of what went on in the 80 year history of Turners Court that something worthwhile can be deduced about these processes and, more specifically, those specific areas of congruence or lack of congruence which relate to the process of change, adaptation and demise may be teased out.

In order to achieve this, the research question may be relatively easily stated.

> **How did it come about that Turners Court was set up in 1911, operated for 80 years as a provider of social welfare, and then closed down in 1991?**

While this question is easily posed, it is much more difficult to answer, for it requires an analysis of the interplay of macro-micro forces, which in turn demands the clear exposition of what these macro and micro forces might be. The answer is therefore reliant on adopting a satisfactory approach for exploring macro and micro developments. A satisfactory approach, it is contended, has to be a theoretical stance that allows for adequate consideration of the operation and interplay of both macro and micro forces, with research methods consistent with this.

Theories often contain implicit assumptions about the connections between the macro and micro. Significantly, some will concentrate exclusively on the macro whilst others focus on the micro thereby almost denying the connections. Macro approaches generally may help to chart the economic, social and political changes that occurred and which may have steered the course of Turners Court's history in certain directions. A deeper macro analysis may help to uncover processes that may answer fundamental questions about how the organisation came into being and why it eventually closed down. Micro analyses, by contrast, tell us more about the quality of everyday experience as it changed over the years. How was the culture and ethos of Turners Court conveyed to those who lived and worked there? In what ways did the belief systems accord with prevailing social work ideology and to what extent did it differ?

Linking the macro with the micro may help to identify what Turners Court gained and lost from its distinctiveness. It may, for example, provide clues to the puzzle that is the legacy of its closure. Could the closure have been avoided? Why did Turners Court 'fail' when other comparable organisations survived? Were there features of Turners Court that made its demise inevitable? More importantly, linking the macro and micro may tell us something more general about institutions, not just about how they are run, but also about how organisations are compelled to respond to change. There may be attempts on their part to mediate change, to filter it, to interpret or even to resist it. Furthermore, response to change can reach back into the dynamic of macro forces, implying that the current running between the macro and the micro is not always just one way.

Indeed, this begs the question as to whether it is appropriate to imply that the macro and micro are somehow separate, distinct entities. There are substantive theoretical reasons for disputing this, yet there is no doubt that many would seek to distinguish macro and micro as different *levels*. If the history of Turners Court derives from the interplay of macro and micro forces there needs to be a methodology which avoids compartmentalising the 'macro'- and the 'micro', that supports analysis of the interconnectedness without implying that one is superior to the other. Macro and micro approaches need not be mutually incompatible. They could be complementary, if a research strategy were to be deployed that built on the strengths of each, thereby overcoming the weaknesses of an exclusively macro or exclusively micro approach.

There are also a number of methodological issues thrown up by debates within social sciences, which it is important to address here. Why is a case study a valid way of conducting investigations into the social world? What are the reasons for conducting research through this means? What are the potential strengths and weaknesses of a

case study approach? What are the limitations of knowledge acquired in this way? In essence, these are epistemological questions. A number of claims may be made in favour of a case study as a valid research approach, although with an acknowledgement of some of its limitations. Its strengths and weaknesses are examined by making reference to the competing claims of quantitative and qualitative research methods, since these underpin the methodological debate concerning the merits of case studies.

THE CASE STUDY AS RESEARCH FOCUS

Few research texts attempt a definition of case studies, but Yin (1994: 13) suggests "a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context." Denscombe (1998) points to the popularity of case studies in small scale research, pointing to the merit of spotlighting one instance and thereby gaining insights which have wider implications and which "would not have come to light through the use of the research strategy that tried to cover a large number of instances". Case studies offer a detailed, in-depth investigation by focusing on relationships and processes, revealing interconnections and interrelationships, thereby reflecting a more holistic approach, being based on a real life 'natural' enterprise (Denscombe 1998: 31-32).

Hartfield (quoted in Sarantakos 1998: 192) suggests that case studies are a distinctive form of research design in that they study whole units in their totality; they employ several methods and perceive "the respondents as experts not just as a source of data". This last point is interpreted to imply in this study that participants in the life of Turners Court have a contribution to make to this research, which is therefore not confined merely to documents. This approach is considered to have a particular validity "when the research context is too complex for survey studies or experimental strategies and when the researcher is interested in the structure, process and outcomes of a single unit" (Sarantakos 1998: 192). Orum and Feagin (1991: 121) express the same view more succinctly: for them a case study "explores the hows and whys of a problem". Its contribution lies in understanding the micro social order of human interaction and the shifting nature of historical processes, identifying the salient features of complex organisational structures (Sjoberg 1991: 68).

The literature on research methodology largely agrees with a description of a case study as an umbrella term for an inquiry around an instance, concentrating on interactions. It is "not a methodological choice, but a choice of object to be studied" (Stake 1994: 236). Creswell (1998) identifies the case study as being one of five

traditions of qualitative research, the others being biography, phenomenology, grounded theory and ethnography. Referring to the spotlighting of an individual case, commentators have pointed to pitfalls as well as benefits. Blaxter et al. (1996: 66), for example, while suggesting that the case study is "ideally suited to the needs and resources of the small-scale researcher" warn against the danger of ignoring context, and also of the need to maintain objectivity. Yin (1994: 55) goes further warning that

> *too many people are drawn to the case study strategy because they believe it is easy.... No perception could be farther from the truth.*

So the case study is not a soft option. It seeks to explore a real living entity with all its inconsistencies and complications, with its mixture of internal driving forces and external constraints, and with its individual features that nevertheless display aspects of commonality worth highlighting. All of these features indicate that a case study is, in fact, quite a challenge.

Relating this back to the aims of the research, it is possible to identify three particular methodological merits of this approach.

First, a case study will help in the ultimate ambition of building a model which demonstrates the interplay of internal and external forces, the macro-micro dynamic. Such a model will arise from consideration of everyday past events and interactions (Williams and May 1996: 143), an approach that is in sympathy with the principles of grounded theory methodology (Strauss and Corbin 1994). A case study offers unique potential for exploring micro interactions. In this research, the focus is on the values and culture that informed everyday social work practice at Turners Court. Case studies also offer analyses of macro interactions, for the influence of legislative change and shifts in social policy generally become translated into the life and work of an institution, and focusing on 'an instance' or series of instances brings this into sharp focus. In this sense, the use of the case study here is 'instrumental' rather than 'intrinsic' (Stake 1994: 237), being used for the purpose of developing theory rather than solely in terms of better understanding of Turners Court itself.

Second, a case study of Turners Court illustrates some unique features and also some areas of consistency with other apparently similar institutions, thereby seeking out "both what is common and what is particular about the case" (Stake 1994: 238). This aids the analysis of how certain features of an organisation link into developments in social work and social policy, again illustrating how an organisation promotes and sustains an identity which sometimes chimes in with macro changes and sometimes clashes with them.

Third, an in-depth study offers insights into the extent to which an institution takes on a "life" of its own. In Goffman's terms (summarised at page 209 below) the institution may have acquired a power and identity that controlled not just the actions of actors within it but also the culture and context in which they played out their roles. In Giddens' terms, Turners Court may have come to represent a specific set of persistently repeated social practices, or praxis, which for 80 years took the form of a residential social work establishment that operated in a particular way (for debate about structuration theory and praxis see Cohen 1987).

Having argued that a case study is valid as a means of attaining the thesis objectives, it is important to say something about the methodological implications of that choice of approach. Examining micro relationships, especially the formulation and promotion of shared values and belief systems, propels the research towards an in-depth qualitative analysis of people's actions. An examination of social work practice will involve at least some consideration of what it felt like to 'belong' to Turners Court, an ambition best achieved by giving a flavour of it through detailed illustrations of micro interactions. Whilst some evidence of this can be obtained through relevant documents, this may need to be supplemented by interviews with key actors and participants in the day-to-day running of Turners Court. Yet there may also be a need for some quantitative data. The numbers of boys who passed through Turners Court was taken by its managers as an important indication of the 'health' of the organisation (although interpreted in different ways at different times), and certainly the length of stay became very relevant as part of this evaluation. The existence of admission registers, detailed case notes, periodic reviews, committee reports and minutes all aid this kind of analysis. The extent to which each research tool is used varies according to the period surveyed, so the following chapters include discussions of the relative merits of primary and secondary data relevant to that era.

The research reflects a mix of methods and a mix of approaches; indeed this is claimed as a distinguishing feature and merit of a case study. This particular research also aims to analyse the operation of macro and micro forces and to consider the way they interconnect, intersect and interrelate. The views and roles of participants, most especially those who had some influence on the development of Turners Court, is clearly of fundamental importance in relating the micro to the macro.

This sets two important preliminary tasks before the research can proceed. Some theoretical justification for mixing research methods needs to be presented, together with clarification of the terms macro and micro. Then some attention needs to be focused on the ethical implications of the micro element of the research, since an

institution that chronicles people's lives yields information that is often intensely personal. This intensity relates not just to events that occurred while people lived or worked at Turners Court, but also to retrospective interpretations of those events which are often disputed. Controversy that still surrounds the closure of Turners Court in the sense that there is no obvious single explanation to which all participants subscribe. Rather there are contested versions of what occurred and why, with an inevitable tinge of acrimony expressed by those who consequently lost their jobs and their livelihoods. It is to these tasks that the thesis now turns.

Chapter 3

RELATING THE MICRO TO THE MACRO

DEFINING MACRO AND MICRO

Institutions such as Turners Court stand at an intersection of the macro and micro and this is of itself a source of interest from the point of view of social theory. For such institutions could be regarded as micro organisations reflecting in themselves the operation of macro forces. Alternatively, they could be conceptualised as macro level institutions in relation to the people who lived and worked there. Whichever view is taken, the operation of macro and micro processes is clearly of considerable significance to those who work in the social welfare field. It is vital to understand the processes whereby social welfare institutions are created and the purposes they serve, intentionally or otherwise. At the same time it is also important to explore the effects of institutions on people who come into contact with them, since this demonstrates the role of the institution in shaping the lives of people identified as being in need of 'care'.

Chapter 2 set out a rationale for examining Turners Court's life as a social welfare institution, and much of this thesis is taken up with explanations of its history related to wider dimensions. The net is cast deliberately fairly wide for the intention is not to constrain the analysis to particular kinds of sociological theory, nor to be compelled to accept conventional social policy or social work related theories. Instead, a way is sought of melding theories that would appear to offer the greatest potential for addressing the research question. This means adopting concepts that have wide currency, offering flexibility and potential for different interpretations, yet being useful in terms of ensuring the comprehensiveness of the research. Macro and micro have much to commend them in this respect. Chapter 2 alluded to some merits of the macro-micro approach in relation to this case study. This argument needs to be developed further in relation to methodology and theory.

There appear to be three specific merits of using macro and micro as part of a quest for an approach that offers the best opportunities for analysing the operation of forces that explain the development of social welfare institutions such as Turners Court.

First, it may help avoid the pitfalls of the structure-agency dualism employed by many sociologists, or the distinction often made between 'society' and 'individual' (Layder 1994). Both of these imply a sharp demarcation that inhibits analysis: the analysis becomes either structural or focused on agency, for example, with inadequate attention

to the interconnections. The use of the structure-agency distinction tempts the researcher to focus exclusively on how actions mediate structures, how individuals resolve, respond to or resist social conventions. There is a temptation to assume that human life consists of two levels, the structural and the individual (or agent), and that social science should concern itself with the bridge between them. This assumption needs to be challenged. The process of mediation, accommodation and resistance is important, and rightly should be the focus for the researcher's attention, but the separation of structures from agents is too precise, too stark. As the case study analysed in this thesis will demonstrate, values and belief systems matter both at an individual *and at an institutional level*. Furthermore, individuals can act as catalysts promoting beliefs and values that influence legislation. The simple fact that these processes occurred - in the late 1960s in the case of Turners Court - casts doubt on the more simplistic structure-agency accounts.

It is worth underlining that the terms macro and micro essentially refer simply to different forms of analysis, not different entities. Careful use of macro and micro as terms of equal validity should help to avoid the trap of implying discrete levels. For example, the view expressed by Homans (1987) that social institutions are no more than the sum of constituent behaviours, and therefore the macro is simply the micro at a different level, is widely disputed, being about as far removed as it is possible to be from structuralists who point to the overwhelming power of society, in whatever guise, as moulding individual behaviour (for example, Foucault 1979).

The second point is that avoiding the assumption of levels and precise delineation of boundaries also avoids the danger of reification, that is, of treating social structure as if it were something tangible or a readily identifiable entity. Instead macro and micro should be treated as different foci rather than the subjects of examination themselves. This would also allow for concentration on the intersection and interrelationship of different processes, without becoming preoccupied with identifying their source of origin (Turner 1987). Avoiding choosing between macro and micro in this way averts the danger of a 'phoney war' that can lead to 'an unhappy division of labour' (Giddens 1984: 139). After all, there can be "no theoretical defence for supposing that the personal encounters of day-to-day life can be conceptually separated from the long-term institutional development of society" (Knorr-Cetina 1981: 173).

Leading on from this analysis, it is suggested that there may be more merit in regarding macro and micro approaches as essentially examining the same phenomena in different ways. Like binoculars and telescopes, held one way they can magnify the

detail, held the other they can conflate a broad picture so as to give a better impression of the whole. If this analogy is accepted, the danger of seeing macro and micro as entities is averted. They then become alternative perspectives: the broad view compared to the narrow, each valid in its own right yet different. Another analogy would be portrait pictures compared to landscapes. As such, the use of macro-micro as the distinction resolves some of the problems associated with the more conventional structure-agency approach, particularly the temptation to take the dualism too literally by seeking to identify 'structures' and 'agents'.

The third merit of the macro-micro approach relates to its inter-disciplinary value. A macro approach would focus on the broader scale, the more general rules and processes, the wider vision of the whole 'system'. As such, it can be applied to economics, for example, just as easily as to the natural sciences. Yet most macro approaches concede that social actors can still influence decisions although as individuals their potential is limited: even the Prime Minister cannot change the whole economic system. Likewise, micro concerns itself with detail, with analysis at a very specific individual level, as in, for example, microbiology. In social science, this can be taken to refer to the everyday interaction of people. Hence, a micro analysis would concern itself with how people relate to each other on an everyday basis, or how the processes within an organisation keep it going. At the same time, it would be open to exploration of how wider social forces impinge on every day practice, not as occasional influences but in a continuous dynamic fashion. Thus the macro

> *appears no longer as a particular layer of social reality on top of micro-episodes... Rather it is seen to reside within these micro-episodes where it results from the structuring practices of agents.*

Knorr-Cetina 1981: 34

The terms macro and micro have a universality that is not shared by the agency-structure dualism, and this in itself makes the terms attractive. For example, the focus on the relationship between cells in an organism which interests micro-biologists would have a parallel with the focus on the form and content of interaction within a social group. This consistency of methodological approach can be maintained even when the theory underlines the difference in subject matter as in, for example, the formation of belief systems in human individuals linked to constructivist psychology (Dallos 1991). In all disciplines, the term micro has a common meaning. It locates the focus for attention rather than prescribing or making assumptions about what is actually being observed. It thereby allows for the potential for a more rounded analysis.

RESEARCHING THE MACRO AND MICRO

For all of these reasons, a macro-micro analysis is to be preferred. This being the case, three questions need to be addressed:

1. How is such an analysis best conducted, in other words, how should a macro-micro analysis be approached?

2. How does this connect into a methodological framework? This should potentially be one that facilitates linkages to social theory generally and to social policy in particular. This is an important consideration since the thesis concerns the successful theoretical intermarrying of the macro and micro.

3. Given that the primary interest here is in what Turners Court's history shows about social policy and social work practice developments, it is pertinent to ask how this all relates to Turners Court. What specific questions should be asked in order to engage in a systematic analysis of the data yielded and by the interviews recorded?

In brief the answers to these questions are:

1. by combining research methods that can relate to both macro and micro

2. by using quantitative and qualitative approaches in a coherent and systematic way within a clear framework

3. by adapting the framework to Turners Court and drawing up specific questions to ask in relation to each of the periods chosen.

These answers are now explored in more depth.

Combining research methods

There are a number of sound theoretical reasons for wanting to combine research methods, and why this is methodologically a worthwhile enterprise.

Firstly, using both qualitative and quantitative research methods in the same research is an effective means of avoiding the polarised qualitative-quantitative debate (Bryman 1988). A case study can valuably deploy both methods. Secondly, and allied to this, it may therefore be possible to cross the divide between inductive and deductive theorising, and avoid becoming too wedded to one fixed approach to the research (Williams and May 1996; Hakim 1987). This means that the research is not driven by theory but can examine the data with an open mind. Thirdly, a case study permits a variety of different research tools to be used, not selected at random, but applied systematically as the most effective means of verifying data (Yin 1994; Sarantakos 1998; Mitchell 2000). This greatly facilitates legitimate triangulation by testing validity through using different approaches with the same data. It also means the research is

more holistic, and therefore more accurately reflects life as it actually is (Denscombe 1998; Yin 1993). These methodological issues are now considered further.

Quantitative research is seen as embedded in deductive reasoning that starts with a "general picture of social life"; by contrast, qualitative research focuses on subjective experiences and "how we create the social world through an inter-subjective process" (May 1993: 22, 29). Quantitative methods imply starting with theory, and therefore a concern with theory testing, whereas qualitative methods derive from an inductive approach that starts with people, and is therefore more concerned with theory building (Sarantakos 1998). With the emphasis on validity being sought through empirical, verifiable evidence, quantitative approaches naturally point to large scale research that uses numbers as units of analysis. Conversely, qualitative research is seen by and large to be small scale, being verifiable only in the sense that it accurately reflects people's perceptions and subjective interpretations.

Giddens considers the quantitative-qualitative distinction to be a dualism which is unhelpful, simply reinforcing "the micro macro separation which has led sociologists down so many unhelpful paths" (Tucker 1998: 35). A number of methodological texts confirm these points by starting with a contrast between quantitative and qualitative as opposing approaches, usually linking the former to scientific methods, positivism, and objectivity whereas the latter develops explanations on the basis of interpretation, ethnography and subjectivity (Blaxter 1996; Flick; 1998; Sarantakos 1998). Bryman (1988: 3) has noted that the distinction comes to represent more than simply ways of collecting data and is now linked with "divergent assumptions about the nature and purposes of research in the social sciences". Henwood and Pidgeon (1993: 14-15) point to the 'narrow association' of methodology with particular methods which results in a polarised debate between quantitative and qualitative 'anchored within two apparently opposed epistemological positions'. The legacy of polarisation, and the concomitant danger of entrenchment, is a refusal of those committed to one approach to see the merits in the other. This antagonism reflects different views of the world either taken to be a "product of the mind and the meanings that people attach to their social circumstances" or, alternatively, "social circumstances that structure the mind" (Williams and May 1996: 103).

The dichotomy is however beginning to break down with a realisation that it is possible to bridge the gap between the two approaches. There is a growing realisation that each approach has something to offer the other. For example, in comparative social policy where much reliance has hitherto been placed on attempting to draw conclusions from

analysis of international statistics, efforts are now made to adopt alternative research strategies such as the vignette method where hypothetical cases are taken on a theoretical 'journey' to different welfare regimes (Hantrais and Mangen 1996: Chapter 10). Furthermore, in actual practice research is not nearly as polarised as the basic texts suggest. Schofield (1993: 204-205) refers to the "striking rapprochement" between qualitative researchers increasingly interested in generalisability, and quantitative researchers increasingly sympathetic towards qualitative methods as complementary and explanatory of discrepancies.

The need for synthesis

The reasons for this 'rapprochement' are not hard to discern. A wholly quantitative approach yields a number of inevitable criticisms. In the context of this research, there would be several major objections.

Firstly, the statistical or empirical data would be inadequate in explaining Turners Court's history. Statistics as descriptions of boys' admissions and discharges, for example, might well illustrate the varying fortunes of the establishment but could never in themselves explain them. Statistics would not explain some of the decisions made by Turners Court managers. For example, the 'hard' evidence seemed to imply that the organisation ought to have closed after the First World War: the situation was financially dire, yet the organisation's benefactors decided to carry on and their commitment carried the organisation through those difficult years.

Secondly, quantitative data cannot ever really satisfactorily explain change. Turners Court confronted the need to change many times during its 80 year life span: sometimes those changes were imposed from the outside, for example changes in record keeping necessitated by the implementation of the Access to Personal Files Act 1987, but sometimes they were not, for instance the dramatic change in regime in 1955 when Menday was appointed. This variation in sources of change would be difficult to explain simply by reference to quantitative data.

Thirdly and most significantly given the aims of this research, quantitative data tells us very little about belief systems and values that underpinned the organisation. This would not give a real flavour of the kind of institution that it was. Nothing quantitative can explain the degree of enthusiasm and commitment that apparently made Turners Court work for 80 years. The Christian Social Service Union, which influenced the creation of Turners Court and had oversight of its developments in the early years, also had under its care a 'sister' organisation, Starnthwaite, a similar establishment for younger boys in the Lake District (Bestow undated). This school ought to have outlived

Turners Court, since it catered for a younger age group for whom policy makers considered there was greater 'hope' for reform. Yet, it closed many years earlier. This anomaly would be difficult to explain without reference to the precise culture and context that operated within both these establishments.

Qualitative data would, naturally, provide the personal aspect that quantitative methods would inevitably overlook. It would inform research as to how it might have felt to be part of this organisation. It would help to explain how some decisions came to be made. It would provide a rich tapestry of examples of social work principles and methods put into practice. It might even confirm that Turners Court gave its name to a set of ideals rather than just a set of buildings.

Yet, qualitative data on its own would yield little on the macro processes with which the research is also concerned. Qualitative data tells us very little about history apart from the history of the institution itself. Qualitative data tells us virtually nothing about economic and political power and its impact on welfare services. There is a national and global context, which it would be difficult to understand simply by reference to qualitative data. Many of the decisions concerning the future of Turners Court were driven by wider economic and financial considerations, which in turn were influenced by legislative changes, shifts in political Ideologies and macro factors such as world-wide economic recession. Employment statistics, migration and other demographic data, together with key economic indicators, all help to paint this broader canvas.

Thus, reliance on either quantitative or qualitative methods exclusively would severely impede our understanding of the history and development of Turners Court as a residential care establishment. Indeed, the obvious question this debate poses is whether there has to be a choice between quantitative and qualitative methods. If the methods are not mutually exclusive, why not use both approaches? Would this be valid?

Validating research: using different research tools

Valid research is taken in the context of this study to mean research that most accurately analyses the institution, both from the inside - depicting what it must have been like to live and work there – as well as assessing Turners Court's role within the broader perspective of the wider social welfare system. The case for marrying approaches is strengthened further by exploring the validation of theories in relation to their underlying perspectives. This confirms that there are deficiencies in relying too heavily on one approach alone.

Overviews of research methodology underline distinctive forms of validity relating to quantitative and qualitative research (Blaxter 1996; Coolican 1994; Denscombe 1998, Hammersley 1993; May 1993; Sarantakos 1998; Williams and May 1996). With quantitative research, the assumption is that the research is 'value free', objective in approach, and that the researcher is neutral, able to stand outside the research and observe it. Although differences between natural and social science are acknowledged, the basis for evaluating social sciences emulates natural science, with emphasis on empirical data tested for replicability, with best evidence considered to be universal applicability. By contrast, qualitative research starts from the premise that it is bound not to be value free. Social science is considered to be entirely different from natural science because human agency is unique and a crucial factor. Best evidence, therefore, is what makes sense to the people involved in context, which may quite naturally be unique to them. Hence, commonality or universality of experience is not a consideration for validation.

On the surface, these differences appear irreconcilable. Applying them specifically to a case study, a quantitative approach would require 'proof' that the case study was typical, looking for commonalties with other "cases" that likewise represented the outcome of the operation of macro forces. On the other hand, qualitative methods underline what is unique about this case, promoting micro interactions as valid in their own right. Yet research clearly is concerned with both. Besides, the automatic alliance of quantitative methods with the macro and qualitative with the micro would be an over-simplification. This "relationship is by no means perfect" (Bryman 1988: 147) and there are examples that challenge it: Gomm and Woods (1993) cite examples in relation to multi-level modelling of schools' examination results, and macro approaches to individual school data.

Diversity of approaches and deployment of different research tools can actively assist verifying and validating data, thereby providing triangulation. The need for triangulation is now widely acknowledged. Burgess (1984) suggests using multiple strategies for verifying research. He identifies different forms of triangulation: data triangulation (time, space, personal); investigator triangulation (more than one person investigates); theory triangulation (alternative or competing theories examined in one situation); and methodological triangulation (same method - different occasions or different methods - same object). A case study provides rich opportunities for triangulation since it allows for data triangulation through comparison of different times, it certainly allows for competing theories to be examined in relation to the same data, and obviously encourages methodological triangulation, for which it seems ideally placed. The

potential for a case study to harness the insights and knowledge gained from different approaches and utilising different methods is, it is contended, a strength rather than a weakness. In order to realise this potential, it is proposed to adopt the research map devised by Layder (1993).

Adopting a framework: Layder's research map

Layder argues forcefully that it is both possible and necessary to use quantitative and qualitative methods "in a complementary fashion" in order to avoid a "sterile game of defence and attack" (Layder 1993: 4, 110). This game is implicitly encouraged by research methods textbooks, good at distinguishing between quantitative and qualitative data, but less good at describing or in encouraging links between them. In addition, Layder (1993: 6) contends that social research tends to underplay or neglect three elements which are central. These three elements are: power, history and general social theory.

These are all relevant to Turners Court because its residents were significantly powerless and the organisation exerted considerable authority and influence over them. At the same time, the welfare system of which Turners Court was a part was itself powerful and to some extent, varying over time, shaped the form of social work that took place within the institution. At the widest level Turners Court represents something about the wider power relations in society, influenced by political ideology and economics. History is important for what it demonstrates about changes in the formulation of social work itself, shifts in its underlying ideology, and realignments of social and political forces that shape social work practice. The micro history of an institution is important for what it shows of its own culture and belief systems, also changing over time. Finally, the story of Turners Court may demonstrate that some theories or models of change are more adequate than others. Specifically here it may help to promote a model of change that can accommodate social, economic and political change as it is practised through social policy developments in relation to social work. Ignoring history and power in social work research would be a serious omission, for this would imply that social work was "apolitical where there are a plurality of stakeholders but no power relations" and the assumption would be that change was incremental which would disavow "a more fundamental analysis of the system and society" (Trinder 1996: 238).

All of this argues powerfully for a multi-strategy approach. Following Layder's analysis this involves making as many analytical 'cuts' into the data as possible. However, this must not be understood as a call for an 'anything goes' or eclectic approach, for a

multi-strategy approach involves theoretical elements that encourage a disciplined attitude towards research strategy incorporating "the integrated nature of macro-micro features of social life" (Layder 1993: 108). In order to implement this, to include the neglected elements, and to incorporate an approach that utilises the strengths and addresses the weaknesses of quantitative and qualitative approaches, Layder has devised an overall research model, his 'research map' (see Table 2 on following pages).

Applying the Research Map to Turners Court

The inadequacies of research exclusively locked into one specific approach provide a powerful argument for unbound research that can relate the macro to the micro in a flexible yet integrated fashion. The research map is an attempt to facilitate research across the macro-micro division acknowledging that the "macro and micro elements are deeply embedded in each other" (Layder 1993: 102, 106). This raises the challenge of how best to marry these methods and how to synthesise them without falling into the trap of mixing them up with each other. Layder's research map is adopted for this purpose.

What follows therefore is an adaptation of Layder's map fashioned to meet the aims of this research using sources of evidence available from Turners Court's archive and elsewhere. The map suggests that certain questions should be asked in relation to each level or sector of the map. Layder's questions are, of necessity, quite general so in what follows they have been interpreted and applied to the specifics of this research.

Table 2: research map

RESEARCH ELEMENT	RESEARCH FOCUS	GENERAL QUESTIONS THAT ARISE	SPECIFIC ISSUES RELATING TO TURNERS COURT
CONTEXT	Macro social organisation Values, traditions, forms of social and economic organisation and power relations. For example: legally sanctioned forms of ownership, interlocking directorships, state intervention.	What is the general distribution of power and resources in society relevant to the research? What values and ideas and ideologies encourage or discourage certain forms of behaviour? What is the nature of the political, religious and economic situation relevant to the subject of research?	Changing power relations in relation to social work, voluntary organisations, and disadvantaged groups. Economic needs, especially employment. Formulation and implementation of public policy: voluntarism, Children and Young Persons Act 1969, Children Act 1989.
SETTING	Intermediate social organisation. Work: industrial, military and state bureaucracies; labour markets; hospitals; social work agencies, domestic labour; penal institutions. Non-work: social organisation of leisure activities, sports and social clubs; religious and spiritual organisations.	What is the nature of the setting? Enclosed as in a hospital or factory or religious commune? Or dispersed with several intersecting forms of social organisation? What are the typical forms of attachment and commitments that individuals have in these settings? Monetary? Spiritual? Creative? Emotional? What other characteristic forms of power and authority are there? Is there a formal hierarchy? What underpins these relations of power control? How is conflict resolved? To what extent do aspects of the macro context impinge on the setting and the manner in which it is organised?	Turners Court as an 'enclosed' community. Links with other voluntary organisations, social work and education 'systems'. Nature of power within the setting: control systems (overt and covert). Responses to change emanating from macro context. Relative importance of financial, ideological, spiritual, and professional influences on running of organisation. Syntheses and dissonance with macro with special reference to organisation of social work and education. Internal organisation of Turners Court as reflection of wider changes in macro context with special reference to: gender, race, class, social work values, relationships with local authorities.

RESEARCH ELEMENT	RESEARCH FOCUS	GENERAL QUESTIONS THAT ARISE	SPECIFIC ISSUES RELATING TO TURNERS COURT
SITUATED ACTIVITY	Social activity Face-to-face activity involving symbolic communication by skilled, intentional participants implicated in contexts and settings. Focus on emergent meanings, understandings and definitions of the situation as these affect and are affected by contexts and settings and subjective dispositions of individuals.	Who is doing what to whom in this episode or in this interaction? Do patterns of behaviour or interaction emerge when observed over time? What social functions do these patterns and forms of interaction serve? What consequences may they produce? What forms of communication are being used? Does the setting influence the activity? To what extent do the location, time scale and spatial spread of the setting influence the activity?	Nature of everyday interactions in Turners Court: patterns of interactions as reflection of developments in social work. Discourse of records as demonstration of patterns of interactions and links into role of social work more generally. Forms of communication as reflections of changes in ideology, power relationships, social work values and principles.
SELF	Self-identity and individual's social experience As these are influenced by the above sectors and as they interact with the unique psychobiography of the individual. Focus on the life-career.	What conceptions of self and identity are bound up with certain lines of activity? What mechanisms are involved? What meanings and perceptions are bound up with these activities? Do these meanings and perceptions change? If they do, what causes them to change? What other subjective feelings, motivations and experiences are associated with particular lines of activity?	Turners Court's perceptions of itself as an organisation. Perceptions of staff. Ethos of organisation, shared values of staff. Changes in belief systems and perceptions. Source of change, consequence of change, micro resistances to change. Authority and power of individuals: role of key players. Influence on boys who went to Turners Court: the Turners Court 'experience'

adapted from Layder 1993: 79-80; 88-89; 98-101

The attraction of using this research map is that, not only does it help to orientate the research to specific issues and questions, but also that it acknowledges the central importance of history as intrinsic to theory-generating research. Likewise power is acknowledged throughout. Yet whilst its importance is recognised it needs also to be kept in perspective. For the temptation for researchers is either to place too much emphasis on power and use meta-theories that over-state the structure and macro issues to the exclusion almost of the micro, or else for researchers to adopt qualitative methods that undervalue the importance of the macro dimension of power. Researchers should be aware of forms of power which "operate 'behind the scenes' of observable interactions of everyday life" (Layder 1993: 151, 170). This approach is appealing for this research given the aim of connecting up the development of a specific social work organisation to the historical development of social work in the twentieth century. Such an analysis must take account of power but there is a desire to move beyond an analysis that implies that power is transmitted in a unilinear fashion (see Chapter 1 above, Chapter 7 below). The specific methodological merits of adopting the research map are that it is flexible, permitting different methods yet maintaining a degree of rigour. It allows for consideration and integration of macro and micro at the same time, and this is essentially what the thesis is about.

On this basis, it is possible to determine some specific methods that fit in with the three specific periods of Turners Court's history, which it is intended to explore (for summary of periods see Chapter 1). In each of these periods, different kinds of research tools are to be used in accordance with what is practicable and which offer the greatest potential for interconnecting the macro with the micro. In the analysis of the founding of Turners Court, the research relies on documentary sources, records of the organisation that founded Turners Court, research on similar organisations, and texts on development of social work in this period (mainly secondary sources). For the 1960s, research is based on Turners Court's own records, including case records, personal accounts from individuals influential in Turners Court's development, and public records of the debate about the Approved School system. The closure of Turners Court is analysed through Turners Court's own records, supplemented by personal recollections of key individuals together with chronicles of the demise of community homes more generally. A chapter is devoted to each of these periods and in each of these the precise research tools, with their associated strengths and weaknesses, are explained and linked into the overall methodological plan outlined here.

RESEARCHING THE MICRO: SOME ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS AND CONSIDERATIONS

As indicated in the previous chapter, researching Turners Court raised a number of important ethical issues. This section therefore considers the general principles that relate to all social science research, and then considers the particularly sensitive issues raised by the micro research presented here in relation to Turners Court.

The principal research tools adopted include analysis drawing on archive and documentary evidence, interviews with key people, together with a wider examination of reference material, including material now available through the Public Record Office. It is acknowledged that use of these methods raises significant ethical considerations, especially as regards the use of case records. There are also ethical considerations in relation to permissions: negotiations about the use of the archive, consents to interviews, agreements about sources of information generally and what is written up about the findings. Research related to social work needs to heed ethical considerations of concern to all those engaged in social care (Association of Directors of Social Services 1996; Alderson 1995; Eby 2000).

All research needs to be clear about the ethics and principles which underpin it, if only because the track record of research indicates some bizarre examples of what some researchers have felt justified in doing. For example, the literature on research ethics indicates a number of alarming examples of dubious practice, including at one extreme the use of a police informant to trace car registration numbers and addresses in order to follow-up men engaged in sexual activity and for the disguised researcher then to interview them (discussed in Bulmer 1985: Chapter 2). Covert activity is always questionable, although some have defended covert research on the grounds that the means justifies the end or as the British Psychological Society puts it "the objects of research or the welfare of subjects cannot be achieved by other means" (quoted in Homan 1991: 109). The Milgram (1974) experiment, where participants were not told the true purpose of research that concerned obedience to authority as demonstrated by people's preparedness to administer electric shocks to others, is often cited as an example fitting into this 'justified' category.

The discussion of covert research is relevant here since, although this research does not involve pretence or subterfuge, it does involve re-visiting records for research rather than welfare purposes. Since the archive was not originally intended for research, it is possible to regard putting the archive to a different use to be an example of intrusion. The case records that form part of the Turners Court archive contain personal information and chronicles of daily events and misdemeanours which the subject of the record may not wish to see revealed. The authors and subjects of the

records would probably never have thought of the archive being used for this purpose (Homan 1991: 60) and it could be argued with substantial justification that they have not been consulted or been given the opportunity to consent to the research.

Turners Court Trustees are effectively the gatekeepers of these records and the guardians of the privacy of their former residents and staff. Hence a clear agreement between the researcher and the Trustees was formulated right at the start of the research to address issues such as access to records, confidentiality, and procedures for agreeing lines of investigation. These were drawn up, not with the intention to impede the research, but in order to protect the rights of people who might be contacted by the researcher. One key decision made at the start was that involvement of former employees in the research required the Trustees' explicit permission and that former residents would not be involved in the research directly. Apart from the powerful reason already cited concerning privacy, there were two additional reasons for deciding against contacting former residents. Firstly, it was unlikely to be practicable: records did not give a 'discharge' address and so a great deal of time and effort would be required to ascertain current whereabouts and chances of success were slim. Secondly, if whereabouts could be established in those few cases where former residents maintained personal contact with a former member of staff, it was unlikely that these former residents' case records would still exist and so verification of the Turners Court experience would be difficult. Furthermore, participation would be disappointing to those former residents who hoped that the research would provide information about their backgrounds.

The Social Research Association make the important point that researchers should be aware of the intrusive potential of some of their work and that they have no special entitlement to study everything: the advancement of knowledge and the pursuit of information are not themselves sufficient justifications for overriding other social and cultural values (Homan 1991: 55). However, there may be some circumstances in which other considerations are more important than the research and where confidentiality cannot be maintained: records indicating past acts of child abuse would be an example. Again these issues have been explored with the Trustees.

The issue of consent is important in any research, as also are the issues of access to information and negotiation of the purposes for which the archive will be used. Since the archive is owned by Turners Court Trustees, access to it is mediated through them and it has to be accepted that some of the records no longer exist. Subsequent to the sale of the school's land and buildings in 1996, a considerable number of records were destroyed, although this took place after a representative selection of them had been

made available to the researcher for the purposes of this research. Hence these records may be a 'sample' but would by no means be complete. Discussions have been held regularly with the Turners Court Trustees concerning progress of the research and it is through them that access has been gained to former staff and key actors in the development of the organisation. A degree of filtering is thus potentially possible, for information about what records exists, together with the identity of key personnel and means of access to them, is under the control of the Trustees. Reticence about contact with former employees may not be hard to discern in relation to the last period being studied, since there is still a legacy of recrimination concerning the manner of the closure of the institution, with blame apportioned to certain individuals (this issue is explored further in Chapter 6). Wherever possible, in recognising these limitations, potential avenues for independent corroborating evidence have been pursued.

It was important to be clear about the purposes of research with those who provide information and, specifically in this case, that it is not intended as a narrative history of Turners Court. Originally, the Trustees expressed the desire for some kind of descriptive history but this has been met by the organisation's publication of the account by Menday (1998). It was quickly recognised that the purpose of academic research would be an analysis of Turners Court within a much wider context and the Trustees have welcomed this. The understanding right from the start is that the research focuses on the development of social work in the twentieth century using Turners Court as a case study through which to explore relevant issues. Heavy reliance is placed on Turners Court for the provision of information that aids the micro analysis, indeed the research is indebted to the Trustees for this opportunity, but the macro analysis has to cast the net wider and step outside the confines of an institution located in the Oxfordshire countryside. A broader perspective is needed.

This means that whilst it was valid to negotiate many of the research arrangements with the Turners Court Trustees, there were additional ethical considerations. In relation to consent, it was considered not always sufficient to rely on the Trustees to grant permission for archive material to be used. Some personal information required specific permissions and consents over and above the general agreement made. While it was acceptable to interview former members of staff - and for such interviews to be arranged through Turners Court Trustees - arranging interviews with former residents raised formidable objections, not the least of which was a change in use of records that could potentially violate the Data Protection Act 1998 (see Appendix 2 for résumé of relevant parts of the Act and its implications for this research). The principle of

confidentiality meant that special care was needed with case records. These were kept secure with no access to anyone other than the researcher and Turners Court staff, since their use was envisaged as being purely for analysis in relation to the language through which boys' needs were presented and mediated. Identification of individuals was not intended and was therefore not recorded; thus anonymity of records was rigorously and scrupulously maintained. Information regarding the running of Turners Court was kept for research analysis only, and access to that part of it that was stored on CDs was strictly controlled.

Finally, it was agreed that the results of the research would be shared with those who participated in it, insofar as this is feasible. As a matter of courtesy, any findings and comments would be disseminated but on the clear understanding that the researcher takes responsibility for what is finally written and can assure the academic community of the independence of the research and its integrity. Where distinct ethical issues have arisen in relation to specific areas of the research, these are highlighted in subsequent chapters, which focus on the three identified phases of Turners Court's development.

BIRTH AND BEGINNINGS:
WHY WAS TURNERS COURT FOUNDED IN 1911?

EXPLAINING THE ORIGINS: SOURCES AND METHODS

The objective in this chapter is to answer the question: why was Turners Court founded in 1911? It brings together data drawn from the Turners Court archives with broader research related to the development of social work at the start of the twentieth century. The emphasis throughout is on integrating the micro with the macro in order to promote a comprehensive explanatory account. For this purpose, and for the sake of simplicity, the chapter starts with individual actions that account for the founding of the institution, highlighting the shared beliefs and social connections that may explain how various factors coalesced, enabling and promoting the establishment of Turners Court. There is then an immediate contrast with macro factors: the international context, the economy, the political and social landscape, with an emphasis on voluntarism and changes in religious beliefs and practices. These are very important, it is argued, because they were instrumental in promoting and advancing social work. Indeed such beliefs culminated in social work as an evangelistic reforming enterprise, of which Turners Court was a typical example.

In order to demonstrate this, it is important to focus on the case study as the context in which macro and micro factors intersect. The nature of this interconnection is explored with examples drawn from the Archives of the dynamic relationship between the macro and the micro. Given the concern to explore changes in social work organisations generally, a theme pursued by a number of others (for example: Parker 1988; Parton 1996b), the chapter concludes with a consideration of the balance of the various macro and micro elements, putting forward some theoretical explanations of change related to the earlier discussion of macro and micro theories.

Research approach

The implications of earlier methodological discussions point to case study research being best when it does not start with theory, but grounds theoretical discussions on an examination of data that come to light. For the purposes of examining the history of social work, it is important to relate the data to a broader knowledge of relevant developments elsewhere. For example, the growing involvement of religious organisations in the provision of social welfare was particularly relevant to this period. It

is then possible to draw tentative conclusions about the processes whereby Turners Court was established and what this tells us about social policy, social work and social welfare organisations generally.

The main part of the chapter follows broadly the research map outlined by Layder, discussed earlier in this thesis (on page 39). Building on his notion of adopting a multi-strategy approach, the researcher can utilise the strengths of combining qualitative and quantitative methods, and is then well placed to explore interrelationships in a number of different ways. Each of these acknowledges the importance of history and power in theory generating research. Thus, the research applies a specific macro-micro strategy adapting it in this chapter to the task of explaining the establishment of Turners Court in 1911.

In Chapter 3 a number of questions relevant to the life-story of Turners Court were connected into Layder's distinctive research foci: self, situated activity, setting, context. Each of these is examined in turn, starting with the micro, moving from there to the macro, and then the two areas in which the micro and macro intersect (progression indicated by arrows in the following diagram). Narrowing these down further to the issues most pertinent to explaining the birth of Turners Court, the following sub-questions are proposed as being the most potentially relevant:

SELF
Self-identity and social experience (here taken to refer to Turners Court)

How did Turners Court start? In particular:

♦ What were the values and belief systems of those who were powerful in creating the institution?

♦ What was the nature of the experience for individuals in Turners Court?

♦ What were the roles of key players? What were their values and belief systems?

macro social organisation

What was the context of social work and social welfare at the time Turners Court was founded? In particular:

♦ What was the international context?

♦ What was the national economic context? What issues relating to employment were relevant to Turners Court's origins?

♦ What set of power relations existed generally and how might these be seen reflected in the case study? How were these manifested in law and social policy?

♦ What was the predominant ideology? In what ways were belief systems important in the founding of Turners Court?

SITUATED ACTIVITY
Face-to-face activity involving symbolic communication, emergent meanings.

How was Turners Court as an organisation designed to attain the stated objectives? In particular:

♦ What were the founders trying to achieve through the establishment of Turners Court?

♦ What was life like at the institution?

♦ What were the likely patterns of interactions in Turners Court?

SETTING
intermediate social organisation

In what ways did the internal organisation of Turners Court reflect the macro context of the time? In particular:

♦ What was the organisation's response to change emanating from the macro context? To what extent was Turners Court in synchrony with economic, social and political needs of the time?

♦ What similarities are there between Turners Court and other similar organisations at the time?

♦ How does its development fit with the emergence of social work as a separate activity? How does it fit with changes in values and beliefs?

In order to provide satisfactory answers to these questions, it is important to adopt a tentative explanatory strategy that utilises a broad framework that integrates the macro and micro.

Given that the initial impetus for the foundation of Turners Court was a meeting of individuals based on explicit and clearly expounded beliefs, it seemed sensible to start with the micro, exploring what emerges from the archives as to how Turners Court was to achieve its aims, what specifically it set out to do, and on what basis, and how, it was to be organised. The discussion then switches to the macro, focusing on the potential relevance to Turners Court. The discussion indicates not only general economic, social and political issues of the time but also explores the important ideological context, the overarching importance of religious beliefs that permeated all aspects of social policy during the period. It is then possible to see how ideas and beliefs become translated into action within a given economic and social context. This tells us why Turners Court was the kind of institution it was, what it may have felt like to live or work there, and how social work was perceived at the time. Archive material provides the flavour of this when located within a clear macro-micro framework.

Data sources

Before considering these areas in detail, something needs to be said about the sources of data for this chapter and the research methods used. To verify the hypothesis that Turners Court was established as the result of the interplay of macro and micro forces that came together in a unique way in 1911, it is important to explore these key macro and micro features by drawing on a number of different sources. As explained in Chapter 1, an extensive archive from Turners Court was made available to the researcher, and this has been supplemented by more wide-ranging research across a broad spectrum. A number of data sources emanating from Turners Court have been used for this chapter. These may be categorised as contemporary and retrospective, using a distinction (following Sarantakos 1998: 275) between those that were drawn up at the time and those that were written later: .

Table 3: sources of data for Chapter 4

Contemporary	retrospective
minutes of meetings	National Union for Christian Social Service journal 1907-1920
pamphlets	chronicles of Turners Court history
flyers, appeals for funds	Menday's summary of Turners Court history (Menday 1998)
invitations	other research on similar organisations and enterprises
registers of admissions and discharges	other research on social work
letters	oral history data collected by others, especially Thompson (1992)
earliest case records	historical summaries and analysis (see bibliography)

In order to analyse and contextualise data, the chapter integrates a discussion of relevant literature on this period. While much of the literature is theoretical, it is worth recording that some of it adopts a combination of specific methodological approaches. McLeod (1984: 9-10), for example, in exploring the role of the Christian faith in society at this time, uses a combination of censuses, literature from clerical and middle-class observers (although acknowledging the obvious element of bias), autobiographies, records of home missionary societies, diaries and oral history projects. In this last category, the work of Thompson (1992) is particularly important as it is based on interviews carried out in the late 1960s and early 1970s with people who had themselves lived throughout the Edwardian period. Oral history has been incorporated into the quantitative research on migration and emigration carried out by Pooley (1998), although the majority of their findings arise from the assimilation of material collected by family historians, which inevitably raises questions about selectivity and representativeness. Since the literature incorporated into the ensuing discussion reflects a variety of methodological approaches, it would seem appropriate here to summarise the relative merits of such approaches, illustrating this by reference to the sources used to help analyse the data emanating from Turners Court.

Assuming that the distinction between primary and secondary data rests on the distinction between material designed specifically for the purposes of research and secondary material initially designed for other purposes (Sarantakos 1998: 274), all of the materials discussed in this chapter are secondary. Some of these are public documents, since they are extracts from the Christian Social Service Journal and therefore freely available to subscribers and the public generally. Others are archival records and administrative documents, mainly committee minutes that would have been private at the time. Their particular value for this study is that they are mostly contemporary documents, and whilst not exactly first-hand accounts, they are at least as close as we can get to the events that occurred at the start of the twentieth century.

There are a number of advantages in using documentary sources in this way. Firstly, and very obviously, documentary methods allow a study of past events no longer accessible through interviews with participants simply because of the passage of time. Secondly, semi-official documents, such as minutes and notes of meetings, are probably as systematic a source as it is possible to obtain of the events that occurred. In this particular case, help was provided through the chronological material collated by Menday (1998) and some collections of material gathered by one or two individuals probably in the 1950s and 1960s (listed in Appendix 4, henceforward referred to as the Archive). Essentially these are scrapbooks but some are well organised and contain a wealth of information. For reference purposes, these are listed and submitted separately, with loose sheets and pamphlets being numbered by the researcher. Thirdly, the documents were produced at the time in response to clear needs, which determined that they would be reasonably reliable and since they were not gathered for research purposes, the danger of researcher bias is eliminated. These clear needs are, in the main, charitable; in the early days, there was an overriding quest for funds, so the danger needs to be acknowledged that this may angle the appeals in certain directions. Yet as an official charity, serving the Poor Law and drawing funds from its Guardians, there is a strong element of official accountability that may enhance the potential reliability of such sources (Denscombe 1998: 161).

At the same time, a number of limitations of the use of documentary sources must be conceded. Records can be partial, that is selective of what is actually recorded, possibly promoting a particular image, in this case of an organisation that thought it deserved charitable support. They may not be comprehensive or representative for there is little need for official documents of the time to explain the context in which certain arguments are put forward. Participants assume the social and political context, so one of the tasks of the researcher is to incorporate this dimension. Some

documentation may be lost and simply not available. This is true of the very earliest records of Turners Court; it was not until the organisation had been running for a few years, that it was realised that some kind of register of admissions and discharges might be necessary. Cross-checking therefore is not always practicable, so the earliest claims about the 'success' in emigration cannot be verified from other sources. It is, however, feasible to relate factors of importance for Turners Court to wider beliefs and practices regarding emigration and employment.

Analysis of documentary sources is possible in a number of ways. It would be instructive, in some instances, to conduct a quantitative analysis, if the aim were to find out how many references there were to specific factors, but the destruction of many of the earlier records precluded this. Moreover, qualitative methods seemed more appropriate given the primary aim of identifying specific belief systems that underpinned the foundation of Turners Court, thereby attesting to commonalities and interconnections with other social work developments of this era.

INDIVIDUAL ACTIONS, BELIEF SYSTEMS AND VALUES

In 1911 Messrs. Basden, Albright, Ogilvie, Morton, and Stapley each put up £1,000 by way of a loan to establish the "Wallingford Farm Training Colony" at a farm known as Turners Court. This was supplemented by loans of £500 by Messrs Hazell and Gillie and £400 from Mr. Buxton (Menday 1998; Turners Court 1913). £1,000 in 1911 is calculated to be worth approximately £62,460 today (Economic History Net 2001) so this sum demonstrates no small financial commitment to an organisation that had a specific, but hitherto untested, purpose.

The initial obvious question was: why did they do this? Who were these people and what linked them together? The simple answer is that they were a group of late Victorian/Edwardian philanthropists motivated by certain beliefs, drawn together under an organisation known by various names but principally as the National Union for Christian Social Service founded in 1894 (as the Christian Union for Social Service; 1902 the Christian Social Service Union; in 1909 the National Union for Christian Social Service; in 1929 the Christian Service Union) (Archives 18, 20). By the time of Turners Court's foundation, it was responsible for a number of institutions, chief amongst which was Lingfield in Surrey where the organisation had its headquarters (Archive 26). Lingfield, specialising as an 'epileptic colony', needed to make provision for its non-epileptic 'colonists' and this spurred the acquisition of the Farm known as Turners Court, initially called the "Wallingford Farm Training Colony". A motivation to do something for 'unemployables', fired by convictions as to how such 'training' and

'reform' could be effected, reflected predominant Christian ethics, values and principles. These underpinned virtually all voluntary social welfare at the time. The next section traces some of these connections drawing on sources from the Archive.

Who was powerful at the time the organisation was created?

A number of names recur in the annals of Turners Court and its parent body the National Union for Christian Social Service. As well as those already mentioned are the Earl of Meath, Rev. J.B. Paton, Rev. F.B. Meyer, Rev. J.F.B. Tinling, the Bishop of Hereford, and W.H. Hunt, the first Superintendent of the "Wallingford Colony" (NUCSS 1913; Archive 21). A "First List of Donors" to the Farm Colonies Forward Movement in 1911 (Archive 24) is illustrative, for it includes many names that would easily be recognised (Cadbury and Rothschild, for example) as well as an M.P., a Bishop, the Corporation of London and several 'knights of the realm'. The organisation could count on the support of the Lord Mayor of London on several occasions: at a conference on the unemployed in 1905 (Archive 12); for the use of his parlour as a venue for National Union for Christian Social Service (the "Union") meetings (NUCSS 1911); and at the opening ceremony in 1911 (Archive 27; see also Archives 08, 19, 22, 28 30).

The organisation therefore appears to have been 'well connected'. In 1915, the second anniversary of the official opening was attended by both the Bishop of Oxford and the Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons (Menday 1998: 14). The recurrence of certain names suggest that these people may well have known each other in other contexts, and represented a comparatively small group with a particular mission. This is not simply conjectural: research on the Christian context of social work in this period confirms this interconnectedness, often facilitated by evangelical zeal (Bowpitt 1998). The organisation also appears to have been the by-product of the 'social gospel movement': projects and initiatives arising from a fundamental belief that Christianity in action meant collective action with, and on behalf of, the poor. Meyer, one of the founders of the National Union for Christian Social Service, was one of the few Baptists prominent in both the Keswick convention and the social gospel movement. (Bebbington 1989: 178; Randall 1995: 169-170).

One interesting aspect of the Union is that it appears to have been inter-denominational at a time of virulent sectarianism, a sectarianism that prevailed in employment, with jobs reserved for specific denominations and employees sometimes compelled to attend the employer's place of worship (McLeod 1984: 42). Evangelical zeal for the social gospel often overrode denominationalism, for alongside Meyer were senior Anglican clergy, probably influenced by the Guild of St. Matthew founded in

1877 (Vidler 1974: 98; Norman 1987: 105). This Guild was committed to a form of Anglo-Catholic 'sacramental socialism' and included 'slum priests' (Jones 1968: 27; McLeod 1996: 18-19). Several of its members became bishops at about this period (Jones 1968: 164). The Wesleyan Methodist Church had by this time gained a reputation for its social work (Bebbington 1989: 212) and would have been represented in the Union, as too were the Congregationalists such as Tinling, who had been instrumental in raising public awareness of poverty with the publication of *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* (Jones 1968: 414).

The names cited demonstrate a preponderance of ordained men, although those who put up the money were predominantly philanthropic businessmen. A second very influential group in the Union were professional medical advisers and pioneers, again all men. This group appear to have used the Union as a vehicle for putting their scientific beliefs into practice. The Union's journal, *Social Service,* frequently included contributions by doctors on such issues as the "Care of the Epileptic and Feeble-Minded" (NUCSS 1911: 69-72) and its evidence to the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded (Archive 07) began with a summary of Dr. McCallum's 'medical experiment' with bromide at the organisation's colony in Starnthwaite, established in 1903 for epileptic children. Medical practitioners were well represented in the various committees of the Union and heavily influenced the whole field of epilepsy, in which Lingfield was directly involved. These purposes can be surmised from minutes from a parallel organisation that founded a colony in Buckinghamshire:

> *providing employment would facilitate observation which would help medical science since "the poor, having no idea of time, were incapable of describing the length and nature of fits" and because "epileptics lacked the self-denial to keep to medicine and diet."*

<div align="right">Quoted in Barclay 1992: 9</div>

A third feature of the Union's committees was the inclusion of powerful women. Miss Julie Sutter, for example, was a very active participant. Her name occurs frequently, and there can be no doubt as to her profound influence, since in 1893 she published "The Colony of Mercy" based on her experience of the Bethel Epileptic Colony in Bielefeld, in Westphalia, which provided a pioneering model of self-contained care with employment, a model which she successfully commended to the Union. The involvement of women in pioneering social work has been noted elsewhere (Younghusband 1964: 25), being identified usually as one form of 'acceptable' public

participation, since philanthropy was a 'major channel for women's energies' (Bebbington 1989: 129).

So three distinctive features emerge from this. Turners Court was not established by the actions of one individual but rather by a small group of committed people. This distinguishes it from other social work organisations founded by individual philanthropists for religious motives: Barnardo, Hill, Coram, Howard and Fry, for example. Secondly, it was not a specifically sectarian organisation set up to compete with other social work charities: this distinguishes it from the Church of England Children's Society, the Methodist NCH, the Baptist Spurgeon's organisations and others (Ward 1999). The third feature was an amalgam of different influences and individual motives: some philanthropic, some scientific, some gender related. In this sense, its foundation appears on the surface to have more in common with self-contained institutions created to provide for specific disabilities, in particular the National Society for Epilepsy, which established the Chalfont colony (Barclay 1992).

What were the values and belief systems held by the founders?

The apparent generosity of the founders engenders a curiosity to learn more of their motivation. This inevitably reflects late Victorian notions of charity and 'good works'. Yet there are indications of other kinds of values and beliefs, not specifically religious, but more akin to a view of human nature and 'remedies' for unemployment. Superimposed over all of this appears to be a 'scientific' approach to the 'unemployables' and 'feeble-minded'.

The Proceedings at the opening of the Wallingford New Farm Training Colony amply demonstrate a strong Christian perspective (Archive 27). The service starts and ends with a hymn. Charity is expected for "clearing the colony from debt". Staff are referred to as "brothers" who "have consecrated their lives to the uplifting of the destitute and the afflicted" whilst the Union had "proved" that Christian influence can reform the character of "men who would otherwise have remained a permanent charge on the community". Appeals for funds frequently alluded to Christian duty. In 1902 Harold Moore, whose name is mentioned frequently in Christian Social Service journals, prepared a statement in which he exhorted the Union to seek finance from

> *... wealthy Christian philanthropists who see that they are only doing their duty, in using their surplus wealth in the way they consider will produce the most good to their less fortunate neighbours.*

Archive 06

Land labour was seen as a panacea for the unemployed. An early paper by Paton (one of the Union's founders) addresses the problem of the "able-bodied inmates" of the workhouse (Archive 04). Working on the land raises produce that can be sold for profit, but more importantly, provided work that respected an "honourable feeling of independence", that is, work that will "invigorate and interest them, and give them a genuine love of work". Labour is "health giving" and helps the acquisition of "worthy social habits" and - possibly the overriding reason - helps in the essential task of "re-peopling" the land. This assertion of the value of the countryside as a means of curing all apparent ills brings to mind a similar approach to the care of children at this period (Cooter 1992). A later paper, significantly entitled "The Making of Men" (Archive 29) argues strongly for attaching market gardens to workhouses and thereby 'curing' the problem of vagrancy.

Whilst recognising that unemployment is, to some extent, attributable to economic circumstances (Archives 11, 17), much of the Archive generally contains material laced with biological language, some of it purely medical. For example, there is a reprint from *The Lancet* of an article on the "Training of the Feeble-Minded" (Archive 09) extolling a very direct approach that clearly views the child as 'defective'. *Social Service* reprints an article from the *British Medical Journal* that commends "regular and constant employment, with as much fresh air as possible" (NUCSS 1907: 187, see also Archive 10). The Union's evidence to the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded recommended nationwide colonies of 300 epileptic children, with much exposure to the outdoors, and a simple diet of fruit and vegetables with "a minimum of flesh food and absence of the stimulants tea and coffee" (Archives 07: 08).

In some cases, the biological is mixed with a strong evangelical flavour: two sets of values held by the two groups of founders came together as a mixed but potent message. For example, the need for establishing "colonies on the land for our epileptic poor" was set out in "Labour for the Unemployed"

> *the same treatment should be applied to inebriates, and to the feeble-minded who are not epileptic... such colonies with their outdoor labour under proper regulations, are as much needed by, and will be as helpful to, women as men.... Outdoor work, in the garden or the home-field, is the best exorcism of the devil."*

<div align="right">Archive 01</div>

What were the roles of key players?

It was suggested earlier that the National Union for Christian Social Service was an organisation run by the informally interconnected 'great and the good'. Research confirmed this through the discovery of links between the Union and the organisation that founded the Chalfont Colony. The founding of Chalfont and Lingfield were strongly influenced by Bielefeld and its Lutheran approach to care and 'occupation' of 'epileptics' (Archive 02). Members of the Charity Organisation Society directly influenced the development of the Chalfont colony, for example, Miss Nina Paget who commended 'market gardening and fresh air' for 'epileptics' as long as none were admitted from the workhouses since this would "add a fatal pauper taint" (Barclay 1992: 9). The Charity Organisation Society, founded in 1869, provided a 'training ground' for Christian socialists who later influenced the Christian Social Union (Jones 1968: 81-2), a group that overlapped with the National Union for Christian Social Service. The Chalfont colony had an 'elder brother' (Barclay 1992: 11), the Manor House at Maghull near Liverpool, extolled in the pages of Social Service, the journal of the Union (NUCSS 1911: 177-182). The Countess of Meath was also influenced by a visit to Bielefeld, concerned herself with the 'feeble minded and epileptic'; and played a part in the Report of the Charity Organisation Society Special Committee on Epileptics, complied in 1892 (Barclay 1992: 14). The Earl of Meath was the first President of the Union when it was founded in 1894.

This is of significance since these connections are not mentioned in the Archive or in the narrative history put together by Menday (1998). Indeed personal discussions with the current Trustees elicited an unequivocal view that the two organisations were quite separate; all that connected them was a shared interest in epilepsy. This may be true to the extent that the organisations were formally separate, with the National Union for Christian Social Service holding no official responsibility for the Chalfont 'colony', yet it appears that informally there may have been very strong interconnections.

It is also clear that most of the founders knew each other well by the time they decided to search for a farm on which to develop their ideas. Undeniably, they represented a sort of élite in the sense that they had sufficient power to put their ideas into effect. They linked directly to the power-holders of Edwardian society. They knew politicians, important religious leaders, even members of the royal family: there was no apparent difficulty persuading royalty to assist by visiting the Lingfield colony (Archive 14).

THE MACRO CONTEXT

A number of themes emerge from this micro examination of Turners Court that might connect to the macro. Firstly, there are the belief systems that underpinned the actions of the founders: some religious, others more social or medical. These come to a focal point on the issue of disability and the 'problem' of the 'unemployable'. Secondly, gender was an issue: an organisation catering exclusively for men was established partly through the influence of one or two powerful women. Thirdly, the wider political and economic context has been alluded to: this is reflected in the micro connections between powerful people and the economic purposes for which Turners Court was apparently designed. Social conditions are also relevant in that some of the explicit concerns voiced by the founders appear to relate to these, and some indications of social conditions as causal factors of 'unemployability' begin to emerge. Finally, there have been hints of a global dimension: international influences on its foundation, the use of emigration as a desirable social objective.

Adopting the strategy outlined earlier and the questions included in that framework (page 50), the discussion here starts with the last question and moves back towards the first. For the intention is to try to explain how belief systems came to incorporate wider structural issues and led to specific sets of actions that culminated in the opening of Turners Court in 1911. Hence the discussion moves from international influences on the socio-economic context to power, gender and disability and brings the discussion back to the 'solutions' to unemployment propounded by the founders.

What was the international context?

Turners Court was established during an era of British imperialism. As a colony it declared one of its purposes to be

> *for able-bodied men under 50 years of age, and for youths over 14, willing to be trained for farming or gardening, either for work at home or in British Dominions abroad.*
>
> standard admission document up to late 1930s, Turners Court records

Hence one of its avowed purposes was to facilitate the emigration of its trainees, and this fits with the world role of Britain in which cheap goods were imported from the colonies, and some people exported. In social work history, emigration is a recurrent theme, an option made available to organisations charged with caring for those who were regarded as a burden, and for whom emigration seemed an ideal option since it

both relieved the burden and offered opportunities not considered to be available in Britain (Wagner 1979; Bean 1989; Beedell 1993).

The imminence of the First World War and the demise of the British Empire heralded a period of economic, political and social turmoil. The war in South Africa between Britain and the Boers that ended in the early Edwardian period had created a crisis of confidence. It revealed fundamental failings in social policy in Britain (see discussion on page 64) as well as casting doubt on Britain's imperial dominance. It had cost over 40,000 British dead and wounded and expenditure of more than £200 million with the consequent necessary imposition of an extra 7d. in the pound on income tax (Powell 1996: 10). In 1911, Britain was a "classic case of an early industrial capitalist economy" with a strong emphasis on free trade and minimal state intervention. Its share of world manufacturing trade stood at 31 percent, dominating world markets in cotton goods and shipbuilding (Thompson 1992: 250, 152).

Yet already economic growth was slowing, real wages had stopped rising, prices were falling, whilst the USA "leaped to first place among industrial nations of the world" (Woodroofe 1962: 80). Germany and other European countries capitalised on Britain's weakness by moving into 'newer' areas of industrial production such as telephones, aeroplanes, pharmaceutical drugs and cars, in contrast to traditional British dominance of the production of cycles, soap and gas cookers (Jones 1968). Concern about 'threats' to Britain's economy from foreign competitors had created a strong movement in favour of protective tariffs and the abandonment of Free Trade, a key debating point being the "extent to which the state should intervene to regulate the operation of the labour market and relieve unemployment" (Powell 1996: 119).

The outbreak of war in 1914 was an overt consequence of power struggles between European countries, but for Britain another simmering conflict that came to the surface was the Irish 'question', At the time of the founding of Turners Court, Ireland was on the brink of civil war, with politicians irreconcilably divided on the question of 'Home Rule', a legacy from the Gladstone era. Although there is no obvious direct connection between Ireland and Turners Court, preoccupation with armed struggles forms an important part of the political landscape at the time, an overwhelming preoccupation for politicians and policy makers, which may help to explain the growing acceptability of state intervention in people's lives. This growth in coercive state power was justified not only by the threat of rebellion in Ireland but also by increasing industrial unrest, with widespread strikes particularly in the 1910-1913 period (further discussion on page 62 below). During the period 1911-1914, the stability of British institutions had been

"tested to their utmost" and Britain brought closer to civil war than at any time since the Jacobite rebellions. There can be no "absolute certainty about how events in the United Kingdom would have developed" were it not for the "deeper crisis of nationalism" about to "engulf the whole of the European world." (Powell 1996: 162)

One consequence of economic and political upheaval was enforced social mobility that changed people's lives beyond recognition. Many who only knew the boundaries of small communities suddenly became thrust into much wider social networks. Britain's apparent unassailable superiority suddenly became vulnerable and its position in the world economy and the world political order changed fundamentally. Turners Court also became vulnerable: the First World War nearly closed it down since the 'brothers' went into military service and few men were referred for training.

International comparisons are not just relevant for economic and political reasons. From the social work perspective, it is interesting to note the parallel developments in the USA. Both countries had experienced considerable industrial expansion resulting in urbanisation. Both experienced a period in which the government became more involved in social welfare, in the USA this is referred to as the Progressive Era, from 1890 to 1920, in which there were improvements in housing public health and education. In both, there had been a trend towards self-help organisations with some impetus for religious organisations to become more actively involved in voluntary social work (Reisch 1998).

What was the national economic context?
What economic and employment issues relate to Turners Court's origins?
The direct economic consequences of all of this were considerable. In the Edwardian period employers consisted predominantly of small firms. The 100 largest companies in 1909 produced only 15 percent of the manufacturing output (Thompson 1992: 154), in contrast to the modern dominance of large firms and multinational corporations. Because of the great shift from rural to urban areas and the growth of the Victorian industrial cities, there had ceased to be a great reserve of cheap potential labour in the countryside, a factor that may have influenced the agricultural focus of Turners Court. Between 1871 and 1901, the number of towns that contained a population of more than 50,000 increased from 37 to 75 (Midwinter 1994: 66). A preoccupation with unemployment and low pay had precipitated the first examples of direct government intervention. Furthermore, collective action by workers to improve their own position came to be a major political issue, not just in terms of a rise in the number of industrial disputes but also as regards the role of trade unions more generally. It may be that it is

this change in the employment context that goes some way towards explaining the economic necessity for Turners Court as a training establishment for employment. There are three particularly influential factors here. The first reflects on the role of the state in relation to employment legislation generally; the second relates to the dramatic rise in the power of trade unions, whilst the third relates specifically to agricultural employment.

The Edwardian period had undoubtedly seen a major shift away from total non-interventionism regarding employment towards limited efforts to cushion workers against the harshest effects of the free market. Compensation for workers injured in the course of employment was provided for in the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1906. Labour Exchanges were established in 1909 to help the unemployed find work. The elementary provisions of the Unemployed Workmen Act 1905 were extended by Part II of the National Insurance Act 1911. The Mines Eight Hours Act 1908 established a standard eight hour day, thereby in effect raising wages. Wage rates in the lowest paid sectors of the economy were to be regulated by the Trade Boards Act 1909 which established committees of workers and employers. For some older workers, the necessity to work was removed by the introduction of non-contributory state pensions in 1908, whilst the fear of unemployment caused by illness was partially addressed through Part I of the National Insurance Act 1911 which created, despite virulent opposition from friendly societies and some trade unions, a contributory health insurance scheme for workers (Kincaid 1975; Digby 1989).

In analysing the causes of the 'Great Labour Unrest' of 1910-1913 with national strikes in several industries and the formation of the 'Triple Alliance' of transport workers, miners and railwaymen in 1914, Powell (1996) cites as one of the principal reasons the changes in legislation that made union action possible without fear of prosecution. The Trade Disputes Act 1906 overturned the effect of the Taff Vale court decision that made unions potentially responsible for compensating employers for loss of trade caused by industrial disputes. Parliamentary action was substantially influenced by the Liberal victory in the 1906 general election and the election of 29 Labour MPs. This reflected the growing power of trades unions generally: membership doubled from two to four million between 1901 and 1914, with a higher proportion of semi-skilled and unskilled workers joining (Pelling 1976). However, this is not the whole story. A reduction in unemployment after 1908 increased unions' bargaining power, whilst employers' efforts to reduce wages provoked retaliation by workers increasingly concerned by rising prices and falling real wages. It is easy to see why a mixture of stagnant wages and potential shortages of employment might result in a series of

industrial disputes and why also, taken with the serious unrest in Ireland, many Edwardians believed that the country was in a critical situation, indeed in a state of crisis (Springhall 1977, Powell 1986, Digby 1989, Thompson 1992).

Even so, increased state intervention in employment and rise in trade union power appear to have only limited effect on wage rates which generally remained stubbornly low. Earnings were, after all, the major economic factor affecting people's everyday lives. The stagnation in wages in the Edwardian period compounded the poverty resulting from a grossly unequal distribution of wealth, which was considerably skewed by a small minority who owned a great deal and did not have to work at all. Nine tenths of the land was landlord-owned with virtually all capital in private hands. This form of wealth "thus gave direct power to employ and to sack, to protect and to evict" (Thompson 1992: 3). One estimate quoted by Thompson (1992) is that in 1913-14 average earnings were £80. At that time, the salary of a High Court judge was £5000 per annum with higher professional men generally earning four times the average wage. According to Powell (1996: 11) money divided the 43 million Edwardian inhabitants of the United Kingdom into three classes: 1¼ million 'rich' who shared between them an aggregate annual income of £585 million, 3¾ million who were 'comfortable' with a total income of £245 million per annum, and the 38 million 'poor', whose share of the national income was £880 million a year, only marginally greater than the amounts enjoyed by the other two classes who together numbered five million. In 1911, 32 percent of all adult males earned less than 25 shillings a week. Agricultural labourers were particularly lowly paid in some cases earning as little as 10 to 14 shillings a week (Powell 1996: 30). Furthermore, the move from rural to urban living had the impact of reducing the proportion of the workforce engaged in agriculture. One estimate is that in 1911, 8 percent of the workforce was engaged in agriculture compared to 22 percent in 1851 (quoted in Thompson 1992: 159). A significant proportion of this working agricultural population were young: over 11 per cent of boys aged 15 and under were employed in agriculture in 1911 (Newman 2000: 332). This seems to point to an employment sector where traditionally pay was low, predominantly unskilled (and, of course, with a tradition of accommodation provided with the job) yet where it was becoming increasingly difficult to meet the demand.

This sets the context as one in which labour needs were changing, and, in this sense, a Marxist explanation of social change responding to the needs of capitalism would gain some credibility. There is substantial evidence that, at the time when Turners Court was founded, very considerable changes in the economy were taking place, not necessarily on the surface, but in terms of the underlying nature of economic activity.

The gradual erosion of Britain's position in the world, its loss of trade, together with the beginnings of the decline of traditional industries, may have pointed to a need for new sources of labour, or rather for a different kind of labour. From this it becomes a little clearer that Turners Court's founders' concerns about 'unemployability' may refer to the need to draft into the workforce those who had in earlier times been left outside. With a shortage of labour, it is apparent how this might become relevant, especially given the comparatively low wages in agriculture, for which the majority of Turners Court men were trained. Given the prevailing antipathy towards wholesale state intervention in the labour market, it is easy to see how a voluntary enterprise dedicated to training for employment might gain credibility, especially as it so readily and regularly identified the gap in the market and the under-use of specific groups of men (Archives 01, 03, 04, 11, 13, 15, 18, 29).

Power and social structure

This leads appropriately into a more general discussion of the political and social structure of Britain at that time. What were the power relations that existed at the time Turners Court was created as a social welfare organisation? Do these provide any clues as to why it was created then since it does appear to be an example of the product of some kind of collectivist action? What political and social forces and processes can be seen reflected in the story of its establishment?

Social policy texts often highlight the 1906-14 period as heralding the introduction of the welfare state in Britain (see, for example, Hill 1997). Collectivist action begins to appear as a legitimate approach to social policy, it is argued, primarily as a consequence of concern about the state of the 'British race' arising from the aftermath of the disasters of the Boer war of 1899-1902 (Digby 1989). The 1904 Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration set the context for a number of social policy initiatives, such as school meals and medical inspections, although direct causality should not be automatically inferred (Cooter 1992). Preoccupation with race and employment is manifest in a number of Turners Court Archives: for example a reference to 'invalid' brothers, the 'feeble-minded', who ought not to be allowed to contaminate the 'healthy' (Archive 13 quoted in more detail below at page 72).

However, the general characterisation of social policy at this period as marking a shift from individualism to collectivism needs refinement. There were debates about wholesale state intervention in welfare. An obvious example was the Royal Commission Minority Report on the Poor Law (1905-1909) heavily influenced by the Webbs and other early Fabians, who argued strongly in favour of state intervention,

albeit for what are now regarded as suspect pro-eugenicist motives (Shaw 1987). Yet their arguments did not prevail. Some limited measures were introduced, for example old age pensions and limited health insurance (Hill 1997), but Britain did not adopt as comprehensive a scheme as existed in Germany, where statutory social insurance was introduced in 1889 (Ginsburg 1992: 72).

This has led some commentators to conclude that identifying Edwardian social policy as a nascent collectivist approach is a misunderstanding. In his case study of the 1908 Children Act, Stewart (1995: 97) points out that while the Act was "a momentous and far-reaching piece of legislation" it was also a typical product of the Edwardian era, in that the need to improve children's well-being was directly linked with the need to "maintain economic and imperial effectiveness". The state was by no means "taking over the function of the family". For this was the period of the heyday of British imperialism, with the fundamental belief in the superiority of the British form of government, which was essentially non-interventionist. Springhall (1977) explains the rise of organised youth movements in the 1890s and 1900s by the need to nurture discipline necessary to promote greatness and "Empire", reinforced by the overriding nationalistic and militaristic ethos, the "basic historical moulds within which youth movements were formed" (Springhall 1986: 18). He also confirms collectivist intervention on the part of a social élite: by the 1880s a number of public schools had begun to form youth clubs, thus breaking the unwritten rule that prevailed up to then that churches had a monopoly on youth organisation and leisure generally (Springhall 1986: 149). Indeed, it is the separation of church from leisure pursuits that is used by one commentator to explain the decline of church membership at the end of the nineteenth century (Harrison 1967). Certainly the organisation and control of youth activity had become an abiding concern in Oxford, initially rebuffed by "large segments of working youth" but by the 1920s well established with greater reliance on formal court procedures in preference to 'on the spot' police action (Gillis 1975: 113 and 108).

A more accurate appraisal therefore might be to say that the reforms of the period represented no more than a minimalist state response to the political trends, and individualism still dominated (Harris 1993). The archives of Turners Court point to collective action of a specific kind, namely a combination of religious organisations melded together by an élitist group comprised of clergy, medical 'pioneers' and social activists. Social historians confirm that until 1948, social work was essentially an activity organised by voluntary and charitable organisations, many of which had religious connections for the "link between religion and social welfare has deep historical roots in Britain" (Harris 1995: 53). As will be seen in the later discussion of

religious influences on Turners Court, social work at that time was largely conceived as social 'redemption' with an emphasis on being 'saved'.

In exploring the wider power relations of Edwardian society, a number of contrasts with Britain today become apparent. Legal, political and social controls were foremost. Opportunities for participation in decision-making processes were very limited for the vast majority of the population. Indeed it must not be forgotten that the period of Turners Court's foundation saw a major constitutional crisis concerning the role of the House of Lords. This centred on the Lords' rejection of Lloyd George's "People's Budget" in November 1909, the culmination of a long-running feud in which the Conservative dominated House of Lords had attempted to control the decisions of the elected Liberal government. Fierce political controversy ensured, which included two general elections in 1910 and the involvement of the King with threats to create as many hereditary peers as would be necessary to get legislation, in the eventual form of the Parliament Act 1911, introduced to regulate the Lords' powers.

Although the franchise was now extended to all working class men, women were still not allowed to vote and possibly the greatest challenge to rigid social divisions was to come from the suffragette movement. Gender relations were fixed. Thus while it was acceptable for women to be members of School Boards, to serve as Poor Law Guardians in large numbers or even to be district councillors (Powell 1996: 78) it was not permissible for them to vote in general elections until the passing of the Representation of the People Act 1918. Thompson (1992: 5) points to the irony of Edwardians' concerns about state bureaucracy in a society in which people's lives were actually dominated by individual businessmen and landlords. Here businessmen does mean men, with wealth owned and passed on through men, and with the majority of middle-class women taking no part whatsoever in paid employment, a point that may have some bearing on the opportunities for such women to be involved in voluntary organisations.

The Victorian conception of family relationships was upheld in law and by the courts. A rigid social hierarchy was clearly in evidence, with very little movement between social classes. Diversity was not tolerated, not even by proxy: the Guild of St. Matthew, referred to earlier, found itself subject to strong criticism when its leader, Headlam, an Anglican priest, accompanied Oscar Wilde to court and stood surety for his bail (Jones 1968: 145). Social mobility, when it did not take the form of emigration, was confined to relatively local geographical areas (Pooley and Turnbull 1998). Comparatively few black people lived in Britain at the time, with ethnic groups who had settled in Britain

generally living together (Tizard and Phoenix 1993). The majority of the white population's experience of black people would have come from imperialist portrayals of 'savages' in books, or else as objects of amusement or entertainment in circuses and music halls. Nevertheless, there were a significant number of black people in working class employment or in Poor Law institutions (Green 1998).

In short, Britain was characterised by homogeneity and deference. Those given authority in Edwardian society were expected to exercise it, and those whose lot it was to follow, simply obeyed.

> ...you just did as you were told, that's all.... there was no question, the other
> boys had to do as I told them.... No trouble about it, perfectly normal.... It
> was my duty and the duty of every young man to join up....And why the hell
> they did as they were told by a young man, probably younger than they were,
> I don't quite know except that they were told that I was in charge of them,
> that I was the officer, no question of it.

Humphries and Gordon 1996: 83-84

This acceptance of authority reinforced and sustained the rigid social hierarchy. It was substantially supported by religious organisations although not to the same extent as had been the case earlier in the nineteenth century. McLeod (1984: 59) points out that social distinctions were maintained in the middle of the nineteenth century by pew-rents, the practice of charging for seats in church according to social position. The poor were excluded through a prevailing ideology that proclaimed that material rewards followed from true Christian living, that poverty manifested lack of true Christian zeal. By the Edwardian period there had been a major attack on this form of Christian belief, with the early Christian socialists denouncing segregated pews and advocating a 'social Church', an 'aggressive centre of social work' (Jones 1968: 69). Even so, there was still a significant gap between many church leaders and ordinary people.

> To the average Victorian priest or parson 'the poor' - and even the mass of
> the working classes - were little less foreign than the Andaman Islanders. ...
> The great change of heart ... was produced by the work of a relatively small
> number of activists within the various denominations.

Jones 1968: 79

Likewise, attempts by high Church Christian socialists, the Christian Social Union, to support the working class did not generally include direct involvement. In 1888, under this organisation's influence, Anglican bishops deplored the "excessive inequality in the

distribution of this world's goods, vast accumulation and desperate poverty side by side" (quoted in Jones 1968: 175). They committed themselves to studying and publicising social and economic problems, compiled a so-called 'white list' of firms that paid trade union rates, and sent a deputation to Parliament to press for revision of the Factory Acts but their involvement was always at a distance, and subject to scathing criticism:

> *The Christian Social Union here*
> *Was very much annoyed;*
> *It seems there is some duty*
> *Which we never should avoid,*
> *And so they sang a lot of hymns*
> *To help the Unemployed.*

<div align="right">G.K. Chesterton quoted in Jones 1968: 220</div>

Nevertheless, there is some evidence to suggest that the Christian Social Union was one source of influence on the formation of the Labour Party, and one evangelical leader associated with the origins of Turners Court (Meyer) declared simply that "revolutionary social change was due to divine impulses" (Randall 1995: 169).

The clerical dominance of Turners Court's early history hints at wider evangelistic motives. For this was a period of concern about church attendance. Although the church was still supported by 40 per cent of the working class according to one estimate this was a cause for anxiety (McLeod 1984: 14). Struggles for religious control of the education of the working classes culminated in the Education Act 1902. This translated into a reassertion of the dominance of the Church of England, bitterly contested by non-conformist denominations, reflecting a rivalry between religious groups that reaches back to the beginnings of state financing for education (Royle 1995; Davie 1997). One hypothesis that suggests itself here is that the rivalry between religious denominations over education gave way to a limited acceptance of the need to work together, in order to avoid total state control of education – the fear of socialism – and this strongly coloured the mood of evangelical Christians in favour of areas where they could intervene, social welfare presenting itself as an obvious target.

This gains some credibility if we move away from the idea of the Edwardian period as a period of rudimentary welfare state reforms. The majority of the population, the working class, looked to the state for improved social and working conditions and fought, through trade unions, for these and higher wages. The extension of the franchise to working-class men (1867 onwards) did not take the form of political agitation in favour

of welfare reforms, and indeed there is some suggestion that the 1906-11 reforms were resented (Cronin 1991: 37). Rather it was labour disputes that supposedly provided evidence of unrest at a time when there was a considerable realignment in the economy with a move towards larger firms as the very small capitalist enterprises became less viable. It was therefore a period of significant social change but under the umbrella of a resistant 'pyramidal' social structure with a "broad base of skilled and unskilled workers" together with "an expanding middle and lower middle class and a still wealthy and landed upper class at its apex" (Springhall 1986: 43). It was not a period of agitation in favour of state intervention in welfare.

Belief systems and ideology

How does this key into the history of Turners Court? Turners Court's founders' individual beliefs chime in with popularly held views in one key sense: they reflect the predominance of the Christian ethic, of belief systems that were overtly religious in language and ideology. Such beliefs were a major feature of the context of social work and social welfare at the time. Therefore, it is important to consider the role of Christian belief systems in the history of social work at this period, for this demonstrates a number of developments that might help to explain why Turners Court was founded when it was.

Social work was, at that time, seen as a valid vehicle for evangelism (Bowpitt 1998; Younghusband 1964) and the fall in church attendance may have spurred on evangelistic mission. Gilbert (1976: 47-48) summarises the position at the start of the twentieth century. He concluded that by the Edwardian period, church membership was generally beginning to decline, with losses being heaviest in poorer areas (Jones 1968: 63-66). An exception occurred in relation to new sects, such as the Salvation Army, and the Church of England, which experienced a revival between 1885 and 1914, although this is attributed to the rise of nationalism and imperialism. More significantly, churches were losing touch both with large sections of society and with creeping secularisation the "traditional resonance between religion and politics gradually disappeared " (ibid.: 187).

This last point refers to an allegiance between the church and the labour movement of the 1880s and 1890s. This had taken a variety of forms, one of which was the Guild of St. Matthew, a High Church Anglican organisation, founded in 1877 through a "passion for social righteousness" in order to "arouse the Christian conscience to its responsibility for the well-being of the workers" (Vidler 1974: 98-99). Later the links between socialism and the church became more overt with the establishment of the

labour church movement (McLeod 1984: 48-49). The coincidence of the rise of the labour movement with the decline in church membership has given rise to an interesting debate about whether one facilitated the other, although others have noted the Christian character of much of the British socialism of the period from the 1880s to the 1920s. (McLeod 1984: 49). Yet there was not universal agreement about the social gospel, with frequent objections that social reform was drawing the church away from its 'proper work' (Bebbington 1989: 211) and in any case, some church leaders were firmly of the belief that poverty was "nothing more than the self-inflicted mortification" (Woodroofe 1962: 84). Some Churches were indeed antagonistic: in 1890, Rev. James Owen told Baptists "their main aim was not to help the poor but to 'save' individual souls" (quoted in Jones 1968: 392). Turners Court founders appear in the main to have been sympathetic to a middle ground that sought salvation through hard work that would avoid poverty, but believed that they had a role in initiating the means of achieving this end.

Aside from religious beliefs, a number of other strands can be identified as being part of what might generally be described as belief systems. The rise of science, with the vigorous debate that ensued between fundamentalist Christians and those more persuaded to Darwinian theories, was a major preoccupation in late Victorian Britain. The rise of medicine has been well chronicled elsewhere, especially in relation to disability generally and the control of children's bodies (Cooter 1992). Towards the very end of the nineteenth century, it becomes apparent that there is a strong belief in the primacy of the British 'race', with strong nascent eugenic beliefs coming to the fore. These are not always explicit. For example, Shaw (1987) has set out how social Darwinism was incorporated into the beliefs of the Webbs and George Bernard Shaw along with other Fabians, citing examples from various tracts produced by Sydney Webb. Traces of eugenic influences are clearly in evidence in the Turners Court archives (page 72 below).

The relevance of the eugenic influences becomes clearer when the exact purpose of Turners Court in 1911 is considered. The constant references to the potential 'colonists' (residents of the colony) as "unemployables" hints at some connection with people with learning disabilities. Certainly by this time there had been a history of the learning disabled becoming defined as a social problem who were perceived as a threat to society and in need of separate containment or confinement (Donges 1982). This had been achieved through the coercive powers of the Mental Deficiency Act 1913 with its classification of mental 'subnormality' under headings such as 'idiot', 'imbecile', 'feeble-minded' and 'moral defective' which "set the scene for the medicalisation of

learning disability" (McIntosh 2002). There are occasional references in Turners Court archives in the 1930s to colonists sent by Poor Law Guardians but generally these are not men who could be classified under the Mental Deficiency Act 1913. The admission documents from later periods make this quite explicit for in addition to the bald statement:

> No person can be received who suffers from epilepsy, any contagious or infectious disease, vermin, etc. ..."

is added

> or comes in any way under the Mental Deficiency Acts [sic]

<div align="right">standard admission document Turners Court records</div>

More likely is the view put forward by Menday (1998) that Lingfield had become too closely associate with epilepsy and consequently was encountering difficulties in arranging emigration. Hence the need for a quite separate institution.

By the Edwardian period, belief systems were not exclusively religious: scientific and political beliefs were coming well to the fore. There had been significant changes in the influence of religion on society, and the "nature of 'religiosity' had changed by 1914" with "orthodox and traditional beliefs now interpreted more flexibly" (Gilbert 1976: 183). Gilbert considers the 'zeitgeist' by this time to consist of a fascination with the "impact of science on traditional thought, of social theory, of secular philosophy, of comparative religion and iconoclastic German theologians" (175). The Edwardian period saw the beginning of a marked decline in the social importance of churches.

> Some politically active working-class people constructed a complete
> alternative world view based on socialism and Darwinism. As a systematic
> view of life, Christianity in its various forms remained far more popular than
> any alternative. But more common was a fluid eclecticism, which owed total
> allegiance to no single religion or ideology.

<div align="right">McLeod 1984: 65-66</div>

SITUATED ACTIVITY

To what extent did Turners Court reflect these macro factors? In what ways was it in synchrony with international trends, with economic needs, with the social and political structure of the time, with the prevailing belief systems and values? In order to work towards answering these questions it is important to explore what the founders were

trying to achieve, how Turners Court was intended to attain its objectives, and what kind of institution resulted from the implementation of those intentions.

What were the founders trying to achieve through the establishment of Turners Court?

Study of the collected archives of Turners Court and reviewing the *Social Service* journal for the years 1907-1918, reveals a preoccupation with unemployment, epilepsy, 'social redemption' (explained at page 83 below) and the inadequacies of the Poor Law. Whilst some economic and seasonal causes of unemployment are recognised, generally unemployment is presented as a 'problem' of groups of men who are 'unemployable' (Archive 11). At various points there are references to 'vagrants' and the 'work-shy', and international comparisons with how Norwegians "deal with the Problem of the Tramp and the Loafer" (NUCSS 1907: 236). The 'solution' to the problem of 'unemployables' was deemed to be training, but training in the right environment. A 1908 article entitled "Social Reclamation" (Archive 18) is illustrative. It reports a Council meeting at which the Lord Mayor of Manchester referred to curing the problem of the 'loafer' who was happy to 'wander' the country in summer and 'gravitate' back to towns in winter. Such men needed to be trained for 'permanent work'. One speaker praised the work of Lingfield which was "doing something for the flotsam and jetsam of our large cities", whilst another stated that the organisation was "claiming over fifty per cent of those who had fallen" so that they could emigrate or pass into "the ranks of the workers of our own country".

Employment for 'epileptics' was conceived differently. Here the aim was not to provide training for self-reliance, but rather to emphasise the value of work in a self-contained rural environment as a curative measure. The discussions that led to the foundation of the Chalfont St. Peters colony, for example, included the articulated hope that work would prevent "softening of the brain" to which "epileptics were prone" (Barclay 1992: 9). In this context, the need to separate the epileptic from the non-epileptic 'unemployable' had become imperative by 1911, and this created a strong move for separate colonies for separate needs. "With regard to adult epileptics and feeble-minded", Paton argued

> *They are the invalid [sic] brothers and sisters of the great family of the commonwealth, and they should have therefore, the special and loving care which their sorrowful malady demands. But the community, to protect itself against the perpetuation of their malady, which is hereditary, and in order to keep the race as a whole, healthy both in mind and body, must, as a first and paramount duty to itself as well as to them, secure their permanent separation from others.*

Archive 13

Conversely, "slum-born and slum-bred youths" who "potter away a sordid existence in our workhouses" are to be "perfectly transformed"; this transformation evidently meant emigration to America, working for the L&NW Railway or being "sent to be farm labourers" (Archive 13). In various debates these principles were accepted, acknowledging the overriding desirability of separating 'epileptics' from other kinds of 'unemployables':

> *The rapid growth of the work of epileptics at Lingfield... makes it important*
> *that the Training Farm for Unemployables should be removed, in order to*
> *render possible an improved classification and the utilisation of Lingfield*
> *wholly as a training farm for epileptics.*

<div align="right">Archive 25</div>

This scientific classification was to be extended to social classification. For if:

> *suitable training and care are separately provided for this almost hopeless*
> *class, the problem of the genuine workman temporarily unemployed becomes*
> *a much simpler matter*

<div align="right">Archive 15: 1</div>

There are a number of parallels here between the aims of Turners Court's founders and those of similar organisations. The emigration ambitions have already been referred to, but there is also the strong belief in the value of the colony per se. This is expressed graphically in the frontispiece of Booth's famous work *In Darkest England and the Way Out* which contains a superb portrayal of the farm colony as the panacea for all social problems.

The lower half of the picture indicates a number of temptations or 'social evils' including unemployment. The farm colony represents the gateway to salvation for its reforming qualities, not least of which are its rural isolation and concentrated reformist regime. Through it suitable work is provided and souls are saved: a mixture of salvation through useful work and turning away from the temptations of the 'fallen' world. One point worth noting in passing, though, is that Booth published his work in 1895, suggesting that his ideas may have been substantially ahead of those of the founders of Turners Court.

How was Turners Court as an organisation designed to attain the stated objectives?

The foregoing hints at a number of pre-requisites for a colony meeting perceived needs of the non-epileptic 'unemployable'. First, it had to be a colony, that is a self-contained community set apart from the rest of society, geographically fairly isolated, as self-sufficient as possible, and under one system of control or management. In short, somewhere that corresponded to the kind of total institution Goffman (1968) identifies. Secondly, those who had epilepsy had to be rigorously excluded, as did others who had disabilities that prevented them being trained for work. Thirdly, it had to offer training in a likely potential area of employment either in Britain or abroad, for committee discussions emphasise the virtues of emigration. Fourthly, the organisation had to reflect the Christian ethos and principles that motivated the founders, this being the outward demonstration of their 'compassion' as well as an evangelical opportunity for those who trained and worked there. In short, the purposes of Turners Court itself could be summarised as redemption, reform and rehabilitation.

A Memorandum (Archive 23) outlines a number of features that corresponded to this need. The farm known as Turners Court was the right size, being 515 acres, with the capacity to provide for the physical needs of the community: it even had its own well. It contained several cottages, enough to house those being transferred from Lingfield. The farm land was reasonably good, with potential for rearing various kinds of animals, making agricultural training feasible. It was sufficiently isolated, with commendations reminiscent of open-air schools (Cooter 1992) with its "bracing" air "calculated to invigorate men with poor constitutions" (Archive 25).

The intention to train for emigration is restated in an appeal for funds for the new colony in 1910. In order to "save and restore these unfortunates, and fit them for a life of usefulness and independence in the Empire beyond the Seas" those who "desire a fresh start in agricultural life in Canada or elsewhere" were to be trained in the new colony "under the direct and distinctive religious supervision of our brothers, allied with

intelligent scientific knowledge" (Archive 21). The scientific knowledge alluded to is expounded in *The Lancet* article (Archive 09) which purports to be a "study of the best means of training persons feeble minded but not imbecile".

The reference to 'brothers' requires further explanation. Training of the 'colonists', as they came be called, was reliant on a mix of paid and voluntary labour. 'Brothers' were recruited by an appeal to missionary zeal, feasible because they shared the founders' beliefs and because of the prevailing Christian view that all were "brothers in Christ". The notion of brotherhood expressed service as well as equality: "Christian men... devoting themselves by precept and example to the training of those with whom they live and work" (Archive 15). Initially brothers were to be recruited and transferred from Lingfield; they were to live in the community alongside the men being trained and were paid accordingly, that is with board and lodging provided. Initially the proposal was pay of five shillings per week for their first year; six shillings per week for the second year; and seven shillings and six pence in their third year after which they were regarded as fully 'trained' (Menday 1998: 7).

The *Social Service* journal makes frequent references to 'brothers' as the mainstay of the work the organisation undertook, the everyday 'social servants', a term used to denote social workers to whom as individuals it devoted a monthly column. The Registers at Turners Court included the admission and discharges of 'brothers' as well as colonists, although the very earliest registers are, unfortunately, now lost. Reviewing later register entries and consulting the archives generally suggest that the brothers were recruited by appealing to specific churches that had connections with the National Union for Christian Social Service.

What was life like at the institution?
What were the likely patterns of interactions in Turners Court?

The article *The Making of Men* (Archive 29) contains, as well as a photograph of a formidable looking group of brothers, the information that there were seventy men resident there cared for by ten brothers. The brothers were accommodated together, but separately from the men. Accommodation consisted of dormitories. Other buildings were used for administration, stores, eating/cinema/theatre/chapel, kitchen, boiler-house, laundry and bathrooms. The colony ran on the principle of 'applied religion', the 'pivot on which the success of the training depends' being 'brothers' who were

> *... willing to live, eat, and work alongside the men they desire to uplift. It is theirs to supply the moral backbone to these fibreless characters, theirs to show the true spirit of brotherhood, theirs to prove by a life of example the*

way to higher and better things. And it speaks well for the young manhood of
England that young men have been, and are still, willing to bury themselves
in the quiet of the countryside and thus help forward the human uplift.

Archive 29

What of the daily life of a brother? An article in *Social Service* provides an insight into the life of a brother at Lingfield, very similar to what life must have been like when these 'brothers' were transferred to Turners Court.

A summer's day runs like this. 5.30 a.m. rise; work 6 a.m. until breakfast at
8; work again 8.30 until 12.30 p.m.; after dinner, work from 1.30 until 5.30,
if harvesting or hay-making until 9, or dark. And with the evening service
comes classes, probably 'rec' duty (in charge of the recreation room and the
oversight during that period of between 60 and 70 men).

NUCSS 1912: 189

A variety of skills was needed: knowledge of different kinds of animals, or 'orchard produce'; and 'tact, example and firm dealing'. The brother must also "know how to take charge of a household of twelve others like himself, cook and fend for them and keep the house in apple-pie order." He has to "sleep in their dormitories, eat at their tables, dine off the same food; enter into their life as if it were his own" (NUCSS 1912: 190). Service, doing good, brotherhood, are recurrent themes in this and similar articles.

Little exists in the archives to convey the exact nature of everyday life for colonists themselves. It seems probable that the brother's day mirrored that of the colonist, and the prevailing impression left by the plethora of articles in *Social Service* is that this was a group whose activities were highly structured, who were trained in the 'discipline' of work, whose every movement was regulated. One interesting example of very specific detail left relates to diet. Presupposing that what applied in Lingfield applied also to Turners Court, a reasonable assumption given the close relationship between two institutions, the regime adopted would appear to be:

	Breakfast	Dinner
Sunday	Bread and margarine, fish, coffee.	Roast beef, potatoes, bread, jam tart.
Monday	Porridge, beef, bread and margarine, tea.	Roast mutton, green vegetables, bread, rice pudding.
Tuesday	Porridge, boiled bacon, bread and margarine, cocoa.	Cold mutton, potatoes, bread, baked pudding.
Wednesday	Porridge, beef, bread and margarine, tea.	Meat pie, bread and cheese.
Thursday	Porridge, boiled bacon, bread and margarine, coffee.	Roast mutton, potatoes, bread, baked pudding.
Friday	Porridge, beef, bread and margarine, cocoa.	Cold mutton, green vegetables, bread, rice pudding.
Saturday	Porridge, boiled bacon, bread and margarine, tea.	Meat pie, boiled pudding.

Archive 07: 11-12

Compared to the staple diet of many working class families, consisting almost entirely of permutations of bread, butter, tea, coffee with occasional bacon, this was comparatively rich fare, almost challenging the quality of the diet of the foreman's family outlined in Thompson (1992: 15).

Colonists were apparently the silent objects of social welfare. There is no reference to consultation with them, or of them ever speaking for themselves. Individual cases are mentioned almost solely as a means of demonstrating successful 'reform' achieved. An article significantly entitled *The Unemployable* lists:

> *A gamin discharged from a boys' home for misconduct, and with no outlook but the streets. Settled on a farm in Canada.*
> *A London Irishman, who sorrowfully confessed that he suffered from chronic inertia, but who now writes hopefully from Canada, where he is employed on a farm and earning a good wage*
> *A lad whom nobody wanted and who, on account of defective speech was refused entrance to Canada. He is now maintaining himself on an English farm.*

Archive 15: 2

This last example highlights a limitation of the Union's strategy of training men for emigration, since by the time Turners Court was established, emigration was already beginning to be closed off as an option.

In short, it seems likely that the regime at Turners Court resembled that of a religious order. It was isolated with no evidence of any links into the local community. It was virtually self-contained and self-sufficient. It was a single sex institution and remained so for several years. Living was communal; sleeping accommodation was in dormitories, with virtually no privacy. Direction and leadership came from those with a strong commitment to Christian witness and with a specific vision of reform and salvation for others. The committee was dominated by clergy, with bible study compulsory. Authority came from the top, with the Union committee regularly meeting in London and making decisions on Turners Court through the Principal's report, without apparently ever visiting Turners Court themselves. Money was short especially during the First World War and thereafter (Menday 1998: 15-18). The expectation was that the colonists earned their keep, with a threat of return to workhouse if they misbehaved. Given the lack of alternative provision for many, this was no idle threat.

This then indicates the kind of relationships that existed in Turners Court in 1911. It gives a flavour of how the founders' aims were put into practice, and what it may have felt like to live there.

SETTING: INTERMEDIATE SOCIAL ORGANISATION

This section of the chapter addresses specific questions raised earlier related to the organisation's response to the macro context: the extent of synchrony with economic, social and political needs of the time; the similarities between Turners Court as an 'enclosed' community and other organisations; and the emergence of social work as a separate activity consistent with prevailing values and beliefs.

The organisation's response to the macro context

It was argued earlier that Turners Court originally fulfilled a need for labour in agriculture (page 61), this being one way in which Turners Court fitted the macro context. Yet, one curious feature is that emigration became one of the stated objectives of the first Wallingford Farm Colony. In their evidence to the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble Minded (Archive 7), the Christian Social Service Union commended colonies as a means of training in farm work with a view to emigration for "there is no difficulty in getting situations for our colonists whom we send to Canada, after careful selection, and a year or two's training on our farms." The rest of their

paragraph on emigration provides strong clues as to the limited accountability for the welfare of emigrants – few work their passage back, few complain, so everything must be all right.

> *At first there was a strong objection ... because they were paupers, but this difficulty is now happily overcome. It is easy for the Canadians to work their passage home on a cattle ship, but few of our colonists do this, and we therefore conclude that most of them do well out there. ... The advantages of emigration to Canada are: (1) the complete removal from old haunts and associations; (2) the simpler character of Canadian farming, which puts the living within reach of any decent man who can milk and feed cattle; and (3) the direct and constant supervision which the small farmer can give to his few helpers, and which is all-important as a supplement to the short training at the colony.*

Archive 7: 10-11

The archives indicate that emigration continued to be a central policy until the mid-1920s. A letter to *The Times* dated 4th January 1924 from the governing body of Turners Court speaks of thirty youths who "landed last month to take their places as trained farm workers in Australia" clearly envisaging that this policy will continue since it pleads for funds for expansion of this kind of work (Archive 31).

The impetus for encouraging emigration is not difficult to discern. Removing a group of men, who would otherwise be a liability to the public purse, would be seen as commendable. The Registers of Admissions and Discharges indicate that the Poor Law Guardians began to take direct financial responsibility for some men, and appeals for funds confirm this:

> *A remarkable feature of this work is that Boards of Guardians, who send men for training, contribute sufficient funds to insure the upkeep of such a Colony*

Archive 24: 2

This, at the very least, indicates tacit official approval for the work of the colony, and suggests a sustainable 'niche' role for the colony in meeting social and economic need as defined at the time.

Yet what of emigration? For it seems an extreme move, and possibly difficult to reconcile with social welfare and the reforming zeal of the founders. Evidence suggests that emigration may not have been that unusual and, indeed, was often considered an option when unemployment rose and where alternative opportunities presented

themselves. Based on information obtained from 16,091 life histories based on the work of eighty family history and genealogy societies, Pooley and Turnbull (1998) have constructed detailed quantitative information on migration and social mobility that enriches the official data. From this it emerges that work, and 'better prospects' associated with work, were by far and away the most common reason attributed to the act of emigration. When analysed according to employment field, agriculture is one of the major areas where emigration was considered. The following tables illustrates this.

Table 4: Reasons for overseas migration and emigration by destination 1890-1930

	Ireland	USA Canada	Central/ South America	Africa	Australia New Zealand	Asia Middle East Russia	Eastern Europe	Western Europe
work	61.8%	9.5%	68.0%	24.5%	11.3%	57.4%	60.0%	44.8%
better prospects	11.8%	82.8%	8.0%	61.2%	77.3%	19.1%	40.0%	20.7%
other reasons	26.4%	7.7%	24.0%	14.3%	11.4%	23.5%	0.0%	34.5%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

adapted from Pooley and Turnbull 1998: 284

Other information from the same sources suggests that Canada or the USA were popular destinations for emigrants with 44.7 per cent choosing the USA or Canada as their destination (Pooley and Turnbull 1998: 279).

The third question on which the data shed light is the extent to which emigration was considered an option for those in search of employment. This reveals that, comparing all areas of employment, those related to agriculture show the highest percentages of emigrants.

Table 5: Reasons for moving by migrant characteristics 1880-1910

	WORK	EMIGRATION	other	TOTAL
agricultural labourer	56.9%	4.8%	38.3%	100%
agricultural: skilled/semi-skilled	57.9%	2.6%	39.5%	100%
armed forces	4.2%	0.1%	95.7%	100%
domestic services	74.5%	1.3%	24.2%	100%
farmer	58.6%	4.9%	36.5%	100%
intermediate	50.6%	1.0%	48.4%	100%
professional	64.9%	1.3%	33.8%	100%
semi-skilled manual	38.1%	1.3%	60.6%	100%
skilled manual	39.7%	2.6%	57.5%	100%
skilled non-manual	45.9%	1.2%	52.7%	100%
unskilled manual	39.0%	2.8%	58.0%	100%

Pooley and Turnbull 1998: 75

To this can be added one final dimension: as the following table demonstrates, leaving home at an early age was a feature associated with agricultural work.

Table 6: Mean age (years) at first leaving the parental home by migrant characteristics (sphere of employment) 1890-1930

	1890-1930
professional	25.8
landed/farmer	32.6
intermediate	27.6
skilled non-manual	24.8
skilled manual	24.2
skilled/semi-skilled agricultural	21.5
semi-skilled industrial	25.8
unskilled industrial	21.8
agricultural labourer	19.0
armed forces	19.8
apprentice	16.8
mean (researcher's calculation)	23.6

Adapted from Pooley and Turnbull (1998: 212)

From all of this it emerges that agriculture is one of the main spheres of employment in which emigration was considered to be an option and the USA/Canada was a popular

choice. Emigration at a comparatively young age in agriculture would not be unusual and the profile fits the men sent to Turners Court.

What similarities are there between Turners Court as an 'enclosed' community and other organisations?

There are a number of ways in which the foundation of Turners Court was typical of organisations established at the time. There were direct and indirect influences on its formation from abroad. It represented a Christian salvationist approach to social work, based on a strong redemptive work ethic related to people with disabilities with its initial purpose being training for employment. It was an all male institution, based on a belief in the intrinsic value of work. Yet it also represented the early stages of 'professional' social work in that some of the 'brothers' were paid and the organisation that ran Turners Court saw itself as being in the vanguard of 'social work' as it came to be called.

The most direct and obvious international comparison can be made with Germany, since the prototype colony (see page 55 above) was established there. The similarity between the foundation of the Chalfont Colony by the National Society for Epilepsy and Lingfield, of which Turners Court was an off-shoot, is striking. Both were strongly influenced by changing views of epilepsy, and most especially by the Bielefeld community. The German colony attracted many visitors, including Miss Burdon Sanderson who helped to develop the Chalfont Colony (Barclay 1992: 3), and Miss Julie Sutter whose personal participation in the National Union for Christian Social Service directly influenced the founding of Lingfield. What appears to have spurred action is the personal testimony of these women based on first-hand observation of the work of the German colony. There was certainly a great deal of common ground in terms of the aims and objectives of the organisations. Both were preoccupied with providing employment for 'epileptics', and both developed their vision based on charity mixed with a specific medical view of epilepsy and disability generally.

Both organisations subscribed to a view of disability that 'rescued' people from institutions but then moved them to self-contained communities where a medical approach was adopted. This was firmly grounded on contemporary eugenic views of the kind that led Dr. Cobbald of Earlswood to advocate setting up a colony (to become the Chalfont St. Peter colony) for "single epileptics or married men who agreed to be parted from their wives" (quoted in Barclay 1992: 10). Although medical influences were strong, the phrase that recurs in early minutes, appeals and summaries of the work of the Union is 'social redemption' (Archives 5, 23, 24 and Bestow). This term,

commonly used in social work during the Edwardian period, refers to 'saving' people from the extremes of poverty as a prelude to, or concomitant with, 'saving' them in the religious sense of spiritual redemption.

Another international comparison can be made with the USA where a "consistently harsh approach" had been adopted towards the poor until 1917 (Woodroofe 1962: 87) but then began to change towards a concept of charity in the form of "a service to God in the form of a service to the person in need" (Leiby 1985: 324). As a consequence, "the terms 'social welfare' and 'social work' came into currency in the United States around 1910" (323) with the attendant recognition of need for training (Woodroofe 1962: 98). At the same time, the concern was for individual reform and training to prevent people being a liability. Speaking of the 'child savers' who pushed for separate judicial measures for 'delinquent' youth, Platt (1969: 176) has noted that the proposed reforms "did not herald a new system of justice but rather expedited traditional policies" being designed to inculcate middle-class values. It was "not so much a break with the past as an affirmation of faith in certain aspects of the past", a comment that might also be made of Turners Court at the time. For it, too, reasserted the important distinction between those who could and genuinely could not work, reminiscent of distinctions between the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor. Given the economic context indicated earlier, with a growing shortage of labour especially in agriculture, it is likely that philanthropy was partly directed by economic necessity.

Earlier the contrast between collectivism and individualism was highlighted. In one sense, Turners Court represented a highly individualistic approach to social welfare. Justification for funding primarily took the form of appeals to wealthy philanthropists, nearly always argued on the basis of individual case reports. The motives of the founders outlined earlier were founded on the concept of service, common to social work generally at the time both in Britain (Bowpitt 1998) and in the USA (Leiby 1985). Yet this concept of service could represent enlightened self-interest, for potential donors were regarded as people whose consciences would by salved by contributing to the charity (Archive 6, quoted on page 56 above).

A further significant macro feature consistent with Turners Court's foundation relates to gender. Rigid gender relations meant that Turners Court was an all male institution. Throughout its history it never had female residents other than the Warden's wife and, belatedly, staff. Only in the 1970s does the organisation start employing female residential social workers. Here a direct inverse comparison can be made with Caldecott, founded in 1911 as a nursery school for "children of mothers who worked in

a local matchbox factory" where gender relations were equally as rigid (Little 1995). Here, an entirely "matriarchal society" appointed its first male carer in 1951. This institution equally propounded the virtues of the country "outdoor, frugal life" that later connected into the open-air school movement (Cooter 1992) and the public school ethos of Gordonstoun (Little 1995: 23).

How does Turners Court's development fit with the emergence of social work as a separate activity?
How does it fit with changes in values and beliefs?

The preceding discussion indicates a comprehensive role for Turners Court consistent with the prevailing ideology. It sought compartmentalisation of people with disabilities, with training for employment; it sought to tackle dependency, offering self-help, and opportunities for self-improvement; it viewed colonists as objects of reform, to be trained in the work ethic; above all it offered personal salvation through its Christian ethos. In short, it trained men in all aspects of their lives.

As a social work organisation, it is probably best regarded as a response to unemployment in the light of changing attitudes to disability. The archives do not indicate any awareness of potential for abuse or exploitation. The organisation appears to be covertly engaged in social control with a strongly 'salvationist' ideology. At this stage, the institution was most emphatically not a therapeutic organisation for the care of adolescent boys, which it later claimed to become. It trained adult men for agricultural employment, hence no specific formal education was provided (in 1910 the school leaving age had only just been raised to fourteen). The gender specific nature of Turners Court would be consistent with its declared objectives of training for employment. The notion of self-help fitted the prevailing social work ethic of the time both in Britain and the USA (Leiby 1985).

One interesting aspect of Turners Court is the Christian legacy. Christian organisations were already, by the Edwardian period, extensively involved in social work. Yet their influence is sometimes overlooked (Bowpitt 1998), reflecting a lack of interest in the history of social work generally (Hopkins 1996: 19) and a marked reluctance to acknowledge the influence of the Christian church in particular. With the wider secularisation of society, the debate within social work was beginning to be translated into a contest between those who saw themselves as social workers qualified through faith, and those who saw themselves as qualified by undergoing some kind of professional training (which began in 1903). There has been considerable speculation as to why religious organisations may have involved themselves in social welfare in the

period leading up to the First World War. One explanation relates to changes in religious beliefs about people, and specifically a more collectivist approach to welfare, in the sense of voluntary collectivism (voluntarism) rather than state intervention. More commonly articulated than hitherto was a set of Christian beliefs and principles that deemed wider action on behalf of the poor appropriate and laudable. The Christian Social Union could claim to be the oldest socialist body in Britain (Jones 1968: 27), dedicated to promoting 'sacramental socialism'. Primitive Methodists demanded social legislation instead of charity, believing that the state rather than the church should be more actively involved in collective action (Jones 1968: 405). Parallel with this awakening of social and political concern was the settlement movement, starting with the foundation of Oxford House in 1885.

This may help to explain why social work remained in the hands of voluntary organisations. A detailed case study of organisations in Reading (Yeo 1976) demonstrated the involvement of churches and chapels in a wide variety of welfare functions, ranging from Ladies' Visiting Associations, Sunshine Funds, sewing for the poor, soup kitchens, Provident Clubs, Coal and Clothing Clubs, Loan Blanket Societies, and even a Destitute Children's Dinner Society. Even today, religious organisations are estimated to provide twenty percent of voluntary social welfare provision (Harris 1995: 54). Such was the extent of the role of Christian organisations that Bebbington (1989: 122) has concluded that "apart from the heartily disliked Poor Law, the churches were the most obvious source of help in a society which, until shortly before the First World War, lacked a state welfare system." Such was the extent of Christian involvement in social welfare that it came to be regarded as a form of evangelism in its own right. At the same time the social gospel was born of a fear of revolution, and even socialism that "savoured too much of revolution, atheism and subversion of the family to appear compatible with Christianity" (Bebbington 1989: 215).

It is thus possible to argue that Turners Court and the organisation that founded it, by fitting this framework, were embodiments of a reaction against secularism and socialism. The concentration on the need for individual reform, reform that was moral and social rather than necessarily religious, angled the debates away from wider concerns about social conditions and the causes of poverty moving beyond religious purposes to moral and social improvements with a view to making "paupers into self-reliant citizens" (Bowpitt 1998: 683-4). Likewise, much of the rhetoric that underpinned the foundation of Turners Court was scientific, focusing on the potential improvement of individuals and the need to train and control an identified non-disabled group. The archives are silent on the needs of this group outside of employment needs. Wider

explanations are limited to economic accounts of the causes of unemployment, causes that are confined to fluctuations in the market.

CONNECTING THE MACRO AND MICRO:
WHY WAS TURNERS COURT FOUNDED IN 1911? – BUILDING A MODEL

In order to explain the origins of Turners Court it has been necessary to accomplish a number of tasks. First, it was important to integrate micro and macro factors, since it has already been established that exclusively micro or exclusively macro explanations are bound to be intrinsically inadequate. The second task was to consider the data from Turners Court itself about its origins in relation to what else is known about the genesis of social welfare organisations at this time. The third task is to utilise the outcome of this study in order to develop a more precise theoretical understanding about the origins of Turners Court and therefore, tentatively, about social welfare organisations generally.

On this basis, it may now be possible to identify the core key features of a social welfare establishment that brings it to life and makes it a viable, sustainable organisation. This, it is contended, requires congruence in specific areas. Each at the micro has its counterpart at the macro and all need to be in synchrony. A micro focus reveals an institution that was ostensibly founded by a specific group of individuals. These individuals shared certain **belief systems and values** that bound them together and motivated them to act corporately. The actions of these particular individuals reflected a fundamental change in religious beliefs that occurred in the 1890s and led to the establishment of the National Union for Christian Social Service, the umbrella organisation responsible for the foundation of Turners Court. To realise these ambitions required **technical feasibility**, linked to **a body of knowledge** about how the ideals should become translated into action. In the case of Turners Court the core belief in the value of agricultural training for 'unemployables', necessitated the purchase of a large farm and the employment of people as trainers and carers, originally known as 'brothers'. This had to take place within a **legal framework** that made it possible: at the micro this relates to the power to purchase land and equipment, the minimal requirements for inspection and registration (cf. dramatic change in this position by the end of the Turners Court era) and the scant regard for the rights of the 'unemployables' themselves. Finally, the institution not only has to be technically and legally feasible, it has to be, crucially, **financially viable**. It needs to have sufficient funding to get going and an organisational structure that generates income, an adequate income to keep the organisation afloat.

All of these micro features have corresponding macro elements. The belief systems and values of individuals are reflected in more widely held **values, ideology and belief systems** that legitimise the actions of the individuals. There may not be complete agreement about these, and indeed at the time Turners Court was founded there was a vigorous debate about how it was possible to 'rescue' or 'redeem' the 'unemployables', but there was nevertheless an underpinning ideology or set of belief systems, enough to accord the enterprise a strong degree of credibility.

The intended work practices needed to be technically possible, that is, related to **knowledge and skills** about how people could be trained for employment and the manner in which it was possible to set about that task. Turners Court represented a mix of agricultural and social work knowledge and skills, a mixture that lasted for several decades in organisations such as the Farm Schools that later became part of the Approved School system. The simple point here is that the work practices and training within Turners Court directly reflected the prevailing state of technology and knowledge about how best to promote people's well being. At the time of Turners Court's foundation, it was truly believed that welfare was best promoted by employment, for which technical training was the immediate all-consuming goal. Very little time and attention was directed at relationships or interpersonal skills, a position that changed fundamentally later. All that really mattered was technical competence in ploughing or milking and, as we shall see in the next chapter, the case records attest to this priority. Hence, the essential requirement for a 'brother' was technical competence at supervising and training 'men' in key agricultural tasks. Much later this technical competence becomes subordinate to competence in handling relationships, with training agricultural skills delegated to 'instructors'.

Moving to the area of **politics, social policy and the law**, it is clear that Turners Court was established during an epoch of voluntarism, that is, where government did not generally intervene in the direct provision of social services. Hence, the rules and traditions of Turners Court were of its own choosing and the formal and informal controls exercised within the institution were subject to few legal or administrative constraints. The relative autonomy of the institution at the micro thus reflected prevailing political orthodoxy translated into a non-interventionist policy and legal framework.

Finally, this all operates within an **economic and international context**. The major economic transformation of the World War One period, the perceived 'problem' of unemployment, together with concern about maintaining Britain's international position

set a very specific agenda for voluntary organisations in terms of how they appealed for funding, how they could operate and sustain themselves, and how their mission fitted with the need to promote Britain as a powerful nation or 'race'.

These then are the four elements identified within the broadest macro and the narrowest micro frameworks. Naturally, these should not be thought of as being discrete - far from it. Nor should they be considered as levels, implying as that does some kind of hierarchy and distinctive spheres. For the macro is intrinsically integrated with the micro and vice versa. They are interconnected and interrelated. Deploying Layder's classification of focus, the interrelationships can be analysed through situated activity and intermediate setting. In the case of Turners Court in 1911 some examples can be provided that would demonstrate the elements that came to be in congruence and explain why it was founded when it was. These are set out in diagrammatic form, using the four elements as intersecting the macro and micro.

Model 1: Turners Court in 1911

FINANCIAL and ECONOMIC

LAW and SOCIAL POLICY

TECHNICAL and KNOWLEDGE

BELIEF SYSTEMS and VALUES

MACRO

MICRO

Turners Court

MACRO CONTEXT: employment potential for agricultural trainees in Britain and abroad

SETTING: INTERMEDIATE SOCIAL ORGANISATION: establish Turners Court as a 'going concern', farm profitable

SITUATED ACTIVITY: support and subsidy from 'great and good' individual benefactors

SELF-IDENTITY/SOCIAL EXPERIENCE: afford purchase, identified suitable farms bought it

MACRO CONTEXT: voluntarism, Poor Law, minimal state intervention in welfare

SETTING: INTERMEDIATE SOCIAL ORGANISATION: emigration, Poor Law Guardians' powers

SITUATED ACTIVITY: voluntary organisations encouraged

SELF-IDENTITY/SOCIAL EXPERIENCE: charity law, foundation legally permissible, few rights for 'colonists'

MACRO CONTEXT: mechanisation of agriculture, educational needs

SETTING: adapting skills to place

SITUATED ACTIVITY: enough resources for training and control

SELF-IDENTITY/SOCIAL EXPERIENCE: Individual skills: 'brothers' (volunteers) with aptitude and knowledge

MACRO CONTEXT: Liberalism, ideology of voluntarism, Christian witness and charity

SETTING: INTERMEDIATE SOCIAL ORGANISATION: individualism, salvationism, eugenics

SITUATED ACTIVITY: shared faith, 'colony' culture

SELF-IDENTITY/SOCIAL EXPERIENCE: personal faith and commitment of founders and 'brothers'

This model underlines the importance of the intermediary connecting forces between macro and micro. For here there is the greatest potential for synthesis, a synthesis that explains the genesis of Turners Court. Potentially it is also the area in which there is greatest potential for antithesis, or lack of synchrony, that may explain the demise of institutions. For example, in this period, the different sets of beliefs shared by the founders coalesced and became translated into everyday 'training' at Turners Court that promoted very strongly the belief in work as essential to the dignity of human beings. It was also, of course, essential to the economy of the country, dependent on a cheap source of labour for farmers. Hence working practices within Turners Court reflected a strong emphasis on training for work, adaptation to the working environment and compliance with potential demands, such as getting up on time. They also reflected a notion of charity and philanthropy: 'brothers' were mainly volunteers, the 'men' were expected to be grateful and to offer Turners Court free labour so that the institution could be kept going financially partially by selling its own farm produce. Yet, the demands for agricultural labour were subject to shifts in economic conditions, particularly the operation of market forces on an international scale. Competition from other countries, especially in this context the importation of cheap food and crops such as wheat from Canada, had an effect on the demand for Turners Court and its farm training. Turners Court adapted to this by encouraging its 'men' to emigrate for work, by providing a higher level of training in farming so as to make their trainees more attractive, and also in diversifying into other areas such as domestic service. All of this was underpinned by ideology and law that accepted such an approach and placed few demands on the institution in terms of inspection or oversight.

In all of this power is a crucial factor. Power was demonstrated in the relationship between 'brothers' and 'men', between the 'brothers' and the Union that 'employed' them, between voluntary organisations and charities competing for funds, between voluntary organisations and the state, between Britain and other countries, between personal beliefs, social, political and economic forces. In this respect, the macro and micro are inextricably intertwined. Yet nothing stands still. Dynamic processes are important. Turners Court adapted and developed, responding to economic, political and social changes. History, as Layder indicates, is equally crucial. It is impossible to understand the development of Turners Court without an acute sensitivity to history, to the way in which macro and micro blended at a particular time and place to forge an institution that became Turners Court.

CONCLUSION

The exposition in this chapter has identified the macro, micro and intermediary factors that integrated and combined in 1911 to establish Turners Court. On the basis of the analysis put forward, it has been possible to formulate a model that may explain how one residential social work establishment came into being and offers potential for accounting for its development.

The next two chapters explore ways in which the institution adapted to changes, emphasising the interplay of macro and micro forces. The focus moves from the period just before the First World War to the late 1960s, a jump of 50 years. It may therefore be worthwhile saying something here about what happened in these intervening years.

During the First World War, Turners Court suffered a massive depletion of 'brothers' to the extent that by 1916 there were only four brothers to care for 65 men (Menday 1998; 15). There were severe difficulties recruiting enough men to make the colony a viable concern and at several stages it appeared to have been on the brink of closing down. In the 1920s and 1930s, Turners Court kept to its original ambition to provide men for agricultural work both in Britain and abroad. In the early 1920s there was an upsurge of interest in opportunities for emigration, primarily to Canada and Australia, but it is difficult to tell from the records exactly how many emigrated, given that the actual case records are no longer available. The registers do indicate a sprinkling of emigrants to various destinations that now included New Zealand (Turners Court registers). In 1929 the BBC broadcast a special appeal for the colony and in that year the umbrella organisation changed its name to the Christian Service Union (Turners Court records).

By the 1930s the arrangement for boys' or men's fees to be covered by the Poor Law Guardians was standard and seemed to reflect a greater awareness of what the colony could offer to men who needed training, although often this was no more than an opportunity to reduce the Guardians' costs. The most distinctive feature of records at this time are the niggling complaints about the precise levels of fees and clothing requirements for residents, with occasional triumphant letters informing Guardians that their sponsored man had been successfully placed and therefore no longer a 'liability' (Turners Court records). In 1938 there was a royal visit by the Duke of Gloucester and the promise of further youths to be sent for training by the Unemployment Assistance Board. Unemployment at this time was clearly a major issue, being the dominant social problem of the 1930s reflecting the macro economic context dominated by the 'depression'. As far as social policy was concerned, there had been a gradual shift towards regulation in the area of youth justice and formalised controls over young people's leisure time (Springhall 1986) under what Midwinter considered to be a period

of 'piecemeal collectivism' (Midwinter 1994). The Children and Young Persons Act 1933 placed approved schools at the centre of residential provision, with borstals for older adolescents for whom custody was deemed appropriate (Hyland 1993).

At the start of the Second World War, one of the most interesting developments occurred when a number of German Jewish boys were accepted for training for emigration. During the war the colony lost a considerable number of trainees and staff but partially compensated for this by operating as a refugee camp. Turners Court was spared having its property requisitioned, probably because it was engaged in agricultural production, clearly something of value for the war effort.

In the late 1940s and 1950s, it reverted to the regime that pertained in the 1930s, which could be loosely described as a combination of labour camp and public school run on militaristic lines. In 1947 the name was officially changed to the Wallingford Farm Training School, but there appears to be a crisis in terms of inability to recruit enough residents. There do not appear to been any significant developments during the late 1940s and early 1950s period until about 1955, leaving an abiding impression of a traditional boarding school ethos. Indeed when, in the early 1950s, there is again a suggestion of closure, one of the complaints from the Home Office is that the Wallingford Training School was expensive compared to public schools. The curious factor here is that developments such as the creation of welfare state with its statutory social services and emphasis on provision for children (local authority children's departments being established by the Children Act 1948) seem to have passed Turners Court by. That it failed to take advantage of the 'silent revolution' (Midwinter 1994) can only be attributed to its preoccupation with training men for agriculture. Inevitably there would have been a resurgence of demand for agricultural labourers during the war, but soon after this demand began to fall, principally due to mechanisation and need for economies of scale in agriculture (Marwick 1996).

The outmoded Turners Court regime changed radically and dramatically with the arrival of Menday as Principal in 1955. Turners Court began to take a more progressive turn, with changes in regime and clientele that allegedly pushed it to the forefront of progressive social work. Menday's own account (1998) tells how he was appointed and how he started by compiling a long list of problems to be remedied. He then describes his interview with Barbara Langridge (later Kahan) and officials at the Home Office who considered that the school would have a promising future if certain reforms were carried out. The actual size of the farm was reduced, and detailed investigations into some of the accounts uncovered some irregularities that needed to be remedied. Menday introduced a wholly different regime in which there was strong encouragement

for boys to participate in schemes such as the Duke of Edinburgh's award, and the number of referrals to Turners Court began to increase. A specific plan for the future was drawn up and implemented, to the extent that by the early 1960s numbers have been reduced. In essence, there was now much greater emphasis on training and a change in regime. In 1961 Barbara Kahan's husband Vladimir was appointed as a psychiatrist on a part-time basis – the psychiatric post was eventually to become full-time.

It is of some significance that by this time Turners Court is beginning to take boys with criminal records in preference to approved schools, a trend that was explicitly encouraged in Oxfordshire by Barbara Kahan, and was becoming more widespread (Packman 1975). A difference in costs is noted in the Turners Court records: in 1961 approved schools cost £11-15-0 per week compared to the £8-15-0 charged by Turners Court. In 1962 Menday was able to introduce his policy of insisting that boys should come voluntarily to Turners Court, and it appears to be about this time that the Christian Service Union yielded its overall responsibility for the school, agreeing that Turners Court should become an autonomous body. The formal links with the voluntary Christian social work roots were severed, Turners Court allied itself to the world of statutory care in the form of local authority Children's Departments, and became a major player in the field of residential social work. Chapter 5 explores what happened next.

Chapter 5

THE TIDE TURNS: THE RENAISSANCE OF TURNERS COURT IN THE 1960s

CHARTING AND EXPLAINING THE CHANGES: SOURCES AND METHODS

The objective of this chapter is to explore and analyse the dramatic changes that took place at Turners Court in the middle part of its history, when it moved from employment and training to a 'therapeutic' orientation that led some to regard it as a beacon of progressive social work practice. This practice is encapsulated in the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 which promoted social work idealism and probably represented the zenith of the 'treatment' approach towards young people in difficulties, especially those who broke the law. The chapter starts therefore with a brief overview of the regime that obtained in Turners Court prior to the late 1950s when a fundamental change in the nature of the institution occurred. The whole organisation broke with its past by becoming what was recognisably a social work organisation, committed to care in accordance with social work values and principles, drawing on a belief in the importance of relationships. The evidence for this is drawn primarily from an examination of the records held at Turners Court.

The remainder of the chapter draws on data from a variety of sources and, in common with the previous chapter, seeks to integrate the micro with the macro in order to promote a comprehensive explanatory account. For consistency, this chapter begins its analysis at the level of the actions of individuals who were key players in the history of Turners Court. There then follows an exploration of dramatic changes in values and beliefs that occurred, translated into a different set of objectives that underpinned the future development of the organisation. The rationale for integrating macro and micro in Chapters 2 and 3 concluded that the life of an institution could best be understood as an intersection and interplay of certain key macro and micro factors. The model put forward at the end of the previous chapter identifies those key elements.

At the macro, these have been sub-divided into four areas: economic and international; politics, social policy and law; ideology, values and belief systems; technology, skills, knowledge and professionalism. The way in which Turners Court itself adapted to macro forces is reflected in internal documents analysed in this chapter. The transformation of the institution from farm training to therapy has to be explained, at least in part, by weighing up the relative contributions of these factors.

The micro constituents were itemised as: finance and organisation; rules, traditions, formal and informal controls; individual actions, values and belief systems; work practices, training and equipment. An examination of Turners Court in the 1950s and 1960s needs to consider the relevance of these. Drawing on the available documentary evidence, supplemented by experiences recounted by key players who were influential at the time, the research considers how these factors interconnected with each other.

Yet this consideration of itself would not be adequate, for the thesis promotes the idea that micro forces do not simply and wholly reflect macro changes. It is not a unilinear process; Turners Court as a case study demonstrates that the relationship is far more complex than that. While it would be too grandiose to claim that Turners Court influenced the passing of the Children and Young Persons Act 1969, nevertheless key people promoted its values and used it is a means of securing change. This change occurred within a particular economic and social policy context. The conclusion of this chapter returns to the theme of identifying features that were congruent, allowing Turners Court to develop and prosper at this time.

Research approach

In Chapter 4, specific questions relevant to the origins of Turners Court were connected into Layder's framework (Layder 1993), and in order to maintain consistency, the same general progression is used here. The analysis starts with 'self', here meaning an institution in the Oxfordshire countryside, moves on to consider the macro context, and then situated activity and setting. No particular significance should be attached to this progression; it is simply a logic that facilitates the analysis. As in the previous chapter, the research foci are used to direct attention to certain key issues, which are distilled into specific sub-questions. In this chapter these sub-questions are:

SELF
Self-identity and social experience (here taken to refer to Turners Court)

How did Turners Court change? In particular:

- What was the changing nature of the experience for individuals in Turners Court?
- What were the roles of key players?
- What were the values and belief systems of those who were powerful in the institution?

CONTEXT
macro social organisation

What was the context of social work and social welfare in the period leading up to the Children and Young Persons Act 1969? In particular:

- What was the international context?
- What issues relating to the national economic context were relevant?
- What sets of power relations are seen reflected in the case study at this time? How were these manifested in law and social policy?
- What was the predominant ideology? In what ways were belief systems important and how were they different during this period?

SITUATED ACTIVITY
Face-to-face activity (symbolic communication, emergent meanings)

How did Turners Court as an organisation adapt and reformulate its objectives? In particular:

- What appear to be the ambitions of those who were in charge of Turners Court?
- How did Turners Court as an organisation attempt to attain its objectives?
- What was life like at Turners Court at this time?

SETTING
intermediate social organisation

In what ways did the internal organisation of Turners Court reflect the macro context of the time? In particular:

- What was the organisation's response to change emanating from the macro context? To what extent was Turners Court in synchrony with economic, social and political needs of the time?
- What similarities are there between Turners Court and other similar organisations at the time?

As explained in Chapter 1, an extensive archive from Turners Court was made available to the researcher, and in Chapter 4, this was used as a way of exploring the reasons why Turners Court was founded when it was. This chapter uses the archive material to explore changes in the organisation, elucidating macro factors relevant to the overall analysis. The approach is essentially qualitative, although a small quantitative element is included, either by inference through archives or else directly by calculations based on case records.

Creswell (1998: 121-2) identifies four main kinds of qualitative data: observations, interviews, documents, and audio-visual material. The biography of an individual is probably best created "from documents, interviews and perhaps observations". The study of Turners Court is not exactly like the biography of an individual, and clearly, observation is no longer possible. Nonetheless documentary evidence is feasible, along with the potential for interviewing one or two key people influential in the development of Turners Court during the 1960s, and the archive also contains photographs that give a flavour or 'feel' of the institution. In this sense, the study of a life of an institution offers a slightly wider variety of data sources, and given the public role of Turners Court also allows the potential for a measure of triangulation by reference to other sources that locate Turners Court within a wider social welfare system.

This chapter draws on a variety of archival sources, similar to those listed in the previous chapter, but now expanded to include documents that referred to Turners Court and similar institutions as part of state provision for the welfare of young people. In addition, through the current Turners Court Trustees, contact was made with individuals who had clear recollections of events and developments at Turners Court during the 1960s. This was important to verify some of the claims made by the organisation itself, and also to gain a personal perspective on events referred to in the archive. Specifically, the sources of data used in this chapter, are:

Table 7: sources of data for Chapter 5

Contemporary	retrospective
Case records	chronicles of Turners Court history
Registers of admissions and discharges	Menday's summary of Turners Court history (Menday 1998)
Minutes of meetings	accounts of participants
Pamphlets, flyers, appeals for funds	social work journals
Official documents including reviews and inspection reports	research on similar organisations; historical summaries and analyses (see bibliography)

Documentary sources

The previous chapter indicated a number of merits and potential pitfalls in using documentary sources. That discussion focused on the use of Turners Court's own archive, so here it would be useful to say something about the use of documents in social science research more generally.

The challenge to the Approved School system mounted in the 1960s produced a number of reports increasingly hostile to the prevailing punitive approach to young offenders (Home Office 1960, 1964, 1965, 1968; Scottish Home and Health Department 1964). These are important in setting the context in which Turners Court operated since, although it is not formally part of the Approved School system, it had by this time become an organisation wholly concerned with the training and welfare of young men in their mid-teenage years. It has to be recognised that these documents were produced in a specific political and social context.

The popular presupposition that official documents are somehow 'neutral' is one that has long been challenged in social science, with radical views from some people even suggesting that all official statistics are socially constructed (Hindess 1973; May 1993). Even judicial inquiries operate in their very specific context: the decision to order the inquiry is political, the values and beliefs demonstrated by inquiry members as regards acceptable behaviour are themselves socially and historically constructed (yet are hardly ever articulated), and the selection of witnesses must clearly reflect investigators' personal values, political views and economic considerations. Internal government policy-making documents may reflect not just the ideas and priorities of

those who write them geared towards the intended recipients, but may also reflect the relative power of civil servants or advisers who drew up such documents.

Documents may provide valuable insight into decision-making processes at the macro level, and this is of fundamental importance in order to understand the changing context for organisations such as Turners Court, and therefore the developments of social work. Such documents provide evidence that allow some claims to be substantiated or refuted. Policy documents may also help in highlighting competing views held at the time, for they do at least make some attempts to explain the context of the need for policy decision and the options being considered.

Turners Court itself produced a number of different kinds of documents, subject to a variety of influences, ranging from minutes, reviews, and registers, but of principal interest in this chapter are individual case records. From relatively early in the history of Turners Court the organisation made some attempts to chart the progress of trainees (or residents, later officially referred to as 'students'). These records are not, however, entirely chronological. What appears to have happened is that at one stage, a member of the administrative staff has archived records up to the early 1950s by sorting them and renumbering them, but the criteria for sorting is a slight puzzle. It is not systematically chronological by date of admission although broadly it moves from the early 1920s to the early 1950s. From then on, it appears to be exactly chronological by date of admission. There is a file for each man or boy who was resident at Turners Court for at least a few weeks. The register of admissions and discharges does not quite tally in that very brief stays at Turners Court did not apparently merit the creation of a file.

However, the reorganisation of the files did achieve one objective, in that it brought in a system of ordering the contents. The files up to the 1960s generally consist of:
1.   a case record summary that, fortunately, invariably included the resident's date of birth;
2.   letters relating to financial and practical arrangements grouped together;
3.   brief (sometimes very brief) reports from 'brothers' and housemasters on progress.

Records from the first and third category were the main source of information. Some files contained a brief history of the case and this proved invaluable in terms of demonstrating underlying values, ideology and approaches to interpreting behaviour.

Both sets of documents – government papers and Turners Court case records – can be classified as official. Opinions vary as to the validity of official documents and how

they should be interpreted. May (1993: 59) identifies three schools of thought on official statistics, which might equally well be adapted to such official documents. These schools are the realist, the institutionalist and the radical. Realists regard official documentation and data as being "objective indicators of the phenomena to which they refer", an essentially positivist approach. Institutionalists regard statistics as "neither valid nor reliable", telling us more about organisational priorities and the discretionary behaviour of individuals. Radical perspectives take this one stage further and locate the organisational priorities that created the statistics as demonstrating something about the dynamics and structure of society. This approach is reflected in the work of Foucault (1979; see also Fox 1998) and Marxists such as Althusser (1971) and Hall (1978).

The critique linked to each of these three schools tends towards rejecting official documents altogether on the grounds that they are taken to be too literally factual or empiricist, or alternatively that they are too impressionistic, yet documentary sources do offer a great deal of potential. May (1993: 133) suggests that one way of capitalising on this potential is to argue that it is possible to steer a path between these three schools of thought. This can be achieved by arguing that official documents should never be taken as the last word in valid evidence, yet nor should they be written off as being totally relative and malleable to the demands of organisations and society. Official documents do tell us something: the question is what? For the purposes of historical research connected into a social scientific understanding of change, documents are invaluable for the insights they provide as to how behaviour and events were understood or 'constructed' and interpreted at the time. They are, in a sense, the textual equivalents of photographs: a snapshot of reality as perceived at the time. Portraits are posed, and much is left out. The intriguing question is to what extent are they posed and by whom, and what exactly is left out?

This leads on to the question of validity. Who writes the documents? How do they know what they claim to know? Here it is useful to distinguish between primary sources, which refer to documents or data presented by people who witnessed events described, and secondary sources, which are written by people who were not direct witnesses or participants. One pertinent issue in relation to the Turners Court archive is that these distinctions may not necessarily apply to the kinds of documents themselves, but rather may referred to the kind of material *within* the documents. For example, the case records at Turners Court contain first-hand reports written by people who directly witness boys' behaviour and sometimes describe their own actions and responses to that behaviour, yet the same reports contain second-hand interpretations

of behaviour from other people, usually a Housemaster or the Principal (up to the 1960s the Warden).

A more substantive issue leading on from this concerns how the documents are to be interpreted and analysed. Turners Court case records contain a wealth of interpretation and evaluation of behaviour, much of which is presented as factual. A literal interpretation of this would take these 'facts' as beyond dispute, whereas much relies on the culture and context that facilitated a specific form of interpretation of behaviour. This essentially argues for attention to discourse. This would not assume that individuals are the primary source of meaning. Rather discourse analysis here is taken to connecting language used to the context in which documents were formulated. Context here refers both to micro social relations that reflect power within the institution, as well as macro relations. These convey powerful prevailing ideas about power and values, formed by language that reflects individual constructions of social relations (Jupp and Norris 1993). By way of illustration take the following short extracts from case records as an indication of broader power relations: "unsatisfactory parentage" (Case 47), "plenty of intelligence, rather too much" (Case 48); "a troublesome defective" (Case 09), "mother is a weak, rather helpless creature" (Case 10), "impossible to place coloured boys owing to the prejudice against boarding them … [even] domestic service except in basement work in hotels is closed to them" (Case 32).

Therefore one of the researcher's obligations is to reflect on the presentation of official 'information'. This in turn requires some kind of reflection on the process by which documents were drawn up, and often much can be gleaned from the lack of information as well as the provision of information contained in case records. Policy papers, documents and government reports likewise need to be interpreted for meanings that reveal the prevailing cultural, political, social and economic context.

Interviews

Interviews are a standard technique used in social science research yet there is a danger that researchers may be drawn to interviewing as it appears superficially unproblematic and does not require new skills (Denscombe 1998: 109). The reality is that interviews need to be fit for the research purpose. The distinction between structured, semi-structured and open or focused interviews is well known, with a presumption, not entirely correct, that structured interviews are generally based on a quantitative approach whereas open interviews are necessarily qualitative. Interviews in this research validated and embellished information gleaned from documentary

sources. They also provided participants' perspectives on what happened at Turners Court. With this intention, interviewees were essentially being asked for their 'story', focusing on key events in Turners Court's history. Interviews were therefore essentially open-ended in character and this has the benefit of enabling individuals to convey their understanding of what occurred, focusing on "meanings and interpretations that individuals attributed to events and relationships" (May 1993: 94).

Interviews offer additional advantages. They provide an element that documentary sources never can since researchers can ask questions of people; interaction with documents is obviously impossible. It is also feasible to return to the interviewee for clarification where necessary. Primarily interviews give a real flavour to events and processes that affect real people, obtaining first-hand accounts from people of significance in Turners Court's history. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that interviewees were sometimes being asked about events that occurred 30 to 40 years ago. Interviewing participants concerning past events potentially offers a fascinating glimpse into the development of social work in the 1960s, yet care needs to be taken with evaluating these interviews for a number of reasons.

Firstly, of course it is easy to forget that those interviewed reflected on experiences with the benefit of hindsight. Human memory is selective, with only the key events interpreted as being important to the participants being recalled. Events that may have been important at the time, but had no long-lasting influence, may then be overlooked. Sarantakos (1998: 266) points out that interviews are particularly subject to individuals' selective recall when issues are sensitive and where there are issues that they may not wish to discuss. Similarly, there may be an element of self-justification concerning people's actions or inaction regarding key events, and in this research this was especially true in relation to the eventual closure of Turners Court in the early 1990s. There may be a wish to interpret or even reinterpret events according to personal needs and values rather than maintain the detached objectivity, which is the apparent prerogative of the researcher. A more general issue concerning analysis of all qualitative data, not just interviews, is that the quality of actions taken by people at the time are being judged by values and belief systems that operate now. Thus social work practice is evaluated according to current dominant social work principles, reflecting a strong belief in anti-discriminatory practice and values that were scarcely understood twenty or thirty years ago.

Hence there is a determined and sustained attempt to relate what interviewers say to documentary evidence both from within Turners Court and elsewhere, further

triangulated in relation to wider processes and contexts. In this chapter, interviews are used to supplement and assist with interpretation of documentary evidence and both forms of data are analysed within a macro-micro framework.

Ethical issues

Given the purposes of interviews outlined above, confidentiality becomes an important issue. Whilst the identity of some key people is well-known through their role, nevertheless it was decided that steps would be taken to avoid identifying interviewees wherever possible, given the need to respect people's privacy and to conform to the Data Protection Act 1998. Interviewees were selected according to their role in the history of Turners Court, with attempts to talk to a cross-section of people. In total, eight substantive interviews were conducted and reference is made to these numerically. A list of interviews with some limited additional information is to be found in Appendix 3.

The use of case records in research clearly raises fundamental issues concerning ethics. At Turners Court case records relate to young men, few of whom would have been aware of the existence of the records. It was therefore considered highly undesirable to try to contact men to whom the case records referred, and the Trustees in any case had no formalised system of maintaining contact with former residents. The case records are not used to construct personal biographies, since this is not the point of the exercise, and therefore steps have been taken to avoid the possibility of identifying former residents. All names have been changed, and have been randomly allocated using the most popular boys' names from that particular era. Case references are to the researcher's list which cross-tabulates with the original case records, this cross-referencing being kept confidential to the researcher. Case records are used as a means of demonstrating changes in social work practice, illustrating ways in which values and beliefs became interpreted and translated into actions. Some dramatic shifts in the role of the institution were played out through the case records and clearly demonstrated in them. Early case records contained very little detail, with scant information reflecting the emphasis on training and preoccupation with agricultural work competence, or to be more accurate, incompetence. By the 1960s, the emphasis moves towards personal relationships and sometimes there are references to this as well as to farm training. By the 1980s and 1990s, the focus is almost exclusively on personal relationships and recording is far more detailed.

All of this relates to a particularly troubled period in young men's lives, and thus the whole issue of what is drawn out from individual case records needs to be tackled

sensitively. Access to personal case records has only comparatively recently been accepted as the norm in social work, following rulings by the European court on the Gaskin case (Gaskin v. United Kingdom ECHR Application 10454/83: 1989) and the implementation of the Access to Personal Files Act 1987, now superseded by the Data Protection Act 1998. The case records reviewed and researched here would not have been available to boys or their relatives, and indeed staff who made entries in those records would have assumed that they were entirely confidential and private to Turners Court. Similarly, referral letters from local authority Children's Departments and accompanying extensive social histories would have been regarded as exclusively for the use of the local authority and Turners Court as their care agents. Consequently, any reference to case records in any way that might permit possible identification has been scrupulously avoided, and an undertaking to that effect was given to the Turners Court Trustees .

This approach to ethics assumes that records are the property of the organisation that holds them, but increasingly research needs to consider the equally valid claims of those who are subjects of the records (for further discussion see Appendix 2). Alderson (1995) points out that traditional research ethics are based on patriarchal assumptions, with adults giving consent on behalf of children. Belatedly, unequal power relations are beginning to be recognised, with children accorded autonomous decision-making rights. In this research, the prevailing consideration was that young people might be unaware of the extensiveness of the Turners Court records and might well not want to be reminded of a period when their behaviour was deemed anti-social or immature. For this reason no attempts were made to contact former residents, despite the fact that some are known to be in contact with former members of staff and many, it is claimed, subscribed to very positive views about their experiences at Turners Court.

SELF-IDENTITY AND SOCIAL EXPERIENCE

What was the changing nature of the experience for individuals in Turners Court?

On 23rd. September 1927, Eric was admitted to Turners Court at the age of 16, sponsored by the Guardians of the Parish of St Giles Camberwell, and stayed there for just over four years. On admission, he was asked to declare that although he had an occupation, in his case unspecified, he was "unable to find work" and therefore wished "to come to the Colony". He promised to obey all the rules and regulations for "good conduct and management" and also promised to "abstain from all intoxicating drink while resident". He also pledged himself "not to enter any premises where drink is sold

and to discourage others from doing so." This particular young man was also encouraged to emigrate to Australia, although in his case apparently the application was not pursued. Despite his lengthy stay at Turners Court, there is no clear indication as to what happened to him on discharge although he is recorded as going to a 'situation' for which he required specific clothing. Much more in evidence are financial complaints such as that from the London County Council Public Assistance Department indicating a dispute about the sum of £3.19.1d. for clothing (Case 01).

On 14th. May 1937, William was admitted to Turners Court at the age of almost 18, and stayed there for exactly a year. His undertakings were identical to those given by his predecessor a decade earlier, although his occupation is recorded: "farm labourer". He was sponsored by Stoke-on-Trent Education Committee and appeared to have created a problem for "the brothers", one of whom "strapped" him for "insolence". Despite describing him as a "real Irish navvy", the housemaster's records fail to record what happened to this man on discharge although he appears subsequently to have joined the R.A.F. (Case 02).

On 4th. April 1948, James was admitted to Turners Court at the age of 14 "for care and training" and stayed there for over three years. He was sponsored by Carmarthenshire County Council Children's Department, regularly enquired after by relatives who were fulsome in their praise of Turners Court's work, and eventually discharged to a position at the Royal Gardens Sandringham. On admission, he was required to sign (or have "his mark affixed") to an undertaking

> to obey all rules and regulations made for the good conduct and management of the School, and to carry out the instructions which may be given me by persons in authority

and also to declare a willingness

> to work for my training, food and accommodation

Case 03

On 2nd. January 1958, Robert was admitted to Turners Court at the age of 15 and stayed there for nineteen months. He was likewise made to give an undertaking to obey "persons in authority". He was sponsored by Salford Children's Department and the style of records changes significantly, in that a concise family history is included that refers to social background rather than employment potential. He is referred to as "a typically deprived boy who feels keenly his parents' rejection of him", involved in "occasional pilfering of sweet foodstuffs" which is a "symptom of his deprivation" rather

than "delinquency". He is "easy going" and "pleasant", "average" at school and therefore "should work well with his hands in a manual capacity", whatever that tautology might mean. Being "fond of animals", he is commended to Turners Court for "training for farming" as a "willing and cheerful worker". In fact, on discharge he joined the army (Case 04).

On 17th. January 1968, Joseph was admitted to Turners Court for very specific reasons. Angus Children's Department had an ex-Approved School boy for whom "along with the near impossibility of finding employment in Angus is the equally difficult problem of accommodation." The Approved School had seen fit not to recall him, and so almost in desperation, the Children's Department had asked Turners Court to provide employment training. No undertaking was required to be signed; instead, there is an Admission Sheet and Interview Sheet, which together set out the information that was hitherto included in the form of application. It is difficult to tell whether this placement was successful except that the records note that he was withdrawn when he found employment in his own area. What is significant about this case is the very detailed case history provided on admission, which stands in marked contrast to the scant information to be gleaned from earlier records. It also contrasts with current social work principles and emphasis on anti-discriminatory practice: for example, it describes the family as 'tinkers' (Case 05).

This brief scan of the range of experiences encountered by boys and young men referred to Turners Court sets the scene for an exposition of changes that took place prior to the era in which it is claimed that Turners Court influenced social work practice. It is already noticeable how the apparent purpose of the institution is changing, with a shift in emphasis from employment to personal needs. The report of a Working Party (Turners Court 1974) pointed out that in the 1950s Turners Court saw itself as providing "character, vocational and social responsibility training for boys who are homeless, from broken homes, or for those in need of special help" and brochures also referred to help for "maladjusted, neurotic, difficult or backward boys". The working party concluded that by the early 1970s Turners Court's purpose was modified "to be a caring establishment to promote the development of adolescents with problems arising from their inability to make satisfactory personal relationships. The vocational and educational training exists to help development into adulthood".

What were the roles of key players?

Chief amongst key individuals in the history of Turners Court must be Menday, appointed Warden in 1955, who is generally credited with revolutionising Turners Court

during this era. His own accounts of his first actions on taking over Turners Court provide insight into his values and beliefs. He insisted that his military rank should not be used by the committee to publicise a "child care establishment" and that he "would break up canes, the type of discipline would be changed, pocket money would be increased, food improved and weekend passes issued... he wished the boys to smile when he met them... to tell him what their problems were and ask to see him whenever they wished" (Menday 1998: 42-3). Menday was responsible for the first appointment of a sessional psychiatrist for the school and co-authored a book about "experiments at the school which were proving so successful" which were mostly "incorporated in the 1969 Children's Act [sic]" since it became "required reading by most colleges' course on social work" and "found its way to the Home Office" via national conferences and the Children's Officers journal (Menday 1998: 51-2).

Such is the contrast with the previous regime that one is tempted to ask whether the governors of Turners Court had deliberately decided to go for revolutionary change. Personal discussions, however, suggested that this was far from the case.

> *RESEARCHER: Going back to the question you asked yourself. The people who appointed you - did they ask about your philosophy or.....*
> *INTERVIEWEE: We weren't first appointed.*
> *RESEARCHER: Second choice?*
> *INTERVIEWEE: They found somebody - a chap who was running an Approved School in the Wirral - and he turned it down. Second on the list. We actually wanted the job......... We saw it as a different sort of organisation where we could perhaps be ourselves.*
> *RESEARCHER: Perhaps they didn't realise what they were getting.*
> *INTERVIEWEE :   Obviously not.*
>
> Interview 1

In contrast to the earliest period, the governing body appears uninvolved.

> *They never ever went round the damned place. They had no idea what it was like. They just met in London every month.*
>
> Ibid.

Menday's consistent view, eventually translated into action, was that Turners Court should separate itself from the Christian Service Union, as it was by then, and become an autonomous body. This was achieved in September 1963. Nevertheless, Turners

Court could still call upon a group of supporters and benefactors who were extremely well-connected and highly influential, as evidenced by radio programmes, a BBC Appeal, and Sir John Hunt opening the newly built Boys' Club. Right throughout the chronological history are references to committee members making generous grants towards the organisation to offset the often precarious financial situation.

Barbara Kahan was undoubtedly a key influence on the development of Turners Court during this period, although until the 1980s she was not directly involved in the running of the organisation. Reference has already been made to her role as partial instigator of change at Turners Court through her seminal meeting with Menday in the 1950s when the latter was exploring the true potential for Turners Court within the child care system. The appointment of her husband as psychiatrist doubtless gave her indirect knowledge of developments at Turners Court. Towards the end of the period which is the subject of this chapter, Barbara Kahan initiated a fundamental review of Turners Court through her position in the Department of Health and Social Security inspectorate for social services. This central government role followed on from a substantial period as Children's Officer in Oxfordshire, a career move made after implementation of the Seebohm Report (Home Office 1968) and the creation of social services departments.

Barbara Kahan's views on child care are well documented and her advice on residential child care regularly sought (Kahan 1979; Levy and Kahan 1991; Kahan 1994). In the 1960s she was a well-known protagonist in the Children's Officers' campaign for the abolition of approved schools (Packman 1975). One interviewee put it succinctly:

> *Barbara Kahan had to find a vehicle for her views that there was a better*
> *model of childcare than approved schools, and Turners Court fitted the bill.*
>
> Interview 8

Turners Court was seen as an 'exemplary model' for future child care work, and it was presented to other Oxfordshire employees as the prototype for other residential care institutions such as Thornbury House (Interview 8). Barbara Kahan herself saw Turners Court as a 'beacon' for an alternative system. Persuading local authority Children's Committees to use residential 'homes' as an alternative to approved schools proved an uphill struggle, however, since it meant accepting a financial liability that otherwise would have fallen on the Home Office. Nevertheless, in all her time in Oxfordshire there was only one approved school order made by Oxfordshire magistrates (Interview 2).

What were the values and belief systems of those who where powerful in the institution?

Expounding the values and belief systems of those who were powerful in the institution may not necessarily tell us a great deal about the day-to-day running of an establishment. For it should not be assumed that values are automatically translated into practice. Competing belief systems may have become more embedded and hidden, subtly challenging or undermining those who formally hold power. It may be that the institution, following Goffman (1968), creates its own established modus operandi, with traditions and set roles to match. Certainly Menday conceded that his own values were in conflict with the majority of staff employed at Turners Court when he took over and "it took a long time to get rid of the old school" (Interview 1).

It is therefore important to try to explore the values and belief systems of those who were in most regular contact with the trainees or residents: the 'brothers' and 'housefathers' who subsequently became house-staff and housemasters, and eventually residential social workers. These values and beliefs are probably best illuminated by what was written about trainees in case records. Right from the very early days, regular reports on training and progress were kept together with letters to sponsors. These illuminate values not just in their context but also through the language in which case records talk of the experiences and expectations of boys and young men sent to Turners Court.

There is potentially a great deal of material to analyse here, so for the sake of clarity what follows focuses on the emerging social work discourse used by those who sent boys to Turners Court and those who supervised them when they were there, specifically focussing on areas in which values shifted significantly by the mid-1960s.

The discourse in evidence in case records of the 1930s reflects a very strong medical approach, focusing on labelling behaviour and responding through mental 'treatment'. "[Frank] is mentally very subnormal and a psychological puzzle... it is doubtful if he is trainable as he has no power of retaining or absorbing knowledge". Later correspondence refers to him being "deemed to be mentally defective" and finally he is simply referred to as "the defective" for whom the local authority are attempting to find "a suitable guardian" (Case 06). The health report accompanying 14-year old Henry's application form described him as "of weak intellect, very irritable at times, obstreperous and pugnacious" (Case 07). The monthly report on 17-year old Charles describes him as "very artful and cunning" with "no interest in his work" but "can do well when driven". He had "plenty of intelligence, rather too much" (Case Records 08).

Edward was described as "a very difficult case" who "flies into a ungovernable rages and becomes highly dangerous". The local authority responded by offering assessment under the Mental Treatment Act 1930 (Case 09).

By the early 1960s, a very different discourse emerges. Tony was described as "easily led but for good and bad ... lazy but very good hearted" (Case 10). In 1962 one boy was labelled "distrustful and resentful, contentious and argumentative" yet a "good deal of difficulty lay in the home circumstances". The admission document then goes on to give an explanation for this with reference to appearances at the juvenile court and referral to the Child Guidance Clinic. Philip had been placed in a Barnardo's home in Edinburgh yet staff there never "really got through" to him (Case 11). The referral letter in 1964 for Donald described him as "a boy who through living an isolated and frustrated life with his mother is not being given the opportunity of maturing socially". Interestingly, he was referred to Turners Court following a suggestion by magistrates when he appeared before them for stealing a transistor radio and fishing rod. The documentation for this case is now typical of the mid-1960s consisting of a referral letter that contains a brief summary of the case, completed detailed Form of Application for Admission which includes a history from birth, a medical report and also a psychiatric report that, in this case, talks of "[Donald] of average intelligence who is showing evidence of distortion of personality associated with social maladjustment" (Case 12). By contrast, Paul was described as "good-natured and easy going... a little shy... [with] a normal interest in girls." (Case 13). The 1965 Form of Application for Admission requires a detailed chronology with spaces for each year of the boy's history. By 1969, the language of psychology is firmly in evidence. Phrases from a typical case of this era include "extremely disturbed", "maladjusted", "very immature", "easily moved to anger", "finds it very difficult to cope with the emotional problems of home" (Harry, Case 14).

This changing discourse in relation to the boys is mirrored in shifts in attitudes towards parents. In 1952 a probation officer wrote of Hugh's mother:

> *[she] is not very intelligent and in the past has probably spent too much time at the King Charles public house where she is popular with several women of ill repute known to the court for various reasons.*

Case 15

The family composition contains the word "illegitimate" after several children including one "adopted out". A preoccupation with illegitimacy is evident in 1954: one record starts "[Eugene] is the eldest of four illegitimate children and his mother is at present on

licence from [a] colony". It then goes on to describe the mother as "a motherly soul who has been certified owing to the number of children she has had" (Case 16). In 1956 Kenneth's father is described as "intemperate and brutal" yet his mother "makes a fair impression" (Case 17). By the early 1960s there are references to the relationship between boys and their parents, nearly always the mother, who in Raymond's case was described as "very fond of her children and visits them regularly and is very interested in [her son's] future" (Case 18). Nevertheless, even at the end of the period under examination gratuitously pejorative statements about parents are in evidence. Take this summary of the first year of Harry's life, for example:

> *Born in an ambulance (according to mother, who is inclined to dramatise);*
> *breast-fed for a short time.*

<div align="right">Harry, Case 14</div>

A second element in the emerging social work discourse is represented by the decreasing importance of religion in the institution. Up until the late 1950s an Anglican Christian ethos of the school was maintained at least to a limited extent. The Form of Application for Admission then in use included the following regulation to which the Trainee had to undertake to agree:

> *Trainees are required to be present at Morning and Evening prayers, and to*
> *attend an undenominational [sic] service in the school assembly on Sundays.*

<div align="right">James, Case 03</div>

Menday reports having the Roman Catholic visiting priest replaced as he had "attempted to turn Anglican boys to his faith" (Menday 1998: 54). Confirmation classes were still held and the "religious side" of Turners Court was helped "by young men preparing for the priesthood from Wycliffe Hall in Oxford" (Menday 1998: 70). Right until 1969, the Turners Court Form of Application for Admission asked about religious background and whether the boy had been confirmed, presumably as an Anglican or Roman Catholic. This is reflected also in comments made by social workers:

> *[David] is a good boy in the home and attends Church and Young People's*
> *Meeting regularly.*

<div align="right">Case 18</div>

> *[Kenneth] is a Scout and confirmed.*

<div align="right">Case 17</div>

> *[Tony is] a good Roman Catholic.*

<div align="right">Case 10</div>

However, by the late 1960s and 1970s there are virtually no references to religion in the chronology that forms part of the admission application, although the annual Harvest Festival continued well into the 1970s, with support from the Bishop of Reading (Menday 1998: 105). Nevertheless, the comprehensive review carried out in 1974 (Turners Court 1974) does not appear to make any reference to the Christian ethos, or any reference to spirituality; rather the focus is on educational and social needs exclusively.

THE MACRO CONTEXT

At this point, it is important to relate changes that had taken place at Turners Court to the macro. Training for employment was now conducted in a very different economic environment, with employment opportunities of a different nature that no longer fitted with the founders' preconceptions about agriculture as the mainstay of sheltered employment for men with limited potential. Education comes to the fore as an important element in Turners Court's provision. Attitudes to reform and 'redemption' have now been replaced by a strong social work ethic, built on a concern with social and personal development that was accorded a higher priority than employment. At a wider level, government is now much more directly involved in the provision of welfare, with the establishment of the 'welfare state' reflecting a very different approach to residential institutions. The quality of care within the institution now comes to have significance and once Turners Court establishes its credibility with local authority Children's Departments, there are opportunities for it to secure a regular income from sponsoring local authorities and also to focus its attention on a much more precisely defined group. In order to examine how this came to be so, the section examines some specific aspects of the macro context consistent with the areas identified in Chapter 4.

What was the international context?

The period under review was characterised by a significant rise in general wealth of prosperity in Britain, a rise that facilitated a much stronger role for governments in the provision of welfare services. This is generally attributed to the promotion of Keynesian economic policies on an international scale, or rather throughout the West and former British dominions (Australia, and New Zealand notably: see Harris and McDonald 2000). This reaction to the Depression of the 1930s and the Second World War was formalised internationally through treaties such as the Bretton Woods agreement on international economic co-operation. Keynesian theory centred on the means by which government itself can act to reduce unemployment and the 'multiplier' effects of government intervention as a means of boosting the economy. The pro-capitalist ideas

of Keynes have been widely noted as having a strong emphasis on establishing a stable economic equilibrium (George and Page 1995; Mishra 1984) meaning specifically that governments "would be able to avoid severe and protracted unemployment by balancing fluctuations in markets with public spending to maintain demand and secure jobs" (Parker 1998: 145). O'Brien and Penna (1998) label this "liberal managerialism" to highlight the way in which Keynesian theory reformulated Liberalism. Standard social policy texts tend to an automatic association of Keynesian economic theorising with welfare state growth (see for example Hill 1997; Lavalette and Pratt 2001) without fully acknowledging the centrality of full employment as a prerequisite for the development of publicly funded services. Reappraisal of the welfare state, forced by retrenchment in the 1980s and 1990s, has suggested a review of the idea that the Keynesian welfare state had "solved the seemingly endemic economic and social problems of the interwar years" (Ellison and Pierson 1998: 2).

One benefit of this reappraisal is to clarify the elements that comprised the Keynesian welfare state. Jessop (2000: 172-3) reviews the paradox that sees the welfare state as both "necessary to and incompatible with capitalism". This review suggests four dimensions as necessary components of the welfare regime that dominated Britain up to the 1970s. First, economic policy was Keynesian in that the aim was for full employment with demand-side management from government. Secondly, policy was welfare oriented in the sense of extending the "fruits of economic growth" to all citizens by promoting "forms of collective consumption favourable to mass production and mass consumption". Thirdly, it was national in that each country was responsible for implementing policies under the supervision of international regimes established to restore stability to national economies. Finally, it was statist in that government institutions complemented market forces, and were charged with redressing market imbalances. Some might simply label this last element the 'mixed economy'.

The international context is also relevant in another sense. Social work was at that time gaining formal recognition as a specific enterprise throughout the Western world, albeit in different formulations. The general trend in social work away from a charitable view towards a more rights-based approach echoes US experience that follows greater government intervention heralded by the New Deal of the 1940s (Leiby 1985: 327-8). As regards Europe it is possible to classify welfare states in a number of ways (Ginsburg 1992). Esping-Andersen (1990) compares Liberal (residual, highly differentiated) approaches with conservativist (corporatist) and social democratic (universalist) regimes. An alternative typology distinguishes the continental model, drawing on the "Bismarckian statist corporatist" reliant on the social insurance principle;

the Nordic and Anglo-Saxon model characterised by provision of universalist services, especially health care; and the southern European model that still relies on traditional family support models, particularly the Church (Hantrais 1995). Some specific trends directly related to the form of social work have also been noted. Unregulated growth of residential institutions, with low levels of training and pay for staff, was a prevailing characteristics of social work in Belgium, Luxembourg and Italy; paradoxical views of children in need – being paupers, they were both immoral and innocent simultaneously – were noted in France until the 1980s; and western European countries' use of residential care began to diminish significantly from the end of the 1960s onwards (Colton and Hellinckx 1993; and for France Ariès 1979)

What was the national economic and social context?

The establishment and growth of the welfare state in Britain is clearly the key characteristic of this period. A brief perusal of Turners Court's case records identifies an increased willingness to pay for residents, with a marked decrease in arguments about the level of fees and provision of clothing. The acceptability of increased state intervention in people's lives derived from the war emergency (Midwinter 1994: 91) together with wholesale adoption of Keynesian economic policy and welfare state principles legitimised local authority sponsorship of Turners Court residents. It also provided justification for the employment of professional social workers. At the same time training for employment for Turners Court trainees was supported since the welfare state world "was still seen as made up of individuals who need motivating to work and the fear is still present that 'something for nothing' will destroy that motivation" (Clarke 1993: 33).

The introduction of the welfare state also meant an increased willingness to finance residential care generally. Parker (1988) points out that the development of residential care in the early part of this century was assisted by the availability of new wealth that facilitated responsiveness to charitable appeals. Yet charitable funding was insufficient. This had to be augmented by payments from local and central government, which came to occupy an increasingly important place in the running of residential institutions. This is clearly seen reflected in the history of Turners Court. For many years, the industrial schools comprised the largest sector of voluntary residential child care and this money was forthcoming from central government both because of concerns about 'juvenile disorder' and also because of the lack of development of local government and distrust of boards of guardians. Once committed it was difficult for the Home Office to withdraw funding.

One major influence on what Turners Court did on day-to-day basis was, of course, the employment market. By the late 1960s, it is clear that the introduction of a welfare state had had a major impact on raising the quality of life for many. Marwick (1996) charts some of these changes. Growing affluence resulted from rising wages and a fall in relative prices of many consumer goods. This rise in affluence particularly affected young people who came to play a more central role in society generally. The irony of increasing affluence and an increasing crime rate is noted, with an almost quadrupling of crimes of violence between 1955 and 1968. The number of juveniles convicted of indictable offences rose from 35,513 in 1955 to 95,900 in 1968 (quoted in Hyland 1993: 35). This rise in crime may have created more potential residents for Turners Court although it was not an institution totally dedicated to respond to youth crime.

Of more significance may be the changing nature of the employment. Mechanisation led to fewer potential openings for farm labourers and Turners Court was obliged to diversify into other 'trade' areas such as painting and decorating, catering and carpentry. At the same time, more sophisticated industrial techniques meant opportunities for unskilled workers became scarcer and qualifications became indispensable. The gradual lowering of the age for admission to Turners Court, the raising of the school leaving age to sixteen in 1972, and higher demands made in terms of vocational training all combined to oblige Turners Court to move towards a boarding school regime. During this period it began to employ qualified teachers and instructors, to mark out specific periods of the day for education rather than general farm training and to move towards meeting boys' educational and training needs rather than the institution's necessities. Certainly, by the end of the 1960s, it would no longer be acceptable to use residents as unpaid building labour as had happened hitherto. Reflecting back on changes that had occurred in the previous decade, the 1974 Review noted that "commercial and other demands" sometimes disturbed the educational process. It was noted that agriculture and catering were particularly prone to this, and concluded that this was becoming incompatible with the requirements of residential care (Turners Court 1974).

Power and social structure

Marwick (1996: 59) has chronicled some of the difficulties in implementing welfare state innovations, since these were not only "circumscribed by the country's economic situation" they were also inhibited by "continuing barriers and preoccupations of class" and perceptions of life "as it had been". Austerity and rigid social divisions continued to characterise the late 1940s when the welfare state was being established, yet during

the 1950s and especially in the 1960s traditional social hierarchies and divisions began to break down. Much of this is attributed to increasing affluence although not to the extent of rendering the 1960s as 'classless' (Marwick 1996: 154). The famous sociological study of 'affluent' working class workers in Luton pointed to comparability of earning power but significant lifestyle differences. The key distinction was the extent of workers' control over their environment: high wages compensated for unpleasant and repetitive conveyor belt work. Nevertheless, such workers might well try to emulate middle-class lifestyles by changing voting allegiances (Goldthorpe et al. 1969). Alongside the general rise of affluence came different perceptions of the position of young people.

Until the 1960s, Packman (1975) and others have pointed out that a clear distinction was made between young people in need of care, due to parental neglect or other family circumstances, and those who needed to be punished for the offences that they committed. This is summarised in the "deprived or depraved?" debate that dominated this area of social policy in the 1960s. She points out that until then children's departments only connected with the juvenile justice system at one or two specific points: the option open to magistrates to commit non-offenders to Approved Schools and a duty on local authorities to accommodate those 'released' from such schools. Probation officers were responsible for the provision of home circumstances reports to the courts and generally "developments in the field of delinquency in the 1950s took place outside the child care service" (Packman 1975: 103-5). However there were "some marked local differences" with some children's departments, such as Oxfordshire, playing a much more active role in work with young offenders. Packman notes that Oxfordshire had no Approved Schools within its boundaries but

> *there was, however, a large voluntary 'training school' for adolescent boys,*
> *which offered boarding education and a trade training to deprived and*
> *disturbed youngsters from all over the country.*

Packman 1975: 106

This appears to be a reference to Turners Court and it is apparent that Oxfordshire is interested in this field. An innovative legal device was used in order to avoid Approved School orders, namely to encourage magistrates to make 'fit person orders' (equivalent to what subsequently became care orders) as a means of sending youngsters to institutions such as Turners Court (Interview 2). Consequently, the proportion of Approved School orders in relation to fit person orders increases in favour of the latter with the result that in 1964 only one Oxfordshire boy was sent to an Approved School

(107). Voluntary admission to care under Section One of the Children Act 1948 was also used as a means of potentially avoiding later committal to Approved School. Such pioneering work obviously depended on cultivating good relationships with magistrates and persuading local politicians that the additional expenditure was worthwhile since it was "an expensive policy" (Packman 1975: 107-110).

In this sense, the move away from punitive institutions to residential care for all young people "in need" reflected a rise in professional power of Children's Officers and social workers generally. This was underpinned by growing acceptance that, like the 'deprived', young offenders were "victims of family and environmental circumstances and suffered from broken, neglectful or unhappy homes. Their offences were seen as response to these circumstances ..." (Packman 1975: 110-1). That this approach was eventually adopted as national policy can be partly attributed to a policy shift that was more sympathetic to social work and a more social democratic approach to power generally (Clarke 1993: 49-50). It may also be attributed to incidents that provoked and fuelled public outrage at conditions in Approved Schools (Hyland 1993). Incontrovertible evidence of brutality at Court Lees Approved School in 1967 (Home Office 1967), for example, provided ammunition for Children's Officers and Home Office inspectors who sought the abolition of the Approved School system. Called to accommodate boys displaced by the closure of Court Lees, one interviewee for this research described the sharp division that greeted him on arrival at the school. Home Office advisors who wanted the school closed were ranged against civil servants who sought to dismiss what had happened as an isolated incident (Interview 5). The passing of the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 attests to the success of the first group since by that Act the Approved School system was formally abolished.

Yet the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 also testifies to an increasing confidence in the value of social work. The move towards proactive rather than reactive social work exemplified by the Children and Young Persons Act 1963, with its emphasises on arrangements to avoid the need for children to be "received" into care, led to an increase in the number of child care officers appointed by local authorities (Packman 1975). Government reports had become increasingly sympathetic towards a social work approach to young offenders, with a number of influential reports moving inexorably towards what later became known as the 'treatment' approach (Home Office 1960, 1964, 1965, 1968; Scottish Home and Health Department 1964; see also discussion on pages 99, and Table 14 comparison of Welfare and Justice models). Children's Departments had to adapt to their new role with young offenders very quickly before themselves being merged with other social work departments to form

social services departments in England and Wales and social work departments in Scotland (Local Authority Social Services Act 1970; Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968).

Belief systems and ideology

If the first decade of the twentieth century were to be characterised as the beginning of the shift from individualism to collectivism, the 1960s would be the culmination of that trend. This epoch marks the zenith of social democratic ideals that underpinned the welfare state. Essentially this belief can be centred on a re-formulation of the concept of citizenship, following on from the work of Marshall and others who talked of citizens being "full members of the community" who were entitled to having certain basic needs met by the wider community or society (George and Page 1995: 107). This view of citizenship encompasses the notion that individuals are only free to participate in society if they have certain very basic needs met. This is quite different from Liberalist views of freedom that emphasise freedom from state control and interference. The social democratic view of freedom sees state intervention as necessary in order to secure basic citizenship rights.

This view draws on the Fabian tradition and ideals. Fabianism as a movement became influential in the 1920s and 1930s but its roots go back to the period just before Turners Court was founded. The Minority Report on the Poor Law produced in 1909 was strongly influenced by the Webbs, noted Fabians, and appeared to argue for a more collectivist approach to welfare (Digby 1989). Fabians, such as George Bernard Shaw, Tawney, Titmuss and Marshall challenged both the individualism promoted by Adam Smith and Burke, and challenged the Marxist view that only when capitalism is overthrown can any real improvement in people's welfare actually be achieved. In this last respect it can be characterised as an intellectual movement concerned with ameliorating social conditions as "the Anglo-Saxon variant on continental social-democracy" which preached "the notion of 'socialism by instalments' and the inevitability of gradualness" (Midwinter 1994: 69). Lichtheim (1973) suggests that Marxism in its original formulation never really gained a foothold in Britain although some Fabians, such as Shaw "proposed an eclectic doctrine made up of badly digested fragments of Marx, Nietzsche, Ibsen and Wagner" (Lichtheim 1973: 184). The fundamental driving force behind Fabianism therefore is its pragmatic approach to achieve a more equitable distribution of wealth in society, an ambition to be realised through the formal political institution of the state.

Williams (1989: 5) points out that in doing this it claimed "a major and direct role for the state in regulating the economy and providing for welfare reforms and redistribution of

wealth". However, she also points out that it is often forgotten that Fabianism made "assumptions about the role of women, of racial superiority and the attempt to replace class solidarity with nationalist pride, which in turn found their expression in the developing welfare state". Hence any evaluation needs to be tempered with consideration of its origins and influences, and also, in terms of methods, with its reliance on empiricism. Early Fabians were strongly influenced by eugenics (see discussion in Chapter 4 above and especially Shaw 1987). An early draft of the 1913 Mental Health Act contained a clause that would have forbidden the marriage of the 'feeble minded' and permitted compulsory sterilisation (Clarke 1993: 26).

Given the strong religious views that underpinned the foundation of Turners Court, it needs to be noted here that by the 1960s secularisation had firmly taken root. In social work, a "secular humanist paradigm" had come to dominate (Bowpitt 2000: 349). Social work had by now become a professional activity, based on a logical approach achieved through state intervention "guided by experts with appropriate scientific and technical skills". At Turners Court this was eventually to be acknowledged and recognised by in-service training for staff with considerable emphasis on staff obtaining the Certificate in Social Service as a professional qualification. No longer were volunteers to be recruited through the churches that associated with the work of Turners Court. By the end of the 1960s, social work had more generally come of age. It had certainly grown considerably as a profession: in 1954 there were 3,000 field social workers whilst in 1971 there were 10,346 (Clarke 1993: 47 and 51).

Clarke (1993: 14-18) suggests that the creation of the welfare state provided opportunities for "recognisable clusters of professionalised expertise" that led to a change in the balance of occupational power, with local authority children's departments the 'focal point for the arguments about unified social work'. Social work at that time was a predominantly female occupation whose origins lay in "specific patterns of class power" being "dominated by an impetus to help individuals adjust to wider social arrangements: to learn to lead 'good and useful lives' according to the prevailing social norms" and therefore concerned to "separate the alleviation of individual misery from concerns with structural inequality".

Clarke also points to the domination of social work by this time of certain psychological approaches. By the 1950s, social work had moved on from the preoccupation of the 1920s and 1930s with the "physical, intellectual and moral fitness" of children to their mental fitness based on psychological theories. After the Second World War, this was "reworked and re-theorised by cross-fertilisation with the tradition of psychoanalysis"

with "greater emphasis on the emotional and relational environment" (Clarke 1993: 27). Intelligence testing had come to be an important objective measure at this time, and this is clearly reflected in Turners Court case records. Likewise, the term 'maladjusted' begins to appear regularly. Up until the end of the 1960s, social work was almost exclusively focused on the individual, and work with individuals that drew on a relatively narrow range of psychological theories.

SITUATED ACTIVITY

Having explored micro and macro factors, the next task is to explore how these interconnected. In the equivalent sections of the previous chapter the question posed concerned the extent to which Turners Court was in synchrony with international trends, economic needs, the social and political structure of the time, and the prevailing belief systems and values, and this approach is repeated here. The discussion therefore returns to what actually went on in Turners Court. What now appears to be the purpose of Turners Court? How were its purposes as declared in the Edwardian era transformed into functions and purposes relevant to the 1960s? How did it set about attaining its objectives and what was life like at Turners Court in the 1960s?

The availability of case records provides an opportunity to answer the first question by exploring reasons why boys and young men were referred to the institution. The second question can be answered by an analysis of boys' profiles, lengths of stay at Turners Court, what is reflected in the day-to-day records concerning their development and training, and what is counted a success. The third question is addressed through a detailed picture of the relationship between staff and residents, focusing on everyday life for Michael (Case 19), whose experience appears typical of the mid-1960s.

What appear to be the ambitions of those who were in charge of Turners Court?

An interesting contrast emerges from a comparison of the early period of Turners Court with the 1940s and 1950s. Records in the 1920s and 30's do indeed appear to be preoccupied with employment and attest to an institution very clear about its purpose and means of achieving them. By the mid-1950s, the institution had effectively lost its way. The first Principal's successor was "always at odds with his committee and staff", another Principal had been "asked to leave" whilst a third resigned when his plans to establish a school for 'educationally subnormal' boys were thwarted (Menday 1998). A brief analysis of the reasons why boys were referred to Turners Court confirms this loss of focus.

In September 1934 Arthur was admitted as

> *the man's parents are deceased and he has been living with a brother, who is*
> *shortly getting married and who will no longer have sufficient*
> *accommodation for him.... the district medical officer has certified that the*
> *man is of 'slow mentality' and suggests that he is suitable for training on a*
> *farm*

<div align="right">Case 20</div>

The records from this period do not always indicate whether parents were alive or not, but the expectation that training should be for employment is consistent. Several relate to young men who tried to gain employment in the open market but for one reason or another had failed. For example, in 1932 Walter who described himself as a 'houseboy' by occupation and previously trained for hotel work, was taken on in order to be trained for gardening (Case Records 21). Whilst employment continued to be a major preoccupation and purpose of the institution, there are some bizarre references as to what Turners Court was expected to do. In 1933, at the age of almost 17 Edgar was referred to Turners Court for a cure for enuresis. The 'colony' apparently failed in this venture and he eventually returned home after five years and nine months (Case 22). In 1944, 13 year-old Lawrence was sent to Turners Court for the same reason, except that in this case there is a curious reference to circumcision having been tried as an attempt to rectify the problem (Case 23). There is very little information as to progress in this case, despite the fact that he stayed at Turners Court until he was 17. Even as late as 1953, enuresis is the ostensible reason for referring Andrew aged 15 who stayed for two months and was reported to be 'cured' very quickly (Case 24).

Reasons for approaching Turners Court for admission in the 1930s become quite diffuse. In 1933, a grammar school boy, Tom, was obliged to spend one term at Turners Court as a condition of a probation order imposed for stealing, with his father meeting Turners Court's fees (Case 25). Another example of relatives sponsoring a resident occurred in 1940 when 34 year-old Dennis was sent to Turners Court and stayed there just over seven years, leaving at the age of 41. In Dennis' case, the file describes behaviour indicative of schizophrenia (Case 26).

By the 1960s, however, the pattern of referrals was becoming fairly consistent. Nearly all referrals were from local authority Children's Departments, and all were for training with employment as the ultimate prospect. Yet the presenting information focused primarily on family background and explanations for behaviour connected to it. For example, a case referred in 1968 consisted of seven foolscap pages of detailed social

history, including the fact that parents were convicted of being drunk in charge of children and that Joseph only learnt of his real parentage at the age of ten (Case 05).

This consistency is no surprise, for Menday (1998: Chapters 6-8) tells of how he set about systematically changing Turners Court from an organisation that had 'lost its way' to one which offered a service that fitted in with the ethos of many Children's Departments. His account of a meeting with the Oxfordshire County Council Children's Officer offered hope for a reformed Turners Court:

> *There was still a tremendous need in the whole country for a place like Turners Court which experiments with new ideas... no Children's Officer knew what to do with boys and girls who, having reached the leaving age... were faced with exposure to the workplace, lodgings and employment for which, as deprived persons, they [were] ill equipped.*

Menday 1998: 44

Likewise, a Home Office official intimated that "updated and properly run there was a good future for the school and thousands of boys needed training" (ibid.).

How did Turners Court as an organisation attempt to attain its objectives?

Shortly after these discussions, Turners Court modified its role significantly as is demonstrated by the changing profile of boys and men referred. Ages on admission, age at discharge, and average length of stay, all reflect its revised purpose and function.

The number of cases referred in the 1920s are too few for any quantitative data analysis to be viable: securing a sample was hampered by the fact that early cases were not labelled chronologically. The data would also be skewed by one or two unusual cases, for example, the curious case of Steven, an Essex 'unemployable' admitted in September 1926 and discharged in October 1953 at the age of 48 (Case 27). Information for later periods is set out in the table that follows:

Table 8: Admissions, discharges and lengths of stay 1930s-1970s

period	age of youngest on admission	age of oldest on admission	average age on admission	average age on discharge	average length of stay	standard deviation of ages on admission	standard deviation of length of stay
1930s n=33	14 years 7 months	24 years 5 months	18 years 2 months	19 years 11 months	1 year 10 months	2.94 years	1.24 years
1940s 1950s n=22	12 years 11 months	34 years 7 months	16 years exactly	18 years 2 months	2 years 1 month	4.25 years	1.62 years
1960s 1970s n=15	15 years 2 months	16 years 11 months	15 years 10 months	17 years 5 months	1 year 6 months	0.61 years	0.44 years

It may be concluded from this that the focus of Turners Court was directed at a quite distinct age group by the late 1960s: in effect it was exclusively a residential establishment for 15-17 year old boys.

Not only did the age structure of residents change, so too did the style and manner of record keeping. 1930s case records typically consist of a Case Sheet with very basic information, a brief health report including a question about whether the 'colonist' has fits or is 'mentally defective', and then the Form of Application for Admission which includes the vital 'Undertaking': "I, being by occupation a... unable to find work, wish to come to the colony". There then follows a certain amount of correspondence, usually financial, but sometimes including practical arrangements about holidays and discharge. Finally there are the "Monthly Reports" from "Housefathers and Brothers". These are the most detailed aspect of records including strong personal comments on trainees such as "rude, noisy, destructive... filthy mind... either good or evil... unstable... variable... will not rise when called" (Simon, Case 28).

By the late 1960s, records had become more substantial. They now consist of an Admission Sheet with factual information supplemented by an Interview Sheet that requires information on I.Q. and the test used to assess this. It also asks about games and hobbies, reading age and associated educational attainments. In addition to information obtained at interview there is the Form of Application completed by the local authority. This includes a pen picture, legal status, medical history and

chronological personal history with full details about the family, the home situation, education, brief assessment and observations. Admission documentation by this stage is usually at least four pages long, with most sections dutifully completed, supplemented by medical and school reports. The rest of the file consists of correspondence, mostly financial, but with monthly reports of earlier years now replaced by termly assessments of progress. There are then also the regular statutory Case Reviews.

Before Menday's arrival, it is fairly clear that all that would really count as success at Turners Court was employment with no further demands on the public purse. In the 1930s, emigration would certainly have been heralded as an achievement organised under the aegis of the Church of England Council of Empire Settlements (Peter, Case 29). Securing employment with accommodation, such as 'tied' farm labourer work was hailed a great success (Richard, Case 30). In some of the boys' case files, the majority of correspondence concerns requests from farmers for labourers (David, Case 18). On occasion Turners Court would take on young men trained at other establishments when their subsequent placements broken down (Lawrence, Case 31). Opportunities for black workers were perceived as very limited. In Louis' case, farm work was ruled out (see quotation at page 102 above) so Turners Court proposing to accept a request from a showman following a visit from his wife who

> *Seemed a very decent woman, clean and respectable... showed me a*
> *photograph of their cottage... they winter there and tour from spring to*
> *autumn with an 'African show' visiting the principal fairs throughout the*
> *country.*

<div align="right">Case 32</div>

Work related to agriculture, such as gardening or general horticultural work, is frequently mentioned in records but discharge to the armed forces was rated particularly highly since it not only amply fulfilled the dual criteria, employment and accommodation, it also meant it would be very unlikely that the trainee would be returned to Turners Court as unsuitable – a not altogether infrequent occurrence for farm labourers. It also discharged all financial obligations on sponsoring authorities and consequently many files end with a customary letter, almost triumphalist in tone, declaring that "[Simon] has joined the army at the local recruiting office and ceased to be chargeable to your committee ..." (Case 28).

The employment focus of Turners Court had not changed fundamentally even by the late 1960s. Case records from this era still primarily concern themselves with

employment potential; market gardening, farming and associated employment fields still predominate. Emigration and 'housework' no longer feature and references to the Armed Forces are rare. However, what does seem to change is the manner in which training is carried out with a much stronger emphasis on social training and education. In one file, for example, are to be found references to a young man who is "dull" and "backward" but is also a "quiet lad who works steadily". The 'terminal report' is particularly illustrative:

> *This assessment is higher than is apparently deserved by results. [Donald]*
> *earns it for being friendly, co-operative and for trying his best – we all know*
> *how limited he really is.*

<div align="right">Case 13</div>

The sheer size and weight of later case files attest to the importance accorded to personal development alongside employment prospects. Much in evidence are references to ability to converse with other people, to relate to others generally and considerable efforts are made by residential staff to analyse interactions. In short, it is clear by this time what counts is the achievement of social work objectives; placement in employment per se would not count as an unqualified success. Follow-up work and 'after care' are now accorded considerable importance, with great consternation aroused by former residents who become unsettled or walk out of their placement. Yet employment is still a highly desirable goal, and by the 1970s, other trade skills have been added to the basic agricultural core.

What was life like at the institution? What were the patterns of interactions in Turners Court at this time?

The existence of detailed case records provides an insight into the day-to-day running of the institution. Here it may be useful to focus on one young man's experience. Referred to the juvenile court at the age of nine for theft, Philip was rejected by his parents, found himself in difficulties in children's homes and was referred at the age of 15 to Turners Court for "gardening training". The referral letter reflects an interesting way in which Turners Court had boys referred to it, for it starts:

> *You may remember we met at the Scottish Children's Officers' Association at*
> *Rothesay and I am now writing to you to see whether there is any possibility*
> *of your being able to help us with this boy.*

<div align="right">Case 11</div>

There is then a debate about whether the Education Department or Children's Department pay for Phillip's stay at Turners Court, together with the acceptance of catering as an alternative to agricultural training.

The report of the first term's progress indicates "little or no progress". It talks of "difficulty in relationships" followed by the odd comment that "boys from Scotland take a long time to settle down with boys of a strange country and tongue". There is then reference to the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme and its links with Sir John Hunt, then President of Turners Court. The report concludes with references to camping sites, structural adaptations to Houses and workshops, and the Open Day. In fact, only a minority of the report actually talks about Philip at all, with no reference to the distance between his home area (Midlothian) and Turners Court, which presumably might partially have accounted for his difficulties settling. In the second term, he changes to farming yet still "does not appear to making much progress". He has an "inability to accept correction" being "unable to admit that he is in the wrong" although he "keeps very well". The report then highlights the official opening of a new House and the appearance of a popular film star there.

After Christmas there is correspondence concerning the boy's bitter complaints that Christmas was not a success. The Turners Court letter inquires whether he is really as "hard done by" as he claims, to which a reply is received that itemises the Boxing Day menu at the children's home ("turkey soup, roast turkey, potatoes, sprouts...") and ends by stating that he is "not very popular" due to his being "entirely selfish". A month later Philip refuses to work at all and the local authority is invited to bring him before a court for consideration for Approved School training as "beyond control". In response, the Children's Officer blames herself for not supervising Christmas more closely and is despondent about the boy's future. His final term's report from Turners Court however has a totally different flavour. It describes him as "a different boy" who can now make "good solid relationships with adults". He eventually leaves for hotel employment and fourteen years later writes to Turners Court to make contact with staff, being invited to visit a senior member staff who can accurately recall him and remember a pottery figure he once made.

Although this is one case, there are a number of features that are common to other case records researched from this period. One is a curious mixture of professional analysis of relationships, albeit in what would now be considered a somewhat judgmental frame of reference, mixed with the establishment unashamedly promoting itself. Secondly, training for employment is still a very strong theme and the

construction of the boy's experience in school terms, farm training sessions, classes, and instruction, all under the aegis of "his housemaster", is very reminiscent of a boarding school, confirming the parallels with public schools outlined by Gooch (1996). Thirdly, very close staff involvement in residents' lives is in evidence, sustained beyond the actual stay at Turners Court. Finally, it is surely highly significant that many years later at least one member of staff can accurately recall exactly what Philip was like at Turners Court. Likewise, this also reflects a comparatively low turnover amongst senior staff at Turners Court, with Principals and Deputy Principals remaining there for many years.

SETTING: INTERMEDIATE SOCIAL ORGANISATION

This section of the chapter connects the development of Turners Court into shifts in policy relating to its constituent age group, namely older teenage boys whose behaviour was deemed problematic. Specifically it asks: in what ways was Turners Court in synchrony with the economic, social and political needs of the time? How did this correspond with other organisations and how did this fit with developments in social work more generally?

The organisation's response to macro changes

The foregoing analysis of Turners Court indicates an organisation that falls between two stools. It started as an organisation dedicated to training men who could be considered as having learning disabilities that limited their potential for employment. It moved towards an organisation that was wholly child-care, or to be more explicit youth care, focused. In the period up to the 1960s, the development of Turners Court is consistent with residential care organisations generally that disentangled themselves from the association with destitution and the Poor Law (Parker 1988). The interwar years seem to suggest a period of retrenchment, or at least a lack of clarity of focus, confirming Parker's "general impression" of these years as a period of "inertia" for residential care. The case records imply power relationships that vested total control in the managers and staff, and paid little heed to the wishes of trainees or their parents. This is consistent with powers held by managers elsewhere; overriding parental wishes was "especially valuable" in arranging "emigration or employment well away from detrimental parental influences" (Parker 1988: 14). By the advent of the welfare state, there was a general negative view of residential institutions due to the paucity of good practice examples. Parker concludes:

*The best estimate that could be made was that institutional life would be a
wretched and sad experience exacerbated by the problems of social
readjustment and the unlikelihood of an early departure.*

Parker 1988: 19

The principal macro change, which probably had the most direct impact on Turners
Court, was financial. Hitherto dependent on donations, charitable sources, and then by
the somewhat parsimonious support from the Board of Guardians who sent men for
training, Turners Court by the late 1960s was the recipient of regular income from both
local authorities, who met subsistence charges, and the Home Office, who made grants
available for buildings and other capital expenditure (Menday 1998: 67). Nevertheless,
it was standard practice to use residents as unpaid labour within institutions and the
rebuilding of the Boys Club was one of many examples of this practice at Turners Court
(Parker 1998: 28; Menday 1998: 55).

In 1946, there were some 11,000 children in Approved Schools and the voluntary
sector accounted for well over half of all residential childcare places (Parker 1988: 30).
Up until the 1950s, the predominant 'solution' to identified social problems still
appeared to be an institutional one. Community-based services and responses were
still "rudimentary" until slowly the "profession of social work began to emerge that
based its identity partly upon the fact that it did not work within institutions" (Parker
1988: 31).

What are the similarities and differences between Turners Court
and other comparable organisations?

How was Turners Court distinctive from other similar institutions? One way of
answering this question is to examine the ways in which it was different from the
Approved Schools that preoccupied the debate about young offenders in the 1950s
and 1960s. Whilst it has to be acknowledged that Approved Schools were varied in
their modes of operation, each with its distinctive characteristics, it is nevertheless true
that there were certain common features that would be generally associated with them.
Much of this information can be gleaned from public and private reviews of the
Approved School system that took place in the 1960s.

Approved Schools came into being following the Children and Young Persons Act 1933
and were always under the aegis of the Home Office. They were available to the courts
as a sentence although not exclusively for proven crimes, since it was possible to ask
the courts to commit children who were 'beyond control' of their parents, a facility
available to parents themselves right up until 1963. This welfare aspect provided an

element of confusion, since the regimes were primarily intended as a punishment for offenders yet their declared aims were apparently "education in the formal sense, religious education and guidance, practical or vocational training, attention to health and to use of recreation, social training... and personal casework..." (Home Office manual quoted in Hyland 1993: 20). The "system operated fairly smoothly until well into the post-war period" (Harris and Timms 1993: 11-12) when three notorious incidents separately cast doubt on the humanitarianism of the system. In 1947, a major breakout at Standon Farm school resulted in the death of a member of staff and a review of the system whereby boys' periods of detention could be determined solely by the Headmaster. In 1959, there was open rebellion at Carlton School in Bedfordshire. Finally in 1967 a member of staff 'blew the whistle' on the severity of punishments at Court Lees, and this resulted in an official inquiry (Home Office 1967), dismissal of the headmaster, closure of the school and shortly afterwards the abolition of the whole Approved School system.

It is the last incident which is of greatest significance since it occurred during the period under consideration and the evidence suggests that it was used as a catalyst for change, a key weapon for those anxious to bring about the shift towards a more treatment oriented approach to juvenile justice. Menday reports a number of influential visits to Turners Court (Menday 1998: Chapter 8) and it was apparent that Turners Court was being promoted as a viable alternative model. Nevertheless, challenging the Approved School system proved difficult not just ideologically but also as there were "organisational objections" to the policy of using Turners Court instead of Approved Schools, for the cost fell to county authorities if Turners Court were to be used, whereas the Home Office paid for Approved Schools. However, councillors were persuaded to ignore this argument and endorsed Turners Court and other establishments where the Children's Department could have a direct influence (Interview 2).

For clarity the distinction between Turners Court and Approved Schools is set out in the following comparison:

Table 9: Turners Court compared to Approved Schools

Turners Court	Approved Schools for boys
primarily for boys with personal and relationship difficulties	for boys convicted of offence by courts with very few exceptions
referred by Children's Departments	sent by courts via Classifying Schools
boys agreed to go	committed by court, no consent
kind of training and length of stay negotiated between local authority, Turners Court and (to some extent) boys themselves	length of stay relatively fixed, discharge determined by Managers under maximum laid down by Home Office
emphasis on acquisition of personal and social skills as means of achieving security necessary for employment	emphasis on acquisition of employment related skills
emphasis on self-discipline, although with some sanctions such as fines and reprimands	discipline external, more formalised, corporal punishment used
ultimate sanction: ask local authority to remove	compelled to keep boys unless they committed further crimes
began to employ social work trained staff and encouraged staff to become qualified	staff generally not social work qualified, some staff antagonistic to social workers
staff involved in planned after-care	after-care variable and haphazard

Yet there were some similarities: they were single-sex institutions; organised in houses with dormitories, house staff and fixed routines; they emphasised training for some kind of manual work; a great deal of emphasis on physical activities, such as swimming, camping and mountaineering. Turners Court at this time acquired its own centre in Snowdonia and emulated a number of 'outward bound' activities.

How does Turners Court fit in with developments in social work
at the time? How does it fit with changes in values and beliefs?

There are a number of ways in which the 'reforms' instituted by Menday and carried on
by his successor brought Turners Court up-to-date with developments in social work.
At the same time the ethos of the organisation itself adapted to the welfare state
regime in a number of specific ways.

Firstly, the organisation was well placed to take advantage of the increased role of the
state in welfare since Turners Court was a voluntary organisation, and voluntary
societies continued to play a major role in the welfare state. The Curtis Committee
(Home Office 1948; Holman 1996) found that the number of children looked after in
voluntary societies' homes (40,100) almost matched the number in local authority
institutions (40,600) (Ward 1999: 28). Many such societies, at the time of the creation
of the welfare state, operated on the principle of discouraging if not severing parent-
child contact. Ward (1999) charts the gradual move towards the notion of collective
responsibility for children in institutions, and with the passing of the Children Act 1948
the relationship between children, parents and the state was altered significantly with
greater emphasis on supporting parents through the provision of 'voluntary care'.
Hence institutions that were responsive to the family oriented approach to social work
would have fitted quite well with the prevailing approach of Children's Departments.

Allied with this is the move away from the eugenics implied in Turners Court case
records. Welshman (1999) points out that the Wood Report on Mental Deficiency,
published in 1929, asserted that 'mental defectives' and their families were
concentrated in a 'social problem group' comprising the bottom ten percent of society.
This 'social problem group' then became a target for reform, and this is of relevance to
Turners Court since there is at this time a strong correlation assumed between mental
'deficiency' and 'mental defectives' and social 'problems'. Even with the creation of the
welfare state, eugenics is still a significant influence on thinking. In 1942, the Eugenics
Society published research that claimed to identify 379 'problem families' in six towns,
Luton having the highest proportion of such families at 0.6%. Thus, "although the
1940s witnessed the publication of the Beveridge report ... there were also striking
continuities with the previous decade" (Welshman 1999: 461). However, voluntary
organisations operating in the Second World War included many pacifist volunteers
who became interested in a model of casework that took issue with the eugenic
approach. In particular, Family Service Units challenged the orthodoxy that labelled
'problem families' as a homogeneous group. Social workers generally challenged the

eugenics approach and were more committed to "rehabilitation through social casework". Welshman (1999: 472) maintains that in the late 1960s a struggle emerged between public health and the social work profession for control of the personal social services, but by this time the term 'problem family' was falling into disuse. The creation of social services departments represented a "crushing defeat for the health departments... partly because departments struggled to shake off their earlier links with eugenics..."

Two other points are worth making under this heading. The secularisation of the wider society was mirrored, at least to some extent but not entirely, with a decline in the importance of religion in Turners Court. References to religious background, to religious ceremonies such as confirmation and harvest festivals, and to church attendance as an indicator of progress, all diminish in the case records and chronicles of Turners Court during this period. Finally, the shift away from an authoritarian regime towards a greater concern with personal relationships, and family background as a contributory factor in explaining behaviour, exactly coincides with the rise in Children's Departments' influence and eventual 'success' in challenging the Approved School system. Menday's general determination to break with the punitive approach to boys' misbehaviour adopted by his predecessors has already been noted. In a conversation with the researcher, he described his general approach to the boys as being "to love them to death" (Interview 1) and prior to his military service had spent a great deal of time in youth work. Right through its history from 1955 onwards Turners Court insisted as a matter of principle that all boys referred to it had to visit with their social worker or sponsor, and in a private interview would have to say that they wanted to come. Menday established a strict protocol.

> At interview he would be seen first by the Officer with the boy present and later on his own. A visit to the entire establishment was then arranged and a senior boy chosen to escort him on his own, lunching with boys later in one of the boys Houses. If at all interested he would be required to stay the night in a dormitory with the boys of the School. Next morning he would be seen again by the Warden and asked if he wished to come for training - the decision ... was his alone. This would be recorded and signed by him so that in the future he could not say he had been forced to come.
>
> Menday 1998: 77

Consequently, even though it would have been greatly to the financial advantage of the institution, when Turners Court was offered the opportunity to register with the Home Office as an Approved School in 1963, the offer was firmly rejected.

CONNECTING THE MACRO AND MICRO: THE TRANSFORMATION OF TURNERS COURT

This study of Turners Court in the 1960s demonstrates a dramatic shift in the institution's approach to its work, with a fundamental review of its whole approach built on embracing core social work values. It is questionable whether Turners Court really did become a vanguard in the therapeutic ethos that predominated in social work at the time, and underpinned the Children and Young Persons Act 1969, but there can be no doubt it offered a model of residential care consistent and congruent with the thinking of the time. The transformation is remarkable: it is almost as if the institution, lagging behind developments in social work and society more generally in the 1950s, had suddenly begun to catch up and then leap into the lead.

At this point, for the purposes of analysing the transformation, the discussion becomes partly diagrammatic, returning to the model first proposed in detail at the end of Chapter 4. There it was suggested that the foundation of Turners Court was best understood as a result of the integration of certain key elements that interconnect the macro and micro. Adopting the same elements, it is possible to see how these were now congruent by the end of the period studied in this chapter.

Model 2: Turners Court in the 1960s

FINANCIAL and ECONOMIC

MACRO ORGANISATION

Keynesian economics, full employment, increasing public spending

government grants, local authority support

local authority fees, farm profits

MICRO

staff costs, building and equipment costs

Turners Court

mixture of care and instruction

enough for farm, employment and teachers, more trades on offer

compulsory education, some trustees powerholders in local authorities and government

personal commitment, charismatic leadership, values and principles written down (brochures, handbooks)

establishment of social work principles and ethics, removal of 'old guard'

belief in welfare and treatment, move away from punishment, humanism, focus on relationships

social democracy collectivism

BELIEF SYSTEMS and VALUES

TECHNICAL and KNOWLEDGE

MACRO CONTEXT

SETTING INTERMEDIATE SOCIAL ORGANISATION

SITUATED ACTIVITY

SELF-IDENTITY

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

technical advances > fewer agricultural employment opportunities but greater need for labour in other spheres

incorporation of training for staff, wider training to reflect changing education and employment needs

LAW and SOCIAL POLICY

MACRO CONTEXT

SETTING INTERMEDIATE SOCIAL ORGANISATION

SITUATED ACTIVITY

welfare state, government intervention and direction of social work

child care and youth justice the system amalgamated, Children and Young Persons Act 1969

local authority sponsorship, support through publicity and dissemination of 'good practice'

welfare state, government intervention and direction of social work promoted through local authorities

MICRO   Charismatic leadership throughout this period is in evidence and underlines the importance of actions by individuals that promoted certain belief systems and values. These could be translated into action through the use of the farm and its instructors for education as well as employment training, which meant foregoing some of the financial advantage of the previous business approach. This is now possible since legal framework allows Children's Departments to pay for places at a more generous level compared to the Board of Guardians. This puts the organisation on a stronger financial footing, especially as it now has access to government grants for new buildings.

MACRO   All of this is now possible in the very different legal and social policy context. The advent of the welfare state means more generous provision for social work, and a 'treatment' approach to youth justice that directly benefited Turners Court, placing it almost centre stage in residential care for young people. Increased demand for labour, especially more skilled labour, encouraged Turners Court to move more specifically into education. The wholesale adoption of Keynesian economic policies by many western countries promoted both public expenditure and employment opportunities in the UK for Turners Court's residents, and also justified wholesale public expenditure on social welfare services generally.

Exploring each sector points to a congruence that glues the macro to the micro and vice versa. Using belief systems as an example, it could be argued that the child-centred humanistic beliefs put forward by Menday fitted the traditional Christian values espoused by the Turners Court Trustees and led to a consensus that was shared by the majority of staff. This created a culture that related in Turners Court as a label referring to more than just a set of buildings in Oxfordshire. It came to stand for a particular approach to residential social work and, whilst it is debatable as to whether it was truly therapeutic, it was certainly distinctive. This Turners Court culture fitted the welfare approach to young people that saw the cause of problem behaviour as being generally located within family relationships and therefore saw residential care as having something valuable to offer as a mode of correcting 'faulty learning' or treating 'acting out' behaviour. Finally such an approach had to fit, and did fit, a collectivist approach to social policy generally, with a strong and possibly idealistic belief in the potential of social work as a means of 'saving' young men from a lifetime of crime or unemployment. Similar arguments could be put forward for each of the other sectors in

the model above, so that when all are added together and taken as a whole the model offers a clear overview of why Turners Court came to occupy its special place in social work at that time.

CONCLUSION

In order to explain the transformation of Turners Court it has been necessary to accomplish a number of tasks. First, it was important to examine micro and macro factors, relating these to Turners Court's development. The second task was to analyse the data from Turners Court itself and consider to what extent this matched developments in social work and social policy. Having established that there was an almost perfect 'fit', the third task was to relate the outcome of this analysis to the model developed thus far, which can then be taken forward and utilised in the exploration of the final stage of Turners Court's history as a residential institution.

The next chapter moves forward to the late 1980s and explores the 'demise' of Turners Court, using the insights that the model has suggested as a means of identifying factors relevant to its closure, with a full analysis of this in the final chapter.

THE END IS NIGH:
THE CLOSURE OF TURNERS COURT IN 1991

EXPLAINING THE DEMISE OF TURNERS COURT: SOURCES AND METHODS

This chapter completes the overview of Turners Court's history as a residential institution, for in 1991 Turners Court was closed and all the buildings, together with the site and farmland, sold for redevelopment as private housing. From the heyday of the late 1960s, Turners Court enters a period in which its approach to care, and residential social work more generally, apparently falls out of favour. The buoyant enthusiasm of the early 1970s gives way to introspection, anxiety and preoccupation with financial viability. A long waiting list of boys wanting to come to Turners Court is replaced by a desperate concern about a shortage of applicants for places, resulting in extensive efforts to 'market' Turners Court. This chapter is not so much concerned with the story of how Turners Court closed, but rather asks the question: why did it close when it did? By exploring and analysing the intersection of macro and micro forces, a fuller picture is obtained of what happened to Turners Court that may help explain the fate of many residential establishments in this period. This exposition of the changing nature of social work exemplified by Turners Court leads to identification of features that ceased to be in congruence.

An important starting point is Turners Court's response to the challenges of the Children and Young Persons Act 1969. A full-scale review of the institution (Turners Court 1974) set it on a path that it pursued, with various modifications, for the rest of its institutional life. It offered a particular blend of social work and education. The precise nature of this blend, translated into the lived experience of boys sent to Turners Court, can be conveyed through two primary sources. First, the case records give a strong flavour of what it felt like to be at Turners Court at the end of its life as an institution. Second, people involved in the development of Turners Court can provide first-hand accounts of the regime and the challenges it faced in what was perceived to be an increasingly hostile political, social and economic environment.

The chapter therefore starts with personal experiences, but then moves immediately into an analysis of wider macro forces that influenced the development of Turners Court. In order to be consistent with earlier chapters and the overall approach adopted throughout the thesis, the chapter then moves on to consider the steps taken by

Turners Court to respond and adapt to the rapid changes with which it was confronted, before finally reflecting on the typicality of Turners Court's experience. The chapter ends by relating the overview of Turners Court to the model developed at the end of Chapters 4 and 5. This enables tentative conclusions to be drawn as to why Turners Court closed when it did, a theme taken forward to the final chapter, which considers the typicality of Turners Court's history generally.

Research approach

In Chapter 4 specific questions relevant to the origins of Turners Court were connected into Layder's framework, and in order to maintain consistency, the same general progression is used in this chapter. The analysis starts with 'self', here meaning Turners Court, moves on to consider the macro context, situated activity, and finally the setting. The reader is reminded that this progression is not of itself fixed for any reason other than logic: it is simply a means of focusing to certain key issues distilled into specific sub-questions. In this chapter these questions are:

SELF
Self-identity and social experience *(here taken to refer to Turners Court)*
How did Turners Court change?

- What was nature of the experience for individuals in Turners Court in the 1988-91 period?

- What were the roles of key players in events that occurred?

- What were the values and belief systems of those who were powerful in the institution in the period leading up to its closure?

CONTEXT
macro social organisation
What was the context of social work and social welfare in the late 1980's?

- What was the international economic context?

- What issues relating to the national political, social and economic context were relevant to Turners Court at this time?

- What sets of power relations are seen reflected in the case study at this time? How were these manifested in law and social policy?

- What was the predominant ideology? In what ways were belief systems at variance with Turners Court's belief systems?

SITUATED ACTIVITY
Face-to-face activity *(involving symbolic communication emergent meanings)*
How did Turners Court as an organisation try to adapt and respond to change?

- What appear to be the ambitions of those who were in charge of Turners Court?

- How did Turners Court as an organisation attempt to keep itself on target in attaining its objectives?

- What was life like at Turners Court at this time as a consequence?

SETTING
intermediate social organisation
In what ways did the organisation of Turners Court reflect the macro context of the time? In particular

- What was the organisation's response to change emanating from the macro context? In what ways did Turners Court fail to be synchronous with the economic, social and political context of the time?

- What similarities are there between Turners Court's fate and that of other similar organisations?

This chapter moves on from this by presenting a systematic account of developments in the late 1970s and 1980s. It draws on extensive documentary evidence, including case records, supplemented by experiences recounted by key players involved in decision-making. However, this information is not exclusively qualitative. As was seen in Chapter 4, appeals for funding drew on quantitative information and in this period an implicit element of self-justification is apparent in committee minutes. For here there are regular references to numbers of boys, staff/resident ratios, and the like, overshadowed by the looming issue of financial viability. As in the previous chapter, while it is intended to relate this quantitative data to a broader context it is not proposed to present a great deal of quantitative data here.

The second section of the previous chapter presented a rationale for using qualitative data and this is not repeated, although the justification is still pertinent. This chapter uses archival sources similar to those listed in the previous chapter, but with two differences. First, because the history of Turners Court's closure is comparatively recent, the full range of public record documents was not available. Secondly, by contrast, there were potentially more people who could recall the events and developments outlined here so there is greater reliance on oral discussions and interviews. Specifically, the sources of data used in this chapter, are:

Table 10: sources of data for Chapter 6

contemporary	retrospective
case records	accounts of participants
minutes of committee meetings	summary of Turners Court history (Menday 1998)
reports of institutional reviews	social work journals
video of life at Turners Court commissioned	research on similar organisations and
by the Management Committee in 1986	developments in social work (see bibliography)

In both the preceding chapters, there have been discussions of the merits and limitations of the use of documentary sources, and in Chapter 5 there were reflections on the general value of interviews. Here, because of the divergence of opinions expressed by those interviewed, it is important to say something about the validity of interviews when used to supplement and expand on documentary sources.

Documents, interviews and triangulation

Compared to 1960s case files, 1980s records are more systematically ordered. They are divided into sections: legal, correspondence, reviews, letters, daily records and so on. Ironically, this made key information more difficult to ascertain. There was not always consistency about where the admission records were kept, for example. More surprisingly, it was difficult to identify clear reasons for admission. This may be because the highly subjective approach of the late 1960s had now given way to a concentration on factual detail, so that judgements based on interpretations of behaviour were generally avoided. This meant it was sometimes necessary to discern and deduce reasons for admission through connecting together items of information from various sections of a file: admission documentation itself was rarely enlightening. This lack of clarity may have reflected fluctuating admissions policies borne of increasing anxiety to attract referrals to Turners Court, a preoccupation of the late 1980s. Certainly by this time there appears to be no clear admissions policy as such.

Here it is important to acknowledge the need for selectivity and sensitivity. Earlier documentation virtually selected itself through its availability; in short, what was analysed was what was available. The abundance of information available concerning the late 1980s meant it was necessary to exercise some degree of choice. Titcher et al. (2000) rightly point out that the choice of texts for analysis depends both on the research question and the different functions that texts may have as research material. Texts can be analysed as texts themselves, for what they represent of the groups being investigated, and for what they represent of the situations being researched. The succinct question "why did Turners Court close?" focused research on documents that shed light on this. There were essentially five sets of documents made available:

1. complete copies of committee minutes for the period 1988 to 1992, covering the period when Turners Court closed and beyond;

2. staff manuals and guidance notes;

3. reviews of the institution including the seminal full-scale review carried out in 1974;

4. examples of boys' case records from this period (researcher's choice, although restricted as many had already been destroyed);

5. the chronological account compiled by Menday (1998)

Regarding this last source, the researcher became aware early in the investigation that this was the subject of some contention. The account seems to be drawn from 'official' reports of various committees, and much of it is second-hand. Also it has not been

undertaken systematically and the selection occasionally includes information that is clearly confidential: pejorative references to staff members, staff pension arrangements, for example. Furthermore, some participants in events expressed strong feelings to the researcher that the selection veered towards implied criticisms of their actions, and were anxious to 'put the record straight'.

In the early stages of the research this posed something of a dilemma, for it was clear that some of those most closely associated with Turners Court had reservations about the researcher approaching former members of staff. Fortunately by the time the research for this Chapter was undertaken, these qualms had abated to the extent that full access to case records and former employees was permitted. Nevertheless, in the light of the acrimony still apparent and some residual animosity expressed by some former members of staff against others, it was deemed prudent to guarantee the confidentiality of all interviewees by anonymising the sources for the analysis of the last period. Clearly, some members of staff cannot remain anonymous: the names of all former Principals are a matter of public record, and the names of Ron Menday and Barbara Kahan are indelibly associated with Turners Court. Nevertheless for the sake of consistency all people associated with Turners Court are referred to by initials from here on. Furthermore, the researcher has made strenuous efforts to confine interviews to information that is within the first-hand knowledge of interviewees, and not to enter into conjectural culpability discussions with them.

In the light of these limitations, considerable attention was paid to the source material. Reports of committee meetings and case records were supplemented by reference to training manuals and similar institutional guidance that gave a flavour to the kind of issues confronting professional staff. This provided a counterbalance to the case records, insomuch as these hinted at social work practice issues rarely made explicit. For example, daily 'logs' in the case records might refer to 'incidents', whereas the staff training manuals indicated that violence and aggression expressed towards staff was a significant concern. It is important to reiterate the caveat that both kinds of information are generated by the institution itself, and therefore inevitably reflect an 'official' line. To provide a real flavour of what went on in the institution, reference is made to the case records since they indicate what it must have been like to be a resident at Turners Court, being generated by real-life events. They are not quite so susceptible to interpretation.

The decision to focus on committee minutes and case records influenced the strategy for analysis. Following Titcher (2000), one could argue that both kinds of records tell us

something about Turners Court as an institution and the challenges it confronted, but the form of record keeping itself was not the main concern. It was therefore not appropriate to use a quantitative approach to selected words or 'word classes' as units of analysis, but rather to identify themes that emerged from the records that connected to macro developments. This required a qualitative approach that recognised the importance of certain words and phrases as exemplifying prevailing ideologies (Cohen 1971, 1987; Hall 1978; Wood 1998). In exploring the richness of the case study data, it was important to hold on to the broader perspective, the macro context in which significant changes were taking place.

This broader context was often acknowledged by interviewees, who were able to relate the events of 1987-91 at Turners Court to social work trends with the benefit of hindsight denied to contemporaneous records. Three former Principals of Turners Court participated, together with a number of other Trustees and former members of staff. These interviews took place at various times during the research (1996-2001). As explained above, interviewees are referred to by initials in order to maintain consistency, even where their identity is obvious.

Table 11: Primary informants for Chapter 6

RM	Principal from 1955 to 1969, author of the chronological history of Turners Court
SL	Principal from 1969 to 1989
TP	Principal from 1989 to 1991
BK	Children's Officer in Oxfordshire during the 1960s, later responsible as DHSS adviser for the 1974 review of Turners Court, latterly a trustee and member of the Turners Court governing body
WG	for many years a member of the Turners Court Management Committee and latterly Chair of that committee, family have long association with Turners Court
AF	formerly staff member, Department of Health inspector and latterly Turners Court trustee
NJ	worked as a Senior Residential Social Worker at Turners Court in late 1980s
CD	held a senior post in residential care during the 1960s and 1970s, joined the Management Committee in 1987 and saw Turners Court through its closure

Given that the written data of the institution's own official records is here supplemented by interviews related to people's experience of Turners Court, it may be worth saying something about the special value of biographical research. For some participants the institution represented a major part of their working lives as well as providing them with a home in which to bring up their families. Drawing on work by Denzin, Creswell (1998)

distinguishes different types of biographical studies as used in social sciences. Biography and autobiography are the traditional approaches, using mainly archival materials, and here one could regard this whole thesis as being in a sense the biography of Turners Court. Such a life history must comprise an analysis of how the life reflects cultural, social and historical themes (as in, for example, Thompson 1992). Using data collected through interviews, conversations, documents, letters or photographs is appropriate. Thus this research is Turners Court's life story, since people's accounts of their roles at Turners Court enable the researcher to connect what went on in the institution to the outside world. Yet people's accounts of their experiences are autobiographical in that they are asked to describe and analyse their experiences through a process of open interviews.

This kind of oral history is based on personal recollection of events and reflections on them. The chief danger of oral history, alluded to in Chapter 6, is that of partial selectivity and distance between the interview and the events being explored (O'Connell Davidson and Layder 1994; Sarantakos 1998). Other limitations are that interviewees may make mistakes in recording events, may misrepresent or misinterpret them, and may even have their own capacity for judgement and analysis clouded by a legacy of acrimony attached to traumatic events such as the closure of institution which has been their life's work. A compelling advantage of such interviews is the opportunity afforded to check out the researcher's interpretations of events, to add a richness to the data, and to clarify exactly what happened, if necessary, by filling in gaps left by official documents.

Immediately this raises the issue of contested interpretations. For by no means was there a consensus about the history of Turners Court. The biography provided by Menday (1998) is both interpretative and conjectural. Some interviewees had read it and had taken exception to the selection of information that sometimes cast key players in a poor light. Most notably, BK wrote to the researcher to express reservations about interpretations and conclusions drawn (personal communication). One or two individuals felt deeply hurt by the apparent lack of objectivity and critical comments about actions and events that occurred in the 1980s which would have been outside RM's first-hand knowledge. This underlined the importance of the researcher's impartiality. Participants recognised that the researcher had no axe to grind, and that extensive efforts would be made to corroborate personal recollections with other interpretations, the official Turners Court records, and wider knowledge of social work and social policy. When addressing the specific research question concerning the closure of Turners Court, it was abundantly clear that there were markedly different

views. Extensive interviews were conducted with participants, and this yielded a rich oral history that sometimes confirmed, sometimes contradicted, and sometimes disputed other accounts. The researcher's responsibility was to be methodical and analytical in approach, and to maintain objectivity insomuch as no one person's interpretation of events could be regarded as definitive. This necessitated extensive reading of the surviving archive complemented by oral accounts. It was important to acknowledge divergences of opinion, carefully avoiding the acrimony of disputed interpretations that still lingers, and to apply a wider perspective. Above all, evidence needed to be verified through a careful process of triangulation.

Essentially, triangulation argues for approaching research from a number of vantage points "in order to check whether similar pictures are produced." (O'Connell Davidson and Layder 1994: 53). There are number different ways of achieving this, but most texts use the Denzin's fourfold categorisation.

Table 12: Triangulation

investigator triangulation	will another researcher find another side to the story?
theory triangulation	are there different ways of thinking about what might be going on here?
triangulating the data in terms of time, space and person	will the story be different on another day, in another place, with a different person?
methodological triangulation	will different methods shed a different light on things?

Adapted from Gomm and Davies 2000: 22

Denscombe (1998) points out that seeing things from different perspectives using all available opportunities for corroboration enhances the validity of the data. This may not necessarily prove the research as "right" but increases confidence in its reliability. Seale (1999) reiterates that although triangulation may deepen understanding it is not necessarily a guarantee of validity. He points out that of the four methods (listed in Table 12) methodological triangulation is the most popular since it argues strongly for integrating qualitative and quantitative methods. This is valuable for reasons highlighted in Chapter 2 and is therefore the approach adopted here. Additionally in this research triangulation is enhanced through use of multiple data sources drawn together within an overall imperative of exploring different levels, following the rationale of Layder (1993) outlined earlier in the thesis.

SELF-IDENTITY AND SOCIAL EXPERIENCE

What was the changing nature of the experience for individuals in Turners Court?

On 25th. February 1987, Mark was admitted at the age of 15 years 10 months, sponsored by the London Borough of Haringey, and stayed for 18 months. Mark's main problem was identified as obesity, with intimations that this was connected to emotional needs and consequent significant health problems. In common with many other records before this period, there is no indication of ethnicity but running records and staff comments hint at mixed parentage. He is recorded as having left for paid employment (Case 33).

Later in 1987, another London Borough sent Ryan to Turners Court as he was continually committing offences when drunk, but only when drunk. At the age of 15 on admission, he had convictions for grievous bodily harm and a reputation for being 'intimidating'. A major factor in this case was identified as parental collusion since his father was a publican, the family lived in a public house, and no control was apparently exercised over access to alcohol. After nine months, Turners Court asked the local authority to withdraw him on the grounds of "highly aggressive behaviour" and "intimidation" (Case 34).

The admission document for 15-year old Luke from Essex, admitted in February 1988, was partly completed by his mother. This document described him as 'maladjusted' with relationship difficulties, making minimal progress:

> *He always seems so lethargic and lifeless, everything is too much trouble.*

Case 35 case review

He stayed for just five months, but it is unclear what happened to him on leaving. More successful appears to have been the case of Jeremy from Romford whose adoptive parents were described as 'respectable but soft' and unable to prevent him committing a string of driving offences. Turners Court was described as having "turned him round" after a stay of one year and three months (Case 36). This appears to have been a voluntary admission to care under section 2 of the Child Care Act 1980, as was one of the last cases Turners Court ever dealt with, which involved 16-year old Kevin whose admission record refers to exclusions from nursery school, special units, special school, and ultimately rejection by parents (Case 37). He was admitted at the age of 15 years 10 months and stayed just over a year, being discharged to his uncle.

This introduction to the role of Turners Court at this time points to a significant shift in the emphasis of Turners Court's work, and this is confirmed by other sources (see

discussion below). The age range seems to have narrowed to 15 and 16 year olds. A specialist role has developed, focusing on the kind of anti-social behaviour that is assumed to be connected to underlying emotional needs. Training for employment now takes a secondary role to concern about emotional and relationship difficulties. In a standard paragraph for court reports, Turners Court describes itself as

> *a residential vocational centre for boys aged between 14 and 19 years*
> *offering trade training, remedial education and opportunity through group*
> *living to gain social and relationship skills.*

Case 34

This is confirmed in guidance to staff that includes the following indicative statements of purpose:

> *to enable a boy to live in group and choose how to behave... and accept the*
> *consequences of his choice of behaviour... to help boys make sense of their*
> *world... to provide a programme of development which will enable each boy*
> *to return to the community and function legitimately and appropriately as an*
> *ordinary citizen... to help each boy solve problems with relationships and*
> *social skills so that he may cope with independent living and family life ...*

Turners Court 1987

By this time Turners Court is employing a full-time psychiatrist. Psychiatric terms and interpretations were playing a much greater role in the lives of Turners Court residents. Case records referred to Christopher as "emotionally labile" (Case 38), to Scott as having "considerable emotional difficulties" (Case Record 39), to Brian as having both "emotional difficulties" and being "dull" (Case Record 40). The terminology used indicates an emphasis on measurement of intelligence and full assessment by educational psychologists. Records also include psychiatric reviews that attest to regular group work ('psychodrama') instituted to address these. By 1989 virtually every case record includes psychological interpretations of behaviour: for example, a probation officer comments that Jason's offences are "not serious, collectively ... [yet] indicate a very disturbed young man who needs the maximum support available" (Case 41).

Another less fortunate development is the growth in overt disputes with local authorities. Anticipated length and purpose of placement is contested in some cases (see Case 42 cited at page 170), as is premature ending of placement. For example, Turners Court expressed reservations in one case despite the fact that the placement had lasted one year four months and that Colin was nearly 17 years old by the time the

placement ended. This had originally been an emergency placement, initiated by allegations of indecent assault on a 6-year old half-sister, a factor that also draws attention to the increase in numbers of cases where sexual behaviour was a cause for concern (Case 43).

What were the roles of key players?

Throughout most of the period between 1974 and 1991 SL was Principal. Also important during this period are BK who initiated the influential review in 1974 and continued to participate in its management body throughout the 1980s; professional members of the Management Committee such as AF who had a background in social work and the social services inspectorate; lay managers such as WG who had strong family connections with Turners Court; professional social work Trustees such as CD; residential social workers such as NJ; and TP, Principal of Turners Court. All of these people have participated in this research and the researcher is greatly indebted to them.

SL was appointed in December 1967, being the first Principal with a social work background. He was responsible for the move to education special school status and associated changes which appear to have led to some conflict with the Trustees (Interview 2). In contrast to RM's background in youth work and town planning, SL came to Turners Court with many years' experience of the Approved School system in South Wales and Sussex, being directly involved in the aftermath of the Court Lees scandal in 1967 (see above at page 118). However, he came with a commitment to break with the Approved School ethos, preferring to see the development of special educational facilities. He welcomed the opportunity to join a voluntary organisation that had the freedom to develop resources appropriate for boys' needs, and recalls being told by the then Children's Officer for East Sussex that being the Principal of Turners Court was the "plum" job in residential social work at that time (Interview 5). Consequently, the emphasis moved away from any tentative alliance with the Approved School system and later Turners Court eschewed registration as a CHE (Community Home with Education, successors to Approved Schools, established as a consequence of implementation of the Children and Young Persons Act 1969). It remained a voluntary children's home registered with local authority, becoming a special school in the mid-1980s, thereby achieving dual recognition, integrity and individuality.

In 1967, legacies of a bygone era in social work were in evidence. The last case of a boy emigrating from Turners Court was believed to be in 1968. Emigration had been

comparatively rare under RM, but it was commonplace for former residents to return from Western Australia and elsewhere to ask about their own history. Such interviews with former residents were "very moving" since emigrants often had no idea about their own personal circumstances (Interview 5). Another legacy of the past was the lack of standardised conditions of service for staff, who appeared to have had individual personal agreements that included food as part of their package: whether this included streaky bacon or best back of bacon apparently depended on the status of the employee. A third legacy of the 'old ' regime concerns staff appointments and discipline. In the late 1960s, few staff were qualified and female roles were confined to secretary, matron and seamstress. In the 1970s, qualified staff were recruited and training instituted for the unqualified, principally through the Certificate in Social Service scheme. Female house staff were appointed, despite opposition from staff who preferred the 'housemaster' model akin to Approved and public schools. A set procedure for dealing with staff discipline was introduced with suspension procedures. Higher quality accommodation paid for by the Home Office was built in order to attract and retain staff. Additional attractions included recreational facilities such as a swimming pool and tennis court. An increased number of teachers were appointed, with 'instructors' sent on Further Education Teachers' Certificate courses. This was precipitated both by the raising of the school leaving age in 1972 and also a move towards accommodating a younger age group for whom Approved Schools were deemed particularly inappropriate (Millham 1975). A final legacy of Turners Court's founding principles relates to its Christian origins. In the late 1960s, attendance at the school chapel was compulsory, with local clergy conducting services. This became voluntary with boys attending the local church. The Turners Court chapel was used occasionally, especially for the traditional harvest service attended by many local people that continued right up until 1989 (Interviews 1,3, 6; Turners Court records).

One interesting similarity between the RM and SL regimes is the continuing lack of involvement of the governing body. This lack of involvement was a major issue in the 1974 review (Turners Court 1974), and criticisms of managers at that review led to the introduction of managers' regular visits to the houses. Prior to this, meetings went no further than the Principal's office, but in this period the Trustees came to play a more active role in the kind of work that actually went on within Turners Court itself. This lack of involvement appears to be a continuation of the legacy of the Christian Service Union days (see Chapter 6 on page 108), compounded by a lack of professional social work involvement in the Management Committee, an imbalance that was corrected by the 1980s (Interview 8).

What were the values and belief systems of those who where powerful in the institution?

As in the equivalent section of the previous chapter, values and beliefs translated into everyday practice are gleaned from case records, in particular from the kind of language used to describe boys' behaviour and needs. This is supplemented by an analysis of the kind of guidance given to staff about their role and ways in which they should carry out their work.

Psychiatric reports are much in evidence and by the mid-1980s it is standard practice for boys to engage in 'psychodrama'. Whereas residential social workers' reports tend to be primarily factual, psychiatric reports include a good deal of interpretation:

> *I see Jason. ... as a boy who is struggling to overcome a bad habit of theft*
> *that goes back to his early childhood ... not yet strong enough ... to stand on*
> *his own feet and to resist temptation.*

Case 41

This strong emphasis on personal responsibility and accountability is echoed in a final review on Colin, convicted of a sexual offence, who had

> *... not yet shown any insight into the nature of his offence... continued*
> *specialist counselling would need to be offered... for an indefinite period...*

Case Record 43

Not that insight was always positive:

> *I do not want to go to a boarding school again and I will just keep running*
> *away if I go to one. I can't learn to read and write if I'm somewhere I don't*
> *like.*

Case 44

These comments proved prophetic for Terry absconded from Turners Court and failed to return at all. Some admission documents continue to demonstrate a strong educational measurement element

> *... [Gregory] has moderate learning difficulties but ... above average for the*
> *school since his reading age is 10.3*

Case 45

An interesting echo of the colony approach comes across from Matthew's final review. His case clearly caused considerable anxiety. Having attained his nineteenth birthday, he was approaching the end of his stay at Turners Court simply because the local

authority could no longer accept financial responsibility under child care legislation. A multi-disciplinary case conference concluded that he will

> require supervision regarding his diabetes... is registered partially sighted... has shown little evidence of learning from having been to Court. ... is manipulative and difficult to manage... the ideal long-term placement would be at a special village such as Camphill Village Trust

<div align="right">Case 46</div>

In some cases, Turners Court found itself unable to cope with the problematic behaviour of some of its residents. In one case the local authority were asked to remove Ryan who was threatening the viability of others' placements through

> numerous incidents of highly aggressive behaviour towards both staff and boys.... he seems to [have] totally disregarded instructions not to leave the premises and not to purchase alcohol... his total inability to accept guidance or help makes it extremely difficult for any childcare organisation to work with him... [and] puts the welfare of staff and other boys in jeopardy

<div align="right">Case 34</div>

On a more positive note, the records now attest to a direct input by the residents, or students as they are now called, themselves. Standard practice is now for reviews to comprise two columns with one completed by the key worker and the other by the student, as in this example:

> residential social worker   Mark
> I have tried to help Mark prepare   Calmed down on my swearing
> for independent living by   in the last two weeks.
> discussing the problems he may   Self catering at weekends
> face in both in the Independent   (without vegetables).
> Living Unit and outside.

<div align="right">Case 33</div>

In contrast with earlier case records, the strong medical approach has now given way to a combination of psychiatric and psychological language. Unsolicited comments about personalities and character are generally absent. Instead, there are care goals and objectives under various headings, supplemented by factual lists of incidents without context or explanation, for instance:

> threw food other member of house staff
> fishing trip
> threw all of the towels into the swimming pool

staged sit-in

caught driving minibus

<div align="right">Case 33</div>

Likewise uncontextualised chronologies appear, the following unedited example being illustrative:

• *Jeremy adopted by Mr and Mrs X.*
• *Was adventurous but frightened of everything.*
• *Lacked affection, refused cuddles.*
• *Started Infants School, complaints from Headteacher.*
• *Jeremy started being disruptive. Started swimming, keen. Grandmother died.*
• *Moved up to Junior School. Report showed Jeremy to lack concentration.*
• *Started to lie and steal from home. Went to Beaulieu on holiday: showed an interest in old car collection.*
• *Joined Boys' Brigade, seemed to enjoy it, went camping, left after one year. Moved to large house, had own room.*
• *Started St John's ambulance Brigade, showed interest for a while.*
• *Showed interest in fishing for a while. Had technical Lego and made good working models.*
• *Showed an interest in remote control cars. Started comprehensive school, didn't like it much.*
• *School behaviour deteriorated. Suspended on a few occasions. Showed that he could be pleasant and polite if things went his way. Showed interest in machines, cars and motorcycles.*
• *Went to special education unit for a few weeks. Committed offences [dates].*
• *Started interest in ice-skating. Committed further offences [dates]. Admission into care Section 2 Child Care Act 1980. Moved from children's home to assessment centre.*
• *Back home, began to attend Intermediate Treatment centre. Stopped going. Committed current offences.*

<div align="right">Case 36 admission document</div>

Also generally absent are references to religious beliefs and affiliations. Although "Religion" is included on the admission document, there are virtually no references to religious activity. Social workers rarely refer to it, in marked contrast to the frequent casual references to religious activity noted in the 1960s records, and its centrality to the very early records.

THE MACRO CONTEXT

From all of this it becomes apparent that by the end of the 1980s a transformation had occurred at Turners Court. On the surface, the differences do not appear to be as stark as the differences between the 1960s and the pre-war period. Yet this was a period of crisis when the viability of the institution was endangered. This begs the question: what were the sources of these threats? For the overall organisation of social services in the 1990s compared to the 1960s was not markedly different. Local authority Children's Departments had merged with other local authority social work departments to form Social Services Departments in 1971 following implementation of the Seebohm Report in 1968 (Home Office 1968). Central government still played a key role in financing local authorities who in turn 'bought' places at Turners Court. Furthermore, there appeared to be encouragement for an expansion in the voluntary sector, and concern about young people generally figured higher on the political agenda. This suggests a need to cast the net more widely in seeking explanations of the demise of Turners Court. Should its fate be linked to changes in the role of welfare states generally, imposed by economic constraints, combined with the shift in attitudes towards young people, and young offenders in particular? What macro forces effectively compelled the closure of Turners Court?

What was the international context?

Economic crisis and globalisation appear to be the two key themes that distinguish the 1980s from the earlier period examined in the thesis. Consistent growth in social welfare is challenged by significant reductions in public expenditure, reflecting global recession, dramatic ideological shifts, and a fundamental review of the role and purposes of social work generally. The initial optimism of the 1970s gives way to retrenchment. Assumptions about consistent economic growth can no longer be made, and governments virtually world-wide become preoccupied with the economy with welfare services being tailored so as to be both 'affordable' and more allied to the needs of the economy.

There can be no doubt that politically some very dramatic changes occurred. The collapse of totalitarian regimes in Central and Eastern Europe must surely rank as chief

amongst these, since this would have been unthinkable in the 'Cold War' years of the 1960s. The end of the apartheid era in South Africa was also of great symbolic significance. In social policy terms, one key feature of this period is what is now characterised as 'globalisation'. This refers to an apparently unstoppable trend for economies to become so interdependent at an international level that countries cannot truly adopt independent policies, or at least not policies that actively counteract the prevailing orthodoxy (Clarke 2000; Hill 1996). Some attribute the origins of this to the challenge to Western capitalist economies emanating from the world-wide recession of the late 1970s triggered by the oil price crisis of 1973 (Johnson 1999). Specifically when applied to countries where welfare states are embedded in Keynesian economic policies, the ensuing globalisation of monetarist economic policy has led to retrenchment with an emphasis on fiscal control and reductions in public expenditure. Consequently, such countries have been compelled virtually to abandon comprehensive welfare states, adopting instead individualist and residualist social policies (Parton 1996a 1996; Burrows and Loader 1994; Harris and McDonald 2000). Esping Anderson (1996) qualifies this by pointing out that Scandinavian countries, although affected by global recession, have not entirely abandoned welfare state principles, whilst countries such as Britain and New Zealand adopted a "neo-liberal" approach.

In many Western democracies, this has become translated into 'rolling back the state' with policies deliberately designed to reduce state expenditure on the poor and welfare generally. The USA, for example, has seen substantial cuts in social security, Medicaid, Medicare, and publicly financed housing (Johnson 1999: 54-55). This reduction in the role of the state extends to a range of public services with consequent shifts in employment and service provision from the public to private sectors. Even in Sweden, the traditional exemplar of welfare states, public expenditure generally was reduced from 68% of Gross Domestic Product in 1982 down to 61% in 1989 (Ginsburg 1992: 34). In Australia, in contrast to Britain where the "political response to economic globalisation was forced through by the New Right", a corporatist strategy was adopted whereby the economy was managed by bi-partite and tri-partite agreements known as 'the Accord' (Harris and McDonald 2000: 58). Whilst the effect was the same in terms of rationalisation of a mixed economy of welfare, there was nevertheless a key difference in that this process used the positive rhetoric of 'maximisation of effectiveness in terms of consumer and community outcomes' rather than being based on a negative critique of previous polices.

What was the national economic and social context?

This critique took the form in the 1980s of what some have called welfare state retrenchment and reappraisal in which there was a preoccupation with the economy and social order (Gladstone 1999). In Britain this was the period of the heyday of the New Right, neo-Liberalism and a welfare state "in crisis", with economic policy dominated by monetarism in the form of neo-classical economic theory (Mishra 1984). The political order became dominated by the reassertion of individual responsibility and accountability through participation in employment, underpinning a move away from universalist to selective benefits. Referring to this resurgence of Liberalism some commentaries written in the 1980s asked whether this amounted to going "back to the Poor Law" (Clarke et al. 1987). The move away from the Keynesian welfare state approach had consequences not just for social security benefits and the range of state financed services, but extended to the form of service provision, with an increasing emphasis on the state 'contracting out' services to private and voluntary sector providers (Cowen 1999). The rationale proclaimed the virtues of enhancement of consumer choice, together with a belief that services are provided more efficiently through a 'mixed economy of welfare'.

Putting this into a theoretical perspective, Jessop (2000: 174) identifies four strands to changes in welfare state economies. First is the shift from Keynes to Schumpeter, that is towards innovation and competitiveness; second is the move from "rights of worker-citizens qua citizens to welfare benefits to a workfarist model based on the obligations of worker-citizens qua workers"; third is the end of the "primacy of the national scale" in social policy, a reference to globalisation and the recognition of the inter-dependence of economies; fourth is an associated trend from a state-controlled economy towards "more networked, partnership-based economic, political and social governance mechanisms".

It is clear that there are a number of policy initiatives in relation to youth policy and social work in Britain in the 1980s that fit directly with this analysis. The move towards a more "open" economy can be seen in fiscal policies that reduce direct taxation in order to encourage 'initiative' and 'innovation'. In social work, the supply of services is to be opened up to alternative providers, with a direct attack on the monopoly of social services departments, specifically through implementation of the Griffiths Report (1988) and Audit Commission reviews of local authority expenditure (Department of the Environment 1981). 'Workfare' policies are those which strongly discourage reliance on social security benefits, that disallow benefit claims from 16 and 17-year-olds, and provide training opportunities, such as the Youth Training Scheme, that emphasise

personal responsibility for securing employment, no matter how lowly paid this might be (Williamson 1993). The effects of globalisation, already noted in terms of impelling a move away from Keynesian welfare state policies, also provide a rationale for encouraging the notion of individual rather than communal or national responsibility and accountability, with a firm emphasis on the family as providers of social care (Finch 1980), and on parents as accountable for the actions of errant youth (Haines and Drakeford 1998: 153). Finally, the role of statutory social work becomes a residual protection of the most vulnerable, with encouragement for statutory-voluntary agency partnerships and an increased role for the independent sector in social work. In the field of youth justice there is likewise encouragement for the voluntary sector to play a greater role, with a belief in crime prevention through a partnership of community organisations, businesses, schools and the police (Muncie 1999: 246).

Power and social structure

One of the apparent paradoxes of the 1980s is the diminution of the role of the state concomitant with an increasing emphasis on law and order and centralisation of power. Yet further reflection suggests that this was not entirely contradictory. Competitiveness in world markets was to be achieved through enforcing expectations that people participated in the labour market, with the withdrawal of any provision that made reliance on state benefits more attractive than paid employment. To achieve this government needs to direct and regulate welfare support services so that the work ethic is not undermined. Employers may need to be paid to take on young people for training. Regulations may need to be made more complex so as to avoid 'abuse' that discourages personal responsibility. Above all individuals need to be held accountable for their actions, and that applies supremely in relation to breaches of the criminal law, which itself widens its scope in order to avoid any challenges to the prevailing orthodoxy of free market forces, as is evidenced by the response to the miners' strike in 1984, and curbs on trade union power generally. Williamson (1993) argues that young people through the 1980s were systematically deprived of access to state assistance, public space and employment. This resulted in marginalisation and social exclusion of the poorly qualified and those in any kind of social need, the subordination of young people to a wider labour market and to the law. Certainly, it can be argued that during this period there was a major shift of emphasis towards a re-assertion of the need for social control, discipline and generally a more authoritarian approach to young people (Jeffs and Smith 1994; Muncie 1999; Tucker 1997). This can be seen played out in the increasing difficulties Turners Court senior staff encountered in 'selling' its approach and in a preoccupation internally with demonstrating that staff could 'control' the

youngsters (Interview 7). Indeed, it has been argued that a major part of the experience of young people is surveillance and 'problematisation' of their behaviour, extended to a discourse of inefficiency and ineffectiveness attached to those engaged in youth 'work' (Tucker 1999; Griffin 1993).

As far as the organisation of social work is concerned, the 1980s were significant for the challenges presented to social services departments by the 'centre' and 'the margins' (Clarke 1993). From the centre came a belief in the free market coupled with a zest for challenging the whole notion of a 'welfare state' that resulted in encouragement for diversity of provision, paid for not just by the state but by service users themselves. Much emphasis was placed on the notion of partnership between statutory, private and voluntary sectors and to a limited extent Turners Court benefited by consideration for a wider role, which it rejected, in the criminal justice system (Interview December 8). Furthermore within social service departments themselves, as with the health service, internal markets were introduced and social workers began to use commercial language: purchasers, providers, contracts, service level agreements, 'shopping' for care, and so on (Mackintosh 2000).

At the same time, the traditional language and mentality of social work that talked of 'clients' was challenged by those who felt patronised, demeaned or disadvantaged through this and preferred instead to see themselves as customers, with rights to reject or refuse services and to have some say in their quality. This argument became particularly persuasive when put forward by minority groups who could demonstrate that services were insufficiently diverse to meet their needs, and that race and culture were still not accorded sufficient importance by predominantly white middle-class service providers (Cameron 1996; Rojek 1989; Clarke 1993). Both these elements militated against Turners Court. The first made it vulnerable to the pressure for 'cheaper' care; the second underscored the discrepancy of black, working-class boys from inner urban areas being trained for farm work by white instructors on an isolated site in wealthy rural Oxfordshire.

The previous chapter referred to the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 and its influence on the development of Turners Court. Predicated on a strong belief that offences committed by young people demonstrated welfare needs best met by referral to social workers, the Act was clearly vulnerable to the shift away from a belief in state intervention generally, coupled with the firm reassertion of individual responsibility (see discussion below). Significantly, the Act was never fully implemented. Its intention to remove all custodial options from the courts was never realised, partly because of a

change in government shortly after it was passed but also because a "magisterial revolt" effectively undermined it, as did the actions of the police and others involved in its implementation (Thorpe 1980, 1983). These actions countermanded the Act's philosophy: the numbers of boys aged 14 to 16 committed to penal institutions grew considerably in the 1970s: from 3,200 in 1971 to 7,700 in 1981 (Muncie 1999: 265-266). Public opinion, persuaded of a growing 'problem' of lawlessness, influenced major changes in policy in the period 1979 to 1981. There was a strong push towards the removal of social work from youth justice altogether, a move supported by commentators who alleged that innovative practice in the form of Intermediate Treatment in the 1970s simply had the effect of 'up-tariffing': young people who had not even committed offences participated in Intermediate Treatment, whilst those convicted of minor offences found themselves committed to care, propelling second and serious offenders immediately into custody (Giller et al. 1980: Haines and Drakeford 1998).

The passing of the Criminal Justice Act 1982 marked a turning point, with a reassertion of the 'justice' model (page 162 below) and the return of the distinction between the 'deprived' and the 'depraved'. No longer were young people to be sentenced according to their welfare 'needs', but were to be judged and sentenced according to their 'deeds' (Haines and Drakeford 1998). This heralded a major curtailment of the role of Community Homes with Education: by 1984 there were 60 CHEs with places for 2,800 compared to 125 CHEs with places for 7,500 in 1975 (Muncie 1999: 272). The demise of Turners Court mirrored this. The 1982 Act established a clear tariff for offences with statutory tests to be fulfilled before young offenders were committed to custody. Despite the rhetoric of being 'tough' on law and order it is clear that the policy was intended to reduce the liability on the state of a large number of young people in institutional care. This 'decarceration' was borne of a fiscal crisis underpinned by a commitment to "small government" (Pitts 1999). Instead the emphasis was on parental responsibility for controlling young people's behaviour, with encouragement for schemes that offered 'diversion' away from the formal criminal justice system, following the acclaimed 'success' of the Massachusetts experiment (see Scull 1984: Chapter 3). Such schemes promoted avoidance of custody at all costs: custody was remarkably unsuccessful in reforming young offenders, many of whom simply 'grew out' of their antisocial behaviour (Newburn 1997). Haines and Drakeford (1998) note a trend towards cautioning, and more generally, a 'systems management' approach that meant intervening at every stage on the route to custody. Clearly, such an approach would have little time for alternative forms of custody which Turners Court came to represent; it was against *any* form of residential 'solution'. Pratt (1989) argues that this 'bifurcation'

is not so much a justice model as 'corporatism', that is the operation of administrative discretion, bureaucratisation of formal judicial process, and delegation of quasi-judicial decisions to multi-disciplinary teams.

The consequence of this was a double irony for youth policy as the following figures suggest:

Table 13: Number and percentage of persons aged 14 and under 18 sentenced to custody for indictable offences 1983-96 in England and Wales

YEAR	Number sentenced to immediate custody	Percentage sentenced to immediate custody of all those sentenced for indictable offences
1983	13,500	15.3
1984	12,000	14.4
1985	11,500	14.7
1986	8,900	14.0
1987	8,200	14.0
1988	7,300	13.7
1989	4,700	11.7
1990	3,600	9.5
1991	3,500	9.9
1992	3,300	10.4
1993	3,300	11.1
1994	3,600	11.1
1995	4,200	12.0
1996	4,800	13.0

Adapted from Muncie 1999: 281

Thus the predominance of the welfare approach in the 1970s appears to have had the unintended consequence of sending a *far greater* proportion of offenders to custody, whilst the prevailing 'law and order' ideology of the 1980s resulted in a *steady decrease* in custody. Turners Court's admissions figures echo these trends; by 1991 when Turners Court closed the number of young offenders being sent to institutions was less than a third of what it was in 1985. At the same time, the number of children 'in care' in the 1980s was declining steadily (Parker et al. 1991) so it might be possible to interpret the Turners Court experience as a consequence of both these trends operating simultaneously. Yet this analysis would be incomplete without reference to important systemic features. Morris (1978: 155) points out that the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 effectively "imposes a financial penalty on local authorities for undertaking the

care and treatment of difficult juveniles and creates a financial reward when they avoid such youngsters". The Act highlighted different funding arrangements for custody (central government) as opposed to community homes and community care more generally (local government), a systemic feature that in this and other policy areas provided a strong vested interest in pushing young people towards custody. Interviewees referred to finance as a compelling reason for many local authorities withdrawing boys from Turners Court 'prematurely' (Interviews 4 and 7), and some also felt that Turners Court were pressurised into writing court reports that emphasised behaviour that would 'merit' custody, or in deferred sentences that would inevitably lead to custody when a boy re-offended (Interview 7).

Belief systems and ideology

Social policy of the 1980s brought into sharp focus the question of what is meant by freedom and justice. The consensus welfare approach that prevailed from 1945 to 1979 sought to argue that real freedom could only be achieved if people as citizens had certain basic needs met, and met if necessary by the state (Hill 1997). The rise of the New Right, underpinned by the economic beliefs of Friedman and political beliefs of Hayek, restored the principles of Liberalism in a new (neo) form. A key element is the recasting of the notion of liberty, which neo-liberalists take to mean freedom *from* state intervention, the absence of coercion. Hence an emphasis on stripping away as much regulation as possible, 'freeing up' people's potential for initiative, self-reliance and personal achievement. Translated into the organisation of social services this clearly argues for a much diminished state role. Translated into social work practice directly this is consistent with notions of empowerment, according people their rights to determine their own destiny, and to be directly involved in making decisions about what should happen to them (Drake 2001). This may be reinforced by legislation, such as the Access to Personal Files Act 1987 which with some exceptions opened up case records to the boys themselves and extending participative social work practices (Interview 7).

The debate about the concept of justice highlights the fundamental distinction between social justice, which creates the conditions necessary for people's participation in society, and justice more narrowly defined simply as obedience to the existing law. Social policy texts prefer discussions of the former (see for example Drake 2001), whereas practitioners and policymakers keenly debated in the 1980s what was meant by the second form of justice. In this debate, the protagonists joined battle around the whole notion of what was fair and just for young people. In essence, the welfare

approach argues that justice takes into account the background and personal circumstances of the offender, for it seems unjust to punish offenders for deficiencies or inadequacies that are beyond their control, and this was essentially the Turners Court approach. Thus the offender's needs preoccupy the court's considerations, thereby permitting 'medicalisation' of behaviour with the use of terms such as 'treatment', 'prevention', 'symptoms', 'diagnosis', 'maladjustment' and 'deviance' (Box 1980: 113). Conversely, the justice approach argues that any court sentence must fit with the severity of the offence committed, and the offenders' background per se cannot mitigate the offence. These two sets of arguments are summarised in the following chart:

Table 14: Welfare and Justice models

	Welfare	Justice
offences are ...	products of offenders' adverse environment	consequences of offenders' choices and rational decisions
social, economic and personal circumstances are ...	relevant	Irrelevant
offenders are ...	not totally responsible for their actions	responsible for actions in proportion to age and held accountable for them
offenders and non-offenders should be dealt with ...	in the same system, since need for care is made manifest in offences	in separate tribunals in isolation from consideration of other needs
the prime consideration is ...	the needs of the offender	the seriousness of the offence
strict rules of procedure ...	need not be followed, informality necessary to determine needs	must be followed in accordance with the law
underlying principle is ...	treatment should fit need	consistency and punishment proportional to offence
voluntary outcomes are ...	preferable, but even if imposed, 'care' not regarded as punishment	not acceptable, courts determine outcomes
outcomes are influenced by ...	medical terminology with expert interpretation highly valued	legal considerations
offender's welfare is ...	paramount	irrelevant

Taken altogether, the debates about justice, liberty, state intervention and duty to contribute to the economy, promoted an ideology founded on a strong core belief in individualism. This does not just mean individual people, but rather an emphasis on personal or family responsibility. This may mean responsibility to provide care for dependent relatives, or in the context of Turners Court an emphasis on boys learning to control their own behaviour, to train for future employment, and to be as self-sufficient as possible. In many ways, the social work approach adopted at the Turners Court reflected this but what appears to change is the macro context in relation to the institution itself. It is no longer clear how a residential institution fits with this emphasis on family responsibility.

Given that there is so much effort in promoting non-custodial approaches to justice, it would be inappropriate for Turners Court to adopt a purely custodial role, yet it was committed to being residential. Yet what role might it play in this new political and ideological context? This seems to be the dilemma that Turners Court failed to resolve, and this may hold the key as to why as an institution it was eventually obliged to close.

SITUATED ACTIVITY

The remainder of this chapter concerns itself with interconnecting Turners Court's progress with micro and macro changes. As in Chapters 4 and 5, the focus will be on analysing how Turners Court's development reflected international trends, economic needs, the social and political structure of the time, and the prevailing belief systems and values. The difference here is that, in some vital respects, Turners Court ceased to be synchronous with these, and so it is important to begin to identify areas of incongruence.

In order to address this, the discussion begins by considering how wider issues intersected with the Turners Court experience. What appears to be the aims of the institution translated into practice? Did Turners Court stay consistent to the 'pioneering' treatment approach to young people in trouble? What adaptations were felt necessary to keep Turners Court up-to-date with changes in professional practice?

Much of this can be gleaned by examining the life of boys' experience at Turners Court in the 1980s as a reflection of the changes taking place there. Case records provide a valuable source of information, supplemented by the detailed archive of records of meetings and operational reports. These afford insights into the institution's changes and adaptations, and this complements the analysis offered in the equivalent section of the previous chapter.

What appear to be the ambitions of those who were in charge of
Turners Court?

In earlier chapters, this question could only really be addressed by making inferences
from the case records about the purposes and objectives of the institution. While this is
occasionally necessary for the period under scrutiny here, analysis of this period is
greatly facilitated by the records of the Development Group report (Turners Court
1974).

In setting the agenda for the late 1970s and 1980s, this institutional review set up by
the DHSS under the aegis of BK was critical, a "frightening experience" with
"everything up for debate" (Interview 5). There were a number of groups, including staff
at different levels together with several outsiders. Some of these were very influential:
directors of social services, DHSS Inspectors, and members of the Dartington
Research unit, for example. Hyland (1993: 93) alludes to the significance of the role
played by BK, then Assistant Director in the DHSS Social Work Service, also a Turners
Court manager, who initiated Development Group reviews of a number of Community
Homes with Education nationwide. This process, begun with St. Christopher's, a former
Approved School in Hillingdon, involved a thorough and systematic review of the entire
institution carried out over a number of days. Every aspect of the institution was
scrutinised, particularly the setting, staffing and management, and this necessarily
included a review of the fundamental purpose and aims of the institution.

At the time the Development Group reported, the aims of Turners Court were:

> *to provide special help for difficult or backward boys who require social and*
> *vocational experience ... In addition to providing a group living experience in*
> *a warm and accepting environment, Turners Court offers a variety of*
> *vocational opportunities... in a therapeutic community*
>
> Quoted in Turners Court 1974: Paragraph 21

The Development Group working party challenged the use of the word therapeutic,
given its emphasis on formal farm training in a highly structured non-democratic
regime, but did note that for many boys

> *it is the last chance the adult world has of helping them to join it as fully*
> *subscribing members instead of unhappy and unsatisfactory outsiders.*
>
> Turners Court 1974: paragraph 10

This led them to debating the balance between care, education and training for
employment. Yet therapeutic leanings are occasionally manifested in the debate.

Whilst discussing the reduced demand for farm labourers, the report was at pains to point out that this was not to

> *decry the value to damaged young people of having opportunities to spend time in a setting which brings them into contact with the healing influences of growing things, animals and the slow rhythm of crops, seasons and nature generally.*

Turners Court 1974: paragraph 42

Thus it was decided that the objectives of Turners Court needed to be redefined and it was agreed that

> *The primary purpose of Turners Court is to be a caring establishment to promote the development of adolescents with problems arising from their inability to make satisfactory personal relationships. The vocational and educational training exists to help development into adulthood.*

Turners Court 1974: paragraph 25

The dual aims of providing care and education were to be translated by Turners Court literally as it sought recognition both as a child care establishment and as a special education provider. Just as it had eschewed the Approved School system, likewise it refused to be drawn into the Regional Planning system established by the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 for regulating Community Homes with Education. The sticking point for managers was infringement of their independence to decide which boys were suitable for admission, and the potential breach to the key unassailable principle that boys had to ask to come to Turners Court. There was no objection to inspection per se and indeed Turners Court did successfully gain formal recognition as an Oxfordshire children's home and as a special school.

The major merit of dual recognition was that it allowed Turners Court to take referrals from both local authority social services departments and education departments. Whilst referrals in the first category comprise the majority, Turners Court continued to take a minority of 'education' referrals right until the end. Typical of the kind of need to which Turners Court would respond was a case referred in late 1989. Gregory, who was nearly 16 on admission, had been 'statemented' in accordance with the Education Act 1981 and sent to a special boarding school for students with moderate learning disabilities. However, he had not settled there, being described as:

> *floundering ... extremely threatening with violent temper outbursts ...*
> *[related to] deep rooted psychological matters involving his father and I [sic]*
> *... [we] can only admit defeat ... cannot cope any longer*

This request was supported by Buckinghamshire education department and resulted in a placement lasting one year two months, ending at the age of 17. It appears that the placement had to end for financial reasons, since the social services department knew nothing of the case and therefore declined to accept any financial responsibility.

Evidence from those involved confirmed that maintenance of an educational strand to Turners Court's work was quite deliberate. The newly appointed Principal was concerned at the lack of formal qualifications of both instructors and care staff, supplementing the traditional vocational training in farming, with formal education by qualified teaching staff. The increase in the establishment of the numbers of teachers was not difficult to justify, given that in 1972 the school leaving age was officially raised to sixteen. Vocational instructors were encouraged to move towards education and training as their first priority, rather than using instruction as a means of ensuring that the farm was well run and profitable (Interview 5).

Tensions between the traditional Turners Court role of offering farm work as an end in itself and its developing role as a care institution centring on personal relationships, persisted right until the end. Much of this is in evidence in various debates in the Management Committee. Nearly all Turners Court Management Committee meetings included a report on the operation of the farm. These all imply an expectation that the farm would either be profitable, or at least cover its costs. The loss of £31,000 in 1987/88, for example, was considered "extremely regrettable" being attributed to "problems in the pig enterprise". It was noted that overheads were higher than average "but this was explicable in that Turners Court was offering training facilities for young people" (Turners Court 1985-91).

Nevertheless, perusal of the minutes suggests a consistent determination to try to keep the organisation going. In the later stages, a number of innovations were considered. A suggestion from the Department of Health that Turners Court ought to consider providing accommodation for section 53 detainees (young people subject to additional restrictions over and above care orders, having committed 'grave' offences) was acted upon, and a number of such cases are recorded. Whilst these are not subject to detailed investigation here, records currently held by the Turners Court Youth Trust point to the extra demands placed on the organisation by accepting boys who had committed serious crimes of violence, including rape. This development was considered "very successful", the only real organisational impact being that detainees

had to be accompanied by an adult at all times and were not allowed to leave the site without specific permission (Interview 6).

Other ambitions and innovations did not come to fruition. Three specific developments were mooted but did not happen. Even as early as 1974, the idea had been floated that Turners Court ought to move towards becoming co-educational. Repeated attempts were made to proceed along these lines but this did not occur. Some say managers were too conservative, whilst others that this would not have been feasible with the move to serious sex offenders and section 53 detainees (Interview 7). The second proposal that did not materialise was the development of a student unit. By the early 1980s Turners Court had invested a considerable amount of time and money in putting staff through the Certificate in Social Service scheme, and had effectively become a training ground for staff to gain experience in the early stages of their social work careers. A student unit was seen as an attraction for prospective employees, and therefore of value in terms of recruitment and retention of staff. In addition, it was a potential source of income since it would have generated funding through Department of Health training grants, although some managers may have seen it as a diversion from Turners Court's 'core task' (Interview 6). The third set of proposals emanated from the Principal's Report of 1986 that recommended specific developments at Turners Court. This was "superficially received very well" and some of its proposals, such as for a unit dedicated to the development of independent living and enhancements to after-care arrangements, were adopted. Yet the key recommendation, that of moving to a five-term year, was allegedly never fully implemented. This was seen as essential since it moved away from the notion of Turners Court simply being a boarding school for youngsters with special educational needs, and provided for a greater continuity of care with more flexibility that fitted with boys' different requirements. It could also potentially be more attractive to local authorities, who were increasingly balking at the length of stay expected at Turners Court. After that, reports became increasingly critical of the running of Turners Court, culminating in a Report in 1988 that eventually led to the Principal's forced early retirement (Interview 5).

How did Turners Court as an organisation attempt to attain its objectives?

By redefining the role of Turners Court the 1974 review (Turners Court 1974) came up with a list of ways in which Turners Court was to achieve its aims. On the basis of wide-ranging discussions, the working party made a great number of recommendations (39 in all). The most influential of these appear to have been:

- clarification of objectives

- establishing usual minimum age of boys on admission as 15 years and above

- reduction of numbers from 120 to 80

- a five term stay

- move to small group living with buildings and staffing adjusted accordingly

- improvements in staffing to meet standards laid down in the Castle Priory Report of 1967 (Banner and Kahan 1969)

- much greater emphasis on education

- improvements in staff conditions of service and staffing structure.

By the 1980s Turners Court appears to have focused on boys who had relationship and behavioural difficulties of one sort or another, with much less emphasis placed on vocational training needs, but a stronger emphasis on personal responsibility and involvement in the 'therapeutic' process.

Certain features of boys' experiences are common to all. After an initial exploratory visit the decision to come to Turners Court rested with the boy. If they wished to be admitted they were required to write a letter, after interview, requesting this and were not accepted (except in an emergency) until they had done so. Luke wrote:

> *... thank you for the visit I had recently. I would be pleased if you would allow me to join you all at Turners Court.*

Case 35

All were involved in regular reviews and were clearly given opportunities, which many of them took, to respond to staff assessment of their progress. The general practice was to sub-divide the review documents into various headings (work done, plans, and so on) with each of these further divided into a left-hand column for staff comments, and a right hand-column for the boy's response, with the expectation that this might allow the expression of feelings, demonstrate reflection and perhaps occasional insight or even defensiveness.

residential social worker	*student*
continuation of diet	*learned to control my temper (a bit)*
encouraged Mark to participate in day-to-day house living	*attended technical college, went to work regularly*
working with Mark to confront his problems	*always do what I am asked*

Case 33: second review

Review documents are now quite extensive, including reports on "trade", progress in the "house" and in the school. Even boys who stayed for a comparatively short time quickly built up an extensive case record, divided into ten sections, to which they had some rights of access. Indeed, in stark contrast to the earliest period of Turners Court's history, the case records are now quite exhaustive. The list of documents required before or at admission contains no fewer than 35 items, ranging from an application form, Observation and Assessment Report, medical card and social services department's telephone numbers to answers to questions on vegetarianism, allergies, passport, outstanding fines, and swimming ability. In general, these practices accorded with changes in social work practice, although total inclusion of boys in the process was ahead of its time (Interview 7).

Whilst the numbers of case records available from the 1980s should not be regarded as statistically representative, it is nevertheless worth recording that there is a noticeable clustering of ages on admission at around 15 years 10 months, with a standard deviation of ages on admission of only four months, compared to seven months for the 1960s. Similarly, age on discharge clusters around the age of 16 years eleven months to 17 years, with an average stay of one year and one month.

The reduction in numbers of boys admitted is well-documented throughout the Management committee reports (Turners Court 1985-91).

Table 15: Residents on roll at Turners Court 1975-1991

YEAR	NUMBER	NOTES
1975	92	
1981	85	turnover noted as 60 boys per year
1985	56	
1987	48	
1988	35	
1989	25	harvest supper cancelled
1991 (Jan)	23	35 regarded as 'break even point'
1991 (Apr)	5	Turners Court closes 26th. April

Improvements in staff pay, conditions and training, being key issues in this period, were frequently discussed. Staff retention, welfare and discipline are major items of concern to the committee, especially when they relate to accommodation (the majority of staff lived at Turners Court, and sometimes there were legal difficulties reclaiming accommodation when staff left or were dismissed). Small group living was well established by the 1980s, and generally appears to have been viewed positively. The Management Committee Minutes refer to a number of building projects and refurbishments that implemented this. Yet there were

problems of behaviour as boys were more inclined to act out... many boys
were seriously disturbed so that there was increasing damage, alcohol and
drug abuse. ... 20 percent were having psychiatric treatment or supervision.

Menday 1998: 140

Whilst improvements in training and higher staff/student ratios could partially address this, the relationship with the local community became more problematic. Turners Court boys became notorious for their constant running battles with local youths in Wallingford but staff and police usually prevented incidents through a strong informal network that had developed. There was also a strong rapport with local magistrates, who rarely went against Turners Court's recommendations, with boys removed from Turners Court if this was advocated. There were in addition some traditions maintained by Turners Court that fostered a positive relationship with the local community, the most well known of which was the annual Harvest Festival (Interviews 3 and 5).

One significant change in the 1980s is the changing relationship with local authorities. The personal element in referrals in evidence in cases examined in the previous chapter has been replaced by professionalism built on formalised assessment and admission procedures. The Principal makes frequent visits to local authorities to encourage referrals (Menday 1998) and flexibility of response is formally encouraged (Turners Court 1985-91). At the same time, conflict emerges when Turners Court staff feel that local authorities are simply using it as a 'holding' or 'remand' placement.

> *... Turners Court was being used and misled by this strategy... the Juvenile*
> *Justice Team had not been open about their plan ... no consultation had*
> *taken place ... and little regard given to the rapport between G.W. and the*
> *Turners Court psychiatrist which has led to more disclosure about the*
> *[sexual] offences than one might have hoped for. ...*
> *The meeting finished with a summary of the Social Services position .... It was*
> *stated that this was not agreeable to Turners Court ...*

<div align="right">Case 42: minutes of meeting</div>

What was life like at the institution? What were the patterns of interactions in Turners Court at this time?

> *We live here all the time and everyone learns a trade. There are all different*
> *reasons for boys to be at Turners Court. ...*
> *At Turners Court you can do all different things .... You can go abseiling off*
> *the top of big cliffs.*
> *... In Painting and Decorating we are learning about sign writing and at the*
> *moment we are learning to paint cartoon pictures. ... I live in Basden house*
> *with six other boys. Just before the Easter Holiday we had something called*
> *action week. Each house has a team which plays the other houses in different*
> *sports. ....*
> *A new cook has just started work and the dinners are getting better. Some of*
> *the food we have includes fish and chips, sweet and sour pork, beef curry and*
> *meat pie. ... I enjoy life at Turners Court. ... It is much more like home than*
> *other centres I have been to.*

<div align="right">Case 42: Daniel's report for review</div>

Detailed case records provide an insight into the day-to-day running of the institution, an insight that is enriched by occasional examples of boys speaking for themselves, as in the extract above. Equally informative are the instructions to staff that give a flavour of everyday routines:

A.M.	P.M.
ADMINISTRATION	ADMINISTRATION
Read Log.	Read Log.
Check Diary.	Read Message book. Check Report file. Check
Read Message Book.	Diary.
BREAKFAST	Handover Meeting.
Students called 7.30 am and up by 8.00 a.m.	Plan evening.
Breakfast prepared and served.	Clear Main Office tray.
Tables cleared and washing up satisfactorily	Collect and enter post in book.
completed.	TEA PREPARATION
Tables laid for lunch.	Prepare for tea, set tables etc.
Kitchen left clean.	Breakdown meal into serving dishes
BEDROOMS	STUDENTS RETURN FROM TRADE
Beds made, rooms left clean and tidy and	Be available when students return.
locked.	Supervise washing and changing.
Check bathrooms, flush toilets. Check	TEA
downstairs toilets.	Supervise tea.
STUDENTS TO WORK	Make any announcement from diary, etc.
Students to trades 8.25 am + working	SUPERVISE JOBS.
clothes.	Check all jobs are completed to a satisfactory
Education students tidy lounge, empty waste	standard.
bins etc.	SUPPER
Check laundry room is clean and tidy.	prepare and supervise supper.
ADMINISTRATION	Supervise clearing up.
Tidy office.	Check that kitchen is left clean and tidy.
Clear circulation file, return signed reports to	BED
Main Office.	Boys to own room and settled.
Collect post and enter in book.	Check that the lounge is left clean and tidy.
Complete repair chits if necessary.	FINAL ADMINISTRATION
LUNCH	Fill in Log.
Hotbox on.	Fire Register.
Make drinks.	Remove keys and cash box.
Breakdown meal into serving dishes	Check that the office is secure.
Supervise Lunch.	Late T.V. check plug out and quiet room locked.
Supervise clearing up, washing up and drying	
up.	
Students back to trade 1.25 p.m. + working	
clothes.	
Complete Meal Requirements forms.	
FINAL ADMINISTRATION	
Ring Social Workers as necessary.	
Read files/write reports as required.	
Fill in Log and Message books.	
Handover to evening staff.	

Turners Court 1987: 6

"Trade" as it was referred to consisted of the farm, horticulture, motor mechanics, or painting and decorating. The emphasis on farming is still firmly in evidence. One review refers to Mark's achievements as:

> *Tractor scraping*
> *Tractor Harrowing*

Large Tractor Driving

Sheep Fleece trimming

Lamb sorting and grading

Pig Weighing

Weaning

Feeding and Cleaning

Pressure Washing

Flock feeding and checking

Case 33

This was complemented by formal periods of education that now took place in dedicated classrooms. Outside the period formally set aside for trade and education, boys appeared to have been able to engage in a wide variety of activities: swimming, fishing, caving, diving, mountaineering, abseiling, pot-holing, and sports of various kinds are all mentioned in the case records held. Yet the positives are constantly interspersed with negative aspects of behaviour as can be seen from the following mixed list of "events since last review" from one boy's file:

[Kevin] helped peer in throwing water on staff

locked social worker out of house

went fishing

broke a mug, a jar and a window

took car keys from social worker

suspended for ten days

cinema trip

assault on staff

Case 37 review

There is also an interesting insight into initiation ceremonies possibly persisting

[Jeremy] began badly in the house by throwing his weight around. He explained that he had feared having his head pushed down the lavatory as a new boy and hoped to forestall this.

Case 36 psychiatric report

Besides documentary evidence, there is a video that provides a flavour of life at Turners Court (Turners Court 1986, submitted separately with thesis). This was commissioned by the Management Committee using members' contacts: one member, Ann Boyd, was the sister of Clare Francis who provided the commentary. Its purpose was to gain publicity for Turners Court and assist in making its work known to local authorities.

From the staff point of view, the key difference between Turners Court at this period and the 1960s would have been small group living. Hence the contrast is with large "houses" with housemasters and staffing that mirrored that of a traditional public school. The 1980s arrangements more accurately reflected children's homes of the period: groups of six to eight boys, staff working in pairs. Discussions with staff working at Turners Court during this period reveal some interesting divisions or groupings of staff. Firstly, there was a sharp distinction between 'teaching' and 'care' staff, not just in terms of responsibilities but substantial differentials in pay. Teaching staff were paid as qualified teachers with enhanced pay and generous payments for 'extraneous duties'. Care staff were divided between the core of senior experienced staff, most of whom had been at Turners Court for many years, and the more junior staff who saw Turners Court as a place in which to gain experience, often prior to professional training. There was a substantial turnover of staff which could be tolerated because of the existence of this dependable core of experienced staff, a group who apparently enjoyed social activities together, who were well rewarded in terms of quality of accommodation and working conditions, and who were well integrated into the local community (Interview 6). Conflicts between junior care staff and management tended to centre on conditions of service and pay, since overtime was not paid by Turners Court. Staff morale was not just affected by pay and conditions, however. There were a number of particular 'bad patches' caused by boys' serious behaviour problems that had an impact on staff. In this cycle of a 'peaks and troughs', 1985-6 saw a glue-sniffing plague and other anti-social behaviour that heralded acute anxiety about the future of the establishment.

SETTING: INTERMEDIATE SOCIAL ORGANISATION

This section of the chapter seeks to connect the demise of Turners Court to shifts in policy. It indicates the ways in which the organisation sought to respond to change and then relates these to residential social work more generally, placing a specific emphasis on changes in social work organisation and practice. On this basis, one key area of incongruence is identified as a mismatch between Turners Court's belief systems and a shift in social work values and principles.

The organisation's response to macro level changes

In 1987

> *The auditors questioned whether the school should be considered 'a going concern'. The chairman told the managers that this must be seen as a 'serious marker', members endorsed this, but one member made the point that they must live on faith to which all agreed.*

Menday 1998: 158

So faith, together with trust that financial resources would somehow be found, is once again part of the history of Turners Court. Indeed, it has been a theme throughout, justifying and explaining the long-standing tradition of not building up reserves. One is reminded of the initial enthusiasm of the original founding committee in 1911, yet the context is very different. For by the 1980s Turners Court was utterly dependent on local authority fees for its everyday work. It could no longer call on the generosity of individual philanthropists for capital or new projects, but instead came to rely on government grants. By early 1983, the DHSS was already making it clear that there would be no more grants for refurbishment or rebuilding work, and by 1988 there was no grant-aid at all (Menday 1998: 142, 162). The Management Committee Meetings (Turners Court 1985-91) minutes also contain references to grant applications, but it is clear that it is organisations rather than individuals who are regarded as potentially able to provide assistance.

The decline in numbers of boys on roll was dramatic (see figures above). Furthermore, local authorities that had hitherto constantly supported Turners Court by sending a steady stream of boys no longer did so: Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire failed to send a single boy to Turners Court in 1982 (Turners Court 1985-91). Perusal of Turners Court's records suggests a significant shift by the end of the 1980s towards use by a number of London Boroughs, with virtually no use of Turners Court made by authorities outside the south-east. Local authorities were increasingly reluctant to finance places. Instead they "consumed their own smoke by providing in-county" tending to use Turners Court in a crisis, then withdrawing boys as soon as they might be able to cope through the use of their own provision (Interviews 6 and 7). This sheds light on the conflict in the Essex remand placement case cited above (Case 42). The then Principal's response to this constant crisis of numbers was to act as an ambassador, visiting as many local authorities as possible and getting involved in national organisations that would promote Turners Court's name and credibility, for

example by playing a major training role in the National Council for Voluntary Child Care Organisations (Interview 6).

By 1989, placement costs at Turners Court had risen sharply. No longer could it claim favourable comparison with similar establishments as in 1974 when its charges were 50% of the costs of establishments carrying out a comparable task. (Turners Court 1974). Steep rises had been caused by a number of factors. Chief amongst these had been the need to keep increasing the staff/student ratio because of a combination of increasingly demanding students and gradual reduction in numbers. To this must be added the demands of being dual registered and, more specifically, the need for constant improvements in educational facilities. The need for a "broad and balanced curriculum" dominated the inspectors report in 1984. A need to include computer skills with basic skills was subsequently imposed on the Turners Court curriculum by education inspectors (Menday 1998: 146, 162). To basic educational needs had to be added extensions to the 'trades' on offer. Research for the Development Group in 1974 revealed that only 30 percent of the boys were "still in occupations for which they had been trained at Turners Court" (Turners Court 1974). Even at this stage, doubts were cast on the relevance of farm training for many of the boys since farming was mechanised and it was considered an isolated job that had little appeal for some. Hence the far greater range of opportunities on offer by the mid-1980s. All of these developments required additional facilities and an increased number of teachers and instructors, provision for which was readily made by the Management Committee, but always with a consequence of causing a rise in fees.

A number of steps were considered in response to the perceived changing needs of 'students'. It is already clear from records that the institution had moved away from what one might call 'ordinary' delinquency towards a specialist role for boys with serious emotional problems that often manifested themselves in sexual offences. This had translated into increased psychiatric involvement and support: by the late 1980s, the psychiatrist was full-time and every boy received regular interviews with the school psychiatrist. Psychodrama was seen as an important part of the programme. As further evidence of response to this increased level of need, there were plans to offer fifty-two week care and there are regular references in the Management Committee Meetings minutes to increases in the number of staff.

Here we can identify a dilemma for institutions such as Turners Court. For the increasing emotional and relationship demands made by boys on staff required more staff, and also argued for more qualified staff, a feature of residential care noted

elsewhere (Utting 1991; Warner 1992; Berridge and Brodie 1996). Yet, more staff, especially more highly qualified personnel, meant higher fees. Therefore, local authorities became even more selective about the kind of young person they sent to Turners Court with the result that only those with really exceptional and serious emotional problems may have been sent.

In some respects, the steps the Managers *failed* to take best illustrate their dilemmas and conflicts of views about the response to the challenges confronting Turners Court. The persistent demands for training did not translate into the establishment of a student unit, nor did Turners Court become coeducational. It did not consider moving to another site, nor did it take on board community-based approaches to juvenile justice such as Intermediate Treatment although it did offer the residential component of this. Right until the end, the Management Committee consisted of an amalgam of three different kinds of managers: farmers, professionals and philanthropists. This last group, who often had very well-established and long-standing family and personal connections, tended to chair the Management Committee, yet the commercial farm influences were a key component of discussions - there was always a section of the Management Committee's report on the operation of the farm. This continued right up until the date of closure, which would support one contention that reconciling these competing interests was becoming impossible. In what was now a social work market place, Turners Court, with its own traditions and structures, could no longer compete.

What are the similarities and differences between Turners Court and other similar organisations?

Furthermore, the fate of Turners Court has parallels with other similar residential institutions. The escalating crisis in the second half of the decade mirrors the fate that befell many Community Homes with Education in the early 1980s. This tallies with the decline of therapeutic communities generally, although not with organisations outside the care system, such as schools for children with emotional and behavioural difficulties, a point that is pursued in Chapter 8.

Community Homes with Education became the semi-official name for former Approved Schools transferred into the post-1969 system. They differed from the former Approved Schools in their regimes: they focused on needs and were selective, catering for a wider age range of students with the emphasis moved away from punishment. Organisationally they moved to local authority control with regional rather than national catchment areas, their independent managers were displaced, religious voluntary organisations played a much-diminished role in them and, crucially, the costs of

placement were borne by local authorities rather than the Home Office (Hyland 1993: 91-92). This description fits Turners Court quite well, with the exception that Turner Court remained a voluntary children's home run by Trustees and managers.

There are also some more precise similarities between developments in Community Homes with Education and Turners Court. The relationship between teaching and care staff was sometimes uneasy. Teachers saw themselves as a minority professional group with limited power, and with restricted career prospects having agreed to move outside mainstream education. Residential social workers resented what they saw as the more favourable salaries and conditions of teachers with, for example, their fourteen weeks' holidays. Just as with Community Homes with Education, at Turners Court there was what Hyland (1993: 96) has called a "gradual abandonment of the training school concept".

A clear parallel relates to increasing costs. Improvements in residential social workers' pay, reductions in working hours, and moves towards implementing the Castle Priory (Banner and Kahan 1969) recommendation of a staff<>child ratio of one<>six greatly increased costs of running Community Homes with Education, as it did at Turners Court. Consequently, even as early as 1979 some commentators suggested that there was a real danger of Community Homes with Education "pricing themselves out of the market" (Hyland 1993: 101). Debates about the value of farm training also occurred elsewhere. For example at Carlton in Bedfordshire there was a general move towards education rather than vocational training, and certainly a strong move against using boys as cheap labour since this resulted in "boys being allocated to meet the requirements of the system rather than to meet their individual needs" (quoted in Hyland 1993: 105). Associated with this was concern about the geographical isolation of Community Homes with Education, together with their isolation from mainstream education.

There are, however, some reasons peculiar to the Community Homes with Education system that do not apply to Turners Court. One odd consequence of the transfer to local authority control was that heads of Community Homes with Education came to be managed by people with limited experience of their kind of work. This resentment was augmented by jealousy when some Principals of Community Homes with Education earned salaries on a par with Directors of Social Services (Hyland 1993: 97). Financially, Community Homes with Education were more dependent on local authority pooling systems, so that when these arrangements collapsed following the demise of regional planning committees (no longer compulsory with the passing of the Health and

Social Services and Social Security Adjudications Act 1983), the loss of guaranteed income for vacant places was, in many cases, devastating. Whilst the shortfall in places occupied continued to dominate as an issue at Turners Court, there were other sources of revenue that could be used for a short time (mainly sale of land and buildings, rents from farmers) and there was an additional source of referral, namely education departments.

Finally, in this comparison with Community Homes with Education there are some explanations and trends apparent which partially applied to Turners Court. Changes in youth justice policy have already been noted, with confusion between justice and welfare (Morris et al. 1980; Tutt 1982). Thorpe (1976) had argued strongly that Community Homes with Education were demonstrably ineffective in tackling juvenile crime; indeed there was evidence to suggest that they actually promoted delinquent careers. Bifurcation (Haines and Drakeford 1998; Pratt 1989) whereby custody was strenuously avoided by systems management but harshly imposed when there was no alternative, had the consequence that the pool of would-be residents of Community Homes with Education dried up. Persistent offenders formerly placed in residential care were now to be found in young offenders institutions instead. At Turners Court, which accepted a number of serious offenders, premature departure of residents through custodial sanctions imposed by courts proved very disruptive. The Principal's reports to the Management Committee Meetings contain frequent references to the high turnover of boys, a consequence of a less tolerant approach to repeated offences whilst in care.

How does Turners Court fit in with developments in social work at the time? How does it fit with changes in values and beliefs?

The period outlined in this chapter covers a turbulent period of Turners Court's history, in which it ceased to be in congruence with some developments in social work. A brief outline of these here will inform a later discussion (in Chapter 8) of the precise reasons why Turners Court closed when it did.

The major threat to Turners Court came inevitably from the move away from residential care, underscored by the belief in community care, the loss of confidence in institutions and a change in the value base that hitherto underpinned residential care (Beedell 1993; Jack 1998; Madge 1994). Gooch (1996) has already pointed to the decline in belief in the value of boarding schools, and connected this to a fall in esteem of the residential experience generally. A move away from the kind of psychodynamic approach that influenced therapeutic communities generally led to a lack of confidence about specific approaches, and this left some establishments in a kind of theoretical

void. In the case of Turners Court, once the employment rationale had been removed, the raison d'être of the establishment seemed to be social skills and educational training, yet it is difficult to identify a precise 'niche' that Turners Court filled. The nearest it appears to have come to a specific role is in relation to boys who committed sexual offences, yet even here, as was seen in the Essex case cited earlier (Case 35) a combination of formal supervision and attendance at psychiatric sessions was deemed appropriate. Inevitably, though, given the core values which Turners Court espoused, it would not see itself as a custodial establishment yet it often encountered difficulties with excessive drinking, vandalism, solvent abuse, and theft of cars, to which staff responded with the actions and language of containment and control (Interview 7). In this respect Turners Court presents a microcosm of competing values and beliefs about how to respond to anti-social behaviour.

Furthermore, there were some factors related to changes in social work practice that militated against Turners Court's survival. The decline in use of residential care is not just explained by economic and social factors. Some believe that antagonism towards residential care emanated from field social workers who consistently derided residential care; yet some children "needed it", and there were some models of good practice in places such as Turners Court. A number of senior managers "made their names" by conducting a campaign against residential care (Interview 2). This negative approach to residential care reflected a shift in values, possibly connected to a distrust of all kinds of institutions, and a belief that they all create more harm than good. Sinclair and Gibbs (1998) imply that much of this thinking is derived from interpretations of Goffman (1968) and the subsequent literature on institutionalisation. Ambivalence about residential care generally has been noted. There is a dichotomy between preoccupations with past abuses and associated embarrassment for managers and politicians, and the official line that residential care has a "positive contribution to make" (Berridge and Brodie 1998: 172).

Two other specific developments in social work values worked against Turners Court's continued existence. The first, enshrined in the Children Act 1989, places primacy on local resources, or at least resources that facilitate integration or re-integration into the local community. Here the isolation of Turners Court in the Oxfordshire countryside is a major disadvantage, but more important still would be the growing alienation between the geographical location of Turners Court and the environment in which boys lived. In the early days, there would have been a fairly close environmental match between the relatively poor and remote rural farming environment Turners Court and the isolated experience and backgrounds of men sent there through the Poor Law system,

especially given that most of them were already committed to some kind of future in agriculture. By the late 1980s, the part of Oxfordshire in which Turners Court is located had become wealthy, with farmland and building land at a premium. The environment in no way accorded with the high-rise, socially deprived urban areas from which an increasing proportion of boys came.

The second development was to accord greater weight to race and gender. By the mid-1980s, Turners Court was providing care for a significant number of black young men in the heart of rural Oxfordshire, a predominantly white area. While interviewees generally did not regard this as particularly significant, it has to be said that this factor compounded hostility to placing black young people in such areas. This was now considered scarcely appropriate, a mismatch with regard to race and culture. Had Turners Court survived, this would have become even more significant with the implementation of the Children Act 1989, with its requirement for local authorities to pay attention to race and culture both in promoting children's welfare generally and specifically in relation to placement (Dalrymple and Burke 1995: 79). Finally one cannot avoid commenting on the fact that Turners Court remained a single-sex institution at a time when this was increasingly seen as anachronistic and artificial, a view that influenced the whole boarding school sector (Gooch 1996).

CONNECTING THE MACRO AND MICRO: THE CLOSURE OF TURNERS COURT

In order to demonstrate the macro-micro interconnections the model devised at the end of Chapter 4 is now used to highlight the key challenges to Turners Court. At this point, the key areas are simply highlighted; in the next chapter there will be further discussion on macro-micro interconnections. In the final chapter there will be an evaluation of the relative importance of various factors, when the model will be used to expose specific areas of incongruence that led to disintegration.

Model 3: Turners Court in the 1980s

FINANCIAL and ECONOMIC

LAW and SOCIAL POLICY

TECHNICAL and KNOWLEDGE

BELIEF SYSTEMS and VALUES

MACRO

MACRO CONTEXT: global recession, monetarism, reductions in state spending on public services

SETTING: INTERMEDIATE SOCIAL ORGANISATION — purchaser/provider relationship, withdrawal of grants

SITUATED ACTIVITY — escalating fees, farm losses

MICRO — staff costs, building and equipment costs, fees fail to match

SELF-IDENTITY & SOCIAL EXPERIENCE

mixture of care and teaching, tensions

Turners Court

frequent inspections, reviews, records, local authority minimise placement lengths

education provision, staff training policy,

MACRO CONTEXT: reduced role of state, tight control over local authorities

SETTING: INTERMEDIATE SOCIAL ORGANISATION — social work and education legislation, regulatory inspectorial framework

SITUATED ACTIVITY

MACRO CONTEXT: decline in employment opportunities but more education required

SETTING: INTERMEDIATE SOCIAL ORGANISATION — strong emphasis on staff training, specialist education

SITUATED ACTIVITY — advanced social work skills needed

mixed: some strongly committed, for others residential social work 'just a job'

social work with an emphasis on personal responsibility

individualism, personal responsibility, justice not treatment

neo-Liberalism, New Right

SETTING: INTERMEDIATE SOCIAL ORGANISATION

MACRO CONTEXT

MICRO   Change in leadership occurs at a time of Turners Court's zenith. The institution reflects the optimism of social work of the 1960s and adopts a more consciously caring and education role. It refuses to participate directly in the CHE system, but becomes registered as a children's home and special school. At first, this is viable with the support of social services departments, but gradually demand for places falls. Offering fewer places increases costs proportionally and, with more selective use of Turners Court, the boys sent there become more demanding. This in turn increases the need for more staff, and more skilled staff, but this creates a demand spiral: more staff means higher fees, means even more selective use, which ultimately means accommodation for some young men with quite extreme behaviour problems.

MACRO   Changes in the economy in relation to financing of local authorities and employment are significant. The first compels local authorities to use residential care as a very last option in a context of significantly curtailed public expenditure. There are greatly reduced employment opportunities for young people, especially in agriculture. Law and social policy reflect a harsher approach to 15-16 year olds. Explanations for youth crime now focus on the individual, with consequent greater use of custody.

From this analysis, it is concluded that the undercurrents of the 1980s translated into four distinct kinds of threats to Turners Court. Firstly, and perhaps most importantly, changes in state welfare provision meant that local authority support in terms of readiness to refer boys to Turners Court and to offer continuous financial support for them fell away. Secondly, employment and education needs had changed so that farm work was increasingly viewed unfavourably: there was simply no longer a need for so many young agricultural labourers and the increasing sophistication of the labour market meant that education became geared towards technical rather than manual skills. Thirdly, changes in youth justice policy may have deprived Turners Court of potential residents and certainly impeded progress that Turners Court could make with some offenders. The climate of opinion was less tolerant of 'acting out' young offenders, and this age group were perceived as 'less deserving'. Fourthly, social work practice and values had changed, with the consequence that in some key respects Turners Court was no longer in conformity with prevailing social work principles and thinking. Many of these principles became compulsory through the Children Act 1989 and there must be real doubt as to whether Turners Court could have survived implementation of that Act.

This brief résumé points to a lack of congruence in several areas, but the key disconnection may well lie in the area of belief systems and values. The influence of the New Right directs sympathy away from young offenders, with an overarching punitive approach to the Turners Court age group. Despite its professed values, Turners Court is caught up in this for, in effect, it becomes a 'soft' form of custody. There is a mismatch between its long-term educational intentions and the purposes of local authorities that place boys there. Social work explanations, especially those that derive from psychodynamic theories, are no longer in evidence. Factual descriptions of behaviour replace them, supplemented by the students' own reflections which now emphasise individual responsibility and accountability. The implied values here are of empowerment and personal development; the institution's declared values are educational and therapeutic; the staff's values reflect the need for control, order and organisation. There appear to be few discussions of purposes and values, and many staff simply use Turners Court as a training ground for gaining experience and developing their careers in social work elsewhere. Despite this, Turners Court "stands for" something distinctive: it "is the sort of entrepreneurial organisation the like of which will never be seen again" (Department of Health inspector quoted in Menday 1998).

CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided an overview of Turners Court in the 1980s and 1990s, set in the context of turbulent change that proved traumatic for the organisation.

The data from Turners Court during this period provides a number of clues as to why it closed as a residential establishment, but it must not be thought that the whole explanation lies within Turners Court itself. Nor must the opposite be concluded: macro forces did not of themselves compel its closure. It is the tension between macro and micro factors that provide fertile grounds for exploring reasons for change, and in this context it is suggested that certain key distinguishing characteristics of Turners Court stopped it being totally malleable to the 'winds of change', principally its commitment to certain ideals on which it would not yield. This key feature suggests that conventional explanations of change may need to be refined and the next chapter explores this further, setting this in a theoretical context..

REFLECTING ON THEORY:
CONNECTING THE MACRO AND MICRO

This Chapter reflects on what the analysis of Turners Court's history contributes to the macro-micro debate, with particular reference to social theory. Through this the intention is to work towards a model that identifies the features that are common to the macro and micro, that are essential to an organisation's survival, and help explain the dynamic processes by clearly identifying the features that need to be in congruence. For this to be successful, it is argued, there needs to be a satisfactory theoretical approach that resists the temptation to locate change as wholly macro or wholly micro. A clear elaboration of the reasons for needing to reject such an approach is outlined in the first half of the chapter. The second part of the chapter surveys theories that claim to address the interconnections between macro and micro, concluding that no one theory alone is adequate for a full exposition of what bridges the macro and micro. Rather a multi-perspectival approach (adopted from Layder 1994: see discussion below) is required since this provides an appropriate balance, giving due weight to the macro and micro, whilst allowing for a range of explanations to be offered and incorporated into an overall account of change. In the following chapter this approach is presented in diagrammatic form, offering a model for use as a framework in analysing changes in residential care and social work practice more widely.

RESPONDING TO THE MACRO-MICRO CHALLENGE: EXPLAINING CHANGE

By imagining a clean sheet approach to the task of explaining the 'life' of Turners Court, it becomes clear that the research question consists of three component parts:

1. Why was Turners Court established in 1911?

2. Why and how did it operate as a provider of social welfare for 80 years?

3. Why did it close down in 1991?

What kinds of theories or models could social science offer to answer these questions?

To start, there are theories that could broadly be described as *structural*. Under this heading might be included Marxist theories, centred on the economic sub-structure as the key factor explaining change; or related theories that focus on economic and social needs as determining social institutions, for example functionalist sociological theories. Certain categories of feminist explanations might also come under this heading,

specifically those feminist views which see patriarchy as the key structural determinant and explanation of change, focusing on the social construction of gender.

By direct contrast, *individualist* explanations might centre on the character and personalities of the people who set up and ran Turners Court, suggesting that their influence was the key determinant of the history and development of the organisation. Included under this category would be the influence of key people, visionaries who inspired and led the organisation. Alternative related explanations might emphasise the mix of individuals, the group dynamics and processes influenced by the culture of the organisation. This approach would wish to focus on the belief systems and working practices of those who worked at Turners Court, paying attention to the meaning and ethos the institution conveyed to those who lived and worked there.

Applying these approaches to the development of Turners Court in particular, and social work more generally, leads to an emphasis on certain kinds of explanations. The table that follows sets out some of these.

Table 16: Comparing and contrasting explanations

Sub question	MACRO EXPLANATIONS	MICRO EXPLANATIONS
Why was Turners Court established in 1911?	need of capital for farm labour, for healthy potential recruits to armed forces, for emigration to colonies to 'service' expansion of empire and growth in markets	actions of small group of visionaries with clear commitment and influential connections, response from public in form of donations
	specifically in relation to social work:	
	Turners Court seen as reflection of voluntarism, youth saving culture, evidence that welfare state not necessary, reinforcement of work ethic, gender roles, social and economic structure	actions legitimate as they occurred at a time when social work was becoming acceptable and personal beliefs and values encouraged voluntary social work organisations, for example, as Christian evangelism
How did it survive 80 years?	continued to meet the needs of capital, need for farm labour in Britain, then for other forms of unskilled labour	succession of charismatic Principals and visionaries, met the personal needs of boys and staff
	specifically in relation to social work:	
	Turners Court directs attention to growth in state involvement in welfare, increase in state funding through Board of Guardians and later through local authorities, expansion encouraged by legislative changes such as Children Act 1948, Children and Young Persons Act 1969	this would mean suggesting that the actions of these individuals accorded with social work thinking more generally, and was in step with therapeutic approach of social work when that became popular

Sub question	MACRO EXPLANATIONS	MICRO EXPLANATIONS
Why did it close in 1991?	changing needs of capital, changes in economic and social structure, especially disappearance of potential employment in traditional areas for which Turners Court trained boys	errors made by individuals, lack of commitment to enterprise, conflicts between staff and/or trustees, inability to 'reform' boys, loss of support from influential individuals in local authorities and government
	specifically in relation to social work:	
	reduction of state welfare, impact of Children Act 1989, education policies in relation to school leaving age and special needs education, contract culture influencing local authority decisions	more generally through number of pertinent issues: victim of reaction against residential care, race issue, gender issues (why was it never co-educational?), relative rural isolation seen as problem rather than benefit

All of these are legitimate questions and explanations, but different theories place varying degrees of emphasis on them. In the analysis that follows, the concern is to draw out of competing theoretical perspectives the elements that would be valuable in a final analysis of the development of Turners Court. Given the commitment to working towards the balancing or integration of macro and micro, what weight should be placed on macro and micro elements? What about the interlocking elements of "situated activity" and "social organisation"?

The ensuing discussion therefore reflects the need to locate the theoretical interpretation of the development of Turners Court. This means that there is a need for an approach that can *explain* what went on within the establishment rather than simply *describe* events and actions. Such an approach also has to be able to explain the changes and adaptations that took place during Turners Court's existence, in other words it must be a theory capable of dynamic interpretation.

In order to assess the adequacy of theory, it is important to begin by indicating strengths and exposing potential weaknesses of theories as they apply to the development of Turners Court. It is not intended to provide an exhaustive analysis here. Rather the aim is to summarise theories that demonstrate a particular approach to the macro and the micro, and also to reflect on their view of social change, especially the kind of change experienced by Turners Court as an institution.

EXCLUSIVELY MACRO APPROACHES

Under this heading fall two sets of theories: those which come under the general label of functionalist, associated particularly with Merton and Parsons, and those that are labelled structural, exemplified here by Marxism and feminism.

Functionalism

Parsons (1966; 1991) and Merton (1957) are the names most readily identified with functionalist approaches which assume people passively assimilate the rules of society, their functions and their roles. Functionalism asserts the importance of society in relation to the individual with a very strong emphasis on society as a kind of organism or machine which has to be kept going. In this respect systems and action matter more than behaviour as such, for 'patterning' is the key. People's reasons for acting, their own accounts or 'stories' or even self-justifications account for very little. The overall impression is of a theory in which society determines individual lives, and the society-individual is implicitly of greater importance than the macro-micro debate.

Despite a resurgence of interest in Parsons' work (Münch in Giddens and Turner 1987: 116-117), a number of limitations remain. Of particular significance for the subject of this study would be the lack of analysis of power, legitimacy, and decision-making conducted 'behind the scenes'. Merton's distinction between manifest and latent functions attempts to address this, arguing for attention to functions that operate covertly. Yet Merton still ignores people's explanations of their own behaviour; people's own accounts of their own behaviour or what a ceremony, for example, means to them, are simply missing (Knorr-Cetina 1981: 166). Both theorists use the individual and society dualism, thereby falling into the temptation to see individuals as separate from society. This functionalists clearly do since they perceive society as controlling individuals, admittedly often in a benign way, but this presupposes there is something distinct which is 'society', which is somehow separate from all of us as individuals. This explains why functionalists can so readily dismiss any subjective account of actions and why, in essence, individuals do not count as people. What matters more is their role or function in society, and how they 'fit' into the mechanistic process, which drives society.

Consequently, accounting for change appears to be highly problematic. If the analogy with a machine or with an organism is taken literally, how is it possible to account for change other than by reference to internal correcting processes? How is it possible to allow for creativity and for people's capacity to think for themselves? A purely functionalist approach to research on Turners Court would focus on the role that it

played in society as an institution. How did it keep the wheels of society turning? What role did the organisation play? In what ways did it fulfil certain social purposes? The primary level of analysis would be social and political, highlighting the needs of society as determined in the early 1900s and drawing out from these some assumed purpose which Turners Court fulfilled.

The closest example of what such an analysis would look like can be found in Lambert (1975) where the functions of boarding schools are summarised as allocation, integration and administration. The élitism of such schools is acknowledged; indeed "recruitment to the governing, administrative and cultural élites" is seen as one of their functions (Lambert 1975: 23). The subsequent analysis places considerable emphasis on social structure and the operation of macro forces. It tends to assume that the structure is a 'given' and explores how the institution 'fits' with the structure, how it fulfils the needs of 'society'.

Adapting this to the Turners Court context and specifically to the research question posed, a number of difficulties immediately arise in explaining how the institution came to exist when it did. Whilst a number of 'functions' could be identified, it would be difficult to explain the distinctiveness of the institution and the underlying assumption would always be that change is a linear process since the essence of functional accounts is that macro forces determine what happens at the micro level.

The inadequacies of such an approach are underlined by a number of social policy texts that assume a linear relationship between social policy and social welfare practice. Chief amongst these are those texts which stand in the social administration or Fabian tradition (Marshall 1970; Titmuss 1958, 1967, 1970, 1976; Pinker 1971; Glennerster 1983) alternatively labelled as 'social conscience texts' (Baker 1979). In such texts "the relationship between the existence of information and taking political action in accordance with it is unproblematic" (Baker 1979: 183) or even 'untheoretical' (Ellison and Pierson 1998: 17). History then becomes the charting of 'developments' that somehow accord to the changing needs of society. A classic example of this approach may be found in the work of Pinker (1971) who attributes growing concern for people's welfare during the nineteenth century to a reaction against the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 and the ideas that underpinned it.

This is problematic for a number of reasons. One key omission is an overall explanation of dynamic forces, which results in an unproblematic, almost atheoretical, account of policy shifts. Policy change simply apparently reflects the changing needs of society and a 'top-down' approach is readily adopted. In terms of recent social history

as it relates to Turners Court, one key omission is the lack of reference to the fierce religious debates that occurred during the nineteenth century, as well as the cursory treatment of the role of Darwinism and the rise of eugenics. The relevance of this to Turners Court becomes very apparent in the analysis of its early years. There is also no reference to the origins of British imperialism or colonialism. This would be relevant since the ideology is so similar to the thinking that influenced the colony movement that created institutions and communities for people with disabilities. Both reflect a scientific, systematic approach. In social work this influenced the creation of the Charity Organisation Society, generally regarded as the forerunner of social work, and at a global level led to systematic exploitation of other countries in order to further Britain's economic position in the world. These ideas likewise undergirded the system of beliefs and values that helped establish places such as Turners Court.

Even where services are analysed in a broader context, this is assumed to be economic, with an implied functionalist approach to the welfare state. The commitment to providing welfare state services appears taken for granted. History and social policy developments consist primarily of charting key events and milestones (for examples see Hill 1997; Hill and Bramley 1986; Midwinter 1994). Explanations of change are not prominent; rather change is viewed constitutionally, focusing on the formal decision-making processes. This could be described as a 'top-down' approach, providing little room for people as actors or mediators of social policy, relying on state institutions as being the key means of achieving policy objectives which are given by policy makers, received by those who are affected by them, and acted upon by those charged with policy implementation.

Structural accounts

Much stronger on the issue of power and discrimination are theories that derive either from a Marxist or feminist perspective.

For example, whereas functionalists assumed capitalism to be basically fair and meritocratic, Marx saw capitalism as exploitative. In order to understand ideas and thoughts of any historical era, the first task is to analyse economic organisation. Indeed, Marx has been extensively criticised for over-emphasising the economic basis of social change to the neglect of other important factors (Tucker 1998: 105). Nevertheless, Marxist theories do contain an account of social change together with an analysis of power relations in society, and in this sense, such theories differ markedly from functionalist sociological theories.

Similarly, feminist critiques of the political system centre on power and discrimination but in a different way, focusing on liberty rather than inequality, and inequity rather than structural accounts of inequality (Himmelfarb 1995; George and Page 1995). Disparity of provision was consciously incorporated into the Beveridge reforms of 1942, leading to a clearly articulated feminist critique of the welfare state on these grounds (Muncie 1997; Clarke, Cochrane and Smart 1987; O'Connor 1996). Contemporary feminist accounts of social policy have tended to centre on the concept of patriarchy, and its relationship to other structural forces such as race (for example Williams 1989), moving away from a preoccupation with women under the welfare state towards 'gendering' of welfare state regimes (Ellison and Pierson 1998; Pascall 1997). In much of this a strong historical and analytical strand is present, focusing on, for example, women's experience in social welfare from Victorian times onwards (Wilson 1977), and assumptions about gender relations within families and in community care of the vulnerable (Dalley 1988).

There is no doubt that Marxist and feminist perspectives have exerted a considerable influence on social policy. Generally, such theories place a strong emphasis on issues such as power, domination and sectional interests (Lavalette and Pratt 1997, 2001).

Drawing on evaluations from social policy commentators (in particular O'Brien and Penna 1998; Ginsburg 1979; George and Wilding 1984; Mishra 1984; Hall et al. 1978), the researcher would identify the specific strengths of a contemporary Marxist approach as being: connecting the welfare state to the needs of capital; offering a powerful explanation of social divisions other than class, especially race and gender; drawing attention to the constant conflictual processes, or crises, that underpin welfare history; analysing the demonisation of certain groups in society about whom there is a 'moral panic'. This last point is particularly pertinent to this study since the demise of Turners Court could partly be explained by changing conceptions of youth in the 1980s, in particular changes in approaches to anti-social behaviour by young men. Marxists have connected this into the ideological crisis, that included strong negative images of trade unions and 'alien black elements', as well as a 'moral panic' about mugging (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 1994: 136-7) reminiscent of earlier moral panics (for example, see Cohen 1971; for a comprehensive survey of the concept of moral panic see Hunt 1997).

A Marxist analysis of the development of Turners Court would share some common ground with a functionalist approach. Serving the needs of the economy would predominate in explanations of Turners Court's history and development. In any

Marxist account, the economic needs of capital would be held paramount. Thus, it would be feasible to relate the establishment and early growth of the organisation to the need for labour, especially farm labour in the 1920s. Rapid changes in labour requirements would explain the dramatic, frequent changes that occurred in the 1970s and 1980s, and one could speculate that the closure of the organisation was directly linked to this. The primary level of analysis would be economic, highlighting the needs of economy as translated into shifts in social policy, which in turn affect social work.

However, this risks portraying Marxist accounts as simplistic and unconcerned with the direct practice of social work. This would be unfair, for some explanations of social work practice and the role of social work generally are far from simplistic. Parton (1985, 1991, 1994a), for example, analyses social work practice in relation to moral panics, identifying the specific ways in which the media play up the alleged deficiencies in social work in order to display social workers' impotence in the face of the apparent 'breakdown' of moral order. Linked to a broader explanation of crisis as a necessary adjunct to capitalism, this shows how social work can be used to deflect attention away from underlying power issues, such as poverty and deprivation, and can then itself be portrayed as part of the 'problem' rather than the 'solution'. This reasserts individualist ideology since it undermines the argument that collective action can successfully respond to child abuse, and media presentations of social work and its apparent inability to 'solve' the problem of child abuse simply implicate the social worker in the abuse itself. Social workers thus become guilty of abuse by neglect. In a similar way it would be possible to analyse the shift away from a 'treatment' approach to young men who commit offences towards the more punitive policies adopted in the 1980s and 1990s. Treatment condones offences since it implies that offenders are not fully responsible for their actions. The danger then is that the blame shifts from the offender to the worker. This might then be regarded as an explanation of the inevitability of Turners Court's eventual closure.

The prime difficulty with this approach is that it is deterministic. It could not satisfactorily explain why Turners Court closed whereas other similar organisations adapted and carried on. Once more, the distinctiveness of the organisation would fall outside the explanatory scope of such an approach. Although the explanations can appear quite sophisticated, the underlying explanation of change is still linear and the processes by which the organisation responded to changes imposed 'from above' do not appear to be worthy of much consideration. Furthermore, individuals are effectively written off. Whilst drawing attention to the importance of ideology, which embodies the 'imaginary' relation between people and their lived conditions or real lives, Marxist theorists such

as Althusser (1971) imply a constant and consistent delusion of people leaves no room for individual action or creativity. Such analyses render themselves susceptible to the criticism that they are 'framed' by a sort of "functionalism that effectively reduces the media to servants of established political forces" (Wood 1998: 403). In such accounts, people become pawns in the progress of capitalism, as in Hay's (1977) study of the massive increase in the use of the death penalty for property offences in the eighteenth century. This is linked to the rise of the newly emergent 'mercantile' middle classes and in an historical sense sets out a plausible case. However, such approaches do necessarily make the assumption that individual actions are irrelevant, that there is no possibility of preventing an historical process which accords with the needs of capitalism and that all subjective accounts of reasons for acting are bogus, or rather deluded in the Althusserian sense.

Exploring the implications of the feminist approach for research, we might make a number of points. Firstly, there are some criticisms of the Marxist approach, which could equally well be levelled against feminists. There is a danger that the feminist approach reduces all social relations to patriarchy, and therefore the outcome in terms of the lived realities of people's lives is pre-determined. Scope for individual action consequently is implied to be so limited that there is very little point researching the micro level at all. Just as Marxism could be considered to assume that the economic sub structure determines knowledge as a social product, so too might feminism be accused of regarding knowledge as a social product thereby constraining what we can know (Williams and May 1996: 125).

A feminist account of the development of Turners Court would focus on gender issues and the concept of patriarchy. One interesting feature of Turners Court's history is that it has always consistently only been an establishment for the social care, treatment or 'reform' of young men. Given the links and similarities between organisations like Turners Court and the boarding school system (Gooch 1996), this may not be altogether surprising and it may be that its reluctance to change could be relevant to explanations of its closure. This was certainly highlighted in discussions and reviews of Turners Court in the 1980s (Turners Court 1974). However, it was not, in its later years an all-male institution: many of the staff were female. Yet a curious parallel can be drawn between Turners Court and the Caldecott Community. Turners Court was for many years an all male institution, whilst the Caldecott community was all female, no male carers being appointed until 1951 (Little 1995: 20). Turners Court was originally established in order to train men for farm work and in the 1920s and 1930s employed 'brothers' as staff to supervise and carry out the training (Archive Registers). The

Caldecott Community, by contrast, was established to counteract the deficiencies in the education and health of families of the 'London poor' and was a 'matriarchal society' (Little 1995: 20). Male/female differences in terms of social policy responses to young people in trouble would be relevant here, as would an examination of how those differences translated into every day practice. In a related context, such gender differences formed an interesting part of research on secure accommodation (O'Neill 2001; Harris and Timms 1993: 126-134).

Applying all of this in the context of social work, one might note the stronger influence of feminist ideas compared to any direct influence of Marxism. The establishment of refuges and safe houses for abused women could be considered a practical outcome of feminist research and analysis (Dallos and McLaughlin 1993: 22-27). At a more theoretical level, Clarke (1993: 131-140) notes a sustained feminist critique of the Cleveland Inquiry and the general issue of child sexual abuse which is an example of a more general feminist critique of assumptions made by social workers and others concerning child abuse (Dallos and McLaughlin 1993: 69-71:). A major criticism of community care policy and social work assumptions about care of vulnerable adults comes from feminist commentators who have noted the greater expectations laid on women to care for dependent relatives (Finch and Groves 1980; Cowen 1999).

Although the implications of feminist analysis may more directly impinge on social work practice, and it is certainly possible for there to be direct practical responses, there is still an element of unassailability of aspects of feminist theory. If patriarchy is the key determinant force, how can its stranglehold ever be broken? If the framework is already set, how is it possible to expect social workers to act in an anti-discriminatory or anti-oppressive way? What exactly is the potential scope for individual action? If the social structures are really off limits, is a response at the individual or micro level of any value whatsoever? Finally, what of those women who do not see themselves as oppressed? Are they simply, likely conforming workers to a Marxist, deluded and unable to perceive the reality of power relations in society?

Other theories and explanations would consider and explore these gender differences. What would be distinctive about a feminist explanation would be to link these together into an overall explanation in terms of patriarchy. It is difficult to see how this could be a convincing comprehensive explanation, although it would illuminate certain key areas of practice and policy. As with other structural explanations, the overriding social determinant, in this case perpetuation of patriarchal power, is taken for granted with the history and development of the organisation fitting into the explanation. The linear

process of change is still an implicit assumption. A feminist perspective might be able to explain some distinctive features of the organisation but key policy shifts, such as the challenge to the whole basis of residential care and the organisation of social work in the 1980s, would only partially be amenable to a feminist interpretation.

These questions are, set out in this way, unanswerable. The point being made is that part of the reason for this is that structural accounts do not adequately explore perceptions, explanations and interpretations of everyday life as people actually live it. In their determination to explain, such theories have to assume that micro relationships simply reflect, and are essentially controlled by, macro forces. In the author's view, it is difficult to understate the limitations of this one-sided, lop-sided view.

EXCLUSIVELY MICRO APPROACHES

The debate now turns to those theories that assert the importance of micro forces. Specifically, symbolic interactionism and phenomenology are examined here as examples of theories that would say a great deal about what went on within Turners Court. Symbolic interactionism and phenomenology represent views that adopt an extreme micro stance, in other words the complete opposites of the functionalist and structuralist schools discussed above.

Symbolic interactionism

Theories such as symbolic interactionism centre much more on the individual, and are in this respect much more congenial to social work practice. For symbolic interactionism has strong links with the kind of humanism that exercised a strong influence on social work. The essence of symbolic interactionism is that people do not respond automatically to stimuli, they think through their responses, anticipating situations unfolding. In this thinking process, language plays a key role, as does the meaning that people ascribe to their own actions which is pivotal. It takes issue with functionalism, which "ignores the active role of people in reproducing their own social lives" (Tucker 1998: 45). Tucker suggests three underlying themes to interpretative theories such as symbolic interactionism. These are that the 'strict separation of observer and observed' is not accepted; the creation of meanings is regarded as being essentially intersubjective; and finally knowledge cannot be separated from the social context where it originates (44).

At its most extreme, some symbolic interactionists, such as Becker (1963) have suggested that structures and systems were the inventions of sociologists, inventions that cannot be observed or experienced. For symbolic interactionists social activity

itself is the principal topic of concern for social analysis. Social life has to be understood by reference to the situations people experience. Symbolic interactionism is not a tightly integrated set of theoretical ideas. Indeed there are a number of thinkers associated with it (Blumer 1969, Dewey 1927, Mead 1934, Park 1972, Wirth 1938; see also Joas 1987) but all appear to share a distrust for objective truth, preferring to focus on the way in which groups construct meaning. In this sense, symbolic interactionists are bound to conclude that there is no such thing as society "apart from the individuals who constitute it" (Layder 1994: 65), being concerned with the presentation of self, and with the question of how and why people produce behaviour. This is certainly a major theme in the works of Goffman (1959, 1968) where the emphasis is on roles people play and how rituals within institutions mould behaviour.

The principal strength of symbolic interactionism is that it at least allows for the possibility and potential for working directly with people and does not apparently 'write off' action at this level as irrelevant or pre-determined. Symbolic interactionism challenges the preoccupations of structural accounts that imply an impossibility of change through individual action. In some ways, the symbolic interactionist approach is somewhat seductive. It allows one to concentrate on the individual virtually to the exclusion of considering structural implications and their impact on people's lives.

A symbolic interactionist account of Turners Court would focus on the shared meanings created by the institution and the people who lived and worked there. Here a Goffman kind of analysis might be very relevant since there are parallels between his analysis of asylums as total institutions (Goffman 1968) and residential care establishments. Informal as well as formal rules and rituals (such as "after grace - teeth") are established, and these are of significance for residents and staff (Millham et al. 1975: chapters 10 and 11).

However, a strictly symbolic interactionist approach would focus on the creation of shared meanings and would not acknowledge the wider social, political and economic constraints. It would not be as wide-ranging as the Dartington studies (studies of institutional care – boarding schools as well as residential homes – such as Lambert 1968; Lambert et al. 1975; Millham et al. 1975; Millham et al. 1978; Millham et al. 1986) preferring instead to concentrate on the processes within an organisation that shape the organisation's identity. Hence, such a study of Turners Court would be very interested in its perception of itself and the manner in which boys were accepted and inducted into its culture. The ethos and values of the organisation would be a focus of study together with its impact on boys and staff.

A purely symbolic interactionist account would, it is contended, inevitably fail to demonstrate the links between Turners Court practice and social policy changes. Indeed micro approaches generally have very little to say about the dynamic of social policy since, even if they acknowledge the influence of policy change on individual actors, they assume that these changes are external to the individual and somehow beyond reach. Although the scope for individual influence on social policy is doubtless severely circumscribed, this is a far cry from saying that the process is always one way. One of the challenges for this research is to explore the extent to which Turners Court really did influence the changes in social policy which crystallised in the Children and Young Persons Act 1969, and how the organisation itself responded to this and later challenges. For symbolic interactionists, exploring this interrelationship would present almost insurmountable difficulties.

Symbolic interactionism is criticised more generally by both sociologists and psychologists. For some psychologists it does not deal sufficiently with the emotional and irrational. Also subjectivity is subsumed under face-to-face interaction, e.g. women may experience the world differently from men, but power is left out of the analysis which cannot explain the exclusion of women from certain areas of interaction. Some sociologists consider that symbolic interactionists pay too much attention to interaction, not enough to structure. The influence of structure (wealth, power) on meaning is not easily broached, and power must be more than just face-to-face. Consequently, symbolic interactionism ends up stressing the co-operative nature of human interaction, and insufficient attention is paid to coercion and structural power.

Social workers who are firmly wedded to this approach interpret people's actions simply as life-style choices, a point at which they begin, usually unwittingly, to move across into post-modernist approaches. The danger of this is that unemployment, for example, is interpreted as 'cultural' rather than economic. The inability of symbolic interactionism to deal with the structural domain may confine its contribution to the micro, and so may be of limited value in exploring fully the macro-micro interconnections. Explanations of change would not just centre on key individuals; they would be considered wholly attributable to them.

Phenomenology

Phenomenology, which here embraces ethnomethodology, partly overlaps with symbolic interactionism but there are some differences. In brief, these are that phenomenology is even more subjective since it centres on actors rather than just taking actors' views and feelings into account, and therefore presents an even more

radical rejection of structure. The focus is on people's consciousness and on meaning that arises from people's daily experiences and their attempts to make sense of them. People 'construe' their social existence, making choices about the way in which their lives should go on the basis of their experience. They plan, have intentions, are self-reflective and clearly can initiate and carry through changes.

Allied to phenomenology is ethnomethodology, which refers to theories, derived from Garfinkel (1984), which centre on the methods people use to make sense of situations and attain orderliness in dealing with others. People do not just respond to the 'dictates' of the external world, but are highly knowledgeable about social life and use this to create smoothness and order. They therefore create rules, but these are not definitive guides to action but rather starting points or background assumptions. In ethnomethodological research the minutiae of interaction between individuals is held to be very important - not simply the content of the language but the construction of interactions (pauses, interruptions, repetition in conversations, for instance). The orderliness of everyday interaction is demonstrated by, for example, experimentally breaking the rules of 'commonplace remarks' in order to gauge the reaction (Garfinkel 1984: 42-44). Since action and meaning are always tied to contexts, they cannot be understood from an external or objective standpoint. Therefore, people's accounts of their own behaviour are what matters, and consequently analysis of conversations is the key methodological approach.

A phenomenological explanation of Turners Court's development would focus on the inner world by which people created meaning and interaction. Language used, for example, in the institution's records would be important since they demonstrate active constructions of meaning. At one level this is important and is reflected in the research of boys' records that cited examples of changing forms of language. These demonstrate changes in social work practice, reflecting policies and theories underlying social work practice.

However, these records do not of themselves construct or create those changes. They may reveal changes in practice, but they do not validate links between practice and policy. They certainly do not connect beliefs and values expressed by staff to wider ideological changes reflected in the 1980's move away from social democratic ideals towards neo-Liberalism, for example, with its emphasis on free market forces, reduction in state involvement in welfare and promotion of individualism. Indeed a phenomenological approach would fail to provide any framework for considering macro forces at all. Hence, assessing the influence of Turners Court on social policy and the

effects of policy shifts as exemplified by the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 and Children Act 1989 would not just be difficult - the whole enterprise would be inconceivable.

More generally, phenomenology goes to an extreme that most social workers would probably reject, for it appears to deny the notion that people are subject to any external forces or influences whatsoever. Nevertheless, some theories derived from phenomenology have achieved popularity or even notoriety, the most well known probably being Laing's view of mental illness, and a brief consideration of this shows up the weakness of a phenomenological approach. For Laing, mental illness was conceived as emanating entirely from within interpersonal relationships, being created by people's inner interpretations of their own world (Laing 1970). People tied each other up in 'knots', a title used for one of Laing's books (Laing 1971), and it was the psychiatrist's job to untangle them. This firm rejection of organic explanations of mental illness was compounded by an emphatic denial of social causation other than patterns of oppression internalised by the family itself and re-enacted by the person labelled as mentally ill (Dallos and McLaughlin; Sedgwick 1982). This whole notion when translated into practice became highly oppressive. Superficially attractive to social work practitioners for its assertion of the pre-eminence of interpersonal relationships, the theory implicitly holds families, and parents in particular, as responsible for mental illness. Interpersonal factors became causal, and consequently practitioners inevitably appear to 'blame' individual family members for creating the mental 'illness' (Clare 1980: 189-196). Indeed the mentally 'ill' person is not perceived as 'ill' at all, merely regressing into an inner fantasy world, with its own language and thought processes, which makes sense to them and affords an escape from intolerable pressures:

> *Without exception the experience and behaviour that gets labelled*
> *schizophrenic is a special strategy that a person invents in order to live in an*
> *unliveable situation.*

Laing 1967: 95

It is not difficult to see how an individual is then regarded as responsible for creating their own illness, but as the 'innocent' victim of a family who 'drives them mad'. Such a view has to deny causal factors outside of the family being wholly phenomenological in its construction. The initial attraction of such views in social work has now given way to disdain, for it is seen as potentially oppressive towards family members.

BALANCING THE MACRO AND MICRO

The foregoing discussion suggests very strongly that, returning to the telescope analogy (on page 31), there is a need to be aware of the limitations of looking through the telescope in different ways. What is left out or conflated may be just as important as what is included. What is magnified may be accorded too much prominence and some features may be distorted at the expense of others. Thus any explanation that is wholly committed to one form of analysis, albeit macro or micro, is inadequate. A way must be found to reconcile the macro and micro by holding them in balance, and by paying proportionate attention to what interconnects and intersects them. This would narrow the search for a theoretical perspective that will provide a convincing, coherent explanation of the career of Turners Court.

There are a number of potential candidates, and this half of the chapter will consider the most promising and relevant to social policy. First, post-modernism is relevant since post-structuralists challenge the whole notion of a 'totalising' structural framework constantly interacting with individuals, preferring instead to explore the constantly shifting power relations as exemplified through discourse (Watson 2000: 66-67; Foucault 1979; Fox 1998; Carter 1998). Attention is therefore given to post-modernist, and in particular Foucauldian, ideas as they might relate to social policy and social work, since these challenge preconceptions about the process of change implied particularly in structuralist theories. The discussion here will pay special attention to the questions raised by post-modernism and the belated attempts by social policy to respond to these. While the assumptions and conclusions made by post-modernist theories may be debatable, it is accepted that there is something to learn from the post-modernism refutation of a rational linear progression in political history and social policy. The chapter then considers theories that actively promote the integration of macro and micro. Reflecting the interdisciplinary nature of social policy as an academic specialism three specific approaches are highlighted as having the most direct relevance to this research: systems theory of the kind that has had a great deal of influence on social work practice; Goffman's analysis of institutions from a social psychological perspective; and finally contemporary sociological approaches including structuration theory and Layder's response to the macro-micro challenge.

Post-modernism: Foucault

Post-modernists such as Foucault attempt to synthesise or fuse the macro with the micro, thereby avoiding the danger of over-emphasising one to the exclusion of the other. Foucault's work in particular is appealing since it combines "both structuralist

approaches with social constructionism", presenting a new model of power and a "break with humanism inasmuch as it de-centres the individual as the prior agent in creating the social world" (Fox 1998: 428, 417). For this reason it is worthy of attention. It may also be reasonably safely regarded as representative of this genre.

For Foucault, power is not conceived as the property of one group who 'own' it and exercise it to the detriment of other individuals or groups (Foucault 1979). Rather power is a 'fluid' concept that "operates in a capillary-like fashion constituting all social relations"; it is not a given, it is "exchanged" (Watson 2000: 67). Subjects are therefore both the "targets of power and its articulation" (ibid.). The implication of this is that structure is not fixed or determinant or even top-down, as Marxists and others presuppose, but nor is it created by individuals and therefore no more than the simple aggregate of individual constructions and alliances. Thus, power relations at a given time might or might not promote the needs of capital; they may partially promote it and may do so at some times and not others. For the whole notion of power, for Foucault, is complex. Its operation can best be analysed through an interrogation of discourse which often reveals that benign policies can have "complex and contradictory effects" (Watson 2000: 75). This conception of power marries with Layder's research map, in the sense that Layder views power as one of the key dynamic forces, the other being history (see on page 39).

Foucault's work is challenging for a number of reasons, for Foucault, along with other post-modernists, points to the way in which reality is constructed. To the post-modernist the idea of an objective, absolute truth is questionable. In attacking the linear or evolutionary view of history, Foucault's contribution is to challenge the notion of some 'global discourse' or discovery of "concepts and theories which provided coherence to this [historical] process" (Swingewood 2000: 195). In Foucault's view, perspectives that focus on the individual, or subjectivities, ignore the creation of meaning through social discourse. The humanist view that people create meaning as individuals has to make way for recognition of the social construction of meanings for 'subjectivity' is "itself achieved through discourse" (Fox 1998: 418). This is important since humanism can be accused of assuming that meaning is created out of nothing, or from within the subject, whereas Foucault points to the availability of meanings, which are socially constructed, from which the individual can choose. To put it metaphorically, in order to create shopping by visiting a supermarket, phenomenologists assume the shopper has total freedom of choice, whereas in fact the kinds of choice are limited by the availability of certain goods on the shelves. Not only that but the whole concept of

shopping is created and perpetuated through discourse which constructs the 'shopper's world'.

For this reason, Foucault argues for the 'decentring' of the individual, meaning moving the focus more towards the discourse or social practices or social relations through which subjects are constructed. This shifts the analysis towards the power of discourse and particularly language. Language is important since it is the vehicle through which individuals construct their meaning, but Foucault points out that it is never innocent or neutral (nor presumably, value free). As a demonstration of the power of language, he cites the discourse of medicine which controls psychiatry and the treatment of the mentally ill (Foucault 1989; O'Brien and Penna 1998), a point also pursued in Sedgwick (1982). The power vested in doctors to control patients through the discourse of medicine and biological technologies is similarly replicated in other spheres; for example, legal language is lawyers' means of exercising power over their clients. It is not too difficult to see because of this how social work also has a form of language (for example: 'service user', 'challenging behaviour', 'empowerment') that likewise supposedly enables it as a profession to exercise power and control (Rojek 1988 especially chapter 4; Howe 1994). Social work is also deeply implicated in a "discourse which turns people into subjects of professions" (Fox 1998: 416) and in surveillance, exercising "the power to judge, to police, to diagnose and treat, to educate and to assess and supervise" which together constitute 'the disciplinary society' (O'Brien and Penna 1998: 117).

How then do Foucault's ideas help with a macro-micro analysis? Whilst Foucault does not explicitly address the macro-micro distinction, his work can be understood as an attempt to bring structure and action, and therefore the macro and micro, together. Power and knowledge are intertwined; the state is not perceived as a 'concentrated site of power'. There are "innumerable points of confrontation" and many strategies of resistance (Watson 2000: 68). In short, a complex dynamic process is always in evidence, and the macro constantly interrelates with the micro and vice versa. Foucault is, without doubt, very strong on the historical perspective, as witnessed by his histories of sexuality, medicine, mental illness and law enforcement (Foucault 1979, 1989, 1990).

A post modernist interpretation of the history of Turners Court would be illuminating in a number of ways. Such an analysis would draw attention to the issue of power in a specific way, focusing on discourse, the production of knowledge and resistance. It would seek to analyse the role of Turners Court in relation to, for example, social

control imposed through therapeutic 'treatment' and carried out by 'professionals'. The connection between professional identities and knowledge is as relevant to Turners Court as it is to other spheres such as youth work more generally (Tucker 1997). While there are overriding reasons, cited below, for rejection of a wholly post-modernist approach to the study, one insight offered by such an approach is the refutation of a linear historical progression. Turners Court may not simply have evolved in accordance with prevailing social policy and structural needs. At times, the imposition of control was resisted and contested: one example would be the consistent refusal of the organisation to become a resource available to the court system as highlighted in Chapters 5 and 6. The irony of its demise at a time when voluntary sector provision was being encouraged is easily explained by post-modernists, for this apparent lack of congruence comes as no surprise to those who see society as fragmented and do not see social policy as rational or consistent.

A problematic relationship between social policy and post-modernism is noted, one which hints at some substantive reasons for rejecting a specifically Foucauldian approach. There is a sense in which post-modernism is incompatible with social policy (Taylor Gooby 1994; Carter 1998 chapter 2) probably because of the strong association between the welfare state and modernism. Attacking modernism implied effectively undermining the whole edifice on which social policy was constructed (Mann 1998; Hillyard and Watson 1996). Nevertheless, one strength of post-modernism is an interrogation of discourses "to see what assumptions are embedded within them". In this way

> ... we can begin to see that what may appear as a benign or positive policy may also have complex and contradictory effects.

Watson in Lewis et al. 2000: 75

Post-modern social work is "a return to consumer responsiveness and decentralised, indeed decentred, social care packages. As such it provides services for individuals rather than for society or in the name of society." (McBeath and Webb 1991: 759) Post-modernism challenges the notion of absolute truths, uniformity of service provision and generalisations of need that has led to greater importance attached to individual choice (Barry and Hallett 1998: 53). Consequently, "any intervention strategy that is adopted should be informed by the relevant community's conception of reality" (Pardeck et al. 1994: 121). The challenge of a post-modern social work world is how to respond without securities, certainties and fixed rules (Parton 1994b). Clearly the experience of Turners Court in its latter years reflects a period of uncertainty, where there appears to be no comprehensible framework, and where no consistent social policy appears to be

in evidence. However, this approach is not fully satisfactory. There are significant objections to post-modernist interpretations which centre on the conceptualisation of power.

In post-modernism there is a real danger that power becomes synonymous with state or society, and this risks both a charge of determinism, and an accusation of making functionalist assumptions. Conversely and ironically, too much emphasis on discourse makes it unclear where power lies and risks an "over-emphasis on agency" (Fox 1998: 417, 420). Taken together this means that Foucault's conception of power is elastic; it is unclear where power lies and therefore we cannot ask how various forms of power relate to each other. Another problem with this conception of power is that it has difficulty explaining why anything should change. Why are challenges to discourse sometimes successful and sometimes not? Can this kind of power be resisted? If it is so fragmented, why is it often so effective, and in some contexts so oppressive? Can individuals do nothing about it? The limitation of Foucault's analysis as regards these questions suggests that he has not successfully resolved the macro-micro dilemma, and so we may need to look to theories that adopt a more specific and clearer framework for connecting macro and micro.

Social work theory: a systems approach

As an example of a theory that offers social work practitioners a means of relating the micro to a broader frame of reference, systems theory may be worth considering. Indeed, any theoretical exposition of social work must acknowledge the systems 'approach' not least because it became authoritative in social work in the 1970s and 1980s (Clarke 1993: 60-62). Part of the attraction of this theory for social workers was precisely that it set out a framework that enabled individuals' actions to be analysed in context, with due regard potentially paid to structural influences. The comprehensiveness of the theory with its overriding ambition to move away from a presupposition that the individual, group, community and social are separate entities, led some proponents to label this the 'unitary' or 'integrated' approach to social work practice (Specht and Vickery 1977).

The principal advantage claimed by systems theory is that it does not start with isolated individuals, or even "the social system which is said to mould individual conduct in distinctive ways" (Rojek 1988: 138). Instead, it focuses on interactions, acknowledging different levels at which systems operate, starting with family, friends and neighbours moving right through to government agencies. Pincus and Minahan (1973; also in Specht and Vickery 1977) speculate that the systems are not always in harmony and

therefore use the notion of working with 'client systems', 'targets systems' as the object of change, and 'action systems' as a means of connecting systems together.

Systems theory is discussed here as there are obvious ways in which it could be used to help analyse and explain Turners Court's role in social work. Turners Court itself could be seen as a 'system,' with attention paid to the interactions within it. Even within Turners Court there are a number of 'sub-systems': the houses, the trades, the various clubs such as Scouts to which boys could choose to belong. Systems theory could also help to explain antisocial behaviour as a product of family systems operating prior to admission, or else related to peer group systems in Turners Court. Moving outwards, Turners Court's role within social work could be seen as part of the social welfare 'system', which in turn relates to broader political, economic and social systems. Above all, a systemic approach would affirm that institutions and groups are more than just agglomerations of people, acquiring a sense of identity that transcended the totality of people that comprise it, expressed through a set of values, rituals, transactions and interactions. Systems are 'more than the sum of the individual parts' (Ruegger and Johns 1997).

Whilst this approach is superficially attractive to practitioners, from a theoretical standpoint there are a number of potential objections. Of key significance is the accusation that systems theory is ahistorical in the sense that it takes the wider social, political and economic system or systems as a given. There is an implicit assumption that power relationships are more or less fixed, and that individuals respond and adapt in complicity with the mechanistic self-preservation processes that occur in a biological organism. All that appears to be at stake is adaptation to the changing needs of the wider social, economic and political structure. Furthermore, systems theory talks of mechanisms for controlling conflicts and responding to external threats by drawing the analogy of a central heating system, a biological organism or even an engineering model (von Bertalanffy 1971, Coulshed 1998, Payne 1997). In such models the emphasis is on maintenance of internal equilibrium with an inbuilt natural defensive mechanisms for adaptation. This gives rise to major criticisms of systems theory concerning the extent to which it talks literally of the system as if it were a 'tangible presence' (Rojek 1988: 140). It fails to recognise that the concept of a system is always to be used metaphorically, and consequently systems theorists are misled into believing that people somehow construct real systems for themselves, and do so through language and shared meanings (Dallos 1991).

This inevitably implies a consciousness that is highly questionable: people construct systems, and do so through shared meanings in which language merely reflects these meanings and has no specific power within itself. People are central in this process. This contrasts with the Foucauldian analysis in two key respects. Firstly, there is the notion that language has power through discourse, and therefore there is not a fixed, definitive relationship between language and meaning. Secondly, Foucault argues persuasively for the need to 'de-centre' the subject. Power relationships are more complex than systems theory appears to suggest, and discourse has a crucial role to play in formulating social relationships in the social world.

In terms of a macro-micro analysis, systems theory would start with micro interactions but would claim to recognise the macro context, locating different levels within it. Obvious objections to this approach are that it runs the risk of understating the macro, perceiving it as no more than an extension of the micro at a different level. In other words the macro is no more nor less than the accumulation of sets of micro level relationships. Criticisms of systems theory applied to social work practice appear to support this objection. Some conclude that by implication systems theory is no more than an elaboration of functionalism (Clarke 1993: 61; Mishra 1983: 9). A powerful critique comes from feminist commentators who lambaste the tendency of systems theory to presuppose that a given family structure is somehow 'natural' (Williams and Watson 1988). Consequently, the argument runs, the family becomes disconnected from social, political and economic systems. This enables social workers to focus on the family uncritically as an entity, condoning inequalities as lifestyle choices and focusing attention on those families who appear to be 'malfunctioning' or, even worse, pathological. A systemic approach can therefore be regarded as resistant to change, and intolerant of challenges to inequalities. Indeed the whole notion of change becomes problematic. A biological organism is constructed of physiological processes that are life-preserving and when under threat, deploys a number of mechanisms for ensuring survival. Yet it cannot move outside of itself. Likewise a central heating system can be constructed of mechanisms to ensure the temperature is neither too high or too low, yet cannot make radical changes to itself and certainly not of the kind that leads to a reconstruction of the system. Both models therefore lead to the kind of conservation that readily transmutes into conservatism, meaning that only certain kinds of change are permissible within the natural tendency to restore to a given order. Such a model is patently ill equipped to explain the source of change. For this it may be necessary to look to theories that are somewhat more macro orientated.

If systems theory work were to be used as the sole means of analysing events and developments at Turners Court, some of these weaknesses in the theory would become apparent. Systems theory would be very useful in terms of exploring relationships between residents and staff, and potentially most valuable in supporting the notion that Turners Court created an identity for itself that somehow transcended the sum of all of those individual relationships. The systemic model works well in this regard, and may even have some viability when examining how the residential care 'system' operated in relation to both other branches of social work and other aspects of social policy devoted to the 'treatment' of young offenders.

However, there would be significant difficulties in explaining how Turners Court became incongruent with the wider social welfare system in the 1980s unless some cognisance is taken of the much broader economic and political developments of the decade, and how they impinged on Turners Court as an institution. A key plank in the argument put forward in this study is that the changes that occurred in the 1980s were over and above those which Turners Court could withstand, not just because of its inability to withstand external pressure, but because of a lack of congruence of certain internal and externally related factors. Systems theory tends to imply a degree of malleability and responsiveness that only ceases in extreme circumstances, and implies that threats to existence come entirely from without. In such an eventuality, there is a complete disintegration of the 'system'. In the case of Turners Court it would be difficult to say what specific external factors led to a complete break down since much of what Turners Court stood for conformed to the prevailing political ideology (it was a voluntary organisation, it trained young people for employment, it was selective, and so on). Rather it is contended that there were a number of factors which, coming together in a particular way at a particular time, led to a lack of congruence. It is not simply a question of a machine or organism constantly being moulded or adapting in a constantly changing world. Some of the processes operating were much more subtle than systems theory implies, reflecting a constant interplay of factors, a constant interaction of macro and micro forces.

Goffman: including insights from social psychology

An attractive strategy, in this respect, is offered by Goffman. His theory directly addresses the intersection of the macro and micro. For Goffman

> *even the most micro situation, the train or supermarket queue, exemplifies the workings of the interaction order, with individuals accepting its inherent orderliness and basis in egalitarian principles.*

<div align="right">Swingewood 2000: 174-5</div>

This is more than 'individuals passively accepting the rules'. It relates to an interaction order. This form of social Interaction is not just a reflection of wider social institutions, but has its own distinctive characteristics and operates relatively independently. Four key elements of Goffman's view may be identified (Rawls 1987).

The first is the needs of the social self, which may result in a discrepancy between the front that the person conveys and their real self. This "presentation of self in everyday life" (Goffman 1959) connects role theory to people's capacity for presenting different aspects of themselves in different situations. People are viewed as role-playing creatures in a scripted social world, with a distinction made, following the theatrical analogy, between front and back stages. Here Goffman "captures the central sociological fact that people are skilled agents who engage in very complex social interactions" (Tucker 1998: 77).

In Goffman's (1968) well-known work on asylums, much is made of the capacity of institutions to influence identity and on individuals' mechanisms for preserving their own individual identity. This analysis of institutions has been extraordinarily influential in exploring this second element of individual resistance to external control of self-identity. It has pointed up particularly the power of 'total institutions', that is institutions that are virtually self-contained and where a high degree of power is exercised over people who live within them, even if residence in the institution is voluntary. In addition to the obvious examples of custodial institutions, total institutions would include boarding schools (Gooch 1996), colonies founded for the care of people with disabilities (of which Turners Court was an offshoot) and the monastic tradition (Brandon in Jack 1998).

The third element is that the interaction order is a domain in which meaning is produced. This is more than just individuals creating a meaning for themselves as in, for example, Kelly's (1963) personal construct theory, or in simply performing a social

role. Rather it refers to meaning arising from negotiations between individuals and from their involvement in particular situations.

The fourth element is the moral dimension of social interaction, that is, the interaction order depends upon moral commitment of participants since collaboration is often essential. Here can be discerned a clear difference between the strong moral, evangelistic commitment in evidence at Turners Court in 1911 and the 1960s (evangelist meaning Christian in 1911 and humanistic in the 1960s) with the fragmentation and virtual collapse of a any agreed set of values, other than the imperative of trying to keep the institution going, in evidence in the 1980s.

The primary attraction of Goffman's work to the researcher is that in addition to an abiding interest in interaction, his work includes clear indications of an awareness of the importance of structural forces (Burns 1992). Links between social encounters and the wider social structure, are coupled with an acknowledgement that they are not totally separated and isolated, but directly implicated in each other, being interrelated and interwoven. Through language, for example, society is integrated through everyday conversation, which reaffirms a shared reality. Rules link interactional practices and structures: for example, junior staff not interrupting their bosses when speaking, or the first come first served rule of queuing, although this latter can be modified by social status or informal discrimination: for an example concerning queue jumping in public schools see Lambert (1968: 180-181). All of this commends Goffman's framework as one which makes sense of institutions such as Turners Court.

Goffman does far more than draw attention exclusively to what people actually communicate (verbally or non-verbally) to each other in everyday encounters. Sometimes what people do not communicate is of considerable importance. Equally, what goes on 'back-stage', to adapt the Goffman analogy of role-playing, may be of immense significance. The contextualisation of interaction is taken into account by Goffman, although his theory may not be sufficiently sophisticated when it comes to analysing what drives the production and reproduction of patters of interaction (Swingewood 2000: 176). In particular, there is a lack of attention in Goffman to class and race.

Goffman's work is well worth highlighting as it does indicate some valuable points for consideration when analysing Turners Court as a focus of interaction and as a mediation point between the macro and micro. Of particular relevance may be the concept of a total institution, for there can be no doubt that given its isolation and degree of formal and informal control over residents, Turners Court certainly fulfilled

the criteria for inclusion in this category. In the early years, men never left premises until they were discharged, which in some cases was several years after admission. In the 1980s, boys were expected to remain for all of an academic term before going home (or in some cases into care) for a short holiday. There can be no doubt that Turners Court established a particular culture linked to its name and this institutional ethos permeated the actions of staff and, to some extent, residents. This is an important aspect of the research and the operation of formal and informal rules linked to this institutional culture provides a key element in the analysis of the data.

Yet Goffman's attention to the macro might justifiably be considered insufficient, so in the final analysis some adjustment will need to be made for this. In short Goffman's analysis is strong on what goes on inside the institution and what perpetuates it from within, but not so strong on the threats and opportunities the 'outside' world poses to it. For this reference may need to be made to a broader framework, through which it may be possible to work towards some kind of model.

Contemporary sociological theories

No discussion of current sociological thought would be complete without reference to the work of Giddens, and most especially in this context, structuration theory. Giddens rejects the idea that structural forces determine behaviour for this plays up to the assumption that structure and action are separate. Giddens' view is that people are not simply compelled by outside forces, they are 'knowledgeable agents' always capable of resistance and transformation (Giddens 1984: 281-2). Therefore, people's everyday behaviour does matter and is an important aspect of a proper analysis. Indeed his structuration theory "defines society as the product of skilled, knowledgeable and reflexive agents" although this does not mean that the agents are the "source of society and the centre of meaning" (Swingewood 2000: 209).

Since human beings are capable of reflexive monitoring of their own activity, they can modify their own circumstances. Structures (rules and resources actors draw upon as they produce and reproduce society in their activities) enable as well as constrain, and people are not entirely helpless, although they do not have unlimited resources. It is important therefore to acknowledge people's reasons and intentions since these play a key role in the creation and re-creation of social life. Researchers need to be

> *sensitive to the complex skills which actors have in co-ordinating the contexts of their day-to-day behaviour ... Social life may very often be predictable in its course... But its predictability is in many of its aspects*

*'made to happen' by social actors; it does not happen in spite of the reasons
they have for their conduct.*

<div align="right">Cassell 1993: 153-4</div>

Giddens' ideas would be useful in helping to research Turners Court for there is a real
danger that a case study might concern itself too much with the role of individual
agents and all explanations would then centre around the unique characteristics of the
organisation itself. Whilst there is no denying that there are certain unique features of
Turners Court, it would be erroneous to ascribe all aspects of its history and
development to the actions of individuals who worked there or were members of its
Management Committee. Conversely, it would be equally wrong to assume that
Turners Court was merely a ship in the sea of structural forces, buffeted by the various
winds of change. The analysis in Chapter 6 of the effects on Turners Court's existence
of wider changes in Britain in the 1980s suggested that the economic, social and
political context probably rendered plans to 'save' the institution futile. A straightforward
narrative account of the history of Turners Court, such as was produced by Menday
(1998), has difficulty accounting for all of this and indeed can only do so by implying
that there is some kind of 'blame' to be laid on individuals. This risks an injustice. It
overstates the power of individuals to protect an organisation against wider social
forces and fails sufficiently to acknowledge the growing gap between a voluntary
organisation and those who were, to use a contemporary concept, its stakeholders.

It needs to be noted that there have been a number of criticisms of Giddens' views. For
example, he stands accused of collapsing structure into agency (Swingewood 2000);
he cannot explain the durability of social institutions, deflecting attention away from the
distribution of resources (Layder 1994). Yet his approach does move some way
towards justifying paying considerable attention to the macro-micro interface. Likewise,
Giddens' ideas are useful and valuable in helping to promote an appropriate balance
between structural forces and the individual played out in the macro-micro
interconnections, which in the research chapters were, following Layder, labelled
"situated activity" and "intermediate social organisation". Nevertheless there may be
other views that help explain the dynamic forces that operate within those two
intermediate areas.

Layder himself (1994) has presented a systematic examination of a number of other
sociological responses to the macro-micro challenge. These are summarised in the
following table:

Table 17: Layder's analysis of various macro-micro theories

THEORIST	PRINCIPAL PROPOSITION	REASONS FOR REJECTING THEORY
Bourdieu	notion of habitus (a 'durable set of dispositions' derived from experience, culture or circumstances, and background)	dissolves objective structures into activity
Alexander Münch neo-functionalists	attempts to integrate the macro and the micro should begin from a collectivist position	repeats the danger of neglecting face-to-face conduct; not truly flexible enough to 'reach down' into lived experience of everyday life
Dorothy Smith	macro and micro are intertwined and 'mutually implicated', 'interfused'	analysis actually starts at the macro level with the nature of capitalism and patriarchy
Habermas	life-world	does not adequately deal with multiplicity of sites and levels at which power exists
Norbert Elias	figuration theory: interweaving nature of different aspects of social life	individuals are 'dissolved into social processes; no distinction between individuals and situated conduct
Turner	macro and micro simply offer different kinds of insights, attempts to link are premature	macro and micro are tightly interwoven but are also distinct aspects of social reality, with own distinctive properties

adapted from Layder 1994

On the basis of his comprehensive consideration of these and other theories, Layder draws the firm conclusion that any theory that assumes that the macro wholly determines the micro must be deficient. Likewise, any theory that assumes that the macro is simply an agglomeration of micro processes is also inadequate. He acknowledges that it is "all too easy to jump from the idea that individuals are social beings" to the conclusion "that there are no barriers at all between the individual and the social world" (Layder 1994: 208). He argues that individuals creatively resist and embrace the culture and structure that surrounds them. In addition, they possess a unique 'psycho-biography', which is a 'store-house' and 'generator' of behaviour. This does not mean social analysis has to be individual centred, but it must acknowledge the different levels at which society operates. In this respect, research based on the macro-micro approach is likely to be more fruitful than that which uses structure and agency or some of the other dualisms. Ultimately this leads Layder to argue for a

sophisticated eclecticism, claiming that the word eclectic has too many negative connotations. It is acceptable in his view to 'pare down and prune' inadequate aspects of theories from different schools 'while retaining those features that have enduring significance.' Indeed, it is essential to do this since no theory adequately charts the connections between macro and micro phenomena. Thus, he advocates using a range of different viewpoints, comprising a 'multi-perspectival social theory'.

This line of argument appears highly persuasive. It offers a number of specific advantages for analysis of a case study which stands at the macro-micro intersection.

First, since social work is in essence about dealing with individual people it would seem appropriate to use an approach that acknowledges the importance of the individual, yet locates the individual's potential for action as being within a framework which is, at least to some extent, not of their own creation. Wholly structural accounts must necessarily be dismissive of individual action and, when applied to social work, negate not just the value of social work but its very feasibility in any shape or form, implying that power always lies at a structural level and therefore all individuals must remain forever powerless, like puppets on a string. Such a determinist view is to be firmly rejected. At the same time, it would be naive to assume that the potential for individual action is unlimited or unrestrained. Such an assumption would regard powerlessness simply as the product of an individual's thought process, and so empowerment presumably simply becomes a matter of reordering one's own thoughts and self-perceptions, and acquiring skills in asserting one's own wishes over others. This inevitably denies the existence of power at a social, or even a group level, and likewise is inherently inadequate.

This leads to the second merit of Layder's analysis which is that it argues strongly for a theoretical positioning between the two extremes without trying to take an easy escape route. He does not accept the argument that macro and micro, structure and agency are all blended or melded into one, which appears to be the supposition underlying Foucault and much of post-modernist thought. Nor does he opt for denial by saying that there is 'no such thing' as a macro and micro distinction or that drawing such a distinction is to engage in a falsity. Rather he appears to be suggesting, to coin an illustrative metaphor for him, that there is a photograph to be taken, but that it is important to direct the camera appropriately. There is a foreground and a landscape but it is not always clear which is which, yet there can be no doubt that both do exist. Difficulties in drawing sharp distinctions are just that - difficulties, not impossibilities or deceptions.

From this it could be argued that research always needs to relate the macro to the micro in a way that acknowledges that the macro and micro are distinct yet intertwined. Whether this is accepted or not, it is certainly clear that Layder argues for the feasibility of relating the macro and micro, and this is the third merit of his contribution. Furthermore, he offers guidelines as to how this can be achieved, supporting the idea of a methodological middle way which is not a weak compromise, but a strong assertion of the reality of social life with potential for individual action within shifting boundaries and alliances.

If this seems self-contradictory, more paradoxical still would be the fourth point, which is that Layder argues for an eclectic approach within a framework of intellectual rigour that incorporates the dimension of power and history (for illustration in relation to research approaches see Table 2 at page 40 above). He eschews grand theory in favour of employing different perspectives from different theories. Curiously, in this sense he is at one with social work practice, which is notorious for using a combination of insights from various schools of psychology, sociology and other social sciences. Yet, the difference is that social work is not founded on a systematic application of theory. It sometimes feels as though the selection is made on the basis of personal preference, with an element of subjectivity that propels practitioners to keep to 'pet' theories even when they are demonstrably inadequate. Layder, by contrast, argues for a comprehensive examination based on a willingness to consider a variety of theories, an openness to different interpretations or perspectives.

CONCLUSION

Returning to the original aims of this thesis, the arguments put forward by Layder (above) justifying and advocating a multi-perspectival approach appear compelling. The development of social work in this century, and the life of Turners Court as a residential care institution, need to be interpreted and analysed through different perspectives. No one grand theory is likely to suffice. Yet there needs to be a focus, and here the work of Goffman may be of special relevance to Turners Court, principally because of the focus on the power of the institution. A key aspect of Goffman is the importance attached to the formulation of an institution's identity through its customs and belief systems. Turners Court exemplifies many of those: its admissions policies and processes, its adoption of a public school kind of regime with houses and housemasters, its formal religious services, the symbolic significance of the farm, and so on. Nevertheless, the criticisms Goffman attracts are merited in the sense that there

is insufficient recognition of the control over institutions themselves, specifically in relation to economic and social forces.

A model would offer an indication of the overall picture of macro-micro interconnections. Turners Court itself shows interactions and micro social processes brought together almost literally under one roof. As a case study. it is a microcosm of forces operating at the very broadest level: social, economic, political, legal and cultural. It represents a point of intersection between the macro and the micro for it 'trained' boys and young men for the world beyond it, yet its mode of training (or social work method) reflected not just the expectations of the wider world but also the Turners Court world which had a life and identity of its own. A model effectively illustrates this by holding together the macro, micro and interconnecting elements through identification of common factors, these being economic/financial, social policy/law, belief systems/values and technical/knowledge. Within these quarters, specific features can then be identified, as in the Models pertaining to 1911, the 1960s and at closure, presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 respectively.

The representation of the model as a circle is important since this indicates that macro elements all interlock and are generally congruent with each other. The jigsaw element, indicating interlocking of the various factors within a given quarter is also important since this illustrates how the macro is in a constant dynamic interrelationship with the micro and vice versa. A simplified version of what happened to Turners Court in the 1980s will demonstrate this.

Model 4: Turners Court at closure

From this it will be seen that it is elements within the quarters, the macro-micro interconnecting features, that are crucial. The macro stays connected, but when moving towards the micro, gaps begin to appear, growing larger as we move towards the micro. Thus Turners Court is disconnected in several crucial areas and disintegrates. This representation moves beyond the notion that Turners Court's career as a social welfare institution simply reflected and demonstrates certain structural changes. It also moves beyond the competing set of explanations that would suggest that Turners Court was in control of its own destiny, created itself of its own volition, and chose to close down in 1991. The model represents an attempt to convey the complexity of the dynamic processes that occur in reality. It opens up the debate about the extent to which Turners Court accurately reflected shifts in changes in social policy and social work practices. It legitimises questions about the internal workings of the organisation, and the processes by which they impart their sets of values to staff and residents. Naturally, this leads on to a focus on the organisation of Turners Court itself and the history of choices made by the managers and those who held power within the institution, the management style, culture and the belief systems that underpinned the organisation (Bennett 1994). Yet the parameters within which these policy-makers worked, the framework of decision-making already set, meant their scope for action was necessarily limited for whole number of factors indicated in the model.

Once the model is applied, it facilitates a clearer analysis of the development of Turners Court. Such an analysis is not tied to any particular framework, and so satisfies the Layder requirement for informed eclecticism, yet does so within a consistent framework that avoids the temptation to apply theoretical understanding haphazardly. It is not a prescription for theoretical anarchy but a model for clarity. The final Chapter demonstrates this by applying the model to Turners Court at its closure in the quest for a convincing explanation as to why it closed. On this basis it is put forward as a model that has potential applicability to any residential social work institution, indeed it may have an even wider application, for it focuses on the dynamic processes in a way that integrates the macro and micro successfully.

Chapter 8

TURNERS COURT, THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL WORK AND MODELS OF CHANGE

MAKING CONNECTIONS

This chapter brings together the data from Chapters 4, 5, and 6 in order to address the more substantive questions raised in the thesis. These relate not just to the history of social work but also to the theoretical discussions in Chapter 7 and the construction of a model for the analysis of change. The specific intentions here, reflecting the aims outlined in Chapter 1, are:

1. to provide an overview explanatory account of the founding of Turners Court and its subsequent development in the history of social work, setting out reasons for its progress and eventual demise;

2. on the basis of the examination conducted in earlier chapters, to develop and refine a model that may assist in relating the macro to the micro in the context of changes in social policy and social work practice;

3. to assess the effectiveness of current theory in accounting for the development of one form of social work, indicating what revisions may be necessary as a consequence of the investigation.

In order to realise these ambitions, it is important to start by saying something about the typicality of Turners Court's experience. Having drawn some conclusions from this, the discussion in the first part of this final chapter continues with a synopsis of Turners Court's development over its 80-year history, concentrating on the factors that ceased to be in synchrony during the final years. The reasons for closure are analysed through the application of a model of Turners Court's development, a model that highlights the macro and micro features most pertinent to social work organisations. Some examples are presented as to how the model might be applied, focusing on how both macro and micro are integrated. Attributing appropriate weighting to macro and micro is challenging, but the case of Turners Court does indicate that the micro may be of greater significance than social policy explanations traditionally suggest.

Providing an adequate theoretical account of the integration of macro and micro forces has been a prevailing theme throughout this thesis. Therefore, it would be apposite to evaluate the research methodology in order to assess its overall adequacy and suggest refinements. The second part of this chapter evaluates the research framework

adopted with special reference to its potential application for social policy, reflecting on earlier conclusions about the adequacy of competing social science theories.

Finally, the Chapter concludes with a summary of what the study has demonstrated about the history of social work. It is argued that focusing on one case has provided a deeper understanding of ways in which residential care developed in Britain, and this history indicates a complex relationship between social policy and actual day-to-day social work practice.

How typical is Turners Court's experience?

Before exploring the typicality of Turners Court's experience, something more needs to be said about generalisability. Building on the earlier discussion of methodology (page 25 above), the notion that it is not possible to draw general conclusions from case studies needs to be firmly refuted. There are strong grounds for this.

First, a great deal of evidence has been amassed to demonstrate interconnections between the macro and micro played out in Turners Court. In each of the chapters that addressed particular phases in the development of Turners Court, care was taken to relate these to parallel developments in social work (Chapter 5 page 85, Chapter 6 page 131, Chapter 7 page 179).

Second, a more complex argument relates to the notion of generalisability itself and its relevance when applied to case studies. Gomm, Hammersley, and Foster (2000) devote a great deal of attention to this, concluding that case study researchers must meet the generalisability challenge and might best do this by breaking away from traditional conceptions of social science. Such conceptions appear to demand statistical testing of generalisability, yet a preoccupation with that kind of validity testing would not accord with contemporary epistemology. There has been a significant shift away from positivism, with its preoccupation with causality, towards a substantial emphasis on the need to understand the construction of human action. Without repeating previous points (made in an earlier argument in Chapter 2 page 15), it may be worth reiterating that the quest to use case studies for nomothetic (rule-seeking) purposes is fruitless (Eckstein 2000: 132). A different approach to generalisability is advocated, one which includes drawing theoretical inferences. It needs to be acknowledged that case studies perform different tasks. By offering uniquely rich data they "take us to places where most of us would not have an opportunity to go"; yet they offer the reader detailed information not normally accessible in a way that allows readers to use their own different interpretations (Donmoyer 2000: 61). In doing this they try to convince the reader that this case demonstrates what is also happening in

other cases, and that what was happening generally applies to this particular case. The temptation for the case study researcher is to argue complete typicality in the quest for research credibility, yet this is contradictory: individual cases are by their very nature unique.

Thus it would be foolish to argue that events and developments at Turners Court were exactly replicated throughout Britain, and that based on a sample of one it is possible to predict what might happen in like circumstances, for this is wholly to misconceive the validity of case study research. Rather it is contended that Turners Court sheds light on processes that occur when a social work organisation, not under the direct control of statutory bodies, responds to shifts in social policy and changes in social work practice. Specifically here Turners Court's experience needs to be examined in relation to its role as a representative residential care establishment, as a therapeutic institution, and latterly in the 1980s, as a residential school for young people for with special educational needs, when it considered opting into the special school system. For these represent the organisation's attempt to respond to change and may indeed reflect developments that occurred elsewhere. Furthermore, attention to the micro offers opportunities for reflection on processes that occur within organisations, and stimulates a discussion about the inevitability of the demise of residential care institutions.

Turners Court and residential care

In the case of Turners Court as part of residential social work the uniqueness issue is unavoidable. There were features that were truly exceptional, and a key argument is that some of these influenced its closure whilst other establishments survived. Yet its demise has parallels with the fate of residential care generally, and some of the prevailing macro forces affected the whole residential sector of social work. Significantly, one interviewee attributed the demise of Turners Court to 'zeitgeist', implying that the whole notion was out of keeping with the spirit of the time (Interview 4). Some evidence that supports this was presented in Chapter 7 in relation to youth justice: the treatment approach which CHEs exemplified was rejected in favour of a justice approach predicated on custody not care. Although Turners Court was not a CHE, it had an unmistakable likeness and whilst its differences mattered a great deal to those who worked there, a casual observer would be forgiven for being unable to make the distinction.

Furthermore, Turners Court's demise accords with broader trends in residential care. The numbers of children's homes dropped sharply in the 1980s. Sinclair and Gibbs (1998) cite official figures demonstrating a reduction from 29,000 residents in

community homes in 1979 (31 percent of those in care) to 11,000 (17 percent) in 1990. This led Parker and Loughran (cited in Berridge and Brodie 1998: 16) to conclude that the number of children in public care seems to be more closely linked to supply led factors in what can be afforded, rather than levels of needs. In Warwickshire, all local authority children's homes were closed. This was partly influenced by negative views of residential childcare, a lack of clarity about the purpose of such care, and the fact that a significant number of social workers opposed it. In the case of Warwickshire, the use of residential care did not cease altogether, but its use was much diminished, with foster care extended to provide for adolescents, albeit with some suspicion that some youngsters were redirected to residential schools (Cliffe with Berridge 1991). Indeed, in an earlier study, Berridge (1985) had demonstrated that children's homes were a misnomer as the majority of residents in such homes were adolescents. The outcome of the Warwickshire policy was achievement of the goal of closing children's homes, although with some caveats about the quality of placements and use of boarding schools as substitutes. This development militated against the kind of care that Turners Court offered since it implies that specialist foster carers could have provided care for the 'target group' equally successfully, and along lines that more closely accorded with the principles and philosophy of the Children act 1989.

It may be worth elaborating this last point. The Children Act 1989, through its associated regulations and guidance, laid out clear principles for placement which it is unlikely Turners Court could accommodate. Firstly, there was a requirement for children to be placed locally, by implication in an area similar to that in which they lived. An isolated rural community centred on a farm scarcely accorded with the backgrounds of the young men from Inner London boroughs who tended to be sent there in the late 1980s. Furthermore, the exhortation to take into account racial and cultural needs when placing children conflicted with the fact that Turners Court was an almost exclusively white institution. The issue of race is scarcely mentioned in Turners Court's records, despite a long history of black residents: in 1934 Turners Court were seeking placement with a 'showman' or a 'situation' in a zoo for a 'coloured' boy of 15 (Case 32) Interviewees, with one exception (Interview 7), did not generally consider this to be an important element in explaining its closure. The researcher is left with an abiding impression that there was a significant proportion of young black men at Turners Court for whom the experience was entirely inappropriate. Thirdly, the sheer isolation of Turners Court militated against the notion of working in partnership with parents; although ostensibly this was encouraged, it was not practical, especially when parents lived at some considerable distance. Research had already demonstrated the

importance of parental contact, for without it there was the danger of becoming "lost in care" (Millham et al. 1986).

One could argue against these limitations by suggesting that the special needs of young people should override them, especially given the paramountcy of the welfare principles enshrined in section 1(3) of the Children Act 1989. Arguably, there would still be a need for provision for young offenders who had substantial emotional and relationship difficulties. These would not be met by custody, but rather through a more therapeutic environment, but with additional security to allay public anxiety (Millham, Bullock and Hosie (1978) provide a history of secure units). However, the evidence suggests that secure units trod an uneasy path between therapy and control, and indeed the whole notion of secure therapeutic units appears contradictory. The high costs of such units resulted in the closure of several, despite direct funding by the Department of Health and local authorities, and the key finding of one major study of a secure unit attached to a List D School (equivalent of a CHE) in Scotland revealed underlying ideological conflicts. The rhetoric of therapy, reform and change was not matched by the reality of their use as punishment for those who could not be contained in the open units (Kelly 1992). In any case, it seems unlikely that Turners Court would have agreed to offer such a high degree of security, although one interviewee conceded that this had been considered, but ruled out as being wholly impractical on that site (Interview 8).

Turners Court as a therapeutic enterprise

The emphasis on therapy alluded to throughout Chapters 6 and 7 begs the question as to whether Turners Court could be properly regarded as a typical therapeutic community. Kennard (1998) identifies the key features of such communities as being: cohesiveness; sharing decisions; minimising status differences; and focusing on personality problems or social maladjustment. Individual difficulties are interpreted as an expression of emotional conflicts, and the community is seen as offering a learning process, that is learning about oneself and about others for the purpose of acquiring social skills. In this sense Turners Court conforms to a therapeutic community, except that its organisation remained relatively traditional and hierarchical. The basic equality of residents and staff, translated into sharing problems and personal issues and through staff engaging in group work directly with residents, was not a feature of Turners Court. Nevertheless, there are some interesting historical parallels. The emphasis on personal responsibility and self-reliance that characterised later developments of Turners Court echoes the early history of communities for young

offenders in the USA, especially the work of Homer Lane, founder of the 'Little Commonwealth', and later of David Wills, founder of Q camps (Wills 1971).

In the 1950s in Britain, therapeutic communities proliferated in the psychiatric field, probably because they were seen as an antidote to traditional institutions for people with chronic mental illness (Kennard 1998). With changes in approaches to mental health, and with an increasing emphasis on community care, such therapeutic communities have now diminished in number. However, a handful became important in the field of child care, of which the most well known examples were probably the Caldecott Community, Peper Harow and the Cotswold Community. Significantly some have now closed, and perhaps even more significantly senior management antagonism towards the notion of children's homes being therapeutic have been noted in at least one local authority (Cliffe with Berridge 1991: 40-41). At one stage, it looked as though there was potential for a merger between Peper Harow and Turners Court, with Peper Harow commissioned to advise the Trustees about Turners Court's future (Turners Court 1985-91). Yet Peper Harow itself has now closed, and several therapeutic institutions for adolescents have been compelled to review their functions, including the Caldecott Community. An analysis of its future acknowledged "success in maintaining a place in the marketplace of disadvantaged children" (Little 1995: 202) but also went on to warn of the need to adapt, in this case with the proposal to develop as a training resource for residential social workers employed elsewhere in the child-care field.

It is difficult to sustain the argument that Turners Court was wholly therapeutic in its approach, although the changes of the 1960s created an institution that was certainly more receptive to addressing emotional and personal relationship needs. Ironically, in terms of its closure, there are some parallels with the fate of therapeutic institutions more generally. In order to understand this, it may be more illuminating to reflect on how ideological changes in the youth justice field rendered therapeutic approaches to young offenders untenable. The reality for Turners Court was that it was perceived from the outside as a youth justice institution, whereas many who worked within it tried to project the image of a care establishment. This mirrors the distinction in the period of its foundation between those who promoted Turners Court's ability to train for employment and those who concentrated on rescuing and reforming 'fallen men'.

Turners Court and residential schools

Finally, since the coalition of social work and boarding education dominated thinking and policy debates in the 1980s, in this section a contrast is drawn between residential care and residential schools for young people with emotional and behavioural

difficulties. There is still speculation as to whether Turners Court might have survived as a residential school, and indeed there are striking parallels between the history of education for the 'maladjusted' and care for the 'deprived', as the following table suggests.

Table 18: Comparison of histories of welfare, education and health provision

STATUTES	WELFARE	JUSTICE		EDUCATION		HEALTH
1834 Poor Law Amendment Act	Workhouses	Adult prisons juvenile 'hulks'		By 1880s compulsory education highlights children with 'special needs'		Asylums for feeble-minded and morally defective
1857 Industrial Schools Act	Poor Law schools	Reform atory schools	Industrial schools			
1870 Forster's Education Act	Barnardo/NCH village homes					
1899 Education Act: special schools						
1921 Education Act: local authorities can fund maladjusted provision	Local authority children's homes	1933 Approved Schools		Child guidance clinics		Special hospitals for mentally deficient
1944 Education Act: maladjustment formal category				Schools for maladjusted	Educational psychology service	
1948 Children Act	Family group homes					
1955 Underwood Report						
1969 Children and Young Persons Act	Social Services Department Community Homes			Residential / day schools		Psychiatric special units
1981 Education Act	Professional fostering	Diversion		Special needs statements	Home tuition	Family therapy
1982 Criminal Justice Act	Specialist establishments			Pupil referral units support in mainstream		
1988 Education Reform Act	Independent sector growth					
1989 Children Act						

Adapted from Cole and Visser 1998: Table 2.1

This comparison might suggest that the distinction between community homes and special residential schools is an accident of history, although it is important to remember that lines of accountability and financing through the education service would be quite separate from those that pertain to social services departments.

Local authority schools for the 'maladjusted' were founded in the 1930s. Definitions of maladjustment were a vague 'catch-all' (Laslett 1983) and strayed well into the area covered by Turners Court, referring to 'instability', 'psychological disturbance', 'behaviour disorders', 'educational and vocational difficulties' (Ministry of Education 1955; Laslett 1977). Staff moved regularly between the two sectors (Wills 1971) whilst there was a shared constant underlying debate about the value of therapeutic environments and whether children needed boarding schools away from their local community or day-provision within it (Cole and Visser 1998). A significant similarity was that the majority of residents were male (Grimshaw with Berridge 1994). A key distinction was the emphasis placed in 'maladjusted schools' on medical diagnosis and teaching, as opposed to vocational instruction. On this last point, the Warnock Committee (Department of Education and Science 1978) expressed concern that educational standards in CHEs did not match those in special schools. It differentiated them by declaring that CHEs aimed at 'social readjustment' whereas schools saw their main role as teaching. In practice, one might say that in a CHE the priority was to teach young people through communal living to make their behaviour acceptable, whereas residential schools focused on formal skills and knowledge acquisition. Thus boarding becomes simply a practical necessity because of the distance from home, leaving schools free to argue that staying at weekends is not essential - an argument that Gooch (1996) identifies as now relevant to the whole boarding school sector.

It was noted in Chapter 6 that during the 1960s the word 'maladjusted' begins to appear regularly in Turners Court's case records. In the 1970s, there were efforts to develop the educational side of Turners Court's work with the employment of professionally qualified teachers and the adoption of more structured educational regime, the value of which is echoed in the Dartington team's research findings (Millham et al. 1975). Indeed the lack of success in full implementation of these aspirations was held by one interviewee as a partial explanation for Turners Court's closure (Interview 8). Cole and Visser (1998) also note a growing confluence of the care system's child-centred approach and the trend towards a more humanistic approach to 'maladjustment', now re-framed and reformulated as 'emotional and behavioural difficulties'. Hence Turners Court was able to register both as a children's home and as a special school, a rare example of the two systems united.

This dual registration was considered a major distinguishing feature of Turners Court, and a source of pride. It was possibly unique and probably no longer feasible: consider the challenge of incorporating the National Curriculum, various national tests and other prescriptive educational requirements with the detailed regulation and guidance associated with the Children Act 1989. Add to that the strong move towards inspections through the Social Services Inspectorate and OFSTED, the incursion of auditors into social work and youth justice in particular (for example Department of the Environment 1981, Audit Commission 1996) and a move towards 'technical-procedural' practice (Taylor and White 2001). Furthermore, it is worth noting that this regulatory and managerialist approach intensified following various residential care scandals in the 1980s and 1990s – Staffordshire, Leicestershire, Gwent (Levy and Kahan 1991, Berridge and Brodie 1996) and more recently North Wales (Waterhouse 1999).

The researcher is bound to conclude that, in retrospect, this dual registration was more of a hindrance than an asset. For it compelled the organisation to be subject to two sets of inspections. Interviewees confirmed that the inspection outcomes were not necessarily consistent and indeed, in some cases, contradictory (Interviews 3, 5, 6, 7). Educational aims and ambitions, especially in relation to achieving targets, did not always match care objectives. From a micro perspective, therefore, the organisation would have fared better by allying itself to one system or the other. It is speculative as to whether, given the demise of residential care generally, Turners Court might have survived as a residential special school for students with emotional and behavioural difficulties. However, there is a strong macro argument that points to the perpetuation of this distinction, which appears to be firmly embedded in structural organisation and policy formulation processes. Education and social work professionals operate within systems that continue to be separate right up to Cabinet level.

COMPARING MODELS TO EXPLAIN CHANGE

In this section the models devised in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 are used as a means of analysing the key factors that propelled Turners Court towards closure in 1991. The discussion starts by reminding the reader of what came together in 1911 to create Turners Court, and how it was successfully adapted in the 1960s. It then goes on to outline the specific reasons why Turners Court closed in 1991.

Forming and adapting: establishing congruence

Using the models applied to 1911 and the 1960s it is possible to identify specific features that are congruent at these periods.

Model 5: What came together in 1911?

Division of labour allows social work staff to focus on care while instructors keep farm viable. Staffing costs absorbed in farm profits and fees charged. Expertise fits resources and needs of farm. Using boys' labour justified when part of their 'training'.

Local authorities provide sufficient funding for placements. Turners Court competitive in comparison to similar establishments. Selectivity allows residents' numbers to be controlled and kept viable for financial self-sufficiency.

FINANCIAL and ECONOMIC

MACRO

Keynesian economics, full employment, increasing public spending

government grants, local authority support

local authority fees, farm profits

MICRO

staff costs, building and equipment costs

Turners Court

personal commitment, charismatic leadership, values and principles written down (brochures, handbooks)

establishment of social work principles and ethics, removal of 'old guard'

belief in welfare and treatment, move away from punishment, humanism, focus on relationships

social democracy collectivism

BELIEF SYSTEMS and VALUES

TECHNICAL and KNOWLEDGE

LAW and SOCIAL POLICY

Technical advances > fewer agricultural employment opportunities but greater need for labour in other spheres

Incorporation of training for staff, wider training education and employment needs to reflect changing employment needs

enough for farm, employment and more trades on offer

teachers, mixture of care and instruction

regulations, compulsory education, some trustees powerholders in local authorities and government

local authority sponsorship, support through publicity and dissemination of 'good practice'

child care and youth justice the system amalgamated. Children and Young Persons Act 1969

welfare state, government intervention and direction through local authorities

Professionalism of social work provides expertise and rationale for focus on relationships. Employment of teachers upgrades status of education, no longer simply agricultural training. Humanistic approach asserts value of care for boys' welfare.
Animal husbandry seen as therapeutic.

Belief in residential social work confirmed by official policy and local authorities' actions in placing boys. Institution supported by field workers and Children's Officers.
Law allows considerable autonomy for placements and public policy supports approach adopted at Turners Court.

From this it will be seen that, whilst all four 'quarters' are important, what appears to have developed particularly in the Edwardian period is a stronger belief in the potential of collective action. At government level, this did not yet justify the creation of an extensive welfare state, but did encourage 'voluntarism', meaning support rather than mere tolerance for the actions of voluntary organisations. This led into, and was congruent with, a set of values and beliefs that comprised a mixture of evangelism, eugenics and altruism. The possibility of an institution then became reality when economic viability was established: training for employment in the agricultural sector where there appeared to be a substantial demand for cheap labour.

During the period from 1911 to the 1960s, substantial changes occurred at least in relation to the role of the state in welfare. However, equally significantly in some ways, the labour market had changed dramatically. The growth in mechanisation in agriculture substantially reduced the employment opportunities, and the shift in beliefs - social work ethics as well as religious beliefs - had started to challenge the acceptability of training young men for 'tied' employment (tied in the sense that accommodation and care came as a package with employment, thereby effectively trapping some into it as they had no alternative accommodation). Emigration was no longer feasible. Yet expenditure on personal welfare, for those amenable to change through social education and what might loosely be termed 'therapy', was now politically and economically acceptable on a hitherto unimagined scale. The diagram highlights these new areas of congruence indicating crucial areas of change.

Model 6: What was the reformulation of the 1960s?

Division of labour allows social work staff to focus on care while instructors keep farm viable. Staffing costs absorbed in farm profits and fees charged. Expertise fits resources and needs of farm. Using boys' labour justified when part of their 'training'.

Local authorities provide sufficient funding for placements. Turners Court competitive in comparison to similar establishments. Selectivity allows residents' numbers to be controlled and kept viable for financial self-sufficiency.

FINANCIAL and ECONOMIC

MACRO

Keynesian economics, full employment, increasing public spending

government grants, local authority support

local authority fees, farm profits

MICRO

staff costs, building and equipment costs

mixture of care and instruction

Turners Court

MACRO CONTEXT
SETTING: INTERMEDIATE SOCIAL ORGANISATION
SITUATED ACTIVITY
SELF-IDENTITY: SOCIAL EXPERIENCE

TECHNICAL and KNOWLEDGE

technical advances > fewer agricultural employment opportunities but greater need for labour in other spheres

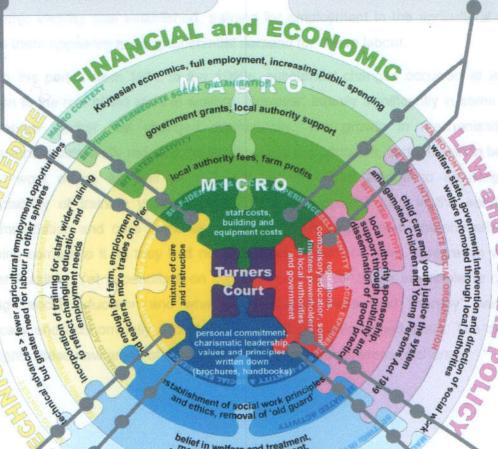incorporation of training for staff, wider training and education to reflect changing employment needs

enough for farm, employment, more trades on offer

teachers, pupils

LAW and SOCIAL POLICY

welfare state, government intervention and direction of social work promoted through local authorities

child care and youth justice the system, Children and Young Persons Act 1969

local authority sponsorship, support through publicity and dissemination of 'good practice'

compulsory education, some trustees powerholders in local authorities and government

regulations

amalgamated Children's

BELIEF SYSTEMS and VALUES

social democracy collectivism

belief in welfare and treatment, move away from punishment, humanism, focus on relationships

establishment of social work principles and ethics, removal of 'old guard'

personal commitment, charismatic leadership, values and principles written down (brochures, handbooks)

Professionalism of social work provides expertise and rationale for focus on relationships. Employment of teachers upgrades status of education, no longer simply agricultural training. Humanistic approach asserts value of care for boys' welfare. Animal husbandry seen as therapeutic.
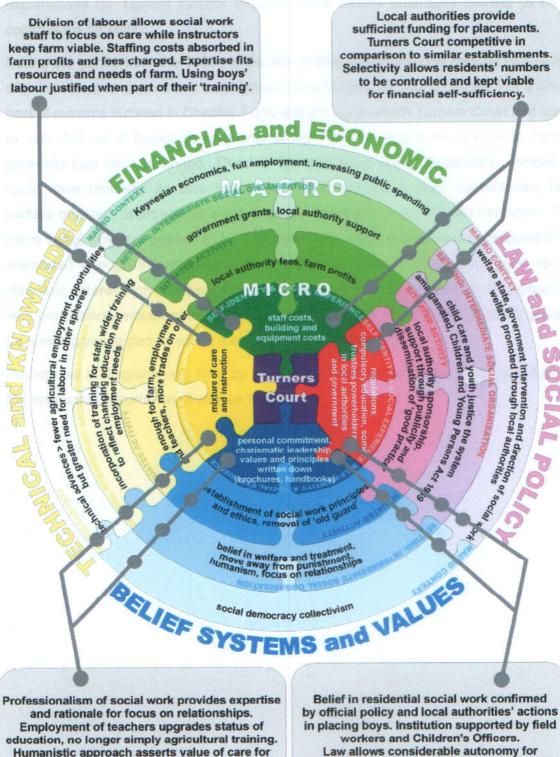
Belief in residential social work confirmed by official policy and local authorities' actions in placing boys. Institution supported by field workers and Children's Officers. Law allows considerable autonomy for placements and public policy supports approach adopted at Turners Court.

Why did Turners Court close? Emergence of discongruity

On the basis of these diagrammatic representations, what are the pointers for likely explanations for Turners Court's closure? What factors potentially ceased to be in congruence by 1991?

During the period from the 1960s to the late 1980s, major changes centred on the role of government in welfare and employment opportunities for young people. For a whole host of reasons outlined in Chapter 7, the age group for which Turners Court had come to cater fell out of favour as recipients of 'soft' welfare, and a much harsher regime generally had been instituted. This left Turners Court facing unpalatable choices. It could have reviewed its core beliefs so that it adopted a more authoritarian, less welfare oriented, approach; in short, it could have become a custodial institution. The micro belief systems ceased to be congruent with wider macro values, especially as articulated through the state sponsored welfare system for young men aged 15-16. However, interestingly, Turners Court's belief systems also ceased to be congruent with professional values in that social work turned away from residential care, arguing for keeping young people within their local communities.

Putting this in diagrammatic form by using the model outlined above provides clues to the respective importance of various factors.

Model 7: What fell apart in the 1980s?

Model 7a: Financial and Economic

Model 7b: Law and Social Policy

Children and Young Persons Act 1969 eroded, superseded; Criminal Justice Act 1982 promotes justice model whilst diverting young people from custody

local authorities' placement policies reflect tight controls on expenditure and decarceration approach; fieldworkers' antipathy to residential work

MACRO CONTEXT
reduced role of state, tight control over local authorities

SETTING: INTERMEDIATE SOCIAL ORGANISATION
social work and education legislation, regulatory inspectorial framework

SITUATED ACTIVITY
education provision, staff training policy, records, reviews

SELF-IDENTITY & SOCIAL EXPERIENCE
frequent inspections, local authority minimise placement lengths

Turners Court

LAW and SOCIAL POLICY

uncertainty about roles and staff reliant on formal procedures and rules

animosity and antagonism in case reviews

Model 7c: Belief Systems and Values

Christian ethics, replaced by humanism, in turn replaced by vacuum - preoccupation with institutional survival and acceptance of 'referrals' without requirement for full assessment or preparation

Turners Court

staff insecurity and awareness of problems facing institution

mixed: some strongly committed, for others residential social work 'just a job'

social work with an emphasis on personal responsibility

individualism, personal responsibility, justice not treatment

neo-Liberalism, New Right

SELF-IDENTITY & SOCIAL EXPERIENCE

SITUATED ACTIVITY

SETTING: INTERMEDIATE SOCIAL ORGANISATION

MACRO CONTEXT

BELIEF SYSTEMS and VALUES

individualism refutes belief in family/environmental explanations of behaviour; Liberalism challenges belief in state-sponsored involvement in family life

Turners Court perceived as youth justice placement yet tries to maintain social work approach and promote welfare values

Model 7d: Technical and Knowledge

agriculture now mechanised/automated; greater educational demands, 15-16 year-olds now included in educational provision

meetings/conflicts and conditions of service, role of teachers, use of classrooms and 'trades'

TECHNICAL and KNOWLEDGE

MACRO CONTEXT: decline in employment opportunities but more education required

INTERMEDIATE SOCIAL ORGANISATION: strong emphasis on staff training, specialist education

SITUATED ACTIVITY: advanced social work skills needed

SELF-IDENTITY & SOCIAL EXPERIENCE: mixture of care and teaching, tensions

Turners Court

skills and knowledge do not keep pace with increasingly difficult and demanding behaviour

demand for teachers rather than instructors exacerbates differentials; status conflicts between staff; high turnover of residential social workers

Model 8: Discongruity model

FINANCIAL and ECONOMIC

recession in employment; collapse of agricultural demand affects farm viability

few benefactors; fees don't meet costs

books don't balance; almost perpetual financial crisis

Managers' meetings dominated by financial debates

agriculture now mechanised/automated; greater educational demands, 15-16 year-olds now included in educational provision

Children and Young Persons Act 1969 eroded, superseded; Criminal Justice Act 1982 promotes justice model whilst diverting young people from custody

demand for teachers rather than instructors exacerbates differentials; status conflicts between staff; high turnover of residential social workers

local authorities' placement policies reflect tight controls on expenditure and decarceration approach; fieldworkers' antipathy to residential work

LAW and SOCIAL POLICY

meetings/conflicts and conditions of service, role of teachers, use of classrooms and 'trades'

animosity and antagonism in case reviews

TECHNICAL and KNOWLEDGE

Turners Court

uncertainty about roles and staff reliant on formal procedures and rules

skills and knowledge do not keep pace with increasingly difficult and demanding behaviour

staff insecurity and awareness of problems facing institution
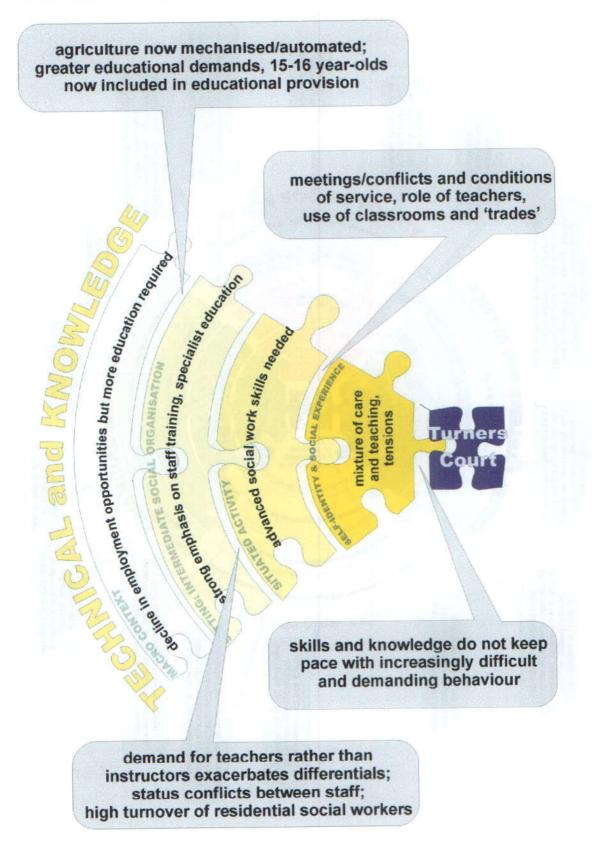
BELIEF SYSTEMS and VALUES
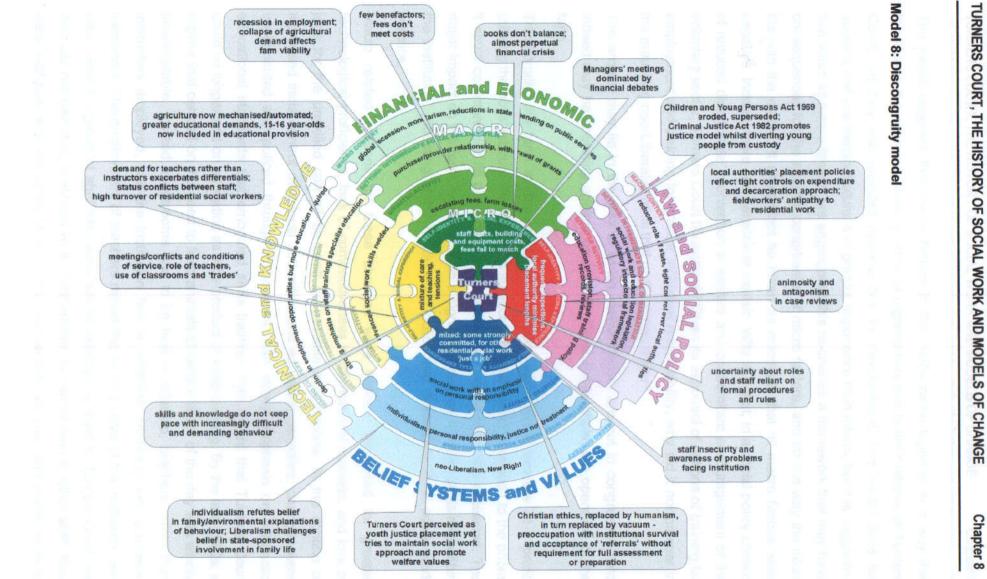
neo-Liberalism, New Right

individualism refutes belief in family/environmental explanations of behaviour; Liberalism challenges belief in state-sponsored involvement in family life

Turners Court perceived as youth justice placement yet tries to maintain social work approach and promote welfare values

Christian ethics, replaced by humanism, in turn replaced by vacuum - preoccupation with institutional survival and acceptance of 'referrals' without requirement for full assessment or preparation

The model suggests that macro factors in the 1980s came together in a way that threatened the economic viability, internal organisation and belief systems of Turners Court, yet they also provided opportunities for development. The model does not suggest that one macro feature is of greater importance than others, but it is suggested that when all macro factors are aggregated this re-creates a framework that may have consequences for the internal congruence of micro factors, and for the way the micro fits with the macro. It should not be taken as axiomatic that all macro factors were negative. Indeed, there is a paradox to explain. Why is it that, in a social policy context of reduced direct state intervention in welfare and concomitant encouragement of the voluntary sector, Turners Court floundered? Given its espousal of notions of training for employment and training for greater individual responsibility, why did it not prosper in the prevailing neo-Liberalist ethic that underpinned these?

The answer may lie in the way in which certain factors are not in congruence, and indeed may be operating against each other. Take, for example, the operation of the farm.

Traditionally, the farm at Turners Court had been expected to operate at a profit, utilising the boys' labour. The farm was subject to market forces in relation to the prices it could command for its products, and therefore was affected by the recession. The major impact on the farm, however, was a significant change in terms of its role within the institution, reflecting shifts in education policy and developments in social work practice.

Macro related reasons for these changes were various: the need for greater technological proficiency, lack of competitiveness in international markets, and loss of jobs for the unskilled can all be cited as possible explanations. In the context of increased state control over local authorities and education providers, changes were implemented and policed through inspections, with strong emphasis on enhanced educational standards that embodied skills training. This meant that Turners Court could no longer add on education as a by-product of trade training. By the late 1980s, a regime that centred on the need to feed animals at certain times of the day was wholly unacceptable. Instead, classrooms had to be built or adapted, teachers rather than instructors employed, and the institution had to establish credibility with education inspectors. The employment of teachers raised the running costs of the institution, and also created a group of staff who were not so indebted or loyal to Turners Court, for they did not owe their livelihood to it. Furthermore, in comparison to other staff, they were well-paid with generous leave of fourteen weeks per year and entitlements to

substantial extraneous duties allowances, in contrast to residential social workers who were not paid overtime at all at Turners Court (Interviews 6 and 7).

Changes in social work practice challenged the approach to residential care adopted in Turners Court. This is more than acknowledging the antipathy increasingly expressed towards residential care as such. Keen advocates of residential care argued vehemently for a different form of residential care, one that was essentially based on small group living (Banner and Kahan 1969; Kahan 1979, 1994). This was implemented in Turners Court in the late 1980s (Turners Court 1985-91). At the same time, there was pressure to raise the professionalism of staff, allowing time for training and supervision. Both had a consequence of increasing staff costs, as did the higher staff/resident ratio demanded by increasingly challenging behaviour. At the same time social work staff argued increasingly for more attention to relationship needs, and less on preoccupation with farm training or any other form of trade (Turners Court 1985-91).

The net effect of all of this included the effective demotion of the Farm Manager in importance, antagonising that group of managers who were themselves farmers and saw Turners Court primarily as a Farm School. It also created potential discord between teaching and social work staff given the widening disparity in salaries and conditions of service. These points need not be further elaborated here. It is sufficient to say that this is but one example that serves to point up the importance of micro interactions.

Other examples of incongruence are demonstrated in Table 19:

Table 19: Macro and Micro incongruence

	MACRO			
	ECONOMIC FINANCIAL	SOCIAL POLICY LEGAL	BELIEF SYSTEMS VALUES	KNOWLEDGE TECHNICAL
M I C R O — ECONOMIC FINANCIAL	Farm vulnerable to diminished agricultural market, drive for competitiveness conflicts with diminished availability of cheap labour	Demand for reduced local authority expenditure makes cost of placement a preoccupation, costs spiral	Harsher approach to age group and justice model challenge amount local authorities spend on placements, go for shortest option	Demand for more technical education skills and broader education opportunities escalate staffing costs
SOCIAL POLICY LEGAL	Fewer voluntary admissions, increased regulation; compelled to accept very challenging behaviour, costs escalate accordingly	Access to records, data protection, relationships with courts, free market means alternatives used, plus reduced concern about age group because of diminished legal requirements	Increased likelihood of placements being terminated due to imposition of custodial sentences	Increased demands lead to increased inspections and more detailed requirements being made, but grants withdrawn so resources not available
BELIEF SYSTEMS VALUES	Emphasis on skills and education for employment but many have fundamental relationship problems so cannot begin to attain qualifications	Emphasis on responsibility and good behaviour but concentration on boys with very disturbed behaviour means anti-social behaviour becomes extreme	More punitive approach generally conflicts with therapeutic approach, forces staff to focus on control in contradiction of avowed principles	Staff have to become more professional, less likely to subscribe to religious principles and values that underpin Turners Court
KNOWLEDGE TECHNICAL	Need more skilled instructors but this increases costs	Staff obliged to adopt more rights-based approach to work, move towards Children Act approach places greater demands on staff	Increasing emphasis on education rather than training, moves Turners Court away from its farm training focus	Professionalisation means increased emphasis on staff conditions of service, inconsistencies and conflict with management

What needs to stay in place for a residential care institution to survive?

On the basis of this analysis, is it possible to identify the minimum necessary for survival? In other words, what must stay in place in order for an institution to survive? At a very basic level, congruencies of fundamental elements seem to be:

Table 20: Essentials for survival of residential institution

		M A C R O		
	ECONOMIC FINANCIAL	**SOCIAL POLICY LEGAL**	**BELIEF SYSTEMS VALUES**	**KNOWLEDGE TECHNICAL**
ECONOMIC FINANCIAL (MICRO)	Supply and demand meet	Legal framework for charging and securing payment of fees, or for meeting costs	Belief in validity of role of enterprise means commissioners will want to secure provision of services	Potential demand for labour with level of education and skills that enterprise offers
SOCIAL POLICY LEGAL (MICRO)	Sufficient legal authority to enable institution to exercise some control over admissions and discharges, enough to be financially viable	Legally permissible for organisation to run, legal authority exists for placement, practice and procedures comply with law and welfare policy	Belief in value of placing residents 'in care'	Inspection and supervision standards consistent with provision of care, enough to prevent unscrupulous competition but not over-bearing
BELIEF SYSTEMS VALUES (MICRO)	Values and mode of operation of institution need to fit with social care market	Beliefs and values have to comply with legal requirements, and fit with prevailing policy	Beliefs and values have to comply with overarching social work principles and dominant ideology	Values and mode of operation of institution need to reflect employment and training requirements
KNOWLEDGE TECHNICAL (MICRO)	Skills of staff need to be available and affordable	Sufficient staff need knowledge of law and policy as effected by commissioning agents	Skills and competence appropriate for prevailing ideology	Staff need professional competence to credible level in offering training and care

The table above is intended as a guide as to key areas where macro and micro need to fit. It is suggested that a lack of congruence in one area need not necessarily be fatal, as can be seen in organisations that survived the 1980s and 1990s, but does indicate that discongruity in one is likely to be reflected in discongruity in all, and so in this way the viability of the enterprise is threatened. The model then becomes like a jigsaw where the pieces no longer fit.

How might this apply in explaining why Turners Court closed when other apparently *similar institutions survived?* In essence, other institutions had greater congruence in certain key areas. Take, for example, the Caldecott community with which Turners Court was compared earlier in the thesis (page 194 above). Although differing substantially in origins, and being direct opposites in terms of gender (Caldecott all female, Turners Court all male), *both organisations came to share a similar task,* namely residential care for older teenagers who appeared to have substantial emotional needs. Caldecott has adapted and survived, but there may be a number of unique circumstances that account for its resilience. One may be that it has substantial financial reserves; it continues to have strong links with wealthy financial institutions and benefactors who constitute a new form of philanthropy. It is also worth noting that the physical location of Caldecott in a large house makes the creation of a therapeutic environment more convincing than would ever be possible with the Turners Court site. Furthermore, there are real questions about how therapeutic Turners Court really was, with its very strong emphasis on training and behaviour; its approach seemed at some variance with descriptions of Peper Harow, for example (Rose 1990; Millham, Bullock and Hosie 1978). Numbers were also a challenge in the sense that Turners Court had traditionally relied on a relatively high number of residents in order to balance its books, whereas more specialist therapeutic communities would have lower numbers with higher fees proportionally - justified on the grounds of substantive personal need and underpinned by a clearly articulated theoretical rationale.

A more local parallel is offered by Mulberry House, which also has a tradition of being part of the care system and likewise is independent of local authority control. However, this establishment has always focused attention on a younger age group and it may be that local authorities are more prepared to divert resources to younger children, whereas prevailing ideologies and thinking turned sharply away from 15 and 16 year-olds (for elaboration of this more widely see Williamson 1993). Likewise Bessells Leigh, *another independent therapeutically oriented establishment has survived,* but again caters for younger children. This point about age appears to be confirmed by the fact that Peper Harow, which shared many characteristics with Turners Court albeit with a

stronger *commitment* to a therapeutic approach, also shared a similar fate and it too dealt with the older age group.

That Turners Court's fate is symptomatic of a general reduction in residential care cannot, ultimately, be denied. The key discongruity would appear to be between values and social policy. Not only was there a strong move within social work that accorded with the reduced role of the state in welfare generally, but also, as Gooch (1996) has rightly pointed out, there has been a marked decline in the belief in the value of any form of residential care or schooling. This applies to all kinds of boarding establishments and, although some residential schools for young people with emotional and behavioural difficulties have survived, this sector, too, is diminishing.

CASE STUDY METHODS AND SOCIAL POLICY

The use of a case study approach to social policy is not entirely novel, although it could be fairly claimed that until quite recently it was comparatively rare. In a seminal work Hall et al. (1975) sought to draw general conclusions about change in social policy from a study of selected case studies, ranging from the introduction of family allowances, the creation of the Open University, and the detention centre 'experiment', through to the struggle for clean air and the abolition of National Assistance. The introduction to this work acknowledges potential methodological criticisms in terms of generalisability but argues for a systematic selection of cases that demonstrate 'policy making through time'.

This thesis has attempted to implement the 'multi-pronged' or 'multi-strategy' research strategies advocated by Layder (1993), incorporating a time and power dimension (Chapters 3 and 4 above). These derive from his view that sociology in particular needs to integrate different theoretical perspectives into "a more catholic notion of theory and conceptual issues" (Layder 1998: 31). Thus it is possible to interconnect the macro and micro, without veering towards one rather than the other, and without jettisoning theory altogether (Layder 1994; Chapter 4 above). When applied to research this argues for 'adaptive theory' (Layder 1998). Here more will be said about adaptive theory as it was used in this thesis with some reflections on its effectiveness and implications for the discipline of social policy.

Applying a framework

Layder's (1998) notion of adaptive theory builds on his earlier work and can be summarised as presenting a 'synthetic approach' which is not simply eclectic, but draws on other theories providing a 'middle range' alternative. It allows for the use of

both inductive and deductive procedures, focusing on the "multifarious interconnections between human agency, social activities and social organisation (structures and systems)" (Layder 1998: 133). It is comprehensive and integrated. Adaptive theory requires sensitivity to what emerges from the data, avoiding imposing theory on data, yet at the same time recognising that is important to devise some kind of order or framework through which data can be systematically analysed. The chapters in this thesis that deal substantively with Turners Court data (5, 6 and 7) have adopted a specific research strategy derived from this, one which has generally proved valuable and illuminating.

The specific merits of Layder's research framework are:

1. The researcher does not engage in the process with a fixed idea of which theory is 'correct'. Rather it permits an openness that encourages engagement with different theories according to the light they shed on the data. This is distinct from grounded theory that tends to assert a 'dogmatic' claim to truth that rejects other forms of theorising (Layder 1998: 36-7) and also differs from an atheoretical approach that asserts the prime importance of collection and empirical information.

2. It avoids the obvious danger of the data 'speaking for itself' or else of simply concluding that each interviewee had his or her own perceptions that presented reality as they saw it. In setting out some explanation as to why Turners Court ultimately closed, it was necessary to reject or modify the views expressed by interviewees, since these were not necessarily borne out by others or by the documentary evidence.

3. It challenges the researcher to engage constantly with the data, reflecting on what is being presented, interpreting and if necessary reinterpreting what the researcher learns, thus avoiding presuppositions.

4. It provides a clear framework for collection and analysis of data.

Adaptive theory "attempts to trace those conjunctions of forms of activity and the social relations and modes of organisation in which they are embedded" (Layder 1998: 152) thereby being used to generate models. This researcher is drawn to such an attractive proposition, although models are interpreted perhaps rather more literally than Layder intended. Visual representations often clarify subtle processes that occur and uncover connections that would not otherwise be obvious. For example, the disconnection of the therapeutic values underpinning social work as played out in Turners Court and the justice model that dominated 1980s youth justice policy is graphically illustrated in the

1991 model. It was more than a loosening of connections, or connections becoming tenuous; they simply no longer existed. Therefore when translated into personal interactions, it is no surprise that Home Office civil servants and Turners Court senior staff had no ground on which to negotiate an alternative future for Turners Court as part of the nascent Criminal Justice Act 1991. Values had disconnected to the extent that real communication was impossible.

Social policy relevance

How does this relate to social policy? In essence, it facilitates a more satisfactory explanation of change. Summarising social policy perspectives Williams (1989) has suggested four principal explanations of change in social policy:

1. Individualist explanations that emphasise individual responsibility and accountability. Such views explain all social problems and social welfare concern in terms of individuals' action, or lack of action. The limitations of such explanations clearly lie in their refusal to acknowledge wider environmental or structural influence on individuals' behaviour. Definitions of crime, for example, are never challenged, nor are factors such as poverty or unemployment.

2. Idealist explanations focus on ideas, which makes them reliant on rational explanations or appeals to some moral imperative, which is assumed to be shared. The limitation here is that these fail to recognise the "bearing that society itself has on the creation and sustenance of ideas".

3. Functionalism, seeks to explain change by reference to the structure of society. All welfare therefore is assumed to fit the needs of society, for example, fit workers are supplied by proving health care. This explanation clearly brings in social structure as explanation but in doing so disregards human agency altogether (see Chapter 3 above). Perhaps the best example of such an approach relevant to children and young people is that taken by Pinchbeck and Hewitt (1973). This sets policy developments in the context of the historical development and the changing needs of society but there is no real attempt made to analyse concepts themselves or to explore changes in beliefs and values. It is still almost as if things 'just happen' and it is assumed that these changes somehow fit (and always fit?) with the changing needs of society.

4. Materialism, which effectively means Marxism, uses the economic sub-structure of capitalism as the key explanatory dynamic. The ensuing inherent conflict accounts for all shifts in policy and welfare. While structure and conflict clearly form part of the

analysis, Marxist accounts generally fail to accord individuals the capacity for individual action and also fail to acknowledge the role of individuals in mediating and promoting change.

Furthermore, it is important to move beyond mere identification of either structure or agency as the main locus of change, and to consider processes that mediate that change. In this thesis, it is suggested that belief systems and values are underplayed in explanatory frameworks adopted by social policy. It also seems to be the case that social policy underplays the role of key individuals. Individual actions are deemed consequential on policy shifts, whereas this research demonstrates the dynamic relationship is more complex. It is possible for individuals to initiate change, although clearly the way in which their views are taken up depends on the prevailing 'orthodoxy' and their own position in wider sets of power relationships. The example in this research has been the role of RM and the way in which his beliefs about Turners Court were adopted by a very powerful Children's Officer who was uniquely placed to put ideas into effect. She was also able to use Turners Court for her own policy-oriented ends. Even so, her reforming zeal had to synchronise with the values and beliefs of others who managed to secure their positions of influence and promote the changes in young people's welfare that they saw as desirable. What is surprising about the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 in retrospect is that such an apparently progressive piece of legislation was ever passed at all. This is a tribute to a group of influential people who were able to capitalise on publicity surrounding the apparent 'failures' of the Approved School system (Home Office 1967 and more generally Hyland 1993). Ironically, because of compromises and accommodation with other powerful groups such as magistrates, the Act actually had the unintended consequence of increasing significantly the proportion of young people sent into custody. A double irony is that the legislation that amended it, the Criminal Justice Act 1982, reverting to a justice model and therefore fitting magistrates' values more closely, actually achieved the 1969 Act's aim of reducing the number of young people in custody.

Another deficiency in social policy explanations generally was that, until comparatively recently, insufficient attention was paid to feminist and antiracist critiques. This may be because they cut across the structure and agency divide, and also risk being accused of being reductionist (see discussion in Chapter 3, especially page 194). The Layder framework asserts the importance of power alongside history as being key elements of any analysis, in other words struggles for power and competition over resources are an

intrinsic feature of society and a key part of the dynamic process (see discussion in Chapter 4, especially conclusion page 214).

One potential weakness of this is that the Layder framework places insufficient weight on the various forms of oppression. There is a danger that power might be taken to be a concept that operates relatively independently of actors, organisations and structures. To ally power with history as the key dynamic force risks repeating the weakness of Marxist structuralist explanations that see all change as borne of perpetuation of hegemony (discussion page 194 above). The Foucauldian concept of power as capillaries has something to commend it, although the post modernist conclusions would be refuted on the grounds that they seem to reject theory altogether.

Macro–micro

A substantive part of this thesis was devoted to exploring the intersection of macro and micro. The summary of social science theory presented in Chapters 3 and 4 concluded that, not only was important to integrate macro and micro, but this represented the only real way forward. The danger of exclusively structural accounts was dismissal of the micro; yet exclusively micro accounts provide incomplete explanations of change. Application of this theory to Turners Court vindicates this in two key respects. First, Turners Court was not totally malleable to structural forces: its history cannot be 'written off' simply as a demonstration of macro changes. It did not simply yield to shifts in the economy. Second, conversely, the demise of Turners Court cannot be understood simply as a consequence of individual actions.

In relation to the first period examined, Turners Court was not created by the implementation of government policy, nor was it the product of economic necessity, or the outcome of any other single macro factor, yet these together constitute the context in which Turners Court could be created. Its actual creation was the outcome of individual actions on the part of people inspired by certain belief systems. These were not the same beliefs and values, but there was sufficient common ground for the desired outcomes to be agreed. Yet the individual actions had to accord with what was technically feasible, with the potential to set up a viable farm training institution, people to run it, and sufficient funding with the prospect of commercial viability. This would clearly only be possible where this was legally permissible, in the context of an overarching belief in voluntarism. It is a precise, time-specific meld of macro and micro factors that created the institution.

In the 1960s, the macro context had changed very significantly yet Turners Court also had reconstituted itself so that it now fitted well into this new era. The micro changes

had occurred as result of a number of factors, not least of which is the employment of a charismatic leader, and it could be argued that to some extent the choice of Principal and policies adopted by him was fortuitous. Nevertheless, the point to be made here is that again *the macro and micro are congruent. The approach adopted would only have* worked had there been support by others in social work, potential for training and continued financial viability. This was sustained and promoted by the dramatic shift in social policy that encouraged local authorities to support the placement of boys at Turners Court.

By the 1990s, the macro had ceased to be congruent with the micro. For reasons outlined above in a number of key areas, Turners Court had ceased to be viable as a residential care institution. It is not necessary to restate the argument here; suffice it to so that the key to explaining the closure of Turners Court lies in the interplay of macro and micro factors. One final point that may be worth emphasising however is that traditional social policy accounts do run the risk of overstating macro explanations. By contrast, those most directly involved in the history of Turners Court tend to emphasise the micro, a factor that may explain the degree of acrimony that laces their explanations, even ten years after the event.

Values beliefs and identity

A theme running through this thesis has been that the significance of belief systems is underplayed in social policy generally. The historical data analysed here provides clear evidence that Turners Court had its own distinctive identity, but the phrase 'Turners Court' came to stand for something more than a set of buildings in Oxfordshire. It represented a particular approach to residential social work, a key feature of which was the belief in the importance of residents voluntarily joining the institution. The construction of care plans that appeared to draw inspiration from a belief in the intrinsic value of each individual reflected, firstly, the Christian ethos of the original founders and, later, the humanistic values underpinning social work in the 1960s and 1970s. By the 1990s, this approach for this specific target group, young men aged 15 and 16, was seen as no longer appropriate. Given its strong preoccupation with, in effect, offering *'care' to young offenders, the Turners Court approach now ceased to comply with the* prevailing 'justice' approach. This does not need to be elaborated here (for a full discussion see chapter 7 above) but it does underline the importance of belief systems. The fact that ultimately Turners Court managers refused to compromise on this attests to the importance they attributed to adherence to their own core principles.

All of this demonstrates that the values espoused should not be simply regarded as a product of the operation of macro forces. Individuals involved in Turners Court's development believed in the merits of the institution and its approach, and when it proved no longer feasible to continue to put these into effect, preferred to see the *institution close rather than compromise. This suggests that the importance of values* and belief systems should not be overlooked. It is tempting to regard them simply as acquiescent to macro forces but this would be a mistake.

It also suggests that an institution is more than the sum total of the individuals who comprise it. For it can be concluded that Turners Court came to have an ethos that *transcended individual beliefs, and the strong loyalty it engendered in some of its staff* may point to one aspect of voluntary organisations that has hitherto been ignored: the identity factor. In brief, the identity of the worker becomes enshrined in the identity of the organisation. Turners Court staff identified themselves as *Turners Court* staff, not as residential social workers who happened to work at Turners Court. This argues for more attention to be paid to identity and how it operates at broader levels, somewhere between the macro and micro. Indeed, it is significant the research in some areas of social psychology is moving towards recognition of this: see for example the work of *Sullivan (Sullivan 2001).*

HISTORY OF SOCIAL WORK

Arguing for a much more central place for history in social work, Fisher (1999) points out that history holds a marginal place in social work generally both in the USA and Britain. This is considered odd since social work and history are at core 'natural allies and partners' since they both study individual behaviour and the 'course of human experience'. This is certainly borne out by the history of Turners Court.

Two specific messages emanate from this research with regard to the position of social work history. The first is that social work does have a history, and that this is worth exploring in its own right. Secondly that an analytical approach to social work history tells us a great deal more than purely narrative accounts.

It may seem strange to justify studying the history of social work, but it does seem highly significant that there *is a dearth of material in this area. Indeed, the most* comprehensive history of social work still appears to be the seminal work of Younghusband (1964). Bowpitt (1998) comments on this deficiency, also pointing out those few writers who do survey the history of social work often fail to acknowledge its Christian origins. One danger of failing to pay sufficient attention to history is that social work students will assume that social work is somehow ahistorical, that today's

practices are unchallengeable since yesterday's are bound to be deficient. This echoes a danger identified by Newman (2000) in relation to the history of child labour, a danger that can be summarised as assuming a linear transition from barbarity to enlightenment. In his study this resulted in the past being 'disproportionately demonised' and in social work, too, there is a danger of dismissing social work practice of the past as being ignorant, patronising and misconceived.

One impetus for this research is a desire to study social work in context, both by exploring its relationship to social policy and by asserting the importance of social work history in its own right. The research has also demonstrated, most especially in Chapter 5, that Bowpitt is right to criticise social work historians who underplay or even ignore its Christian origins. This is not to suggest in any way that social work was exclusively a Christian activity - there is a substantive history of Jewish social work and humanistic social work, for example - or indeed that it is a wholly altruistic enterprise. Much of what was promoted in social work was sullied by an alliance forged between eugenicists and all those merely seeking a source for cheap labour: Chapter 5 indicated where these elements were apparent in the history of Turners Court also. Nevertheless, much needs to be done to rectify this deficiency, and on the surface social work history appears to be a much neglected area of study.

It hardly seems necessary to argue for an analytical rather than narrative approach to history. Suffice it to say that a mere recounting of events would not indicate how or why Turners Court developed in the way which it did. It is hoped that this thesis has demonstrated ways in which Turners Court was caught up in policy changes, developments in social work practices and perceptions of young men in need of care. Sometimes Turners Court responded positively to change, sometimes change was resisted, but always there was a response. There has also been a consistent attempt to present an appraisal of the relative importance of different elements of change, and on this basis it is contended that an analytical approach to social work history has a great deal to commend it.

CONCLUSION

A careful analysis of the micro offers a more rounded and complete explanation of social work history, provided care is taken to relate this to the macro. The thesis sets out a model for achieving this, using a clear methodological framework, which might well be fruitfully employed in other analyses of social work history.

Turners Court provided a rich source of data for analysing developments in social work. It encapsulated various changes in social work practice and provided a wealth of

information about the interplay of macro and micro forces and their relationship to social policy. Through an analysis of its history it was possible to assess claims about the role of individuals in its history, and to cast serious doubt on the notion that individual actions count for nothing. Yet the sphere of influence of any individual or institution is necessary constrained by macro forces. When there is correspondence or congruence between micro and macro, an institution survives, prospers, or even appears to be in the vanguard of progress. When discongruity emerges, the institution appears to be doomed: total reconstitution of the whole enterprise is not possible without a reformulation of values and belief systems. The conflict engendered by discongruity at the macro is then played out in micro conflicts: personal tensions, conflicting values operating simultaneously, lack of clarity about goals and purpose, inconsistent social work practice. These are the results of a constant process of change manifested in the interplay of macro and micro forces. They are not the product or consequences of *either* macro *or* micro changes, but necessarily a combination of both.

APPENDIX 1

Diploma in Social Work students' attitudes to social policy and politics

This research took the form of a questionnaire administered to every cohort of Diploma in Social Work students taught by the researcher in the academic years 1997-1998 to 2001-2002. Each group consisted of between 35 and 50 students so in total the research is based on responses from approximately 180 students.

Results from key questions are set out below:

QUESTION	very important	important	unsure	not important	not at all important
How important do you consider the history and background of social work as part of your preparation for social work training?	39.8%	33%	19%	2%	1.8%
How important do you consider history to be as part of people's cultural heritage and background?	56.3%	29.0%	8.3%	0%	1%
How important do you consider politics to be in people's everyday lives?	30.0%	35.0%	26.8%	1.5%	1.5%
How important do you consider the study of politics and political ideas as part of your preparation for social work training?	36.3%	32.0%	25.3%	3.0%	1.0%
How important do you think it is that a social worker should have definite political beliefs?	9.8%	25.5%	38.5%	10.3%	8.0%

QUESTION	strongy agree	agree	neither	disagree	strongy disagree
"Social work is a political activity". To what extent do you agree with this statement?	33.3%	31.3%	24.8%	4.0%	1.5%

QUESTION	CONSER VATIVE	LIBDEM	LABOUR	OTHER	DID NOT VOTE
Which political party did you vote for in the last general election?	8.0%	12.5%	54.3%	0%	15.8%

APPENDIX 2

The Data Protection Act 1998 and historical research

Section 33 of the Data Protection Act exempts "research for historical purposes" from the full requirements of the Act. These concern compliance with:

- the second Data Protection Principle: data only being used for declared purposes;
- the fifth data protection principle concerning time periods;
- individuals' rights of access to the personal data.

The net effect of these exemptions is that data can be used for research even though it was not originally collected for that purpose, and that it may be held indefinitely. Processing of data research is permissible, and subject access is not mandatory, providing **the research outcome is not made available in the form that identifies data subjects**.

There are two preconditions that need to be met. First, the data processed must not relate to decisions concerning the individuals. Second, data must not be processed in a way that causes substantial damage or distress to data subjects.

The Information Commissioner who enforces and oversees the Data Protection Act 1998 and the Freedom of Information Act 2000 advises that research data should, wherever possible, be anonymised, although it is accepted that true anonymisation may not always be feasible. Information relating to an individual should be stripped from personal information on which it is based.

In this thesis this was taken to mean that all Case Records would be anonymised with additional safeguards to ensure that reference numbers did not directly accord with Turners Court's own filing system, thereby ensuring extracts cited cannot be traced without access to the researcher's confidential database.

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    adviser's notes of guidance; unpublished
Personal communication with Open University Data Protection adviser

APPENDIX 3

Interviews and Participants

Interview 1	Interview with first former Principal	December 1997
Interview 2	Interview with former Children's Officer, who then became a government inspector and adviser, and later a Trustee and member of the governing body of Turners Court	June 1998
Interview 3	Interview with third former Principal	September 1997 July 1998 July 1999 July 2000 July 2001 February 2002
Interview 4	Interview with former senior member of staff at Turners Court, former Department of Health adviser, latterly Trustee and member of the governing body	July 1999
Interview 5	Interview with second former Principal	February 2001
Interview 6	Follow-up to Interview 5 with second former Principal	July 2001
Interview 7	Interview with former senior residential social worker at Turners Court, who worked there for three years prior to its closure	October 2001
Interview 8	Interview with Chair of Turners Court's governing body who was a Trustee the at the time of its closure	December 2001

APPENDIX 4

Turners Court Archives

Archive 01	1894	Labour for the Unemployed on the Land by Rev. J. B. Paton M.A., D.D. published by the Christian Union of Social Service
Archive 02	1895	Continental Farm Labour Colonies by Harold E. Moore, F.S.I. published by The English Land Colonisation Society.
Archive 03	1896	Farm Labour Colonies under Christian Control by Harold E. Moore (reprint from Methodist Times)
Archive 04	1897	Labour Colonies by Rev. J. B. Paton D.D., (Inner Mission Leaflet No. 13)
Archive 05	1900	Christian Service in Prisons and Asylums by The Christian Union for Social Service. (Printed by Rose & Harris, Bristol)
Archive 06	1902	Mr. Harold E. Moore's statement on the raising and using of funds for the Christian Union for Social Service.
Archive 07	1903	Christian Social Service Union: Minutes of Evidence on Labour Colonies and Epileptic Children before the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble Minded.
Archive 08	1904	Invitation cards for Meeting at the Mansion House of the National Home Reading Union: the Lord Mayor of London in the chair and H.R.H. the Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll to be present.
Archive 09	1904	Training of the Feeble-Minded by Francis Warner, M.D., F.R.C.P.
Archive 10	1905	Mental Faculty in the Child: Its Growth and Culture by Francis Warner, M.D.
Archive 11	1905	The Seasonally Unemployed by J.B. Paton (Inner Mission Pamphlet -Second Series No. I6)
Archive 12	1905	The Problem of the Unemployed. Tickets of admission to a Conference in the Egyptian Hall at the Mansion House under the auspices of the Christian Social Service Union
Archive 13	1905	Labour and Land Colonies by J. B. Paton, (Inner Mission Leaflet No. 17 Second Series).
Archive 14	1905	Visit of H.R.H. Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll to the Christian Social Service Union's Colony of Mercy Lingfield.
Archive 15	1905	The Unemployables: How he is dealt with at Lingfield: Letters to the "Tribune" by Henry Carus-Wilson.

Archive 16	1906	Reprint of "Tribune" article on their representative's visit to Lingfield.
Archive 17	1908	The Unemployed and the Unemployables: Circular Letter re Meeting in Manchester Town Hall, Feb. 25th, 1908.
Archive 18	1908	Social Reclamation: Work of the Christian Social Service Union. Reprint from the Manchester Guardian.
Archive 19	1908	opening of New Cory Home by Rt. Hon. Lord Burghclere: Invitation Card
Archive 20	1908	Suggested Amended Scheme of Management for the Christian Social Service Union.
Archive 21	1910	Printed Circular Letter to accompany the 14th Annual Report
Archive 22	1911	Petition to the Court of Common Council of the City of London.
Archive 23	1911	Memorandum on "Forward Movement".
Archive 24	1911	Appeal for The Farm Colonies "Forward Movement"
Archive 25	1911	Appeal for loans for extensions.
Archive 26	1911	Programme of Summer Festival at Lingfield.
Archive 27	1913	Programme of Official Opening of New Farm Training Colony at Wallingford.
Archive 28	1914	Programme for meeting at Mansion House.
Archive 29	1919	The Making of Men by the Author of "Brother of Mine" published by the National Union for Christian Social Service
Archive 30	1913	Facsimile copy of hand written letter addressed to Mr. Duncan Basden by the Rt. Hon. the Lord: Mayor of London (Sir David Burnett) regarding the work at Wallingford
Archive 31	1924	letter to The Times concerning emigration
Bestow	undated	Rough notes about the foundation and early history of the Christian Service Union (Incorporated) and Starnthwaite school
NUCSS	1911-1920	Social Service Journal published by National Union for Christian Social Service
Registers	1911-1991	Turners Court registers of admissions and discharges

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